# A PRELIMINARY APPROACH TO THE CHANGES IN THE WORKING POPULATION AND THE ROLE OF DOMESTIC SERVICE IN THE CITY OF A CORUÑA, 1900-1960

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## Introduction

This paper focuses on the evolution of the working population in a medium-sized Spanish city during the first half of the twentieth century. The main goal is to show the strong presence of the low-qualification services, in particular of the most significant one, *domestic service*, a sector that has recently received an increasing attention (Saptari 1999: 77; Sarti 1997).

One of the most serious methodological obstacles for this analysis has been the occultation, invisibility or distortion of the role and functionality of the *female work* (Sarasúa 2000: 79; Soto 1984: 296), which was a typical phenomenon during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Hudson and Lee 1990). In particular, the domestic service employment was between the invisibility of domestic labour and the 'hidden' economy. Besides, domestic work has historically been undervalued (Borderías 1991: 107), in such way that domestic service appeared inherited that undervaluation, even though it was paid work. As it was done by women of low income and it created a servant–master relationship, its social consideration decreased (Glenn 1992).

# The general demographic evolution

A Coruña was, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the most populated town of Galicia, with 43,971 inhabitants in 1900. Nevertheless, this only served to occupy an intermediate position within the Spanish

urban hierarchy. However, the town underwent an outstanding demographic growth, which can be explained thanks to the rural immigration which the town received from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, following the pattern of the majority of the Spanish small and medium-sized cities (Delgado 1995). It has been estimated that around 1900 only a 52.16 per cent of the urban population had been born in the town. The drawing impact of the town spread to the nearest hinterland, in such a way that the main immigration flows came from the nearest municipalities, though its influence extended into the rest of the province: a 28.34 per cent of the population in 1900 had been born in the province of A Coruña (Blanco 1996: 150-151). All of this had a deep impact on the urban labour market, due to the effects it had on age and gender structure, particularly over the working population, through a greater growth in numbers of men than women, above all during the stages of more intense immigration flow.

The population as a whole, and particularly the working population, was young, although we only have data until 1940. There was a high percentage of work force under thirty years (around fifty per cent). The three most important groups were 21-25, 26-30 and 16-20 years (17.06, 14.16 and 13.75 per cent of the working population in 1930).

The working population in 1900 represented a 43.28 per cent of the total population, and in the following decades it even decreased, oscillating between the lowest value of 36.44 per cent in 1920 and the highest value of 40.53 per cent in 1950 (Table 1). Therefore, the non-working population clearly surpassed the working population. But women were mainly 'responsible' for the low working population rate. Only in those areas where there was an abundance of more modest social classes, a significant number of women worked, even married women and mothers, a high number of whom were employed as servants, washer women, etc. Anyway, the number of women who did not work or dedicated themselves to housework was higher.

The explanation of this behaviour is in the fact that women did not have a labour status equivalent to men (Nash 1984), although women's work was very important for the sustaining of many households (Pereira 1992: 46). Besides, the market established certain selective rules of access, for which reason their entry was slower. On the other hand, as we will see, women specialized in non-advanced activities within the tertiary sector, with the exception of certain industries —tobacco manufacturing, fishing and other—.

The dominant sector in the town was the tertiary (Table 5). Nevertheless, we can not conclude that this was an index of modernity. In this sector there was a marked duality among modern services and other services more typical of the Ancien Régime, a feature very common in the Spanish economy as a whole. On the one hand, there were the most advanced services, such as financial services, management services, professional activities, etc., in which the men's presence was overwhelming. On the other hand, there were low qualification services, in which there was an outstanding female participation. These were formed fundamentally by a notably developed and spatially spread retail sector, administration, the armed forces, police

force, hostelry, etc., and by *domestic, personal and similar services*, which had very important weight, as in almost all the Spanish cities (González 1982: 97-99). All of this denotes a socio-economic structure to a certain degree archaic.

Although A Coruña was not an industrial town, we can observe a strong female presence in manufacturing. This can be explained by the existence of some factories that concentrated the biggest share of this working labour, with a number of jobs that amply surpassed any other firm: the tobacco factory and, in a small measure, certain activities linked to fishing industry (canning industries and others). The rest of the industrial sector was insufficiently consolidated, dominated by small industries - sometimes craft industries -, oriented towards the urban market (Mirás 1995; Pereira 1992: 11).

Finally, the role of the primary sector can be explained by the fishing function, which generated important pull effects on a considerable number of jobs. And, besides, by the presence in the urban periphery of agrarian activities whose market was the urban area, and whose significance was more outstanding if we take into account that there was a certain symbiosis with some industrial and service activities.

# The economic sectors. The domestic service, as a possible factor in the tertiarization process?

The different categories used by the Census to classify the inhabitants of the town showed a great stability through time. The most numerous were the so-called *household members*, which included the individuals dedicated to domestic work, nearly all of them women, the *children without profession* and the *pupils and students*. All of them were non-working population, and were nearly a sixty per cent of the whole population between 1900 and 1960.

Following the non-working population, we discover the different *industrial activities* (dressmaking, timber, chemical, building, metalworking and above all tobacco manufacturing) and the *professional activities*. In a downwards order, the next position was occupied by some service sector activities, within which *personal and domestic services* stood out numerically, followed by commerce, administration, armed forces and police force or transports; and finally the primary sector.

Domestic service was a dependent and non-autonomous type of work for women, which until the twentieth century constituted the labour alternative that grouped together a higher percentage of the female population. Domestic service played simultaneously three different roles. In the first place, the worker satisfied certain material needs, such as the acquisition and elaboration of food, cleaning and the general maintenance of the house. In the second place, the worker took charge of the care, education and feeding of the children. And, finally, another important task was the undertaking of multiple services that contributed to raise the quality of life and the welfare of the beneficiaries (Sarasúa 1983: 25).

In Spain, at the beginning of the century, the later industrialization and the inferior economic development with respect to other European countries, influenced in the participation of working women. Within the tertiary sector domestic service was one of the most traditional labour activities undertaken by women, and undoubtedly the most important from a quantitative point of view: 72.6 per cent of the total of service sector workers, surpassing the whole of workers in industry (González 1982: 97-99).

Domestic service was for decades the most numerous labour subsector for women in A Coruña, with a great difference with respect to other forms of employment (the only exception was the tobacco factory). Although women did not monopolise domestic service, they did constitute an immense majority throughout all the century, since domestic service had experienced an important process of 'feminization' through the nineteenth century (Nielfa 2001: 5). The 1900 census showed a number of 2,867 workers (6.44 per cent of the total population), 197 men and 2,670 women, which represented 0.98 per cent of the male population and 10.94 per cent of the female population (Table 6).

In 1930, the percentage of domestic service, which in 1900 was 6.44 per cent, had descended to a 5.28 per cent of the total population (Table 2 and Table 3). Dubert (1999: 210) has demonstrated that the percentage of the urban population in domestic service in Galicia did not differ significantly from that of other European urban centres during this period. The number of servants decreased in Galician urban areas by the first decade of the twentieth century. This decline occurred in traditional cities (Santiago, Ourense or Lugo), and those characterized by a more dynamic endogenous development, such as A Coruña or Vigo.

Nevertheless, changes were taking place, perhaps superficial, but which gave rise to a more open society and one which became closer to the new European society patterns (Nielfa 1999: 63). These changes in attitude and mentalities were not sudden; rather they were the result of small and progressive steps, in such a way that the Second Republic (1931-1936) meant a breath of fresh air in the monolithic and rancid Spanish society (Nielfa 1999: 73; Freire 1973: 92).

For 1960 we do not have an itemized figure concerning domestic service, since the population census presented a category named 'official, public and personal services'. For this reason, we have to consult the 1950 census, which defined another epigraph called *Domestic, personal and similar services*, a concept which totalled a 7.13 per cent of the whole population, 3.83 per cent of men, and 9.92 per cent of women (Table 4). As one can see, despite not being exactly comparable epigraphs, the figures for servants were still high, which can be explained by the events that characterized Spanish history since the thirties.

After World War II, a type of woman exclusively dedicated to her husband and children's needs was in vogue, a woman who would do the housework, and who would not worry about what went on outside the home, seeing as this was considered not to be very feminine (Nielfa 1993: 59. In Spain, after the Civil War (1936-1939), several circumstances distorted the women's role in the labour market. On one hand, the tremendous

socio-economic difficulties of the post-war, worsened by the international isolation. On the other, the very characteristics of an authoritarian and fascist regime, which derogated the egalitarian legislation the Second Republic had developed<sup>1</sup>. Besides, facing the difficulties to emigrate abroad, there was the beginning of a rural exodus that led Spanish women to domestic service and other occasional jobs in cities. For this motive, we can still find such high figures for this sector in these years, although from this moment onwards the number of women employed in Spanish homes began to fall progressively.

There are several reasons that explain these high percentages of servants in A Coruña in the first half of the twentieth century. The causes tend to be grouped into two categories, commonly called push and pull factors. Amongst the first, the truth is that the Galician labour market was not wide enough to guarantee employment in sectors different from the agrarian and farming. For this reason, A Coruña acted as a drawing agent for the regional population, because the majority of servants fundamentally came from a rural environment. The highest percentage of these had been born in the closest municipalities, followed by those born in the rest of the province, and, after that, from the rest of the region (Blanco 1996: 149)<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, the geographic movement was notable. Generally speaking, they were individual immigrations, which took place at very young ages, coming from families of a precarious economic character, with scarce possibilities of socio-economic progress in the rural environment where they had been born into (Blanco, 1996: 145)<sup>3</sup>.

Women emigrated, therefore, impelled by rural poverty. These peasants moved into an unknown place, to become integrated into an informal market (Meagher 2000: 9), mainly as domestic workers, but proceeding from a horizon from where it was difficult to obtain accurate information about their future destination. In this way, domestic service acted as escape valve.

The servants were usually very young girls (Blanco 1996: 149-151)<sup>4</sup>, for whom working as a domestic servant was probably in a large number of cases a transitory situation, perhaps until they married, as was what happened in the majority of Western Europe (Scott y Tilly 1984). In accordance with the age ranges available in the 1900 census, it is impossible to know with accuracy the actual youth of domestic servants. But 9.81 per cent of women were under nineteen and 74.23 per cent did not reach forty years. The greatest numbers were concentrated in the range of 20-39. Domestic service represented 27.14 per cent of the female work force in age range

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This was an attempt to fight against the process of women emancipation, which the authorities believed had already begun (Nielfa 1999: 73). The most evident example was the *Fuero del Trabajo* (Working Law-code), passed in 1938, which established that the State would 'liberate' married women from the factories; from this moment onwards, there came a labour legislation which clearly was gender discriminatory (Nielfa 1993: 6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Several studies carried out on different Western European cities have come to very similar conclusions, which could indicate a common behaviour pattern for domestic service.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Besides, there was a marked relationship between the decision to migrate and the size of the families. But despite the highest weight of the foreign migration in Galicia, during the nineteenth century it was more frequent to migrate to inner Spanish areas, including regional towns such as A Coruña (Eiras Roel y Rey 1992: 227-228). Moreover, during years of blockage for Galician foreign migration, there was a countryside/outside/Galician towns flow, generating a substitution effect that increased the rural/urban exodus (Fernández Leiceaga 1998: 133).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The servants who worked for families of low income were probably even younger, often with a remote relationship to the employer family. They frequently did not work as wage earners, and they were not even considered as workers, rather under the euphemism of 'protégés' (Sarasúa 1983: 20).

12-19 (26.76 per cent of the whole of under nineteen year olds). But, more significant, domestic service was 41.40 per cent of the working population of under forty year olds, and the percentage descended to 30.92 per cent of the under sixty year olds workers, which demonstrates the predominance of young working labour. Besides, in the data for A Coruña there were even some servants under the minimum legal working age, since some under twelve-year-olds appeared. I suspect that in the case of the youngest the undervaluation must have been important.

Though a reliable comparison is difficult, by 1930 the situation had not changed much, because we can find domestic workers under the age of fifteen, and an important number under twenty. And all this despite the passing of legislation which prohibited under age workers<sup>5</sup>. 3.07 per cent of the domestic workers was under fifteen, whilst 58.99 per cent were under thirty. The under 15s represented 37.54 per cent of the working population of this age, under 20s 48.14 per cent, under 25s 51.71 per cent, and under 30s 51.97 per cent. From this age onwards the percentage was established at around 49-50 per cent, which made evident that the situation had not undergone a significant change with respect to the beginnings of the century, which explains the predominance of young and slightly older female workers.

In accordance to their marital status, the predominance of single women was practically absolute. In 1900 the latter represented 85.51 per cent of the total servants (single male servants were 64.97 per cent). In 1930 the percentage had fallen to 80.56 per cent, with a slight increase in married servants (for male servants, 55.88 per cent). This bias within female domestic service is symptomatic, because in the majority of the rest of economic activities undertaken by women this unbalance was not so pronounced. This points to the temporary consideration of said activity, as a first step for an integration into the labour market, until marriage allowed them to change occupation or a simple dedication to their own housework. In fact, this job often began with a provisional horizon; but what appeared initially to be something temporary prolonged quite a lot more than many of them would have desired, as had been happening since the Modern Age (Rial 1995).

The education levels of the majority of female domestic workers was very low, with high levels of illiteracy, or a very basic and incomplete primary education, above all in the older women<sup>6</sup>. Their qualifications were very poor, which conditioned the type of jobs to which they could aspire,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The so-called *Ley Dato*, of 13 March 1900, fixed the labour conditions for women and children. In 1902 the maximum working day was established at eleven hours, which did not affect all the workers, but it was done to protect women and younger people (Nielfa 2001: 7-8). Later on, the *Ley de Trabajo de Mujeres y Niños*, of 13 November 1913, prohibited work of under 10 year olds and limited some of the activities of the under 14, although it was systematically disobeyed, in the same way that other laws passed in this period, which apparently facilitated women's access to the labour market and regulated their work conditions (Cía 1998: 152). The legal unprotection of the servants was absolute (McBride 1984: 125). And besides, its application was reduced to the factory and workshop framework, being excluded areas such as agriculture, *domestic services*, stores and family workshops, which were precisely the areas occupied by the greatest number of women.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Compared to the almost universal literacy in protestant, Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries, at the beginnings of the twentieth century this still was an unsettled subject matter for more than two thirds of Spanish women (Nielfa 1999: 65). In Galicia, work force formation was very precarious –due to the existence of a seasonal and irregular instructional demand, typical of farming and fishing economies–, but with a marked gender gap (Martínez 2000; de Gabriel 1990: 256).

and, besides, it often led them into situations of exploitation, due to their lack of knowledge about the labour legislation that affected them. Due to the fact that the undertaking of domestic service did not require, to begin with, any special qualifications, it seemed to be the most appropriate destination for the newly arrived women.

The lack of competitiveness and qualifications determined that the access to the sector was done by women in practically the worst possible conditions, in the sense that these women could only offer their experience in housework (Sarasúa 1983: 25). As happened in all the country (Soto 1984: 296), the labour conditions were generally very hard, with unending working days and very low wages<sup>7</sup>; although at times they were reproached that, at least, they had food and shelter, which was not always the case in industrial families.

One can ask oneself if these immigrations formed part of a survival strategy for rural families, as history has often shown. It is difficult to find evidence to explain this in the sources. But it is possible that the peasant families made up as work force offer. It has been proven that the young girls who emigrated and got jobs as domestic servants created bonds of return to their families. It happened through the remittance that either permanently or occasionally they sent home, besides many of them returned to their birthplaces if their working or marital expectations were not reached (Blanco 1995).

Nevertheless, there were other strategies that provoked the emigration. Another possibility was that of those women whose only choice was to emigrate due to a family decision. The parents tried to lighten the family's economic burden, families that were, at times, numerous. In a similar way we can see families for whom emigration responded to a global project of a partial breaking with the rural environment (Eiras Roel y Rey 1992: 261-262). Their intention was to establish one of their youngest daughters through domestic service in the town. In this way, the future servant acted like a bridge that would facilitate the family's sounding and later integration in the urban labour market.

But the women also experienced the urban environment attraction. In the first place, the indubitable fascination of the town and its better living conditions. This was an ideal way to try to promote themselves economically and socially, without the need to get married. And in the case of choosing the route of marriage, it is probable that the possibilities of finding a suitable partner were greater than in the village, permitting them to obtain a certain improvement in their modest social status. Frequently, working outside the home was a task undertaken by women prior to their forming a family (Cía 1998: 154).

But the true pull factors were the advantages of the urban labour market. The beginnings of industrialization in A Coruña in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with the resultant change in the production system, constituted an attraction for the rural Galician workers to go to the factories, above all bearing in mind that the impulse was practically unfelt

<sup>7</sup> Duración de la jornada en distintos oficios y términos geográficos de España. Madrid: Instituto de Reformas Sociales, 1919.

in other towns —except Vigo and Ferrol— (Lindoso 1999). This brought about the feeling amongst women that working in an urban environment was an effective possibility, although it also presented serious doubts about the viability of combining work with the traditional functions of being a mother.

Nevertheless, A Coruña's scarce industrial development in comparison with other Spanish towns made the town unable to absorb the available female work force in an efficient way. With a few exceptions, the practical absence of powerful industry, to a certain point, closed the doors to this possibility for female immigrants. Therefore, the contingencies of young female workers actually represented a reserve of urban workers and constituted a redundant work force that became absorbed by other forms of employment. And, thus, women massively took the path of practically the only possibility open to them, the service sector, and in particular jobs considered 'appropriate' for them, above all domestic service.

### Conclusions

It is not possible, at the moment, to establish any definite conclusions about the socio-professional structure of the town. On the one hand, tertiary was the dominant economic sector, whilst the role of industry only rested in some traditional manufacturing activities. Initially, this could be considered a sign of a modern economy. However, this sector was characterized by a market duality. Together with the advanced –for that time— services, there existed a high percentage of non-qualified services.

Domestic service was the most important of the non-advanced services. Besides the typical housework for women of that time, one can see a high percentage of female workers employed in these jobs, particularly in areas of wealthy social classes. Its parameters probably did not vary much from that of other Spanish towns. The workers were made up of an overwhelmingly majority of young women, many of whom were single, proceeding from, in a high percentage, the rural environment —mpelled by rural poverty and the wish to improve their social standing—, and with a low level of education and preparation. This in itself closed the already scarce possibilities of obtaining a better job in the town, though many female immigrants considered this activity as something provisional.

This situation did not suffer a substantial change during the first third of the century. By the twenties domestic service decreased in relative terms, but it slightly grew once again in the thirties, followed by a fall of the male component. But before the Civil War things had slowly began to undergo a transformation. Nevertheless, the struggle totally paralyzed the evolution one could expect, so that Spain was left aside the Western path, because Franco's regime provoked a regress in the working and social conditions for Spanish women. Women's role in the labour market was distorted. For this reason, in the fifties and sixties we can still find a relatively high number of women employed in domestic service, one of few alternatives of working outside the home in those times. From those years onwards the figures experienced a considerable decrease.

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Table 1. Structure of the urban population (percentages)										
	Wo	rking popula	Non-working population							
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total				
1900	59.28	30.09	43.28	40.72	69.91	56.72				
1910	58.18	25.17	40.08	41.81	74.83	59,92				
1920	59.12	16.85	36.44	40.88	83.15	63.56				
1930	59.61	21.37	39.16	40.39	78.63	60.84				
1940	63.66	16.15	38.99	36.34	83.85	61.01				
1950	65.29	19.55	40.53	34.71	80.45	59.47				
1960	58.77	17.88	37.43	41.23	82.12	62.57				

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Censos de Población

Table 2. Main socio-professional activities in A Coruña in 1930 (percentages on the whole male population)											
Male											
Ages	< 15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-60	> 60	Total
Tobacco			0.08	0.13	0.34	0.14	0.11	0.12	0.22	0.17	0.09
Diverse industries	1.42	26.88	26.60	39.21	37.16	35.27	32.84	34.79	33.87	30.99	21.44
Sea related activities	0.07	2.46	4.91	7.35	7.82	7.97	9.87	6.69	4.63	2.82	3.76
Commerce	0.65	6.62	5.27	7.35	8.71	8.49	8.55	8.21	6.77	4.23	4.73
Domestic service	0.08	0.86	0.49	0.59	0.3	0.42	0.40	0.61	0.52	0.79	0.39
Armed forces	0.10	10.41	31.33	4.65	4.83	5.96	6.08	3.65	3.97	0.73	6.48
Pupils	48.89	3.06									17.68
Students	4.86	14.48	4.65	1.68	0.13	0.05					3.83
Household members											0.00
Jobless children	39.00										13.87
TOTAL PERCENT.	95.07	64.76	73.32	60.96	59.33	58.30	57.86	54.08	49.98	39.72	72.27

Source: See Table 1

Table 3. Main socio-professional activities in A Coruña in 1930 (percentages on the whole female population, and totals) **Female** 16-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 46-50 51-60 > 60 Total TOTAL < 15 Ages 2.96 1.62 Tobacco 0.051.74 3.47 3.47 3.01 1.96 2.17 10.50 12.02 Diverse industries 0.39 3.92 2.61 2.54 2.75 3.29 2.23 2.28 11.20 3.44 4.43 3.30 Sea related activities 0.00 1.75 0.02 0.72 0.42 0.42 Commerce 0.58 0.58 0.46 0.65 0.58 0.53 1.06 2.43 5.28 Domestic service 0.9519.7 15.87 11.3 11.78 10.49 11.12 8.85 6.40 9.52 18.5 Armed forces 0.00 3.01 **Pupils** 16.04 46.68 2.47 14.60 Students 1.94 2.82 3.00 8.55 1.37 0.230.04 0.05 Household members 6.71 50.06 62.43 68.6 73.16 72.0 74.30 71.3066.87 47.70 25.50 Jobless children 39.66 12.19 12.97

97.42 84.18 88.47 91.20 91.41 90.86 90.57

Source: See Table 1

82.62

91.61

86.62

90.12

90.25

Table 4. Groups of professional activities in A Coruña in 1950 (percentages on the whole population)											
	Male	Female	Total								
Technical professionals and similar	2,72	0,91	1,74								
Management anf office clerks	9,62	1,55	5,25								
Sales oriented workers	5,13	1,32	3,07								
Farmers, cattle breeders, fishermen, hunters, timber workers	6,67	0,11	3,12								
Mining and quarries	0,10	0,00	0,05								
Vehicle drivers, engine drivers, captains and pilots	3,15	0,00	1,45								
Craftsmen and labourers	29,48	5,71	16,61								
Security service (excluding armed forces)	0,60	0,03	0,29								
Domestic service, personal services and similar	3,83	9,92	7,13								
Professional soldiers	3,98	0,00	1,83								
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	65,28	19,55	40,52								

Source: See Table 1

TOTAL PERCENT.

Table 5. Distribution of the population of A Coruña by economic sectors **Primary Secondary Tertiary** Total Male **Female** Male **Female Total** Male **Female Total** 23.81 1900 23.68 9.56 18.27 41.94 30.76 52.548.5 50.97 1910 23.59 7.87 18.16 23.86 41.35 29.89 52.5550.78 51.94 1920 11.02 1.09 8.28 43.1751.7145.52 45.82 47.2 46.2 1930 2.6 3.09 2.74 50.1340.42 47.23 47.28 56.49 50.03 6.23 4.05 5.74 40.84 32.65 39.02 63.3 55.241940 52.93 10.01 39.23 42.9 40.79 45.47 49.2 1950 8.81 11.63 51.96 1960 8.01 9.858.81 38.8241.29 39.89 48.8653.17 51.3

Source: See Table 1

(percentages on the whole population)													
	Male						Female						
Ages	< 12	12-19	20-39	40-59	> 60	Total	< 12	12-19	20-39	40-59	> 60	Total	TOTAL
Agriculture, fishing, etc.	0.02	8.55	18.46	27.39	28.29	13.92		1.76	2.64	5.39	6.97	2.88	7.87
Diverse industries	0.19	17.58	16.82	17.86	10.50	11.95	0.29	17.37	16.40	15.89	8.03	11.91	11.93
Commerce	0.02	7.08	9.61	10.29	7.28	6.50		1.02	2.14	4.82	4.21	2.22	4.15
Police force and armed services		4.01	25.24	8.47	0.99	10.98						0	4.96
Domestic and personal services	0.02	1.05	1.60	1.18	1.08	0.98	0.04	8.04	20.38	10.63	7.69	10.94	6.44
Pupils and students	44.53	18.29				15.05	42.29	15.21				11.74	13.24
Jobless children	50.94					14.44	54.16					12.45	13.35
Household members		9.71	1.94	1.97	9.43	3.13		46.12	52.85	57.23	60.24	41.37	24.09

 $95.72 \quad 66.27 \quad 73.67 \quad 67.16 \quad 57.57 \quad 76.95 \quad 96.78 \quad 89.52 \quad 94.41 \quad 93.96 \quad 87.14$ 

TOTAL PERCENTAGE

Source: See Table 1

86.03

93.51