

*The
Economic and Social
Research Institute*

THE WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS
OF
CIVIL SERVICE TYPISTS

NÓIRÍN O'BROIN and GILLIAN FARREN

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE COUNCIL
1977 - 1978

- *T. K. WHITAKER, M.SC. (ECON.), D.ECON.SC., LL.D., *President of the Institute.*
- *J. F. MEENAN, M.A., B.L., *Chairman of the Council.*
R. D. C. BLACK, PH.D., *Professor, Department of Economics, The Queen's University, Belfast.*
F. B. CHUBB, M.A., D.PHIL., *Professor, Department of Political Science, Trinity College, Dublin.*
N. J. GIBSON, B.SC. (ECON.), PH.D., *Professor, Department of Economics, The New University of Ulster, Coleraine.*
PATRICK A. HALL, B.E., M.S., DIP. STAT., *Director of Research, Institute of Public Administration.*
- *W. A. HONOHAN, M.A., F.I.A.
THE MOST REV. JAMES KAVANAGH, M.A., S.T.L., *Bishop of Zerta.*
- *KIERAN A. KENNEDY, M.ECON.SC., B.PHIL., PH.D., *Director of the Institute.*
IVOR KENNY, M.A., *Director General, Irish Management Institute.*
MICHAEL J. KILLEEN, B.A. (MOD.), B.COMM., D.P.A., *Managing Director, Industrial Development Authority.*
T. P. LINEHAN, B.E., B.SC., *Director, Central Statistics Office.*
- *P. LYNCH, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Professor of Political Economy, University College, Dublin.*
CHARLES MCCARTHY, B.L., *Chairman, Human Sciences Committee.*
EUGENE MCCARTHY, M.SC. (ECON.), D.ECON.SC., *Federated Union of Employers.*
- *M. D. MCCARTHY, M.A., PH.D., D.SC.
G. A. MEAGHER, B.COMM., D.P.A., *Secretary, Department of the Environment.*
- *C. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *Governor, Central Bank.*
J. C. NAGLE, M.COMM.
D. NEVIN, *Assistant General Secretary, Irish Congress of Trade Unions.*
THE MOST REV. J. NEWMAN, M.A., D.PH., *Bishop of Limerick.*
TADHG O CEARBHAILL, *Secretary, Department of Labour.*
REV. E. F. O'DOHERTY, M.A., B.D., PH.D., *Professor, Department of Logic and Psychology, University College, Dublin.*
D. P. O'MAHONY, M.A., PH.D., B.L., *Professor, Department of Economics, University College, Cork.*
LABHRAS O NUALLAIN, D.ECON.SC., *Professor of Economics, University College, Galway.*
- *W. J. L. RYAN, M.A., PH.D., *Professor of Political Economy, Trinity College, Dublin.*
REV. L. RYAN, M.A., D.D., L.PH., *Professor, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.*
T. WALSH, D.SC., *Director, An Foras Taluntais.*
- *REV. C. K. WARD, B.A., S.T.L., PH.D., *Professor, Department of Social Science, University College, Dublin.*
- *NOEL WHELAN, B. COMM., M.ECON.SC., PH.D., *Secretary, Department of Economic Planning and Development.*

*Members of Executive Committee.

THE WORKING AND LIVING
CONDITIONS OF
CIVIL SERVICE TYPISTS

*Copies of this paper may be obtained from The Economic and Social Research Institute
(Limited Company No. 18269) Registered Office: 4 Burlington Road, Dublin 4*

Price £3.50

(Special rate for students £1.75)

Nóirín O'Broin is a Research Officer and Gillian Farren is a Research Assistant with The Economic and Social Research Institute. The Paper has been accepted for publication by the Institute which is not responsible for either the content or the views expressed therein.

*THE WORKING AND LIVING
CONDITIONS OF
CIVIL SERVICE TYPISTS*

NÓIRÍN O'BROIN and GILLIAN FARREN

© THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
DUBLIN, 1978

ISBN 0 7070 0015 7

Acknowledgements

The authors are indebted to a large number of people for practical assistance in bringing this report to fruition. Among them are the typists, Superintendents and Supervisors who participated in the survey that lies at the base of the report, especially those in the Departmental typing sections in which the authors worked or visited. Other Civil Servants helped with information, views and suggestions, and organised the sessions at which questionnaires were completed. The members of the liaison committee described in Chapter 1 reviewed the work as it progressed and drew generously on their experience to help it on its way.

Outside the area of the public service there were some individuals whose contributions were of a special character: the work of Professor A. S. Tannenbaum, Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, on "Hierarchy in Organisations" introduced the authors to several questions that were found appropriate to the questionnaires; the sustained interest of Professor E. F. O'Doherty and Mrs. E. McCarthy of the Department of Psychology, University College, Dublin, in the project was most encouraging, and Professor R. van der Vegt of the University of Nijmegen helped to clarify research issues and priorities.

From their colleagues of all grades, past and present, of The Economic and Social Research Institute, the authors received whatever help they sought, and this without stint in what has become traditional in an Institute still in its early years.

To one and all we are profoundly grateful.

CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>		<i>Page</i>
	<i>General Summary</i>	13
1	Introduction	19
2	Some Facts about Civil Service Typists	25
3	The Civil Service Typists at Work	35
4	Attitudes to Supervision	47
5	Criticisms of the Office Environment	51
6	Location of the Job and Maintenance of the Link with Home	57
7	Living Conditions of Typists Away from Home	69
8	Advantages and Disadvantages of Civil Service Employment	89
9	Typists' Perception of the Public View of the Service	103
10	The Typists' Own View of the Service	109
11	Superintendents and Supervisors	117
12	Some General Reflections	125
	<i>Statistical Appendix</i>	139
	<i>References</i>	164

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table</i>		<i>Page</i>
1	Backgrounds of Executive Officers and Clerical Assistants (Typists)	26
2	Percentage of Applicants who passed Typing Tests and Shorthand and Typing Tests in the years 1938, 1950, 1960 and 1970	28
3	Percentage of Applicants who Passed Typing Tests and Shorthand and Typing Tests in the years 1966—1970	28
4	Some Evidence that Girls Successful in Shorthand Tests were better Typists	29
5	Some Evidence that Girls Successful in Shorthand Tests were better at Typing from Corrected Manuscripts	30
6	Average Marks of Shorthand Typists and Copy Typist Entrants, and a Statistical Indication of their Reliability	31
7	Comparison of the Average Marks Obtained by Shorthand Typist Entrants with those of the Shorthand Typists who were Offered Jobs but did not Take them	32
8	Comparison of the Average Marks Obtained by Copy Typist Entrants with those of Copy Typists who were Offered Jobs but did not Take them	32
9	Some Recruitment Statistics Relating to Shorthand Typists and Copy Typists who Passed Examinations Set by the Civil Service Commission	33
10	Subjects in which Applicants for Shorthand Typist and Copy Typist Positions were examined in 1938, 1950, 1960 and 1970	34
11	Distribution of Typists According to the Number of Persons in their Work Rooms	35
12	'If you were Starting your Career again, Would you Choose Typing as an Occupation?'	44

<i>Table</i>		<i>Page</i>
13	Types of Accommodation Occupied by 704 Away-from-Home Typists, 1972	70
14	Weekly Outlay on Accommodation of Typists and other Earners Classified by Household Tenure	76
15	Cost per Room Occupied by Typist and other Households Classified by Tenure	77
16	Cost per Room to Individual Typists and other Earners Classified by Household Tenure	77
17	Rents Paid by Typists and Corporation Tenants, Classified by Number of Rooms Occupied	78
18	Weekly Payments by Individual Typists and by Households of Typists for Different Types of Accommodation	80
19	Rents Paid by Individual Typists and Groups of Typists, Classified by Size of Household	80
20	Weekly Outlay on Main Meals by Typists of Different Age Groups	81
21	Effect of Cost of Living Outside Hostels on Salaries of Older Typists	83
22	Comparison of what was Left in Pay Packets of 18-Year Old and Older Typists after Deduction of Income Tax and Basic Living Expenses	84
23	Specific Complaints about Accommodation	85
24	Other Accommodation Deficiencies	86
25	Limitations on Personal Freedom within Accommodation	87
26	Main Advantages of Civil Service Employment	89
27	Main Advantages of Civil Service Employment According to Younger and Older Typists	90
28	Areas in which Change was most frequently Desired	92

<i>Table</i>		<i>Page</i>
29	Younger and Older Typists' Views on Areas Requiring Change	92
30	Areas most Requiring Change According to Typists who were most, and Typists who were least, favourably Disposed to the Civil Service	93
31	A Comparision of the Percentage of Clerical Assistants (Typing) and of other Clerical Assistants who were Promoted in the Years 1966–1972, all of whom were below the Barrier Point on their Common Pay Scale	95
32	A Comparison of Promotion Rates among Copy Typists, Shorthand Typists and other Clerical Assistants below the Barrier Point on their Common Pay Scale	95
33	A Comparison of Rates of Promotion at Different Levels	96
34	Attitude to Pay of Shorthand, Audio and Copy Typists of Varying Age.	98
35	A Comparison of Dates of Wage-Round Agreements involving Civil Service Typists and Wage-Rounds Agreements in General, 1959–1971	99
36	Typists' Perceptions of Country and Dublin Reactions to the Civil Service.	107
37	Effect of Date of Recruitment and Typist Classification on Willingness to Recommend Civil Service Employment	112
38	Relationship between Counties of Origin Classified According to Personal Income, Numbers of Typists from these Counties Employed in the Civil Service in Dublin, and their Willingness to Recommend Civil Service Employment.	113
39	Relationship between Climates of Opinion Regarding the Civil Service and Willingness to Recommend Civil Service Employment.	116

APPENDIX TABLES

<i>Table</i>	<i>Page</i>
A.1	Types of Work Done by Copy, Shorthand, and Audio Typists. 139
A.2	Typists' Age Distribution. 140
A.3	Percentages of Copy, Shorthand and Audio Typists in Typing Sections and Other Work Situations. 140
A.4	Work Situation Distribution. 141
A.5	Liking for Work and the Opportunities the Job Provides for Interesting Work. 141
A.6	Liking for Work and Perception of the Job as being as Interesting as that of Friends not in the Civil Service. 142
A.7	Liking for Work and Satisfaction with Work Compared with Satisfaction with Activities Outside Work. 142
A.8	The Extent to which Typists Can Do Interesting Work, Use their Skills, Express Themselves, Learn, etc., <i>and</i> the Extent to which they would Like to do these Things. 143
A.9	The Extent to which Typists Think about Work Problems after Hours. 144
A.10	Typists who Work with Men only, Women only, with Men and Women, or on their Own, <i>and</i> their Preference for Working with Men only, Women only, or in Mixed Groups. 144
A.11	Typists who Work with Men only, Women only, in Mixed Groups, or in Rooms on their Own, and the Opportunities their Jobs Provide for Interesting Work 145
A.12	The Ages of Typists and the Extent to which they can Do Interesting Work 145
A.13	Size of Section, Type of Work Situation, and Extent of Opportunities for Interesting Work 146

<i>Table</i>		<i>Page</i>
A.14	Type of Work Situation, Age, and Extent of Opportunities for Interesting Work	147
A.15	Categories of Typists, Whether or not they Typed Only or Did Clerical Work as well, and the Extent to which they could Do Interesting Work	147
A.16	Categories of Typists, Whether or not they Worked in a Typing Section or elsewhere, and the Extent to which they could Do Interesting Work	148
A.17	Reactions to Supervision by Superintendents, Supervisors, other Women, or Men	148
A.18	Reaction to Supervision of the Under or Over Thirties	149
A.19	Work Situation, Age Category, and the Extent to which Supervision was Considered Appropriate	149
A.20	Extent of Opportunities for Interesting Work and Reaction to Supervision	150
A.21	Nature and Extent of Complaints about the Office Environment.	150
A.22	Size of Section and Extent of Complaints about Certain Aspects of the Office Environment	151
A.23	Size of Section, Work Situation and Volume of Complaints Regarding Telephone Facilities	151
A.24	Frequency of Homesickness among Typists who have Come to Live in Dublin	152
A.25	Age Category and Frequency of Homesickness	152
A.26	Weekend Dancing in Home Areas	153
A.27	Preference for Home Area Dances and Frequency of Dancing there.	153
A.28	Dance Location Preferences of Typists aged 16–19 Years Living in Hostels and those of the Same Age Living in Flats	154

<i>Table</i>	<i>Page</i>
A.29 Typists Engaged to be Married (categorised by whether they Lived at Home or not) and the Places of Origin of their Fiances	154
A.30 Age, Length of Time in Accommodation, and Acceptance of Accommodation as Good Value for Money	155
A.31 Acceptance of Accommodation as Good Value and Advice about Joining the Civil Service	155
A.32 (a) The Quality of Accommodation Inhabited by the 704 Typists who Came to Live in Dublin	156
A.32 (b) Hostels and other Types of Accommodation: Indications by Resident Typists of their Respective Quality	157
A.32 (c) 'Digs' and other Types of Accommodation: Indications by Resident Typists of their Respective Quality	158
A.32 (d) Single Bedsitters and other Types of Accommodation: Indications by Resident Typists of their Respective Quality	159
A.32 (e) Double Bedsitters and other Types of Accommodation: Indications by Resident Typists of their Respective Quality	160
A.32 (f) Flats and other Types of Accommodation: Indications by Resident Typists of their Respective Quality	161
A.33 (a) Zero-Order Correlation Matrix of a Selection of Job Attitude Variables	162
A.33 (b) Numbers of Cases, Means, Standard Deviations, and Scale Ranges Relative to Variables 1–26 listed in Table A.33 (a)	163

General Summary

Following conferences for Superintendents and Supervisors of Civil Service typists convened by the Department of the Public Service, the authors of this report were asked to carry out a survey of facts and attitudes relating to all typists employed in government offices in Dublin. This necessarily involved an acquaintance with their work and working conditions. One of the authors therefore made use of previous experience in industry to work as a typist in a Departmental typing section, while the other visited typing sections in other Departments. The information gained from this participative observation and from interviews was then used to construct two questionnaires. The first of these was specifically about the work the typists did, the size and type of work groups to which they belonged, the officials they typed for, their Supervisors, and their pre-employment training. The same questionnaire contained a number of general questions of the kind usually incorporated in questionnaires addressed to office and industrial workers; these were taken from job satisfaction studies carried out in Ireland and elsewhere and, where necessary, modified. The second questionnaire sought to establish the effect of the location of the typists' work on their lives outside work. Unlike most social surveys which are based on samples, the present study encompassed practically every Civil Service typist working in Dublin in 1972.

The report supplies such basic facts about the typists as their age distribution, counties of origin and the office skills they brought to the Civil Service. It analyses relevant Civil Service Commission examination results. It examines the organisation of the typing work, the girls' attitudes to their work and the connection between these attitudes and personal and organisational factors, including supervision and working conditions. It discusses the effect on the lives of country girls of the concentration of government employment in Dublin, their efforts to maintain close contact with home, the loneliness of life in the city, and their efforts to obtain transfers back home. It deals with the cost and quality of their rented accommodation in Dublin by comparison with the experience of other classes in the community. It goes on to describe the advantages and disadvantages of Civil Service jobs as the girls saw them, their view of the pay scale, the former 'marriage bar' and marriage gratuity, and the chances of getting promotion. The girls gave their view of what would attract other girls with typing qualifications to the Service and describe the reactions of Dublin and country people to Civil Service employment. The report further indicates the girls' own attitudes to

the Service and the degree to which they were willing to recommend it. The views of Superintendents and Supervisors of Typists on their own work and working conditions are also included in the report. Finally, the Civil Service typing services are placed in an historical setting and some general reflections are added on the results of the survey as a whole. In what follows in this summary we touch on a few of these subjects.

I

Most of the typists were under 25 years of age and from the country. The majority of these country girls would have taken up Civil Service work in their home areas had such been available to them on leaving school. Over 40 per cent of them at the time of the survey would still have preferred a job at home. The training most of the girls in the survey had received had prepared them for jobs in which typing was combined with other secretarial or clerical work, but on taking up their posts the majority were assigned to jobs which made no demand on these other secretarial or clerical skills. A finding that should interest organisations employing typists, teachers of shorthand and typing and career guidance advisers, is that those who are successful in shorthand tests may be better typists than those who pass copy typing tests only, not in the matter of speed perhaps but in typing from corrected manuscripts. The Civil Service shorthand test appears to sort out the typists who can do more complicated copying work from those who are competent enough at straightforward copying. Typing clearly is not simply typing.

The Civil Service Selection system tries to find satisfactory typists but is not geared to discovering among them the girls who are genuinely interested in a Service career.

On the issue of work satisfaction, the survey indicates that a typist is most satisfied when she works in a room of her own to one or a small number of senior officials or when she is the only typist in a work team and shares an office with other members of that team. Next, in order of satisfaction, is a situation where a typist works in a small typing section. Then comes the typist who works in a room with both typists and non-typists: the new open-plan officescape seeming to encourage an arrangement which is almost as unsatisfying as working in a large typing section, which is the least satisfying of all Civil Service typing situations.

Work satisfaction would be increased if certain changes the girls describe were made. At present, generally speaking, they work with women only; they would prefer to work in mixed company. Those who work with men only have clearly the most interesting, and those with women only the least interesting, work to do. However, working in mixed groups of men and women does not guarantee consistently more interesting work. Most of the typists would prefer a mixture of typing and clerical work, and those who

have a job of that kind say more often than those who type all day that their jobs are interesting. Some typists work for many drafters, some for a few; those in the latter category endure less strain from illegible handwriting, inadequate instructions and pressure for the return of work. The majority of the girls enjoy most doing one kind of typing only, either letters or reports or memos, for example, but would prefer more varied typing work. Some would like to work with their own age group, others would prefer to work with people of different ages. Generally speaking, the more senior in rank the immediate superior is, the happier the typists are. And while there is evidence of an attachment to one's current work group regardless of its size, the smaller groups seem happiest. Many girls have said that they would not consider leaving their groups on any account because of the friendships they had formed in them.

With few exceptions there has been no sign of officials themselves doing their typing, possibly because of a fear that it would take them away from more important things. The potentiality of the typewriter as an instrument of drafting as well as of copying has not been realised. The telephone sits comfortably on an official's desk, but the typewriter, another 19th century creation, has yet to be seen as a natural adjunct to his work. We distinguish of course between rough preliminary drafting and the skilled, finished work which will always remain within the typist's competence. Their different functions in the production of a document set drafters and typists apart, and the separation is increased by the segregation of many typists in typing sections. Dictating machines could also be used to greater profit in the Service: as in the case of the typewriter, it is not a question of *either* using a dictating machine *or* drafting with the pen; the two can be combined to speed up the production process.

It is recognised, of course, that if the drafter began to use the typewriter for his preliminary drafting it would change somewhat the character of the professional typist's job, reducing the demand for her typing services but enabling her other talents to be employed. This would fit in with what the majority of the girls want, namely, a mixture of typing with other secretarial or clerical work. Some of them prefer full-time typing, however, which suggests that individual preferences ought to be taken into account when ensuring that departmental typing requirements are met.

Typists were supervised by Superintendents and Supervisors, but not exclusively so: about half of the total number were in fact supervised by men or other women who had charge of general as distinct from typing sections. Though most of them were supervised by women, the girls showed some preference for supervision by men. It was noticeable, however, that women in charge of general sections were almost as acceptable as supervisors as were men in similar situations. In general, supervision was regarded by the typists as appropriate. The typists were consulted in large measure, but would have liked their opinions and suggestions about work to have been taken more

into account. The generation gap, between those who supervised and the supervised, was most pronounced in the large typing sections, and this may have been partly responsible for such criticism as was levelled at the supervisory process.

From a miscellaneous lot of complaints about features of the office environment the quality of the typewriters and the repair service emerged as the matter which most concerned the typists. The inadequacy of telephone facilities was a particular bone of contention with some of the large groups, consisting mainly of younger girls. From other studies of young women workers it is clear that a high priority for them is the maintenance of contact with people of their own generation, and this may need to be taken into account in designing a work environment.

Promotion was a subject about which the girls, especially those in their mid-twenties or so, expressed themselves rather strongly. The majority saw few outlets and considered the promotion system in any event unfair. The complaints had a basis in fact. The Civil Service Census for the years immediately preceding the study showed that the higher the grade at which a person entered the Service, the better his promotion prospects were. The methods employed in the Service for determining promotion were more attractive for some age groups than they were for others. The youngest favoured examinations, the girls in their twenties preferred the interview system, those older than that believed that the opinion of the immediate superior should figure more in the decision. But all agreed that work efficiency ought to be the prevailing factor.

It would appear that the people they met in the country were enormously well disposed to Civil Service employment. It was the prestige of being a Civil Servant, rather than the grade, that mattered. On the other hand, the girls encountered a positive criticism of the Service and of Civil Servants among their contacts in Dublin. Despite their own criticisms of the Service on various counts, the girls would not change their jobs too easily, valuing as they did their security, the hours of work, the holidays, pay and sick leave arrangements.

II

About one-fifth of the girls suffered relatively severe homesickness on coming to Dublin. These were girls who came to the city on their own and found difficulty in making new friends, unlike others who had unmarried sisters to live with or who came with friends in a species of group migration. Over half of these girls were over 25 years of age, indicating that homesickness can endure for a long time. They missed the social life of the home area and found Dublin life unattractive. They tended to look for a transfer home as soon as they arrived in the Service; more would have done so were transfers not so few and far between. (There were, of course, many girls on the

transfer list who were not homesick.) The effort *all* the country girls made to maintain the link with the home locality involved them in considerable weekend travelling that was both wearing and expensive. A majority of them would have remained in their home areas had the Civil Service Commission offered them a job there; and, years afterwards, nearly half of them would still have opted for a Civil Service job near their homes. The decentralisation required to give satisfaction to these girls would create a problem for older serving officials.

In the matter of the ordinary expense of living in Dublin, the report compares the cost of flats, bedsitters, hostels and 'digs' with the outlay on accommodation of other social groups. For what they paid for accommodation the country typists got less value; it cost them more per room than any group included in the relevant table in Household Budget Inquiry. They did not benefit from any state or local authority provision. Few of them had a room to themselves, and many of them had to share toilet and washing facilities with persons of other households. Although by no means the worst-off group in the community, it would appear that better-off groups than they, fared better in the matter of the cost and quality of accommodation.

At the time of the survey the Dublin hostels, now declining in number, were an important transitional help to girls seeking to establish themselves in the city. It was clear that, while the girls did not feel themselves as much at home in these places as they did later in flats, double bedsitters and 'digs', the hostels filled a real need in bringing girls together as friends with whom they could set out to find more permanent accommodation. There is evidence that companionships formed in the hostels endured. Moreover, in spite of their drawbacks, girls recommended hostels to newcomers to the city.

Flats were the most satisfactory form of shared permanent accommodation, and the majority of the country typists lived in them. They were relatively comfortable, relaxing places to which the girls liked to return after work. They guaranteed a certain privacy, and guests could be invited to stay. They had their drawbacks, however. A third of them were in bad repair and difficult to heat. A fifth were damp, and in a quarter of them the rent was considered excessive. A relatively large number of girls shared bedsitters. Their main problems were the feeling of being cooped up, the high rents and the condition of the rooms, but the girls felt free to come and go as they pleased; were happy with the location of the rooms; and rather enjoyed passing the weekends in them. In another category were the girls who lived alone in single bedsitters. They had the most privacy, but were most cramped for space and paid higher rents without securing better quality accommodation. It was no pleasure for many of the occupants to return to these places after work, and as a form of accommodation were least recommended. 'Digs' had virtually disappeared at the time of the survey but the few who lived in them were obviously well satisfied with them in terms of quality and cost.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The Training Section of the Department of Finance, now of the Public Service, approached The Economic and Social Research Institute, knowing of the study of the reactions of young women workers to a factory incentive scheme (Ni Bhroin, 1969), and obtained its author's consent to undertake a survey of the conditions under which typists and their supervisory staff operated and their reactions to them. By typists was meant all typists – shorthand typists, audio typists and copy typists – and the term is used throughout this report except where a particular category needs to be distinguished. The Training Section then held meetings with Personnel Officers and with Superintendents and Supervisors of Typists¹ from the various Departments, to which the author was invited, to outline the proposals for the survey, to ask for their agreement to its taking place, and for their co-operation with it. The Civil and Public Services Staff Association, which represented the interests of the typists and of the Superintendents and Supervisors, was also consulted at this stage. All agreed to the survey going forward and to being represented on a liaison committee set up for the duration of the project. This committee also included representatives of the Department of Finance's Training Section and General Recruitment Section,

1 Superintendents were full-time or almost full-time supervisors of sections comprising twelve or more typists. A very small number of typists working elsewhere than in typing sections were also answerable to them. Superintendents of the largest typing sections tended to be assisted by senior typists who were designated as Assistant Superintendents or Supervisors of Typists. Some of these helped out with the training of new staff; others with the allocation and checking of work; others supervised small sections. They stood in for the Superintendents when on holiday or sick leave. Some Supervisors in charge of small typing sections worked to Staff or higher Officers who had not themselves worked as typists. These Supervisors were usually found in the branch offices of larger Departments: they typed as well as supervised, as did all the other Supervisors of Typists and Assistant Superintendents. Shortly before the survey took place, Superintendents had been regraded as Staff Officers. Supervisors of Typists and Assistant Superintendents were Clerical Assistants, as were typists in general, and were paid a special weekly allowance. Since Supervisors of Typists and Assistant Superintendents shared a common status and were in some cases indistinguishable in their functions, they are not reported on separately: they were so few in number anyhow that it would have been pointless to do so.

the Civil Service Commission, the Director of The Economic and Social Research Institute, and the two researchers who have written this report. At various stages of the project the committee was convened at the request of the researchers to review progress, to outline plans for the next stage, to seek advice, and to obtain access to relevant information.

Noirin O'Broin's previous experience as a shorthand-typist in industry suggested to her that one way of getting to know something of the conditions under which typists were employed in the Civil Service was to work for some weeks as a copy typist in a typical large Civil Service typing 'pool'.² She was given permission to do so. During the same period Gillian Farren visited, for short periods, other large and medium-sized typing sections. In every case typing staffs were left in no doubt as to who the researchers were and what they were about. When that was done, the researchers went on to interview other Superintendents and Supervisors of Typists, typists working alongside staff in general sections (i.e., where the 'general' work of a department was done), establishment personnel concerned with typing work, and officials who made use of the typing services.

By these means the features that were common to the typing operation throughout the Service became clear. Particular attention was paid to the type of work demanded of the typing sections, its allocation, the manner (face-to-face, telephone or otherwise) by which users of the service maintained contact with the Superintendents and Supervisors, and the equipment (typewriters, duplicators, etc.) used. Inevitably, as a result of their continuous contact with the typing staff the researchers learned about some problems of individual typists which increasingly seemed to be relevant to the study, in particular those which arose for young girls employed away from home. Another matter of which they heard was the re-organisation of certain general service grades in the Civil Service in 1960 and its impact on typists, especially shorthand typists. This was still deeply felt and discussed by those who had experienced it. The introduction of audio-typing equipment into the Service in the 1960s was also vividly remembered, and the issue of audio-typing versus shorthand skills was still being debated.

The researchers also analysed the results of Civil Service Commission examinations in shorthand and typing for the previous five-year period, and for every tenth year back to 1938, and the content of shorthand and typing examination papers set by the Commission in the same period. Published and unpublished research reports relating to work attitudes of civil servants and other office workers in Ireland, Britain, France and the United States were also studied. In addition the researchers made use of about fifty work attitude questionnaires, and surveys of people's attitudes to their living conditions.

² The use of the word 'pool' was disliked by many typists and Superintendents; there was a general preference for the term 'section'; a Department of Finance letter to all Departments in 1970 included a reference to this and a request to use the latter term. A typing section was thus one in which typing work only was done.

This preparation led to a number of drafts of two questionnaires which, in their final form, consisted of 37 pages, 21 of which focused on the typists' work situation, the other 16 on aspects of their lives outside work. Research colleagues of the authors contributed their views on early drafts of these questionnaires. Members of the liaison committee also considered them carefully and advised on the suitability and acceptability of the questions. The Institute's office staff contributed by answering the questions as they appeared in a near-final draft of the questionnaires and by expressing their views about them. The responsibility for the questions which the Civil Service typists were finally asked are the authors', however.

There were approximately 1,300 typists in the Civil Service in 1971, comprising between three and four per cent of all Civil Servants, and approximately thirty per cent of the Clerical Assistant grade. This grade had been formed in 1960 of shorthand typists, typists, and what were formerly writing assistants. Women only were recruited to the grade. Whilst 1,100 or so of the typists worked in Dublin, the remainder worked in country offices.

On the 11th April, 1972, 964 typists filled in the questionnaires. They represented 94 per cent of typists in the Dublin offices of the Civil Service, or 99 per cent of those at work that day who were in a position to take part. Six per cent of the typists were on sick leave or annual leave and were not subsequently included in the survey. Somewhat earlier, the Superintendents and Supervisors had been invited to fill in the questionnaires, and most of them had done so. They were asked at the same time to encourage the typists to do likewise without disclosing the content of specific questions.

The Institute's survey unit then commenced to transfer from each questionnaire to computer cards those answers which could be so treated, while the research workers with the assistance of the unit addressed themselves to classifying the typists' answers to open-ended questions so that they, too, could be computerised. The testing of the classifications resulted in their being modified by the researchers before the coding of the open-ended questions could get underway. This series of operations on the answers of 1,011 respondents (i.e. 964 typists and 47 supervisory staff) to 37 pages of questions took from May 1972 to February 1973. Some preliminary results were available in October 1972 and were issued to the liaison committee for consideration, the researchers meanwhile proceeding to examine a number of cross-tabulations.

Among the 964 typists there were 43 who claimed there was in their work an element of supervision. Since they supervised as well as typed, it was decided to keep them separate from the body of typists and, since they had no official supervisory status and their supervisory duties took up so little of their time, it was decided not to include them with the Supervisors. Not merging them with the typists made little difference, and certainly not a statistically significant difference, to the answers of the 921 typists on whom

the bulk of the report is based. Apart from this paragraph, therefore, the 43 do not figure in the report.

The results of the survey are set out in this Report. Chapter 2 supplies certain facts about the typists, such as their age distribution, their counties of origin and the office skills they had acquired before entering the Service. It also contains an analysis of Civil Service Commission examination results. Chapter 3 describes the organisation of the typing work, highlighting such features of it as the number of drafters³ for whom each girl typed, the number of girls working in typing sections as against the number in other office groupings, the number of girls who typed all day compared with the number who did not, the sizes of work groups to which typists were attached, and the number of copy typists as distinct from the number of shorthand or audio typists. The girls' attitudes to their work and specific aspects of it are also revealed in this chapter as well as the connection between these attitudes and some personal and organisational factors. Chapters 4 and 5 show that the girls' attitudes to supervision and working conditions were also affected by, or were associated with, some of the same factors.

Chapters 6 and 7 deal with the concentration of government employment in Dublin and its effect on the girls' lives, particularly on those who in order to enter the Service had to leave their homes in other parts of Ireland. Chapter 6 describes their efforts to maintain close contact with home, the loneliness of life in the city, and transfers to government offices in the country. Chapter 7 reports on the cost and quality of accommodation rented by typists in Dublin and relates it to what is available to other classes of the community.

Chapter 8 deals with the advantages and disadvantages of Civil Service jobs as the girls saw them: that is to say, with their view of their pay scale, the former 'marriage bar' and marriage gratuity, and their chances of getting promotion. Chapter 9 gives the typists' view of what would attract girls with typing qualifications to the Civil Service, and names the organisations which, in their opinion, provided the most attractive office jobs at the time. This chapter also describes the reactions of people in Dublin and the country to the Service.

Chapter 10 describes the typists' own attitude to the Service, and the degree to which they, as a group, were willing to recommend it. It also shows the influence of public reactions on the girls' willingness to recommend the Service. Chapter 11 sets out the views of Superintendents and Supervisors on their work and working conditions and compares them with those of the

³ While those who typed were known as typists, there was no general name for those who provided them with work. In this report these are described as drafters. The fact that we could refer to those who typed as typists, but could not agree on the general name for those we now call drafters may have been a reason why attention has hitherto been focused on the attitudes, behaviour, and productivity of typists and not on those of the drafters as they affect the work of the typists.

typists. The final chapter puts the Civil Service typing services in an historical setting and makes some reflections on the survey as a whole.

The report, in the main, is based on the typists' answers to the questionnaires, which questionnaires, if required, are obtainable in stencilled form from The Economic and Social Research Institute. Behind this report lie a large quantity of percentage distributions, cross-tabulations, and correlational analyses. To facilitate a wider readership of the report, tables of statistics have been omitted from the text wherever possible but readers interested in such things will find a number of relevant tables in an appendix. All the findings have been tested statistically and have been found to be significant in the technical meaning of that term, except where the contrary is stated. Anyone interested in seeing a particular cross-tabulation or correlational analysis not included in the volume should apply to the Institute which, in return for a small charge, will supply a copy.

The results of the study are, of course, immediately relevant to the Civil Service, the Civil Service typists and the Civil and Public Services Clerical Association which represent them, and to Superintendents and Supervisors of Typists and those who represent them. They may also be of interest to other organisations and typists.

Chapter 2

Some Facts About Civil Service Typists

Of the three categories of typist in the Civil Service (copy typists, shorthand typists and audio typists), the first were the most numerous, accounting for 58 per cent of the typists in the Dublin offices. Shorthand typists were the next largest category: they amounted to 26 per cent. Audio typists were the least common, only 14 per cent of typists being engaged on audio typing duties. The remaining two per cent were mostly performing clerical duties of a non-typing kind. Ninety seven per cent of the shorthand typists and 78 per cent of audio typists copy-typed in the course of their work. Thirty eight per cent of copy typists, 29 per cent of the shorthand typists, but only 10 per cent of audio typists, did clerical work.

Eighty eight per cent of the 921 typists who are the subject of this report were unmarried; most of the other typists were engaged to be married. Fifty four per cent of the total were under 22 years of age; 79 per cent were under 26; 86 per cent were under 30. The scarcity of women over 30 was the result of two Civil Service regulations. One of these, revoked in 1973, required women to resign on marriage, and was commonly known as 'the marriage bar'; the other confined entry to women under 25.

Every county in the Republic of Ireland was represented among the typists, one-third of whom came from Connaught, a third from Munster, and the remainder from Leinster and Ulster combined. The largest number (162) from any one county hailed from Dublin; Mayo, with 130, came next; and four other counties – Clare, Galway, Kerry and Tipperary – contributed from 65 to 72 each. Although most Civil Service typing posts were in Dublin, 82 per cent of them were held by girls from other counties – four per cent of these by girls commuting from counties bordering on Dublin.

Seventy eight per cent of the typists were the first in their families to join the Civil Service. Thirty two per cent of those who had been reared in Dublin or counties bordering on it had a parent, brother or sister in the Service before they entered, but only 17 per cent of those from other parts of Ireland.

The following table (Table 1) compares the backgrounds of the typists with those of Executive Officers who took part in another survey in the early 'seventies (McGowan, Franklin, Fine and Moore, 1974). It shows

that 77 per cent of the Executive Officers came from cities and towns compared with only 32 per cent of the typists. Fifty per cent of the Executive Officers as against only 17 per cent of the typists were Dubliners. Sixty seven per cent of the typists were reared in villages or on farms, or came from non-farming families living in the country.

Dubliners were not as scarce among older typists as the figure of 17 per cent in Table 1 suggests. They made up 29 per cent of those who were over 25 years of age, as against only 15 per cent of younger girls.

Table 1: *Backgrounds of executive officers and clerical assistants (typists)*

<i>Place of origin</i>	<i>Executive Officers</i>	<i>Typists</i>
	<i>(No. in survey = 127)</i>	<i>(No. in survey = 921)</i>
	%	%
Dublin	50	17*
Provincial city (Cork, Limerick, Waterford or Galway)	6	2
A town	21	13
A village or open country	22	67
Other	1	0
	100	99

*There is a one per cent discrepancy between this figure and the reference in the text to 162 of the typists (i.e., 18 per cent of them) being from Dublin. The discrepancy is the result of the girls' answers to two different questions: the one on which this table is based asked 'Were you reared in Dublin, a city (Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Galway), a town, etc.?'; the other question read 'What county do you come from? (Please give the name of the county where your parents were living when you were going to school)'. Five more girls answered that question than the other one, indicating that their pre-school years had been spent in another setting.

Before they entered the Service, all the girls had been taught to type and most of them had studied shorthand. To enter as typists or shorthand typists, they had, at the very least, to achieve the qualifying standard set by the Civil Service Commissioners. The assumption then was that all the girls needed was work experience to make them fully competent. However, from drafters, Superintendents and Supervisors, we formed the opinion that some

of the girls would have benefited from formal post-recruitment training to improve their shorthand and typing and to enable them more readily to adjust to the work to which they were to be assigned.

Before joining the Service, most of the girls had spent from seven months to two years acquiring a number of office skills in addition to shorthand and typing. For instance, most of them had done book-keeping and a substantial minority had been taught how to file, but these were skills that were not required in typing sections, though they might possibly be useful in general sections. Few had learned how to deal with office callers, or how to answer telephone enquiries — skills essential for secretaries, clerk typists in small offices dealing with the public, or typists employed in general sections. Our impression was that the secretarial and commercial courses attended by the typists were designed to train clerk typists for a mixture of relatively simple typing and figure work, jobs to be found behind the scenes in medium or large-sized commercial offices. The girls in this survey who later worked in typing sections could have done with more training in the copying of hand-written material. A link was obviously missing between what was taught in school and what was later required in work. The researchers' visits to the typing sections of a number of Departments showed them not only how these Departments varied in what they required of their typists, but the astonishing variety of work that came to typing sections within these Departments. It took time for newcomers to cope correctly and quickly with jargon, styles of handwriting, layouts, sizes and shapes of paper, time pressures, etc., which were not part of their school training.

The training of typists in the country differed in a number of ways from that provided by the Dublin schools. These provided more opportunities for acquiring some secretarial skills (e.g., the answering of telephone enquiries and dealing with office callers); and electric typewriters were more in evidence. Commercial courses in the country put more emphasis on learning to type stencils, on instruction in book-keeping, and on the transcription of shorthand notes. The girls who entered the service from these courses had, more often than the Dublin girls, been in classes where all or most of their classmates learned typing. More of the Dublin typists had learned typing in evening classes.

Recognising that output is closely related to the standards already achieved and the point of admission to the Service, we analysed the results published by the Civil Service Commission of open competitions for copy typing, and shorthand and typing, posts, and compared the percentage of passes in selected years.⁴ The next two tables are based on these analyses, the first (Table 2) giving the required information for the years 1938, 1950, 1960 and 1970, and the second (Table 3) for each year between 1966 and 1970.

⁴ To establish a long-term pattern we selected every tenth year, from 1970. The year 1938 was chosen instead of 1940 which was a war year as was 1939.

Table 2: *Percentage of applicants who passed typing tests and shorthand and typing tests in the years 1938, 1950, 1960 and 1970.*

<i>Year of Analysis</i>	<i>Typing tests</i>		<i>Shorthand and typing tests</i>	
	<i>No. of applicants taking tests</i>	<i>Percentage of applicants passing tests</i>	<i>No. of applicants taking tests</i>	<i>Percentage of applicants passing tests</i>
1938	123	88	74	41
1950	125	77	32	19
1960	382	68	66	62
1970*	1,926	27	1,031	9

*Four competitions were held for copy typists and three for shorthand typists in 1970. and the percentage figures given here cover all these tests. In 1938 there were two competitions, one in March for copy typists only, for which we have no data, and the other in the autumn for shorthand typists and copy typists, which is the one on which we rely in this table.

Table 3: *Percentage of applicants who passed typing tests and shorthand and typing tests in the years 1966-1970.*

<i>Year of analysis</i>	<i>Typing tests</i>		<i>Shorthand and typing tests</i>	
	<i>No. of applicants taking tests</i>	<i>Percentage of applicants passing tests</i>	<i>No. of applicants taking tests</i>	<i>Percentage of applicants passing tests</i>
1966	916	40	554	26
1967	669	39	445	27
1968	732	46	495	14
1969*	312	15	208	10
1970**	1,926	27	1,031	9

*In 1969 the examination was held in August and not in July which was the usual time for it. It drew less than half the number of candidates that had come forward in each of the two preceding years. The results for that year can possibly be disregarded.

**See footnote to Table 2 regarding the number of examinations held in that year.

Table 2 shows a decline over the selected years in typing standards, but the picture in regard to shorthand standards is less clear on account of the relatively low pass rate recorded for 1950 and the relatively high rate for 1960. However, in Table 3 there is evidence of a decline in shorthand and typing standards, since none of the pass rates in the years 1966–1970 comes near the figures for 1938 and 1960 in Table 2. The copy-typing results for the years between 1966 and 1970 were also poorer than those for 1938, 1950 and 1960.

We are, of course, assuming that the Civil Service Commission did not lower its standards in 1970 and the immediately preceding years, but whether it did or not we do not know. If it did lower its standards, it would have been an understandable reaction to a difficult recruitment situation; and the lower rates of passing in those years would have been even more remarkable.

Tables 2 and 3 also show that the pass rates in the combined tests of shorthand and typing were consistently below those in typing only, suggesting that girls successful in the shorthand examinations were better typists. This is confirmed by the following table (Table 4), based on the published results of typing examinations in each year from 1967 to 1970 inclusive.

Table 4: *Some evidence that girls successful in shorthand tests were better typists.*

<i>Year of analysis</i>	<i>No. of girls successful in shorthand test</i>	<i>Percentage of girls successful in shorthand test who achieved high marks* in typing test</i>	<i>No. of girls unsuccessful in, or who did not do the shorthand test</i>	<i>Percentage of girls unsuccessful in shorthand test or who did not do shorthand test, who achieved high marks in typing test</i>
1967	121	22 ^a	142	9 ^a
1968	70	26 ^b	263	10 ^b
1969**	20	0	26	0
1970	96	22 ^c	432	10 ^c

*We defined as high marks those which were half-way or more than half-way between the pass mark and full marks.

**See the first footnote to Table 3 regarding this year's examination.

^a_p = .01. ^b_p < .01. ^c_p < .01.

The superiority of the girls who passed the shorthand examination over the other applicants was particularly noticeable in that part of the typing test in which an applicant was required to type correctly and quickly from a

manuscript which contained a number of corrections, as can be seen in the next table (Table 5).

Table 5: *Some evidence that girls successful in shorthand tests were better at typing from corrected manuscripts.*

<i>Year of analysis</i>	<i>No. of girls successful in shorthand test</i>	<i>Percentage of girls successful in shorthand test who received high marks* in a corrected manuscript test.</i>	<i>No. of girls unsuccessful in or who did not do shorthand test</i>	<i>Percentage of girls unsuccessful in, or who did not do, shorthand test, who received high marks in the corrected manuscript test</i>
1967	121	39 ^a	142	23 ^a
1968	70	43 ^b	263	22 ^b
1969**	20	5	26	1
1970	96	41 ^c	432	24 ^c

*For a definition of 'high marks', see corresponding note at the bottom of the previous table.

**An untypical year. See the first footnote to Table 3.

^a_p = .01. ^b_p = .001. ^c_p = .01.

We move from an examination of the standards of applicants to an examination of the standards achieved by girls who entered the Service. The next table (Table 6) indicates the average marks that shorthand typist and copy typist entrants obtained at their entrance examinations in 1938, 1950, 1960 and 1970. The contents of the first line of the table, statistically tested, reveal one significant difference, i.e., between the shorthand mark for 1950 and that for 1960, a difference unlikely to have been brought about by chance. The table also shows that the typing marks obtained by shorthand typist entrants improved over the selected years, but statistical testing of the trend disclosed that this, more likely than not, was fortuitous; the only significant difference was between the typing mark for 1938 and that for 1970. It is normal for marks to fluctuate to a certain extent from year to year or to show slight trends one way or the other. We conclude from the evidence that, though the standards of applicants was lower, the shorthand typists who entered the Service in 1960 and 1970 were, on the whole, no worse, and no better, than those who preceded them.

Table 6: Average marks of shorthand typist and copy typist entrants, * and a statistical indication of their reliability.

	Years of analysis							
	1938 (Autumn)		1950 (July)		1960 (July)		1970 (July)	
	Average mark	Standard error ±	Average mark	Standard error ±	Average mark	Standard error ±	Average mark	Standard error ±
Shorthand Typist Entrants								
Shorthand Typing	77.3	3.8	71.7 ^a	3.5	78.6	1.5	83.2 ^a	2.2
	86.6 ^b	2.4	89.0	1.9	90.3	1.8	92.0 ^b	0.6
	N** = 12		N = 6		N = 25		N = 16	
Copy Typists Entrants								
Typing	89.8 ^{cd}	1.2	83.5 ^{ce}	1.4	87.7 ^{ef}	0.7	83.7 ^{df}	0.5
	N = 14		N = 58		N = 145		N = 98	

*i.e., girls who entered the Service.

**N = Number of entrants involved.

^a_p < .01. ^b_p < .05. ^c_p < .01. ^d_p < .01. ^e_p < .01. ^f_p < .01.

The last line of Table 6 shows the marks obtained by copy typist entrants. Some of the differences displayed therein are statistically significant: e.g., the difference between 1938 and 1950, the difference between 1950 and 1960, between 1960 and 1970, and between 1938 and 1970. With the exception of the figure for 1960, there was a gradual deterioration in the marks of entrants over the selected years, in keeping with the downward trend in the typing examination passes we saw in Table 2. The 1960 figure is puzzling. It may have been 'a flash in the pan', or it may indicate that the period around 1960 produced an exceptional crop. Only a year-by-year analysis of the late 1950s and early 1960s would reveal the real position.

The marks obtained by applicants ranged more widely than those of entrants, no doubt for the reason that applicants' marks embraced a whole spectrum of differences in a particular examination or set of examinations, whereas the entrants' marks embraced only one end of the spectrum. It is not possible for spectacular differences to register within the narrower range. The shorthand and typing tests set by the Civil Service Commission sort out the passes from the fails, but they do not discriminate clearly between the

Table 7: *Comparison of the average marks* obtained by shorthand typist entrants with those of shorthand typists who were offered jobs but did not take them.*

	Years of analysis							
	1960				1970			
	Shorthand Average mark	Standard error ±	Typing Average mark	Standard error ±	Shorthand Average mark	Standard error ±	Typing Average mark	Standard error ±
Entrants	78.6 ^a	1.5	90.3	1.8	83.2	2.2	92.0	0.6
Non- Acceptors	87.7 ^a	2.2	94.1	1.2	79.7	1.8	91.5	0.7
No. of Entrants = 25					No. of Entrants = 16			
No. of Non-Acceptors = 16					No. of non-Acceptors = 25			

*The measure of average given in this table is the mean.

* ^a $p < .01$.

good and the excellent. This is perhaps better done by the Superintendents in the work situation.

How did the shorthand typists and copy typists who entered the Service compare in standard with those who chose to go elsewhere? The next table (Table 7) shows that shorthand typists, who in 1960 were offered jobs but did not take them, were superior shorthand writers. The best of what we have already seen as a good crop did not go into the Service. Those who joined in 1970 were not significantly better at shorthand than those who did not, and they were just as good at typing.

Table 8: *Comparison of the average marks* obtained by copy typist entrants with those of copy typists who were offered jobs but did not take them.*

	Years of analysis			
	1960		1970	
	Average mark	Standard error ±	Average mark	Standard error ±
Entrants	87.7	0.7	83.7	0.5
Non-Acceptors	87.8	0.8	83.2	0.6
No. of Entrants = 145			No. of Entrants = 98	
No. of Non-Acceptors = 115			No. of Non-Acceptors = 77	

*The measure of average given in this table is also the mean.

As to the copy typists, Table 8 shows that those who entered the Service in 1960 and in 1970 were the equal of those who did not.

Our next table (Table 9) shows, by comparison with the pre-war year, 1938, the extent to which the Civil Service in the post-war period exhausted, or nearly did so, its lists of examination passes in an effort to fill vacancies. The only year, in our selection of years, in which the Service did not have to consider every successful examination candidate for employment was 1938, despite the fact that not all of the shorthand typists accepted the jobs offered them that year. By contrast every copy typist offered a job took it. All the shorthand typists who passed their examinations in 1950, 1960 and 1970 were considered for employment, as were almost all of the successful copy typists. We do not know whether the Service got all the shorthand or copy typists it required in those years, but the information in the table suggests that it may not always have done so.

Table 9: *Some recruitment statistics relating to shorthand typists and copy typists who passed examinations set by the civil service commission.*

<i>Year of analysis</i>	<i>Recruitment of shorthand typists</i>			<i>Recruitment of copy typists</i>		
	<i>Total no. who passed relevant examinations.</i>	<i>% of those who passed examinations received further consideration.</i>	<i>% of those who passed examinations who were appointed.</i>	<i>Total no. who passed relevant examinations.</i>	<i>% of those who passed examinations received further consideration.*</i>	<i>% of those who passed examinations who were appointed.</i>
1938	30	63	40	108	14	14
1950	6	100	100	96	84	60
1960	41	100	61	260	90	56
1970	41	100	39	214	92	46

*Girls who were successful in the shorthand examination as well as in the typing one, and who were considered for shorthand typist positions, have been excluded from the calculation of the percentages given in this column.

In Tables 2—9 we have been comparing like with like, that is to say, the marks gained in typing and shorthand tests in the English language in earlier and later years. But in all these years candidates were examined in other subjects besides, as we show next (Table 10):—

Whether the reduction in the number of examination subjects within the 1950/70 decades produced better shorthand writers and typists is one that is exercising the Civil Service Commission, since in 1976 a multiple choice

Table 10: *Subjects in which applicants for shorthand typist and copy typist positions were examined in 1938, 1950, 1960 and 1970.*

<i>Year of analysis</i>	<i>Examination subjects</i>
1938	Shorthand in Irish Shorthand in English Typing in Irish Typing in English Irish English Arithmetic 'History and Geography'
1950	Shorthand in Irish Shorthand in English Typing in Irish Typing in English Irish English Grammar and Punctuation in Irish Grammar and Punctuation in English
1960	Shorthand in Irish Shorthand in English Typing in Irish Typing in English
1970	Shorthand in English Typing in Irish Typing in English.

type examination paper was instituted which included tests in arithmetic and spelling and checked on the ability of candidates to read sentences from corrected manuscripts. The thousands of girls who applied that year for shorthand and typing jobs in the Service had to pass on this examination paper before their shorthand and typing was tested.

Chapter 3

The Civil Service Typists at Work

The majority of typists in 1972 were grouped in typing sections, each of which occupied one room or more; other typists worked in a variety of situations – as the only typist in a general section, as one of a number of typists working alongside other Civil Servants, as, for instance, in a Minister's Office, or in rooms on their own. The groups in which typists worked varied in size and, for the purpose of this study, we defined small groups as consisting of twelve persons or less, and large groups as of thirteen persons or more. We obtained the information leading to this definition by asking 'how many people are there in the room where you work?' and providing them with alternative answers as set out in Table 11 below. The girls answered as follows:

Table 11: *Distribution of typists according to the no. of persons in their work rooms.*

<i>Number of people in typists' work room</i>	<i>Percentage distribution of typists according to size of work group</i>
1 only (myself)	6
2 – 6	41
7 – 12	21
13 – 18	16
19+	15
No information	1
	—
	100
	—
Number of Typists involved:	919

As the table shows, 68 per cent of the typists worked in rooms which contained 12 persons or less, 47 per cent in rooms with not more than 6 persons. Thirty one per cent were in rooms with 13 or more. The tendency

to organise typists in relatively small groups may have been due to the dispersal of Departmental sections and the location of a number of them in houses built for a domestic purpose. Nowhere did the researchers come across typing sections of the scale existing in certain giant organisations in Britain.

Most of the turnover in typing sections was caused by policies affecting the deployment of typists. Superintendents were expected to provide general sections with experienced typists to replace girls who left through marriage, promotion, or other cause; and copy and audio typists were obliged, in order to progress beyond the barrier point of the pay scale, to acquire experience of the 'higher' clerical duties of the Clerical Assistant grade. These 'higher' duties were originally lower-level tasks performed by Clerical Officers and were designated 'higher' duties of the Clerical Assistant grade in the 1960 re-organisation of certain general service grades. Since copy and audio typing did not rate as 'higher' clerical work, the girls who had been employed in typing sections on work of that nature had to transfer to general sections in order to learn how to do the 'higher' clerical work. This accounted for the higher proportion of older copy and audio typists in general sections. Originally, the duties of a shorthand typist were also not rated as 'higher' clerical work, but that was not the position in 1972 when the survey was carried out. This explains the greater proportion of older shorthand typists in typing sections than elsewhere; they were able to progress to the top of the Clerical Assistant scale without their work being altered.

The Civil Service had hoped that its copy and audio typists, when they transferred from typing to 'general' sections, would continue to use their typing skills, but in many cases this did not happen, due perhaps to the designation of typing as a lower level duty of their grade. Girls on 'higher' duties in the grade might feel that to type was to do work unsuited to their new status. These girls on 'higher' duties, on being moved to another section, also lost close contact with former colleagues and friends. Their experience of change of work and section contrasted with that of Clerical Assistants on clerical work who were at the same point in their careers. Many of the latter stayed on in their sections to do the 'higher' clerical work required of them; some had not undergone a change of duties, since they were already doing work of a 'higher' clerical character. Most typists on 'higher' clerical duties stayed with their new work and new sections until they were promoted or left the Service on marriage, but some, who continued to hanker after their former work and friends, were allowed to return to their typing sections without financial loss, when they had satisfied their Departments that they could perform the 'higher' duties assigned to them. An example of the continuing influence that typing sections and other work-groups had on people who had left them came out in the survey: the majority of those who had been in other work-groups were still in relatively frequent contact with those they had previously worked with.

Seventy per cent of the typists worked with women only, the bulk of them in typing sections. But only ten per cent of all the typists preferred to be grouped in this way. Twenty per cent of the typists were working in mixed groups, but fifty-seven per cent would have preferred to do so. Forty two per cent preferred to work with people of different ages; 32 per cent with people of the same age as themselves, four per cent with older people, one per cent with younger people; 21 per cent had no preference.

If they had been given an option of staying in their section or of transferring to another, most of the typists would have preferred to stay where they were. What most affected their judgement in this matter was their attachment to, or dislike of, their colleagues. Forty nine per cent of the total indicated this. The work itself, as a reason for attachment or dislike, was mentioned by 36 per cent. Twenty nine per cent liked or disliked their section without specifying why. The supervisors were a factor one way or the other with 10 per cent of the typists. An almost similar percentage displayed either an indifference to, or a welcome for, change.

If they had been presented with the choice of staying in their present Department or transferring to another of their choice, 73 per cent of them would have opted to stay where they were.

Fifty seven per cent of the typists were wholly, or for most of their time, engaged on one kind of work only — typing from drafts, for example. The rest did miscellaneous jobs, taking shorthand, typing from a dictating machine, photo-copying, clerical work, etc. Almost half of the typists did some photo-copying, duplicating, or stencilling. A third did some clerical work. When presented with a choice of spending all their time typing or partly on typing and partly on something else, the majority opted for the latter. Full-time typists (by which is meant girls who typed only) and part-time typists (girls who did clerical work as well as typing) shared this attitude, though the latter were more insistent that that was what they wanted.

In a typing section it was usual for the person in charge to decide the volume of work to be given to any individual typist. The decision as to the size of the allocation was influenced, on the one hand, by the order in which the work came into the section (and the modification of this order by requests marked 'urgent'), and, on the other, by a judgement as to whether the individual typist had the experience required to complete the job within a reasonable time. The need to introduce a bit of variety into the typist's day was catered for to a degree by alternating jobs of work which took a longer or shorter time to complete, or jobs which were complex with jobs that were simple, or other jobs where the handwriting was bad as against handwriting that was legible.

There was a wide variation in the frequency with which typists were allocated work. Thirty six per cent usually received enough work to keep them going for an hour or so, or for less than an hour. Eighteen per cent received work to keep them going for about half a day, and 42 per cent were normally

given work which took them about a day or more to complete. We can assume from these answers that the typists in the Civil Service were operating in a wide variety of situations.

Another indication of the variety of work which typists did came from their answers to a question which listed eleven different kinds and which inquired which one they most enjoyed doing. Typing letters turned out to be the most popular work. Reports came next, followed by memos or minutes, and stencils, in that order. Many typists ticked off more than one kind of work on the list; others added many other kinds they enjoyed doing. From these the researchers created 16 categories in addition to the original 11. Only nine per cent of the typists indicated that they had no preference for one kind of typing task over another.

Work was liked most when it was interesting and varied, and could be typed without difficulty — when it was easy to lay out, easy to follow, and written clearly. The girls deplored receiving drafts that were 'cut to pieces', 'absolutely illegible', and that contained 'bad spelling, writing and grammar'. Lower preferences were expressed for work that challenged the individual's mental ability, for complicated jobs that required concentration and that tested her skill and initiative. The length of time required to do a job was a factor, some preferring work which kept them going for a while, others having a strong liking for short, quick jobs.

An enquiry was made as to whether the typists were spending most of their time on the kind of typing they preferred. Forty three per cent indicated that they were, 57 per cent that they were not. Most of them made it clear, however, that given a choice between spending most of their time on the kind of work they preferred, or spending it on a variety of typing tasks, they would plump for variety.

Work, when typed, could be checked by the typist, her Superintendent or Supervisor (if she worked directly to one), the drafter of the material, or a fellow typist. From the survey it appears that all work was probably checked once,⁵ and some work twice. A third check was rare. Fifty five per cent of the typists thought the drafters did the checking, thirty nine per cent that typists corrected their own work. Sixty five per cent of typists under Superintendents and 68 per cent of those under Supervisors thought that they checked the work of their subordinates. It was unusual for one typist to check the work of another: only six per cent referred to this.

Six per cent of the typists typed for one drafter only, 39 per cent for two up to eight drafters, and 48 per cent typed for nine or more drafters in the normal working week. Those who typed for one drafter only were free as were the drafters themselves from the tension of competition for typing services which was a common experience for other typists and drafters.

5 Department of Finance Circular 1/52 recommended that 'unless the typing is the work of a beginner, checking by a second officer should, as far as possible, be discontinued in typing sections'.

In the operation of the typing service, those who required it out-numbered those who supplied it. The highest officers in the Service usually had one girl typing exclusively for them, almost invariably the most experienced and efficient typist available, who was paid a confidential work allowance while her Clerical Assistant status remained unchanged. Things were different in the British Civil Service: there, typists who worked directly to people at the top were classified as Clerical Officers. They were also recruited differently: their jobs were advertised, and it was stipulated that applicants from inside and outside the Service should have 'O' Level Certificates in English.

Typists assigned to typing sections in the Irish Civil Service were segregated from the drafters. In the larger Departments messengers made regular rounds to collect material from the drafters for the typing sections. When the material was typed the messengers returned it to the drafters. A minority of typists usually received their work direct from drafters but, notwithstanding the segregation of drafters from typists, two-thirds of the typists had met either all or many of the drafters. When asked how they felt about people bringing their drafts to a typing section, one half were in favour: most of the others were neutral rather than opposed to the idea. Typists who worked for nine or more drafters were less enthusiastic about this than their colleagues who worked for fewer than that number.

Many typists who favoured drafters delivering material argued that this practice provided them with additional clues to the drafters' requirements. Here are a few of their comments: 'one reason is that when they [the drafters] deliver it themselves they can explain exactly what they want and this enables you to complete the work much faster'; 'If someone wants to give certain instructions to the typist which may be intricate, he would need to come to the section'; 'They [the typists] need further details on what is to be typed'; 'Any question you may have about the work you can clear up at once'; 'If their writing is bad they can explain it to you and you make sure you can follow it before they leave, avoiding delays afterwards'; 'Any error on the draft can be corrected by the person concerned, instead of the typist running here and there looking for the person that owns it to find out the word'.

Only about half of the typists considered adequate the instructions they received from drafters. On the other hand, only a third of the typists were critical of the standard of handwriting of drafters; those who did the work of nine or more drafters complained more of handwriting than did those who handled the work of between four and eight drafters. Presumably the handwriting of the latter was more familiar.

Some typists who favoured drafters bringing work to the typing sections saw it as an opportunity to meet the people they were working for and many of them thought that this made the work more interesting. 'I like to know the individual for whom I am typing and very seldom I do'; 'I like to be in contact with the people for whom I work — there is a personal touch about

it'; 'It's nice to know the people you are working for instead of working for some name'; 'It gives your work some meaning, otherwise you are anonymous employees'; 'Because then you feel you are not a mere machine'; 'If they did [bring their work to my section] I think I would have much more interest in doing it'; 'It's nice to be able to discuss the work with them'; 'They can help us better than the Supervisor can'; 'It shows that they have an interest, and with a bit of charm would get their work done quicker'.

Some typists found that drafters who brought their work to the typing sections were more appreciative of their work — it certainly gave the drafters the opportunity to express more often their appreciation. Meeting the drafters, some typists thought, could also have beneficial social effects. 'In a big department it helps you to get to know some of the people at least'; 'It gives us the chance to see some different faces and someone to talk to'; 'We can see new faces around the typing section for a change'.

Those who were against drafters bringing their work to a typing section maintained that increased personal communication could make things more difficult for the typist. For one thing it increased the pressure on her to get the work done. One typist put it this way: 'personal contacts are valuable for explaining jobs and also for social reasons, i.e., one feels one is a person, not a machine: however, very often pressure is being brought to bear on the typists'. Other typists knew that the drafters who brought their work rather than sending it by a messenger were jumping the queue: 'they [the drafters] feel their work won't be done if they don't present it themselves'; 'They think if they bring it, it will be done immediately'; 'Because by bringing their work into the room, they expect to get it done more quickly'; 'Because they wait for it or want it in a hurry...you feel you are being harassed and it is from a self-interest motive'; The drafter concerned to improve his promotion prospects might try to do so by securing instant service: 'the typists are pressed into doing these people's work first: as a result they are 'well in' with their boss and acquire promotion rapidly, whereas the person who waits his turn is just left behind'.

Sometimes a drafter was suspected of bringing work to a section in order to check up on how the typists were working: 'they usually only come to the section with typing as an excuse to see what is being done there'; 'An underhand way of finding out if you are wasting time'; 'The day they bring it in I might not have much work to do'. Some argued that the practice of bringing work to a typing section caused distraction; and others thought that the question was irrelevant. Whoever brought the work, they had to do it.

One would have thought that the author of an illegibly written draft would have been the obvious person for the typist to approach for clarification, but segregation inclined her to appeal in the first instance to those working near her. Thus, half the typists consulted their fellow typists first, and one quarter the drafters. About three quarters of those who worked to Superintendents of Supervisors turned to them. Sometimes no one in the

vicinity of a typist could make out a word or phrase: in these circumstances she usually contacted the drafter. The Public Service Department's Training Section was aware of the problems that drafters posed for typists, and devised a booklet to guide drafters on these and related points.

Forty nine per cent of the typists usually received an indication from the drafters that their work was appreciated; this happened less frequently for another 26 per cent; a further 22 per cent described this as a 'very unusual' experience; 3 per cent did not discuss the matter. Most of the typists rated their knowledge of what the drafters worked at as 'a certain amount' or 'hardly anything': only 13 per cent claimed to know 'a great deal' about it. Most typists would like to have known more.

Typists who did the work of nine or more drafters felt themselves under greater pressure than those who typed for between 4-8 drafters. It was they who indicated more often that drafters expected their work to be done immediately and that drafters 'haunted' their sections. Their less frequent contact with drafters made them feel that they were not getting as much information as they needed, and that more cases of bad handwriting were coming their way. More of them would have preferred to type the work of some drafters rather than others, but fewer of them were in this preferred situation. And they knew 'hardly anything' of the pressures under which their drafters were working. They were not as sure as typists who worked for a smaller number of drafters were, that the drafters checked the typed work, nor did they appear to check their own work as often as those typists did who worked for a smaller number of drafters.

In reply to a question as to the extent to which they had opportunities to do interesting work, 39 per cent of the typists said they had 'quite a bit' or 'very much', 58 per cent that they had 'little' or 'none'; 3 per cent did not say. The typists were also asked whether their work was as interesting as those of friends of theirs *not* in the Civil Service; 32 per cent thought that it was.

Another question asked was 'how much satisfaction do you get from your job in the office compared to what you can do after leaving the office?': 42 per cent felt they were getting as much, or more, satisfaction from their jobs as they were from their other activities.

The girls were also asked specifically if they liked the work they were doing, and to this question they responded very much more favourably. Seventy three per cent indicated they liked it 'very much' or 'quite a bit'. In view of their answers to the previous questions, this was a surprise, and the disparity needs to be resolved. When the answers about their liking their work and about the opportunities for interesting work were compared, it became clear that the girls who liked their work were made up equally of those who did 'very much' or 'quite a bit' interesting work and those whose jobs contained little or no interest. It follows that, in this case, other features of the work situation must have compensated to the point that they could

declare a positive liking for their work. There may conceivably be people who prefer routine work to work that is intrinsically interesting, but for the generality of people having interesting work to do will increase their liking for their job: thus 94 per cent of those who had 'quite a bit' or 'very much' interesting work liked it compared with 51 per cent of those who found little or no interest in theirs.

Forty two per cent of those who liked their work thought that their jobs were as interesting as those of their friends who were not in the Service: 56 per cent of them thought that their work was as satisfying as, or more satisfying than, their other activities. Since the question about liking for work failed to discriminate between those who found their work interesting and those who did not, and also failed to discriminate between those who found their jobs just as interesting as those of their friends and others who did not, one conclusion is that the question is not to be wholly relied upon as a measure of the typists' assessment of the interesting content of the work they were doing.

The gap was very wide between the opportunities the typists got, and the extent to which they would have liked to have got, interesting work to do. Equally wide was the gap between the typists' desire to learn new things and to use their own ideas and the opportunities which the jobs afforded them. Their wish to use their own skills, knowledge, and ability was largely blocked by the way their jobs were laid out. Twice as many, or still more than was then the case, would have liked an opportunity to discuss their work and to decide their own pace of work. They clearly felt that there was great scope for improving the quality of their day at the office and for making more use of their abilities. About half of them often found themselves thinking about work problems in their leisure hours.

The typists were asked would they prefer to work with men only, women only, or in groups of men and women. The form of the question allowed for those who had no preference and also provided for a 'don't know' option. Groups where men and women worked together turned out to be the popular choice: 57 per cent of all the typists opted for them though only 19 per cent of all the typists actually were in groups of that kind. As many as 76 per cent of the typists worked with women only, but only 10 per cent preferred that arrangement. Eight per cent thought they would like to work with men only; six per cent were in fact doing so. The six per cent preferred to remain in that type of group, unlike those who worked with women only or in groups of men and women, the majority of whom wanted to work with both sexes. Although groups of men and women were what the girls as a body wanted, the work allocated to typists in such groups was only marginally more interesting than that being given to the typists who worked in all-female groups. On the other hand, the most interesting work for a typist was being done by those who worked with men only.

The girls in their late twenties seemed to find their jobs least interesting:

70 per cent of them indicated they had little or no opportunities in their jobs for interesting work. Somewhat more than one half of most of the other age groups felt the same way, except for the 55–65 year-olds, only 26 per cent of whom said that about their jobs.

In the 45–65 age group those who worked in typing sections found their work just as interesting as those who worked elsewhere. This was also true of the 16–17 age group, but their jobs did not appear to be as interesting as those of the 45–65 age group. The typists from 18–45 years of age had more interesting work to do if they happened to be in sections other than typing sections.

The size of the work group to which the typist belonged had a bearing on whether or not she regarded her work as interesting. Those who worked in groups of not more than six thought their work was 'quite a bit interesting' or 'very interesting' more often than those who worked in larger groups.

The typists who worked in typing sections had less interesting jobs than those who worked elsewhere. However, typists in mixed groups of typists and others found their work not much more interesting than those who worked in typing sections only. The typists who found their jobs most interesting were those who worked in rooms on their own or as the only typist in a general section.

Of the majority of typists who were copy typists, only 40 per cent considered their work quite interesting or very interesting; whilst 44 per cent of shorthand typists said the same. The audio typists had the least interesting jobs: only 32 per cent of them thought their work quite interesting or very interesting.

Shorthand typists and copy typists found their work more interesting when it was combined with other duties. Among a very small number of audio typists who did some clerical work there was a slight tendency to hold the same view. However, all three groups — shorthand, audio and copy — found their work more interesting when they worked in sections other than typing sections.

To find out how committed the typists were to typing as an occupation, we asked them, if they were starting again would they choose it, and we gave them the opportunity of saying which one of a number of alternative answers represented their position. Forty six per cent of them thought they would again choose typing; 31 per cent were not sure that they would do so; and 22 per cent thought it unlikely that they would. Two per cent left the question unanswered. The 46 per cent figure is about the same as that for a sample of white-collar workers in a US study who were asked a similar question, and whose work was equivalently difficult to that of the typists in our survey. Campbell and Converse (1972) show that the American white-collar workers gave a 43 per cent positive response to the question compared with 93 per cent of university professors, 24 per cent of blue-collar workers and 16 per cent of unskilled motor industry workers.

The factors that most affected their commitment to typing were liking for the work, greater satisfaction from it than from outside activities, opportunities to use their skills, knowledge and abilities, the desire to be typing all day rather than mixing typing with other work, and satisfaction with the employing organisation.

Table 12: 'If you were starting your career again, would you choose typing as an occupation?'

<i>Main reason given by respondent (as classified by researchers)</i>	<i>Yes, definitely</i>	<i>Yes, on the whole</i>	<i>Not sure</i>	<i>On the whole, no</i>	<i>Definitely no</i>
	%	%	%	%	%
Typing is satisfying	76	62	2	—	—
Typing is unsatisfying	—	—	20	45	56
No alternative to typing as an occupation	—	1	27	22	18
Typists are in demand	20	29	1	—	—
I sometimes like typing, but I sometimes don't	—	1	19	12	2
I would like a job combining typing with other duties	0	5	11	4	3
I have no opportunity in work to meet people	—	—	4	4	8
Typing is strenuous, nerve-racking; I'm tired at the end of the day	—	—	4	5	6
I had no career guidance before taking up this work	—	—	5	1	1
Promotion prospects are poor	—	—	1	1	5
I prefer typing to other jobs	2	1	1	—	—
Other replies	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>
Percentage Totals	<u>99</u>	<u>101</u>	<u>102</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>100</u>
No. of girls who gave their main reason for their commitment to typing	195	172	188	76	109
No. of girls who indicated their level of commitment to typing as an occupation	217	209	283	79	119
Percentage of girls in each category who did not give a reason for their level of commitment to typing	10%	18%	34%	4%	8%

Other matters making for a commitment to typing included: satisfaction with the condition of the typewriters; opportunities to extend knowledge and experience and to use one's own ideas; the existence of a promotion system that was fair and as good as that enjoyed by friends in outside occupations; the individual's inclination to stay in a section even if offered a transfer to another; the feeling of being able to influence what goes on in their sections; and that regulations are applied reasonably; an inclination to stay in the Service even if the typist could work elsewhere in Dublin; and a favourable rating of the Service in comparison with other organisations.

We have classified in a table (Table 12) the reasons the girls gave for choosing or not choosing typing again if making a fresh start. It is remarkable that those who wanted to get out of typing were the most vocal, while those who were not sure whether they would stay or not had, as a group, much less to say. Those who would repeat the experience of being a typist found typing personally satisfying and pointed to the demand for their skills on the employment market. One half of those who would probably not opt again for typing disliked it; among the others were those who could think of no other alternative, a few who found that their feelings about typing changed periodically, and a few others who had a preference for jobs where they could meet people.

Chapter 4

Attitudes to Supervision

We naturally assumed, and our preliminary contacts confirmed, that most Civil Service typists worked to Superintendents and Supervisors. It came, therefore, as a surprise to learn from the survey that only 51 per cent of the typists did so – that is to say, 25 per cent to Superintendents and 26 per cent to Supervisors. Another 13 per cent were supervised by women who had charge of general sections. The remaining 36 per cent were supervised by men.

In answer to a question as to whether the girls would prefer a man or a woman to supervise them, 44 per cent said they would prefer a man, 12 per cent a woman, 31 per cent had no preference; the balance consisted of 12 per cent who did not know which they preferred and 2 per cent who left the question unanswered.

Sixty one per cent of the girls actually supervised by men considered their supervision appropriate⁶, compared with 43 per cent of those supervised by women. However, most of the women who supervised could not be compared directly with the male supervisors since as Superintendents and Supervisors, they, unlike the men, concentrated exclusively on the supervision of typing work. The women who supervised in general sections, like the men, did not supervise typing, except where it was incidental to the work of the section. Over a hundred typists were responsible to these women, and 57 per cent of them thought their supervision was appropriate which

6 Appropriateness of supervision was measured by reference to the replies to the following question: 'How closely does your immediate superior supervise your work *and* is this the way it ought to be?'

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| (a) This is how it is <i>now</i> : | (b) This is how it <i>ought</i> to be: |
| Very closely | Very closely |
| Closely | Closely |
| Somewhat closely | Somewhat closely |
| Not very closely | Not very closely |
| Not at all closely | Not at all closely |

Where the replies corresponded, that was taken to be an indication that the supervision was deemed appropriate by the individual. Calls by typists for less close or closer supervision were treated as calls for less or more supervision as the case may be.

should be put against the 61 per cent figure for male supervision. The 43 per cent rate of acceptance of female supervision was due principally to the fact that 80 per cent of all the typists who worked under women supervisors were supervised by Superintendents and Supervisors; 40 per cent of these found their supervision appropriate. We conclude that, when the work of the individual supervisor is taken into account, the attitudes towards supervision of typists working to men is not all that different to the attitudes of those working to women. The four per cent difference could have been fortuitous.

Sixty two per cent of the typists who worked with men only, considered their supervision appropriate, compared with 53 per cent of those who worked in groups of men and women, and only 44 per cent of those who worked in all-female groups. Typists who worked directly to higher Civil Servants accepted their supervision as being appropriate more often than those who worked for less senior officers.

Sixty eight per cent of the typists were in communication daily with their Supervisors (the majority of them speaking to their Supervisors three or more times a day) which, of course, was natural with 59 per cent of typists and supervisors working together in the same room. Fifty per cent of the typists felt they were being closely or very closely supervised. Forty eight per cent considered the supervision, whether close or not, appropriate; 30 per cent would have preferred less supervision and 20 per cent would have preferred more. Fifty six per cent of the typists said that their immediate superiors usually showed appreciation of work done.

Fifty five per cent considered the rules laid down for people in their sections either 'reasonable' or 'very reasonable'. Sixty one per cent found their immediate superiors friendly and approachable when they brought *problems* to them, compared with 53 per cent who felt free to take their *complaints* to them. Fifty eight per cent were consulted by their immediate superiors on problems involving their work, but only 35 per cent said that their opinions or suggestions were taken into account. This may mean that the superiors were paying more attention to what *their* superiors were saying. This is a reasonable interpretation of another finding that 58 per cent of the typists felt that their immediate superior's superior had 'quite a bit' or 'a lot' of influence on what went on in the section. Only 15 per cent of the typists felt they had the same amount of influence in their section.

Where typists functioned in isolation from other typists they found supervision more acceptable than if they were grouped with other typists or with a mixture of typists and other officials. Supervision was most readily accepted by typists who worked in rooms on their own: 65 per cent of these considered it appropriate. Fifty eight per cent of those who worked as the only typist in a general section felt the same, against 50 per cent of those who worked with a mixture of typists and other officers. Only 45 per cent of typists in typing sections considered their supervision appropriate, but

this comparatively low figure conceals the effect of size of typing section already referred to: as many as 53 per cent of girls in sections containing 12 or fewer than 12 typists felt their supervision to be appropriate, compared with only 29 per cent of girls in sections which contained 13 or more typists.

The fact that typists functioning in isolation from other typists found supervision more acceptable than if they were grouped with other typists or with a mixture of typists and other officers suggests, confirming a conclusion arrived at in the previous chapter, that to deploy typists singly in work groups may add to their job satisfaction. As a generalisation from the study it would appear that typists react less favourably to being supervised by former typists than by persons without typing experience, probably because a supervisor without typing experience is ill-fitted to comment on the work of a typist. Moreover, the work he gives her is personally interesting to him, whereas what comes through Superintendents and Supervisors is the work of others. And more of those who supervise general sections are higher Civil Servants and, as we have seen, to be supervised by them is more acceptable than supervision by officers of lower rank.

The typists who shared an office with a Superintendent found supervision less acceptable than colleagues who worked in a different room to their Superintendent. On the other hand, the location of typists working to a Supervisor made no difference. What was it about Supervisors of Typists that caused their subordinates to react differently from those who worked to Superintendents? Supervisors and their typist subordinates belonged to a common grade, which was not the case with Superintendents and those who worked to them. They typed as well as supervised, whereas Superintendents rarely, if ever, typed. Supervisors were promoted within their work group, whereas Superintendents were imposed on theirs. Supervisors had charge of smaller typing sections, and were much younger than Superintendents: only 29 per cent of them were 45 years of age or more, compared with 89 per cent of Superintendents.

The attitudes of shorthand typists, dictaphone typists and copy typists to supervision did not differ appreciably one from the other, but acceptance by audio and copy typists of supervision was increased when, in addition to typing, they had some clerical work to do. Giving clerical work to the shorthand typist, however, did not sweeten her attitude to supervision. Nor did the addition of copy typing to the ordinary work of the audio typist make her happier with the way she was supervised. Where audio and shorthand typists had a mixture of clerical work, copy typing and their own audio or shorthand work to do, they complained less about supervision.

Where the condition of typewriters was satisfactory there were fewer complaints about supervision. The typist probably expected the person in charge of her supervision to keep the typewriter in good running order and was disappointed when he or she did not.

Girls from the cities and towns were less critical of supervision than those

who came from villages and farms or were otherwise from the country. The greatest difference was between Dubliners and the girls from the farms: of the former 60 per cent thought their supervision was appropriate, compared with 43 per cent of the latter. The higher rate of acceptance of supervision among Dubliners was probably because fewer of them were under 30 years of age, the age category which was least inclined to consider supervision appropriate. And because fewer Dubliners were below 30 years of age, fewer of them were in typing sections, the places where supervision was least often accepted as appropriate.

The critics of supervision, as we have shown, fell into two categories; those who felt there ought to be more of it, and those, the more numerous, who would have liked less of it. Both categories, especially those who wanted less supervision, found their jobs less interesting than girls who considered their supervision appropriate. The connection between interesting work and acceptance of supervision as appropriate also went the other way: those who found little or nothing to interest them in their work were more inclined to call for less supervision. Those who accepted supervision as being appropriate derived as much pleasure, if not more, from their work as from their activities outside work; and they said so more often than those who criticised supervision. Included among those who found the supervision acceptable there may have been some girls whose lives outside work were not as satisfying as they might have been.

As a final test of whether the typists were happy with their jobs, they were asked would they advise friends or relations to enter the Civil Service. In this regard the acceptance of supervision as being appropriate did not emerge as an important factor. Those who considered their supervision as appropriate were more inclined to advise people to join, but the difference between them and the critics of supervision — a mere five per cent — was not significant. It has been suggested elsewhere (Herzberg, Mausner and Synderman, 1959) that a policy aimed at decreasing dissatisfaction with supervision might succeed in its purpose but would not necessarily result in increased job satisfaction. An analogy from the area of health may help to explain this: good health is the norm and is taken for granted. It is only when illness supervenes that one's health becomes important, but, when health is restored, one quickly forgets all that went before and nothing is added to the satisfaction of life. While supervision that is thought to be inappropriate is accompanied by a feeling of unhappiness, acceptable supervision may be taken for granted.

Chapter 5

Criticisms of the Office Environment

A list of items concerned with the office environment was included in one of the questionnaires in order to give the typists an opportunity to indicate which, if any of them, were a cause of complaint in their office. The list was based on one put to Civil Servants and persons employed in industry in Great Britain by Walker (1961). We added typewriters, telephones and rest room facilities to Walker's list because these had been complained of by typists whom we had met in the preliminary stage of the project. We also substituted specific references to desks, floor covering and paintwork for Walker's 'decoration and furniture', as we felt that replies to that item would be difficult to interpret.

Typewriters, the first item on our list, were most often a cause of complaint. Fifty per cent of the girls indicated this, compared with 36 per cent who referred to canteen problems. In the case of the latter, we found a much higher rate of complaint (49 per cent) among those who did not have a canteen in their workplace than among those who did (21 per cent). Thirty five per cent complained about rest room facilities: lack of a rest room precipitated a significantly higher volume of adverse comment (55 per cent) than from those who had been provided with one (20 per cent). Thirty five per cent of the typists also complained about the ventilation in their offices, and a similar percentage mentioned draughts. Thirty one per cent were critical of telephone facilities and desks, 26 per cent of the heating, and 25 per cent of the dirt, in their places of work. Twenty one per cent were concerned with overcrowding, and about 20 per cent thought paint work and floor covering were not up to standard. A similar percentage said that noise was a problem. The lowest percentage of complaints (14 per cent) was about lighting.

Some complaints were clearly connected with the size of the work group to which the complainants belonged. The volume of complaints from large work groups as already defined, was significantly higher than from small groups with regard to ventilation, over-crowding, telephones and noise, and in that order. The most significant growth in the proportion of complaints occurred among typists who were in groups of seven or more.

Forty seven per cent of typists in large groups complained about ventilation compared to 30 per cent in small groups. Girls working in typing sections were more vocal on the subject, except in the largest workgroups (19 or more):

41 per cent of them complained about ventilation as against 72 per cent of typists in general sections of the same size.

Complaints regarding overcrowding followed a growth pattern with size of workgroup similar to that in the case of ventilation but on a reduced scale. Awareness of overcrowding led more often to complaints about ventilation, rather than the other way round: 51 per cent of those who were concerned about overcrowding complained about ventilation, whereas only 30 per cent of those who were critical of ventilation believed that their workroom was overcrowded.

Forty two per cent of typists working in large groups were concerned about telephone facilities compared with 26 per cent of those working in small groups. The availability of a telephone in the sense that there were fewer using it may have been one of the advantages of belonging to a small group. The ratio of complaints to size of workgroup was similar to the ventilation situation with one important difference: the volume of complaints actually declined among typists in the largest groups, i.e., of 19 or more people. These may have had two telephone points each, whereas the in-between size group (13-18) might have had to be satisfied with one. The girls in typing sections complained most frequently of the lack of telephone facilities; nearly one half of sections consisting of seven or more typists were in this category. They differed outstandingly in this respect from typists employed in most other work situations: this suggests that there is a higher demand for the telephone in groups made up wholly or largely of young women, who may be more concerned with the maintenance of friendships than men might be.

Telephones were available in the sections primarily to facilitate contacts with the drafters, but they also fulfilled social needs. Conflicts tended to arise about the extent to which the telephone was provided for this secondary purpose, and were aggravated by the fact that in the typing section the usually solitary instrument was on the Superintendent's or Supervisor's desk. The use of the 'phone for personal calls was often blamed for the inability of drafters to make contact with the typing section. It could, of course, be that another drafter was on the 'phone at the time; but the suspicion frequently voiced was that a social call had taken precedence. The reaction to this was an attempt to curtail the number and length of social calls but this did not solve the problem; social necessities continued to exist and had to be reckoned with. The 'phone should remain the primary point of contact for drafters, but some attention should be paid to the measurement of the secondary social need and an additional outlet provided for it, not necessarily in the section, which occasionally could also be used by the drafters.

Twenty two per cent of typists attached to groups of seven or more persons complained of noise compared with 11 per cent of those in smaller groups. We expected that this would be the case, and also that there would be more complaints of noise from typists who were grouped together than

from those who worked singly, either in rooms on their own or in general sections where there was only one typist. That expectation also proved to be correct, but only barely so (18 per cent as against 13 per cent); the difference was not statistically significant, and disposes, in relation to the typists in this survey at any rate, of the traditional view of the typewriter as a significant manufacturer of noise. †

In addition to enquiring whether typewriters were a cause of complaint, the typists were asked how satisfied they were with the condition of their machines. Forty seven per cent expressed themselves as satisfied or very satisfied, 36 per cent as dissatisfied or very dissatisfied,⁷ and 16 per cent as neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. The very dissatisfied, dissatisfied and the neither satisfied nor dissatisfied were then asked why they felt as they did. Seventy nine per cent of them availed themselves of the opportunity, and 43 per cent of them had even more to say. We have not distinguished in the following paragraphs between a reason that was given as the only reason, or as a first or second reason. On that account, the numbers of typists quoted as giving a reason, and their related percentages, will, if added up, total more than the number who were eligible to answer the questions.

Two hundred and forty three typists, representing 52 per cent of those who were not 'very satisfied' or 'satisfied', concentrated on the age and condition of their typewriters. Here are some of their comments:

'my typewriter is an old, heavy, noisy model'; 'I get pains in my fingers from typing on an old model'; 'my machine is out of date — it is in my opinion a museum piece and should be replaced by an electric machine as it is impossible to operate and therefore cannot turn out good work'; 'my machine is gone beyond repair and it's hard to find one in good order'; 'as soon as my typewriter is mended, it falls back into the same bad condition'. The poor quality of the typewriters was not always due to their advanced age, judging from the following comments: — 'the new machines are shabby and unreliable'; 'the new machines break easily'; 'the cheapest models are bought which, of course, break down'.

Fifty seven typists (12 per cent of those who were not 'very satisfied' or 'satisfied') wrote about the annoyance and delay caused by specific mechanical faults 'the keys stick together, and the carriage-return does not work properly'; 'the ribbon has to be rolled back by hand'; 'the new machine is very stiff and the letters get jammed when typing at a fast pace, and this causes errors which can be very annoying'; 'it is very old and heavy — there are things wrong with it — I feel exhausted after typing with it all day — it sticks'. Faults relating to margin indicators, line holders, and underlining keys were also mentioned, with expressions of the frustration felt in operating unreliable machines.

7 The disparity between the 36 per cent figure and the 51 per cent referred to earlier in this chapter is due to some typists in the 51 per cent group relaying the experience of others.

A demand for electric typewriters was made by 63 typists (14 per cent of the not 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied'): Thus: 'in this day and age, every office should have electric typewriters'; 'electric typewriters are a very good investment'; 'I think all manual typewriters should be replaced by electric ones to save time and staff'; 'I think we should have electric typewriters because of the volume of work'. Another part of our survey established that 18 per cent of the girls had learned to use electric typewriters before they joined the Civil Service and that 15 per cent — not necessarily the same girls, of course — had been provided with electric typewriters in the Service. There appeared to be a higher ratio of electric typewriters to typists in the state-sponsored organisations, and this, together with generally more modern offices, contributed to their attractiveness as places to work in. The greater cost of electric typewriters raises the question of comparable output, into which we do not enter. As we have seen, some of the typists thought that the change from manual to electric would pay off. In any event less effort was required in using the electric typewriter and this, with the appeal of the more modern typeface, were additional considerations put forward by them in its favour.

Sixty nine typists (15 per cent of the girls who were not 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with their typewriters) were concerned about the lack of regular servicing of machines. Machines received attention only when they were reported as being faulty. Some typists complained of delay when their typewriters needed repair: it was difficult to get hold of a mechanic unless several other typewriters in the same Department were out of action or seriously defective.

Some typists said that cleaning materials were not supplied, and that time was not set aside for cleaning machines. On the other hand, some Superintendents were of the opinion that not all typists had been taught how to maintain their machines, and that that led to breakdowns. They advocated a regular check on the condition of the typewriters, but believed that the Stationery Office, who were having difficulty in recruiting and retaining mechanics because of attractiveness of jobs outside the Service, could do no more than provide an emergency service. The situation has improved since.

We noticed that some Superintendents were more successful than others in obtaining new typewriters when they were required. These worked in Departments where the personnel staff annually budgeted for replacements and ensured that they were provided. Elsewhere Superintendents had to put their requirements in writing when verbal communication proved ineffective. This process appeared to be encouraged departmentally, since it enabled a record to be kept of a stated need and of the response to it. At the time of the survey Departments had first to obtain the sanction of the Department of the Public Service for the purchase of all typewriters, manual and electric, before placing an order with the Stationery Office which was concerned with the selection and purchase of typewriters for the Civil Service as a whole.

The obligation in regard to manual machines was subsequently removed. Electric typewriters still require a Department of the Public Service sanction.

In addition to the list of possible causes of complaint based on Walker, we asked the typists what things in the Civil Service they would most like to see changed. Some of them returned to the discussion of the work environment but raised no new issues, except those of lifts and fire escapes. The first of these could have been raised in the context of buildings of any age; the second was probably inspired by having to work in old Georgian houses which had been converted into Government offices.

In presenting the girls with a list of items deriving from their work environment, any one of which might have stimulated a complaint, and by not giving a similar opportunity for registering the things the girls liked, did we weigh the scales in favour of those disposed to criticise? We may have done so, but not deliberately. The girls' answers to two further questions, 'What things are especially good about the Service?' and 'What things in the Civil Service would you most like to see changed?' lead us to believe that we did not. The first question drew from six per cent of the girls the response that office conditions were 'especially good'. Twelve per cent thought that office conditions were what most needed to be changed. From which it is fair to conclude that the office conditions under which the generality of typists worked was nothing to boast about, nor were they outstandingly bad. The balance was tipped, however, towards the bad rather than the good.

Chapter 6

Location of the Job and Maintenance of the Link with Home

All the typists in the study had obtained their positions through Civil Service competitions advertised in the national press and, to facilitate those who lived outside Dublin, examinations were held at provincial centres as well as in the city. Sometimes whole classes in a school or large numbers from the same classes entered these competitions – this was more common in the country than in Dublin – and the girls in our study more frequently came into the Service in this way rather than through individual motivation. The result for the country girls was a species of group migration, of school friends rather than of families. Success in the examinations enhanced their local reputations: their names were published in provincial newspapers, in the same way as these papers publicised the winners of university scholarships, those who were admitted to training colleges for teachers, or who secured a place in a hospital for nursing training.

From early contacts it was evident that some of the typists would have been happier had their jobs been nearer their homes in the country. But such jobs were scarce at the time of their appointment, and on becoming Civil Servants the only way they could get a job near home was to transfer to a government office or Garda station within reasonable distance of their homes, or by being successful in competitions for county council clerk-typist posts. When these opportunities came along they were snapped up. Some school leavers, successful for both Civil Service and local authority posts, chose the latter. That a Civil Service job in Dublin should have been found wanting puzzled some people who felt that a government job in Dublin must have outweighed any advantage of living in the country. The loss of experienced personnel for the typing sections of the Service through a preference for work at home was probably serious at the time of the survey, though not at all as serious as the losses they incurred through the 1960 Re-organisation.

There was a more human aspect to this unfulfilled preference for work at home. Individuals suffered from loneliness and homesickness which Superintendents, Supervisors and other officials naturally tried to assuage, though it was no part of their formal duties to do so. Observing some such cases, and their effect on typing efficiency, prompted us to incorporate in the survey a questionnaire on living away from home. This sought to ascertain the

attitudes to life in Dublin of girls from the country and, for the purpose of comparison, of native Dubliners; questions were also directed towards ascertaining the frequency of visits home of the country girls, how severely they felt the burden of homesickness, and how many of them were still intent on finding employment at home.

We established in this survey that 454 girls (65 per cent of the 704 girls who had come to Dublin) would have remained in their home areas had the Civil Service Commission offered, on recruitment, the choice of a job there or in Dublin. Two hundred and ninety one of them (41 per cent) would have preferred a Civil Service job at home had they been offered one later. The tendency for first views on the subject of preferred job location to persist was impressive: the attitude of the majority of those who originally would have preferred to work in Dublin, and of those who would have liked to work in their home areas, did not change. There were, of course, exceptions, including some girls who, having first plumped for Dublin, became disillusioned and were in two minds about going home, if offered a job. There were others who, having come to appreciate city life, would have preferred to stay.

Age had a bearing on whether country girls would, at the start of their career, have chosen to work in Dublin or at home. The under 25s as a group would have preferred to work at home: fewer of the over 25s would have so wished. Because of increased employment opportunities outside Dublin, the capital may not have figured so prominently in their view of things as it did formerly. The older girls' response to the question was more likely to be related to the undeveloped state of their areas at the time they left home, and perhaps to their more favourable opinion of the city. In other respects they were different from the younger girls. They were not pervasively homesick and had most of their friends around them and were better off financially.

We calculated that 48 per cent of the girls under 25 years of age were interested in going home at the time of the survey. Twenty nine per cent of the older girls were that way inclined. But, of course, there were relatively few older girls in typing jobs at the time of the survey, due mainly to the 'marriage bar' (the obligation to resign on marriage), transfer to 'higher' non-typing duties, or to promotion. Not only was it the youngest girls who wanted to go home, but the severely homesick of any age. By the severely homesick we mean those who indicated that they were 'most of the time' or 'many times' homesick. These were girls who said that they would not have come to Dublin in the first place, had they a choice of staying at home. It is important to stress, however, that it was not just the severely homesick who would have preferred to work in their home areas. Almost one half of the 'sometimes' homesick would have preferred a job there to one in Dublin. Only a little over a quarter of the 'hardly ever' homesick, and only one in seven who were 'never' homesick would have contemplated favourably an offer of a job near home. Later in this chapter we list the counties with the

highest incidence of homesickness. When the girls from these counties were asked whether they would prefer their jobs to be in their home areas or in Dublin, they answered no differently than girls from other counties.

In government offices in the provinces in 1971 there were 184 positions for typists. On the assumption that the turnover was the same as in Dublin, namely, 13 per cent, we calculate that the occupancy of about 30 jobs changed in 1972. This meant that a considerable majority of the girls who wanted to go home permanently had no chance whatever of doing so.

Only seven of the sixteen government Departments or sub-Departments had authorised posts for clerical assistants (typing) in their country offices in 1971. These Departments and sub-Departments, and the numbers they employed, were as follows: Justice (70); Revenue (46); Lands (Forestry Division & Land Commission) (35); Public Works (17); Labour (10); Posts & Telegraphs (4); Transport & Power (2). The Department of Agriculture & Fisheries employed 16 typists on clerical work outside Dublin. These eight Departments or sub-Departments employing typists in the country recruited them primarily from girls working in their Dublin offices. If no suitable candidates from within the Departments presented themselves, applications received from other Departments were then considered. Since typists entering the Service were randomly allocated by the Civil Service Commission, those assigned to Departments that had no offices outside Dublin stood a less good chance of getting a job nearer home than the others who had been sent to Departments that had offices in the typists' home areas.

Government jobs for typists were only available in a minority of counties. One-third of these were located in the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick and Galway. These four counties, with five others, contained two-thirds of all government typing jobs outside Dublin. But counties other than Dublin which contributed more than 70 per cent of typists from the country to the Civil Service had a considerably smaller share of Civil Service typing jobs within their borders.

Personnel sections within Departments maintained lists of individuals anxious to transfer to jobs in their home areas. In 1972, 175 typists had their names down, and 99 of these made it known to us that they would still accept a transfer if one was offered. Some individuals made their application for transfer the moment they entered the Service or shortly afterwards. Personnel staff, noting this phenomenon, believed that homesickness was the driving force behind most transfer applications. This was largely borne out by the study. Nearly half of the severely homesick were on transfer lists compared with a quarter of the 'sometimes' homesick, one-tenth of the 'hardly ever' homesick and one in twenty of the 'never' homesick. However, the majority of the typists who had applied for transfer were not suffering from the severer forms of homesickness at the time of the survey; this does not necessarily mean that they were not suffering greatly from it at the time they made application.

The transfer system, however, was subject to much criticism, applicants for transfer being more critical of it than those who had not applied and who confessed they did not really know whether the system worked well or not. There was some *belief* in the prevalence of political 'pull'. Some girls complained that their applications had not been acknowledged, others that they were not kept informed as to the progress of their applications, but the main criticism was that there were too few jobs in the country for the numbers looking for them.

The typists were asked to complete the following sentence: "I think more girls would apply for typing jobs in the Civil Service if" The answers they gave are set out in Chapter 9 of this report, but it is relevant to mention here that 116 of them thought that applications would increase 'if the offices were nearer home'; 'if the applicants were convinced they would get a post near their home', if 'they could choose between Dublin and the country', if 'they did not have to spend most of their lives in Dublin'. The girls were asked to indicate what improvement they would most like to see in the Civil Service, and 51 singled out transfers. The disparity between the 116 and the 51 figures suggests the greater relevance of jobs at home for country school leavers than for those whose contacts with the country have been weakened by years away from home.

Three hundred and five girls who expressed dissatisfaction with the transfer system were asked how they would improve it. One hundred and forty three of them replied recommending that the transfers should be administered more systematically, possibly by an *ad hoc* departmental section; that lists should be kept up to date, transfers offered to those longest on the lists, and the individual applicants regularly informed of their chances of getting a transfer. The circumstances of individuals, rather than the needs of Departments, required more consideration, and some girls pressed for more sympathetic treatment — that applicants for transfer should not be made to feel that their cases were hopeless.

We now understand that a circular on the subject of transfers has been issued, placing responsibility on Departmental personnel sections for recording transfer applications by date of application and for keeping the transfer lists up to date, and also emphasising that information regarding their place in the queue can be obtained on enquiry by applicants at any time.

Of course, going home was not the only alternative to working in Dublin. There were many openings outside Ireland, and 269 of all the typists who took part in the survey would, if the choice were theirs, have liked to work abroad. Among those who lived at home — Dubliners and commuters — this idea was most pronounced. The continent of Europe was much more popular than Britain or North America.

Many of the 704 girls who came to live in Dublin had relations there, more of them of their own generation than of their parents. In both gener-

ations the girls had more female than male relatives, and the imbalance in this respect was on the increase. One hundred and sixty girls had unmarried sisters, and 84 had married sisters, living in Dublin. Those with unmarried sisters tended to move in with them, but girls who had other relations in the city rarely did so.

Most of the girls who came to Dublin, whether with friends or not, suffered from homesickness in the weeks and months following their arrival, but those without friends felt it most acutely. Wherever the girls lived — in hostels, flats, or otherwise — they found people on the whole sensitive to their homesick condition and anxious to help them, but the severely homesick girls recorded this less frequently than others. They also, wherever they lived, tended to be most critical of their living accommodation.

Some girls took years to overcome the sense of separation from home: of the 93 girls who were severely homesick, more than half of them were between 20 and 30 years of age and had been in the Service since the age of 18. They were in the area of prolonged depression which in extreme cases might eventuate in hospitalisation; Hitch (1975) provides evidence that mental patients were more likely to be people who had left their home areas. We do not know how many of the severely homesick girls in our study had been hospitalised. Homesickness of the degree of severity we are discussing was virtually unknown, however, after about 30 years of age. However, the longing for home was still felt from time to time by at least half of the country typists up to the age of 45 or so, and by a substantial minority over that age. For some it was apparently not a case of being cured of homesickness but of its lying dormant, waiting to be revived at certain times and in certain circumstances.

One quarter or so of the country typists between 45 and 54 years of age, and about one half of those between 55 and 65 did not tell us whether they were homesick or not, perhaps considering the question irrelevant in their case. It is possible that it had some relevance to the 55–65 age group who, on retirement, would be able for the first time in their lives to choose where to live.

The remoteness of home was felt with particular intensity at weekends by those who had nothing particular to do, nowhere to go, and nobody to spend the time with. Sunday was the worst day of all, and a wet Sunday was something to be dreaded. The silence of the city centre, where they mostly lived, was intensified for them by dissociation from their families on what is a peculiarly family day. This is an experience that goes largely unnoticed by people who live in comfortable homes in the city suburbs with their families and friends about them.

Longing to be at home was pronounced at times of family gatherings or local festivities. Inability to be with a close relative in an illness was a worry; coming back to Dublin after a holiday or weekend was a wrench; seeing off a close relative from Dublin could be painful; or even to think of family or

boy friends. Some of the girls who were severely homesick had developed a loathing for the city. The more homesick they were, the more they disliked it. The unhappiness they felt on leaving home had rubbed off on their new environment.

Absence of friends was twice as much a cause of homesickness as absence of families. Conversely, having most of one's friends in the city made city life as tolerable as if most of the family was there. Those who said that all or some of their friends were in the Civil Service were less homesick than those who had one friend in the Service or none. The severely homesick were particularly distinguished from the least homesick by the location of their current interests; most of their interests still pivoted on the home area, whereas the interests of the least homesick were mainly centred on Dublin. Girls with a rural background — those from farms especially — were less homesick than those from villages, towns or cities, a reason for which might be that the latter had left behind them a larger circle of friends, neighbours and acquaintances. Girls who were 'middle' children in their families were somewhat more homesick than eldest, youngest or 'only' children.

Sixty five of the girls who came to live in Dublin had been to boarding schools, 10 of them in the Dublin area. Boarding school experience might have been expected to mitigate homesickness. Indeed those who had been boarders were somewhat less homesick than the others but the difference between them was not as great as might have been expected. A minority of those who went to boarding school did not suffer from homesickness when they left home later to take up a job, but the majority did. This ties in with the earlier finding that homesickness lasts years rather than weeks or months.

A factor that assuaged homesickness was the practice of entire or near entire shorthand/typing classes taking the Civil Service examination together, and producing the group migration mentioned earlier. It may be that the arrival in Dublin of such groups and the sharing of accommodation by them made it easier for them to accept their lot.

A link is discernible between the incidence of homesickness and the work situation. The severely homesick complained most often of lack of appreciation from the drafters for whom they worked. This might have been due to the system of allocating typists within departments, by which younger girls worked more often in typing than in general sections, and in larger rather than smaller workgroups. Under these conditions they typed for many more drafters than other typists did, and were segregated from those for whom they typed. Those who typed for eight or more drafters in a typical week contained fewer of those who were least homesick or who were never homesick.

The majority of typists, severely homesick or not, got greater satisfaction from their lives outside their place of work than from their jobs. But the minority who enjoyed their work more than their leisure contained twice as many severely homesick girls. To interpret this finding is not easy. It

could be that the severely homesicks' view of their work was coloured by depressing leisure experiences, which made their work relatively more satisfying. Or it could be that more of the severely homesick were allocated work which was intrinsically more satisfying. The former was more likely to be the case.

Distance from home affected the degree of homesickness. Those who felt the separation most hailed from Munster and Ulster. Connacht girls were somewhat less affected. Girls from Leinster homes, especially from those within 50 miles of Dublin city, suffered least of all. The counties with the highest percentages of severe homesickness were as follows:

<i>Ulster:</i>	Donegal and Monaghan	29 per cent
<i>Munster:</i>	Cork, Kerry and Limerick	26 per cent
<i>Leinster:</i>	Laois and Longford	25 per cent
<i>Connacht:</i>	Galway	23 per cent

There was a substantial percentage variation among the counties in each of the provinces, but why the counties listed above should have such high rates of severe homesickness was not because they contained a higher proportion of the younger people in our study. Counties within roughly a hundred miles of Dublin contained a higher proportion of girls under 25.

The girls from Leinster, especially from counties bordering on Dublin, had the advantage of a shorter journey to their homes and lower transport costs, factors that enabled them to go home more frequently. Thirty one per cent of them got home about once a week or fortnight, while only 14 per cent of Connacht and Munster girls and 17 per cent of Ulster girls managed to do so. Eighty per cent of all the country girls went home once a month or less often. A monthly visit was most common among Munster and Connacht girls. Those from Ulster usually fitted in a visit every month or so.

Most of the girls from the provinces depended on public transport to bring them to their homes. Only two per cent had cars, 13 per cent got a lift, and six per cent hitch-hiked. The average cost of public transport was about £3, but 116 girls had to pay £5 or more. Eighty four per cent of the girls from Donegal paid this sort of money for the return journey, as did 50 per cent of the girls from Kerry, 39 per cent of those from Clare and 32 per cent of the girls from Cork. The girls from the Leinster counties paid £2 or less.

The girls who visited their friends and relations in Dublin most frequently were also those who went home most often. Indeed, those whose parental homes were in the city and who visited a great deal in the city also frequently visited in the country. These may have been second generation Dubliners.

An important feature of the visit home was the local dance. The girls, especially the under 25s, much preferred these to the Dublin dances. Those

who went less often to country dances were divided fairly evenly as to whether they preferred them to city ones. The girls under 20 living in hostels appreciated the dances at home more than did girls of the same age living in flats. Those who preferred the home dances said it was because they knew everybody, that the atmosphere was nicer, and that there were plenty of men. Those who preferred the Dublin dances did so because they enjoyed meeting people who were new to them, were impressed by the superior and less crowded halls, and because the men treated them better.

The girls from the country spent a good deal of their holidays at home, in marked contrast to Dubliners and commuters who, for the most part, spent theirs away from home. The country girls doubtless felt obliged, and were expected, to share some of their vacation with their people, which illustrates the restrictive character of the separation from home and family.

As the girls moved up in the age scale towards 30, they spent less of their holidays at home. From 30–45 and from 55–65 they spent half their annual leave there. For some reason — perhaps their parents being dead — the majority of country typists in the 45–55 age group spent little of their leave at home. Interestingly enough, though, the same age group among Dublin typists behaved differently to other city age groups in that the majority of them spent the greater part of their vacations at home.

The amount of holiday time spent by country girls in their home areas was an index of their liking for Dublin as a place to live in. Those who spent *all* their holidays at home in the country liked it least, those who spent *most* of their holidays at home liked it somewhat more. Dublin was liked most by those who spent *half*, or *less than half* their holidays at home.

Holidaying abroad was more common among the older typists as a body. It was also more common among younger Dubliners and commuters than among those of similar age who had come to live in the city. Among those who had been abroad on holiday, as many country girls as Dubliners had visited Britain, but many more Dubliners had been to the Continent. The country girls who had been out of Ireland on holiday were more content with Dublin.

The weekly provincial newspapers were another source of contact with the home area. Some Dublin newsagents stock large quantities of these papers, and on publication days queues of young people can be seen buying them. About 350 of the 704 girls living away from home were regular readers and another 200 or so saw their local papers from time to time. The regular readers contained a higher proportion of severely homesick girls.

The link with home was further maintained through attendance at functions in Dublin organised by county associations, but only one in five of the girls appeared to make use of this form of contact. Those with relations in Dublin, and especially those who lived with relations, attended these functions most often. We noticed, however, from the survey that membership of clubs, societies or other leisure-time organisations in Dublin attracted only

a minority of all the typists, but that a substantial minority of that minority served on committees. Only one-quarter of the girls from the country were members of these leisure-time bodies, compared with about one-half of the Dubliners and commuters, and were in their thirties before they caught up on the Dublin figure. As between older and younger girls living at home — Dubliners and commuters alike — fewer of the older ones belonged to organisations. A higher proportion of all the older girls did not reveal whether they spent any of their leisure time in organisations. Those living away from home were more reticent on this score than those living at home.

The study suggests that the Dublin girls mixed with other Dubliners in their leisure hours. The girls from the country tended to mix with country people. When it came to getting engaged to marry, the Dubliners and commuters on the whole were affianced to Dubliners and Leinstermen. The girls from the country tended to marry men from all the provinces. The dances the girls from the country attended rather than the organisations they joined brought about this result. Their reliance on dances as a way of meeting their future husbands was striking: two-thirds of the girls from the country who were engaged to be married, compared with less than one-third of the Dubliners who were also engaged, met their fiances at a dance. The Dubliners met their fiances in a variety of ways, at dances, at parties, at work, etc. They were more likely than country girls to get engaged to men they had got to know through their work. Very few typists met their fiances in this way, which may have been partly due to segregation in typing sections.

Ten per cent of the girls from the country were engaged to be married as against 11 per cent of the Dubliners and commuters. The majority of engaged country girls met their fiances in Dublin, and were engaged to men who lived in Dublin. This being so, it was likely that they and their husbands would live out their lives in Dublin, providing themselves with an acceptable substitute for the parental home, home area and friends, whose absence lay at the root of a good deal of their earlier unhappiness. We advisably say a substitute, because we recognise that rearing a family without the support of one's native community has its own difficulties.

The Dubliners did not conceal their attachment to their native city: two-thirds of them 'liked it a lot'. Of the remaining third, most of them 'liked it', leaving a handful who were either indifferent or did not like it at all. The girls from the country were decidedly less enthusiastic. Two-thirds of them liked living in Dublin, but not many of these 'liked it a lot'. The remaining third was made up more of girls who were indifferent than of those who positively disliked the place.

The Dubliners liked Dublin most because their homes and families were there — this was the most common answer to the open-ended question 'What do you like most about living in Dublin?' More often than the other girls in the survey, their judgement was affected by the proximity to sea and mountains and to the amenities of the city. On the other hand, those who had

come to Dublin, excluding the homesick, tended to say 'there is great life in it'; 'the social life is good'; 'it's great for shopping'. A recurring note from those who had established themselves in the city expressed the sense of having achieved a measure of freedom: 'I am my own boss'; 'my time is my own'; 'I like the feeling of being independent'.

The Dublin girls had fewer criticisms to make of the city in reply to another open-ended question 'What do you like least about living in Dublin?' Where they did criticise, it was of such things as 'the unclean air'; 'the smell of the Liffey'; 'the crowded streets'; the uncertainty of the buses'; and 'the bus queues'. More than the country girls they complained of transport difficulties. It may be that, unlike the country girls who tended to live near the city centre, the Dubliners lived in the suburbs and experienced greater discomfort in getting to and from their work.

One-third of the country girls also complained of these things. Another third complained about the city's remoteness from their homes in the country, the loneliness of city life, and its impersonal character. The remaining third were largely concerned with the cost of living, especially of accommodation, and the quality of the accommodation they were able to command. The pace of life was a distressing factor for them – more often than for those who always lived in Dublin – but the number who mentioned this matter was relatively small.

The effect of age upon acceptance of life in a city could not be determined without a longitudinal study, but the older the country girls in the survey were, the more congenial they found life in Dublin. Some of the marks of satisfaction were fairly evident. They had now the capacity and the freedom to entertain friends and relations in places that had become their home, and could invite them to spend weekends or holidays there. They themselves could come and go at any hour of the day or night. Their homes were usually furnished to suit their taste. They had privacy. And they were content at weekends when so many others were pining for their homes in the country. They had the homes of friends to visit. They spent more time with people not of their own household unlike the less fortunate girls whose circle of friends was largely limited to those they lived with. They made greater use of the entertainment and cultural facilities that Dublin provides. They went more frequently to the cinema and the theatre, to concerts, operas and art exhibitions. They made more use of libraries and of courses in subjects such as languages and home economics. In other words, they presented a picture of a life style not very different from that of the native Dubliner. They even shared the Dubliners' reluctance to criticise the city. When they did, like the Dubliners, their criticism was of such things as the problem of pollution.

In contrast with people who liked Dublin or liked it a lot, there were the extremely unhappy ones who, when asked what they liked most about living in Dublin, said 'Nothing', or who saw little in it except their jobs or the shops.

They seemed almost unaware of what were to others attractive features of city life. What was most evident to them was the city's poor social life and its 'clannish', 'artificial', 'unfriendly' and 'superior' people. This was the group to which the severely homesick belonged.

A home can, of course, be a home without one's family being in residence, but it is more of a home if they live in it or in its vicinity. If most of one's family are in Dublin this enhances one's appreciation of the city. When the presence of families and friends is added to the other distinguishing notes of contentment, a picture emerges of people who have overcome the depressive effects of separation from their home areas.

We have seen already, criticisms notwithstanding, that two-thirds of the girls who came to live in Dublin liked living there. But was Dublin the place where they were happiest? This was effectively the last question in the survey and was linked to four alternative answers – Dublin, Home Area, Elsewhere in Ireland, Outside Ireland. Three hundred and fifty four of the 704 girls indicated that they were happiest in Dublin, 270 were happiest in their home areas; only 11 indicated that they were happiest elsewhere in Ireland or outside of it. Two girls wrote on their questionnaires that they did not know where they were happiest, and 53 did not answer. Fourteen made it clear that they were equally happy in Dublin and at home. It may be that more girls were incapable of being happy in one place to the exclusion of others. The question perhaps implied that they could not.

Most of the severely homesick were happiest at home, compared with almost half of those who were 'sometimes' homesick and a minority of those who were 'hardly ever' or 'never' homesick. Those who originally wanted to work in their home areas, and still did, felt they were happiest at home.

Preference for a particular dance location was a pointer to where the country girls were happiest. The great majority of those who preferred dances at home were happiest at home, while most of those who preferred the Dublin dances felt happiest in the city. A smaller majority of those who had no preference either way were also happiest living in Dublin, and this was even truer of those who said they rarely, if ever, attended a dance in their home area.

Paradoxically, perhaps, girls whose parental homes were farthest from Dublin declared themselves to be happier there than those whose families lived nearer the city. Those who lived within easier reach of Dublin and visited their homes more frequently were happier at home. They presented themselves as a class of secondary commuter. The frequent – perhaps every weekend – visit home of this group kept the emphasis in their social life on the home areas.

The individuals who leave home to work in the city pay a price the Dubliners and commuters are not asked to pay. They exchange home – and friends sometimes – for a job. The rural community pays a price too. Most of those who leave it, whether they achieve happiness in the city or not, are perman-

ently lost to it. They may return regularly as cherished visitors, but as no more than that.

Chapter 7

Living Conditions of Typists Away from Home

The subject of accommodation kept cropping up during our enquiry, even in the context of questions which did not specifically bear on it. So did the cost of living in Dublin. These two topics between them made up a third of the things most disliked about the city by those who had come to live there. Accommodation hardly features as one of the pleasures of living in the city – hardly anybody referred to it directly in such terms. More than a hundred references were made to the cost of living and to the difficulties of saving money, and nearly all of these were made by the girls from the country.

For the majority of the typists their first days at work were also their first days of living away from home. As they sought to make sense of their employment in an office, they simultaneously confronted life in the large city. Their first problem outside the office was to find somewhere to live. Many of them, as we saw in the last chapter, had relations in Dublin but most of the girls who had did not go to live with them. The exception was those who had unmarried sisters; 62 per cent of these went to live with them. In all, 147 took up residence with relatives.

Table 13 shows the types of accommodation occupied by the typists who had come to live in Dublin. Whatever the reason, the younger generation – the under 25s – had more experience of flat life than their elders, 71 per cent of them as against 59 per cent.

All of the girls in hostels were under twenty-five years of age, as were most of those who shared flats or bedsitters, or who lived in 'digs'. Considerably fewer, but still just over a half, of those who lived alone in bedsitters or who said they were in 'other' forms of accommodation were also under twenty-five years of age.

When the typists, other than those who went to live with relatives, came to Dublin first, they were helped in the search for a place in which to live by relatives and friends, more by those living in Dublin than by those at home. The majority of these girls started in a hostel. It was rare for them to have made contact with their hostels through work associates, personnel sections in their departments, or the Civil Service Commission. Few of them knew anybody in Dublin with whom they could stay, and some were worse off still in not knowing anybody, or hardly anybody, in the city.

Table 13: *Types of accommodation occupied by 704 away-from-home typists, 1972.*

<i>Type of accommodation</i>	<i>Percentage of typists occupying a particular type of accommodation</i>
Flat	52
Bedsitter (Double)	22
Bedsitter (Single)	10
Hostel	9
'Digs'	3
Other*	4
No Information	0
	100

*For example, the homes of relatives, or houses owned by typists.

The 1977 edition of the Golden Pages of the Telephone Directory listed twenty-nine hostels in Dublin, seven of which were for working girls: the remainder were for university students, the elderly, and the homeless among the poor. The Civil Service Commission had its own list of Dublin hostels which it issued as a matter of course to new entrants until the hostels complained that girls were landing on their doorstep without notice. It is now only supplied on request.

The majority of girls in flats or bedsitters found their accommodation not through relations or friends but through newspaper advertisements. The local 'grapevine' was useful for the remainder, but home as a source of information was not important. Newspaper advertisements were a major source of information on accommodation for girls of any age, and their importance increased with the age of the reader. Fifty per cent of the under-twenties relied on advertisements to find their accommodation, and sixty two per cent of those older than that found theirs by the same means. In general, accommodation appeared to be more satisfactory when found through an advertisement than otherwise. But accommodation obtained with the help of friends or relations, or through Departmental personnel sections, turned out to be better value for money. The personnel sections appeared to be the most efficient source of information, though the number of girls who had found accommodation through them was very small.

The girls living in hostels had made fewer enquiries about accommodation than other girls had done about theirs. Even if they had a wider choice of accommodation available to them, the Civil Service Commission gave them little time to explore the opportunities. Letters of appointment directed

them to start work almost at once, for the reason that the Commission desired to save them the expense of a double journey before taking up their appointments. The compulsory medical and oral Irish examinations were held in Dublin at the time of the survey; since then the oral Irish examination has been dropped, and the medicals are done locally. We understand that the girls are now also given more notice of a call up and can get a further extension on request. How the old process affected decisions in the matter of accommodation is clear from an account given by a girl who said: 'I came to Dublin on Wednesday for my medical. I reported to the Civil Service Commission on Thursday and I was told that I was to start work on Friday. During this time I was staying in bed and breakfast accommodation, and had until Monday to find a suitable place to stay. Luckily enough there were vacancies in the second hostel I applied to. I have no relations in Dublin. I had no idea that I would be given such short notice about my appointment'.

The girls' stay in a hostel was expected to be temporary, to be used by them until something more permanent was found. In a hostel they got to know girls whose circumstances were similar to their own, and sooner or later with some of these they went hunting for a flat or a double bedsitter. They then set up a joint household, sharing the rent and living expenses, and the daily chores.

There is evidence that those who did not force the pace in the search for accommodation ended up by being more satisfied with what they eventually found. Thus, those who took three or more weeks to find accommodation described it as 'a place to look forward to after a day's work' more often than those who had had less time to look around. They were also somewhat less critical of the rent they had to pay. However, they had just as many complaints to make on other grounds, which suggests that good quality accommodation is not easy to get or that the girls are not easy to please.

The frequency with which typists changed their addresses came out clearly in the research. The average number of houses lived in was 2.86. The number of moves was related, as one might have expected, to age and length of time in Dublin. Over one half of the under-25s were in their second or third accommodation, while those over that age were more commonly in their fourth, fifth or sixth. Only nine girls over 25 years of age were still where they started. Those living in 'digs' (a small group) did not move as much as the others; perhaps because most of them lived with relations, and were generally content with this arrangement. Those in flats or bedsitters, however, who had moved, declared themselves to be equally, or more, satisfied in their new quarters.

The majority of typists shared their accommodation, usually forming groups of 2.7 or 3 persons to do so. Two was the commonest grouping; next were groups of three and four to five. Groups of four to five appeared to be more successful in getting satisfactory accommodation.

Typists tended to rent two to three room flats, depending upon the size of the group. They were somewhat more 'crowded' in their accommodation than was generally the case in the Dublin area; that is to say, they had, on average, less than one room each, while the average person in Dublin County Borough had a little more than one room. Furthermore, the typists' position in this matter in 1972 was that of the average Dubliner in 1946. Overall reduction in crowding in Dublin since 1946 is documented in the Census of Population, but since our survey is the only one of the living conditions of Civil Service typists we have no way of knowing whether their 1972 position was an improvement, a dis-improvement, or a stabilisation of their 1946 one. We can only say that in 1972 they were 26 years behind the average Dubliner in this regard. We know, too, that the typists were somewhat more 'crowded' in their accommodation than many residents of an area of high concentration of flats and bedsitters (such as Rathmines), and that they were not much better off in this respect than the average citizen living in parts of Dublin that were high on the lists of housing and other problems.

Just over one half of the typists lived in either one or two rooms and suffered most from 'crowding'. Those who shared one room were particularly badly off. The best living conditions — at least as regards rooms per person — were enjoyed by those typists who rented four, five or six room flats. Most of these were up to the average standard for Dublin, and a few surpassed it. However, only 21 per cent of the typists belonged to this category. Hostel residents, who rarely had a room to themselves, should be added to the 80 per cent or so of flatdwellers and bedsitter residents who also had less than a room to a person, to complete the picture of disadvantage.

The 1961 Census showed that less than one-fifth of Dublin County Borough households shared toilet facilities with people not of their households. Our survey shows that typists in rented accommodation were very much worse off in this respect. Almost two-thirds of typists' households in the Census meaning of the term shared toilet facilities, baths and showers, with others not of their households. Typists living in bedsitters were much worse off than those in flats: less than 10 per cent of them had their own bath or shower, compared with 41 per cent of the latter. But girls in flats were just as badly off, however, as the girls in bedsitters in the matter of toilet facilities. A third of all the typists in rented accommodation also shared wash-hand basins with 'outsiders'.

On the other hand, almost all the typists' households had their own cookers, kitchen sinks, and television. Nearly half of them shared their front door bell with others in the house. Though it was rare for them to have a telephone of their own, it was unusual for them to live in a house which did not have one.

The effects of overcrowding and of shared facilities depend to some extent on life-style. If out many evenings and away often at weekends, overcrowding is easier to tolerate than if the girls are tied to their city accommodation. But not all typists fit this stereotype.

In reply to an open-ended question as to why they had taken their present accommodation, 45 per cent of the girls in hostels said they had no alternative to going to live there. 'I took the hostel in desperation — I had nowhere else to go', one of them said. Some girls went to stay in the first hostel they approached; more commonly they contacted more than one hostel before they got a place or before making up their mind in which hostel to stay.

Forty three per cent of the girls gave a 'social' reason for deciding to live in a hostel. There were 'plenty of other girls there' or 'girls of my own age', or 'friends from my home place were living there — we grew up together, but they were a little bit older' — or 'my friend was in a hostel and I liked it from what I saw of her when I went there'. Much more rarely it was a case of 'one of the girls I was working with was staying there'.

One-fifth of hostel residents chose their hostel because of its proximity to work. Hostels provide meals, and a few girls elected to stay in them because of this. They were chosen less often because they enabled girls 'to get to know their way around the city from the other girls living there' or because 'the hostel was a safe place' or 'not too expensive'.

Various reasons were also given for taking a flat or bedsitter or for going into 'digs'. Thirty five per cent of the girls based their choice on location: mainly because it was 'very central'; 'convenient to town'; or 'near work'; more rarely because 'it's in a nice area'. Another twenty seven per cent said that they wanted to move in with more congenial people, with relatives or friends, with people of their own age, or with a landlady or landlord they liked. Sometimes they just moved to escape from people they did not like living with. Sometimes another girl joined the group and this compelled them to look for larger accommodation.

Accommodation was often taken because in it, for example, there was 'plenty of room'; it was 'clean'; 'warm'; 'nicely decorated'; 'it was nice and quiet and appealed to me' or 'it was rather like having a house of one's own'. Some girls now content with their living conditions had not always been so fortunate: 'I was in five flats before this and they were terrible'; 'the heating in my other flat was very poor, and it was poorly decorated'; 'I did not have enough room in my previous flat'. Others spoke of flats they had seen as 'terribly dirty and damp'; still others of flats that 'were poorly furnished and not always clean'. One went so far as to say that 'some flats offered are an insult to human living'.

Fifteen per cent of the girls said that it was the rent that made their present accommodation attractive. Sometimes a group lost members through marriage, going abroad to work or returning to their home areas: 'the other girl left to get married so I had to get cheaper accommodation'. The cost of accommodation was critical for girls living alone, since they had to bear the full cost of rent, heating, light and food. Some who lived alone did so of choice, others because they had to. Another fifteen per cent did not spell out specifically why they had taken their current accommodation. For

them, as they said, 'it's a nice house'; 'I liked my friend's flat, and the one I'm in now is the very same'. Some girls went where they were because it increased their freedom to come and go as they pleased. An example of this was the girl who said 'I was staying in a hostel and I hated the restriction of being in at 11.30 every night'. A few just had to find a place to live: 'it was the second last day of our three weeks' notice to get out of the other flat'; 'before we got a flat we were in a hostel, and we knew we couldn't stay there the rest of our lives'.

To be able to come and go as they pleased, and to invite friends for weekends or holidays, predisposed the girls to look for accommodation in houses where the owner did not live, and was therefore not likely to impinge on their personal freedom and privacy. But though privacy was highly rated, some girls preferred a resident landlord: it was good to have a responsible person around to see that everything was in order, a person to whom they could turn when in trouble. Seventy eight per cent of the typists living in rented accommodation would have preferred to have the landlord living elsewhere, and had mainly achieved this. Twenty two per cent preferred the landlord to be resident, and among these was a majority of the over-thirties. There were more bedsitter tenants (particularly of the kind who lived alone) than flatdwellers among the minority of typists who lived where the landlord lived.

Those who opted for accommodation with a resident landlord felt that, in that situation, their belongings were safer when they were out at work, and that their complaints about repairs were more promptly attended to. Certainly fewer of them complained that their accommodation needed redecorating. The landlord's personal concern for the condition of his own home presumably made a difference.

It was clear from the 74 per cent response to the open-ended question 'What do you value most in a landlord or landlady?' that those most appreciated were the friendly, helpful, generous and understanding ones, and those also who kept out of the tenants' way as much as possible, letting them have complete privacy and not imposing rules regarding the time visitors had to be out, who were honest and showed no favouritism, and who kept their property in good condition, carrying out repairs when needed. Some individual landlords and landladies appeared to measure up to this high standard.

In answer to another open-ended question 'What do you appreciate most in a person/persons with whom you share accommodation?', the girls showed that they also had clear ideas regarding the ideal flatmate. She was expected to be predominantly kind and helpful, good-humoured and sincere, and willing to share household chores. And they looked for these qualities among girls who were very much like themselves: of the same age, who had been to school with them perhaps, came from the same part of the country, and were possibly in the public service. Yet it was interesting to observe

that of all the typists the subject of this enquiry, few lived with girls from their own particular offices or with girls they associated with in outside organisations, clubs or societies; this suggesting that the roots of a decision as to whom to share a flat or bedsitter with lay in the past (that is, before coming to Dublin or within a short period thereafter). It further suggests that the decision to come to Dublin was made because of a link with a group already in the city or with others who were on the way there. Chance meeting played a much smaller part in the formation of the group.

Apart from room-mates and landlord, the girls were, of course, in contact with the other occupants of the house where they lived, and tended to be on Christian-name terms with them. They could rely on 'phone messages being taken for them in their absence, and half of them could turn to people in their house for food if they ran short. When ill or lonely or homesick, just the time when a cheering word was most needed, more than half of them could depend on somebody in the house dropping in for a chat or to help them in some way. About the same number added that, if ill, there would be someone ready and willing to give them a meal. Just under a half of the girls were not so lucky, and among these were the severely homesick.

The average rent paid by a household of between 2.7 and 3.0 girls for accommodation in 1972 was between £8.9 and £9.9 a week. Because of the wording of the question regarding the number of people sharing accommodation, we can only give the average range of rents rather than the average rent. The lower figure (£8.9) represents the average rent paid by a household of 2.7 girls, the higher figure (£9.9) the average rent paid by a household of 3 girls. This was more than twice the rent paid by the average Dublin household at that time. In a random sample of women taken from Dublin's electoral lists in 1971 by Bertram Hutchinson of *The Economic and Social Research Institute*, the average Dublin household weekly rent was £3.6; the comparable figure for men was £3.1. Professor Hutchinson's sample differs from ours in a number of ways. In his sample men and women, single and married, all of them over 21 years of age, are included; the women in our study are from 16 years upwards, and are almost uniformly single. Hutchinson's study, unlike ours, includes unmarried people living at home; the girls living at home in our study were not asked how much they were contributing to the family budget. To this extent the comparison of the two studies is not complete.

An updating to 1972 of housing costs recorded in 1965-66 also shows that the total outlay on housing by the average household in Dublin and Dun Laoire averaged £3.8 a week. The corresponding figure for the average household in the Republic (including Dublin and Dun Laoire) was £2.9 a week. In February 1972 housing costs were sixty six per cent higher than the average for the twelve-month period in 1965-66 covered by the Central Statistics Office's Household Budget Inquiry. We are indebted to our economist colleague, J. Durkan, for estimating 1972 housing costs from the 1965-66 data.

When what the typists in our survey paid in rent was compared with other forms of outlay on accommodation in the Republic as a whole, some striking figures emerged. These we have brought together in a number of tables whose sources are Table 2 and 5 of the Household Budget Inquiry, 1965-66. The updating to 1972 from these tables was accomplished by taking account of changes in the housing component of the Consumer Price Index between 1965-66 and February 1972, as reported in the Irish Statistical Bulletin.

In the first of these tables (Table 14) the expenditure of a household on housing was divided up among its earning members, since it could be argued that there were as many earners in a household of typists as there were members, while households with a mortgage and others renting from a local authority were dependent on one wage packet, and rarely had more than two incomes from which to pay expenses. The table shows that if housing costs were borne equally by the earning members of a household (a correct supposition so far as the typists were concerned), earners in households with mortgages would have had a somewhat heavier financial burden to bear.

Table 14: *Weekly outlay on accommodation of typists and other earners classified by household tenure.*

<i>Household tenure</i>	<i>Earner's share of weekly expenditure on accommodation, 1972</i>
Flats and bedsitters in Dublin rented by typists	£ 2.8 - 3.1
Owned with mortgage	3.6
Rented from private owner	2.3
Owned outright	1.9
Rented from Local Authority	1.3
All households in the Republic (including Dublin and Dun Laoire)	2.1
All households in Dublin and Dun Laoire only	2.6

The first thing to be said about that table is that, as mortgages come to an end, the persons concerned will join the 'owned outright' group. The typists in their situation had no such happy ending in view. Moreover, mortgage holders also received tax reliefs on mortgage interest payments; many of them also received grants towards buying their houses. They, as well as those who owned their homes outright, were more likely to obtain credit facilities on the strength of their ownership of house property, particularly in times of inflation. Of course, at some stage they had to save to enable them to put down a deposit.

The next table (Table 15) shows that households of Civil Service typists paid more than other groups of households for each room they occupied. They paid over three times as much as households with mortgages, and four and a half times as much as tenants of local authorities.

Table 15: *Cost per room occupied by typist and other households classified by tenure.*

<i>Household tenure</i>	<i>Cost per room occupied by household, 1972</i>
	£
Flats and bedsitters in Dublin rented by typists	3.2
Owned with mortgage	1.0
Rented from private owner	0.7
Owned outright	0.4
Rented from Local Authority	0.6
All households in the Republic (including Dublin and Dun Laoire)	0.6
All households in Dublin and Dun Laoire only	0.9

It could be objected that what mattered was the cost of a room to *each earner* in a household, and this we show in the next table (Table 16). The Civil Service typist still paid more for a room than *an earning member* of a household with a mortgage, and more than twice as much as an earner renting his or her home from a local authority.

Table 16: *Cost per room to individual typists and other earners classified by household tenure.*

<i>Type of household to which earner belonged</i>	<i>Cost per room to each earner in household - 1972</i>
	£
Typists renting flats and bedsitters in Dublin	1.1
Owned with mortgage	0.7
Rented from private owner	0.6
Owned outright	0.3
Rented from Local Authority	0.4
All households in the Republic (including Dublin and Dun Laoire)	0.5
All households in Dublin and Dun Laoire only	0.7

The average-sized group of typists sharing accommodation had a smaller income from which to pay the rent than the average-sized household with a mortgage. Such a household would probably comprise the householder and a dependent wife and children. As much as 18 per cent of the typists' smaller income went on rent, while the average household with a mortgage spent only 11 per cent of its larger income on maintenance and eventual ownership. It should be pointed out, however, that while the individual typist's rent was unlikely to diverge much from the average, there was an enormous range about the average for mortgagees. In 1972 a new mortgagee could well have been paying in the range of £15 to £20 per week for quite an ordinary house — 20 per cent to 25 per cent of income.

Households renting from local authorities spent seven per cent of their incomes on accommodation; but their incomes were usually lower than those of households of typists. Corporation tenants usually had several dependents subsisting on these lower incomes. However, some Corporation households of longer standing contained more than one wage-earner and, with Corporation charges related to the time of the first letting (the older the accommodation, the lower the rent), it was likely that they spent less than typists did on rent. The next table (Table 17) compares average rents of typists grouped as households and Dublin Corporation's maximum charges for room lettings. The city authorities provided accommodation for married

Table 17: *Rents paid by typists and Corporation tenants, classified by number of rooms occupied.*

<i>No. of rooms occupied</i>	<i>Average weekly rents paid by typist households, 1972**</i>	<i>Maximum weekly charges for corporation owned rooms, 1972 (inclusive of rates)*</i>		
		<i>For rooms first let 1932–1953</i>	<i>For rooms first let 1954–1970</i>	<i>For rooms first let 1970</i>
	£	£	£	£
1	5.5	2.1	2.5	5.1
2	8.1	2.9	3.6	6.4
3	10.5	4.4	5.2	7.7
4	11.8	5.0	5.0	8.0

*Source: Housing Statistics Department, Dublin Corporation. A new National Differential Rent Scheme came into operation in 1973.

**The figures in this column were calculated by multiplying the cost of one room, or more than one room, by the average size of household occupying such accommodation. Women living alone in single bedsitters paid an average rent of £3.8.

couples who were born in the city or who had resided there for four years or more. There was, of course, a waiting list of families eligible for such accommodation, and the Corporation was precluded from allocating rooms to any of the thousands of single women and men coming to live in the city.

The flats and bedsitters in which the typists lived were situated for the most part in areas of Dublin built in the 19th or early 20th century. We lacked information on the Corporation's maximum charges for letting of accommodation constructed in that period; the rent for such rooms would, of course, be lower than those given in the above table. The table, moreover, gives the 'maximum charges' to households for the types of accommodation indicated, *not* the average amounts paid. The Corporation was empowered to reduce room charges when a tenant's financial circumstances worsened; it could also raise room charges when he earned more but never above the maximum charges listed.

So far we have been concerned with the amounts paid by typists in household groups for flats and bedsitters. We now turn to the contribution the individual typist made towards the household rent, or the rent she paid if she lived alone. The girl who lived alone was reckoned as being a household for the purpose of producing the average individual rent or household rent. The average individual payment for rent or towards rent was £3.3. We have not included in our calculations of average individual or household rents the payments made by girls living in hostels or 'digs' for their board and lodging because it was not possible to isolate the precise rent element. If their board and lodging were included, the average payment for rent made by each typist would have been £3.5.

Dividing up the average rent between younger and older typists, it is apparent that the older ones (i.e., those over 35 years of age) had to pay more — £4.0 a week as against £3.5. This was because more of them lived alone in single bedsitters for which comparatively high rents were charged or because, as they moved from one bedsitter or flat to another, they presented landlords with opportunities for increasing the rent. In Professor Hutchinson's study, cited earlier, the older the woman the less she had to pay for her accommodation. His study, as we have said, included women living at home, possibly as Corporation tenants or as renters of unfurnished accommodation.

The average amounts paid by individual typists in each of the accommodation categories are given in the next table (Table 18).

While the table shows that money could be saved by sharing accommodation, three or more people sharing was not cheaper than two people sharing. This emerged from looking at the *average* payments, but a different picture emerged from the *range* of rents. Only 8 per cent of those living alone paid less than £2 a week, compared with 37 per cent of groups of 2–5 people, and 60 per cent of households of 6–8 people.

Table 18: *Weekly payments by individual typists and by households of typists for different types of accommodation.*

<i>Type of accommodation</i>	<i>Average weekly payments of individual typists</i>	<i>Average weekly payments of households of typists</i>
	1972	1972
	£	£
'Digs'	4.9	
Hostel	4.7	
Single bedsitter (1 girl resident)	3.8	
Double bedsitter (2.1 girls resident)	3.2	6.7
Flat (3.3 – 3.8 girls resident)	3.3	10.9–12.5
All typist households renting flats and bedsitters in Dublin		8.9–9.9
All households in Dublin and Dun Laoire only		3.8
All households in the Republic (including Dublin and Dun Laoire)		2.9

The next table (Table 19) sets out the cost of rent to individual typists and to groups of typists. It shows that the typist living in a group of four or more had to pay out as much in rent as the typist in a two-person group, and a higher rent than the girls who belonged to a three-person group.

Table 19: *Rents paid by individual typists and groups of typists, classified by size of household.*

<i>No. of typists in household</i>	<i>Individual rents</i>	<i>Group rents</i>
	1972	1972
	£	£
1	3.73	
2	3.25	6.50
3	3.15	9.45
4–5	3.27	13.08–16.35
6–8	3.24	19.44–25.92

It may be worth observing that the typists in this survey and the girls they lived with (i.e., between 1450 and 1650 women in all) paid between £250,000 and £290,000 in rent in 1972.

More than half the typists were critical of what individually they had to pay for accommodation; the rest were satisfied they were getting good

value for money. The younger girls were more inclined to complain than the older ones, no doubt because their rents, though smaller, ate up a somewhat larger percentage of their salaries.

Those who had lived longest in their current accommodation were more inclined to consider they were getting value for money. These included many of the older girls, it is true, but it was the fact that they had stayed longer where they were living, and not their age, that made them less inclined to criticise the rents.

Those who lived alone in bedsitters, or who shared bedsitters, and the residents of hostels felt they were getting least return for their outlay on accommodation. Critics of the cost of accommodation were a substantial majority of these groups in each instance, but the girls in single bedsitters headed the list. In contrast, only a minority of girls living in 'digs' and a slight majority of the flatdwellers shared this view.

More than twice as many of those who considered they were not getting value for what they were paying said that landlords raised the rent whenever a Civil Service pay rise was announced. When we went looking for the facts, however, we saw that only about a quarter of the flatdwellers and bedsitter residents had been affected in this way. We do not know what happened in hostels, but a resident said that 'they raised the cost every time we got an increase'. It needs to be added, however, that the cost of living does not stand still for hostels or landlords, no more than for anyone else.

Sixty two per cent of the girls living in rented accommodation and 28 per cent of those living at home went out for their main meals. The typists who lived alone in bedsitters paid £3.3 a week for their main meal, those sharing bedsitters £2.8, and the girls in flats £2.4.

Our attention was directed, at an early stage of the survey, to what appeared to be the low outlay on food by the younger girls, and it was suggested that they might be spending on clothes the money they might otherwise have spent on food, to the possible detriment of their health. The following table (Table 20) shows that the younger typists spent less on food, at any rate on main meals. We excluded from the table those who lived in hostels, 'digs', or what we termed 'other accommodation', as the cost of each

Table 20: *Weekly outlay on main meals by typists of different age groups.*

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Average weekly outlay on main meals</i>	<i>No. of typists involved</i>
	£	
16 – 21	2.3	289
22 – 30	2.9	212
31 – 65	3.4	34

of these forms of accommodation might have included a charge for meals. In enquiring how much their main meals cost them each week we assumed that (a) the girls had, or intended having, one meal a day which was larger than their other meals and (b) that they understood the term 'main meal' to mean the three or four course meal provided by Civil Service diningrooms and Dublin restaurants in the middle of the day. Differences in food expenditure according to age were not apparent among girls who lived alone, while they were apparent among girls of varying ages sharing bedsitters or flats.

The 498 girls who ate out had the choice of going to a restaurant or to a Civil Service diningroom, of which there were a number in the city. Two hundred and sixty seven of them went to a Civil Service diningroom; the 231 who did not, and another 10 who occasionally ate out but who also did not use a Civil Service dining facility, were asked for their main reason for not doing so. Two hundred and twenty three of them replied, and 56 of them added a second reason. Taking main and second reason together it transpired that; eighty one girls criticised the food, 36 complained of the service, 31 were concerned about the cost of the meals, and 19 were unhappy about hygiene standards. Sixty three said there was no Civil Service dining facility in their vicinity, and 28 others preferred to eat in a city restaurant. Twenty one supplied a variety of other reasons.

What precisely was wrong with the food in the view of its critics was not easy to gauge from the many general remarks about it: there were some, though, who thought it lacked flavour, others complained that the food came out of tins and packets rather than being freshly prepared, and others, again, that the meals were not hot. The comments about the service included remarks about tables not being cleared in time for the next customers, about having to queue, about the preferential treatment of 'higher-ups', and the inability to get the main course without having to pay for the whole lunch.

We looked at the complaint of the 31 girls who avoided the Service diningrooms because of the cost of the meals, and found, from the survey, that as a general rule, the Service canteens were marginally cheaper than city restaurants and than the cost of cooking a main meal at home. This did not, of course, preclude the possibility that things might have been different in some of the Service canteens.

Some of those who said they did not make use of a Civil Service diningroom because there was not one convenient to them referred to the high bus fares, and to the possibility that in consequence some girls had no lunch at all. There would have been girls employed in outlying areas of the city whose position must have been rather grim if they were not able to have a substantial meal in the middle of the day and conceivably did not make up for it later on. Thirty four girls had no cooker of their own, and were obliged to share one with other bedsitter tenants in the house.

Of the 39 girls who preferred to eat in a city restaurant, 29 wanted a change of environment in the middle of the day. They got tired of seeing the

same faces or felt that they could not talk openly with so many Civil Servants about.

The average total expenditure per typist in 1972 on *rent, main meals, heating, cooking and lighting* was £6.6 a week. This figure included all typists. The girls in hostels paid on average £5.1 a week, and those living in flats and bedsitters £6.8. The provision of low cost accommodation in hostels was a matter of undoubted importance for girls at the lower end of the salary scale. If the food in these hostels was found to be unsatisfactory, and some complaints were made on this score, as they were in the case of the Civil Service canteens, they obviously had to provide themselves with extras or go to live somewhere else.

The girls in flats, bedsitters and 'digs' were older, for reasons given already, than the hostel girls, and their earnings were greater because the pay of a Civil Service typist was more or less related to her age. However, as the next table (Table 21) demonstrates, the higher cost of living outside the hostels eliminated, for many of them, the salary advantage, so that they ended up with little more in their pay packets than the hostel girls.

Table 21: *Effect of cost of living outside hostels on salaries of older typists.*

<i>Types of accommodation</i>	<i>Average age in accommodation 1972</i>	<i>Average take-home pay (i.e. after tax) 1972</i>	<i>Average basic living expenses* 1972</i>	<i>Average remainder of pay after deduction of basic living expenses 1972</i>	<i>Difference between average remainder of pay of hostel girls and others 1972</i>
		£	£	£	£
Hostels	18.5	13.74	6.05	7.69	
'Digs'	21.5	15.79	6.83	8.96	+1.27
Flats	20.7	15.34	7.51	7.83	+0.14
Double bedsitters	20.8	15.34	7.82	7.52	-0.17
Single bedsitters	24.0	17.07	9.23	7.84	+0.15

*Each of the figures in this column has been increased by £1 to cover the average cost of transport to and from a girl's home area. The calculation is based on the average frequency of visits and transport costs. The other 'basic living expenses' are those already referred to - rent, main meals, and fuel and light.

It will be noticed that twenty four was the highest average age in the table. Seventy nine per cent of the typists were under twenty six, so the information in the table is applicable to most of the girls who took part in the survey. A typist, of course, continued to receive salary increments until she was about thirty.

The next table (Table 22) compares what was left over to typists of eighteen years and upwards, taking eighteen as the base line, after they had paid for their rent, main meals, fuel and light, and transport to and from their home areas. It also shows the percentage of take-home pay available to them for expenditure in other directions.

Table 22: *Comparison of what was left in pay packets of 18-year old and older typists after deduction of income tax and basic living expenses.*

<i>The typists grouped by age</i>	<i>Remainder of pay of typist after deduction of basic living expenses* 1972</i>	<i>Remainder of pay of typist as percentage of her take-home pay (i.e. after-tax) 1972</i>	<i>Difference between remainder of pay of 18-year old typist and of others, 1972</i>
	£	%	£
18 - 19	7.0 - 7.8	51 - 54	0.0 - 0.8
20 - 21	7.7 - 8.2	50 - 52	0.7 - 1.2
22 - 25	8.3 - 9.7	51 - 55	1.3 - 2.7
26 - 30	9.8 - 12.4	54 - 60	2.8 - 5.4
31 - 34	11.2	54	4.2
35 - 44	12.1	59	5.1
45 - 54	10.6	52	3.6
55 - 65	11.9	58	4.9

*For an explanation of 'basic living expenses' see footnote to Table 21.

Out of the 'left over' money the typists had to pay for a large variety of goods and services, many of which would have been essential. They would have included meals other than main meals, clothing and footwear, dyeing and cleaning, hairdressing, cosmetics, toilet requisites, furniture and fittings not supplied by the landlord, transport to and from work and places of entertainment, entertainment itself, cigarettes, newspapers, magazines, records, TV rentals, insurance contributions, medical expenses, church and charity contributions, subscriptions to societies and clubs, telephone calls, letter and parcel postage. Savings might have had to be made for holidays. Further education and training might also have to be paid for. Those engaged to be married would also have to save towards future housing costs.

It was surely significant that it was the girls from the country, and not those from Dublin, who made almost all the references in the survey to the cost of living. They believed that it was cheaper to live at home; whether this was so or not we do not know since we did not ask the Dubliners living at home how much they contributed towards basic living expenses. People in

the country areas admired the 'good, secure job' girls had in the Civil Service, but had 'little idea of the cost of living in Dublin and the income tax'.

The proportion of country girls who were entirely satisfied with their city accommodation was 29 per cent; the rest sought some improvement. In contrast 66 per cent of the women who took part in the ESRI enquiry about 'Dublin Life and Labour', conducted by Bertram Hutchinson, indicated in response to the same questions that they were entirely satisfied with where they lived.

To establish what the Civil Service typists were complaining about, more precisely than what we have already noted and commented upon, we presented the typists with Professor Hutchinson's checklist of complaints and asked them to tick off the items which represented their position. We set out in Table 23 the percentage of typists making a particular complaint.

Table 23: *Specific complaints about accommodation.*

<i>Nature of complaints regarding accommodation</i>	<i>% of complaints among typists in rented accommodation</i>
	%
In need of repair	28
Rent too high	27
Too small (i.e. not enough room)	26
No privacy	19
Too noisy	11
Dislike sharing	8
Inconvenient location	7
No bathroom	5
No WC or inside WC	4
Too large	2
Total no. of typists in rented accommodation	704

The girls were given an opportunity to add their own complaints to the list, and among those they supplied were the following: '[our accommodation] is damp and smelly'; 'it's too dark'; 'the room is cold and the food is bad'; 'the windows are not very well tightened and therefore rattle a lot'; 'we have no hot water'; 'the bathroom is in need of repair'; 'it's hard to keep tidy because of the size'; 'it's in a bad area'. (Hostel girls were among those who made this complaint.) The typists who complained that their rent was too high were also inclined to complain that their accommodation was too small,

that they lacked privacy, and that their landlords would not listen to requests for repairs. It is, of course, possible that some girls entertained unrealistic expectations regarding both quality of accommodation and rent.

The girls were also invited to assess their accommodation in other ways. For instance, would they recommend it to a friend looking for a place, was it a place they looked forward to returning to after a day's work, and did they like staying in it at weekends? Only 57 per cent of them would have unhesitatingly recommended where they stayed to friends, and the same percentage looked forward to returning there after the day's work. Somewhat fewer — 51 per cent — liked staying there at weekends. These figures, indicating that up to half of the typists find their Dublin homes unattractive, are decidedly chilling.

By means of a checklist of our own we pinpointed a number of other accommodation deficiencies, and ascertained the numbers of girls affected by them. Some of the girls recognised immediately the total relevance of these deficiencies to their circumstances; others saw their partial relevance; and we have included these two groups to provide a comprehensive picture under two heads (a) the nature of the criticisms affecting the material and other relevant aspects of accommodation (Table 24) and (b) the limitations on personal freedom within accommodation (Table 25).

Table 24: *Other accommodation deficiencies.*

<i>Nature of criticisms regarding accommodation</i>	<i>% for whom a deficiency was totally relevant</i>	<i>% for whom a deficiency was partly relevant</i>
Not soundproof	50	8
Not furnished the way they would like	39	19
In need of redecoration	35	9
Not easy to heat	28	14
Not spacious	28	12
Sparsely furnished	28	11
Uninviting	23	20
Lacking in comfort	20	16
Damp	17	19
Not easy to relax in	14	11
Dreary	10	13
Total no. of typists who were asked these questions: 704.		

Table 25: *Limitations on personal freedom within accommodation.*

<i>Limitations on personal freedom within the accommodation</i>	<i>% for whom a deficiency was totally relevant</i>	<i>% for whom a deficiency was partly relevant</i>
Lack of privacy	23	14
Not allowed to have people to stay for a weekend or holiday	23	8
Not free to come in and out at any hour of the day or night	16	6
Not free to keep a domestic animal as a pet	73	4
Total no. of typists who were asked these questions: 704.		

In relation to both Table 24 and Table 25, the most disadvantaged girls were those living in hostels. While in the matter of space, ease of heating, and absence of dampness, they were as well off as those in flats and bedsitters, they were most critical of the remaining 12 of the 15 aspects of accommodation described in the tables.

The hostels are converted large town houses whose upper floors are partitioned to form cubicles with side walls which do not reach the ceiling, but have doors which can be locked during the day. They do not keep out the sound of neighbours' voices and radios, and many of the girls living in them complained of lack of privacy. There were fewer complaints about the state of repair of the hostels than about the condition of bedsitters and flats. But the hostels were less often furnished in the way the girls would have liked, and seemed to be more sparsely furnished. They were in need of re-decoration, though bedsitters were not much better off in this respect. By and large, therefore, it was no surprise to find the girls in the hostels complaining more often than any other group of lack of comfort. The girls living in 'digs' very rarely complained, and those living alone in bedsitters, while agreeing that their places lacked comfort, did not usually go as far as the hostel girls in saying that they were dreary, uninviting or difficult to relax in. Flatdwellers were best off on these and most other points. The sharers of bedsitters took a position similar to those who lived alone on these points.

Few of the hostel girls looked forward to returning there at the end of the day. The girls in bedsitters also showed no great enthusiasm for going 'home', as the girls in 'digs' and flats did.

Hostel girls suffered most limitations on their personal freedom. People who 'live in' in large numbers in institutions anywhere are likely to find themselves subject to rules regarding mealtimes, reception of visitors, and

guests staying over weekends or for holidays. Hostels have all these rules and additionally require residents to be in by 11.30 p.m. Most of the girls so circumstanced indicated that they could not come and go as they wished. They were usually unable to have friends to stay with them, and were rarely permitted to keep a domestic animal as a pet.

Hostels confront us with a paradox. Seeing their drawbacks, it might have been assumed the girls would not recommend them to their friends. But, like the girls sharing bedsitters and those living in 'digs', almost half of them would; and the proportion of young people starting in them is higher. There is evidence from the study that the companionship formed in these places had a long term effect, in that more of those who started city life in them ended up living in flats, compared with those who never lived in a hostel. This is an important matter since, apart from 'digs', flat life was the most satisfying of all accommodation arrangements.

The next most disadvantaged group were girls who lived alone in single bedsitters. They paid higher rents without securing better quality accommodation. They complained more than most of the girls of being cramped for space, and though the single bedsitter gave most privacy, it was not a place to look forward to after a day's work or to live in at weekends, and was least often recommended.

Not quite as disadvantaged but still with many problems were girls who shared a bedsitter. They felt as cooped up as those who lived alone; they were among the front-runners in complaining about rents; they frequently referred to the condition of their rooms, and were rarely allowed to keep a pet. But, like the flat-dwellers and girls living alone, they had the advantage of being able to come and go as they pleased. They could enjoy their accommodation at week-ends, and were pleased regarding its location.

Flatdwellers, the largest grouping in our study, were also the least disadvantaged, though they too had problems. Flats tended to be more spacious, noise free, comfortable and relaxing. They guaranteed a certain privacy, and guests could stay occasionally. They were well regarded as places to return to after a day's work and were the form of accommodation most likely to be recommended to friends. But they had their drawbacks. Almost a third of their occupants complained of the state of disrepair; a similar percentage complained of the difficulty of heating them; a fifth of them complained of dampness, and a quarter of them said the rent was too high.

Chapter 8

Advantages and Disadvantages of Civil Service Employment

‘**W**hat things are especially good about working in the Civil Service?’ This was an open-ended question we addressed to the typists and many of those who responded to it each listed two or more advantages. Because of this, the percentages we give will add up to more than 100 per cent, as can be seen from the following table (Table 26) in which the features that were most liked are set out.

Table 26: *Main advantages of civil service employment*

<i>Main advantages</i>	<i>Percentage of typists answering the question who referred to a particular aspect</i>
Job Security	30
Hours of work/5-day week	26
Holidays/privilege days	24
Pay	22
Marriage gratuity	21
Sick Leave	17
Number of typists who responded to the question	822
Number of typists who participated in the survey	921
Percentage of typists in survey who did not respond to the question	11%

Five hundred and fifty five typists (68 per cent of all who answered the question) were especially pleased with one or more financial aspects of working in the Civil Service – pay and/or marriage gratuities and/or paid sick leave. In their own words: ‘the pay at the moment is good’; ‘after five-years’ work you get a marriage gratuity which you don’t get in other jobs’; ‘full pay up to six months if a person is unable to work due to illness’. Pension arrangements were less frequently mentioned, or opportunities for paid overtime, or the non-deduction of employment insurance from pay.

Four hundred and sixty two of the typists (56 per cent of all who responded to the question) approved particularly of the time arrangements – the hours of work, the five-day week, annual leave and privilege days, and the occasional permission to leave work early to catch a bus or train to the country. The typists were virtually unanimous in believing that, in the matter of working hours, they were as well off as those of their friends who worked outside the Civil Service. Indeed, they rarely complained about the length of the working day, and when they did they had in mind sustained overtime or the obligation to work overtime the moment a colleague went on annual leave. Both these situations were judged by the typists concerned to be the result of under-staffing and/or inefficient organisation.

Four hundred and forty typists (54 per cent of those who replied to the question) greatly valued the security their Civil Service jobs gave them. Some said rather vividly: 'one wouldn't be sacked so easily'; 'there's never the fear that it would be closed down'; 'you have security if you do your work and follow the rules laid down'; 'you cannot be sacked when you're established'; 'it's not here today and gone tomorrow'; 'with the present economic climate, redundancy, etc., the Civil Service provides security of employment'; 'nobody is waiting to be rid of you to put in a member of his own family or a friend'. Paid sick leave, pensions and the right to return to work if widowed added to the feeling of security.

The girls under and over 25 years of age referred most often to the six aspects of their jobs listed in Table 27. They differed outstandingly, however, in the frequency with which they mentioned four of them. These we have asterisked in Table 27.

Table 27: *Main advantages of Civil Service employment according to younger and older typists.*

<i>Main advantages of Civil Service employment</i>	<i>Percentage of typists under 25 years of age referring to an advantage</i>	<i>Percentage of typists over 25 years of age referring to the same advantage</i>
*Permanency	24	56
*Hours of Work	28	18
Holidays	25	21
*Pay	25	11
Marriage gratuity	23	16
*Sick leave	15	22
Number of typists giving information	649	171
Total number of typists in study	723	195
Percentage of typists in each age group who gave no information on this matter	10%	12%

*Indicates statistically significant difference.

Permanency appeared to be the outstanding feature of Civil Service employment for the over-25s; 56 per cent of them referred to it, compared with 24 per cent of the under-25s. The older group also led in the matter of sick leave, the assurance that they would lose no pay while absent. The under-25s stressed more their hours of work, their pay, and the availability of a marriage gratuity. Civil Service hours left them free when others were free, which was of importance when they were still in the process of forming friendships. The older group was no longer concerned in this way; it also contained a higher percentage of Dubliners whose appreciation of Civil Service hours was possibly tempered by having to get to and from their jobs during 'rush hours'. The fact that typists reached the top of their pay scale at the age of 30 may explain the relatively rare mention by the older group of this part of the employment contract.

The overall views of the typists of what constituted the main advantages of Civil Service employment was linked, as might be expected, to their general attitude to the Service. Those who thought it a very good organisation to work for pointed to the rates of pay, or to the marriage gratuity, while those who thought less well of it mentioned the holidays and hours of work. The emphasis on holidays would seem to indicate a desire to be away from work as much as possible. It was also noticeable that a significantly higher percentage of those who thought less well of the Service refrained from attributing any advantages to employment in it. The more hostile an individual was to the job as a whole, or to an aspect of it, the more difficulty she had in saying anything favourable about it.

We found that those who intended staying in the Service hardly differed from those who would have liked to leave it, in their views on what constituted advantages. They disagreed somewhat, though, with regard to pay: 25 per cent of those intending to stay saw pay as a main advantage, compared with only 16 per cent of the others.

An open-ended question asked 'What things in the Civil Service would you most like to see changed?' The changes most frequently desired are set out in Table 28.

The changes most frequently desired tended to vary according to age as Table 29 demonstrates. Asterisks have been used to indicate statistically significant differences. Older typists were much more concerned about the dearth of promotion opportunities, while younger ones stressed the 'marriage bar', the tax system, and supervision. Age had little to do with attitudes to pay, holidays and time off, rules and 'red tape', work, and office facilities.

We noticed, however, that the percentage of girls who left the question 'what things would you like to see changed in the Civil Service?' unanswered was double the number who also left unanswered the question 'what things are especially good about the Civil Service?'. Incidentally, we found in this study, and in others we have seen, that any question implying a criticism usually resulted in a significant lowering of the response rate.

Table 28: *Areas in which change was most frequently desired.*

<i>Area in which change was most frequently desired</i>	<i>Percentage of typists who indicated that change was desired</i>
Promotion system	15
Pay	15
Tax system	14
'Marriage bar'	14
Office environment	12
Holidays and time off	12
Work	11
Rules and 'red tape'	10
Supervision	9
Number of typists who answered the question	735
Number of typists who participated in the survey	921
Percentage of typists in the survey who did not reply to the question	20%

Table 29: *Younger and older typists' views on areas requiring change.*

<i>Areas in which change was most frequently desired</i>	<i>Percentage of 'younger' typists' (i.e. under 25 years of age) referring to areas of desired change</i>	<i>Percentage of 'older' typists' (i.e. over 25 years of age) referring to areas of desired change</i>
*Promotion system	11	29
Pay	13	16
*'Marriage bar'	19	5
Holidays and time off	11	14
Rules and 'red tape'	9	14
*Supervision	11	3
*Tax system	16	3
Work	11	13
Office environment (see Chapter 5)	12	12
No. of typists giving information	573	155
Total number of typists in the survey	723	195
Percentage of typists in each age group who gave no information on this matter	21%	20%

Table 30 shows the main changes desired of those who were most, and least, favourably disposed to the Service.

Table 30: *Areas most requiring change according to typists who were most, and typists who were least, favourably disposed to the Civil Service.*

<i>Areas in which change was most desired</i>	<i>Typists who thought the Civil Service was a very good organisation</i>	<i>Typists who thought the Civil Service was not a very good organisation</i>
	%	%
Promotion system	11	15
Pay	16	19
*'Marriage Bar'	27	6
Holidays and time off	11	19
Rules and 'red tape'	8	17
*Supervision	5	13
Tax system	11	13
*Work	5	13
Office environment	14	13
Number of typists giving information	105	48
Total number of typists in each category	148	59
Percentage of typists in each category who did not respond to that question	29	19

*Asterisks have been used to indicate statistically significant differences.

The typists who thought the Civil Service a very good organisation would have greatly appreciated the abandonment of the 'marriage bar', 27 per cent of them having regarded it as the aspect which most required changing; but the critics were more concerned about supervision, work, and rules and 'red tape', things which affected them daily.

We classify below under four heads the changes most desired and proceed to discuss such of the subjects as have not already been dealt with. Transfers (1 (e)) have received substantial attention in Chapter 6 and Work (4) in Chapter 3.

1. *Conditions of employment*

- (a) Promotion;
- (b) Pay;
- (c) 'Marriage bar';
- (d) Holidays and time off;
- (e) Transfers.

2. *Regulations and relationships*

Rules;
 'Red tape';
 Attitudes of some 'higher-ups';
 Superintendents and Supervisors;
 Social activities in Departments.

3. *Tax deductions*

Print-out of tax deductions on payslips;
 Introduction of PAYE;
 Reduction of tax.

4. *Work*

Content of the work;
 Responsibility;
 Organisation.

1 (a) Promotion

Thirty nine per cent of the typists thought it 'not at all probable' and a further 26 per cent thought it was only 'slightly probable' that they would have a higher position in the Civil Service sometime in the future; and 58 per cent considered that the promotion system as it affected them was unfair. Only 19 per cent thought their promotion prospects were as good as those of their friends who were not in the Service. The feeling that they might never get promotion, or that it might take a long time, was due to a number of factors. The secretarial ladder, which was a feature of other organisations, did not exist, so that a Civil Service typist, to get promotion, had to forget her particular skill. The typists could, of course, compete with other Clerical Assistants for Clerical Officerships, but tended to believe that the others fared better than they did in the competitions for these positions. They attributed this to their own lack of experience, or lesser experience of general section work, a consequence of isolation in typing sections. Table 31, based on Civil Service Census statistics, supplied by the Department of the Public Service, supports this belief in the case of typists and other Clerical Assistants who were below the barrier point on the Clerical Assistants' pay scale in the seven years leading up to the survey. In six of those years, a lower percentage of typists was successful in these competitions. Because the Census

did not distinguish between typists and other Clerical Assistants who were above the barrier point, we were unable to compare all the typists of whatever years of service with all other Clerical Assistants; nor could we compare typists and other Clerical Assistants who were above that point.

Of Clerical Assistants above the barrier point 9.6 per cent were promoted during those years, as against 5.9 per cent of the girls in the same grade who were below that point.

Table 31: *A comparison of the percentage of clerical assistants (typing) and of other clerical assistants who were promoted in the years 1966–1972, all of whom were below the barrier point on their common pay scale.*

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Percentage of typists promoted	5	3	7	3	3	5	1
Percentage of other clerical assistants promoted	2	7	8	6	9	8	5

Table 32 shows that shorthand typists, while they did better than copy typists, were not promoted as often as were Clerical Assistants who did not type at all. The figures again refer only to those at Clerical Assistant level who were below the barrier point.

Table 32: *A comparison of promotion rates among copy typists, shorthand typists and other clerical assistants below the barrier point on their common pay scale.*

	<i>Average percentage promoted 1966–1972</i>
Copy typists	3.6
Shorthand typists	4.7
Other clerical assistants	6.4
All typists	3.9
All other clerical assistants	6.4

Promotion in the same period appeared to be affected by one's grade, as can be seen in Table 33.

The high level of dissatisfaction among typists with their promotion prospects was possibly due, not only to their awareness of their limited opportunities in this regard, but also to the better treatment of officers in other recruitment grades. In 1972 an Administrative Officer could expect to become an Assistant Principal in seven years if deemed suitable for the higher

Table 33: *A comparison of rates of promotion at different levels.*

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Average percentage promoted 1966–1972</i>
Administrative officer	15.0
Executive officer	11.6
Clerical officer	9.5
Clerical assistant	6.5

grade. The upward move from Staff Officer to Executive Officer was exceptionally swift at this time also – it was common for those who had been promoted to Staff Officer to be promoted a second time within months. Of course, the Staff Officer and Executive Officer grades were recognised to be very close to each other.

Promotion from the Clerical Assistant grade to that of Clerical Officer was decided in alternate years by written examination or by an interview which was preceded by a preliminary screening process within each Department. There was general consensus among the typists that efficiency should determine who should be promoted to the Clerical Officer grade. Other possible methods of deciding promotion, such as seniority, interview, supervisor's recommendation or written examinations, were also offered for comment by the researchers, but none of them appealed to the majority of the girls. The backing each of these methods received was related to the age of the respondent: the oldest were of the opinion that seniority should decide the issue; the next in age favoured a combination of seniority and Supervisor's recommendation; interview and Supervisor's recommendations were more acceptable to the 25–35 age group; interview was the choice of the majority of those between 18 and 25; and written examinations and interview were preferred by the 16 and 17 year olds.

A belief existed among the typists that those who had not worked in a general section were handicapped at interviews. They believed that some boards asked questions regarding the work of the general section and how it contributed to the work of their Department, and that the typists' inability to answer such questions made it difficult to get a favourable rating. Interview boards rarely, if ever, included women who had worked in typing sections. The boards, therefore, lacked the knowledge they needed to ask questions about the organisation of work in a typing section and its relationship to the rest of the Department, which would give typists a chance to talk knowledgeably.

Some typists felt that what was required were more avenues of promotion, and suggested jobs where shorthand typists could become private secretaries such as was common in industry, and that there should be different grades of typists. Another suggestion was that promotion to Clerical Officer should be automatic. Others were concerned about the length of time it took to get promotion: 'I would like to see promotion for typists after three years'; 'why has a typist to remain on typing duties until she is blue in the face?'

Typists on promotion would have preferred to continue using their typing and shorthand skills than to do clerical work, which as things stood they were destined to do. Only a few continued to type after they had been promoted; these had worked to Ministers or top civil servants before that and had then been assigned to Clerical Officer roles where they still did shorthand and typing. Things were different in the British Service. There the position of personal secretary to a Minister or to a top civil servant carried the grade of Clerical Officer, and only shorthand typists and typists who had 'O' Level Certificates in English were considered for these positions; typists outside the Service who had that qualification could also compete. However, the British typists could not compete from inside for other Clerical Officer posts.

1. (b) Pay

The majority of the typists felt their pay was as good as that of people with their qualifications elsewhere in the community. This was certainly the view of all the age categories up to 35, though it concealed an increase with age of the belief that pay was lower than elsewhere. The enthusiasm of the youngest was very apparent, clearly contrasting with what they had got formerly in pocket money, for summer jobs or baby-sitting. The majority in each age group over 35 believed they were paid less than what other organisations paid in similar circumstances. The older women were dismayed to find that new arrivals were getting in their first wage packets what they had only got after five years. Inflation was the cause of this, but older typists also felt that the gap between their pay and that of newcomers did not fairly represent their respective abilities.

There was significantly more shorthand typists and audio typists in the older age groups, and it was from them, rather than from the copy typists, that most complaints arose about rates of pay. Shorthand typists who entered the Service before 1960 (the year of the reorganisation of the clerical grades) felt this most keenly. Their view of their pay was coloured by that event which more or less eliminated status and pay differences between them and the copy typists which had previously operated in their favour. However, the younger shorthand typists felt much more as copy typists of their age did about their pay, and much less like older shorthand typists. Their attitude

may have been due to their three years headstart over copy typists on the common pay scale. It was a surprise to find that the differential between the pay of a shorthand typist and that of a copy typist was not maintained. Curiously, audio typists who were at the top of their Clerical Assistant pay scale retained the allowance for audio typing, while shorthand typists got nothing additional for taking dictation or typing from shorthand notes. It was not surprising that the age of the copy typist or of the audio typist hardly altered their attitude to their pay whereas age had a spectacular effect on the attitudes of the shorthand typists to theirs, a point which is clearly demonstrated in Table 34.

Table 34: *Attitude to pay of shorthand, audio and copy typists of varying age.*

<i>'My pay is lower than for other jobs in the community which I am qualified to do'.</i>						
<i>Age category</i>	<i>% of shorthand-typists indicating the above</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>% of audio typists indicating the above</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>% of copy typists indicating the above</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>
16 – 21	13	128	38	42	30	339
22 – 30	35	66	38	69	30	152
31 – 65	65	40	41	17	33	57

A few typists showed in the survey that they were aware that successful applicants over 21 years of age were not paid any more than 21 year olds. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Civil Service Commission attracted so few experienced typists.

Among the improvements in the area of pay suggested by the typists were the following: 'larger pay increases (increments)'; 'higher increments after about four years'; 'the maximum salary for shorthand typists (ought) to be increased above typists'; 'typists should have more money than Clerical Assistants (clerical)'; 'our salaries should be on a par with ESB and semi-state bodies'. On the question of whether the pay of the Civil Service typist was lower than in comparable organisations, we noted that in March 1974 the maximum pay of a shorthand typist in the ESB was £1,855 a year and that the corresponding Civil Service rate was £1,504. The ESB recruited shorthand typists only, however, and these undertook whatever typing – shorthand, audio or copy – required to be done. Table 35 also shows that the 1963, 1969 and 1971 wage-round agreements involving Civil Service typists lagged behind the generality of agreements of that time. The settling of Civil Service pay claims later than others meant that the Civil Service Commission in its advertisements offered rates of pay lower than those advertised by private and state-sponsored companies.

Table 35: A comparison of dates of wage-round agreements involving Civil Service typists and wage-round agreements in general, 1959-1971.

Wage-round	Dates of agreements involving Civil Service typists		Dates of wage-round agreements in general*				
		3 months**	Number of agreements actual percentage		6 months**	Number of agreements actual percentage	
Seventh	Jan. 1960	Nov. 1959 -Jan. 1960	93	46	Oct. 1959 -March 1960	152	75
Eighth	Sept. 1963	Oct.-Dec. 1961	89	44	Sept. 1961 -Feb. 1962	135	67
Ninth	Feb. 1964	Feb.- April 1964	160	79	Jan.-June 1964	191	95
Tenth	July 1966	May-July 1966	156	77	May-Oct. 1966	189	94
Eleventh	Feb.-Oct. 1969	June-Aug. 1968	73	36	March- Aug. 1968	113	56
Twelfth	Dec. 1970 -Jan. 1971	June-Aug. 1970	69	35	March- Aug. 1970	120	60

*The dates of wage-round agreements in general are taken from *Wage Inflation and Wage Leadership*, A Study of the Role of Key Wage Bargains in the Irish System of Collective Bargaining, page 34, (W. E. J. McCarthy, J. F. O'Brien, and V. G. Dowd, Paper No. 79, *The Economic and Social Research Institute*, April 1975).

**Refers to periods of this duration which show the greatest concentration of wage-round settlements.

1 (c) The 'Marriage Bar'

One hundred typists (11 per cent of the total) indicated that the revocation of the 'marriage bar' rule was the thing they would most like to see changed. Its removal in 1973 brought with it, though, the abolition of the marriage gratuity which, for the younger girls had been a particularly attractive feature of Civil Service employment. However, it was the same age group, the under 25s, who had wanted 'the marriage bar' removed. Girls who were in the Service prior to the removal of the bar, and who were still unmarried and in Service employment after 1973, were entitled to the marriage gratuity, provided they resigned their jobs within two years afterwards. If they stayed in the Service longer than that, they forfeited the gratuity.

Practically all the typists approved in principle of married women going out to work, but the majority of them did so conditionally. Younger girls had fewer reservations on the subject than their older colleagues, the difference

between them being similar to what B. M. Walsh and A. O'Toole observed in an ESRI National Survey (1973).

1 (d) Holidays and Time off

Eighty eight of the typists (10 per cent of the total) felt that the Service needed to increase the annual leave and to improve the arrangements for privilege days, time off, certified sick leave and leave of absence to work abroad. Increasing the annual leave was most emphasised, a natural development, perhaps, in a period in which the five-day week had occurred and holidaying abroad increased enormously. Girls from the country, who were expected to spend at least some of their annual leave at home and to tag an extra day or two now and again on to their weekend visits, and yet wanted to travel, were mostly, one would think, behind this demand. Some of the EEC countries with which Ireland is associated have longer annual and more public holidays.

2. Regulations and Relationships

Two hundred and twenty three typists (24 per cent of total) felt that the changes they would most like to see had to do with the direction of people at work. Seventy two (8 per cent of total) wanted most to be treated on an individual basis with an end to what they called silly rules and regulations, e.g., having to write a note excusing oneself when absent through sickness. The staff should be thought of as well as the public, and an instance was given of the practice of stopping the redecoration of an office to which the public had access at the point where the staff quarters began. Sixty seven girls (7 per cent of total) described changes they would like to see made in the area of supervision which we have discussed in some detail in Chapter 4. Some of them urged that supervisors should be less strict, others that typists should be allowed to work on their own, eliminating altogether or reducing the need for Supervisors or Superintendents.

Thirty two typists (4 per cent of total) were most concerned about the behaviour of 'higher-ups' towards them: 'some effort should be made to make people feel they count'; 'I would like to be able to approach the people in the very high positions directly - re complaints, etc.'; 'I would like to see higher ranks take an interest in your work - the Civil Service is very impersonal'; 'some Civil Servants of higher grade should not have such a superior 'air' about themselves and look down on typists'. It was alleged that university graduates were the worst offenders in this respect. A complaint, directed to somewhere between a 'higher-up' and a member of the supervisory staff, was that 'the tension under which we have to work (should be eased), and that we are allowed to make one 'phone call a week without having to be on guard in case an inspector comes along'.

Fifty two typists (6 per cent of total) referred to a variety of interpersonal needs: 'opportunity to meet more people'; 'better communication

between staff in and outside the job'; 'more social activities'; 'everyone treated the same'; 'people, especially Clerical Assistants, are only a number — they (or at least some) should be treated with more consideration'; 'to be trusted more and not looked down on'; 'I would like to see the Service become more like an office than a school'.

3. Tax deductions

There was as much concern among the typists for a change in the way in which tax was deducted as there was for improvements in pay and promotion, or for the removal of 'the marriage bar'. What was most disliked about the tax system was the uneven manner in which it was administered, and the omission to give the taxpayers a written account of what had been deducted and why. The system had that element of surprise about it that could lead to rejoicing or disappointment. At the end of each quarter a pay packet might contain considerably more than usual (which called for a shopping spree or some sort of celebration) or hardly anything, which was worrying if the person was living away from home and had to pay her way that week. No advance warning was given of a deviation from the normal, so that precautions could be taken. When, towards the end of the questionnaire relating to work attitudes, the typists were invited to raise any issue that had not been dealt with and which they would like to see aired, 36 of them addressed themselves to this single topic. As one of them put it: 'I'd like to see the income tax policy changed — wages are up one quarter and down the next, sometimes by as much as £2—£4 per week; each week we should have an accounts slip of our earnings (what is deducted, etc.)'. The main improvement sought was the introduction of PAYE which was done in 1977. There were also a number of requests for 'less tax to be stopped off our wages' and 'tax relief for lower grades and widows'.

Chapter 9

Typists' Perception of the Public View of the Service

To ascertain what would attract girls with typing qualifications to the Civil Service we asked the typists to complete the following sentence: 'I think more girls would apply for typing jobs in the Civil Service if'. 748 girls (81 per cent of the total) did so. Two hundred and seventeen of them, (24 per cent of the total) thought that more girls would apply 'if the pay was better'. What school leavers wanted was 'a job with fairly good pay'; 'a proper wage, at least something they could live on'. They would be attracted by 'better pay conditions, especially for Leaving Cert. students'. More shorthand-typists would apply if they were 'properly compensated for having this extra subject — shorthand requiring great accuracy and a high standard of English'.

One hundred and forty seven of the typists (16 per cent of the total) thought that 'more interesting and varied' work would draw young people. It seemed to be generally accepted that government work was 'dull and uninteresting', though some of the typists thought that the work they were doing was 'not really as bad as people outside believe'. Increased recruitment would follow, they believed, if typists had a little more responsibility, a broader variety of duties in the secretarial line, if they could do both typing and clerical work and not be completely attached to a typewriter all day. Seven per cent of them specifically asked for the abandonment of the large typing section in favour of smaller groups of typists or for jobs which combined typing with clerical work. Things would not then be 'so school-like', and perhaps there would be 'more glamorous jobs with more responsibilities'. More girls would join 'if they had not just to go into a typing pool, or if they were not treated so much as a machine or as a school kid when they were in one'. It was the girls from the cities and towns who stressed the need for greater variety and responsibility.

One hundred and sixteen of the typists (13 per cent of the total) recommended decentralisation. They wished that girls from the country 'didn't have to spend most of their lives in Dublin'. This advice came overwhelmingly, of course, from girls whose homes were in the country. School leavers, they said, would display a livelier interest in the Service if 'they could get into offices in their own home towns', and this would be possible if 'the Departments were spread round the country rather than being centred round Dublin'.

Ninety eight of the typists (11 per cent of the total) were concerned with how the image of the Service was presented. Vacancies should be advertised in a fashion that would enable the public to know more about the favourable conditions under which Civil Servants work and of the nature of the work itself. There would be more applications, it was said, if 'it was made to sound attractive to work in the Service'. Civil Servants could help 'if they spoke out about the conditions'. As it was, some of them 'tended to run down the job', and it was this, along with 'the general opinion that Civil Servants did not do much work'; that gave the Service a bad name and put people off joining it. It would help if the Civil Service was shown to be more interesting and alive; if it was made more colourful, 'a bit more glamorous'; 'a bit more modernised'; with 'less red tape and more "human" bosses'. More girls would join if 'something was done to change people's attitudes towards it'. This is a subject which arises in another context later in this chapter.

We cannot be entirely sure that the answers to this particular question reflected the views of school leavers whom it was not within our brief to approach directly. Nevertheless, we have some information which suggests that the typists were reflecting the thinking of the school leavers on this matter. In 1968 the Civil Service Commissioners enquired of clerk/typists who had declined Civil Service appointments why they had done so. They replied in the following terms:

- the pay was too low; other jobs were paid better.
- it was too expensive to live in Dublin.
- some girls would like appointments nearer home.
- the image of the Civil Service, reflected in its advertisements, and in public press comment on the monotony of the work, was poor.
- some girls wanted a job combining typing with other work.
- there were some complaints that the time lag between holding the open competitions and publishing results was too great.

The last remark is the only one which did not emerge from the typists' answers to our question about what would make more girls apply for Service typing jobs, at least not in a ten per cent random sample of their replies.

The changes suggested as being necessary in order to attract young people into the Service varied with the age of the typists. The under 18s were most concerned about the effect of the public attitude to the Service on recruitment. It was this, in their opinion, that most needed changing. Their original view of the Service was formed by what they heard around them and by the advertising, such as it was, that they saw, with the result that they entered the Service at a time when school leavers were not notably enthusiastic about it. The Service could do with better advertising, in their view: 'if it had a better name as a place of work' and the public knew more about it, then youngsters like themselves, but who were just leaving school, would turn to

it in preference to other employments. For many of these young girls the centralised location of the Service was another disadvantage, and a similar number felt that the pay rates should be improved.

So much for the under 18s. There were many more Dubliners among those than among any other age category in the study. For the 18 and 19 year olds, job location was paramount. These girls may have had problems in settling down in Dublin, and this may have accounted for their view that more country girls would apply 'if they could be employed in their own place'. They were concerned about the problem of making their pay packet last the week with something saved towards a visit home. They were also long enough in their jobs to feel able to criticise the way work was organised.

For the typists aged 20 and 21, pay and the organisation of work could crucially affect, they believed, a school leaver's decision to accept or reject a Civil Service appointment. The typists from 22 to 30 were of the same mind, the numbers mentioning the pay factor increasing with the age of the typist. The public image of the Service got scant attention from this group. Typists over 25 years of age and up to 55 thought that promotion opportunities in a job would have a bearing on a school leaver's decision.

It must help an organisation in the recruiting of female staff to know which other organisations are in competition with it and what advantages they offer. When we asked the typists 'What organisation presents the most attractive office jobs for girls?', 62 per cent of them indicated that they did not know, and another seven per cent made no comment; of the remaining 31 per cent (or 286 girls), the majority (188) pointed to a State-sponsored body – 142 to Aer Lingus, 21 to CIE, 13 to the ESB and 12 to other bodies of this kind. Travel concessions mainly explained Aer Lingus's exalted rating, that and the closeness of its staff to the public. Travel concessions were also the most frequently mentioned attraction of CIE. In view of their need for relatively frequent weekend travel to their homes, it was not surprising that four times more girls from the country than from Dublin singled out that organisation. A second, but much less pronounced reason was CIE's pay-scale. Pay was what attracted the girls most to the ESB – that and its up-to-date working conditions: 'they have lovely offices, and are nicely heated, and they have all modern machinery'. 'The Bank' was the favourite for 47 girls, and it was also more popular with those whose homes were in the provinces. 'The Bank' paid well. The work was more interesting and varied, and bank clerks met a lot of people. 'The name' of working with 'the Bank' was said to be another advantage. Hardly any of the girls who mentioned 'the Bank' or Aer Lingus pointed out the staff social activities of those organisations. All who did so came from outside the Dublin area.

While Dubliners hardly differed from other girls in singling out Aer Lingus, they were able to suggest a wider range of alternative places of employment. Of the 50 Dubliners who answered the relevant question, 19 mentioned a number of employers other than ESB, CIE and the banks;

39 of 204 girls from other parts of Ireland who also replied to the question did the same as did only one girl from a county adjoining Dublin. It may be that daily or weekly commuting to their homes deprived the girls from the counties adjoining Dublin of weekend socialising in the city and of the 'grapevine' information thereby to be obtained on the merits and demerits of jobs other than their own.

One would have thought that the scarcity of Civil Service jobs in the country would increase country girls' interest in joining other organisations in Dublin which had offices in the country. The survey confirmed this surmise, but only one of the 158 country girls who mentioned particular State-sponsored bodies or banks, specified as the main attraction that one of these organisations had for her was the good prospect it held out of a transfer. This would seem to suggest that the typists did not expect a change of employment to lead to a position nearer home. Organisations with offices in the country probably have waiting lists of their own employees, and, if they have not, it is probably because, as a matter of policy, they do not assign individuals to offices in their home localities.

Only two of the 286 girls who told us what, in their view, was the most attractive office organisation for girls, mentioned the Civil Service. The manner in which we phrased the question ('What organisation provides the most attractive office opportunities for girls?') did not rule out the Civil Service as an answer, and we do not know why it was effectively excluded. It is likely that many thought the question was directed entirely at finding out their attitudes to other organisations; but we cannot overlook the possibility that the Civil Service was not their ideal organisation.

The country girls were asked to finish a sentence which ran 'When I tell people in my family home area I work in the Civil Service, they', and all the girls were asked to complete another sentence which ran 'When I tell people I meet in Dublin that I work in the Civil Service, they'. The returns to these two questions revealed that the general country view of the Service was very different to the Dublin view. Both sets of reactions are tabulated in Table 36. We have asterisked those reactions which were considerably more frequent in one or other location.

It would lengthen our report unduly if we commented on every one of the reactions indicated in Table 36, but it can be said that in general the figures show most distinctly that the country, as opposed to Dublin city, was enormously well disposed to Civil Service employment. Fifty five per cent of the girls from the country recorded that in their home areas it was regarded as a good job to have; it was 'marvellous'; people were 'delighted' to hear that they had obtained a job of such prestige. It was the fact that they were Civil Servants and not their grade in it that mattered. Only 11 per cent of Dublin reactions were to the same effect, the typists over 25 hearing of them most often.

The next most frequent comment from the country areas had to do with

the permanency of a Civil Service post: 'they think it is a good secure job'; 'they take for granted that it is everlasting'. Twelve per cent of the girls from the country mentioned that they had heard this in their home areas, compared with two per cent of all the girls who heard it in Dublin. It was the over 25s who most often met people who envied Civil Servants their assured employment.

Table 36: *Typists' perceptions of country and Dublin reactions to the Civil Service*

<i>How reactions were expressed</i>	<i>Reactions of people in counties other than Dublin (as reported by typists living away from home)</i>	<i>Reactions of Dublin people (as reported by all typists)</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
*'That's a good job to have'	54.5	10.8
**'(That's) 'a good permanent job'	12.0	2.4
*(Civil Servants are) 'paid well'	5.0	0.1
*(Civil Servants) 'sit all day doing nothing'	4.8	20.3
(The Civil Service) 'is all right'	4.2	4.1
(The people I meet) 'say nothing'	4.0	2.8
(That's) 'not a good place to work in'	3.7	6.1
'What department' (do you work in?)	1.7	3.4
'The pay is much better in commercial jobs'	1.0	0.7
*'Another one up from the country'	0.7	6.5
*Gestures of amusement or deprecation	0.3	12.1
*'What? Not another Civil Servant?'	0.2	13.7
*'I could have guessed' (you were a Civil Servant)	0.0	3.5
Other answers	17.9	15.5
Total no. of typists giving information	600	834
Total no. of typists in study	704	921
Percentage of typists in study who gave no information	15.0	10.0

As Table 36 shows, Dublin people fairly commonly saw the Civil Service as a place where individuals sat around all day doing nothing but drinking tea. Twenty per cent of all the typists heard remarks of this kind — not always too seriously made perhaps — in the city; only five per cent came across this as a typical comment in the country. Other reactions common in the city

but hardly heard in the country bore upon the large numbers employed in the Service ('What? Not another Civil Servant') and that so many of these were from the country ('All the girls from the country must work there'; 'Another one up from the country'). Girls under 25 years of age heard this most often. Since the great majority of Civil Servants worked in the city, Dublin people had more opportunity to observe them in or outside their place of work, and this undoubtedly accounted for the substantially larger volume of comment coming from that source.

We were told by 12 per cent of all the girls of Dublin people being amused, or otherwise adopting a deprecatory attitude, on hearing of somebody being a Civil Servant. 'They start laughing'; 'they smile as if they are better themselves'; 'they cast their eyes to heaven'; 'they turn up their noses'; 'they usually give a look which I take to mean a low standard job'. This behaviour was mostly observed by the under 25s, and was very uncommon outside the city. Six per cent of all the girls said that people they met in Dublin thought the Civil Service was not a place to have anything to do with: 'nobody works there'; '[it's] crazy to work there'; '[it's a] low job'; and girls could do better without leaving home. Four per cent of the country girls had heard this being said in their home areas.

Girls from the country tended to live near their offices and to mix in their leisure time with people from the provinces. An enquiry as to whether these contacts yielded a different view of the Service than that which Dubliners gained from their acquaintances, revealed some differences. Those whose homes were in Dublin noticed more amusement and deprecation. The girls from the country were more often at the receiving end of references to the size of the Service and to the fact that so many of their kind were employed in it. It was they, too, who said that the people they met guessed they were Civil Servants before they told them; the Dubliners found more often that the people they met were surprised to learn that they were in the Service. Interestingly, people appeared to have formed a picture of the typical woman Civil Servant, as a result perhaps of observing that so many young unmarried country girls who had 'nine to five' jobs in the city were more likely to be Civil Servants than not.

This report, we might remind the readers, is based on conditions prevailing in 1972. As we issue it, the worsened unemployment situation is likely to have affected the public's attitude to the Service and to the job opportunities it provides. The numbers applying for Civil Service jobs are considerably greater than ever they were. Whether this has changed the public's opinion of the Service is another matter. Those who are vulnerable to the effects of business recession and inflation may well feel resentful towards the Service and its conditions of employment where, before, they were amused, or unimpressed, or mildly antagonistic. It is also possible that the increased intake of Dubliners will make the Service less 'foreign' to the Dublin community.

Chapter 10

The Typists' Own View of the Service

The typists' view of the Service derived from their own personal experience and from other people's reactions to the Service of which they were aware. Earlier chapters have dealt with their comments on specific aspects of the Service: in this chapter we give their over-all view, the summing up, as it were, of the Service as a place to work in. To help us to obtain this view, we put four questions:

- (1) *Do you like working for the Civil Service?* (They were invited to affirm one of the following statements.)
It's not a very good organisation to work for.
It's all right.
It's a fairly good organisation.
It's a good organisation.
It's a very good organisation.
- (2) *All in all, how does the Civil Service compare with other places of employment?* (Again they could affirm one of five statements or respond with a 'Don't Know'.)
Not nearly as good
Not quite as good
About the same
Somewhat better
Don't know
- (3) *If you had the choice, would you stay in the Civil Service in Dublin take a job outside the Civil Service in Dublin* (They could affirm one of these statements).
- (4) *Would you advise a friend or relation who is learning typing and/or shorthand to join the Civil Service?* (They could tick one of three replies.)
Yes
No
Don't know

The girls were also asked for their main reason for being willing or unwilling to advise others to join the Service, or for their uncertainty regarding the matter.

The questions were put in the order (1) – (4) above but were distributed through the questionnaire.

The girls' response to the first question was substantially affirmative. Three hundred and seventy two of them (41 per cent of the total) considered the Civil Service 'a good organisation' or 'a very good organisation to work for'. Four hundred and eighty (52 per cent of the total) adopted an in-between position: for 23 per cent it was 'a fairly good organisation'; for 29 per cent 'it was all right'. Only 59 (six per cent of the total) were certain that 'it's not a very good organisation to work for'. Eight girls, representing about one per cent of the typists in the survey, did not answer the question. The youngest girls liked the Service most: 51 per cent of the 16–19 year olds, as compared with 36 per cent of the 20–25 year olds, and 34 per cent of older girls.

Responding to the second question, 258 typists (28 per cent of the total) considered the Service to be somewhat better, or much better, than other places of employment. Another 292 (32 per cent of the total) rated it as being about as good as other organisations. Thus, 550 typists (60 per cent of the total) thought the Service compared well with other organisations. Two hundred and seven girls (23 per cent of the total) thought it less good. Sixty-seven girls (9 per cent of the total) did not know the answer to the question. Again, girls under 21 years of age were the most enthusiastic. Enthusiasm, generally speaking, appeared to decline as the girls got older, with a polarisation setting in about the age of 30.

It was clear from the answers to the third question that if a choice of remaining in the Service or of taking a job elsewhere in Dublin were presented to the typists, the great majority of them – 654 (71 per cent) – would stay where they were. Of the 218 girls (29 per cent) who would like to leave the Service, the largest proportion were between 18 and 35. Twenty-two girls, who were either below the age of 18 or above 35, would do the same. The typists who seemed most settled in the Service were from the country and between 35 and 65 years of age. Ninety-three per cent of these were resolved to stay, compared with 75 per cent of typists in the same age group who lived in Dublin with their families. In the under 35 age group 85 per cent of Dubliners as against 69 per cent of country girls were determined to stay.

When they came to answer the fourth question, 396 girls (43 per cent of the total) said they would advise young relatives or friends to take up typing jobs with the Service; 282 (31 per cent) would not; and 214 (23 per cent) did not know what they would do. Only 27 (three per cent) failed to reply to the question. Willingness to recommend the Service varied according to the age of the typist. Once more the under 21s were the most enthusiastic –

51 per cent of them would recommend it. The girls from 22 to 30 were the most reluctant to recommend — only 34 per cent would do so. In between were the typists from 30 upwards, 42 per cent of whom were willing to recommend the Service.

Parents, teachers and school friends as well as newspaper advertisements played a part in recruitment. Thereafter those who had been influenced by teachers or advertisements were more inclined to recommend the Service than those who had been prompted by parents or friends, which suggests that teachers took more into account the suitability of pupils for a particular kind of employment whereas parents were more concerned with such factors as security. Some girls who belonged to Civil Service families were encouraged by them to enter, but typists from non-Civil Service families were just as likely to recommend the Service when it came to their turn to do so.

Thirty-nine per cent of those who would recommend the Service gave as their main reason that they had good jobs and that the Service was as good an employer as they were likely to get. It was a good starting position for a young person leaving school. A few who had worked for other concerns found the Civil Service better. For 25 per cent security was the important factor. Twenty-one per cent mentioned the rates of pay and the marriage gratuity: 'compared to outside jobs (solicitors' offices, for instance) typists are paid very well'; 'the pay is quite good for a young girl starting off'. The remaining 25 per cent offered a variety of reasons for being inclined to recommend the Service: 'the people working here are very nice'; 'you have lots of your own age'; 'the hours are very good, and we get good holidays'; 'I like the work'; 'the work is not hard'; 'it's not hard to get into the Civil Service (1972)'; 'it's hard to get jobs these days (1972)'.

The girls who would not recommend the Service divided up as follows: 24 per cent were discontented with their work, 17 per cent with their pay, 13 per cent about the promotion prospects, and 12 per cent believed that there were better opportunities elsewhere. Thirty-four per cent provided between them a host of other views, such as 'there's very little opportunity of meeting people'; 'shorthand typists or typists are looked down on by the higher-ups'; 'it's who you know that counts, not what you know'; 'usually they have to leave home and come to Dublin and loneliness'; 'when people want to leave the Service they say "Oh, the Gratuity", so they don't leave'.

Questions 1, 2 and 4 produced very similar answers, and those who answered any one of these questions tended to answer the others in the same way. The answers were also influenced by similar attitudes to similar aspects of their jobs. To avoid repetition we therefore selected one question only — Question 4 — which, in addition to possessing the common features to which we have referred, demonstrates that the outsider's evaluation of the Service influences the insider's view. Of question 3 all we need say is that to dislike the organisation to which one belongs, may not be sufficient reason for leaving

it. Other factors have a bearing on the decision such as the loss of privileges and the difficulty of obtaining suitable alternative employment.

The typists' disposition to advise others to join the Service was influenced mostly by the belief that the Service was a good or very good organisation to work for, and better than other organisations. Liking for the work and comparative acceptability of the pay and promotion system had a similar but lesser effect. Willingness to recommend the Service was influenced to a smaller, but still statistically significant, degree by other 'inside job' factors that had to do principally with the quality of the daily working round, such as helpful colleagues, and appreciative Supervisors and drafters. The Service would also be recommended from among those who found the rules governing their sections were being reasonably applied, whose abilities and skills were being used to the full, and whose ideas were adopted. Those who would stay in their sections if offered a transfer, as well as those generally satisfied with a typing career, would recommend the Service as a place of employment to others. Where they worked, in typing sections, sections where typists and others worked together, general sections where there was only one typist, or on their own, made little difference. But dissatisfaction over the condition of typewriters did affect the issue.

Although those who liked their work were more inclined than those who did not to advise others to join the Service, work was more often given as a reason for advising against the Service than for recommending it. The relative figures were 31 per cent against 11 per cent.

Pay could have been a stronger factor in favour of recommending the Service but for the discontent of older shorthand typists, caused by the disappearance of a pay differential. The next table (Table 37) shows that only 29 per cent of them would recommend the Service compared with 48 per cent of older copy typists. The table also shows that younger shorthand typists did not share this discontent.

Table 37: *Effect of date of recruitment and typist classification on willingness to recommend Civil Service employment*

<i>Date of recruitment</i>	<i>Typist classification</i>	<i>Percentage willing to recommend the Service</i>	<i>Total no. of respondents</i>
		%	
Before 1960	Shorthand typists	29	33
Before 1960	Copy & audio typists	48	63
Since 1960	Shorthand typists	52	194
Since 1960	Copy & audio typists	42	587

A comparison of the answers of typists from the country with those of girls who lived at home in or near Dublin to some 30 questions relating to job opportunities and to work satisfaction, established that the order of satisfaction with Civil Service employment was as follows: the women from the counties around Dublin were the most satisfied, the Dubliners came closest to them, and the least satisfied were those from the rest of the country. The country girls were less satisfied about the actual work on which they were engaged, the nature of supervision, the rules governing their sections, the degree of co-operation they received from their workmates, and their pay and promotion prospects. They also complained of having fewer opportunities to do interesting work, to use their skills and abilities, or to learn on the job. Naturally as a group, as has been well established, they were less happy than Dubliners about living in Dublin, though the difference between city and country girls on this score was more pronounced among the under 25s.

We divided the country into better-off and less well-off counties, employing Ross's (1972) method, but segregating Dublin because it was the county with the highest average personal income and because the principal Civil Service offices are located there. We believed that with more of the country typists coming from the less well-off areas there would be less criticism from these areas and a consequent greater disposition to recommend the Service. In fact, however, as Table 38 shows, it was from the better-off counties the greater willingness to recommend the Service came.

Table 38: *Relationship between counties of origin classified according to personal income, nos. of typists from these counties employed in the Civil Service in Dublin, and their willingness to recommend Civil Service employment.*

<i>Counties of origin of typists grouped by level of personal income</i>	<i>Number of typists employed in the Dublin offices of the Civil Service</i>	<i>% of typists recommending Civil Service employment</i>	<i>Number of typists who answered the question about recommending the Civil Service</i>
Dublin	162	53 ^a	149
Counties with £400 + (excluding Dublin)	Averaging 17 per county	49	85
Counties with £350 – £399	Averaging 36 per county	44	209
Counties with £349 or less	Averaging 32 per county	41 ^{abc}	440

^a_p < .05. ^b_p = .01. ^c_p << .01.

The fact that the girls from the lowest income counties were least inclined to recommend the Service suggests that they had joined the Service because it was the only job, or virtually the only one, of which they were aware that suited their qualifications. The girls from Dublin and the other high income counties had, as a group, possibly more options available to them and had chosen the Service from among those options.

A second analysis relating the number of typists in the Service from a county to the total female population of that county produced a similar finding: the fewer Civil Service typists in proportion to the total female population of a county, the more willing they were to recommend it. The precise figures were 49 per cent as against 41 per cent, not a striking difference, of course, but statistically significant.

We had already analysed counties by the number of typists they sent to the Civil Service. Thirteen counties between them supplied 550 or 60 per cent of the total, an average of 42 from each county; 12 counties supplied 194 (21 per cent of the total) an average of 16 per county; County Dublin, and its 162 typists (18 per cent of the total) was excluded; as were 13 typists (roughly one per cent of the total) who did not reveal their county of origin. We found that the girls from the counties which contributed the larger numbers were more critical of the Service. The actual number of critics from those counties was 337 as against 93 in the other group, (37 per cent, as against 10 per cent). It may be a fair deduction from this that the Civil Service, by more successfully recruiting from the lower income counties, ended up with more domestic critics than if it had been able to draw more extensively on the better off counties. The Civil Service selection system tries to find satisfactory typists but is not geared to discovering among them the girls who are genuinely interested in a Service career.

Mayo and Dublin form an interesting comparison. Mayo, low in personal income, and Dublin, with the highest personal income, contributed the highest number of typists to the Service: 130 from Mayo, 162 from Dublin, or 14 per cent and 18 per cent respectively of the total. But, though alike in their representation among the typists, they differed greatly when looked at in relation to the female population of the counties: about one to every 408 in Mayo, one to every 2,753 in Dublin. They also differed in that the Mayo girls in the Service jobs lived far away from home, while the Dubliners, almost without exception, lived in their parental homes. These differences may have a bearing on what is important in the present context, viz., that we found the Mayo girls more reluctant to recommend a Service job to friends and relations: only 39 per cent would do so compared with 53 per cent of the Dubliners.

Since the survey began, the Department of Lands has opened up an office in Castlebar, Mayo's county town, and some Mayo girls now commute daily from their homes to that office. It would be interesting to compare their view of the Civil Service with that of Mayo girls of similar age working in

Dublin and of Dublin girls. Our surmise is that those living at home, whether in Castlebar or Dublin, would think more of their jobs than the Mayo girls in Dublin do. If the location of the job satisfies the individual, it helps to make the job as a whole attractive. We have some evidence that the availability of Civil Service jobs in the country increases the popularity of the Service; typists from counties that had a better ratio of government typing jobs to the number of girls from the same counties working in Dublin were more disposed to recommend the Service. The precise figures were 50 per cent as against 40 per cent, a statistically significant difference.

In the previous chapter we described the public reaction to Civil Service employment as it was relayed to us by the typists. It was fair to surmise that what they heard outside the office would to some degree affect whether serving typists would advise others to join the Service or not. We classified as approving, any references to the security of Civil Service employment, the good pay and promotion prospects, the cleanliness of the work, the fact that one needed brains to do well in the entry competitions, and similar remarks that indicated that the Service was a good place to be in. We grouped as disapproving, those references to Civil Servants spending all the day drinking tea that the work was dull and boring, that promotion prospects were poor, and that entry was possible with a low level of education. We also included as disapproving, hints that no self-respecting person would work in such an organisation, that those who stayed in it were 'stick in the muds', and allusions to the amused 'looking down the nose', 'smile as if they are better themselves' attitude, and the attempt by some typists to conceal where they worked ('never tell them that').

In both Dublin and the country, those who heard nice things about the Service were more inclined than those who heard disparaging remarks about it to recommend Service employment. The figures for Dublin were 64 per cent and 39 per cent; for the country they were 45 per cent and 30 per cent. Since the country areas were favourable to the Service, the overall attitude of the typists from those areas should have been more favourable than that of the Dubliners. But it did not work out that way. Forty-five per cent of the girls from the country would recommend Civil Service employment as against 53 per cent of the Dublin girls. It looks as if the Dublin girls who were hearing remarks favourable to the Service belonged to a section of the Dublin community which, in relation to its attitude to the Service, constituted, as it were, an island in a sea of criticism.

As a group, the Dublin typists were older than the country girls, and their higher appreciation of the Service could have been due to this fact, since satisfaction with jobs and organisations tends to increase with age. (Herzberg and others, 1959; Tannenbaum and others, 1974). However, Dubliners over 25 hardly differed from country girls of the same age in this regard, the percentages being 39 and 37 respectively. The big difference between the two groups was observable among the under 25s; 60 per cent of the Dub-

liners of that age as against 44 per cent of the others, were prepared to recommend the Service. The reduced interest of the country girls may have been due to their being newcomers in a city which was largely neutral to, amused by, if not critical of the Service. The younger girls from the country, who had been accustomed in their home areas to a largely benevolent view of it, must have been taken aback by the attitudes of the Dublin public. Where this was the case we expected that these girls would be less inclined to recommend Civil Service employment, and this proved to be so, as can be seen from the next table (Table 39). The relatively few typists to whom the table refers is the result of the inclusion only of those individuals whose observations could confidently be interpreted as either positive, negative or neutral.

Table 39: *Relationship between climates of opinion regarding the Civil Service and willingness to recommend Civil Service employment*

Climate of opinion regarding the Civil Service		% of typists who would recommend Civil Service typing jobs to relatives and friends %	No. of typists included in these calculations
Home-area	Dublin		
Approving	Approving	74	38
Approving	Neutral	54	13
Approving	Disapproving	22	18

The table is of course based on public attitudes filtered to us through the typists — a *duairt bean liom* situation — and is on that account to be treated with some care. The testing of the reality is outside the scope of the present enquiry but worthy of further study. If the Dublin attitudes are as the girls said they were, a serious effort to improve them, enlarging in the process the popular understanding of the role of the Service in the community, would probably increase the willingness of country girls to recommend the Service. It would probably also bring in more Dublin school leavers.

Chapter 11

Superintendents and Supervisors of Typists

Twenty-six Superintendents and twenty-one Supervisors of Typists took part in the survey and filled in the same questionnaires as the typists, with the omission of a few questions addressed specifically to the typists and the addition of a few questions addressed directly to themselves. In giving in this chapter the views of Superintendents and Supervisors on their work and working conditions, and comparing them with each other and with the views of the typists, we follow the sequence of Chapters 1 to 5 and 8 to 10. Nothing is said about the living conditions of Superintendents and Supervisors which, for the typists living away from home, are the subjects of Chapters 6 and 7: relatively few Superintendents and Supervisors lived away from home.

Superintendents as a class were older than Supervisors and typists. Eighty-nine per cent were 45 years of age or more, compared with 29 per cent of Supervisors and 8 per cent of typists. Why there were so many of them in that age-bracket was because before the 1960s the Superintendent class was recruited from the most senior shorthand typists. The position of Superintendent was also the highest in the Service requiring shorthand and typing qualifications and experience. Promotion to a higher grade still was open to Superintendents but there were few outlets, and many may have preferred to stay where they were rather than enter an entirely new area and one which might not have been as satisfying so far as contacts with persons, important and unimportant alike were concerned as the status of head of a large typing section.

In background, training and recruitment, Superintendents differed greatly from Supervisors and typists, 85 per cent were of urban origin, compared with 38 per cent of Supervisors and 33 per cent of typists, whilst 58 per cent of them had been reared in Dublin, as against 33 per cent of Supervisors and 18 per cent of typists. Just as teachers had influenced fewer Dubliners among the typists in deciding to become Civil Servants, so fewer Superintendents recalled their teachers playing a part in that decision for them: the related figures are 39 per cent for Superintendents and 63 per cent for typists. Only four per cent of Superintendents and 19 per cent of Supervisors, as against 36 per cent of typists, were influenced by newspaper advertisements. The

minimum age of entry to the Service before the Second World War was 18. Since then it has been progressively lowered to its current level of 16½. The average age of typists entering the Service in 1938 was 20; in 1970 it was 18. This explains why 54 per cent of Superintendents were 20 years of age or older when they entered, compared with only 19 per cent of Supervisors and 16 per cent of typists. Before the Reorganisation of 1960, shorthand typists had higher status and pay than copy typists. This induced copy typists inside and outside the Service to continue their shorthand studies in order to obtain the higher and better paid position; 58 per cent of the Superintendents went to shorthand classes after they had started work, compared with only 24 per cent of Supervisors and 17 per cent of typists.

The work of Superintendents and Supervisors, briefly stated, consists in seeing that the drafters' demands for shorthand and typing assistance are promptly met, and that finished work is up to the required standard. Being the drafters' contact with the large typing sections, the Superintendents noticed bad handwriting more than typists did. However, more than Supervisors or typists, they considered the instructions they received from drafters adequate; and were more confident than the typists of their knowledge of the work on which the drafters were engaged and of the pressures to which they were subjected. This may explain why fewer Superintendents approved of drafters bringing work to typing sections; only 15 per cent of Superintendents and 20 per cent of Supervisors favoured this, compared with 49 per cent of typists. Supervisors, more than typists, had met all their drafters and noticed more queue jumping by them. When placed according to whether their work relationship with drafters was more or less stressful, we found, over eight questions asked, that Superintendents had a more difficult time than Supervisors and typists. It was the only aspect of the job in which Superintendents came worse off than Supervisors or typists.

Superintendents felt more than typists that their absence from their sections made a difference, presumably to output and the way work was done. They, and the Supervisors to a lesser degree, had more opportunities to use their skills and to introduce their ideas. They could decide the pace of their work more than the typists could; in that regard Supervisors were almost as well off as Superintendents. Not surprisingly, Superintendents liked their work more than the typists did; indeed they and the Supervisors gave their work a much better rating than the typists did when comparing it with life outside the office. And yet, though Superintendents and Supervisors liked their work more, they did not find it significantly more interesting than the typists did.

The typists ordinarily worked in the same room as their immediate superiors. Supervisors of Typists worked less frequently in the same room as theirs. Superintendents were never in that position. Sharing the same room certainly facilitated frequent communication: yet the typists were consulted much less often by their immediate superiors about work problems than

were Superintendents or Supervisors, whose opinions and suggestions appeared to be taken more into account. Normally it was the typist who went to her Superintendent or Supervisor with a work problem, not the other way round. This was because, in the absence of the drafter of the document, it was the Superintendent who was likely to know more about the work since it was to the Superintendent that the drafter communicated his typing needs. However, surveys of individuals at different hierarchical levels usually find (Tannenbaum *et al.*, 1974) that people at the lowest levels appear to be least often consulted by their immediate superiors and their opinions and suggestions least often taken into account.

Superintendents and Supervisors, and other officials who had charge of typists, were seen by the majority of typists as friendly and approachable; yet the typists did not feel as free to take complaints to them as Superintendents thought they did; Supervisors were significantly less sure than Superintendents that their subordinates felt so free. Thus, 92 per cent of Superintendents considered that their subordinates were either completely free or very free to take complaints to them; but only 53 per cent of the typists, and 67 per cent of Supervisors, thought that was the case. At all events, complaints made by Superintendents and Supervisors appear to have been listened to more than when made by typists. There was one point, however, on which all parties agreed, namely, that individuals to be affected by decisions about to be made in the Department were not usually consulted beforehand.

Where superior and subordinate shared a room, closer supervision resulted as a matter of course. Typists were very much more closely supervised than Supervisors, and they in turn were more closely supervised than Superintendents. However, the three groups hardly differed in their acceptance of the suitability of the supervision they received. But whatever the effect close supervision had on productivity, it was certainly less acceptable than supervision of a less close kind. This fact, coupled with those mentioned in the previous paragraphs, caused typists to say that they had very little influence on what went on in their sections, and for Superintendents to say how much influence they had. In that connection, percentages are worth quoting: 81 per cent of Superintendents and 52 per cent of Supervisors saw themselves as having 'great influence' or 'quite a bit of influence' in their sections; only 15 per cent of typists saw themselves or their colleagues as having any similar degree of influence in that situation. All three groups were more or less in agreement as to the degree of influence exercised in their section by the immediate superior of the individual in charge, whoever he or she happened to be. Generally speaking, Superintendents and Supervisors were much better off in this matter of communication with their superiors than the typists were with theirs.

Superintendents and Supervisors had better opportunities for meeting

people on the job, but at the morning breaks 46 per cent of the Superintendents took it on their own as against five per cent of Supervisors and three per cent of typists. Most Supervisors (81 per cent) took their break with their work group, and so did many of the typists (57 per cent), compared with 23 per cent of Superintendents. Thirty per cent of typists as against 12 per cent of Superintendents took theirs with people from other sections as well as their own. Superintendents, but not Supervisors, were significantly more in touch than typists were with people they had previously worked with in other sections (83 per cent of Superintendents as against 75 per cent of Supervisors and 63 per cent of typists).

In the matter of complaints about the work environment, no particular difference was observable between the typists and the supervisory grades save in respect of heating and telephone facilities. Only two Superintendents saw defective heating as a cause of complaint in their offices as against six Supervisors and 238 typists. Again, only two Superintendents were conscious of serious complaints about the availability of telephones, contrasting with four Supervisors and 287 typists.

The centralisation of the Civil Service in Dublin was more acceptable to Superintendents and Supervisors than to typists: none of them had ever applied for a transfer to an office in the country as against 14 per cent of all typists, or 19 per cent of the typists whose homes lay outside Dublin. Only one of the Superintendents and three of the Supervisors would take a posting abroad, compared with 285 (or 29 per cent) of the typists. Supervisors and Superintendents were as disinclined as typists were to contemplate a change of section or Department. Supervisors were equally determined to remain in the Service — and Superintendents even more insistently, no doubt because of the age factor in their case. The three groups did not differ significantly in their assessment of the Service as an employer: a majority of each group thought it was a good or very good organisation to work for. But Superintendents rated it higher than other employees 54 per cent of them as against 28 per cent of the typists. Superintendents were also more likely to recommend the Service to others (62 per cent as against 43 per cent of the typists).

Supervisors as well as Superintendents were more sanguine than the typists about promotion possibilities. Supervisors also acknowledged more frequently than typists did that they were as well placed in that regard as friends outside the Service. But they shared the typists' criticism of the Service's promotion system: only 13 per cent of the typists and 19 per cent of the Supervisors considered the promotion system fair as it affected them; the corresponding figure for the Superintendents was 62 per cent. The satisfaction of Superintendents doubtless arose from the fact that they had benefitted from the system and were prepared to believe in its continuing worth.

The majority of Supervisors (76 per cent) and typists (71 per cent), as against half (50 per cent) of the Superintendents, would have preferred on

promotion to continue working in a secretarial capacity. Possibly the Superintendents were not so keen because they no longer typed in their jobs, and a secretarial job, even if it meant promotion, would have meant going back to typing and its less senior connotation. Or perhaps, since there were no promotions in the Service through which typists could use their skills, they found it more difficult to envisage such a possibility. Their experience of supervising and directing the work of a section made them less dependent on their skills, perhaps.

What has been said so far in this chapter is based on the questionnaires: what follows derives from discussions with individual Superintendents and Supervisors at various stages throughout the project. All of them had problems in common which increased with the size of the operation they were associated with: problems emanating from drafters increased with the number of drafters and the variety of work they sent for typing. Training problems increased with the number of typists, and the varying stages of preparedness girls displayed as they arrived from schools and secretarial colleges. Typewriter problems increased with the number of machines involved and the difficulty of replacing old machines with new ones through the operation of an economy factor which was never mentioned.

Apart from providing the Superintendents of the largest typing sections with Assistant Superintendents or Supervisors, no other allowance was made for the scale of the operation. It seemed to some of the Superintendents, endorsing the opinions of girls working under them, that girls in large typing sections had to work harder than girls in other sections had to do. If this be true, it would seem to follow that experienced typists in the large typing sections who coped with the greatest variety of typing work — not made any easier by having to do it at a distance from the drafters — should have received some recognition for it. Perhaps more of the experienced typists ought to be persuaded to remain in the large typing sections if these are to remain a feature of the Service. Such few monetary rewards as came the way of typists over and above their pay went to those who worked to senior individuals in the hierarchy. The allowance they received was for confidential work which had to be done with skill and speed, but this work was narrower in scope than that of an experienced typist in a large typing section. Superintendents knew the girls in their sections on whom they could rely for service requiring skill and speed, and withheld difficult work from newcomers until they had acquired some experience. With so many trainees around, the probable result was an unequal distribution of work.

Some Superintendents gave a nightmarish description of their efforts to provide, with a substantially inexperienced staff, a quick, quality service for a large number of people. Twenty-nine per cent of typists under Superintendents, 48 per cent under Supervisors, and 22 per cent of typists working to other officials, had less than 15 months' service. The clerical and mixed clerical/typing sections were the best off: they had fewer of the least exper-

perienced and more of the most experienced. Typing sections under Superintendents and Supervisors were left with more of the least experienced — that is, those with less than fifteen months in the Service — and more of those with from two to four years' experience. And paradoxically, experienced typists were located, confidential work apart, where they were possibly least needed. But this, we have reason to believe, is not a Civil Service phenomenon only.

Typing sections — especially the large ones — were expected to fulfil two contrary purposes: to provide a wide variety of typing services and to be a training ground. The Superintendents wholeheartedly accepted the first of these functions, but some of them felt that training was not their business, though the allocation to them of insufficiently trained recruits indicated that that was what was expected of them. Forty-eight per cent of typists under Supervisors were relative newcomers which suggests that Supervisors were even harder pressed than Superintendents, but their work was confined to a section of a Department or a small number of sections; it did not range over a whole Department or many sections, so that young typists could adapt more quickly to a less varied range of work. In this connection it is significant that private typing agencies are always run by experienced typists, and are kept busy, despite high charges. They are single-minded places: they go all out to serve their clients' needs and leave training to others.

Some Superintendents spoke of being unable to return work until it had been retyped three or four times, the result being that those who had drafted it were delayed and that others had to wait longer in the queue. It was irritating for drafters to have to wait. They might not have felt so badly had they ultimately benefited from the training process. But, unless they transferred to a section which had its own typist, or became senior enough to be allocated a typist assistant, they were likely to face this experience again and again. If their work happened to be done by an experienced typist it came back quickly enough; but they had no means of knowing in advance whether their work would be given to such a person. They were left in a state of suspension, feeling their work incomplete till the finished typescript was put into their hands. Until that happened they — whatever about the typist — had nothing to show for their efforts.

Superintendents were most affected by the turnover of typists and their powerlessness to influence the control of selection and replacement. When girls left to get married or for other reasons they were usually replaced by school leavers or girls from secretarial colleges with little, if any, job experience. When typists were required for other sections, Superintendents were expected to supply them from among the most competent members of their staff. The request that they should do so came from their superiors and, by and large, the experienced typists likely to be affected did not object to going, feeling it was time they had a move. It became Civil Service policy that they should move out of the typing sections into general sections when

they reached the barrier point on their scale, but few of them were still in their original sections when that point was reached.

Some Superintendents spoke of their sense of isolation from the rest of the Department, an isolation that stemmed partly from being the only person in the place doing their particular job and partly from providing a service to people above and remote from them in the hierarchy. These higher officials sometimes relayed criticisms of the typing to them through the Superintendents' immediate superiors, but direct, face-to-face, communication with the complainants was not encouraged. This was a frustrating experience since it made it impossible for the Superintendents to explain their position. In another context, Superintendents were appreciative of assistance from their superiors when it was given, but normally they were left to find their own solutions to problems. When, for instance, machines were beyond repair, some superiors might intervene to have them replaced, but others behaved as if they were unaware of the existence of such problems. They were not slow to secure the transfer of a Superintendent's best girls, however, and could be painfully slow in getting good replacements.

Staff replacement was, of course, a function of the Civil Service Commission, which recruited once a year or so for the Service as a whole but could not concern itself with what happened from day-to-day inside departmental typing sections. The Commission at the time of the survey was facing stiff competition for staff and was unable to move as quickly as Superintendents would have liked it to do. In such situations the Service presented itself to the Superintendents as a huge machine effectively controlling large forces but not flexible enough to meet small immediate needs.

It was characteristic of the Superintendent of Typists to preside over the workroom, and this, of course, was where one would expect to find her in view of her title. If she had been given the title of Superintendent of Typing Services she might have been expected to move around more, to be more in contact with the drafters, for example. And to move around was essential if necessary changes in the organisation of the service she superintended were to be effected. There were typists working outside the typing room for whom the Superintendent had some responsibility, but in some cases she had never met them. Visits by the Superintendent to the typing sections of other Departments to see how they performed were almost unheard of, and where they occurred they were the result of a friendship between Superintendents. As there was nobody within a Department who shared the Superintendent's kind of knowledge and her precise problems, it would have been highly desirable had these inter-departmental contacts been increased and officially recognised. A vehicle for this could be an annual conference of Superintendents and Supervisors with representatives of the Department of the Public Service and the Stationery Office at which one item for discussion would be the typewriter position. The Conference would desirably arrange visits to the typing personnel of other organisations and to exhibitions of office equipment.

Chapter 12

Some General Reflections

In 1878 the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury issued a Circular Letter to British and Irish Public Service Departments in which they made three recommendations that have a bearing on this study. First, that the copying of documents and correspondence should in future be done with the aid of the typewriter. Secondly, they recommended that women (or boys) should be employed to operate the typewriter which would reduce the expenditure on salaries. Thirdly, they recommended the setting up of typing sections, largely to ensure that more senior officers did not spend any time typing, thereby reducing the time available for their normal duties.

The Lords Commissioners were not concerned, it would seem, with the effect of segregation on the efficiency and morale of the new typist class, or with the concentration of the noise of their machines where it would not affect the rest of the staff. Nor did the Lords Commissioners notice that their Circular Letter would limit easy communication between the typists and the originators of the work they were employed to do, the drafters. This is a limitation of which we are certainly aware today, and the larger the typing section in which typists are segregated, the more acute are the problems that arise.

The introduction of the typewriter and the segregation of its operators in sections produced a new technology and continued a work organisation (for copying) which separated the finishing of a document from its beginning. The originator of a document was not to see it through to its final form, it being accepted that the finishing stages were routine in character and could be dealt with by individuals with a particular finishing skill, i.e., typing, which aimed at presenting the work of drafters in a form in which it could be read and assimilated with increased facility. It was relatively easy and cheap to train people to type, and to place them as a new class within the organisation.

In producing a fair copy of a draft, the typist was involved in something more than a cosmetic operation. She improved the appearance of the draft, of course, but she also removed from it the personality of the drafter which would have remained had the draft been left in his handwriting, for, clear or not, a manuscript always carries the stamp of its author. Typing gives a

document an objective air: the reader can concentrate more on what is in it than he would if his attention was in some degree deflected by the merits or demerits of a particular kind of handwriting. This is more important now than when the typewriter was first introduced because handwriting has become far less uniform than it was. The typewriter may have brought about this greater diversity. People can afford to ignore what their handwriting looks like, knowing that the typewriter will make the final form of their communications entirely presentable.

The job of typing is recognisably the same as it was in 1878, but, is no longer confined to typing sections; it is associated with a variety of work situations though still in the hands of the typist. With few exceptions there has been no sign of the drafter himself doing any typing, possibly because it would take him away from more important things as the Lords Commissioners feared it might. Neither the Commissioners, nor their successors in Ireland, adverted to the potentiality of the typewriter as an instrument of drafting as well as of copying. The telephone, another 19th century creation, sits comfortably on the drafter's desk, but the typewriter has yet to be seen as a natural adjunct to his work. Journalists, writers and academics have long taken to using it in that way. We distinguish of course between rough preliminary drafting and the skilled, finished work which will always remain within the typist's competence. And we recognise that if the drafter began to use the typewriter for his preliminary drafting, it would change somewhat the character of the professional typist's job, reducing the demand for her typing services but enabling her other talents to be employed. There is a tendency to regard some jobs as incapable of being changed, but the more recent history of typing in the Irish Civil Service contains some evidence to the contrary.

Their different functions in the production of a document set drafters and typists apart, and the separation is increased by status difference and by the segregation of many typists in typing sections, creating the 'us' and 'them' situation. It is in the relationship of drafters to the large typing section that this is really apparent. There the typists feel most remote from the scene of action; they are least aware of areas from which the work comes to them and the circumstances which produce it. To add to their sense of dissociation, the section is sometimes stowed away in a basement, or on the top floor of an old building without lifts.

It is not the practice for drafters to deliver their work to the typing section; this is done by messengers. If drafters come to the section, it is usually to speed up the typing of a particular document. If the purpose of a visit is to answer questions or to alert the section to special features of a task, that might be helpful; but very often the aim is to secure a better position in a lengthy queue. This involves the Superintendent in making preferential judgement in areas of competition affecting sections and individuals. Being in a competitive situation, but having to satisfy his superiors, the drafter

unloads his anxieties on to the typing section. There are times when this form of pressure reaches such a peak that all drafters have to be excluded. The attachment of a coloured label to pieces of work so as to secure their speedy return is a stratagem that sometimes produces the absurd position that nearly half the papers in a Superintendent's tray are so labelled. In a situation like this the labels can only be disregarded, and the first-come-first-served rule applied.

Work as it flows from all parts of a Department into a large typing section is seen simply as 'typing'. The normal practice is that the Superintendent separates it out and allocates it to individual typists according to their capacity to handle it. A better arrangement would be to assign the work of certain sections to particular typists specialising in that work. In that way typists would acquire a knowledge of the work of the sections they were working to, the people involved in them, their modes of expression — in other words, the sort of information that fosters a genuine and sustained interest in a subject. Seeing operations in the round — at the beginning, middle and end — gives meaning to a job. In the interests of efficiency and of providing a satisfying work environment some such arrangement seems called for as Departments expand, and employ an increasing vocabulary of technological jargon.

The large typing section always contains a number of inexperienced typists, and it is in everybody's interests that these girls should learn as quickly as possible all the typing work of the Department, if such be possible. They have the advantage of beginning their careers under a person with typing experience but, after a short introduction, there is no brake on the variety of work they are asked to do. They are thus dependent on the Superintendent for a longer time than might be necessary under a different arrangement, and are left feeling that their apprenticeship has been unduly protracted. The mistakes they make often derive from the fact that they are frequently handed material that is new to them, so that some of them arrive at the point of never expecting to understand what they are doing. This results in the production of sentences which are meaningless to themselves and to everybody else. The limited vocabulary of some typists may be a factor in this. In jobs where figures and standardised texts are a regular feature, vocabulary is not so important, but where a typist works in a large typing section or as secretary to a senior official, vocabulary and general knowledge are valuable assets.

The typist in the large typing section is not always asked to correct her mistakes for the reason that when they are noticed she is likely to be engaged on other work and the drafter is in a hurry to get his typing back. Not having the mistakes pointed out to her, and not then correcting them, she loses the advantage of learning something new and of storing it in her memory. One can learn from other's mistakes, but more from one's own.

In 1972 the quality of the work of shorthand typists varied so greatly

that drafters sometimes asked Superintendents to send them the best girls they had, naming individuals whom they considered particularly competent. This practice the Superintendents found embarrassing, seeing in it an attempt to confine shorthand work to a few girls and depriving the others of regular practice. Drafters were not always as co-operative as they might have been and, where competent shorthand writers were not immediately available, resorted either to writing their drafts laboriously in longhand or to dictating them on to a machine.

In such a large organisation as the Civil Service one senses that a back-up service will in future be required to provide remedial or additional training for some typists, and to encourage the use of the dictating machine to the fullest extent. Its availability inside/outside the office, and especially for younger drafters, is an important matter. Like the telephone and the typewriter, it is a piece of equipment that should perhaps be found in every room. It is, of course, recognised that in the preparation of longer and detailed documents, drafting in longhand has important advantages, but otherwise dictating machines are an undoubted facility. Their use, however, in the Civil Service has contributed little to the job satisfaction of the audio typists who emerge as the least satisfied of the typing body.

A typewritten document being essentially something to be seen, the audio typist is at a disadvantage in having to depend on what she hears in the headphones. Unlike shorthand and copy typists, she starts her typing without having seen the length of the document or its paragraphing: like the shorthand typist she has also to provide the spellings; but, being separated from the 'dictator', she has to substitute for words that are indistinct on the tape. In view of such difficulties it seems important to limit the number of 'dictators' for whom an audio typist works. In audio sections the work comes to the individual typist in the order in which it reaches the section, exposing her to the whole gamut of Departmental operations and the varieties of language, technical and otherwise, in which they are conducted. Some corrected manuscripts are too messy for typists to copy and ought to be transferred to tape. The manuscripts should then be sent with the tape to the audio typist. In this fashion the 'dictators' would provide the audio typist with two cues or sources of information, one visual, the other aural, the visual being important for layout and spellings and for clarifying indistinct words. It is not a question of *either* using a dictating machine *or* drafting with the pen; the two can be combined to speed up the production process.

Apart from the messy, over-corrected manuscripts they produce, and the pressure they put on the large typing sections to have their work done out of turn, drafters were accused by the typists of sending inadequate instructions with their drafts and of submitting their manuscripts in illegible handwriting. They contended that their production rate suffered in consequence. Handwriting was the most difficult area in which to achieve improvement.

Appeals to drafters not to write so quickly were of little avail; and typists became resentful at being expected to work miracles with slovenly drafts.

The ratio of drafters to typists needs to be defined, and more attention needs to be given to training drafters, as they enter the Service, to the importance of (1) producing readable manuscripts and (2) of recognising the potential of typing, dictating and copying machines. Something also requires to be done to ensure that the girls who, on entry, are assigned to work groups as the only typists, give satisfaction, and where they do not, to diagnose what is at fault and put it right. This may mean that the girls may have to be given further training.

Some commercial teachers might also like to see and experience for themselves the work typists do in government departments. The Civil Service could help by offering them some experience in typing and general sections during the school recess. Both the teachers and those in charge of the Civil Service typing services and of the training of typist recruits would stand to gain from these experiences.

The quality of the typist entrant is what ultimately matters; and there is, therefore, more point in ensuring the highest standards at the point of reception rather than having subsequently to face a remedial job that is costly of time and effort. In the late 'sixties and early 'seventies the Civil Service experienced difficulty in recruiting all the typists of a sufficient standard that were required. The Service was undergoing an expansion but its position of being the major employer of typists had changed: in the 1920s it employed one-eighth of all typists in the country; the figure for 1971 was one-twentieth. The Civil Service Commission tried to maintain under the more competitive conditions its policy of recruiting typists who, within a short time after entering the Service, would be able to do any work allocated to them. But due to the unprecedented competition from other major employers of young women office workers, it was no longer certain that the offer of a job would be accepted. The Commission also had the impression that a sizable number of candidates who were not really interested were using their competitions, with encouragement from teachers, as a try-out for something else. If successful, they could produce this evidence to other employers of what they were capable of. If they were unsuccessful, they had at least something to take into account when considering what to do next.

In the late 'sixties and early 'seventies, girls were marrying younger, which meant that the Civil Service, because of its 'marriage bar' (subsequently abolished) had to be satisfied with less experienced staff. Those who got married were replaced by school leavers, or by girls with very little work experience, and they were younger than those who had entered in the preceding decades. The greater abundance of office jobs probably attracted girls from school who might have taken advantage of the extended free education.

The late '60s and early '70s were also a period of rising incomes, in which

inflation played a part. Membership of unions increased, helped by successful wage bargaining, and employers paid more to ensure they got and retained workers of quality. The Civil Service, on a number of occasions, in fixing wage rounds, were slower than other employing organisations with which they were in competition, and this could have affected recruitment. The relevance of the timing of a wage settlement to recruitment in that pre-National Wage Agreement period might be expressed in the following sequence:

1. Wage Settlement
2. The organisation which made the settlement, advertises vacancies
3. The conditions of employment outlined in the advertisement are compared by interested members of the public with what they already know about that particular organisation and others. The number and quality of applicants depend on this evaluation.
4. The number and quality of persons eventually selected depend on the number and quality of applicants coming forward.
5. The productivity of the employing organisation depends at least partly on the number and quality of those recruited.
6. The new recruits become a 'grapevine' for the surrounding community, especially for young people, and their inside view of the organisation influences individuals likely to be interested in joining that organisation. It is consequently important for the organisation to ascertain, as far as it can, what the inside view is, and especially important for the Civil Service because of the size of its recruiting operation.

The sequence may not be wholly relevant in present (1978) circumstances; but would become very relevant in the event of a National Wage Agreement being no longer available as a guide to Civil Service rates of pay. Pay is, of course, not the only factor that decides where an individual will work; security, location of the job, the variety and interest of the work, and promotion opportunities all play a part. For the girls who participated in the Survey and other school leavers who turned down Service employment, pay was the outstanding factor. National wage agreements ensured that the pay rates of Civil Servants kept pace with what was happening elsewhere, and the spread of unemployment among school leavers, arising from the world recession, immensely improved the number and quality of applicants.

Our study shows that, at the point of recruitment, the shorthand typist was a better typist — that is to say, better at typing — than the copy typist.

The Civil Service paid her a higher salary initially, but allowed the copy typist to catch up on her at the maximum of their common scale. This suggests that, in Civil Service thinking, the copy typist will be as good a typist as the shorthand typist at a point in time; but she will, of course, never be a substitute for the shorthand typist in the matter of shorthand.

The careful work done by the Civil Service Commission in selecting suitable typing personnel ought to be followed by an equally careful system of placement. In the Service a great volume of varied typing work is done in a number of situations, and for productivity and job satisfaction it is essential that all the typists involved should be doing what they are best at and would like to do. The Commission currently determines the Department an entrant is to go to, taking into account her stated preference, if any. (Entrants are not invited to declare their preferences but a few do spontaneously.) The Commission does not use the examination results to place the girl where she has shown she is likely to be successful, for example, at working from corrected manuscripts or from standardised material, and does not take into account any preferences the girls might have. In assigning a girl to a Department immediately on recruitment the Commission narrows the prospect of her getting the job that fits her best.

We would like to see an appropriately situated section set up to ensure the better placement of typists, manned by officers familiar with the specific typing needs of Departments, e.g., the frequency of corrected manuscripts, the extent to which jargon is used, the degree to which the work is standardised, the volume of tabulation, and, where clerical work is involved, what is expected of entrants in the way of tots, etc. Some of the questions we asked in the survey could be used to ascertain what the entrants would like to do. Such a section could assess their training needs and train them where necessary before assigning them. Some initial placements are bound to be unsatisfactory because of factors such as personality differences, inefficiency, or boredom, but the placement service could redirect girls to where they would be happier and more efficient. The staff of the placement service would need to spend a great deal of their time visiting Departments, speaking to the typists and their immediate superiors.

On the issue of work satisfaction, the survey indicates that a typist is most satisfied when she works in a room of her own to one or a small number of senior officials, or when she is the only typist in a work team and shares an office with other members of that team. Next, in order of satisfaction, is a situation where a typist works in a small typing section. Then comes the typist who works in a room with both typists and non-typists: the new open-plan officescape seems to encourage this arrangement which is almost as unsatisfying as working in a large typing section, the least satisfying all Civil Service typing situations.

Work satisfaction would be increased if certain changes the girls describe were made. At present, generally speaking, they work with women only;

they would prefer to work in mixed company. Some work for many drafters, some for a few; and those in the latter category endure less strain from illegible handwriting, inadequate instructions, and pressure for the return of work. The majority of the girls enjoy doing one kind of typing only, either letters or reports or memos, for example, but would prefer more varied typing work. Many type all day, but would prefer a mixture of clerical and typing work. Some would like to work with their own age group, others would prefer to work with people of different ages. Generally speaking, the more senior in rank the immediate superior is, the happier the typists are. And while there is evidence of an attachment to one's current work group regardless of its size, the smaller groups seem happiest. Many girls have said that they would not consider leaving their groups on any account because of the friendships they had formed in them.

There was some correspondence from the survey between the inside and outside views of the work of the Service: neither saw it as particularly attractive; insiders complained often of its uninteresting nature, outsiders that Civil Servants spent their time doing little or nothing. This is obviously an area in which the image of the Service needs to be improved.

The girls were critical of the ambience in which their work was done. They disliked the layout of the typing rooms — the desks set in rows of straight lines reminding them of the regimentation of school days. Where they were given the opportunity of arranging things themselves, they opted to have the desks placed in a semi-circle. The transfer of staff to new buildings was often the point at which changes of this kind took place; but the idea of consulting the girls on such a subject should be generally followed. Some offices that had no plans for an early move also appeared disinclined to replace worn-out furniture and equipment, thereby adding to their unattractiveness for young people. There is something natural, of course, about holding on to long familiar objects: we all do this in our homes, but offices where new people are constantly coming to work should reflect more the rising generation.

There was little evidence that the typing sections had been visited by the most senior officials. If they had, something might have been done earlier to modernise them. Some girls were not slow to comment on the superior decor of the offices of senior officials. Some others, sensed the lack of direct communication between them and the higher ranks, and made it known that they would welcome an occasional opportunity of meeting their seniors to express their feelings directly to them. Such meetings could be a corrective to the rosier view common in the upper echelons of most organisations. It is a commonplace finding in job satisfaction research that one's place in the hierarchy colours one's view of an organisation (Tannenbaum, *et al*, 1974). Officials in the middle ranks, though closer to typing problems, might not, without pressure from above or below, initiate change. Our impression

was that these officials did not move around sufficiently to do much more than keep the wheels turning.

Three studies, one British, one French, one American, have relevance to the subjects we have just been discussing. The authors of the British study disclose that there was large-scale dissatisfaction among the Civil Service typing pools they examined, that pools – the British still use this word – of about 15 typists were to be recommended, and that the majority of the girls who were dissatisfied with pool work preferred to do a mixture of clerical and typing work as Personal Assistants. (Walker 1961). We are surprised by the recommendation that the optimum size of a typing section should be 15. We would prefer no more than 12 and preferably something smaller still.

The French study of a typing section in a government department (Walker, 1961, Crozier, 1964,) was aimed at advancing sociological theory relating to bureaucracies. It makes no recommendation about the structure of typing sections but gives the impression that the French typists were about as satisfied and dissatisfied as ours were. An interesting feature is that most of the girls questioned came from country districts to work in Paris as ours came to Dublin. The American study (reported in Campbell and Converse, 1972) seemed to indicate that men and women in routine office jobs in the United States are as content with their lot as Irish Civil Service typists are; just under one half of both groups would take up the same jobs again if they were making a fresh start.

The Civil Service, because of the greatly increased number of applicants for secure employment, may well be recruiting better material now at all levels. In these circumstances it may be tempting for the Service to leave the typist situation as it is, in the expectation that new recruits will be contented with their jobs and unlikely to complain of working conditions. There is some research evidence to support the view that what society considers a routine job is more highly valued at times of high unemployment (Bradburn and Caplovitz, 1965). But while typists entering the Service at this juncture may settle for less than what the girls in our study would have liked, we would not expect their view of what constitutes an interesting job to be radically different. The girls' ideals in this respect conform to what people at all levels elsewhere look for in the matter of satisfaction from their working day (Tannenbaum and others, 1974). This ought to encourage the Civil Service to take what the girls have said as a blueprint for future typing jobs. It would be unfortunate if their views were ignored and the Service left to face in better times a repeat performance of the 1972 situation.

We turn from a consideration of the work and working conditions of the typists as a whole to the living conditions of those, the majority, who came to work in Dublin. At the time of the survey, most recruits at Clerical Assistant level were from the country and had to 'build' homes and a social milieu for themselves in the city. The Civil Service, in its selection process,

did not take into account whether otherwise suitable applicants would adapt easily to city life, overcoming the sense of separation which most people experience on first living away from home. The only official indication the Service gave that problems could ensue from living away from home was to ensure that parents approved the initial arrangements for accommodation in the city that their daughters had made. Individual Civil Servants intervened occasionally to help young colleagues to find a suitable place to live, or to suggest how they might spend their after-office hours; and in the last couple of years the Training Section of the Department of the Public Service incorporated into its reception course for Clerical Assistants some information as to the social and recreational amenities of the city. But no official reception or post-reception system exists to enable isolated individuals to be placed in surroundings where they can make friends, nor has the Service a social and sports centre, as some other organisations have, though we understand that, in connection with the promotion of the Irish language, there is an organisation within the Service in which indoor and outdoor leisure activities are provided. Nor does the Civil Service provide an advisory service to help in the matter of accommodation. These are facilities which the universities provide for students who are of an age with many of the young women in this study, and it is anomalous that students are catered for while young people in public service jobs are not. A sizeable proportion of university students have always lived away from home, whereas most employing organisations recruit locally and those with a wider field of recruitment — excepting the principal public service bodies — tend to make provision for the social, if not the accommodation needs, of their employees.

The Service might well look at what happens in the universities. We know that at the beginning of each academic year the students themselves set in train a series of activities designed to help the newcomer and the lonely. Student societies boldly make themselves known in order to attract members. Second year students, organised on a voluntary basis, show new arrivals over the campus. A loosely-knit student society in University College, Dublin, interestingly called 'Friends', makes itself available at coffee meetings throughout the year to encourage the formation of friendships. Members of the teaching staff act as counsellors.

The need to pay special attention to separation from home as it affects young Civil Servants can be seen from the fact that one in seven of the typists in the survey living away from home were severely homesick, or one in nine of all the typists in the Dublin offices. If the non-typing Clerical Assistants and telephonists of similar age, and largely recruited from the provinces, were also surveyed, a similar proportion of severely homesick girls might be expected. There is a big problem here that perhaps can only be completely solved by decentralising work so as to bring it within reach of the girls' homes, and such a solution is no doubt a long way off. We are aware, however, from the survey that separation from home is a subject

about which girls from the country, and especially those who recently left school, feel keenly, a clue to this being the weekend to-ing and fro-ing from the place of work to home. Girls flock to the bus and railway stations on Friday evenings, and some of them travel through the night on the return journey, having attended dances that started late. It would be surprising if this did not affect the figures for absenteeism or play a part in the dismissal of some probationers. It would, we think, further discussion of the pros and cons of decentralisation if the extent to which living away from home contributes to absences and dismissals were analysed. This information, in juxtaposition to the counties of origin of the individuals concerned, and correcting for age, should add notably to our knowledge of the subject.

We recognise, of course, that decentralisation, if it comes in any important degree, would affect older married officials who might prefer to stay in Dublin because of the wider choice of third level educational opportunities and jobs. We have to offset against these the lonely migrants who fill their leisure hours with solitary pursuits such as reading, knitting or listening to the radio, activities which are no substitute for personal friendships. Organisations and clubs are considered to be the settings in which such friendships are most quickly made but the younger girls from the country in our study were less often to be found in those places than the Dubliners. The impression, gathered from answers about leisure activities, is that the typists, as a whole, lead essentially private lives. This, while satisfactory enough for those who live at home or have made friends, leaves the others, and especially the severely homesick, with a painful burden to carry.

The religious orders identified a fundamental need of young migrants by providing hostels as a first 'home' in the city. The girls who lived there may have felt less 'at home' than those in bedsitters and flats, and the concentration of so many of them may have made hostels appear institutional, but they gave girls a *pied à terre* in Dublin and introduced them to a wide circle of girls of their own age and background. From these they chose congenial companions with whom to embark on other forms of accommodation. So successful were the hostels that girls who lived in them were more likely to end up as members of flat groups, among those who were, relatively speaking, most content with their living conditions in Dublin.

The hostels, then, played a useful, if not an indispensable, role in the introduction of girls from the country to the city and in making life subsequently more tolerable for them. In view of this, it would be helpful that either the Civil Service Commission or the Department to which the new recruits were assigned (preferably the former, as it is already in contact with the new recruits) should consider, in consultation with the hostels, returning to the earlier practice of issuing a list of hostels to all new recruits from the country. Not all of those who get this information will need it, but it will bring isolated girls more quickly into contact with persons who can help them. The hostels should also be given some advance notice of the number of girls the

Civil Service is recruiting, so that they will have some idea of the volume of applications for accommodation they may expect to receive as a result.

The Orders who run these hostels do so in difficult circumstances. As far as we know they receive no grants of any sort: the hostels income derives from what the girls pay and what the nuns can find from other sources. A decline in vocations, and the difficulty of maintaining a domestic staff, means that the hostel work has to be done by fewer and older people. The cost of modernising large buildings and of replacing furnishings is a particularly heavy burden. The nuns' ability to keep the hostels going has been impaired by a drop in applications for accommodation due to a decline in the number of Civil Service jobs for young girls. In these circumstances, it would not be surprising if the Orders reconsidered their priorities. Some, if not all of them, have other things to do; and might reasonably question whether they should be catering for the housing needs of girls who are better off financially than some other groups in the community. The nuns are well aware, however, of the girls' social needs, and would forego the hostels idea with reluctance on that account. Personnel Officers might well make it part of their responsibility to visit these places and learn something of their problems.

The typists in bedsitters and flats made many recommendations, not all of them practicable, to alleviate the housing situation they faced, for example, that the cost and quality of privately rented accommodation should be controlled, if needs be by an organisation, presumably State-created. The authors of that particular idea did not advert to the likelihood that, as happened in Britain, the result could be fewer flats of worse quality. If control of rents and standards was not possible, the problem, some girls thought, could be met by an increase in pay, or by the government subsidising rented accommodation — preferably flats — for its employees living away from home. Allied to this was the notion that the government should build hostels and blocks of flats, or that it should acquire residences to be turned into flats, making them available to lower paid Civil Servants at a reasonable price. Another recommendation was that there should be 'some organisation to arrange accommodation for people coming to Dublin'; 'the Civil Service should vet flats and other places of accommodation and issue a recommended list for the use of their staffs'.

It has been put to us that, in international terms, accommodation in Ireland, such as the typists in the survey occupied, is not expensive; but local comparisons are surely more relevant, both because they reflect more what people can pay and because they set the standard for expectations.

Some of the girls living in bedsitters and flats felt that the demand for accommodation exceeded supply and that landlords could charge what they liked. 'There are', they said 'not half enough flats to accommodate all the girls in Dublin'. There is a lack of evidence either way on the subject of demand exceeding supply, but there does not appear to be a gross shortage of flats. However, between 1946 and 1971, massive changes occurred in the

housing situation in Dublin city. In 1946, 53 per cent of the housing was of and privately-rented unfurnished kind. The corresponding figure for 1971 was 14 per cent. In the same period, privately-rented furnished accommodation increased from 4 per cent to 12 per cent. Owner-occupied accommodation went up from 19 per cent to 40 per cent, and accommodation rented from local authorities rose from 17 per cent to 30 per cent. The typists derived no direct benefit from this considerable movement, but they may have gone into occupation of accommodation previously rented by citizens now owner-occupiers, or by families now housed by the Corporation. In a city like Dublin with substantial problems of housing and re-housing, the requirements of the migrant typists are not likely to be given a high place in the Corporation's scheme of letting priorities. Corporation dwellings are provided with considerable help from public funds, whereas in providing flat accommodation, private landlords have to meet purchase and maintenance costs and pay income tax on their net rental income.

It is possible that rents, of which the girls complained, did not leave room for landlords to make extensive improvements. Local authority grants are available, of course, for this purpose, but they must be matched by contributions from the landlords who may be reluctant to avail of them for fear of drawing the attention of the rating authority or Revenue Commissioners. A majority of the owners of flats and bedsitters, we understand, are not registered as such: some may find it more profitable to remain unknown than to obtain the grants to which they are entitled. Whatever their shortcomings, however, landlords can be seen as underpinning the policy of centralising the Civil Service, as without the accommodation they provide it is difficult to see how the concentration of young single public employees in Dublin could take place. Neither Central nor Local Authority has undertaken direct responsibility for housing such employees, and official housing policy remains geared almost exclusively to family units.

The furnished private rental sector in which the typists must seek accommodation is the only sector of the entire housing system towards which no form of subsidy is directed, and in which rents keep pace with inflation, so that there is no benefit to the tenant from long occupancy. Small families forced to use the sector are even worse off than the typists, but this does not mean that unmarried, especially older unmarried women, are not a relatively disadvantaged group. While they cannot claim as high a priority as some other groups, it does appear that single people should not be totally disregarded in framing housing policy.

*Statistical Appendix**

A selection of tables bearing on aspects of the survey discussed in Chapters 2–10. These supplement the tables in the text**

Chapter 2

Table A1: *Types of work done by copy, shorthand, and audio typists*

<i>Copy typists</i>		<i>Shorthand typists</i>		<i>Audio typists</i>	
<i>Types of work</i>	<i>% engaged on that work</i>	<i>Types of work</i>	<i>% engaged on that work</i>	<i>Types of work</i>	<i>% engaged on that work</i>
Copy typing only	62	Shorthand typing only	2	Audio typing only	12
Also clerical work	38	Also copy typing	65	Also copy typing	77
		Also copy typing and clerical work	27	Also clerical work	11
	100				100
No. in category	531	Also audio and copy typing	5		
		Also clerical work	2	No. in category	129
			101		
		No. in category	238		

*We are indebted to Brendan Whelan, Ian Hart, John Raven and David Rotman for advice in the preparation of these tables.

**Any discrepancy between the total number of typists in a table and the 921 who took part in the survey is due to (1) some typists giving no information or incomplete information or (2) to their being employed on work other than typing.

Table A2: *Typists' age distribution*

<i>Age category</i>	<i>No. of typists</i>	<i>Percentage of all typists</i>	<i>Age category</i>	<i>No. of typists</i>	<i>Percentage of all typists</i>
16 – 17	34	3.7	31 – 34	23	2.5
18 – 19	262	28.5	35 – 44	28	3.0
20 – 21	200	21.7	45 – 54	32	3.5
22 – 25	227	24.7	55 – 65	45	4.9
26 – 30	69	7.5			
			<i>No information regarding age</i>	1	0.1
			<i>Total Number in survey:</i>	921	100.1

Chapter 3

Table A3: *Percentages of copy, shorthand and audio typists in typing sections and other work situations**

<i>Typist category</i>	<i>% in typing sections</i>	<i>% in other work situations</i>	<i>% who gave no information on work situation</i>	<i>% total</i>	<i>N**</i>
Copy	60 ^{ab}	39	1	100	531
Shorthand typists	82 ^a	17	1	100	238
Audio typists	82 ^b	18	0	100	129

*The method of testing the statistical significance of differences between percentages adopted here, and elsewhere in the report, was that used by A. N. Oppenheim in his *Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement*, Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1966, pp. 285 ff. Oppenheim had recalculated and adapted a nomograph by Joseph Zubin which had been published in Vol. 34 of the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, pp. 539–544.

**i.e. total number in survey

^a_p < .001. ^b_p < .001

Table A4: *Work situation distribution*

<i>Work situation</i>	<i>No. of typists in that situation</i>	<i>Percentage of all typists in that situation</i>
A typing section comprising:		
2 – 6 typists	281	30.5
7 – 12 typists	128	13.9
13 – 18 typists	116	12.6
19 + typists	98	10.6
Total no. in typing sections:	623	67.6
A general section in which a typist was the only typist employed, comprising:		
2 – 6 persons	85	9.2
7 – 12 persons	24	2.6
13 – 18 persons	6	0.7
19 + persons	9	1.0
Total no. of typists in general sections:	124	13.5
A mixed clerical and typing section comprising:		
7 – 12 persons, 2 – 6 of whom were typists	41	4.5
13 – 18 persons 2 – 6 of whom were typists	19	2.1
19 + persons 2 – 6 of whom were typists	5	0.5
13 – 18 persons, 7 – 12 of whom were typists	7	0.8
19 + persons, 7 – 12 of whom were typists	10	1.1
19 + persons, 13 – 18 of whom were typists	14	1.5
Total no. of typists in mixed clerical and typing sections:	96	10.5
A room in which one typist worked on her own	52	5.7
General sections in which former typists were wholly on clerical work or were operating machines other than typewriters	18	2.0
No information or incomplete information on work situation.	8	0.9
Total number of typists in survey	921	100.2

Table A5: *Liking for work and the opportunities the job provides for interesting work*

<i>I like my work:</i>	<i>In my job I can do interesting work:</i>				
	<i>Very much/ quite a bit %</i>	<i>A little/ not at all %</i>	<i>Percentage total</i>	<i>No. of replies</i>	<i>N</i>
Very much/quite a bit	51	49	100	658	677

Table A6: *Liking for work and perception of the job as being as interesting as that of friends not in the Civil Service*

<i>I like my work:</i>	<i>My job is as interesting as that of friends not in the Civil Service:</i>					
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No. of</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>replies</i>	
Very much/quite a bit	42	35	23	100	653	677

Table A7: *Liking for work and satisfaction with work compared with satisfaction with activities outside work*

<i>I like my work:</i>	<i>How much satisfaction do you get from your job in the office compared with what you can do after leaving the office?</i>				
	<i>I get much more/ a little more/ about the same/ satisfaction from my job as from my activities outside work</i>	<i>I get a little more/ much more/ satisfaction from my activities outside work</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No. of</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>replies</i>	
Very much/quite a bit	56	44	100	644	677

Table A8: *The extent to which typists can do interesting work, use their skills, express themselves, learn, etc., and the extent to which they would like to do these things*

In your work, to what extent <i>can you</i> :							In your work, to what extent <i>would you like to</i> :						
	<i>Very Quite</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Not</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>		<i>Very Quite</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>Not</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>		
	<i>much</i>	<i>bit</i>	<i>at all</i>	<i>infor-</i>	<i>total</i>		<i>much</i>	<i>bit</i>	<i>at all</i>	<i>infor-</i>	<i>total</i>		
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>mation</i>	<i>%</i>		<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>		
Do interesting work	12	27	40	18	3	100	Do interesting work	80	14	3	1	2	100
Use your skills, knowledge and abilities	10	27	40	22	1	100	Use your skills, knowledge and abilities	55	30	12	1	2	100
Learn new things	10	29	46	15	0	100	Learn new things	71	21	6	2	1	101
Use your own ideas	4	16	40	39	1	100	Use your own ideas	42	37	17	2	2	100
Talk with other people about your work	10	25	42	21	1	99	Talk with other people about your work	34	32	26	6	2	100
Decide your own pace of work	12	29	33	25	2	101	Decide your own pace of work	39	32	22	5	3	101

Table A9: *The extent to which typists think about work problems after hours*

	%
I always think about it	12.5
Most of the time I think about it	15.6
There's a pretty good chance I'll think about it	21.5
Every once in a while I'll think about it	28.1
I very seldom think about it	9.0
I probably won't think about it	7.5
I'm sure I won't think about it	4.9
No information	0.9
	100.0
Total number of typists in survey	921

Table A10: *Typists who work with men only, women only, with men and women, or on their own, and their preference for working with men only, women only, or in mixed groups*

<i>I work in a room with:</i>	<i>I prefer to work with:—</i>							<i>N</i>
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men and women</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>No Prefer- ence</i>	<i>No inform- ation</i>	<i>% total</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>		
Men only	60	2	20	—	18	—	100	50
Women only	4	13	57	7	20	0	101	645
Men and Women	5	2	77	1	14	1	100	176
I work on my own	22	6	25	6	37	4	100	49

Table A11: *Typists who work with men only, women only, in mixed groups, or in rooms on their own, and the opportunities their jobs provide for interesting work*

<i>I work in a room with:</i>	<i>In my job I can do interesting work: -</i>						<i>N</i>
	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>Very much</i>	<i>No information</i>	<i>% total</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>		
Men only	10	22	32	34 ^{abc}	2	100	50
Women only	19	42	26	9 ^a	3	99	645
Men and women (mixed groups)	18	40	28	13 ^b	2	101	176
I work on my own	14	29	39	16 ^c	2	100	49

^a $p < .001$ ^b $p \leq .01$ ^c $p = .05$

Table A12: *The ages of typists and the extent to which they can do interesting work*

<i>The extent to which they can do interesting work:</i>	<i>Age categories</i>								
	<i>16-17</i>	<i>18-19</i>	<i>20-21</i>	<i>22-25</i>	<i>26-30</i>	<i>31-34</i>	<i>35-44</i>	<i>45-54</i>	<i>55-65</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
A little/not at all	56	59	61	66	70	50	63	44	26
Quite a bit/very much	44	41	40	34	31	50	37	56	74
% totals	100	100	101	100	101	100	100	100	100
No. of replies	34	253	196	220	68	22	27	32	42
Total number in survey	34	262	200	227	69	23	28	32	45

Table A13: *Size of section, type of work situation, and extent of opportunities for interesting work.*

	<i>Type of work situation</i>							
	<i>A room in which a typist worked on her own</i>		<i>A general section in which the girl was the only typist</i>		<i>A mixed clerical/typing section</i>		<i>A typing section</i>	
	<i>'In my job I can do quite a bit/very much interesting work'</i>							
	%	No.*	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
1 only (the typist herself)	61	51	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 – 6	—	—	57 ^a	82	—	—	41 ^{ac}	274
7 – 12	—	—	46	24	50 ^b	40	29 ^{bc}	123
13 – 18	—	—		6 ^{**}	44	25	33	111
19 or more	—	—		8 ⁺	21	28	34	98
All sections regardless of size	61 ^{de}	51	53 ^f	120	40 ^d	93	36 ^{ef}	606

* No. = number of replies.

** 1 of these 6 could do 'quite a bit' or 'very much' interesting work in her job.

⁺5 of these 8 also gave that answer.

$p < .05$ $b_p \ll .05 > .01$ $c_p < .05$ $d_p < .05$. $e_p = .001$ $f_p = .001$.

Table A14: *Type of work situation, age, and extent of opportunities for interesting work*

<i>Type of work situation</i>	<i>Percentages of typists under and over 25 years of age who indicated that they had 'quite a bit' or 'very much' interesting work to do</i>						<i>N</i>
	<i>Typists aged 16 – 25</i>		<i>Typists aged 26 – 65</i>		<i>Typists aged 16 – 65</i>		
	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	
A room in which a typist worked on her own	65 ^{ac}	26	56	25	61 ^{ef}	51	52
A general section in which the typist was the only typist	52 ^b	86	56	34	53 ^g	120	124
A mixed clerical/typing section	41 ^c	75	33	18	40 ^e	93	96
A typing section	34 ^{abd}	499	45 ^d	106	36 ^{fg}	605	623

^a_p < .01 ^b_p < .01 ^c_p < .05 ^d_p = .05. ^e_p < .05 ^f_p = .001. ^g_p = .001.

Table A15: *Categories of typists, whether or not they typed only or did clerical work as well, and the extent to which they could do interesting work*

<i>Category</i>	<i>Extent to which they could do interesting work</i>					
	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Quite a bit/very much</i>	<i>% total</i>	<i>No. of replies</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Copy typists</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>			
On typing work only	20	46	34 ^a	100	319	328
On clerical work also	14	35	52 ^a	101	194	203
<i>Shorthand typists</i>						
On typing work only*	16	45	40 ^b	101	165	169
On clerical work also	17	29	54 ^b	100	69	69
<i>Audio typists</i>						
On typing work only*	29	40	31	100	112	115
On clerical work also					11**	12

*Those who were full-time shorthand or audio typists, and those shorthand or audio typists who also copy-typed, are included here. Some shorthand typists audio typed: these are included with other shorthand typists 'on typing work only'.

**Of these 11, 1 indicated that she had no opportunities for interesting work, 6 that they had a little, and 4 that they had 'quite a bit' or 'very much'.

^a_p = .001. ^b_p = .05

Table A16: *Categories of typists, whether or not they worked in a typing section or elsewhere, and the extent to which they could do interesting work*

Category	Extent to which they could do interesting work					
	Not at all %	A little %	Quite a bit/ very much %	% total	No. of replies	N
<i>Copy typists</i>						
in typing sections	19	45	36 ^a	100	310	321
elsewhere in Service	16	37	48 ^a	101	200	206
<i>Shorthand typists</i>						
in typing sections	17	43	40 ^b	100	191	195
elsewhere in Service	15	29	56 ^b	100	41	41
<i>Audio typists</i>						
in typing sections	28	45	27 ^c	100	103	105
elsewhere in Service	19	24	57 ^c	100	21	23

^a_p = .01 ^b_p < .1 > .05. ^c_p = .01

Chapter 4

Table A17: *Reactions to supervision by Superintendents, Supervisors, other women, or men*

Reactions to supervision by	Supervision was considered appropriate*	Would have preferred less close supervision	Would have preferred closer supervision	% total	No. of replies	N
	%	%	%			
Superintendents of typists	38 ^{ab}	42	20	100	220	229
Supervisors of typists	42 ^{cd}	36	23	101	235	239
Other women	57 ^{ac}	24	19	100	111	112
Men	61 ^{bd}	20	20	101	305	317

*See footnote 6 in Chapter 4 for an account of how the appropriateness of supervision was measured.

^a_p = .001 ^b_p < .001 ^c_p < .05 ^d_p < .001

Table A18: *Reactions to supervision of the under or over 30s.*

Ages	Supervision was considered appropriate	Would have preferred less close supervision	Would have preferred closer supervision	% total	No. of replies	N
	%					
16 – 30	47 ^a	33	20	100	770	792
31 – 65	67 ^a	10	23	100	118	128

^ap < .01Table A19: *Work situation, age category, and the extent to which supervision was considered appropriate*

Work situation	Supervision was considered appropriate by:						
	Typists aged 16 – 30		Typists aged 31 – 65		All typists regardless of age		N
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
A room in which a typist worked on her own	59	32	79	19	67 ^b	51	52
A general section where a typist was the only typist	58 ^a	92	76	25	62 ^c	117	124
A mixed clerical/typing section	49	81		9*	53	90	96
A typing section	45 ^a	547	60	58	46 ^{bc}	605	622

*8 of these 9 typists considered their supervision appropriate.

^ap < .05 ^bp < .01 ^cp < .01

Table A20: *Extent of opportunities for interesting work and reaction to supervision*

	<i>Reactions to supervision</i>			<i>% Total No.</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>Supervision was considered appropriate</i>	<i>Would have preferred less close supervision</i>	<i>Would have preferred closer supervision</i>		
Extent of opportunities for interesting work	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>		
very much/quite a bit	60 ^a	21	19	100 342	360
a little/not at all	43 ^a	36	21	100 523	535

^ap < .001

Chapter 5

Table A21: *Nature and extent of complaints about the office environment*

<i>'If you think that any of the following are a cause of complaint in the office where you work, please tick them.'</i>	
	<i>Percentage of typists ticking an item</i>
Typewriters	50
Desks	31
Telephone facilities	31
Floor covering	18
Paint work	21
Lighting	14
Heating	26
Toilet facilities	29
*Canteen	36
*Rest room	35
<i>'And are any of the following a cause of complaint in your office? (Please tick any that are).'</i>	
Overcrowding	21
Draughts	35
Ventilation	35
Dirt	25
Noise	18

*It will be seen from Chapter 5 that the absence of a canteen or a rest room was more often the subject of criticism than the quality of such canteens or rest rooms as already existed. Thus 49 per cent of typists who had no canteen and 55 per cent of those who had no rest room complained of that fact as against 21 per cent and 20 per cent respectively of those who had a canteen or rest room.

Table A22: *Size of section and extent of complaints about certain aspects of the office environment*

<i>Aspect of office environment complained of</i>	<i>1 person only, a typist working in a room on her own (N = 52)</i>	<i>Percentage of complaints according to size of section</i>			
		<i>2 – 6 persons (N = 366)</i>	<i>7 – 12 persons (N = 194)</i>	<i>13 – 18 persons (N = 148)</i>	<i>19 or more persons (N = 136)</i>
Ventilation	21	27	37	46	47
Overcrowding	6	12	22	33	36
Telephone facilities	17	21	39	46	37
Noise	8	12	24	22	20

Table A23: *Size of section, work situation and volume of complaints regarding telephone facilities*

<i>Size of section:</i>	<i>Work situation</i>							
	<i>A room in which a typist worked on her own</i>		<i>A general section in which the typist was the only typist</i>		<i>A mixed clerical/typing section</i>		<i>A typing section</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
1 only (the respondent)	17	52	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 – 6	—	—	15	85	—	—	22	281
7 – 12	—	—	33	24	24	41	45	128
13 – 18	—	—	—	6*	46	26	47	116
19 or more	—	—	—	9**	14	29	46	98

*2 out of 6 complained

**1 out of 9 complained

Chapter 6

The tables so far, and Table A29, are based on the full number of 921 typists who participated in the survey. Seven hundred and four of them migrated to Dublin to be near their jobs, and the following tables and those relating to Chapter 7 are based on the answers of these girls only.

Table A24: *Frequency of homesickness among typists who have come to live in Dublin*

<i>Homesick</i>	%
Most of the time	6
Many times	7
Sometimes	39
Hardly ever	21
Never	9
Not applicable (i.e. was never homesick in Dublin)	15
No information	3
	100
No. in Survey:	704

Table A25: *Age category and frequency of homesickness*

<i>Age category</i>	<i>Most of the time</i>	<i>Many times</i>	<i>Some-times</i>	<i>Hardly ever</i>	<i>Never</i>	<i>% total</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>N</i>
18 - 19	12	9	48	23	8	101	180	217
20 - 21	7	11	47	25	11	101	124	159
22 - 25	5	7	51	29	9	101	164	186
26 - 30	4	14	51	20	12	101	51	58
In the other age groups the numbers were so small that it is more meaningful to quote actual numbers.								
16 - 17	2	2	6	6	1		17	19
31 - 34	0	0	5	3	5		13	16
35 - 44	1	0	7	4	2		14	15
45 - 54	0	0	2	4	2		8	13
55 - 65	0	1	3	0	3		7	21

Table A26: *Week-end dancing in home areas.*

‘When you go home for a weekend, do you go to a dance?’	
	%
Usually	51
Sometimes	26
Rarely, if ever	18
Not applicable	1
No information	4
	100

Table A27: *Preference for home area dances and frequency of dancing there.*

<i>Frequency of dancing in home area when on a weekend visit</i>	<i>Preferred dancing location</i>				<i>Total No.</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>Dublin %</i>	<i>Home area %</i>	<i>No pre- ference %</i>	<i>%</i>		
Usually	19	55 ^a	26	100	360	362
Sometimes	34	38 ^a	28	102	178	181

The girls who ‘rarely, if ever’ danced in their home areas when on a weekend visit were instructed to skip the question on which this table is based viz. ‘Do you prefer the dances in Dublin or the dances in your home area?’

^ap = .001

Table A28: *Dance location preferences of typists aged 16–19 years living in hostels and those of the same age living in flats*

<i>Typists aged 16–19 living in:</i>	<i>Dance location preferences</i>				<i>Total No.</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>Dublin</i>	<i>Home area %</i>	<i>No preference %</i>	<i>%</i>		
Hostels	11	77 ^a	11 ^b	99	44	49
Flats	21	50 ^a	30 ^b	101	112	119

^ap = .01, ^bp < .01.

Table A29: *Typists engaged to be married (categorised by whether they lived at home or not) and the places of origin of their fiances.*

<i>Engaged typists who lived:</i>	<i>Places of origin of fiances</i>						<i>%</i>	<i>Total No.</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>Dublin</i>	<i>Leinster (excluding Dublin)</i>	<i>Munster</i>	<i>Connacht</i>	<i>Ulster counties in the Republic</i>	<i>Outside the Republic</i>			
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>			
At home	48 ^a	39	13	0	0	0	100	23	23
Away from home	17 ^a	28	30	16	6	3	100	64	67

^ap = .01.

Chapter 7

Table A30: Age, length of time in accommodation, and acceptance of accommodation as good value for money

'Would you say that the accommodation you have is good value for the money you pay for it?'	Typists aged 16 – 25 living in accommodation			Typists aged 26 – 65 living in accommodation		
	-1 year	1 – 3 years	4 + years	-1 year	1 – 3 years	4 + years
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	36 ^a	41	57 ^a	29 ^b	40	66 ^b
Yes and No	42	47	27	54	45	24
No	23	12	16	17	15	10
Percentage total	101	100	100	100	100	100
No.	340	182	44	24	47	41
N	345	185	45	24	50	43

^ap = .01. ^bp < .01.

Table A31: Acceptance of accommodation as good value and advice about joining the Civil Service

'Would you say that the accommodation you have is good value for the money you pay for it?'	'Would you advise a friend or relation who is learning typing and/or shorthand to join the Civil Service?'					
	Yes	No	Don't know	% total	No.	N
	%	%	%			
Yes	48 ^a	27	25	100	272	276
Yes and No	39	35	26	100	279	283
No	36 ^a	37	27	100	122	122

^ap < .05.

Table A32 (a): *The quality of accommodation inhabited by the 704 typists who came to live in Dublin*

<i>Words and phrases descriptive of the accommodation*</i>	<i>Percentages of typists who indicated that these words and phrases fairly described their situation</i>
1. Easy to heat	53
2. Lacking in comfort	20
3. Spacious	53
4. Damp	17
5. Easy to relax in	69
6. Dreary	10
7. Inviting	50
8. Sparsely furnished	28
9. In need of re-decoration	35
10. A place where one can hear a radio or voices in an adjoining room	50
11. A place to look forward to after a day's work	53
12. A place one likes staying in, the weekends one is in Dublin	48
13. A place one would recommend to a friend looking for accommodation	52
14. A place where one has the privacy one wants	58
15. A place where one is allowed to have people to stay for a weekend or a holiday	63
16. A place which is furnished the way you like	36
17. A place one is free to come in and out of at any hour of the day or night	73
18. A place where one is free to keep an animal as a pet (e.g., a dog)	12
19. [I am] entirely satisfied [with the accommodation I have]	28
20. [The accommodation I have is good value for the money I pay for it]	39

*The words and phrases numbered 1-18 in this column were preceded in the questionnaire by two sentences which read:

"Below are words and phrases which have been used to describe a place of accommodation. Tick under 'Yes' those words or phrases that describe your accommodation, and under 'No' those that do not." In connection with each word or phrase, respondents were provided with 3 columns headed 'Yes', 'No' and 'Yes and No', in any one of which they could place their answer.

The question to which the phrase numbered 19 refers was worded in the questionnaire as follows: "Are you entirely satisfied with the accommodation you have, or are there some things about it that you would like changed?"

Entirely satisfied () 1
Some things I would like to see changed () 2

The question to which the phrase numbered 20 refers read as follows:

"Would you say that the accommodation you have is good value for the money you pay for it?"

Yes () 1
Yes and No () 2
No () 3

Table A32 (b): *Hostels and other types of accommodation: indications by resident typists of their respective quality*

<i>Words and phrases descriptive of places of accommodation*</i>	<i>Percentages of typists in hostels and other types of accommodation who indicated that these words and phrases fairly described their situation**</i>	
	<i>Typists in hostels (N = 62)</i>	<i>Typists in other types of accommodation (N = 642)</i>
1. Easy to heat	45	53
2. Lacking in comfort	29	19
3. Spacious	53	53
4. Damp	18	17
5. Easy to relax in	42 ^a	72 ^a
6. Dreary	26 ^a	9 ^a
7. Inviting	21 ^a	52 ^a
8. Sparsely furnished	44 ^b	26 ^b
9. In need of re-decoration	48 ^c	34 ^c
10. A place where one can hear a radio or voices in an adjoining room	73 ^a	48 ^a
11. A place to look forward to after a day's work	23 ^a	56 ^a
12. A place one likes staying in, the weekends one is in Dublin	5 ^a	52 ^a
13. A place one would recommend to a friend looking for accommodation	47	53
14. A place where one has the privacy one wants	26 ^a	60 ^a
15. A place where one is allowed to have people to stay for a weekend or a holiday	8 ^a	69 ^a
16. A place which is furnished the way you like	21 ^b	37 ^b
17. A place one is free to come in and out of at any hour of the day or night	3 ^a	80 ^a
18. A place where one is free to keep an animal as a pet (e.g., a dog)	0	13
19. [I am] entirely satisfied [with the accommodation I have]	11 ^a	29 ^a
20. [The accommodation I have is good value for the money I pay for it]	29	40

*See corresponding footnote to Table A32 (a)

**Differences other than those marked a, b or c are not statistically significant.

^ap = .001 or p < .001

^bp = .01 or p < .01 > .001

^cp = .05 or p < .05 > .01

Table A32 (c): 'Digs' and other types of accommodation: indications by resident typists of their respective quality

<i>Words and phrases descriptive of places of accommodation*</i>	<i>Percentages of typists in 'digs' and other types of accommodation who indicated that these words and phrases fairly described their situation**</i>	
	<i>Typists in 'digs' (N = 24)</i>	<i>Typists in other types of accommodation (N = 680)</i>
1. Easy to heat	58	53
2. Lacking in comfort	4 ^b	20 ^b
3. Spacious	54	53
4. Damp	8	17
5. Easy to relax in	79	69
6. Dreary	4	11
7. Inviting	50	49
8. Sparsely furnished	8 ^b	28 ^b
9. In need of re-decoration	13 ^b	36 ^b
10. A place where one can hear a radio or voices in an adjoining room	29 ^c	51 ^c
11. A place to look forward to after a day's work	54	53
12. A place one likes staying in, the weekends one is in Dublin	38	48
13. A place one would recommend to a friend looking for accommodation	46	52
14. A place where one has the privacy one wants	50	58
15. A place where one is allowed to have people to stay for a weekend or a holiday	42 ^c	64 ^c
16. A place which is furnished the way you like	50	35
17. A place one is free to come in and out of at any hour of the day or night	54 ^c	74 ^c
18. A place where one is free to keep an animal as a pet (e.g., a dog)	17	12
19. [I am] entirely satisfied [with the accommodation I have]	58 ^b	27 ^b
20. [The accommodation I have is good value for the money I pay for it]	63 ^c	38 ^c

*See corresponding footnote on Table A32 (a)

**Differences other than those marked a, b or c are not statistically significant

^a_p = .001 or $p < .001$

^b_p = .01 or $p < .01 > .001$

^c_p = .05 or $p < .05 > .01$

Table A32 (d): *Single bedsitters and other types of accommodation: indications by resident typists of their respective quality*

<i>Words and phrases descriptive of places of accommodation*</i>	<i>Percentages of typists in single bedsitters and other types of accommodation who indicated that these words and phrases fairly described their situation**</i>	
	<i>Typists in single bedsitters (N = 71)</i>	<i>Typists in other types of accommodation (N = 633)</i>
1. Easy to heat	61	49
2. Lacking in comfort	30 ^c	19 ^c
3. Spacious	37 ^b	55 ^b
4. Damp	20	17
5. Easy to relax in	66	70
6. Dreary	13	10
7. Inviting	41	50
8. Sparsely furnished	27	28
9. In need of re-decoration	39	34
10. A place where one can hear a radio or voices in an adjoining room	65 ^c	49 ^c
11. A place to look forward to after a day's work	35 ^a	56 ^a
12. A place one likes staying in, the weekends one is in Dublin	27 ^a	50 ^a
13. A place one would recommend to a friend looking for accommodation	37 ^b	54 ^b
14. A place where one has the privacy one wants	72 ^b	56 ^b
15. A place where one is allowed to have people to stay for a weekend or a holiday	61	64
16. A place which is furnished the way you like	37	36
17. A place one is free to come in and out of at any hour of the day or night	76	73
18. A place where one is free to keep an animal as a pet (e.g., a dog)	4 ^b	13 ^b
19. [I am] entirely satisfied [with the accommodation I have]	25	28
20. [The accommodation I have is good value for the money I pay for it]	23 ^b	41 ^b

*See corresponding footnote to Table A32 (a)

**Differences other than those marked a, b or c are not statistically significant.

^ap = .001 or p < .001

^bp = .01 or p < .01 > .001

^cp = .05 or p < .05 > .01

Table A32 (e): *Double bedsitters and other types of accommodation: indications by resident typists of their respective quality*

<i>Words and phrases descriptive of places of accommodation*</i>	<i>Percentages of typists in double bedsitters and other types of accommodation who indicated that these words and phrases fairly described their situation**</i>	
	<i>Typists in double bedsitters (N = 153)</i>	<i>Typists in other types of accommodation (N = 551)</i>
1. Easy to heat	58	51
2. Lacking in comfort	21	19
3. Spacious	37 ^a	58 ^a
4. Damp	14	18
5. Easy to relax in	70	69
6. Dreary	12	10
7. Inviting	49	50
8. Sparsely furnished	31	27
9. In need of re-decoration	37	34
10. A place where one can hear a radio or voices in an adjoining room	58 ^c	48 ^c
11. A place to look forward to after a day's work	54	53
12. A place one likes staying in, the weekends one is in Dublin	48	48
13. A place one would recommend to a friend looking for accommodation	46	54
14. A place where one has the privacy one wants	51	59
15. A place where one is allowed to have people to stay for a weekend or a holiday	67	62
16. A place which is furnished the way you like	35	36
17. A place one is free to come in and out of at any hour of the day or night	84 ^a	70 ^a
18. A place where one is free to keep an animal as a pet (e.g., a dog)	11	12
19. [I am] entirely satisfied [with the accommodation I have]	22	29
20. [The accommodation I have is good value for the money I pay for it]	33	41

*See corresponding footnote to Table A32 (a)

**Differences other than those marked a, b or c are not statistically significant

^ap = .001 or p < .001

^bp = .01 or p < .01 > .001

^cp = .05 or p < .05 > .01

Table A32 (f): *Flats and other types of accommodation: indications by resident typists of their respective quality*

<i>Words and phrases descriptive of places of accommodation*</i>	<i>Percentages of typists in flats and other types of accommodation who indicated that these words and phrases fairly described their situation**</i>	
	<i>Typists in flats (N = 368)</i>	<i>Typists in other types of accommodation (N = 336)</i>
1. Easy to heat	51	55
2. Lacking in comfort	19	21
3. Spacious	64 ^a	41 ^a
4. Damp	19	15
5. Easy to relax in	75 ^a	63 ^a
6. Dreary	7 ^b	14 ^b
7. Inviting	57 ^a	41 ^a
8. Sparsely furnished	26	29
9. In need of re-decoration	34	36
10. A place where one can hear a radio or voices in an adjoining room	44 ^a	57 ^a
11. A place to look forward to after a day's work	63 ^a	44 ^a
12. A place one likes staying in, the weekends one is in Dublin	60 ^a	35 ^a
13. A place one would recommend to a friend looking for accommodation	61 ^a	42 ^a
14. A place where one has the privacy one wants	65 ^a	49 ^a
15. A place where one is allowed to have people to stay for a weekend or a holiday	76 ^a	50 ^a
16. A place which is furnished the way you like	38	33
17. A place one is free to come in and out of at any hour of the day or night	83 ^a	63 ^a
18. A place where one is free to keep an animal as a pet (e.g., a dog)	16 ^a	8 ^a
19. [I am] entirely satisfied [with the accommodation I have]	30	25
20. [The accommodation I have is good value for the money I pay for it]	44 ^c	34 ^c

*See corresponding footnote to Table A32 (a)

**Differences other than those marked a, b or c are not statistically significant

^a_p = .001 or $p < .001$

^b_p = .01 or $p < .01 > .001$

^c_p = .05 or $p < .05 > .01$

Table A33 (a): Zero-order correlation matrix of a selection of job attitude variables*

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
1. I would advise others to join the Civil Service**	1.	—	.56	.49	.34	.30	.25	.23	.22	.15	.40	.37	.26	.26	.22	.17	.15	-.15	.20	.17	.14	.16	.21	.20	.20	.22	.13	1.
2. It is a good organisation to work for	2.		—	.46	.30	.28	.27	.25	.30	.15	.37	.46	.28	.31	.26	.14	.22	-.19	.21	.20	.20	.19	.21	.18	.22	.20	.07 ^b	2.
3. It is better than other places of employment	3.			—	.28	.36	.29	.23	.23	.13	.33	.26	.18	.16	.18	.07 ^b	.05 ^c	-.12	.11	.16	.16	.17	.11	.16	.17	.11	.10 ^a	3.
4. If I had the choice, I would stay in the Service rather than take a job elsewhere in Dublin	4.				—	.17	.14	.09 ^b	.17	.05 ^c	.21	.24	.16	.13	.09 ^a	.08 ^a	.10 ^a	-.09 ^a	.10	.04 ^c	.12	.03 ^c	.11	.13	.11 ^b	.14	.03 ^c	4.
5. My pay is higher than for other jobs for which I am qualified	5.					—	.22	.19	.17	.09 ^b	.21	.08 ^b	.07 ^b	.06 ^b	.03 ^c	.03 ^c	.02 ^c	-.11 ^a	.04 ^c	.05 ^c	.06 ^b	.17	.02 ^c	.00 ^c	.16 ^a	.02 ^c	.10 ^a	5.
6. I have as many promotion opportunities as have friends not in the Civil Service	6.						—	.40	.33	.17	.42	.25	.16	.20	.16	.11 ^a	.07 ^b	-.09 ^b	.12	.11 ^a	.12	.12	.12	.11 ^a	.22	.15	.07 ^b	6.
7. The promotion system which concerns me is fair	7.							—	.35	.15	.27	.18	.15	.24	.16	.14	.17	-.11 ^a	.17	.18	.15	.08 ^b	.17	.10 ^a	.29	.18	.05 ^c	7.
8. There are many possibilities for people like me to advance in the Service	8.								—	.48	.28	.24	.17	.28	.26	.15	.17	-.16	.20	.18	.18	.10 ^a	.16	.10	.28	.11	.02 ^c	8.
9. I will probably have a higher position in the Service	9.									—	.14	.12	.11 ^a	.20	.22	.19	.20	-.08 ^a	.17	.13	.07 ^b	.01 ^c	.08 ^a	.07 ^b	.17	.05 ^c	.01 ^c	9.
10. My work is as interesting as that of friends not in the Service	10.										—	.49	.36	.52	.38	.26	.31	-.22	.23	.21	.26	.11 ^a	.26	.24	.22	.25	.02 ^c	10.
11. I like the work I am doing	11.											—	.46	.52	.37	.32	.39	-.19	.24	.20	.24	.13	.32	.37	.17	.41	.01 ^c	11.
12. I get more satisfaction from my job than from my other activities	12.												—	.43	.26	.28	.32	-.19	.24	.20	.20	.05 ^c	.23	.20	.11 ^b	.27	.03 ^c	12.
13. I can do 'quite a bit' or 'very much' interesting work	13.													—	.55	.45	.44	-.18	.30	.26	.22	.10 ^a	.33	.24	.31	.25	.00 ^c	13.
14. I can learn 'quite a bit' or 'very much' in my job	14.														—	.45	.40	-.15	.27	.26	.14	.05 ^a	.24	.20	.18	.15	.00 ^c	14.
15. I can use my own ideas 'quite a bit' or 'very much' in my job	15.															—	.54	-.09 ^a	.22	.22	.18	.00 ^c	.34	.22	.17	.15	.00 ^c	15.
16. I can use my skills, knowledge and abilities 'quite a bit' or 'very much' in my job	16.																—	-.12	.24	.19	.17	.04 ^c	.26	.21	.10 ^b	.21	.00 ^c	16.
17. All or many of the drafters 'haunt' the section until the typing of their work is completed	17.																	—	.31	-.21	-.25	-.08 ^a	-.11	-.11 ^a	-.18	-.07 ^b	-.06 ^c	17.
18. Drafters usually express appreciation for typing done for them	18.																		—	.61	.23	.09 ^a	.22	.17	.14	.12	.03 ^c	18.
19. My immediate superior usually expresses appreciation of work done	19.																			—	.25	.06 ^b	.22	.20	.23	.07 ^b	.01 ^c	19.
20. The rules for people in my section are reasonable	20.																				—	.05 ^c	.24	.25	.25	.11	.04 ^c	20.
21. My work colleagues often help each other with their work	21.																					—	.11	.11	.02 ^c	.03 ^c	.05 ^c	21.
22. I and my colleagues have 'quite a bit' or 'great' influence on what goes on in our section	22.																						—	.19	.14 ^a	.14	.01 ^c	22.
23. If I had the choice, I would stay in my section rather than transfer to another one	23.																							—	.09 ^b	.16	.03 ^c	23.
24. The transfer system is satisfactory	24.																								—	.10 ^b	.00 ^c	24.
25. If I were starting my career again I would choose typing as an occupation	25.																									—	.08 ^a	25.
26. My teacher(s) influenced my decision to join the Service	26.																										—	26.

*All Correlations, other than those marked a, b, or c are significant at .001 level

**Sentences 1–26 express the meaning of the replies to the relevant questions, not their exact form. For that, see Questionnaire 1.

a: $p = .01$ or $p < .01 > .001$

b: $p = .05$ or $p < .05 > .01$

c: Not Significant

Table A33 (b): Nos. of cases, means, standard deviations, and scale ranges relative to variables 1 - 26 listed in Table A33 (a)

<i>Variable no.</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard deviation</i>	<i>Scale range</i>
1	680	1.42	0.49	1-2
2	913	3.15	1.20	1-5
3	828	3.00	1.08	1-5
4	895	1.27	0.44	1-2
5	776	1.80	0.67	1-3
6	705	1.76	0.45	1-2
7	659	1.82	0.39	1-2
8	912	2.16	0.84	1-5
9	713	1.69	0.84	1-5
10	718	1.60	0.51	1-2
11	917	1.97	0.83	1-4
12	876	3.66	1.12	1-5
13	895	2.34	0.92	1-4
14	918	2.33	0.85	1-4
15	911	1.86	0.84	1-4
16	910	2.26	0.92	1-4
17	796	3.14	0.81	1-4
18	893	2.56	1.01	1-4
19	902	2.44	1.01	1-4
20	913	2.34	1.00	1-5
21	911	1.54	0.87	1-5
22	913	1.63	0.81	1-5
23	903	1.26	0.44	1-2
24	395	1.79	0.42	1-2
25	907	2.64	1.29	1-5
26	818	1.29	0.45	1-2

REFERENCES

- BRADBURN, N. M. and D. CAPLOVITZ, 1965. *Reports on Happiness*, A Pilot Study of Behaviour Related to Mental Health, Chicago; Aldine Publishing Company, National Opinion Research Center Monographs in Social Research, No. 3.
- CAMPBELL, A. and P. CONVERSE, 1972. *The Human Meaning of Social Change*, Michigan: Institute of Social Research.
- CENTRAL STATISTICS OFFICE, 1969. *Household Budget Inquiry, 1965-66*, Dublin: The Stationery Office.
- CROZIER, M., 1964. *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books.
- CROZIER, M., 1971. *The World of the Office Worker*, Translated by D. Landau, Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, Studies of Urban Society.
- HERZBERG, F., B. MAUSNER and B. SNYDERMAN, 1959. *The Motivation to Work*, New York: Wiley.
- HITCH, P. J., 1975. *Migration and Mental Illness in a Northern City*, An Investigation into the Relationship between Ethnic Group Membership, Area of Residence, Residential Mobility, Social Class and Hospitalisation for Diagnosed Mental Disorder, Bradford: Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Bradford.
- MCGOWAN, J., M. FRANKLIN, M. FINE and M. MOORE, 1974. *A Study of Attitudes towards the Executive Officer Grade in the Civil Service*, Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.
- NI BHROIN, N., 1969. *The Motivation and Productivity of Young Women Workers*, Dublin: Irish Productivity Centre.
- ROSS, MICEAL, 1972. *Further Data on County Incomes in the Sixties*, Dublin: The Economic and Social Research Institute, Paper No. 64.
- TANNENBAUM, A., B. KAVCIC, M. ROSNER, M. VIANELLO and G. WIESER, 1974. *Hierarchy in Organisations*, San Francisco/Washington/London: Jossey-Bass.
- WALKER, N., 1961. *Morale in the Civil Service*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- WALSH, B. M. and A. O'TOOLE, 1973: Women and Employment in Ireland: *Results of a National Survey*, Dublin. The Economic and Social Research Institute, Paper No. 69.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Broadsheet Series:

1. *Dental Services in Ireland* P. R. Kaim-Caudle
2. *We Can Stop Rising Prices* M. P. Fogarty
3. *Pharmaceutical Services in Ireland* P. R. Kaim-Caudle
assisted by Annette O'Toole and Kathleen O'Donoghue
4. *Ophthalmic Services in Ireland* P. R. Kaim-Caudle
assisted by Kathleen O'Donoghue and Annette O'Toole
5. *Irish Pensions Schemes, 1969* P. R. Kaim-Caudle and J. G. Byrne
assisted by Annette O'Toole
6. *The Social Science Percentage Nuisance* R. C. Geary
7. *Poverty in Ireland: Research Priorities* Brendan M. Walsh
8. *Irish Entrepreneurs Speak for Themselves* M. P. Fogarty
9. *Marital Desertion in Dublin: an exploratory study* Kathleen O'Higgins
10. *Equalization of Opportunity in Ireland: Statistical Aspects* R. C. Geary and F. S. Ó Muircheartaigh
11. *Public Social Expenditure in Ireland* Finola Kennedy
12. *Problems in Economic Planning and Policy Formation in Ireland, 1958-1974* Desmond Norton
13. *Crisis in the Cattle Industry* R. O'Connor and P. Keogh
14. *A Study of Schemes for the Relief of Unemployment in Ireland* R. C. Geary and M. Dempsey
with Appendix E. Costa

General Research Series:

1. *The Ownership of Personal Property in Ireland* Edward Nevin
2. *Short-Term Economic Forecasting and its Application in Ireland* Alfred Kuehn
3. *The Irish Tariff and The E.E.C.: A Factual Survey* Edward Nevin
4. *Demand Relationships for Ireland* C. E. V. Leser
5. *Local Government Finance in Ireland: A Preliminary Survey* David Walker
6. *Prospects of the Irish Economy in 1962* Alfred Kuehn
7. *The Irish Woollen and Worsted Industry, 1946-59: A Study in Statistical Method* R. C. Geary
8. *The Allocation of Public Funds for Social Development* David Walker
9. *The Irish Price Level: A Comparative Study* Edward Nevin
10. *Inland Transport in Ireland: A Factual Survey* D. J. Reynolds
11. *Public Debt and Economic Development* Edward Nevin
12. *Wages in Ireland, 1946-62* Edward Nevin
13. *Road Transport: The Problems and Prospects in Ireland* D. J. Reynolds
14. *Imports and Economic Growth in Ireland, 1947-61* C. E. V. Leser
15. *The Irish Economy in 1962 and 1963* C. E. V. Leser
16. *Irish County Incomes in 1960* E. A. Attwood and R. C. Geary
17. *The Capital Stock of Irish Industry* Edward Nevin
18. *Local Government Finance and County Incomes* David Walker
19. *Industrial Relations in Ireland: The Background* David O'Mahony
20. *Social Security in Ireland and Western Europe* P. R. Kaim-Caudle
21. *The Irish Economy in 1963 and 1964* C. E. V. Leser

General Research Series—continued

22. *The Cost Structure of Irish Industry, 1950—60* Edward Nevin
23. *A Further Analysis of Irish Household Budget Data, 1951—1952* C. E. V. Leser
24. *Economic Aspects of Industrial Relations* David O'Mahony
25. *Psychological Barriers to Economic Achievement* P. Pentony
26. *Seasonality in Irish Economic Statistics* C. E. V. Leser
27. *The Irish Economy in 1964 and 1965* C. E. V. Leser
28. *Housing in Ireland: Some Economic Aspects* P. R. Kaim-Caudle
29. *A Statistical Study of Wages, Prices and Employment in the Irish Manufacturing Sector* C. St. J. O'Herlihy
30. *Fuel and Power in Ireland: Part I. Energy Consumption in 1970* J. L. Booth
31. *Determinants of Wage Inflation in Ireland* Keith Cowling
32. *Regional Employment Patterns in the Republic of Ireland* T. J. Baker
33. *The Irish Economy in 1966* The Staff of The Economic and Social Research Institute
34. *Fuel and Power in Ireland: Part II. Electricity and Turf* J. L. Booth
35. *Fuel and Power in Ireland: Part III. International and Temporal Aspects of Energy Consumption* J. L. Booth
36. *Institutional Aspects of Commercial and Central Banking in Ireland* John Hein
37. *Fuel and Power in Ireland: Part IV. Sources and Uses of Energy* J. L. Booth
38. *A Study of Imports* C. E. V. Leser
39. *The Irish Economy in 1967* The Staff of The Economic and Social Research Institute
40. *Some Aspects of Price Inflation in Ireland* R. C. Geary and J. L. Pratschke
41. *A Medium Term Planning Model for Ireland* David Simpson
42. *Some Irish Population Problems Reconsidered* Brendan M. Walsh
43. *The Irish Brain Drain* Richard Lynn
44. *A Method of Estimating the Stock of Capital in Northern Ireland Manufacturing Industry: Limitations and Applications* C. W. Jefferson
45. *An Input-Output Analysis of the Agricultural Sector of the Irish Economy in 1964* R. O'Connor with M. Breslin
46. *The Implications for Cattle Producers of Seasonal Price Fluctuations* R. O'Connor
47. *Transport in the Developing Economy of Ireland* John Blackwell
48. *Social Status and Inter-Generational Social Mobility in Dublin* Bertram Hutchinson
49. *Personal Incomes by County, 1965* Miceal Ross
50. *Income-Expenditure Relations in Ireland, 1965—1966* John L. Pratschke
51. *Costs and Prices in Transportable Goods Industries* W. Black, J. V. Simpson, D. G. Slattery
52. *Certain Aspects of Non-Agricultural Unemployment in Ireland* R. C. Geary and J. G. Hughes
53. *A Study of Demand Elasticities for Irish Imports* Dermot McAleese
54. *Internal Migration in Ireland* R. C. Geary and J. G. Hughes
- with Appendix.* C. J. Gillman
55. *Religion and Demographic Behaviour in Ireland* B. M. Walsh
- with Appendix* R. C. Geary and J. G. Hughes
56. *Views on Pay Increases, Fringe Benefits and Low Pay* H. Behrend, A. Knowles and J. Davies
57. *Views on Income Differentials and the Economic Situation* H. Behrend, A. Knowles and J. Davies
58. *Computers in Ireland* F. G. Foster
59. *National Differences in Anxiety* Richard Lynn
60. *Capital Statistics for Irish Manufacturing Industry* C. W. Jefferson
61. *Rural Household Budget—Feasibility Study* Sile Sheehy and R. O'Connor
62. *Effective Tariffs and the Structure of Industrial Protection in Ireland* Dermot McAleese

General Research Series—continued

63. *Methodology of Personal Income Estimation by County* Miceal Ross
64. *Further Data on County Incomes in the Sixties* Miceal Ross
65. *The Functional Distribution of Income in Ireland, 1938–70* J. G. Hughes
66. *Irish Input-Output Structures, 1964 and 1968* E. W. Henry
67. *Social Status in Dublin: Marriage, Mobility and First Employment*
Bertram Hutchinson
68. *An Economic Evaluation of Irish Salmon Fishing, I: The Visiting Anglers*
R. O'Connor and B. J. Whelan
69. *Women and Employment in Ireland: Results of a National Survey*
Brendan M. Walsh assisted by Annette O'Toole
70. *Irish Manufactured Imports from the UK in the Sixties: The Effects of AIFTA*
Dermot McAleese and John Martin
71. *Alphabetical Voting: A Study of the 1973 General Election in the Republic of
Ireland* Christopher Robson and Brendan M. Walsh
72. *A Study of the Irish Cattle and Beef Industries*
Terence J. Baker, Robert O'Connor and Rory Dunne
73. *Regional Employment Patterns in Northern Ireland*
William Black and Clifford W. Jefferson
74. *Irish Full Employment Structures, 1968 and 1975* E. W. Henry
75. *An Economic Evaluation of Irish Salmon Fishing. II: The Irish Anglers*
R. O'Connor, B. J. Whelan, and A. McCashin
76. *Factors Relating to Reconivction among Young Dublin Probationers* Ian Hart
77. *The Structure of Unemployment in Ireland, 1954–1972* Brendan M. Walsh
78. *An Economic Evaluation of Irish Salmon Fishing. III: The Commercial Fishermen*
B. J. Whelan, R. O'Connor, and A. McCashin
79. *Wage Inflation and Wage Leadership*
W. E. J. McCarthy, J. F. O'Brien and V. G. Dowd
80. *An Econometric Study of the Irish Postal Services* Peter Neary
81. *Employment Relationships in Irish Counties* Terence J. Baker and Miceal Ross
82. *Irish Input-Output Income Multipliers 1964 and 1968*
J. R. Copeland and E. W. Henry
83. *A Study of the Structure and Determinants of the Behavioural Component of
Social Attitudes in Ireland* E. E. Davis
84. *Economic Aspects of Local Authority Expenditure and Finance*
J. R. Copeland and Brendan M. Walsh
85. *Population Growth and other Statistics of Middle-sized Irish Towns*
D. Curtin, R. C. Geary, T. A. Grimes and B. Menton
86. *The Income Sensitivity of the Personal Income Tax Base in Ireland,
1947–1972* Brendan R. Dowling
87. *Traditional Families? From Culturally Prescribed to Negotiated Roles
in Farm Families* Damian F. Hannan and Louise Katsiaouni
88. *An Irish Personality Differential: A Technique for Measuring Affective and
Cognitive Dimensions of Attitudes Towards Persons*
E. E. Davis and Mary O'Neill
89. *Redundancy and Re-Employment in Ireland*
Brendan J. Whelan and Brendan M. Walsh
90. *A National Model of Fuel Allocation – A Prototype* E. W. Henry and S. Scott
91. *A Linear Programming Model for Irish Agriculture*
Robert O'Connor, Miceal Ross and Michael Behan
92. *Irish Educational Expenditures – Past Present and Future* A. Dale Tussing
93. *The Working and Living Conditions of Civil Service Typists*
Nóirín O'Broin and Gillian Farren

