

THE ECONOMIC & SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Views on Pay Increases, Fringe Benefits and Low Pay

FINDINGS FROM A NATIONAL SAMPLE SURVEY

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Views on Pay Increases, Fringe Benefits
and Low Pay

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Views on Pay Increases, Fringe Benefits and Low Pay
Findings from a National Sample Survey

HILDE BEHREND, ANN KNOWLES, JEAN DAVIES*

INTRODUCTION

Background of Enquiry and Purpose of Report

IN September 1968 the Economic and Social Research Institute accepted a commission by the Minister of Labour to undertake a survey of views on income differentials and income increases to provide material for an assessment of prevailing attitudes to questions of pay and their bearing on the development of an incomes policy, a task which was in accord with the Institute's objective of building up a picture of Irish society by gathering basic information needed by policy-makers.

This, the first report on the enquiry, presents the findings about views on pay-increases, fringe benefits and lower-paid workers. The report has been written in such a way that the detailed evidence, which includes all the major tables and their evaluations, is presented in Chapters 1 to 7, while the Summary and Conclusions bring together and highlight all the important findings and put them into a wider setting, linking them to the current situation. A second paper to be published later this year will deal with views expressed about the general economic situation and the role respondents thought they could (or could not) play to help the Irish economy, and with their opinions about pay-differentials.

Early discussions between the Department of Labour and the Economic and Social Research Institute led to the decision that the research project should be

*The authors are on the staff of the University of Edinburgh. Their enquiry was carried out in collaboration with the Institute, which has accepted their paper for publication. The authors are responsible for the contents of the paper, including the views expressed therein.

conducted by a mixed team of staff from the Institute and the University of Edinburgh under the direction of Dr. Hilde Behrend, under contract to the Institute. The enquiry would begin with a round of informal interviews with "opinion-leaders" from both sides of industry and the public service, and the major enquiry would consist of a national sample survey of views of adult male full-time wage and salary earners.

Work began in September 1968 with informal interviews of 39 "opinion-leaders" (employers, trade unionists and other people concerned with labour problems) who volunteered to co-operate at very short notice. The interviews, based on a semi-structured flexible schedule of topics, allowed the discussion to range over the whole area of wage-problems, and the views expressed helped to pin-point topics and questions for investigation in the major enquiry. Pay-increases and the economic problems connected with rising expectations came very much to the fore in these discussions.

The main enquiry consisted as planned of a national sample survey of full-time male employees, aged 21 years or over. The sample was selected by a carefully designed multi-stage stratified random sampling procedure,¹ which used for the purpose of stratification the standard classification factors of region and proportion of population in conurbations and urban and rural areas. In the final sampling stage the names of individual male respondents were drawn from the newly published electoral roll of April 1969. In addition, at the time of making contact the interviewer had to ascertain whether the person selected qualified for inclusion as an employed person. The size of sample aimed at was 1,000 respondents; the achieved sample exceeded this figure and amounted to 1,084 adult male employees. Over 2,000 names were drawn from the electoral roll because of the need to identify and eliminate self-employed, unemployed or retired men, of whom there turned out to be nearly 600. About another 10 per cent had moved away or gone to England, and 5 per cent turned out to be impossible to contact. It is interesting to note that only 29 people, 1.4 per cent, refused to co-operate.

The fieldwork for the survey was directed and organised by the staff of the Survey Research Unit of the Economic and Social Research Institute and took place during the period 25th April to 6th May, 1969. The interviews were carried out at the residence of the selected person by trained female interviewers who had been instructed to make at least three calls before abandoning the attempt to make contact. The interviews lasted approximately half an hour.

The schedule on which the interviews were based was designed by the Edinburgh staff and was developed by testing and re-testing questions in the field, the answers being carefully evaluated at each stage. This series of tests was carried out by the staff of the Institute's Survey Research Unit, and comprised well over a hundred interviews. Close collaboration was made possible by the participation of a member of the Edinburgh team in the major

¹For details see Appendix F.

pilot, and by two discussion meetings in Dublin and Edinburgh which helped to iron out some early communication problems.

The field tests explored, among other things, the range of the respondents' vocabulary and revealed that the following terms were frequently not understood: fringe benefits, white-collar workers, percentage increase, salary scale, productivity and State. By contrast the following phrases which it was thought might cause difficulty were understood by most respondents: skilled manual workers, clerical workers, set the pace for pay-increases, and minimum wage. The fact that the phrase "fringe benefit" was not understood meant that questions on this topic (see page 25) could not be formulated in general terms but had to be worded in terms of specific selected benefits.

Analysis and processing of data

The interview schedule consisted of three types of question: (1) limited choice questions where the possible responses were already printed on the questionnaire (for instance, "yes", "no" or "don't know") and where the interviewer merely ringed the relevant answer-code; (2) limited choice questions where the respondent was asked to select an answer from a list presented to him on a card, and (3) open-ended (free answer) questions where the interviewers had to write in the answers, recording them in the respondent's own words. The use of open-ended questions was considered essential for exploring views on pay; they served to highlight the responses which sprang most readily to the respondent's mind in the light of his own frames of reference.² This approach seemed particularly important where respondents were asked to name figures. The interview schedule is reproduced in Appendix G.

The open-ended questions had to be categorised after the completion of the fieldwork and this task was carried out in Edinburgh by two people, who each worked out independent categorisation schemes, based on the answers given in a 20 per cent sample of the questionnaires, and who then agreed final schemes. The coding of the open-ended questions from these schemes was carried out by the same people. The information was transferred to punch-cards and verified and a computer programme devised by a member of the Institute. Tabulations were carried out by both computer and punch-card equipment.

For each stage of data-processing checking procedures had been devised and were used; for instance, after each question was coded 10 per cent of the answers were selected and checked for error. If an error was found at least two questionnaires on either side were checked to see if there had been a run of errors. Computer and punch-card print-outs provided a further check on the data-processing.

²See S. L. Payne, *The Art of Asking Questions*, (1951), p. 50, who considers that replies to free answer questions may tell us the most common frame of reference that a particular question evokes. Also Kahn and Connell, *The Dynamics of Interviewing*, (1957), p. 132, who consider that an open question is likely to be best if the objective is to learn something about a respondent's frame of reference or the process by which he has arrived at a particular point of view.

The main statistical measures used in this report may be defined as follows:

The *lower quartile* is the value of the item in the distribution which has one quarter of the observations below it and three quarters of them above it.

The *median* is the value of the item in the distribution which has half of the observations below it and half of them above it.

The *upper quartile* is the value of the item in the distribution which has three quarters of the observations below it and one quarter of them above it.

The *mode* is the most frequent value in the distribution.

CHAPTER I. VIEWS AS TO OCCUPATIONS WHICH SET THE PACE FOR PAY-INCREASES.

At the threshold of the nineteen-seventies the number and size of recent pay-awards give ground for increasing concern about rising labour costs and their effects on the Irish economy. It is therefore of interest to know whether or not people think of certain occupations as key reference groups for pay-demands, and the object of the first survey question to be discussed in this report was to throw light on this issue. The open-ended question on this topic was: "*Which occupations do you think set the pace for pay-increases?*" and the answers given by the national sample of male employees are set out below:

<i>Answer</i>	<i>Number of times answer given*</i>	<i>Percentage of 1084 Respondents giving answer</i>
Skilled workers	265	24.4
Civil Service/Government/semi-State	193	17.8
Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	139	12.8
Electricity Supply Board	133	12.3
Building trade workers	127	11.7
Electricians	79	7.3
Maintenance workers	74	6.8
Professional workers, managers and executives	63	5.8
C.I.E.	54	5.0
Clerical workers	45	4.2
Dockers	35	3.2
Other replies, no answers, etc.	145	13.4

*268 respondents gave two answers.

It is worth noting that when this topic was raised with the opinion leaders a great diversity of opinions emerged, quite a few thinking that no particular occupation set the pace. By contrast, most of the respondents in the national sample had quite decided views on pace-setters although they did not

necessarily share the same view. As can be seen, the most frequent response was skilled workers; next in frequency was Civil Service, or Government or semi-State employees. This categorisation shows that respondents tended to think of pace-setters in terms of fairly large occupational groups such as skilled workers or workers in the building trade, or in terms of the employing authority such as the Government or the E.S.B. Only a minority named specific occupations such as electricians. This may be a reflection of the kind of pay-settlements which have been concluded in recent years. When interpreting the figures it must be borne in mind that certain of the categories mentioned overlap, which gives additional weight to these responses. For instance, 265 men referred directly to skilled workers as pace-setters, and a further 115 named electricians or maintenance workers, which means that as high a proportion as 35.1 per cent of the sample saw skilled occupations as a major force in the movement for higher pay. Semi- and unskilled manual workers were not mentioned as frequently as skilled workers but more often than professional, managerial or clerical workers. Overall, manual occupations were mentioned by 58.9 per cent of the sample but non-manual occupations by only 9.8 per cent.

In terms of employing authority, the main focus was on pay-increases in the public sector. In addition to general references to the Civil Service, or the Government and semi-State bodies, it was the E.S.B. and C.I.E. which were singled out. Altogether, 333 respondents' that is 30.0 per cent of the sample, considered that Government or semi-State organisations set the pace for pay-increases in Ireland.

To find out to what extent views differed among sub-sections³ of the sample, the answers were related to social grade, respondents' own occupation, and characteristics of their place of work. The figures are set out in Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1: *Percentage of respondents in different social grades who named certain groups (a) as pace-setters.*

<i>Groups named as pace-setters</i>	<i>Respondents' Social Grade^(b)</i>			
	<i>AB</i>	<i>C1</i>	<i>C2</i>	<i>DE</i>
	%	%	%	%
Skilled workers or electricians or maintenance men	33.9	31.0	38.8	34.9
Employees in the public sector ^(c)	41.1	42.9	31.0	22.9
Semi-skilled or unskilled workers	0.9	10.1	10.5	17.1
Building trade workers	7.7	10.7	15.1	11.6
Professional or clerical workers	13.1	14.9	10.1	8.8
Base for percentages ^(d)	N=168	N=168	N=258	N=490

³Generally each question has been related to other relevant information obtained in the interviews, and especially to personal particulars. However, we shall report only on cases where differences have been found or where the lack of a relationship might be of interest.

TABLE 2: *Percentage of manual and non-manual workers who named certain groups as pace setters.*

<i>Groups named as pace-setters</i>	<i>Non-manual workers^(e)</i>	<i>Manual workers^(e)</i>
	%	%
Skilled workers or electricians or maintenance men	32.1	36.2
Employees in the public sector	43.0	25.3
Semi-skilled or unskilled workers	8.4	15.2
Building trade workers	9.0	13.0
Professional or clerical workers	15.6	7.1
Base for percentages ^(d)	N=321	N=691

(a) Only the larger answer-categories, representing the views of 10 per cent of the sample or over, are given in Tables 1, 2 and 3, which means that the percentages do not add up to 100% in each column. This applies also to many of the later tables.

(b) A description of the method of social grading used in this survey is given in Appendix A. Tables showing the relationship of social grade to other personal particulars will be found in Appendix C.

(c) This group named the Civil Service, Government, semi-State bodies or specifically the E.S.B. or the C.I.E.

(d) The figures used as bases for percentages in this and similar tables are the total number of respondents in the sample in each social grade or other relevant category set out in the tables in Appendix B.

(e) For details of occupations included in these two categories, see Appendix B, Table IIIb.

From Tables 1 and 2, which present a very similar picture, it can be seen that the most noticeable difference of opinion concerns the "public sector" as a pace-setter, because a far higher percentage of respondents in social grades AB and C1 mentioned this sector than in Grade DE, and similarly, a higher percentage of respondents in non-manual than in manual work. The other main divergency was that a higher percentage of manual than non-manual workers (and of men in social grades DE and C2) mentioned manual occupations, suggesting that respondents were somewhat inclined to mention people in their own type of work as a reference group for pay-demands. This point, that there was a tendency to relate the answer to the work environment, is also illustrated in the next analysis, in which details of the respondents' employment were examined. Here it was found that a higher percentage of people employed in the public sector (36.1 per cent) than of those employed in the private sector (27.8 per cent) named Civil Service, Government and semi-State bodies as pace-setters. Also, as Table 3 shows, skilled workers were mentioned by a

higher percentage of workers in factories and in the building industry (where many skilled workers are employed) than by respondents in transport and the distributive trades.

TABLE 3: *Percentage of respondents in industry, building, transport and distribution who named certain groups as pace-setters*

<i>Groups named as pace-setters</i>	<i>Factory</i>	<i>Building & Construction</i>	<i>Transport</i>	<i>Distributive Trades</i>
	%	%	%	%
Skilled workers or electricians or maintenance men	41.3	40.9	30.8	26.4
Employees in the public sector	24.0	20.9	33.1	31.0
Semi-skilled or unskilled workers	15.2	6.1	14.6	10.9
Building trade workers	14.3	17.4	10.8	10.1
Professional or clerical workers	6.7	9.6	14.6	7.8
Base for percentages	N=329	N=115	N=130	N=129

CHAPTER 2. VIEWS ON RECENT LARGE PAY-INCREASES

In the context of inflation and the possibility of developing an effective incomes policy it is not only important to learn something about people's perceptions as to who sets the pattern for pay-rounds but also to find out whether people are concerned about the growing size of pay-increases. Anxiety on this topic was expressed by opinion-leaders in the September interviews—an anxiety which was related particularly to the effects of recent wage-rounds on the Irish economy, and its labour market, figures of 12 and 12½ per cent being mentioned.⁴ Whether the concern about the inflationary momentum of large pay-increases was shared by the national sample was explored by the following question: “*Have there been any pay-increases in the last two years which you feel have been too large?*” In reply a sizeable majority, 67.8 per cent, said “yes”, 29.0 per cent said “no”, with 3.3 per cent giving no opinion. The 735 respondents who considered that some pay-rises had been too large were then asked the following open-ended question: “*Which two pay-increases have been too large?*” In reply most respondents named two groups but 215 men gave only one answer. All the answers are tabulated overleaf.

⁴There appeared to be some confusion as to which wage-round was which and what were the various amounts.

<i>Pay-increases named as too large</i>	<i>Number of times answer given</i>	<i>Percentage of 1084 respondents giving answer</i>
The Government and T.D.s	572	52.8
Civil Service and semi-State	171	15.8
Maintenance workers	139	12.8
Electricity Supply Board	93	8.6
Teachers	75	6.9
Judiciary	45	4.2
Gardai	23	2.1
Electricians	16	1.5
Fitters	13	1.2
C. I. E.	10	0.9
Other answers	95	8.7
Don't know	3	0.3
Question not applicable	349	—

The distribution shows that the increases given to the Government and to Dáil Deputies were mentioned most frequently as too large, with Civil Service and semi-State increases next. If the more specific answers E.S.B. and C.I.E. are added to the latter, it is found, allowing for overlaps, that as many as 265 men (24.4 per cent) mentioned the Civil Service or semi-State organisations. The number of times some answers were mentioned, such as "maintenance men" and "teachers", may have been influenced by pay-disputes which had attracted attention on the mass media around the time of the survey.

How are these answers distributed over the social grades? Table 4 examines this question for the larger answer categories.

TABLE 4: *Opinions of respondents in different social grades as to which pay-increases were too large*

<i>Pay-increases named as too large</i>	<i>Respondents' Social Grade</i>			
	<i>AB</i>	<i>Cr</i>	<i>C2</i>	<i>DE</i>
	%	%	%	%
Government and T.D.s	37.5	51.8	60.9	54.0
Civil Service and semi-State, or E.S.B. or C.I.E.	29.2	26.8	28.4	23.9
Maintenance workers	19.7	13.1	7.8	13.1
Teachers	1.8	5.4	10.9	7.2
Base for percentages	N=168	N=168	N=258	N=490

These figures show that the increases of Government Ministers and T. D.s were singled out most often as too large by all the social grades, although the men in social grade C2 (mostly skilled workers) were inclined to name them

more frequently than the other grades, and those in social grade AB considerably less frequently. Another interesting point which emerges from the table is that of the men in social grade C2 only 7.8 per cent said "maintenance workers" (a C2 occupation) compared with 19.7 per cent of the men in social grade AB, while only 1.8 per cent of the latter gave the answer "teachers" (an AB occupation) as compared with 10.9 per cent of the men in C2.

CHAPTER 3. RESPONDENTS' EXPECTATIONS REGARDING THEIR OWN PAY-INCREASES

As some pay-increases had definitely been considered too large by many of the respondents, it is interesting to ask what size of pay-increase they expected themselves. These personal expectations were investigated in a series of questions which became progressively more specific. The questions concentrated on expectations concerning a "general pay-increase", a phrase which had been suggested by the Department of Labour and which our pilot study had shown would avoid the problem of respondents talking about personal increases such as a salary increment or a bonus. The first two questions and the answers obtained are given below.

<i>Question</i>	<i>Answer</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of 1,084 respondents</i>
Over the next two years do you expect your pay to increase, stay the same or decrease?	Increase	948	87.5
	Stay the same	99	9.1
	Decrease	2	0.2
	Don't know	35	3.2
			<u>1,084</u>	100%
<i>Question</i>	<i>Answer</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of 1,084 respondents</i>
Do you expect to have a general pay-increase in the next two years?	Yes	933	86.1
	No	105	9.7
	Don't know	46	4.2
			<u>1,084</u>	100%

The above answers show that the great majority of the men interviewed expected their pay to increase during the next two years, although, on further examination, older men were found to be slightly less inclined to believe this. Almost all the men expected a general pay-increase, a finding which illustrates the extent to which successive wage-rounds have become accepted as a normal pattern in Ireland. The fact that managers and professional men, however, are often not covered by collective agreements was reflected in their answers, as they were the group which was least likely to expect a general pay-increase.

Further important questions regarding expectations concern how often pay-increases are given and, of course, their size, and the following two questions, put to the 933 respondents who were expecting a general pay-increase, enquire into these expectations:

<i>Question</i>	<i>Answer</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of 1,084 respondents</i>
How often do you expect to have a general pay-increase during the next two years?	Once	507	46.8
	Twice	324	29.9
	More than twice	36	3.3
	Don't know or no answer	66	6.1
	Question not applicable	151	13.9
		<u>1,084</u>	<u>100%</u>

<i>Question⁵</i>	<i>Answer Shillings p.w.</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of 850 respondents*</i>
How much do you expect your next general pay-increase will be?	Below 10/-	7	0.8
	10/- to 19/-	62	5.7
	20/- to 29/-	203	23.9
	30/- to 39/-	141	16.6
	40/- to 49/-	192	22.6
	50/- to 59/-	71	8.4
	60/- to 69/-	86	10.1
	70/- to 79/-	22	2.6
	80/- to 99/-	30	3.5
	100/- and over	36	4.2
		<u>850</u>	<u>100%</u>

Median⁶: 40/-
 Quartiles: 26/- and 54/-
 Quartile difference: 28/-

*Of the 933 respondents who answered the previous question, 83 this time answered "don't know" or gave no answer.

The above answers show that 46.8 per cent of the men expected one increase in the next two years, 29.9 per cent two increases, and 3.3 per cent more than two increases; manual workers were found to be slightly more inclined than non-manual workers to expect more than one pay-increase. What size of

⁵The answers to this open-ended question were grouped into ten-shilling intervals when they were put onto punchcards; the position of the medians and quartiles within these groups have been worked out to the nearest shilling on the assumption that the answers were evenly distributed, thus indicating whether the measures lay on the borderline of the preceding or succeeding groups or near the middle of the group. The same procedures have been applied to all similar tables in this and the following chapter.

⁶For definition of statistical terms, see Introduction, page 8.

increase did the men in the two main sub-groups expect to receive? The answers are set out in Table 5.

TABLE 5: *Size of increase expected by respondents who thought they would receive one as opposed to two increases in the next two years*

<i>Amount of next Expected Increase</i>	<i>Increase expected once in two years</i>		<i>Increase expected twice in two years</i>	
	<i>Number of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of 457 respondents*</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of 306 respondents*</i>
<i>Below 10/-</i>	3	0.7	3	1.0
<i>10/- to 19/-</i>	29	6.3	20	6.5
<i>20/- to 29/-</i>	107	23.4	77	25.2
<i>30/- to 39/-</i>	84	18.4	48	15.7
<i>40/- to 49/-</i>	104	22.8	74	24.2
<i>50/- to 59/-</i>	45	9.8	18	5.9
<i>60/- to 69/-</i>	38	8.3	39	12.7
<i>70/- to 79/-</i>	14	3.1	5	1.6
<i>80/- to 99/-</i>	16	3.5	9	2.9
<i>100/- and over</i>	17	3.7	13	4.2
Total	457	100%	306	100%
<i>Median</i>	<i>40/-</i>		<i>40/-</i>	
<i>Quartiles</i>	<i>27/- and 53/-</i>		<i>26/- and 53/-</i>	
<i>Quartile difference</i>	<i>26/-</i>		<i>27/-</i>	

*Only 763 of the respondents who expected an increase once or twice in the next two years gave an answer as to what amount they expected.

The most striking finding revealed by this evidence is the remarkable similarity of the distributions. For instance, the medians were the same, whether the men said they expected one pay-increase in the next two years or two; also no significant difference emerged in the position of the quartiles. This shows that whether an increase was expected once or twice in two years seemed to make little difference to the amounts which respondents said they expected and suggests that expectations regarding the size of future pay-increases may not be adjusted when increases are given more frequently. An alternative explanation is that some respondents were covered by *phased* agreements and may have given as their "next-increase" the total for an award payable in two instalments.

Turning to the figures themselves, it can be seen that they covered a wide range of amounts, showing that there were considerable differences in expectations, which ran from below 10/- to above £5. Examination of the amounts named and the personal particulars of the respondents including their income groups showed no noticeable patterns of association. One interesting point,

however, emerged, namely that the percentages of men in social grade C2, representing mainly skilled workers who expected pay-increases of 50/- or more was higher than in any other social grade.⁷

Another point about the distribution of the amounts named is that there were two "peaks", namely the answer-groups giving amounts of 20/- to 29/- and of 40/- to 49/- per week, which each represented the views of more than 20 per cent of the total sample—a pattern which also applied to the sub-groups in Table 5. The major reason for this will be discussed later in this section. It is worth mentioning here that available figures for the eleventh wage-round show that the most frequent increases in basic wage-rates for manual workers up to August 1968 had normally been 35/- to 40/- per week for men—a range of figures which falls between the two "peaks".

The purpose of the next two questions, put again only to the people who had said they expected a general pay-increase, was to look at yet another aspect of expectations, namely to discover how far respondents' views on the size of the next pay-increase were based on their last increase or not, and to probe into what lay behind their answers. Details of the two questions are set out below.

<i>Question</i>	<i>Answer</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of 1,084 respondents</i>
Would this (general increase) be the same, less or more than your last general pay increase?	Same	287	26.5
	Less	177	16.3
	More	407	37.5
	Don't know	41	3.8
	Question not applicable	172	15.9
		<u>1,084</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question: Why do you expect to get the same as/less than/more than your last general pay-increase?

<i>Classification of reasons given for expectation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of 1,084 respondents</i>
Cost of living	362	33.4
Increase already agreed	194	17.9
Expectation based on past experience	71	6.5
Expectation with regard to result of bargaining	45	4.2
Mention of economic factors	43	4.0
Last increase so large	25	2.3
Mention of factors connected with productivity	25	2.3
To keep in line with other workers	23	2.1
Effect of Government policy	13	1.2
Don't know, other answers	70	6.5
Question not applicable	213	19.6
	<u>1,084</u>	<u>100%</u>

⁷There is the complication that a higher proportion of men in social grades AB and C1 than in the other grades did *not* expect a general pay-increase, perhaps because they are less liable to come within the scope of collective agreements.

Looking first at the reasons for the expectations, a great variety of responses were given, with the most frequent answer the "cost of living". On this a personal particular analysis showed that the cost of living was mentioned by twice as many manual workers as non-manual workers. The second largest group of men, namely 194, gave as reason that the increase had already been agreed, which meant that their answers did not really represent expectations but rather information about facts, although their view of the facts might not be fully accurate. It appeared relevant therefore to carry out some analyses which looked separately at these 194 men and the rest of the sample.

The first of these tests compared the amounts given for pay-increases which had already been agreed with the amounts given for pay-increases where the respondents had not said that a pay-agreement had already been reached. This analysis showed some very interesting differences: the figures named by people whose increase had already been agreed were found to be lower than those given by the others. The median increase which the former had secured was only 31/- as compared with the median expected amount of 42/- for the other respondents, and the quartiles for the agreed increases were 21/- and 45/- as compared with 28/- and 56/- for the ones that had not yet been agreed.

Turning to the discussion of the distribution of the statements on whether respondents expected to receive more, less, or the same as their last pay-increase (excluding for this purpose the answers of the 194 men just dealt with), it was found that the people who *expected* to receive more greatly outnumbered those expecting less. Examination of the amounts expected by the three sub-groups provided the key to the bi-modal distribution of amounts mentioned earlier: the respondents appeared to emerge on these questions as "optimists" or "pessimists" in the sense that the men who expected to receive more named noticeably higher amounts than those who expected their pay-increase to be the same or less. The evidence is set out in Table 6.

Table 6 shows clearly that the most frequent response-group for the people who expected a larger pay-increase was 40/- to 49/-, a view expressed by 31.7 per cent of them. By contrast, the most frequent response-group for the men who expected their pay-increase to be less or the same was 20/- to 29/-, given by 31.0 per cent of the men who expected to get less and by 35.6 per cent of those who expected to get the same. The medians and the quartiles were much higher for the men who expected their pay-increases to be bigger than their last one than for the other men.

Table 7 examines separately the reasons given for each of the three expectations, and shows that the cost of living was the reason given by the vast majority of the respondents who expected to receive *more* money, namely by 75.9 per cent of them. It was also the most frequent answer (at 42.4 per cent) of the respondents who expected the *same* amount; past experience, for instance that this was the usual increase, was another frequent reason for expecting the same increase. Economic factors and the view that the previous

TABLE 6: Amounts expected as pay-increases by respondents who said they would receive more, the same or less than before.*

Expected increase Shillings per week	Expectations regarding next general pay-increase		
	More	Same	Less
	%	%	%
Below 10/-	0.0	1.1	1.8
10/- to 19/-	2.1	5.9	8.0
20/- to 29/-	12.9	35.6	31.0
30/- to 39/-	9.4	21.3	27.4
40/- to 49/-	31.7	18.6	14.2
50/- to 59/-	10.3	6.9	8.8
60/- to 69/-	17.0	6.9	1.8
70/- to 79/-	3.2	1.6	2.7
80/- to 99/-	6.5	1.1	1.8
100/- and over	7.0	1.1	2.7
Total	100% N = 341	100% N = 188	100% N = 113
Median	47/-	33/-	32/-
Quartiles	40/- and 64/-	24/- and 45/-	24/- and 44/-
Quartile difference	24/-	21/-	20/-

*The 194 men whose increases had already been agreed, as well as 35 men who did not name a figure, have been excluded from this table.

TABLE 7: Reasons for expectations given by the three sub-groups who expected more, the same or less than their last increase.^(a)

Classification of reasons given for expectation	Expectations regarding next general pay-increase		
	More	Same	Less
	%	%	%
Cost of living	75.9	42.4	9.2 ^(b)
Expectation based on past experience	3.7	28.3	1.5
Expectation with regard to result of bargaining	4.3	7.1	12.3
Mention of economic factors	0.3	5.1	23.8
Last increase so large	0.0	0.0	19.2
Mention of factors connected with productivity	5.7	2.0	0.0
To keep in line with other workers	4.9	1.5	2.3
Effect of Government policy	0.0	1.0	8.5
Don't know, other answers	5.2	12.6	23.1
Total	100% N = 349	100% N = 198	100% N = 130

(a) The 194 men whose increases had already been agreed have been excluded from this table.

(b) Some of these respondents explained that they thought the cost of living would be stabilised.

TABLE 8: Comparison between last general pay-increase and expected pay-increase made by men in different social grades.^(a)

Comparison with last increase	Respondents' Social Grade			
	AB	C1	C2	DE
	%	%	%	%
Will be more	16.1	24.4	39.5	36.5
„ „ the same	18.5	22.6	16.3	17.8
„ „ less	22.0	11.3	11.2	9.2
Base for percentages ^(b)	N = 168	N = 168	N = 258	N = 490

TABLE 9: Comparison between last general pay-increase and expected pay-increase made by manual and non-manual workers.^(a)

Comparison with last increase	Non-manual Workers	Manual Workers
	%	%
Will be more	19.6	38.4
„ „ the same	20.2	5.8
„ „ less	17.8	20.5
Base for percentages ^(b)	N = 321	N = 691

TABLE 10: Comparison between last general pay-increase and expected pay-increase made by different income-groups^(a).

Comparison with last increase	Respondents' Income Group ^(c) £s per week					
	Under £12	Over £12 up to £16	Over £16 up to £20	Over £20 up to £25	Over £25 up to £30	Over £30
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Will be more	33.3	38.1	40.0	29.4	14.7	22.0
„ „ the same	17.1	17.4	18.5	19.6	25.3	16.5
„ „ less	6.2	9.7	10.9	9.2	21.3	25.2
Base for percentages ^(b)	N = 129	N = 288	N = 265	N = 153	N = 75	N = 127

(a) The 194 men whose increases had already been agreed have been excluded from these three tables. It should be remembered that the 151 men who did not expect a pay-increase are also excluded.

(b) See Tables 1 and 2, note (d).

(c) A description of the method of obtaining the income data is given in Appendix A.

increase had been so large were the two main reasons given for expecting less money.

Next it appeared important to find out whether the members of the sample who expected to receive more, the same or less than before had specific personal characteristics, and the findings are set out in Tables 8, 9 and 10.

As can be seen, there were considerable differences in the expectations of men in different social and occupational grades. As high a percentage as 39.5 per cent of grade C2 (and 38.4 per cent of all manual workers) expected to receive a higher pay-increase than previously, as compared with only 16.1 per cent in grade AB (and 19.6 per cent of all non-manual workers). Only 9.2 per cent of the men in grade DE and 11.2 per cent in grade C2 expected less than in the past, as compared with 22.0 per cent in grade AB. Similarly it was the middle and lower income groups who were more inclined to say that they would receive "more" in coming negotiations, while the higher income groups were more inclined to say that they would receive "less".

It should be noted that of the men whose increases had already been agreed 47.3 per cent were getting the same increase, 24.6 per cent "less" and only 28.1 per cent "more". The reality of their experience was thus somewhat different from that of the men who were anticipating what the future would hold. This could be due to a number of factors—one being that the optimistic men were expecting the coming wage-round to be generous; another that they went in for some kind of wishful thinking whereby the figures they gave were influenced not only by past experience and inflation but also by their views as to what would be fair.

CHAPTER 4. VIEWS ON WHAT WOULD BE A FAIR PAY-INCREASE

The topic of what represents a fair increase and of how far views on this matched expected pay-increases was explored by the following question which was put to respondents much later in the interview: "*What do you think would be a fair amount for the next general all-round pay-increase?*"

On this an interesting finding was that, although the question used the word "amount", 234 respondents, that is 21.7 per cent of the sample, expressed their answer as a percentage, although only a handful had done so before. The respondents who named percentages on this occasion were found to belong mainly to social grade AB and to the higher income groups; thus well over half of the men earning over £30 per week answered in this way. The fact that there are two sets of answers means of course that neither is fully representative of the total sample. The percentage answers will be discussed first because only a limited amount of information can be obtained from them while the discussion on the monetary amounts is fairly lengthy.

Question	Percentage answers	Number of respondents	Percentage out of 234 respondents answering in percentage terms
What do you think would be a fair amount for the next general all-round pay-increase?	3%	8	3.4
	4%	17	7.3
	5%	43	18.4
	6%	10	4.3
	7%	19	8.1
	8%	14	6.0
	9%	3	1.3
	10%	55	23.5
	11%	—	0.0
	12 or 12½%	25	10.7
	15%	19	8.1
	16% and over	21	9.0
		234	100%

As can be seen, the above distribution shows a very large variation in the answers, which ranged from 3 per cent to 50 per cent; 10 per cent increases were called fair most frequently, with 5 per cent next in frequency. This may account for the fact that the median increase mentioned as fair was 10 per cent and the quartiles for the distribution were 5 per cent and 10 per cent. This suggests that the answers represent two distinct points of view, and details of the respondents' social grade and income showed that the difference of opinion occurred mainly among the men in social grades AB and C1, and in the income range of above £25 per week, in the sense that about half gave high percentages and half low ones while the men in the low income groups and in social grades C2 and DE gave predominantly high percentages. It should be remembered that percentage increases have a different meaning for people with different incomes and that a 10 per cent increase represents the following amounts:

25/- for a weekly income of £12.10.0
 35/- for a weekly income of £17.10.0
 45/- for a weekly income of £22.10.0
 55/- for a weekly income of £27.10.0
 65/- for a weekly income of £32.10.0

and that a 5 per cent increase represents exactly half these amounts.

Turning to the *monetary* answers received, the evidence is presented overleaf. As it shows, the monetary answers, in contrast to the percentage answers, are concentrated round the central interval of 40/- to 49/- which represented the views of as many as 274 respondents, that is of over a third of the people who gave a monetary answer and over a quarter of the total sample. The

Question ⁸	Monetary answers Amount per week	Number of respondents	Percentage out of 769 respondents giving monetary answer
What do you think would be a fair amount for the next general all-round pay-increase?	Below 10/-	—	0.0
	10/- to 19/-	9	1.2
	20/- to 29/-	94	12.2
	30/- to 39/-	109	14.2
	40/- to 49/-	274	35.6
	50/- to 59/-	67	8.7
	60/- to 69/-	127	16.6
	70/- to 79/-	12	1.6
	80/- to 99/-	36	4.7
	100/- and above	41	5.3
		769	100%
Median:	45/-		
Quartiles:	37/- and 61/-		
Quartile difference:	24/-		

median amount which was considered fair fell in the middle of this group and was 45/-. As the earlier evidence shows (page 14) only 192 men expected a pay-increase within the range of 40/- to 49/- and the median for *expected* pay-increases was 40/-, that is 5/- lower than that for felt *fair* pay-increases.

On the whole, the amounts given for fair pay-increases were higher than those given for expected increases. Only 9 men considered that any increase below £1 would be fair, and none mentioned a figure below 10/-, whereas 41 men mentioned £5 and above. Half of the respondents giving monetary answers gave figures between 37/- and 61/-. These quartiles are higher than those for expected increases which were 26/- and 54/-.

Some very interesting findings emerged when the views on fair pay-increases were linked to the opinions the men had expressed about their personal expectations on pay-increases, and this evidence, covering the 654 men who gave monetary answers for both questions, is set out in Table 11. It should be remembered that the answers have been grouped into 10/- categories, and that therefore the table can only show up whether the two answers fell into the same 10/- answer category or not. For simplicity however any two answers falling within the same specified category, such as 40/- to 49/-, will be treated as being the same.

The most important finding here is that 319 men expected to receive an increase which would fall *below* the amount they thought would be fair, which means that practically half of the 654 men in the table were discontented with their expected pay-awards. The explanation for their discontent however may be found in the size of the increases which they were expecting, for the vast

⁸Once again these answers have been grouped into ten shilling intervals. Cf. footnote 5, page 14.

TABLE II: Comparison of answers of 654 respondents to the questions:
 "How much do you expect your next general pay-increase will be?"
 "What do you think would be a fair amount for the next general all-round pay-increase"?

<i>Comparison with amounts respondents considered fair</i>			
<i>Amount respondents expected to receive</i>	<i>Expected same amount as they thought would be fair</i>	<i>Expected smaller amount than they thought would be fair</i>	<i>Expected larger amount than they thought would be fair</i>
	%	%	%
Below 10/-	0.0	0.0	0.0
10/- to 19/-	1.6	13.2	0.0
20/- to 29/-	18.6	38.2	0.0
30/- to 39/-	14.6	18.5	4.9
40/- to 49/-	36.0	17.6	26.8
50/- to 59/-	7.9	5.0	9.8
60/- to 69/-	13.4	4.4	23.2
70/- to 79/-	1.2	0.9	8.5
80/- to 99/-	3.6	0.0	12.2
100/- and above	3.2	0.0	14.6
Total	100% N = 253	100% N = 319	100% N = 82

majority of them (69.9 per cent) were expecting to receive less than 40/-—smaller amounts than most of the other men in the sample.

A sizeable group of 253 men however fell into the same (grouped) answer category for both questions and thus probably felt that the increase they were expecting was also fair, the most frequent figures equated by them being 40/- to 49/-.

A small group of 82 men, of whom all but four expected large pay-increases of 40/- or more, named lower figures for a fair increase than the amounts they were themselves expecting.

Because of the problem of grouped entries, mentioned earlier, it was not possible to work out the exact differences between the expected amounts and the amounts considered fair, but in the majority of cases the second answer fell within either the nearest or second nearest group of figures in the distribution, which means that for the majority of the men the discrepancies did not exceed 20/-.

The answers on fair pay-increases were also related to whether respondents were expecting one or two pay-increases in the next two years, but showed no significant difference for men expecting one as opposed to two pay-increases.

It was found, however, that the respondents who expected "more" than their last pay-increase tended to give noticeably higher figures for fair pay-increases

than the men who expected to receive the "same" or "less", a finding which is in line with the findings on the size of expected increases. The details are set out in Table 12.

TABLE 12: Amounts named as fair for pay-increase by the three groups of respondents who expected to receive more, the same or less than before in their next pay-increase.^(a)

Fair increase Shillings per week	Expectations regarding next general pay-increase		
	More	Same	Less
	%	%	%
Below 10/-	0.0	0.0	0.0
10/- to 19/-	0.7	1.4	4.2
20/- to 29/-	8.5	17.8	15.5
30/- to 39/-	9.6	17.1	18.3
40/- to 49/-	33.7	37.7	29.6
50/- to 59/-	11.3	8.2	9.9
60/- to 69/-	20.2	8.9	15.5
70/- to 79/-	3.5	0.7	0.0
80/- to 99/-	6.7	2.7	2.8
£5 and over	5.7	5.5	4.2
Total	100% N = 282	100% N = 146	100% N = 71 ^(b)
Median	48/-	42/-	43/-
Quartiles	41/- and 65/-	32/- and 48/-	32/- and 57/-
Quartile difference	24/-	16/-	25/-

(a) The 194 men whose increases had already been agreed have been excluded from this table.

(b) The small number of people in this group means that the position of the quartiles needs to be interpreted with caution.

What about the views of the men whose pay-increases had already been agreed? For them, two interesting findings emerged. Firstly their views on fair pay showed that the most frequent answer-group was 40/- to 49/-, given by 41.0 per cent of the men, while the most frequent amount mentioned as already agreed on their behalf was 20/- to 29/-, given by 29.9 per cent of the men. Secondly, when the two responses were put against each other it was found that as many as four out of five of the men considered a higher increase fair than the one they were expecting, indicating that a much higher proportion of these men than of the others were discontented. Only 29 of them appeared to feel that their agreed increase was by and large a fair increase.

CHAPTER 5. RESPONDENTS' PREFERENCES REGARDING FRINGE BENEFITS.

We now turn to survey evidence regarding respondents' attitudes to the idea of receiving pay-increases in the form of extra "fringe benefits" rather than as a cash pay-rise. The experience of some opinion-leaders had suggested that this was an area in which there were sometimes communication problems, and the pilot evidence confirmed this. For instance it was found (as mentioned in the introduction) that the phrase "fringe benefit" was not widely understood. Two questions, however, which were found to be generally understood by the respondents were included in the survey. In one of these questions an attempt was made to estimate the popularity amongst the sample of various alternatives to monetary pay-increases by handing each respondent a card with the following choices and asking:

"Would you prefer any one of the following instead of a pay-increase or not?"

Choices	Number of respondents	Percentage of 1,084 respondents	
		%	%
Pension	164	27.1	
Better pension if already in scheme	130		
Longer holidays with pay	30	2.8	
Shorter hours	46	4.2	
Sick pay	73	11.8	45.9
Better sick pay if already in scheme	55		
Would not prefer any of these to a pay-increase	573		52.9
Don't know	13		1.2
	<u>1,084</u>		<u>100%</u>

There was a division of opinion in the sample over this issue with slightly over half the respondents saying they would prefer their increase as cash, while 45.9 per cent preferred one of the fringe benefits, with "pension or better pension scheme" at the top of the list. The evidence suggests that shorter hours and longer holidays with pay were each chosen only by small minorities of the sample.

In Tables 13, 14 and 15 which relate these answers to personal particulars, the answers "shorter hours" or "longer holidays" and "don't know" are not included because of the small numbers involved.

Table 13 reveals that a higher proportion of non-manual than manual workers preferred cash to other benefits and also pensions to sick pay. By contrast, sick pay (although mentioned considerably less frequently than cash or pensions by both non-manual and manual workers) was mentioned by a

TABLE 13: *Manual and non-manual workers' preference between pay-award and some type of fringe benefit.*

Preference	Non-manual workers	Manual workers
	%	%
Pay-increase	58.6	50.5
Pension or better pension	29.3	25.5
Sick pay or better sick pay	4.7	15.2
Base for percentages	N = 321	N = 691

TABLE 14: *Respondents' preference between pay-award and some type of fringe benefit related to respondents' income.*

Preference	Respondents' Income, £s per week					
	Below £12	Over £12 up to £16	Over £16 up to £20	Over £20 up to £25	Over £25 up to £30	Over £30
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Pay increase	51.9	53.1	45.7	49.7	64.0	62.2
Pension or better pension	28.7	24.3	32.1	26.8	24.0	26.0
Sick pay or better sick pay	9.3	13.9	16.6	14.3	6.7	2.4
Base for percentages	N=129	N=288	N=265	N=153	N=75	N=127

TABLE 15: *Respondents' age related to their preferences between pay-award and some type of fringe benefit.*

Preference	Respondents' Age-Group				
	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
	%	%	%	%	%
Pay increase	57.9	59.6	52.1	51.0	30.5
Pension or better pension	20.9	17.6	25.9	36.4	49.5
Sick pay or better sick pay	10.2	14.1	14.3	7.8	12.4
Base for percentages	N=254	N=255	N=259	N=206	N=105

very much higher percentage of manual than non-manual workers. Even so, only a minority of manual workers chose this answer.

The figures in Table 14 show no clear trends. This suggests that probably other aspects of the men's personal circumstances are important; for example, age showed a relationship with the preferences expressed, particularly in that, as one might expect, older men chose a pension more often than younger men. The figures are shown in Table 15.

The other question⁹ on fringe benefits omitted all reference to a pay-increase, as well as to "shorter hours", and included a new item "salary-scale or service pay". This means that percentages relating to the two questions cannot be compared directly. It should also be noted that, instead of offering the choice of cash or one fringe benefit (that is, instead of an either/or choice), the second question asked the respondent to evaluate the relative importance of four benefits. He was left open to rank the items in the light of benefits he already received or would like to receive. The question (also presented on a card) was:

"Here are four things employers can give employees. Could you tell me their order of importance, that is from the one you think is most important to the one you think is least important:

Longer holidays with pay

Pension

*Salary scale or service pay*¹⁰

Sick pay"

Respondents' answers were ranked thus: most important=1, second most important=2, third=3, least important=4, and the percentages of respondents giving the different ranks are shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16: Percentages* of 1,084 respondents giving different rank orders to the four fringe benefits.

Fringe Benefit	Order of importance			
	1 (most)	2	3	4 (least)
	%	%	%	%
Pension	35.6	34.4	23.3	5.3
Sick pay	31.9	37.2	23.4	6.1
Salary scale or service pay	25.6	21.0	39.2	12.7
Longer holidays with pay	5.4	6.0	12.6	74.5
No answer	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4
	100%	100%	100%	100%

*The numerical data are shown in Appendix D, Table XIX.

⁹It should be noted that the two questions on fringe benefits were not asked consecutively but were deliberately placed in separate positions, one near the beginning of the interview, the other near the end, and the two separate sets of responses provided some check on consistency.

¹⁰The phrase "or service pay"—an incremental scale related to length of service—was used because it was generally understood by manual workers, while the phrase "salary-scale" was not.

This table shows that there was considerable agreement amongst the sample that "longer holidays with pay" was the least important benefit in this list, with 74.5 per cent of the respondents ranking it last. "Pension" and "sick pay" were given the greatest importance in this question, and "salary-scale or service pay" was most frequently ranked third, although about a quarter of the sample ranked it first.

In view of the fact that recent Irish pay agreements have paid considerable attention to conditions of employment, the rankings given by different social and occupational groups in the sample are of particular interest. Here the breakdown of the figures (reproduced in Appendix D, Tables XX and XXI) revealed the important findings that about 40 per cent of the men in social grades AB and C1 (that is mainly non-manual employees) considered the item "salary-scale or service pay" of greatest importance to them, while considerably smaller percentages in social grades C2 and DE (mainly manual workers) placed this item first. It should be remembered however that under current practices manual workers stand to benefit less from this financially than non-manual workers. 36.8 per cent of the men in social grade C2 placed sick pay first and nearly as many pensions (33.7 per cent), while of the men in grade DE just under 40 per cent valued pensions most, with the percentage ranking sick pay first only slightly lower at 36.4. In social grade C1, by contrast, the percentage giving pensions first rank (35.5) was much greater than that for sick pay (21.1).

While there were minor differences in the evaluation of pensions it should be noted that about a third of the men in all social grades placed them first in importance and another third second. For grades C2 and DE a similar picture emerged for the emphasis placed on sick pay, while noticeably smaller percentages of grades AB and C1 gave sick pay a first importance ranking.

An interesting cleavage of opinion was found among the men in social grades AB and C1 insofar as one sizeable sub-group placed salary-scales first while another not quite so sizeable sub-group placed it third. It would appear that the men who ranked it first did so because they placed less importance on sick pay.

The picture which emerges from the occupational breakdowns is very similar to that already discussed for the social grades. It shows up once again the cleavage of views on the item of greatest importance, with 40.6 per cent of the non-manual workers placing salary-scale first and with the manual groups placing most emphasis in their first choices on sick pay and pensions. The latter also placed great stress on sick pay and pensions in their second choice.¹¹

The most important divergence to be noted within the manual occupational

¹¹The fact that sick pay and pension schemes came up as practically of equal importance in the rankings given by the three different groups of manual workers on this question whereas on the first question they were chosen less frequently may be due to the difference in the questions pointed up earlier. As an either/or alternative to a monetary pay-increase more respondents chose "pension or better pension". This difference may reflect differences in the conditions of employment at their place of work, suggesting that fewer of them are at present covered by pension than by sick pay schemes.

groups was that a quarter of the skilled workers ranked service pay first as compared with smaller proportions of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

There was a very high level of agreement among all social and occupational groups that longer holidays with pay were least important to them.

CHAPTER 6. WHO IS THE LOWER PAID WORKER AND HOW CAN HE BE HELPED?

Opinions on who are lower paid workers.

Another topic covered by the national sample survey was that of lower paid workers and of what might be done to help them, a subject about which concern has been expressed by responsible leaders in Ireland. In this context it would appear important to identify which people are considered to be the worst off members of the community, both as regards their occupation and their level of income.

Is there consensus among the population as to who is a lower paid worker? To find out, two questions were asked of which the first was as follows:

“What does the term lower paid worker mean to you in terms of occupation?”

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number of times answer given*</i>	<i>Percentage of 1,084 respondents giving answer</i>
Unskilled, semi-skilled labourers	507	46.8
Agricultural labourers	306	28.3
Corporation workers	151	13.9
Factory workers, manual workers	91	8.4
Builders' labourers	76	7.0
Transport workers	55	5.1
Shop assistants	39	3.6
Clerical workers and Civil Servants	34	3.1
Hotel workers, waiters	26	2.4
Professional workers	25	2.3
Skilled manual workers	17	1.6
Don't know, no answer, other answers	92	8.5

*335 men gave two answers.

The distribution shows that by far the most frequent answer was once again a large occupational group, namely unskilled or semi-skilled labourers, given by 46.8 per cent of the sample. Agricultural labourers came next, then corporation workers; other occupations were only mentioned by a small minority of the sample.

The opinion leaders answered this question in very much the same way as did the survey sample, with labourers being mentioned by the majority. There was a slight difference in emphasis, in that the opinion leaders mentioned

agricultural labourers most frequently, and then the less specific unskilled or semi-skilled labourers.

When account is taken of overlaps in the answers given by the survey sample, it is clear that there was a high degree of consensus, and there were therefore no important differences when answers from subgroups were examined. The only one found was that white-collar workers were more inclined to give the answers "shop assistants", "clerical workers", "civil servants", and "professional workers", while manual workers were more inclined to name a particular job rather than simply say "unskilled" or "semi-skilled", probably differentiating because they knew more about labouring jobs.

Earlier in the survey, before the topic of lower pay was introduced, respondents had been asked, "*At the present moment which two occupations do you think most deserve a pay increase*"? The answers, which are given below, were similar to those just discussed and it is therefore useful to comment on them at this point.

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number of times answer given*</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents giving answer</i>
Unskilled/Semi-skilled labourer	536	49.5
Agricultural labourer	268	24.7
Skilled manual workers	167	15.4
Nurses	147	13.5
Building trade workers	139	12.8
Corporation workers	124	11.4
Clerical and other social grade C1 occupations	88	8.1
Transport workers	83	7.6
Shop assistants	65	6.0
Managers, teachers and other professional workers	63	5.8
Lower paid workers, including women	33	4.0
Post Office workers	28	2.6
Don't know, no answer, other answers	90	8.3

*Only 757 men gave two answers.

The two most frequent answers to this question, namely unskilled or semi-skilled labourers and agricultural labourers, occurred almost the same number of times as they did in answer to the question on the occupations of lower paid workers, adding weight to the evidence that these workers are seen as being in need of financial help. As one would expect, the remaining answers covered a wider range of occupations than the lower pay question; skilled workers appeared far more frequently and nurses were named by 147 respondents. Closer examination of the answers suggests that non-manual workers were more inclined to name non-manual occupations and manual workers manual occupations. For example, 26.8 per cent of respondents in social grade AB mentioned nurses, compared with 7.8 per cent of respondents in social grade C2; also 21.7 per cent of respondents in social grade C2 mentioned the building trade, compared with 1.8 per cent of respondents in social grade AB.

To find out what level of income was considered lower pay by the sample, all

respondents were asked: "People talk about lower paid workers. What does the term lower paid worker mean to you in terms of pay? I mean for a married man before tax and deductions". Answers to this question are given in Table 17.

TABLE 17: Respondents' views as to what is lower pay.

<i>Views on what is lower pay</i> <i>Below £s per week</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents</i>	<i>Cumulative percentage</i>
		%	%
£21*	10	0.9	0.9
£19—20	34	3.2	4.1
£17—18	24	2.2	6.3
£15—16	123	11.4	17.7
£13—14	209	19.4	37.1
£11—12	382	35.5	72.6
£9—10	243	22.6	95.2
£0—8	51	4.7	100
	1,076*	100%	

Median: £12

Quartiles: £10 and £14

Quartile difference: £4

*8 respondents were unable to name a figure.

In considering this table it should be noted that the figures given by individual respondents as to their idea of lower pay represent, so to speak, "threshold values" which embrace all the lower figures in the distribution. Thus, if the figure £12 was mentioned, the respondent automatically also considered £11, £10, £9 etc. as lower pay. For this reason the cumulative percentages are particularly significant, as they show the degree of consensus which existed within the sample as to whether a particular level of income represented lower pay. A study of these cumulative percentages, which are also presented in Figure 1 overleaf in diagrammatic form, reveals that only a minority of respondents thought of figures higher than £14 as low pay; the great majority held that anything below £11 to £12 was lower pay; and practically all the respondents were agreed that any amount below £9 to £10 per week constituted lower pay for a married man.

The question (on the meaning of the term "lower paid worker" in terms of pay) was also included in a nationally representative sample survey conducted in Britain at the same point of time as the Irish one (the first five days in May 1969), and it is interesting to compare the Irish results with the British data.¹² Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the frequency with which respondents in the two surveys mentioned particular levels of income.

¹²Hilde Behrend and Ann Knowles, "What is Lower Pay? Findings from two national sample surveys", *Social Science Research Council Newsletter* 8, H.M.S.O. London, March 1970. The British research is sponsored by the SSRC.

Figure 1—Cumulative percentage of respondents defining lower pay as below the indicated number of £s per week in April/May 1969.

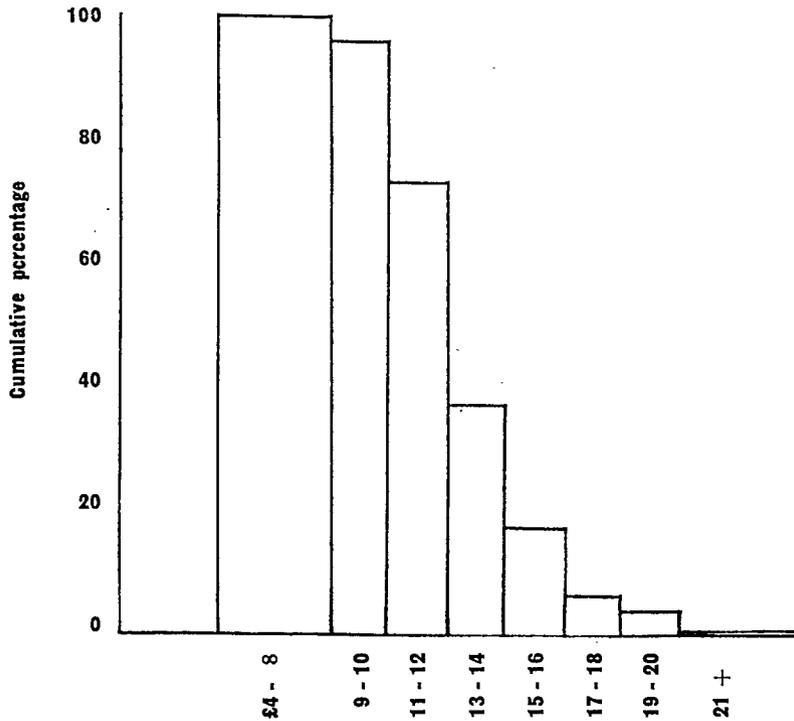
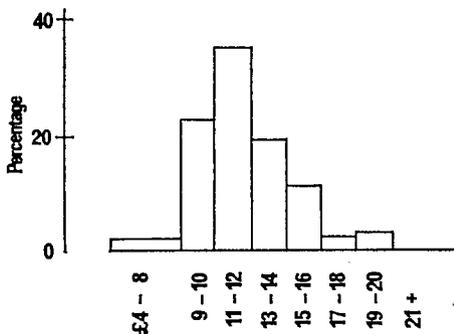


Figure 2:

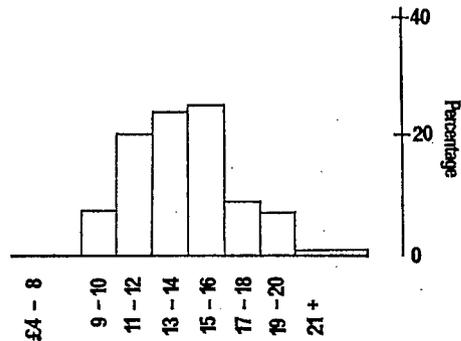
REPUBLIC OF IRELAND
Percentage of 1,084 male employees defining lower pay as below the indicated number of £s per week in April/May 1969.



Median: £12
Quartiles: £10 and £14
Quartile difference: £4

Figure 3:

GREAT BRITAIN
Percentage of 675 men working full-time * defining lower pay as below the indicated number of £s per week in May 1969.



Median: £14
Quartiles: £12 and £15
Quartile difference: £3

* The British data include self-employed men.

This comparison shows that the figures given for lower pay in the British survey were higher than those given in the Irish survey. The median, for instance, was £14 in the British distribution and £12 in the Irish one. This was very likely a reflection of the different income-levels in the two countries. But, as the British study (which collected data also for 1966) suggests, it seems that ideas on lower pay are adjusted in the light of inflation. It is plausible therefore that Irish ideas on lower pay may be adjusted upward over time in line with inflation, and possibly also with what happens in Britain.

Views on lower pay related to personal characteristics of respondents.

To what extent did different groups within the sample have different ideas about low pay? To find out, answers were related to personal characteristics of the respondents, and the more important results are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The relationship between the respondent's own income and the figure he gave as describing a lower paid worker is examined in Table 18. The answers have been divided into those who gave figures of below £10 per week, or less, those who said £11-£12 per week (i.e. the group containing the median), and those who gave £13 per week or more as their idea of lower pay.

TABLE 18: *Views given by respondents in different income groups as to what is lower pay.*

<i>Views on what is lower pay</i>	<i>Respondent's Income Group, £s per week*</i>					
	<i>Under £12</i>	<i>Over £12 up to £16</i>	<i>Over £16 up to £20</i>	<i>Over £20 up to £25</i>	<i>Over £25 up to £30</i>	<i>Over £30</i>
<i>Below £s per week</i>						
	%	%	%	%	%	%
£10 or less	54.2	28.5	22.6	19.6	14.7	13.4
£11-£12	27.9	42.7	42.3	28.8	28.0	26.0
£13 or more	16.0	28.8	33.9	50.9	57.3	59.8
Base for percentages	N=129	N=288	N=265	N=153	N=75	N=127

*There were 47 respondents for whom no income data were available.

The main finding which emerges from this table is a strong relationship between the respondent's income and his opinion as to what is low pay, in that the higher a man's own income the higher is the figure he names. Thus 16.0 per cent of the men earning less than £12 per week as opposed to 59.8 per cent

of the men earning more than £30 per week gave an answer of £13 or more. These answers therefore suggest that better-off employees may perhaps not appreciate how big the difference is between their earnings and those of unskilled workers. The fact presented in Table 19 that nearly half the non-manual workers gave figures of £13 or over as compared with only a quarter of the unskilled men gives further weight to this view.

When, six months previously, the opinion-leaders had been asked for their views, it was found that they mentioned figures of £12 or below as representing lower pay. There was thus quite a difference between their views and those of the better-off people in the national sample. This can possibly be explained by their having a better knowledge of current wage levels; also wages had risen in the intervening six months.

TABLE 19: *Manual and non-manual workers' views on lower pay.*

<i>Views on what is lower pay</i>	<i>Non-manual workers</i>	<i>Manual Workers</i>		
		<i>Skilled</i>	<i>Semi-skilled</i>	<i>Unskilled*</i>
<i>Below £s per week</i>				
	%	%	%	%
£10 or less	21.2	25.7	25.2	35.8
£11—£12	29.3	34.9	43.3	38.4
£13 or more	48.6	39.0	30.5	25.0
Base for percentages	N=321	N=249	N=210	N=232

*Including agricultural workers.

As already mentioned, Table 19 shows up differences of view on low pay between the non-manual and manual workers; it also shows up differences within the manual grades between the skilled and less skilled. Thus 39.0 per cent of the skilled workers gave answers naming figures of £13 or more per week, compared with 30.5 per cent of the semi-skilled workers and 25.0 per cent of the unskilled workers. Unskilled workers were more inclined than men in the other occupational groups to give low figures of £10 or less per week. This evidence suggests that there was a tendency for the men to rely very largely on their own personal experience in this type of income discussion. The point that the unskilled men and the respondents with incomes of under £12 described lower pay more frequently as sums of below £10 per week suggests that these men may be in closer touch with the reality of the situation.

It was thought that it might be interesting to contrast answers from respondents living in different types of community, and Table 20 relates views on lower pay to respondents' location within administrative districts, which is a measure of the degree of industrialisation and of the density of population in the area.

TABLE 20: *Location of respondents' home related to views on lower pay.*

<i>Views on what is lower pay</i>	<i>Dublin</i>	<i>Co. Borough or other area with population over 10,000</i>	<i>Urban (3,000—10,000)</i>	<i>Rural (500—3,000)</i>
<i>Below £s per week</i>				
	%	%	%	%
£10 or less	14.9	30.8	33.5	51.2
£11—£12	33.1	42.9	36.1	28.3
£13 or more	51.2	25.6	29.7	19.9
Base for percentages	N=490	N=273	N=155	N=166

These figures show a very marked difference between answers from men working in different locations. It is striking, for instance, that just over half the *Dublin* respondents named figures of £13 or more per week. About the same proportion of men working in the rural areas of Ireland gave figures of £10 or less per week.

A further variable examined was the respondent's age and his ideas on low pay. Only a slight difference appeared, suggesting that comparatively more young men than old men were inclined to mention a higher than average figure.

It must be remembered that age, income, occupation and location are all interrelated. One example of this can be seen in Appendix C Table XVIII which shows that respondents in *Dublin* tended to have higher earnings than elsewhere.

Views on ways to help lower paid workers.

Respondents were next asked for their ideas on ways of helping the lower paid, which revealed that by far the most frequent answer was an unqualified "give them more money". 12.0 per cent of the sample suggested measures to increase lower paid workers' capacity to earn, such as teaching them a job-skill, this suggestion being the only one of the ten classified answers to the question which, if implemented, could lead to a real increase in the country's productivity and wealth. It is only fair to point out however that helping the

lower paid is an extremely difficult issue even for experts to pronounce on, so the findings which are set out below are not really surprising. The question and distribution of answers were as follows:

“There are many ways of helping lower paid workers, what do you think should be done?”

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of sample</i>
Give them more money	336	31.0
Increase their capacity to earn, by giving them more skills, or by giving them a chance to produce more, or by upgrading them	130	12.0
Increase social benefits; give sick pay, medical benefits, family allowances	125	11.5
Reduce the differentials by taking from higher paid and giving to lower paid, or by cutting salaries and increases of higher paid people, or by giving pay-increases to lower paid only or giving them much larger pay-increases	85	7.8
Lower income tax, or give other tax benefits	72	6.6
There should be a minimum wage	64	5.9
Workers should help themselves by joining unions or by other action	53	4.9
The Government should do something, e.g. should subsidise the lower paid, should set up a committee etc.	51	4.7
The Unions should fight for them	33	3.0
Employers should do something	24	2.2
Other answers	50	4.6
Don't know, no answer	61	5.6
	1,084	100%

Only three groups of suggestions (“give them more money”, “increase their capacity to earn”, and “increase social benefits”) were made by more than 10 per cent of the sample, and they are therefore the ones included in Table 21 below which relates the suggestions to social grade.

TABLE 21 : *Suggestions for helping lower paid workers related to respondent's social grade*

<i>Answers given by over 10 per cent of sample</i>	<i>Respondent's Social Grade</i>			
	AB	C1	C2	DE
	%	%	%	%
Give them more money	25.6	26.8	29.5	35.1
Increase their capacity to earn	20.2	14.3	14.0	7.3
Increase social benefits	18.5	13.7	12.0	8.2
Base for percentages	N=168	N=168	N=258	N=490

Table 21 shows that the most frequent answer given by all social grades was "give them more money", men in social grade DE mentioning it more often than the rest. The answers "increase their capacity to earn" and "increase social benefits" were both suggested by proportionately more men in social grade AB than in the other grades. It is interesting that the suggestion "increase capacity to earn" occurs more readily to those in the higher social grades (who often have already benefited from further education)¹³ than to the less educated. It is also interesting that the higher social grades, sometimes thought to be opposed to social benefits, suggested this solution more often than did the men in social grade DE who presumably would most benefit.

One method of helping lower paid workers while not placing too great a financial strain on the economy is to reduce differentials by giving pay-increases only to lower paid workers. This type of solution was mentioned spontaneously by only a small percentage (7.8 per cent) of the sample and did not represent the views of any specific sub-group. Nevertheless, some interesting findings emerged when attitudes to this idea were explored more fully by asking the question: "*Would you be willing to hold back on your own pay-increases to let the lower paid workers get ahead?*" This question was not asked of the whole sample, but of everybody who had not mentioned their own occupation as one of the occupations they thought of as lower paid. The answers reflecting respondents' willingness or lack of willingness to hold back their own pay-increases are given below.

<i>Answers</i>	<i>Number of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of 958 respondents*</i>
Yes, would be willing to hold back	347	36.2
No, would not be willing to hold back	583	60.9
Don't know	28	2.9
	<hr/> 958 <hr/>	<hr/> 100% <hr/>

*126 people were not asked this question.

The striking finding here is that over a third of the respondents said "yes, they would be willing to hold back their pay-increases". A few added a qualification, such as "provided the cost of living doesn't rise". This suggests that a sizeable number of men apparently were prepared to make financial sacrifices to alleviate the hardship of the lower paid. To see whether the men saying "yes" had any special characteristics the answers were related to personal particulars. The closest relationship was found with respondents' income, as shown in Table 22, from which the 129 men earning less than £12 per week have been excluded,¹⁴ since they may well be described as lower paid workers.

¹³See Appendix C, Table XIV.

¹⁴The number of people excluded on the income criterion is not the same as the number excluded by the interviewers on the criterion of occupation.

TABLE 22 : *Willingness to hold back own pay-increase to help lower paid related to respondent's income*

<i>Answer</i>	<i>Respondent's Income Group, £s per week</i>				
	<i>Over £12 up to £16</i>	<i>Over £16 up to £20</i>	<i>Over £20 up to £25</i>	<i>Over £25 up to £30</i>	<i>Over £30</i>
	%	%	%	%	%
Yes, willing to hold back	20.1	36.2	41.8	45.3	55.1
Base for percentages	N=288	N=265	N=153	N=75	N=127

This table shows that affirmative answers were clearly related to the respondents' income, with over half of the men earning more than £30 per week saying that they would be prepared to hold back on pay-increases to let the lower paid workers get ahead. These answers must be treated with some caution since men with high earnings may have felt "yes" was the "right" answer to give; however they do suggest that such a policy would receive some support amongst better paid men.

The data were then examined to see whether men in any particular occupations were especially prepared to hold back their own increases, and the figures are set out in Table 23. No figures are given for unskilled workers since 31.5 per cent of them were not asked this question.

TABLE 23 : *Willingness to hold back own pay-increases to help lower paid related to respondent's occupation*

<i>Answer</i>	<i>Non-manual Workers</i>				<i>Manual Workers</i>	
	<i>Managers</i>	<i>Professional</i>	<i>Intermediate non-manual</i>	<i>Clerical</i>	<i>Skilled</i>	<i>Semi- skilled</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes, willing to hold back	50.6	51.2	37.3	31.7	34.5	31.9
Base for percentages	N=89	N=86	N=83	N=63	N=249	N=210

The table shows that about half of the managers and professional men gave a "yes" answer, while for all other occupational groups the proportion of "yes" answers is a good deal lower. Some people might argue that it is easy for these people to give this reply because they may earn more, as was borne out by our figures (see Appendix C, Table XVII).

CHAPTER 7. VIEWS ON WHAT WOULD BE A FAIR MINIMUM WAGE.

When asked about ways to help lower paid workers, a high proportion of respondents suggested they should be given more money, but only very few (5.9 per cent of the sample) specifically mentioned the idea of a minimum wage. This topic however was taken up later in the survey by asking respondents for their ideas of what would be a fair minimum wage for married men, single men, married women and single women. The question differentiated between married and single people, and men and women, because in certain occupations in Ireland rates of pay are higher for married men than for single men, and because in general men's rates of pay are higher than those of women. The four questions and the answers are given in Tables 24 and 25.

TABLE 24: (1) *What do you think would be a fair minimum (basic) wage per week for an adult married man?*
(2) *What do you think would be a fair minimum (basic) wage per week for an adult single man?*

<i>£s per week</i>	<i>Married Men</i>		<i>Single Men</i>	
	<i>Number of times mentioned</i>	<i>Percentage of 1,073 respondents*</i>	<i>Number of times mentioned</i>	<i>Percentage of 1,070 respondents**</i>
£11 and below	1	0.1	61	5.7
£12	14	1.3	118	11.0
£13	9	0.8	42	3.9
£14	36	3.4	122	11.4
£15	179	16.7	262	24.5
£16	130	12.1	131	12.2
£17	70	6.5	51	4.8
£18	157	14.6	113	10.6
£19	18	1.7	9	0.8
£20	298	27.8	116	10.8
£21	5	0.5	3	0.3
£22	18	1.7	9	0.8
£23	7	0.7	1	0.1
£24	11	1.0	4	0.4
£25	77	7.2	19	1.8
£26 and over	43	4.0	9	0.8
Totals	1,073	100%	1,070	100%
Mode	£20		£15	
Median	£18		£15	
Quartiles	£16 and £20		£14 and £18	
Quartile difference	£4		£4	

* 11 respondents did not give a figure.

** 14 respondents did not give a figure.

TABLE 25: (3) *What do you think would be a fair minimum (basic) wage per week for an adult married woman?*(4) *What do you think would be a fair minimum (basic) wage per week for an adult single woman?*

<i>£s per week</i>	<i>Married Women</i>		<i>Single Women</i>	
	<i>Number of times mentioned</i>	<i>Percentage of 1,010 respondents*</i>	<i>Number of times mentioned</i>	<i>Percentage of 1,061 respondents**</i>
£7 and below	39	3.9	46	4.3
£8	70	6.9	81	7.6
£9	38	3.8	63	5.9
£10	276	27.3	277	26.1
£11	21	2.1	34	3.2
£12	198	19.6	198	18.7
£13	25	2.5	32	3.0
£14	50	5.0	80	7.5
£15	122	12.1	124	11.7
£16	52	5.1	31	2.9
£17	9	0.9	13	1.2
£18	37	3.7	33	3.1
£19	2	0.2	3	0.3
£20	51	5.0	34	3.2
£21	1	0.1	—	0.0
£22	2	0.2	4	0.4
£23	—	0.0	—	0.0
£24	3	0.3	1	0.1
£25	9	0.9	5	0.5
£26 and over	5	0.5	2	0.2
Totals	1,010	100%	1,061	100%
Mode	£10		£10	
Median	£12		£12	
Quartiles	£10 and £15		£10 and £14	
Quartile difference	£5		£4	

*23 respondents did not give a figure.

**74 respondents did not give a figure.

The fact that the four questions were asked consecutively means that the respondents had first to decide on the level they thought would be right for a married man; then in the answers to the second and subsequent questions they would presumably take this first figure they had chosen as a reference point, the decision involved being whether there should be a differential and how big it should be. The discussion of the evidence therefore will deal separately with the differentials aspect and the views on the amounts considered appropriate for a minimum wage.

The most striking finding emerging on the differentials is how strongly they reflect the customary distinctions between rates of pay in Ireland which have already been mentioned, namely that on certain jobs the rates for married men are higher than those for single men, and on the majority of jobs the rates are higher for men than women, although we believe no differentiation is made between married and single women. Thus in our survey higher figures for a fair minimum wage were given for a married man than for a single man, and higher figures for men than women. This is reflected for instance in the medians for the distributions; these were £18 per week for a married man, £15 per week for a single man, and £12 per week for a married or single woman. This last figure corresponds to the median amount named as lower pay for a married man, and suggests that the respondents considered that women need less money than men and that it is therefore fair to give them less for a minimum wage.

It is relevant to stress in this connection that the views presented here are those of male employees only and that we do not know what replies would be given by women. What we were able to do, however, was to examine separately the views of the married and single respondents as to what would be a fair minimum wage for men of different marital status. The findings are illustrated by the following statistical measures for the two separate distributions of answers:

	<i>Views expressed by single men*</i>	<i>Views expressed by married men*</i>
	FAIR MINIMUM FOR A SINGLE MAN	
Median	£15	£15
Quartiles	£14 and £18	£14 and £18
Mode	£15 (amount given by 23·1% of the single men).	£15 (amount given by 25·0% of the married men).
	FAIR MINIMUM FOR A MARRIED MAN	
Median	£18	£18
Quartiles	£16 and £20	£16 and £20
Mode	£20 (amount given by 27·6% of the single men).	£20 (amount given by 28·0% of the married men).

*It can be seen from Appendix B, Table IX, that there were 243 single and 829 married men in the sample: a few did not give an answer to one or both questions.

Once more the results are striking: the comparison shows clearly a high degree of consensus among the two groups that a differentiation in a minimum wage for married and single men would be fair. This means that it is not necessary in the discussions which follow to use a sub-division based on respondents' marital status.

Turning to these discussions we may ask: were there any respondents in the total sample who did not believe in differentials but gave the same figure for a

fair minimum wage for married and single people, or for men and women? Men who were so to speak more equal pay minded? To find out, the respondents' four answers were related to each other. Details of the results are presented in Appendix E, Tables XXII to XXV. The percentages given in the text are based in all cases on the respondents who gave figures for the two relevant questions.

Table XXII shows that the vast majority of respondents, namely 76.2 per cent, gave a higher figure for a fair minimum wage for a married man than for a single man; however 23.2 per cent of them gave the same figure for married and single men.

This suggests once again that there was wide-spread agreement that married men need more money than single men. That the responses to this question were probably influenced by some considerations of need is also illustrated by the comparison of the figures given in Table XXIII for married and single women. For, although in practice, women of different marital status seem to get the same rates, once the issue of a possible differentiation confronted the respondents in the form of two separate questions, it was found that a surprisingly high proportion of the men, namely 38.9 per cent, expressed the view that for a married woman a higher figure would be fair than for a single woman. About the same percentage, namely 39.8, considered that married and single women should get the same amount, while 21.2 per cent named a higher figure for single women.

The most frequent *differential* for a fair minimum wage given by individual respondents was £2 more for a married than a single man, a difference which applied to 199 answers; but there were also three very sizeable groups of people totalling 439 who considered that married men should get £3, £4 or £5 more than single ones. Of those giving a differential of £5, 96 men thought a fair wage for a married man would be £20 and for a single man £15, the highest consensus on any individual figures in the whole table.

In the comparison for women of different marital status, the most frequent differential which was given by individual respondents was either £2 more for a married woman, or £2 more for a single woman. The highest consensus on any individual figure however was that 130 men said both groups should get the same amount, namely £10.

Having examined the influence of considerations of marital status on the answers, we may next study the influence of traditional views on pay-differentials for men and women, by comparing respondents' views on what would be fair minimum wages for married men and married women, and for single men and single women (see Appendix E, Tables XXIV and XXV).

Again the tabulations show that the vast majority of the respondents believed in differentials between men and women, with 86.7 per cent giving a higher figure for a fair minimum wage for a married man than a married woman and 78.0 per cent giving a higher figure for a single man than a single woman. A

small minority of 13.2 per cent gave the same figure for married men and women, and 20.5 per cent gave the same figure for single men and women.

The differentials which were considered fair for married men and women were considerable, with 575 men naming figures representing differences of £5 to £10 per week. The highest consensus on any individual figures was that 74 men thought it would be fair to give a married man a minimum of £20 per week and a married woman £10. For single men as compared with single women the differentials were smaller, with 629 men naming figures representing differences of £2 to £6. The highest consensus on any individual figures was that 72 men thought it would be fair to give a single man a minimum of £15 and a single woman one of £10, and that 73 men said it would be fair to give both single men and women the same figure, namely £15.

One further very interesting question arises: How many men gave the same reply for all four questions? The answer is: only a small minority of 58 respondents. The figures named for a minimum wage applicable to all four groups ranged from £14 to £25, with 17 men mentioning £15, the median and mode for the sample's views on what would be fair for a single man and with 18 respondents mentioning £20, the mode for the views as to what would be fair for a married man.

Having dealt with the differentials aspects, we may now have a closer look at the *amounts* considered appropriate for a fair minimum wage. Here it should be stressed that there was much less consensus, with figures for married men, for instance, ranging from £9 to well above £26 per week. The distributions of the responses were both irregular and skewed; irregular in the sense that certain figures were popular and others unpopular; skewed insofar as for married men the most frequently voiced figure for a fair minimum wage-rate of £20 coincided with the upper quartile, and for the figures given for married or single women the mode was £10 which, in contrast, coincided with the lower quartile of the distribution. Only for the amounts given for single men did the mode of £15 coincide with the median of the distribution. In general the shape of the distributions and the range of figures indicate that there were large differences of opinion as to where the floor should be fixed for a fair minimum wage for the different groups of people.

One might ask: Did the respondents who gave the *same* figure for married and single men, and for married and single women, name a similarly wide range of figures for a fair minimum wage? The answer is that it was almost as wide, except that no one mentioned a figure lower than £12 per week for men and £8 for women. But the distributions (presented in Appendix E, Table XXVI) have some interesting features. Of the respondents who gave the *same figure for married and single men*, about a quarter, that is 62 men, gave the figure £15, the median and mode of the sample's views as to what would be fair for a single man, and another quarter, that is 64 men, gave the figure £20, the mode of the sample's view as to what should be fair for a married man. Of the

next groups in size, 34 gave the figure £18, the sample median for figures for married men. It is interesting to note that the lower figures generally thought fair for single men were mentioned remarkably often as reasonable for both.

The tendency to give low figures was even more marked for the men who gave the *same figure for married and single women*, as by far the most frequent figure given was £10, named by 130 men (32.3 per cent of those giving the same figure); £10, it should be remembered, represents the lower quartile and the mode of the sample distributions for views on fair minima for married or single women.

It is interesting that only a minority of 13.4 per cent of those giving the same figures for both married and single women named the sum of £15 per week—the mode and median for what was thought fair for single men.

Next the information was related to personal particulars, (see Tables 26, 27 and 28). As regards what would be a fair minimum wage for *men* (whether married or single) the main differences in view were connected with location,

TABLE 26*: *Location of respondents' home related to their views on a fair minimum wage for single and married men*

<i>Single Men</i>				
<i>Fair minimum wage</i>	<i>Dublin</i>	<i>County Borough or other area with population over 10,000</i>	<i>Urban (3,000-10,000)</i>	<i>Rural (500-3,000)</i>
	%	%	%	%
£14 and below	21.0	36.3	44.5	43.4
£15	25.9	25.6	20.0	20.5
£16 and above	51.4	37.7	34.8	33.7
Base for percentages	N=490	N=273	N=155	N=166
<i>Married Men</i>				
<i>Fair minimum wage</i>	<i>Dublin</i>	<i>County Borough or other area with population over 10,000</i>	<i>Urban (3,000-10,000)</i>	<i>Rural (500-3,000)</i>
	%	%	%	%
£17 and below	31.8	44.0	51.6	50.0
£18	14.9	12.5	23.2	8.4
£19 and above	52.4	43.2	23.9	39.2
Base for percentages	N=490	N=273	N=155	N=166

*In Tables 26, 27 and 28 the answers have been divided into three groups: (1) the percentage giving figures below the median for the distribution concerned, (2) the percentage giving the median amount, (3) the percentage naming higher figures.

The people who gave no figures have been excluded.

in that the lower the degree of urbanisation the higher was the percentage of respondents who gave low figures and *vice versa*, with over half the respondents in Dublin giving figures above the median of each distribution. As regards what would be fair for *women* location proved an unimportant factor, whereas social grade and income proved important. Thus for single women over half the respondents in social grade AB and C1 mentioned amounts of £13 and over as compared with just under half in social grade C2 and 58.2 per cent in grade DE who gave amounts of £11 and under. As many as 156 respondents in grade DE gave the figure of £10, the highest consensus on a single figure in the whole distribution. (Almost the same number of respondents, 152, in grade DE named £10 for married women).

The responses from people in different income groups showed even larger variations. The higher the income the higher was the figure named, with about 60 per cent of the respondents in the highest income-group giving figures of £13 and over for single women and the same proportion of respondents in the lowest income group naming amounts of £11 or less. For married women the amounts named were similarly related to social grade and income, but not equally strongly.

TABLE 27: *Social grade of respondents related to their views on a fair minimum wage for single and married women*

<i>Single Women</i>				
<i>Fair minimum wage</i>	<i>Respondents' Social Grade</i>			
	<i>AB</i>	<i>C1</i>	<i>C2</i>	<i>DE</i>
	%	%	%	%
£11 and below	23.9	30.5	48.5	58.2
£12	21.4	17.9	15.5	18.8
£13 and above	50.7	50.6	33.9	21.4
Base for percentages	N=168	N=168	N=258	N=490
<i>Married Women</i>				
<i>Fair minimum wage</i>	<i>Respondents' Social Grade</i>			
	<i>AB</i>	<i>C1</i>	<i>C2</i>	<i>DE</i>
	%	%	%	%
£11 and below	27.4	24.5	41.4	51.0
£12	13.7	15.5	20.9	19.4
£13 and above	47.7	53.0	31.5	24.1
Base for percentages	N=168	N=168	N=258	N=490

TABLE 28: Respondents' income groups related to their views on a fair minimum wage for single and married women

<i>Single Women</i>						
<i>Fair minimum wage</i>	<i>Respondents' Income Group £s per week</i>					
	<i>Below £12</i>	<i>Over £12 up to £16</i>	<i>Over £16 up to £20</i>	<i>Over £20 up to £25</i>	<i>Over £25 up to £30</i>	<i>Over £30</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
£11 and below	59.7	60.5	46.7	41.1	30.7	22.1
£12	16.3	14.9	21.5	20.3	17.3	15.7
£13 and above	19.4	23.6	30.6	37.3	51.9	59.0
Base for percentages	N=129	N=288	N=265	N=153	N=75	N=127
<i>Married Women</i>						
<i>Fair minimum wage</i>	<i>Respondents' Income Group £s per week</i>					
	<i>Below £12</i>	<i>Over £12 up to £16</i>	<i>Over £16 up to £20</i>	<i>Over £20 up to £25</i>	<i>Over £25 up to £30</i>	<i>Over £30</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
£11 and below	42.6	53.1	38.1	43.9	34.6	25.3
£12	23.3	18.8	21.1	17.0	16.0	9.4
£13 and above	26.4	23.9	34.8	33.4	45.3	53.6
Base for percentages	N=129	N=288	N=265	N=153	N=75	N=127

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The research results which have been presented in this paper are based on a national sample survey carried out in the Republic of Ireland in April/May 1969. This survey explored the views of 1084 adult male employees on a number of important issues connected with problems of pay and economic welfare.

Concern about rising labour costs and rising prices had led to a desire to understand how inflation affects people's views as to the forces which add momentum to the upward movement of prices and incomes, among which the successive wage rounds had obviously been of major importance. In this context the actions and demands of particular occupational groups would appear to play a major part. It seemed important therefore to find out whether people think of certain occupations as key reference groups for pay-increases, in the sense of groups whose pay-settlements set off other demands. With this object in view the sample respondents were asked which occupations they thought

set the pace for pay-increases. Interestingly enough this revealed that respondents thought of pace-setters in terms of large occupational groups rather than specific occupations. Altogether, groups representing manual occupations were mentioned by 59 per cent of the sample but groups representing non-manual occupations by only 10 per cent. Among the manual groups, skilled workers or specific skilled trades were mentioned by 35 per cent of the sample:¹⁵ this shows that skilled manual workers were seen as a major force in the movement for higher pay. It is interesting to compare this finding with the results of a historical analysis made by David O'Mahony¹⁶ of the events of the first nine wage-rounds. He concludes:

“Moreover, while no single occupation or even group of occupations consistently takes the lead in a round, most of the rounds do seem to have begun or at least seriously got under way with claims made by one or other of the skilled trades, and manual workers generally tend to secure their increases before clerical and administrative workers”.

This independent evidence suggests that respondents' views on this topic corresponded with observed events, and had probably some basis in their own experience. This latter interpretation is reinforced by the finding that a higher percentage of the respondents who worked in factories or the building industry named skilled workers as pace-setters than of those working in transport or the distributive trades. However the tendency to give the answer “skilled workers” was not confined to manual workers because they were also mentioned frequently by other groups.

A certain proportion of the sample thought of pace-setters in terms of the employing authority, the party with whom the agreement would have been concluded, and named for example the E.S.B. On this dimension 30 per cent of the sample considered that Government or semi-State organisations set the pace for pay-increases in Ireland. When the responses were related to personal particulars it was found that a far higher percentage of respondents in social grades¹⁷ AB and C1 than in grade DE expressed themselves in terms of this dimension, by naming some part of the public sector as a pace-setter. Similarly in the occupational break-down, a higher percentage of non-manual than of manual workers named the public sector. Again, a higher percentage of employees in the public sector than of those in the private sector named the Civil Service, Government and semi-State bodies as pace-setters. In general the evidence suggests that respondents were more likely to mention people in their own type of work than people in other environments as a reference group for pay-increases.

In the context of inflation and of the possibility of developing an effective

¹⁵It should be noted that about a quarter of the respondents gave a two-answer response to this question and that figures given in this summary are adjusted for overlaps in these.

¹⁶David O'Mahony, *Economic Aspects of Industrial Relations*, The Economic Research Institute, Paper No. 24, February 1965, p. 30.

¹⁷For an explanation of the method of social grading, see Appendix A.

incomes policy it is not only important to learn something about people's perception as to who sets the pattern for pay rounds but also to find out whether people are concerned about the growing size of pay-increases—a topic about which anxiety had been expressed by opinion-leaders. When respondents were asked in this context whether they felt that any pay-increase had been too large, the great majority (68 per cent.) answered in the affirmative. However, a follow-up question to ascertain which pay-increases they were thinking of produced a variety of answers, which makes it difficult to judge whether the earlier "yes" answers indicated concern about inflation or not. The increases given to the Government and the Dáil Deputies, which are not the result of collective bargaining, were the ones most frequently mentioned; most of the remaining answers referred to groups covered by collective agreements, the Civil Service and semi-State bodies being mentioned most frequently among these, with maintenance workers, whose strikes had been in the news for many weeks, next in frequency.

The politicians' pay-increases which had obviously aroused considerable attention were those of July 1968 which had raised the salaries of Government Ministers by 59 per cent from £2,200 to £3,500, and of T.D.s by 67 per cent from £1,500 to £2,500. The resulting level of incomes still compares very unfavourably with the salaries of Ministers (ranging from £5,000 to £9,750) and M.P.s (£3,250) in nearby Britain. A possible reason for the large number of mentions is that people's perceptions may have been coloured by erroneous ideas about the previous scales of salaries and of how long they had remained unchanged (i.e. since June 1964). The fact that Irish Ministers had accepted a voluntary reduction in their salaries of 15 per cent for nine months, which was announced on 21st March, 1969, five weeks before this survey took place, had apparently made no impact on the public, showing how selective is people's perception of events.

It is of interest to mention that strong feelings about the pay of politicians were expressed in a British national sample survey conducted in December 1966 at the time of the wages freeze. When asked which people in their view deserved an early pay-increase most, and which least, about a quarter of the sample gave the response "least" for M.P.s, politicians, the Government and Cabinet Ministers. This was probably due partly to the size of their November 1964 increases and partly to the fact that the policy-makers had awarded themselves these increases at a time when they were advocating a policy of income-restraint.

These observations suggest that policy-makers find themselves in a difficult and delicate situation and ought to weigh very carefully decisions about changes in their own pay. There would appear to be a case for creating some neutral mechanism for regulating the pay of Ministers and Dáil Deputies so that it can change in step with that of men of similar status in the private sector without alienating the public. It is not clear, however, how practicable such a proposition would be.

The replies on the topic of large pay-increases unfortunately throw little light on whether the sample shared the concern of opinion-leaders about the inflationary momentum of large pay-increases. On the one hand the fact that 68 per cent did think some pay-increases had been too large suggests that there was a feeling that an undesirable pattern was being set up; this argument is reinforced by the consideration that nearly half the answers mention groups covered by collective agreements, which thus might have been viewed as being too generous. On the other hand respondents may have felt that the increases were too large because they gave unfair advantages to certain groups of people, a situation which would entitle them to put in large claims themselves—a reaction which would add momentum to inflation.

Turning next to the topic of the respondents' personal income expectations, an introductory question revealed that the great majority of the men interviewed (namely 88 per cent) expected that their income would increase over the next two years. Two more specific questions explored how many general pay-increases respondents expected to receive in the next two years and how much they expected their next general pay-increase would amount to. The main finding about the *frequency* of pay-increases was that 47 per cent said they would receive one general pay-increase during the period and 30 per cent, two. Comparison of all the evidence on the *amounts* expected by these two sub-groups revealed the surprising finding that there was a remarkable similarity between the two distributions, suggesting that whether an increase was expected once or twice in two years seemed to make little difference to the size of the increase respondents expected.

This finding would appear to be highly relevant to the view expressed by the N.I.E.C.¹⁸ that

“money incomes should be adjusted more frequently and in smaller steps rather than infrequently and in larger steps”

—a recommendation which was based on the argument that

“an increase for a two-year period is likely to have a greater effect on prices than successive increases, each of half of that amount, at annual intervals.”

The results of this survey throw doubt on these propositions, insofar as they suggest that expectations regarding the size of future increases may not be adjusted when increases are given more frequently. This might be ascribed to a kind of compartmentalisation in people's thinking as a result of which the time dimension is not taken into account in judgments about the amount of a pay-increase.¹⁹ If this interpretation is accepted, it would appear wise, if the

¹⁸National Industrial Economic Council, *Report on Economic Situation*, Report No. II, Stationery Office, Dublin 1965, para. 69.

¹⁹An additional complication may be the way people talk and think about the more recently introduced device of phased agreements. In such cases do people think of their next increase in terms of the total amount of an award or in terms of each individual instalment?

objective is to control inflation in Ireland, not to encourage the giving of more frequent increases but to try to revert to the biennial pattern.

It should be stressed that the apparent lack of connection between the expected frequency and the expected size of pay-increases does not mean that all the respondents expected the same size of pay-increase.

From the open-ended question which had asked how much respondents expected their next general pay-increase would amount to it emerged that there were in fact great differences in expectations, amounts mentioned ranging from below £1 to well over £5. The answer-group of 20/- to 29/- was the largest of the distribution, but the much higher one of 40/- to 49/- was only marginally smaller.

Comparing the findings with recent wage-rounds, it can be seen that the last set of guidelines issued in April 1966 by the Labour Court which recommended for the tenth wage round that increases should not exceed £1 per week for male adult workers has been left far behind—only a small minority of 6 per cent of the sample expected less than £1. Available figures for the eleventh wage round²⁰ which preceded this survey show that the normal increases in basic wage-rates for manual workers were in the region of 35/- to 40/- per week. The survey figures with the median at 40/- show that in May 1969 half the sample expected bigger increases than this.

With a view to gaining further insights into expectations respondents were asked whether the pay-increase they expected would be the same, less or more than their last general pay-increase. Here once again important differences emerged. The group of people who expected to receive "more" was by far the largest group. Also proportionately more manual than non-manual workers expected a greater increase. When asked the reasons for their expectations, the men gave a variety of answers, of which the most frequent one was "the cost of living", a reason given by proportionately more manual workers than others.

One reason given which was quite different in nature was that the increase had already been agreed. The figures for these agreed increases were found to be much lower than those given by the other men. The median for the increases which had already been secured was 31/- (less than the average of 35/- to 40/- quoted earlier for the eleventh wage round), and considerably less than the median amount of 42/- expected by the other men. As the answers of the men whose pay-increases had already been agreed represented not expectations but information about facts, they have been excluded from the analyses reported on next.

The first one of these revealed a close correspondence between the expected size of the next pay-increase and the belief as to whether this would be the same, less or more than the previous increase. Thus the group of men who expected bigger pay-increases than their last one expressed this confidence in

²⁰The eleventh wage round started in the autumn of 1967 and continued up to the end of the first half of 1968.

naming large amounts which they hoped to secure—the most frequently named figures (given by 32 per cent of them) falling into the 40/- to 49/- interval with the median at 47/- and the upper quartile at 64/-. The two groups who were more pessimistic and believed that their increases would be the same as before or even less expressed more modest expectations regarding the size of their next pay-increase, responses in the 20/- to 29/- interval being given most frequently, namely by about a third of each group.

Men in different social grades and income groups²¹ had very different expectations as regards the future. The men in social grade C2 (mainly skilled manual workers) were the most optimistic, 40 per cent of them expecting "more", with the men in social grade DE (semi- and unskilled workers) also very optimistic. In these two grades only small minorities expected less. By contrast, the men in grade AB were more inclined to be pessimistic with the majority expecting the "same" or "less".

It should be noted that of the men whose increases had already been agreed almost half said they would receive the same amount as before and only 28 per cent said they would get more. The reality of their experience was thus somewhat different from that of the men who were anticipating what the future would hold.

Views on the topic of fair pay-increases were explored by asking all respondents what they thought would be a fair amount for the next general all round pay-increase. To this 22 per cent of the men gave a percentage reply. The range of percentages given was very wide, the figure 10 per cent being mentioned most frequently and 5 per cent also frequently, a fact which suggested the existence of two distinct points of view which were traced to differences of opinion within social grades AB and within the higher income groups. Changes in the frequency of agreements, for instance as regards public service employees, and accompanying changes in the percentage amounts applicable for the shorter periods may have contributed to the diffuseness of these answers.

For the monetary replies about fair pay-increases, (which represent the views of 71.0 per cent of the sample), the most frequent response-group was that of 40/- to 49/-, which was named as a fair increase by over a third of the people who gave a monetary answer. The median amount of 45/- fell in the middle of this group, and was five shillings higher than the median for the expected pay-increases. In general the amounts given for fair pay-increases were higher than those given for expected pay-increases.

When the views on fair and expected pay-increases were related to each other for all the respondents who had named amounts for both, it was found that about half the men considered a higher increase fair than the one they expected. It should be noted that the majority of these men expected to receive smaller amounts than the rest of the sample, namely increases of less than 40/- and often considerably less. Just over a third of the respondents gave the same

²¹For a description of the method of obtaining income information, see Appendix A.

answer for both questions and it is plausible that this means that they felt the increase they were expecting was also fair, although an alternative explanation would be that they had hopefully incorporated their ideas of what would be fair into their expectation for the next increase. It is interesting that a small minority of the respondents gave a lower figure for a fair increase than the amount they expected. However, these men were expecting large increases, most naming amounts of 40/- or more and a few considerably more. It is possible that these were the men who had said earlier that their last increase had been very large. In general, in the cases where there was a discrepancy between the expected amount and the felt fair pay-increase the amount of the discrepancy was less than twenty shillings.

Again it was found that the men who expected more than their last pay-increase tended to give noticeably higher figures for fair pay-increases than the men who expected to receive the "same" or "less".

It is interesting to note that although there has been, as O'Mahony has shown,²² a discernible pattern of wage-rounds in Ireland in the sense of active periods during which major wage-changes took place, followed by passive periods—a pattern which has given rise to the custom of numbering wage-rounds, there has been no set institutional method of negotiation; up to September 1968 only four of the eleven wage-rounds involved national agreements on a formula for pay-increases which were mainly applicable to manual workers. Thus, the second round of 1948 fixed a maximum of 11/-, the fourth round of 1952 a maximum of 12/6, and the sixth round in 1957 a maximum of 10/-, with the ninth round of 1964 using a different approach by providing for a maximum percentage increase of 12% for wages and salaries of £1,500 per annum or less; at the same time there was agreement on a floor for pay-increases of £1 for male adult workers. One could argue that the change to using a percentage formula may have been a mistake. For one thing our pilot studies revealed that the word percentage was often not understood and our survey evidence has shown that the manual respondents tended to think in terms of monetary rather than percentage pay increases. On this evidence there would appear to be a case to formulate agreements in monetary terms. A further consideration is that the granting of successive percentage increases would appear to represent an automatic provision for "self-increasing" increases. If the same percentage is repeated the monetary amounts will be larger as they are applied to higher starting points; they are also of course higher for larger incomes. Furthermore people might not think of "self-increasing" increases, obtained through the medium of a fixed percentage device, as enough and might press for raising the percentage figure, which would result in additional inflationary pressures. Against these arguments one must weigh the problem of the maintenance of differentials, as the use of flat rate (that is monetary) increases reduces differentials, while percentages keep differentials intact.

²²David O'Mahony, *op. cit.*

Turning to another topic, the provision of fringe benefits by employers has become an important issue in collective bargaining in Ireland. Yet little is known about the preferences of employees in this area, especially when it is a question of choosing between cash and benefits and between different benefits. These two issues were explored by two questions where the respondents in this survey were asked to select an answer from a list of specific benefits. One of these tried to assess respondents' preferences between a monetary pay-increase and four types of non-monetary alternatives, namely pension or better pension, longer holidays with pay, shorter hours, sick pay or better sick pay. The most important finding on this question is the stress placed on the monetary option; just over half the sample (53 per cent) said they would prefer their increase as cash, while 46 per cent opted for one or other of the benefits, among which a pension or better pension scheme was the most popular, with sick pay next. Shorter hours or longer holidays with pay were both only selected by a small minority of the sample, suggesting that they do not represent attractive alternatives to a monetary pay-increase. When comparing the answers of non-manual with manual workers, the relative popularity of the items was found to be the same; just over half the manual workers (51 per cent) wanted a straight pay-increase but it is interesting to note that a somewhat higher proportion of non-manual workers (59 per cent) made this choice. The latter also showed a slightly greater inclination than the manual workers to choose the item "pension or better pension", while manual workers showed a greater tendency to choose sick pay. Another finding which emerged was a relationship between age and the preference expressed, particularly in that as one would expect, older men chose the item "pension or better pension" more often than younger men.

The other question on fringe benefits omitted all reference to a pay-increase and asked respondents to indicate the relative importance of the following four benefits: longer holidays with pay, pension, salary scale or service pay, and sick pay. The order of importance which emerged showed that only a small minority gave first rank to "longer holidays with pay", the vast majority (75 per cent) considering that this was of least importance; the majority in all social grades and occupational sub-groups shared this view. This adds weight to the earlier finding that longer holidays had only a low priority in the various wants of the employees. On the other items there was less unanimity. Just over a third of the sample—36 per cent—ranked pensions first, and just under a third—32 per cent—sick pay. About a quarter ranked salary scale or service pay first but 39 per cent ranked it third.²³

It was on this item "*salary scale or service pay*" that the greatest cleavage of opinion was found when answers were related to personal particulars. About 40 per cent of the non-manual workers and of social grades AB and C1 to

²³One small point to note is that manual workers were found to understand the term "service pay" but many were not familiar with the phrase "salary scale".

which they belong placed this item first but over 40 per cent of the manual workers (and of social grades C2 and DE) relegated it to third place. This suggests that the men who are on salary scales (that is white collar employees belonging to social grades AB and C1) learn to place importance on them through personal experience. Manual workers are of course rarely on salary scales and it would appear that, when they receive service pay, they stand to benefit less financially under current practices, as the amounts involved are usually small. Nevertheless a quarter of the skilled manual workers did make this their first choice, which means that the advocates of giving service pay to manual workers are voicing an existing want. However, the question may be raised whether salary scales and service pay can be of comparable importance to employees when the amounts involved differ.

The fringe benefits which the manual occupational groups (and social grades C2 and DE) placed as most important were either pension or sick pay, with only small differences in the percentages choosing either the one or the other. Indeed it should be noted that about a third of the men in all social grades placed pensions as first in importance and a further third as second in importance. For the manual workers (and grades C2 and DE) a similar picture emerged as regards the ranking of sick pay, while sick pay was given a first importance by noticeably smaller percentages of grades AB and C1, this being accounted for by the sub-groups which placed salary scale first.

How does the picture with regard to the men's preferences which emerges from this survey compare with the emphasis placed on fringe benefits in recent collective agreements? The following figures released by the F.U.E. in August 1968 provide information on major changes in conditions of employment which were made in 100 agreements concluded by employers and trade unions during the eleventh wage-round of 1967-68 on behalf of about 148,000 employees. The 100 agreements all provided for wage increases, and in addition the following provisions with regard to fringe benefits²⁴ were made:

- 60 agreements provided for extra annual leave
- 40 agreements for shorter working hours
- 14 agreements for service pay
- 7 agreements for pension schemes
- 4 agreements for sick pay schemes.

This order would appear to give most emphasis to the benefits which the survey respondents considered to be least important and therefore clashes with the preferences which they expressed. Shorter working hours were selected by only a small minority in the first question (the only one where it was included in our list). Longer holidays with pay came out in both sets of answers as the least important item. By contrast, all respondents ranked pensions and sick pay as of great importance. Service pay, however, was considered very

²⁴Some agreements made provisions relating to more than one fringe benefit.

important by a quarter of the skilled workers; it would therefore appear reasonable that some of the agreements included it.

This suggests that employers and trade unions may find it useful to re-appraise the role of fringe benefits, although some of the organisations covered by the 100 agreements may well have made choices related to their specific situations and not applicable elsewhere. It is impossible to tell, for instance, whether they already provided pension or sick pay schemes and were thus merely extending non-monetary improvements. The firm's financial position too may have been a consideration in that longer holidays with pay may well be the least costly, although according to our survey the least appreciated, concession.

Another topic which was investigated in this survey was that of lower paid workers and of what might be done to help them. First of all respondents were asked what the term lower paid worker meant to them in terms of occupation. On this the answers revealed once again that many people tended to think in terms of large occupational groups rather than specific occupations; for the most frequent response was that of unskilled or semi-skilled labourer given by nearly half the sample (47 per cent); agricultural workers came next with 28 per cent and corporation workers with 14 per cent. Non-labouring occupations were only mentioned by a small minority. This, as well as the overlap in categories, means that there was a high degree of consensus that the labouring occupations are the lower paid occupations, some such group being mentioned by the vast majority of respondents.

The unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and the agricultural workers were mentioned almost the same number of times when the respondents were asked earlier which two occupations they thought most deserved a pay-increase, adding weight to the evidence that these workers are seen as being in need of financial help. Naturally on this question a wider variety of occupations was mentioned, and there was a tendency for respondents to mention their own or a similar occupation as one of their two answers.

Next, respondents were asked what the term lower pay meant to them for a married man before tax and deductions. To this the answers revealed that only a minority of respondents thought of figures higher than £14 per week; the great majority held that anything below £12 per week was lower pay, and practically all respondents were agreed that any amount below £10 per week constituted a low income for a married man. Comparison with a British survey carried out at the same point of time showed that the British respondents had given higher figures. The median figure for low pay for instance was £14 in the British distribution and £12 in the Irish one. In Britain the ideas on low incomes were found to have been adjusted upward since 1966, and it is plausible that Irish ideas too may change with inflation, and also with what happens in Britain.

While the sample had revealed a high degree of consensus that anything below £12 per week constituted low pay, the "threshold values" for low pay were found to be higher for certain sub-groups, dependent on respondent's

own income, occupation, age, and the size of the community he lived in, all of which factors are interrelated.

As regards income it was found that the higher a man's income was, the higher was the income he named as low pay. Among the different occupational groups it was found that about half the non-manual workers gave figures of £13 or over for low pay as compared with only a quarter of the unskilled men. On age there was a slight tendency for the younger men to name higher than average figures. As regards the location of respondents' homes it was found that the less urbanised the area was in which the respondents lived, the lower was the figure he named as representing lower pay. Thus more than half of the respondents in rural areas named £10 per week or below, whereas more than half of the men employed in Dublin named figures of £13 or more.

Next respondents were asked to state what they thought should be done to provide help for the lower paid workers. Only three types of responses were given by more than 10 per cent of the sample, the most frequent (given by 31 per cent) being "give them more money", a reply which tended to be given somewhat more often by men in social grade DE than in the other social grades. The reply "give them more money" represents the most obvious solution but it begs the question as to how the extra money is to be provided. The next two response categories, however (both named by about 12 per cent of the sample) indicate where the extra incomes might come from, one suggestion being that the workers' capacity to earn should be increased, for instance by training or better job opportunities, and the other that help should be provided in the form of social benefits. Both of these answers tended to be given more often by men in social grade AB than by other grades.

A more specific question²⁵ asked whether respondents would be willing to hold back on their own pay-increases to let the lower paid workers get ahead—a possibility which had actually been mentioned spontaneously in answer to the previous question by 8 per cent of the sample. In reply, while more men said "no" than "yes", a considerable number of those who were asked the question (36 per cent) did declare themselves willing to hold back on their own pay-increases. It was found that the higher was their own income, the larger was the percentage of respondents who said they were prepared to make this sacrifice. This links up with the finding that 51 per cent of the managers and professional men as compared with smaller percentages in other occupational groups said they were willing to forgo pay-increases.

On this question the N.I.E.C. in proposing principles for an incomes policy suggested that such a policy could be used to help the lower paid and stressed the importance in this context of general consensus on reasonable pay-differentials. While our evidence on pay-differentials has not yet been analysed,

²⁵Interviewers had been instructed not to put this question to respondents who (by their own definition of lower paid occupations) had classified themselves as belonging to this group.

the survey findings on *lower pay* suggest that there is some justification for the belief expressed by the N.I.E.C.²⁶

“that there is a general acceptance in the community of the desirability of raising the standards of lower income groups to a level in keeping with present day needs.”

An alternative approach to N.I.E.C.'s suggestion of help for the lower paid through an incomes policy would be the introduction of a national minimum wage, a possibility which was voiced spontaneously by only 6 per cent of the sample. It could be argued, however, that this would be one way of “giving the lower paid more money”—the major remedy which had been suggested by the respondents.

With a view to finding out what sums might be considered reasonable, four consecutive questions in the survey asked respondents what they thought would be a fair minimum (basic) wage per week for a married man, a single man, a married woman and a single woman. On this the survey revealed that higher figures for a fair minimum wage were given for married men than for single men, and higher figures for men than women. The median amount given was £18 per week for a married man, £15 for a single man, and £12 per week for a married or single woman. Only a very small minority of 58 respondents gave the same figure for all four questions. The vast majority (76 per cent) gave a higher figure for a married man than for a single man; however, a minority of 23 per cent gave the same figure for married and single men. When the views of married respondents were compared with those of single respondents the great majority of each group were found to give a higher amount for a fair minimum wage for a married than for a single man.

It is interesting to note that 39 per cent of the sample also gave higher figures for a fair minimum wage for married women than for single women, although 40 per cent gave the same figure for both groups, and 21 per cent a lower figure for married women.

The evidence suggests that among conceptions of fairness related to pay which are current in Ireland the idea of giving more for family responsibilities receives widespread support. The needs of the family man are reflected in the high figures suggested for him; the median of £18 is higher than the median of the incomes actually received by the respondents in the survey. The most frequent differential considered appropriate for marital status was £2, but there were also three very sizeable groups who thought married men needed £3, £4 or £5 more than single ones.

The pay differentials for a fair minimum wage for single men as compared with women were similar to the above, but for married men and women they were considerably larger, with as high a difference as £10 quite frequent. The vast majority of the men (87 per cent) shared the view that a higher figure was

²⁶National Industrial Economic Council, *Report on Economic Situation*, Report No. II, Stationery Office, Dublin 1965, para. 65-67.

fair for a minimum wage for married men than for married women, and 78 per cent for single men than for single women.

While there was this high degree of consensus on differentials, there were large differences of opinion as to where the floor should be fixed for a fair minimum. For a married man, for instance, amounts named ranged from £9 per week to well above £26. In this context it is important to note that certain figures were found to be more attractive than others; for instance, round numbers like £10, £15 and £20, also £12 and £18. Numbers which seemed unpopular were £13, £17 and £19, a phenomenon which also appeared in other questions. One explanation would be that what psychologists call "the pull of numbers" may be operative in the wages field. In terms of policy this could mean that round and even numbers are seen as desirable targets, and might therefore provide a more stable starting point for a minimum wage than others. A different explanation would be that people name round numbers when their answers are based on guesswork or are deliberately rounded off.

A finding which could be important if minimum wage proposals were to be adopted by policy-makers²⁷ is that there existed such a high degree of consensus among the male employees about the fairness of fixing different amounts as a minimum wage for married and single men and for women. It leaves the way open to make distinctions in statutory rates and thus to keep down costs. The great problem however would be to agree on the levels. In this context it is interesting to note that the annual congress of the British T.U.C. passed a resolution in September 1969 reaffirming the earlier (1967) decision to press for a minimum wage of £15, the most frequent amount mentioned in this survey as fair for single men in Ireland. The idea of a minimum wage of £18, the median given for a married man in this survey, is clearly too costly, since the floor for national minimum wage levels would have to be related to the existing wage-structure, and could therefore not be fixed at the level of the middle income group in the community. It would be more realistic to take as a reference frame the views on lower pay presented earlier in this paper for which the median was £12, and the upper quartile £14, and in the first instance to set a floor for married men somewhere in the region of £12 to £14 per week. This, however, raises wider issues such as the effects on labour costs and the level of employment, and therefore on the stability of the Irish economy.

²⁷It should be stressed that no direct question as to whether people wished to see the introduction of a minimum wage was included in the survey, as a "yes" - "no" question on such an issue might give misleading results.

APPENDIX A

Note on Social Grading and Income Classification(1) *Social Grading*

Classification of respondents by social grade provides a useful method of taking account of both economic and social factors when analysing survey results. The grading method adopted in this survey uses four grades, based mainly on occupation and income, and was done on completed questionnaires in Edinburgh in conjunction with a member of the Economic and Social Research Institute. The four social grades used may be described as follows:

Social Grade

- AB Professional workers, senior and middle management, civil servants in administrative, executive and similar grades.
- C1 Mainly non-manual workers carrying out less important administrative, supervisory and clerical jobs.
- C2 Mainly skilled manual workers.
- DE Mainly semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers.

(2) *Income Classification*

While the social grading was carried out by the research team, the income classification is that of the respondents, and was obtained by asking: "Could you give me an idea of your own weekly earnings or your salary *before* deductions?" The respondent was then shown the following card and asked to indicate which group he fell into.

Weekly Earnings or Salary Before Deductions.

£8 and under	Under £416	1
Over £8 up to £12	£417— £624	2
„ £12 „ „ £16	£625— £832	3
„ £16 „ „ £20	£833—£1,040	4
„ £20 „ „ £25	£1,041—£1,300	5
„ £25 „ „ £30	£1,301—£1,560	6
„ £30	£1,561+	7

APPENDIX B

Tables showing Characteristics of the Sample of 1,084 Male Employees

TABLE I.—*Geographical Region*

	<i>Number of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of Sample</i>
Co. Dublin	517	47·7
Rest of Leinster	117	10·8
Munster	360	33·2
Connacht and Ulster	90	8·3
	<hr/> 1,084	<hr/> 100%

TABLE II.—*Location in administrative districts*

Dublin	490	45·2
Co. Borough or other area with population over 10,000	273	25·2
Urban (3,000–10,000)	155	14·3
Rural (500–3,000)	166	15·3
	<hr/> 1,084	<hr/> 100%

TABLE IIIa: *Occupation*

Employers and managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc.—large establishments (employing 25 or more persons)	25	2·3
Employers and managers in industry, commerce etc.—small establishments (employing fewer than 25 persons)	64	5·9
Professional workers—employees engaged in work normally requiring qualifications of university degree standard	86	7·9
Intermediate clerical workers	43	4·0
Junior clerical workers	20	1·8
Intermediate non-manual workers other than clerical	83	7·7
Junior non-manual workers other than clerical	55	5·1
Personal service workers—employees engaged in service occupations catering for food, drink, clothing and other personal needs	14	1·3
Foremen and supervisors—manual	32	3·0
Skilled manual workers	217	20·0
Semi-skilled manual workers	210	19·4
Unskilled manual workers	206	19·0
Agricultural workers	26	2·4
Members of Armed Forces	3	0·3
	<hr/> 1,084	<hr/> 100%

TABLE IIIb: *Larger occupational groupings*

	<i>Number of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of Sample</i>
<i>Non-manual</i>		
Employers and managers	89	8.2
Professional workers	86	7.9
Clerical workers	63	5.8
Intermediate non-manual other than clerical	83	7.7
	<hr/> 321	<hr/> 29.6
<i>Manual</i>		
Skilled manual workers, including foremen and supervisors	249	23.0
Semi-skilled manual workers	210	19.4
Unskilled manual workers, including agricultural workers	232	21.4
	<hr/> 691	<hr/> 63.8
<i>Other</i>		
Junior non-manual other than clerical, personal service workers and Armed Forces	72	6.7

TABLE IV: *Employment Category*

Factory	329	30.4
Transport and communications	130	12.0
Distributive trades	129	11.9
Building and construction	115	10.6
Miscellaneous services	110	10.1
Public administration and Defence	94	8.7
Professional and scientific services	62	5.7
Gas, electricity and water	43	4.0
Agriculture	40	3.7
Insurance, banking and finance	25	2.3
Other	7	0.6
	<hr/> 1,084	<hr/> 100%

TABLE V: *Type of Establishment*

Private	712	65.7
State-sponsored (semi-State)	224	20.7
Local Authority	90	8.3
Civil Service	54	5.0
Armed Forces	4	0.4
	<hr/> 1,084	<hr/> 100%

	<i>Number of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of Sample</i>
TABLE VI: Trade Union Membership		
Member of a Trade Union	711	65.6
Not a member of a Trade Union	368	33.9
Don't know, no answer	5	0.5
	1,084	100%

	<i>Number of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of Sample</i>
TABLE VII: Gross Weekly Income		
Under £12	129	11.9
Over £12 up to £16	288	26.6
Over £16 up to £20	265	24.4
Over £20 up to £25	153	14.1
Over £25 up to £30	75	6.9
Over £30	127	11.7
Don't know	2	0.2
Refused	45	4.2
	1,084	100%

	<i>Number of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of Sample</i>
TABLE VIII: Age group		
21-29	254	23.4
30-39	255	23.5
40-49	259	23.9
50-59	206	19.0
60-69	105	9.7
Refused	5	0.5
	1,084	100%

	<i>Number of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of Sample</i>
TABLE IX: Marital Status		
Single	243	22.4
Married	829	76.5
Separated, widowed, divorced	11	1.0
No answer	1	0.1
	1,084	100%

	<i>Number of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage of Sample</i>
TABLE X: Social Grade		
AB	168	15.5
CI	168	15.5
C2	258	23.8
DE	490	45.2
	1,084	100%

TABLE XIa: *Age when Respondent finished Full-time Education*

14 or under	425	39.2
15-16	326	30.1
17-18	208	19.2
19 or over	123	11.3
Refused	2	0.2
	1,084	100%

TABLE XIb: *Where Respondent finished Full-time Education*

National/Primary School	544	50.2
Secondary School	254	23.4
Vocational/Technical School	195	18.0
University	71	6.5
Other	17	1.6
Refused	3	0.3
	1,084	100%

TABLE XII: *Type of Accommodation*

Private house or flat	660	60.9
Corporation house or flat	413	38.1
Don't know or No answer	11	1.0
	1,084	100%

APPENDIX C

Tables showing Inter-relationships of Respondents' Personal Particulars

TABLE XIII: *Respondents' Income related to their social grade*

Social Grade	Income £s per week						
	Below £12	Over £12 up to £16	Over £16 up to £20	Over £20 up to £25	Over £25 up to £30	Over £30	Don't know Refused
AB	0.0	1.4	2.3	11.8	38.7	80.3	19.1
C1	4.7	6.9	17.0	28.8	32.0	11.0	31.9
C2	9.3	18.1	38.9	37.9	17.3	8.7	19.1
DE	86.0	73.6	41.9	21.6	12.0	0.0	29.8
Total	100% N=129	100% N=288	100% N=265	100% N=153	100% N=75	100% N=127	100% N=47

TABLE XIV: Respondents' age of finishing full-time education related to their social grade

Social Grade	Age of finishing full-time education				
	14 or under	15-16	17-18	19 or over	Refused
	%	%	%	%	
AB	0.7	5.5	26.0	75.6	0
C1	5.2	14.1	39.9	13.0	1
C2	20.0	35.9	22.1	8.1	0
DE	74.1	44.5	12.0	3.3	1
Total	100% N=425	100% N=326	100% N=208	100% N=123	N=2

TABLE XV: Respondents' occupation related to their social grade

Social Grade	Non-Manual Workers	Skilled Manual Workers	Semi- and Unskilled Manual Workers	Other
	%	%	%	%
AB	52.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
C1	45.5	0.4	0.2	27.8
C2	0.9	97.6	0.9	11.1
DE	1.2	2.0	98.9	61.1
Total	100% N=321	100% N=249	100% N=442	100% N=72

TABLE XVI: Respondents' location related to their social grade

Social Grade	Dublin	County Borough or other area with population over 10,000	Urban (3,000-10,000)	Rural (500-3,000)
	%	%	%	%
AB	20.8	12.5	12.3	7.8
C1	19.0	15.4	10.3	10.2
C2	22.2	21.6	27.7	28.3
DE	38.0	50.5	49.7	53.6
Total	100% N=490	100% N=273	100% N=155	100% N=166

TABLE XVII: Respondents' occupation related to their income

Income £s per week	Employers and Managers	Pro- fessional workers	Clerical	Other Inter- mediate Non- Manual	Skilled Manual	Semi- skilled Manual	Unskilled Manual Workers	Agri- cultural Workers	Others*
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Below £12	0.0	0.0	9.5	0.0	3.6	9.6	26.2	80.7	26.4
Over £12 up to £16	0.0	3.5	12.7	6.0	20.9	43.3	49.5	19.2	30.6
Over £16 up to £20	9.0	8.1	20.6	18.1	41.0	32.9	16.0	0.0	25.0
Over £20 up to £25	14.6	12.8	19.0	30.1	21.7	9.5	5.3	0.0	9.7
Over £25 up to £30	16.9	14.0	12.7	22.9	5.6	1.4	1.0	0.0	2.8
Over £30	53.9	51.2	15.9	18.1	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/ refused	5.6	10.5	9.5	4.8	3.2	3.3	1.9	0.0	5.6
Total	100% N=89	100% N=86	100% N=63	100% N=83	100% N=249	100% N=210	100% N=206	100% N=26	100% N=72

*Includes junior non-manual, service workers and armed forces.

TABLE XVIII: Respondents' location related to their income

Income £s per week	Dublin	County Borough or other area with population over 10,000	Urban (3,000-10,000)	Rural (500-3,000)
	%	%	%	%
Below £12	4.3	13.9	16.8	26.5
Over £12 up to £16	21.6	36.6	32.9	18.7
Over £16 up to £20	28.4	18.7	22.6	24.1
Over £20 up to £25	16.1	13.6	11.0	12.0
Over £25 up to £30	8.6	5.9	7.7	3.0
Over £30	17.3	7.7	6.5	6.6
Don't know/refused	3.7	3.7	2.6	9.0
Total	100% N=490	100% N=273	100% N=155	100% N=166

APPENDIX D

*Tables concerning Fringe Benefits*TABLE XIX: *Answers* to question:*

Here are four things employers can give employees. Could you tell me their order of importance, that is going from the one you think is most important to the one you think is least important.

<i>Fringe Benefit</i>	<i>Order of Importance</i>			
	<i>1st (most)</i>	<i>2nd</i>	<i>3rd</i>	<i>4th (least)</i>
Longer holidays with pay				
Pension				
Salary scale or service pay				
Sick pay				
<hr/>				
Pension	386	373	253	57
Sick pay	346	403	254	66
Salary or service pay	278	228	425	138
Longer paid holidays	59	65	137	808
<hr/>				
Total	1,069**	1,069**	1,069**	1,069**

*Ranked in order of first preference.

**15 respondents gave no answer to this question.

TABLE XX.

Question: Here are four things employers can give employees. Could you tell me their order of importance, that is going from the one you think is most important to the one you think is least important.

Longer holidays with pay

Pension

Salary-scale or service pay

Sick pay

*Ranking of items given by respondents in different social grades.**

Item	Rank	Respondents' Social Grade							
		AB		C1		C2		DE	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Longer Paid Holidays	1st	6	3.7	4	2.4	10	3.9	39	8.1
	2nd	5	3.0	9	5.4	17	6.6	34	7.1
	3rd	15	9.1	17	10.2	36	14.0	69	14.3
	4th	138	84.1	136	81.9	195	75.6	339	70.5
Total		164	100%	166	100%	258	100%	481	100%
Pension	1st	51	31.1	59	35.5	87	33.7	189	39.3
	2nd	69	42.1	54	32.5	85	32.9	165	34.3
	3rd	39	23.8	45	27.1	69	26.7	100	20.8
	4th	5	3.0	8	4.8	17	6.6	27	5.6
Total		164	100%	166	100%	258	100%	481	100%
Salary-scale or Service Pay	1st	66	40.2	68	41.0	66	25.6	78	16.2
	2nd	28	17.1	30	18.1	54	20.9	116	24.1
	3rd	61	37.2	56	33.7	104	40.3	204	42.4
	4th	9	5.5	12	7.2	34	13.2	83	17.3
Total		164	100%	166	100%	258	100%	481	100%
Sick Pay	1st	41	25.0	35	21.1	95	36.8	175	36.4
	2nd	62	37.8	73	44.0	102	39.5	166	34.5
	3rd	49	29.9	48	28.9	49	19.0	108	22.5
	4th	12	7.3	10	6.0	12	4.7	32	6.7
Total		164	100%	166	100%	258	100%	481	100%

*15 Respondents gave no answer to this question.

TABLE XXI

Question : Here are four things employers can give employees. Could you tell me their order of importance, that is going from the one you think is most important to the one you think is least important.

Longer holidays with pay
Pension
Salary scale or service pay
Sick pay

*Ranking of items given by respondents in different occupational groups.**

Item	Rank	Non-Manual Workers		Manual Workers					
		No.	%	Skilled		Semi-Skilled		Unskilled	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Longer Paid Holidays	1st	9	2.9	10	4.0	16	7.7	16	8.0
	2nd	13	4.1	15	6.0	9	4.3	21	10.4
	3rd	28	8.9	35	14.5	39	18.7	22	10.9
	4th	265	84.1	188	75.5	145	69.4	142	70.6
Total		315	100%	249	100%	209	100%	201	100%
Pension	1st	103	32.7	86	34.5	82	39.2	74	36.8
	2nd	121	38.4	80	32.1	73	34.9	67	33.3
	3rd	81	25.7	66	26.5	47	22.5	44	21.9
	4th	10	3.2	17	6.8	7	3.3	16	8.0
Total		315	100%	249	100%	209	100%	201	100%
Salary-scale or Service Pay	1st	128	40.6	61	24.5	32	15.3	38	18.9
	2nd	54	17.1	53	21.3	50	23.9	46	22.9
	3rd	114	36.2	101	40.6	86	41.1	87	43.3
	4th	19	6.0	34	13.7	41	19.6	30	14.9
Total		315	100%	249	100%	209	100%	201	100%
Sick Pay	1st	75	23.8	92	36.9	79	37.8	73	36.3
	2nd	127	40.3	101	40.6	77	36.8	67	33.3
	3rd	92	29.2	46	18.5	37	17.7	48	23.9
	4th	21	6.7	10	4.0	16	7.7	13	6.5
Total		315	100%	249	100%	209	100%	201	100%

*Agricultural workers have been excluded from this table, and 15 respondents gave no answer.

TABLE XXII: Views on Amounts for Fair Minimum Wage for Married Men Compared with Amounts Given for Single Men
Amounts for Single Men

£s per week	11 and below	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26 and over	DK	Total
11 and below	1																	1
12	10	2	1														1	14
13	4	3	1	1														9
14	8	13	2	13														36
15	22	55	22	16	62					1							1	179
16	8	21	9	41	20	31												130
17	1	4	2	18	28	4	13											70
18	3	9	1	24	38	38	9	34									1	157
19		1		1	3	4	3	2	4									18
20	3	7	4	8	96	46	22	46		64							2	298
21					1	2		2										5
22					4	1	1	6	1	2		3						18
23						2		1		2		1	1					7
24				1				5	1	1				2			1	11
25		1			6	2	1	14	3	32	3	3			11	1		77
26 and over	1	1			2	1	2	3		13		2		2	8	8		43
DK		1			1					1							8	11
Total	61	118	42	122	262	131	51	113	9	116	3	9	1	4	19	9	14	1,084

Tables relating to Fair Minimum Wage
Amounts for Married Men

APPENDIX E

TABLE XXIII: Views on Amounts for Fair Minimum Wage for Married Women Compared with Amounts Given for Single Women

Amounts for Single Women

£5 per week	7 and below	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26 and over	DK	Total
7 and below	18	5	5	5	1	3			1			1										39
8	18	21	4	15		7	2	2	1													70
9	4	4	16	9	3	1				1												38
10	4	45	16	130	2	45	4	6	16	2	1	1	1	2							1	276
11		1	6	4	7		2	1														21
12		2	7	69	9	70	6	19	10	3	1	1		1								198
13			1	5	5	6	7		1													25
14				8	2	8	2	24	3	3												50
15			3	15	2	28	5	6	54	1	3	3		2								122
16	1		2	5	1	12	1	9	4	16		1										52
17						1	1	1	1		4											9
18				2		1		6	5	4	2	15		1		1						37
19											1	1										2
20				1		4		2	15	1		4		23			1					51
21									1													1
22											1			1								2
23																						0
24				1								1						1				3
25						1						2	1			2			3			9
26 and over												1		2					1	1		5
DK	1	3	3	8	2	11	2	4	12			2		2					1	1	22	74
Total	46	81	63	277	34	198	32	80	124	31	13	33	3	34	0	4	0	1	5	2	23	1,084

Amounts for Married Women

TABLE XXIV: Views on Amounts for Fair Minimum Wage for Married Men Compared with Amounts Given for Married Women

Amounts for Married Women

£s per week	7 and below	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26 and over	DK	Total	
7 and below																						0	
8																						0	
9																						1	1
10																						0	0
11																						0	0
12	2	4		5		1																2	14
13	2	3	1	1	1	1																	9
14	4	4		12		5	1	6														4	36
15	10	13	9	49	8	48	3	1	33													5	179
16	7	16	11	35		25	5	8	1	14												8	130
17	4	5	4	13	3	11	5	5	7	2	6			1								4	70
18		9	3	52	5	35	2	10	10	8		17										6	157
19		1		8		3	2		1	1			1									1	18
20	7	8	9	74	2	48	5	17	47	12	1	10	1	37								20	298
21		1							1	2					1								5
22		1	1	4		2		1	4	1		2				1						1	18
23	1	1		1	1			1	1													1	7
24				3		2			1					1				3				1	11
25	1	2		12	1	12	3	1	10	8	2	7		5					9			4	77
26 and over	1	2		7		4			6	4		1		7		1				5		5	43
DK																					11	11	
Total	39	70	38	276	21	198	25	50	122	52	9	37	2	51	1	2	0	3	9	5	74	1,084	

Amounts for Married Men

VIEWS ON PAY INCREASES, FRINGE BENEFITS AND LOW PAY

TABLE XXV: Views on Amounts for Fair Minimum Wage for Single Men Compared with Amounts Given for Single Women

Amounts for Single Women

£s per week	7 and below	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26 and over	DK	Total
7 and below																						0
8	2	1	1																			4
9	1	1	3																			5
10	9	8	1	13		1		3		1											1	37
11	3	3	3	5																	1	15
12	9	23	14	40	6	22	1	1				1									1	118
13	1	4	10	14	3	3	5	1													1	42
14	8	13	5	39	8	22	5	21				1										122
15	10	15	14	72	7	49	6	10	73		1	1		1							3	262
16	3	2	4	43	5	30	7	17	6	11				1							2	131
17		3	1	10	1	11	2	6	5		9		1								2	51
18		5	2	15	2	33	5	8	11	10	1	21										113
19				2		1		1	3	1			1									9
20		2	2	20	2	23	1	11	17	5	1	5		24							2	116
21										1			1	1								3
22				1				1	1	1	1					4						9
23									1													1
24			1	1		1												1				4
25			2			1			5	1		2		3					5			19
26 and over				1								2		4						2		9
DK		1	2			1															10	14
Total	46	81	63	277	34	198	32	80	124	31	13	33	3	34	0	4	0	1	5	2	23	1,084

Amounts for Single Men

TABLE XXVI: Analysis of the Figures Given by Respondents Naming the Same Amount for a Fair Minimum Wage for any Two Sets of People

<i>£s per Week</i>	<i>Married Men and Single Men</i>		<i>Married Women and Single Women</i>		<i>Married Men and Married Women</i>		<i>Single Men and Single Women</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
£8 and below			31	7.7			1	0.5
£9			16	4.0			3	1.4
£10			130	32.3			13	6.0
£11			7	1.7				
£12	2	0.8	70	17.4	1	0.8	22	10.2
£13	1	0.4	7	1.7			5	2.3
£14	13	5.2	24	6.0	6	4.5	21	9.7
£15	62	25.0	54	13.4	33	24.8	73	33.8
£16	31	12.5	16	4.0	14	10.5	11	5.1
£17	13	5.2	4	1.0	6	4.5	9	4.2
£18	34	13.7	15	3.7	17	12.8	21	9.7
£19	4	1.6			1	0.8	1	0.5
£20	64	25.8	23	5.7	37	27.8	24	11.1
£21					1	0.8		
£22	3	1.2			1	0.8	4	1.9
£23	1	0.4						
£24	2	0.8	1	0.2	3	2.3	1	0.5
£25	11	4.4	3	0.7	9	6.8	5	2.3
£26 and over	7	2.8	1	0.2	4	3.0	2	0.9
Total	248	100%	402	100%	133	100%	216	100%

APPENDIX F

Sample Design

The sample was designed to be representative of the male employed population of the Republic of Ireland, excluding men living in districts of diffuse populations because of cost constraints.

The desired sample size had been defined as 1,000, and to achieve this objective it was decided to divide the interviews up into seventy packages of thirty and to select interviewees by employing a four-stage stratified random sampling procedure.

In Stage 1 the country was divided into the following three categories based upon the population as given in the 1966 Census excluding, as said, areas with a population of below 500:

- (a) Areas with a population of 10,000 and over.
- (b) Areas with a population of 3,000-9,999.
- (c) Areas with a population of 500-2,999.

For this selection Dublin and other county boroughs were treated as separate entities in the 10,000 population and over category, and the seventy packages were allocated to each category proportionally to their male population, resulting in the following distribution :

	<i>Males</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No. of Packages</i>
Dublin and Dun Laoghaire	345,850	46.8	32
Other County Boroughs	101,631	13.8	10
Other areas 10,000 and over	72,921	9.9	7
3,000-9,999	102,255	13.8	10
500-2,999	115,863	15.7	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	738,520	100%	70

In Stage 2, apart from Dublin and Dun Laoghaire, the geographical sub-divisions within each category were listed and the appropriate number of packages randomly allocated proportionally to the size of population. The resultant distribution of packages is shown below.

<i>Area</i>	<i>No. of Packages</i>
<i>10,000 Population and Over</i>	
Dublin and Dun Laoghaire	32
Limerick	3
Waterford	2
Cork	5
Galway	2
Drogheda	1
Bray	1
Wexford	1
Tralee	1
Clonmel	1
<i>3,000-9,999</i>	
Balbriggan	1
Tullamore	1
Carlow	1
Greystones	1
Thurles	1
Carrick-on-Suir	1
Nenagh	1
Middleton	1
Tuam	1
Ballinasloe	1
<i>500-2,999</i>	
(see p. 75.)	

<i>Area</i>	<i>No. of Packages</i> (Contd. from p. 74)
500-2,999	
Passage West	1
Tubbercurry	1
Portarlinton	1
Castleisland	1
Killaloe	1
Buttevant	1
Kilmallock	1
Ballinamore	1
Boyle	1
Kilcormac	1
Tallaght	1
	—
	70
	—

In Stage 3 polling districts within the above areas were listed in the order given in the electoral registers and selected by random sampling techniques. Finally in Stage 4 the required number of names for obtaining 1,000 male and employed respondents were selected from the electoral registers within each selected polling district.

The interviewing took place in the period between 25th April and 6th May 1969. The final response was as follows :

Total names issued		2,100	100%
<i>Less</i> Deceased	20		
Moved away	112		
Excluded for purposes of this survey :			
Self-employed	294		
Unemployed	90		
Retired	184	568	700 33.3%
	—	—	—
Total attempted interviews		1,400	66.7%
<i>Less</i> No reply received at any of three calls	103		
Away in England etc.	90		
Other (ill etc.)	94		
Refused	29	316	15.0%
	—	—	—
Number of interviews obtained		1,084	51.6%

APPENDIX G—INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.

CONFIDENTIAL. PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY—1969

SERIAL NO.	COLS. 1-4
P.C. NO.	5

INTERVIEWER PLEASE CHECK THAT SELECTED RESPONDENT IS NOT AN EXCLUDED PERSON UNDER PARA. V OF BRIEF.

INTRODUCTION: We are interested in your ideas about people's pay but first, could I ask you a few questions about yourself?

	Code	Col.
1. What is your occupation?		6
GIVE FULL DESCRIPTION		
.....		
IF APPLICABLE, NOTE NUMBER OF SUBORDINATES		7

2(a) What kind of place do you work in? INTERVIEWER CODE	A factory (manufacturing industry)	1	
	Building and construction	2	
	Gas, electricity and water	3	
	Transport and communications	4	
	Distributive trades	5	
	Insurance, banking and finance	6	8
	Professional and scientific services	7	
	Miscellaneous services	8	
	Public Administration and Defence	9	
	Agriculture	0	
..... Other (write in)	x		

(b) Is this:	Private	1	
	State-sponsored (semi-state)	2	
	Local Authority	3	9
	Civil Service	4	
	Armed Forces	5	

3(a) Is there any group of people where you work who you feel get less pay than they should?	Yes	1	
	No	2	10
	Don't know	x	

	Code	Col.
If YES to 3a ASK 3b and 3c.		11
(b) What job are these people in?		12
(c) Why do you feel they are underpaid?		13
.....		
.....		
4. Here are four things employers can give employees. Could you tell me their order of importance, that is going from the one you think is most important to the one you think is least important.		14
INTERVIEWER SHOW CARD AND CODE IN SPACE PROVIDED BELOW: MOST IMPORTANT =1, SECOND MOST IMPORTANT=2, THIRD=3, LEAST IMPORTANT=4.		15
Longer holidays with pay		16
Pension		
Salary scale or Service pay		
Sick pay		17
5(a) Which of these three statements about adult men in different types of work do you most agree with? ¹	0	
Skilled manual workers should be paid <i>more than</i> clerical workers	1	
Skilled manual workers should be paid <i>the same</i> as clerical workers	2	
Skilled manual workers should be paid <i>less than</i> clerical workers	3	18
Don't know	x	
INTERVIEWER EXPLAIN: By clerical workers we mean lower grade clerical workers and office staff.		
(b) How much do you think skilled manual workers should be paid per week? £.....		19
(c) How much do you think clerical workers should be paid per week? £.....		20
6(a) How much do you think semi-skilled manual workers should be paid per week? £.....		21

¹The order of the statements in this question was reversed in half the questionnaires so as to ask whether clerical workers should be paid more, the same or less than skilled manual workers.

	Code	Col.
(b) How much do you think unskilled manual workers should be paid per week? £		22
7(a) Which occupations do you think set the pace for pay increases?		23
.....		24
.....		25
(b) Why do these occupations set the pace?		
.....		26
.....		
8. In return for extra money, would you be willing or not willing to do any of the following?	0	
SHOW CARD FOR QUESTION 8	1	
Would work longer hours	2	
Would do more difficult work	3	27
Would agree to a different way of doing my work	4	
Would not be willing to do any of these for extra money	x	
Don't know		
9. At the present moment which two (1)		28
occupations do you think most deserve a pay increase? (2)		29
		30
10. Over the next two years do you expect your pay to increase, stay the same or decrease?	0	
Increase	1	
Stay the same	2	
Decrease	3	31
Don't know	x	
11(a) Do you expect to have a <i>general</i> pay increase in the next two years?	0	
Yes	1	
No	2	32
Don't know	x	
If YES to 11a, ASK 11b, c, d and e		
(b) How often do you expect to have a general pay increase during the next two years?	0	
Once	1	
Twice	2	
More than twice	3	33
Don't know	x	
	y	

		Code	Col.
(c) How much do you expect your next general pay increase will be? INTERVIEWER CODE £..... per hour/week/annum			34
(d) Would this be the same, less or more than your last general pay increase?	Same amount	0	
	Less	1	
	More	2	
	Don't know	3	35
		X	
		Y	
(e) Why do you expect to get the same as/less than/more than your last general pay increase?		0	
Increase has already been agreed		1	
Other reason (RECORD IN FULL)			36
.....			
.....			
Don't know		X	
		Y	
12. Here is a list of occupations, could you write in how much <i>you</i> think a man aged 40 should be paid per week. I mean, if you had a say, what do you think would be fair?			
	<i>AMOUNT PER WEEK, BEFORE TAX AND DEDUCTIONS</i>		
	£ s d		
<i>OCCUPATION</i>			
Building labourer	.....	
E.S.B. clerk	.....	
Car assembly worker	.....	
Electrician	.....	
Manager of a factory (employing about 100 people)	.....	
Bus conductor	.....	
Shop assistant	.....	
Hotel waiter	.....	
Railway porter	.....	
Agricultural labourer	.....	
School teacher (National)	.....	

		Code	Col.
13(a)	Do you think it will become more difficult to sell Irish goods abroad in the next few years?	0	
	Yes	1	
	No	2	37
	Don't know	x	
	If YES to 13a		
(b)	Why do you think it will become more difficult?		
	.....		38
		
	If NO to 13a		
(c)	Why do you think it will not become more difficult?		
	.....		39
		
14(a)	Do you think you can do anything to help our economic situation yourself?	0	
	Yes	1	
	No	2	40
	Don't know	x	
	If YES to 14a		
(b)	What can you do?		41
		
	If NO to 14a		
(c)	Why do you think you cannot do anything to help?		
	.....		42
		
15(a)	Have you ever come across the term "Incomes policy"?	0	
	Yes	1	
	No	2	43
	Don't know	x	
	If YES to 15a		
(b)	What does the term incomes policy mean to you?		
	.....		44
		
		

		Code	Col.
16.	People talk about lower paid workers. <i>Below: £s per week</i>		
	What does the term lower paid worker	0—8	1
	mean to you in terms of pay? I mean	9—10	2
	for a married man before tax and	11—12	3
	deductions.	13—14	4
	DO NOT READ OUT	15—16	5
		17—18	6
		19—20	7
		21+	8
		Don't know	x
<hr/>			
17.	There are many ways of helping lower paid workers, what do you think should be done?		
	.....		46
		
<hr/>			
18(a)	What does the term lower paid worker mean to you in terms of occupation?		47
	.....		48
			49
<hr/>			
IF RESPONDENT HAS NOT MENTIONED HIS OWN OCCUPATION UNDER 18a, ASK 18b			
(b)	Would you be willing to hold back on your own pay increases to let the lower paid workers get ahead?	Yes No Don't know	0 1 2 x y
			50
<hr/>			
19.	Thinking about yourself, would you say that you can afford a better living today than a few years back or about the same, or a poorer living?	Better living About the same Poorer living Don't know	0 1 2 3 x
			51
<hr/>			
20(a)	Have there been any pay increases in the last two years which you feel have been too large?	Yes No Don't know	0 1 2 x
			52
<hr/>			
(b)	If YES to 20a, Which two pay increases have been too large?	(1) (2)	53 54

	Code	Col.
21. What do you think would be a fair amount for the next general all-round pay increase?	%	55
	OR	
	£..... per week	56
22. Would you prefer any one of the following instead of a pay increase or not?	0	
	Pension	1
	Better pension	
SHOW CARD FOR if already in scheme	2	
QUESTION 22 Longer holidays with pay	3	
	Shorter hours	4
	Sick pay	5
	Better sick pay	
	if already in scheme	6
	Would not prefer any of these to a pay increase	7
	Don't know	x
23. What do you think would be a fair minimum (basic) wage per week for an adult married man?		
	£..... per week	58
24. What would be a fair minimum wage for an adult single man?		
	£..... per week	59
25. What would be a fair minimum wage for an adult married woman?		
	£..... per week	60
26. What would be a fair minimum wage for an adult single woman?		
	£..... per week	61
Finally, could you give me a few details about yourself?		
27(a) Are you married?	Single Married Separated, widowed, divorced	
	1 2 3	62
If CODES 2 or 3 to 27a		
(b) How many dependent children do you have?		
	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 x(10+) y	63
28(a) Are you the head of your household?	Yes No	1 2
		64
If NO to 28a		
(b) What is the head of household's occupation?		65
.....		
.....		66

		Code	Col.		
29. How many members of your household are there?	No. of people 14+		67		
	No. of children 0-13		68		
	Total		69		
<hr/>					
30. How many members of your household (including yourself), are in paid employment, either full or part-time?			70		
<hr/>					
31. Is your accommodation:	Private house or flat	1	71		
	Corporation house or flat	2			
	Don't know	x			
<hr/>					
32. Are you a member of a Trade Union?	Yes	1	72		
	No	2			
	Don't know	x			
<hr/>					
33(a) At what age did you finish your full-time education?	14 or under	1	73		
	15-16	2			
	17-18	3			
	19 or over	4			
	Refused	y			
<hr/>					
(b) Was this at:	National/Primary School	1	74		
	Secondary School	2			
	Vocational/Technical School	3			
	University	4			
	..... Other (write in)	5		
	Refused	y			
<hr/>					
34. What is your age now?	21-29	1	75		
	30-39	2			
	40-49	3			
	50-59	4			
	60-69	5			
	Refused	y			
<hr/>					
35. Could you give me an idea of your own weekly earnings or your salary before deductions?		<i>Weekly</i>	<i>Yearly</i>		
	SHOW CARD	£8 and under	Under £416	1	
	Over	£8 up to £12	£417-£624	2	
	..	£12 .. " £16	£625-£832	3	
	..	£16 .. " £20	£833-£1040	4	
	..	£20 .. " £25	£1041-£1300	5	
	..	£25 .. " £30	£1301-£1560	6	
	..	£30	£1561+	7	
			Don't know	x	
			Refused	y	
					76

					Code	Col.
36. DATE OF INTERVIEW						77
37. Region:	<i>Co. Dublin</i>	<i>Rest of Leinster</i>	<i>Munster</i>	<i>Connacht & Ulster</i>		
	I	2	3	4		78
38. Location:	Dublin	Co. Borough (Over 10,000)	Urban (3,000-10,000)	Rural (500-3,000)		
	I	2	3	4		79
						80

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