

# Teaching resource: Interview methods

Illustrating interview methods using our extensive data collection



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## Introduction

Interviewing is a frequently used method in social research with its suitability being entirely dependent on the particular research question. Qualitative interviewing is generally distinguished from questionnaire-based interviewing, even if the form of communication, such as face-to face conversation, may be the same.

This teaching resource provides instructors and students with materials designed to assist in teaching qualitative interviewing.

The UK Data Service has created this resource to illustrate interview methods using its extensive data collection held as part of the UK Data Archive holdings, and, in particular, to assist instructors who have limited research materials of their own.

The resource provides brief summaries of several different interviewing techniques and each summary is accompanied by full transcripts or excerpts and the interview schedule (or guidance notes). It concludes with selected references and practical suggestions for how to use the materials for teaching.

## Introduction to qualitative interviews

Interviewing is a frequently used method in social research. It is generally distinguished from questionnaire-based interviewing, even if the form of communication, such as face-to face conversation, may be the same.

Some interview styles produce highly structured data on people's opinions on a specific matter, whereas other interviews facilitate a more evocative communication of people's life experiences, activities, emotions and identities.

## Qualitative interviews

In qualitative interviews the interviewees are given space to expand their answers and accounts of their experiences and feelings. Moreover, their answers are not pre-categorised in the interview schedule.

Qualitative interviews are often used in an exploratory manner which seeks to investigate the subjective interpretations of social phenomena. They do not necessarily presume that most of the topics of interest are known in advance.

The aim is often interpretation and understanding of how and why, not 'fact-finding' or getting answers to questions of how much or how many (Warren, 1988).

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In qualitative interviewing, the respondent's experience has diverse qualities and meanings and the interview can explore these and their social organisation (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001). It is a valuable research method for exploring "data on understandings, opinions, what people remember doing, attitudes, feelings and the like, that people have in common" (Arksey and Knight, 1999, p.2).

## Interview typologies

There are multiple typologies for qualitative interviews but very little consensus among those typologies (Rapley, 2004).

Some interviews aim to gather descriptive data, more typical with many structured or semi-structured interviews, whereas other interviews seek to generate data which probe deeper into the lives of the interviewees.

It is usually possible to identify an interview's form as structured, semi-structured or open-ended by looking at a transcript.

However, other typologies are derived from methodological perspectives and it is not possible unambiguously to classify an interview as, for example, life history, oral history, or narrative, as these approaches can depend on the analytical framework applied to the transcript.

Each style of interview creates different types of data and different forms of knowledge, each requiring a different kind of analysis.

In addition to the different interview types there are also different types of sampling procedures, such as random sampling, purposive/quota, intergenerational, snowball etc., all of which will have implications for the types of analysis and interpretation which are possible from the interviews.

## Interview types used in this resource

The UK Data Service has chosen to focus on seven interview types: structured, semi-structured, open-ended, feminist, life story, oral history and psycho-social.

However, it recognises that there is often some degree of overlap between the categories and that an interview may simultaneously reflect more than one approach.

Most structured and some semi-structured interviews are working from the tradition that Seale (1998) calls 'interview data-as-resource', where the assumption is the data being gathered are interviewees' knowledge and experience of the outside world.

In contrast, more flexible interview formats are often informed by a tradition of 'interview data-as-topic', where the interview itself, including its structure, is an object of investigation.

In this view, all participants in the interview are agents and meanings are subjectively 'constructed', not objectively 'found'. The purpose is to explore co-constructed identities and social worlds, not to ascertain facts. This constructionist viewpoint informs many of the interview types described here, such as feminist, life story and psycho-social interviews.

## Ethical reuse of qualitative data

All the data used here are available from the UK Data Service.

Under standard conditions for accessing data held by the UK Data Service, users must register and sign an End User Licence specifying the terms and conditions of reuse. For this interview resource, different permissions were necessary as the materials are available via the web and other media without requiring users to register. Although registration is not required, anyone using these data must follow the standard conditions for use outlined in the [End User Licence](#).

All depositors whose data extracts are used here were contacted and the depositors gave their permission for the UK Data Service to use their materials for this purpose.

Depositors were sent a copy of the introduction and their own extracts for review. Depositors were also consulted to ensure that their collection had been classified correctly (e.g. semi-structured, feminist). The access conditions that were required for web dissemination of this resource were explained to each depositor.

In two cases, depositors requested that changes be made to their transcripts, usually concerning general tidying up and slightly revising the anonymisation strategy.

UK Data Service has not attempted to standardise a format for these transcripts; style and presentation are the depositors' own. All depositors' suggestions for both extracts and the introductory material were incorporated into final versions.

Due to the length of many of the interviews, extracts were chosen that represented a good understanding of the way the interview was conducted. Therefore some examples will not

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start at the beginning of their related schedules, nor cover all the questions that were asked in the interview.

## Structured interviews

Structured interviewing involves asking each interviewee the same set of standardised questions.

The order of questioning is fixed and wording is usually specific: there is little scope for probing or deviating from the specified agenda. The questions and the responses given tend to fit into predetermined categories, confirming or disconfirming the hypothesis the interviewer is pursuing.

In studies where interviewers need to make comparisons between responses from different interviewees, they will require their interviews to be more structured, so that the same issues are covered by each respondent (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003). This method is more closely related to the methods used in large-sample surveys and is usually based on a positivist epistemology.

## Example

SN 5069

Study Title: [\*Presentation of Genetically Modified \(GM\) Crop Research to Non-specialists, 1997-2002: A Case Study\*](#)

Principal Investigator(s): Cook, G and Robbins, P.T

Date of Fieldwork: 1997-2002

Abstract: The study investigated the presentation of genetic modification (GM) crop research at the University of Reading to non-specialists within the university, and to users, potential students, and the general public outside. The aim was to uncover how linguistic and rhetorical choices vary with the purpose of the communication and with the communicator's perceptions of audience knowledge and views, and how these choices may persuade or antagonise their receivers.

Citation: Cook, G. and Robbins, P.T., *Presentation of Genetically Modified (GM) Crop Research to Non-specialists, 1997-2002 : A Case Study* [computer file]. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], February 2005. SN: 5069, [DOI: 10.5255/UKDA-SN-5069-1](#)

## Interview schedule

[Presentation of Genetically Modified \(GM\) Crop Research to Non-specialists, 1997-2002: A Case Study](#)

### First part of interview: Questions for scientists at University of Reading

First a brief introduction on our project, and then:

1. What in your opinion accounts for the public response to GM in Britain?  
[Probe the link with the idea of breakdown of trust, and the issue of risk.]
2. What do you see as the best strategy to convey information on GM research/products?
3. What are the key themes/components that you wish to communicate about GM research? Do you have different strategies you use with different audiences?
4. How are communications with the public produced? In the form of adverts/ press releases? Who participates in their production?
5. Do you see room for improvements in the link between industry and research?
6. Are sustainable business growth and good/quality science linked? If so, how?
7. If you walk in a US supermarket the shelves are full of GM food. What is going to take for the same to happen in the UK? [Probe the future of the industry.]
8. Drawing on something that they'll have said, paint a scenario for their personal everyday life where they have to explain/justify their work.

In this section we are interested in your thoughts about the use of the following words and expressions in the text you have just read. Please comment on them in relation to:

- a) their factual accuracy
- b) their connotations or ideas they evoke
- c) their appropriateness to what you perceive are the purposes of this text
- d) their likely effect on a reader open to arguments both for and against.

### Interview extract one

[Presentation of Genetically Modified \(GM\) Crop Research to Non-specialists, 1997-2002: A Case Study](#)

#### Information about interviewee

Date of birth: Unknown

Gender: Male

Marital status: Unknown

Occupation: GM Scientist

Geographic region: Reading

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Interviewee's name: CHARLES /E

Interview ID: rsc\_int02

**A:** we are doing a one year ESRC funded project on how science is communicated . how . er GM crop research is communicated within this University

**B:** OK

**A:** so we are interviewing several people . within the University at also outside . to find out about different strategies for . talking of controversial science . from experts to non-experts

**B:** yeah yeah I I . I know little about the project so that's . that's helpful

**A:** so the interview is be divided in two parts in the first part we're interested in gathering people's opinions on on GM . communication . and in the second part we will have a look at a . text . that has been produced by the University it's a press relea- press release . and if we . can go through the first two paragraphs then maybe we can discuss it together . /and get your opinions/

**B:** /ok and this is an actual/ press release

**A:** yes

**B:** /or one that you've/ made?

**A:** /no/ no no it's produced by the University not not by us

**B:** right

**A:** ok so maybe I can . start by asking you . what in your opinion accounts for the public response to GM . in Britain?

**B:** It's a very difficult . topic . er I think there are a number of . number of reasons . some of which relate to the . series of . food scares food disasters that have happened in England in terms of BSE foot and mouth salmonella . I also believe that . when there is a surfeit of food and we are . extremely fortunate in having . large quantities of food readily available in supermarkets with a huge choice that we can make . it is very easy for . non-Governmental organisations to . scare people scare the general public . often on the basis of unfounded

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evidence and to develop a campaign on which they . go to the go to the public and all lobbying organisations such as Greenpeace Friends of the Earth . have to have a campaign if they are to bring in . funds and membership and prior to the GM . campaign raised by Greenpeace the . numbers of mem- the membership number of- for Greenpeace was falling and falling very fast . so I . believe that in many cases or in this particular case Greenpeace definitely saw GM issues as a way in which they could . regenerate themselves produce a campaign . now this . is in a way not necessarily a bad thing because any new technology . brings change . and people are generally . frightened or uncertain of change and there are . many examples of where new technology has been . attacked and has been . controversial . for instance certainly in the field of agriculture artificial insemination there were sermons preached in the churches against this . new and unnatural . technology when Jenner first was working on his smallpox vaccine there were anti-vaccination societies and people didn't want milk pasteurised because it would do all sorts of horrible things to milk and it might be dangerous and so on now all of those technologies have now been . proven sound safe and .of of good value . I think that there is clearly a major difference between the . North American . situation and the UK or not necessarily UK but European view and I think there's a lot of politics in this as as well but . in North America . a significant- . the majority of people generally . understand- generally . look to their regulatory agencies to provide guidance as to whether this is . safe clean good food . and if the food- FDA say it is then . the vast majority of people also say also think that that's OK . in the UK . or in Europe there's a much more . complex regulatory system in place and it is far . more difficult for . clear messages to come . forward from either individual countries or from the from the EU in in in general

**A:** so you were mentioning before the other food scares that have . happened in Britain do you think they have . jeopardised the trust . in governmental bodies /xxx/

**B:** I think it's . it has not made the situation any easier as a new technology is brought forward because the . NGO's who are against biotechnology it is very easy for them to say well BSE there's an incubation period of 7 years what if there was an incubation period of 7 years for some unknown effect in GM . I've got lots of food I can eat all sorts of different things so why should I put myself at risk by eating a GM food so they are past masters of scaring the general public witless . and quite frankly providing this doesn't go any further than you I think they have been quite unscrupulous in the way in which they have used . either the lack of information or . have failed to present . any of the positive benefits that GM technology can offer not just in Europe but on a . on a global basis

**A:** we are going to interview as well people from Greenpeace so [laughs] . we'll get . both sides . but do you think . what do you think are the strategies then to convey information . regarding genetic modification research?

**B:** clearly it is important that there is a strong robust regulatory system in place . which there is there is no doubt about that and be under no illusions . whatever anybody says the food safety through these regulatory authorities through the independent . assessors is absolutely scrupulously scrupulously fair . I . what was the rest of the question?

**A:** what kind of strategies would /you/

**B:** /OK/ . first of all we are told that the general public does not want GM food . who tells us that . Greenpeace Friends of the Earth . they carry out surveys and certainly some surveys indicate that . and here it must be emphasised depending on what question you ask . what value do these surveys actually have . you can look at other surveys when you ask people what are their main . concerns about food safety . and GM issues are way way down the list . way down the list . you ask the general public would you support biotechnology work to reduce the amount of pesticides . used in crop production? . 60/70% . say they would now that is that is GM technology so I'm very . ambivalent about the role of . surveys and questionnaires because as we all know the questions you ask can . highly influence the eh influence the results you get and also there's ample evidence to indicate that people will tell you one thing . and go round the corner and do something exactly the opposite . so I don't really think that when . Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth tell you that the vast majority of people are against GM crops . that that actually is true when I go shopping in Sainsburys which I do quite regularly . the vast majority of people want good clean safe food . and that is their that is their . prime aim . I . I've published quite a . quite a lot both before coming into the GM issue and also . once I started work on GM . crops . and I try and publish in a range of different formats there is quite naturally from the University . an important element of scientific peer review publication because the University and you get brownie points . for that . but there are also a . number of other routes . popular magazines popular articles . in the particularly in the in the farming press and . if one had time it would be nice to . maybe have a local column in a local newspaper but there again . time and to some extent perhaps the . expertise of . changing one's style of writing . so I think that is quite an issue not not a not many . academics are . either inclined or have the . expertise to . write 200 words 300 words popular article in a local newspaper . and I think that that's that's difficult . I am pretty well prepared to talk to anybody anywhere anytime about GM cro- GM crops . and I . I mean I'm off to South Africa in . next week for a series of . general sort of meetings about in terms of the role of GM crops in . livestock production in developing countries . so . I I see it as very important that a scientist just doesn't do the work . publish it . and that's it . he must be- have a a broader . view. but he must have the resources to . equip him . to do that and I'm not absolutely sure that they're . they're always there

**A:** what kind of . different strategies do you have to communicate to different . people who are less maybe . expert in the field?

**B:** well it has to be . relatively . simple if you're presenting information . clearly use of . simple power point presentations . are . an excellent way of doing that . simple leaf- simple leaflets and but there are quite a lot of those around there are some good examples that are going out to schools and I think the . biotech industry is now much more aware of it's failure to . to communicate . but they . they were rather slow in realising this shortfall and . clearly they've . many of them have been very effectively demonised unjustifiably in many cases . by Greenpeace or or Friends of the Earth . it is difficult to when you go out to talk to people when you have . fields you are growing experimental plots and . you got terrorist come along and trash it . our crops last year were trashed twice you know what grounds do we have for . rational scientific debate if . NGOs and their . associates . conduct and condone this type of this type of activity . I mean quite frankly it's outrageous . and you know in the 1940's they burnt books and now they tear up plants . you know so it there it's highly emotive . but the . whole issue must be to get . simple . clear . factual evidence in front of ehr. of people . at dinner parties or when when we're talking people you know they often they know I'm working in GM crops I say well I'll give you just one example India has now . accepted GM cotton . and will be growing GM cotton . the calculations I've . done indicates that if 50% of the . GM cotton in India is grown as GM- erh is grown . then they can reduce the pesticide application rate in India by 9 million kg per year . now . environmentally . public health this has got to be . this has got to be good . so you know simple examples . such as that of the benefits of GM technology but recognising . as we must with all new technologies that there must be . a careful process of . evaluation . but you cannot go on for ever and ever saying what if what if what if . there has to be the view that . oh yes I mean I think that they were extremely clever in . bringing forward the concept of . zero risk well for heaven sake there is no such thing as zero risk so . you know the view that GM crops are at least as safe as is . is sound and then . the other benefits . illustrating the benefits it's an example of illustrating benefits to . the . to to the consumer and this is quite an . important point that . the consumer up to now . generally has not . felt . that the GM crops have offered him or her a benefit . now certainly these first generation crops . are seen to offer the farmer a significant . benefit in terms of reduced financial input but . the case was not made to the consumer that . hey we can reduce the . level of fertiliser . sorry the level of pesticide . the type of pesticide we don't have to use as much . tractor hours or diesel that reduces carbon dioxide . that reduces greenhouse gases so these are the indirect environmental benefits that you . consumer . will have . like my jeans here I would be really happy to know that these are . produced from GM cotton which requires 80% less pesticide than . the set of jeans next door produced by ordinary cotton

**A:** and what do you think about the . view that some people have it might . the crops might develop resistance /to/

**B:** /this/ is a very you know there are there are there are concerns but . I believe that . all crops are likely to . develop resistance to . insecticides or fungicides . at some point or other .as normal crops do . with conventional herbicides but because there is the possibility . of that risk . doesn't mean that a new technology . should be totally abandoned . and there are . very

significant programmes of work . trying to understand- trying to establish . whether that is actually . true or not that resistance will occur recur quicker . or indeed more slowly there is a case that . insect resistance might well be slower because when you spray a crop . the dilution whether it's rain or the actual concentration of the . pesticide . hitting the pest may be sub-optimal . and therefore bring resistance in rather more quickly than . if an insect bites the plant . which secretes the toxin at the right level . kills it . and we hear about . this insect resistance now the . organic producers have used BT . toxins for 40 years and . thrown that around with gay abandon with . no thought of developing strategies to avoid insect resistance while now that we have crops that will produce these . toxins in a known and measured quantifiable form . that people who have produced that and now looking at integrated pest management strategies to ensure that . the the benefits of these crops will stay as as long as possible

**A:** ehm . some people . fear that . making a plant resistant to some herbicides might mean that then the herbicide is used more widely . because it will just kill the weeds . and not the plant . what . do you think of this?

**B:** sorry say that . say that say that again?

**A:** if if a plant is made resistant to some herbicide

**B:** right

**A:** then . the herbicides can be sprayed more . widely hypothetically because all the weeds can be killed around the plant

**B:** farmers are not going to . just go round spraying everything in sight sprays cost money . farmers want to use . as little as poss- as possible . I mean you raised the . interesting word which comes up time and time again . hypothetical . perception . perceived . now that is where . that is the whole argument based on . don't use GM technology . the perceived risk the perceived . problems you might turn the question round and say what is the risk if you don't use . GM GM crops . in the last sort of 20 years the amount of nitrogen phosphate . pesticides land for irrigation irrigated land has rocketed . to keep track with the increase in population and the demand for increase increased food . more of the same type of agriculture cannot . is not is not ade- is not adequate we just can't go on down that route and here is the technology that . offers you some opportunities for reducing pesticide . for increasing production . for decreasing . crop losses whether it's . weeds pesticides fungi or whatever and also post-harbour . losses so . we nee- we need to produce more food as the population's going up towards 10 million . we need to produce better quality food . and the second generation GM crops will certainly do that in terms of . increasing the protein content of rice- oh not rice of of wheat . and and maize increasing the . quality of protein the amino acid content of of these

crops . in an environmentally . sound way in reducing the inputs of . of pest- of pesticides . you're not going to see . we're talking fairly global . strategies here your not going to see . increased use of . your not gonna see . irrational or just . let's use it to kill all kill all these weeds

**A:** you were mentioning before the . companies that have now developed a better way of communicating . with the public do you think University- . what kind of structure has the University in place for communicating . with lay people? . do you /personally/

**B:** /well/ that's a very that's a very good point what role what role should the University should the University have . we have . we have grown the farm scale evaluation maize studies here last year and this year . and . the University was fairly . active through David and myself in going to talk to the parish councils . to explain what was going . what was on . and I think that was . that was appreciated . they had an open . parish meeting . unfortunately I was abroad at the time but David was there and . that is a way of communicating to the . to the general public to try to allay their concerns . this year they haven't even bothered to ask for a general meeting . a parish meeting . so . you know you are you do feel that you might have made some progress well . this happened last year . everybody's still around nothing . horrific has happened . do we really need another meeting? . but I don't think there is an active . drive from the University to . get it's staff to communicate . to encourage them to communicate . if they want to do it that's fine if they don't . that's also fine

**A:** also within the University? . I mean to communicate to other people in other . departments . is /there no drive?/

**B:** only very very little there although I have given . seminars to . various student groups so . I do a little bit . a little bit there . it's again a question of how many hours are in the day and what priority . this is is seen as . is it seen as a higher priority to do that than to actually be . preparing more . project . proposals to bring in more funds . it's . it's a it's a tricky balance

**A:** what do you think of the link between University and . Industry?

**B:** this is again been . criticised by the . by the NGOs . I work at the [name of research centre] where we have conducted . contract research for . probably hundreds of companies . and . never or we would not conduct work which would not come into the public domain . one's contract or job does not depend on . the work necessarily coming we have a big enough portfolio . to say that if somebody comes in and says oh we want you to do this that but you know we don't want you to do that and it's unacceptable to us we show them the door . and . plenty of other . organisations the Government . contracts does contract research does that mean that . that is all totally null and void? . it's absolute nonsense to say because . a major

pharmaceutical company wishes to do . research that the Government must fund it . I mean it's absolute nonsense . I did a series of . feeding studies for a . multi-national pharmaceutical company . and I found them . the . most professional scrupulously . conscientious . set of people . I have ever worked with . far from saying . don't publish . they were saying when are you going to publish? . and I have published good bad and indifferent . results for them and . they said OK fine . it doesn't show our product in a good light here but that is important to know . because we now know that under that set of circumstances . the product we're dealing with should not be recommended for use . and that's important for us to know . so . you know far from . manipulating and buying their way into . Universities . and controlling the the University's staff . they are often bringing a fresh . a fresh approach . and this type of work does . produce- does require is is expensive so . you either don't do it probably . or . you work . with people who you . who you trust

**A:** so . going back to the zero . risk that you were mentioning before . you see it as being something that the . lobbies . group of . like Greenpeace . have introduced not as something that maybe industry drives . or sort of pressurises . scientists to say there is no . no risk involved?

**B:** ah no . what what I what I'm saying is that . the . when you produce food conventionally . and when you produce . food from GM crops . life . there there's a there's a ris- there's there's no such thing as zero risk . whether it's you coming over here to interview me . or me eating my salad at lunchtime . today there are . all sorts of risks but the level of that risk . has to be established and then the management of that risk if you wish to . if you wish to go on . but people have . suggested that should we look for . zero risk . in food . and the . Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth have tried to suggest that . we should not . go down . GM technology route until we can establish that there is no risk . well that's . that is really quite ludicrous because whether it's conventional or whatever there isn- what I'm saying is that there is no greater risk . through the production of food from GM crops . than there is from . conventional crops . in fact you might well make the case that in in certain circumstances . GM food is actually . safer . because . maize plants the maize grain . which is not . insect protected through GM technology can be attacked by European corn borer . which allows fungi to get into the plant and . those fungi produce micro toxins . aflotoxins which are highly toxic to both humans and . and animals . GM technology through the production of BT toxins has essentially removed . European corn borer . therefore you have . you have reduced almost . eliminated the . micro toxin and aflotoxin . the possible micro toxin and aflotoxin contamination in . maize grain . so you have . safer food than conventional

**A:** OK can I ask you another question if you . take into consideration the situation in the States where you can walk . in a supermarket and buy products which may contain genetically modified ingredients . what do you think would have to happen here for . the same situation to come about?

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**B:** you need to sort of . go back . historically a little bit . when the GM issue first . blew up . the . NGOs were very quick to . see the supermarkets as a key . in this whole not debate whole argument or or debate . if supermarkets refused to stock shelves with . GM with products with GM in then . for all intents and purposes this was a major victory for . Greenpeace . prior to this current issue the . flavour savour tomato was on sale was bought regularly at a price . differential in its in its favour in supermarkets . again choosing my words fairly carefully . the . supermarkets were . pretty well forced . to remove GM . products from their shelves . by the threat of . demonstrations and . the like . now they as I understand it and I'm . reasonably well informed on this issue they would . very much like to . get out from . underneath this . stone which was placed on them . because they . they see . labelling issues as being extremely difficult because . naturally if I was in Greenpeace once labelling was up I would go along the shelves and take one of those one of those one of those one of those and get them tested and if it was above the . threshold . I would say to Saf- Sainsburys . take them all off your shelves . you're illegal . that's costing it's costing them millions . of pounds to do the analysis it's costing them millions of pounds to . source . so-called GM-free ingredients . and whose paying for it . certainly not the consumer . certainly well the consumer might be in the end . certainly not Sainsburys and maybe the farmer might well be the . at the bottom of the pile as they . as they normally . normally are . so why couldn't we go down a route you've got a section for organic . go and buy organic if you've got for- if you want to pay 40% more than . conventional food and you've got the money to . to do so . why not right next door to that have a section for . GM free . which will also cost you probably 30-40% more . and if people want to do that . that's fine the rest of the sample . the rest of the feeds . may be labelled may contain up to 2-5% GM . or may contain GM feed ingredients . and that's that's that's an alternative it's not quite answering . answering your question . one has got to to get them back to get GM products back onto the shelves of the supermarkets you have got to . you've got to . be able to . open the door a little bit for the supermarkets to get out . from the box that they walked into and had the lid firmly shut on top of them

**A:** who do you think has this role to play? do you think it's from the Government?

**B:** well I think it might be Government it might be . academics who can . bring forward . sound ideas that the supermarkets are prepared to . willing and able to . take a stand . you've got to be able to show that there are . very positive benefits either to the environment and or . their customers . to have a separate . or to have GM products back on the line I would love to see it . so that . consumers have the choice give consumers the choice . everybody is shouting that the consumer is is God and . we must give the consumer what the consumer wants well we're not actually doing that because we have totally . we've almost totally removed . the chance and the choic- . for consumers to have the choice . to . purchase GM feed ingredients

**A:** but if you were mentioning that the . GM-free . products would be 30/40% more expensive what kind of choice would a less . well-off person to to- . have to to buy GM-/free/

**B:** well a . a less well-off person does he have any choice to buy organic?

**A:** no

**B:** and quite frankly I wouldn't buy it I wouldn't buy organic because there are I think as many if not more health risks in terms of organic . food than . than than conventional . I know that's the argument that's put forward that's that's put forward but on the . on the other hand . that has got to be . the benefits of GM technology have got to be . brought forward more readily more easily and more understandable to the general . public if they're interested . you know we say oh the general public must do this . how the hell do we know they they don't- they give a damn? . you know here we are . and I . I think that . many of the . people . many of them don't even know they're eating . DNA . oh there's DNA in here? . GM DNA wo! . gosh I don't to eat I don't want to have anything to do with that . well they're eating DNA the whole time the actual level of . scientific knowledge in the general public is . pretty well below ground level

**A:** do you think that as a . key factor? I mean do you think it should be changed for people to have a different attitude or

**B:** well I I think that that would be very difficult to . get because I don't think they're motivated to . have that . I'm talking about quite broad areas now . I don't think they're that interested . /xxx/ what they need to know is that there is a strong . robust . vigorous . independent . regulatory authority that looks after my food . you know . and that . should be brought forward time and time again . and I think the Food Standards Agency is moving in in . in that direction

**A:** what about the . political resistance to . genetic modification based on .opposition to technology like terminator technology?

**B:** well let's get . that straight terminator technology was never actually . took off . it has been . stated that terminator technology will . never . will never be used . there are . there are . no but the . the idea of terminator technology was quite . was quite clever in a way . you were hanged if you did and you were hanged if you . if you didn't . terminator technology means that the plant is sterile . which means that the pollen from that plant cannot go off and fertilise something else which means it . it stops . gene flow . which is a concern . but it also means that . farmers couldn't save the seed . to plant next time . so but it wouldn't allow gene flow . so . you know that . I mean I don't think politically that that's a . that's a major major issue it's a technology issue which . would would be addressed

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**A:** but the

**B:** politically I think it is more . the politics of it I think . are . I mean it's difficult because you've got 15 countries . all having . different . elections at different times of the year . all being harangued by various anti GMO groups . none of the . Governments are prepared . well I no that's not true many of the Governments are . not prepared to stand up and say . the science has been done . this is safe . that's it . that that's that's that's the end of it if you want non-GM free food OK fine it can be produced . but there is no reason to think that . GM . technology will provide food that is any . less safe and it may provide . food that is actually safer . than conventional . conventional technology

**A:** can . I ask you . I mean . I can see people would . you know you mentioned how there is a no-win situation but . couldn't it be seen the other way round it as well in the sense that /if/

**B:** /you've got/ to buy your own seeds seeds every year from the companies . fine well what I think is important is that we grow large quantities of hybrid seed every year anyway . we have to buy large quantities of seed . anyway . so . you know we are two thirds two thirds of the way there we have . gene banks in place now for keeping landraces and . multiplication of that stock . very important to keep those gene . keep those gene banks . present . there's been gene flow . between plants . since God invented . the world . it's nothing it's nothing new . it's . just that the . gene flow this time . might contain . or would contain a gene that would go into a wild population in a hedgerow . that that has actually happened with conventional crops . so you produce a new crop . and . genes will flow to the wild population . you've got your GM crop the GM gene . can can move to the wild population in the hedgerow but . I believe that the vast majority of work has indicated that the . product of that . gene flow . does not produce a very . good fit for . survival . it's survival- survivability is very very very low . so you know that is perhaps of less of an issue than of what's been made and we we've talked a lot about conventional . crops . I have a splendid picture . which I use regularly in my talks of . conventional breeding this is in Japan [shows picture] . you see all these circles and in the middle there's a core . and it's a . it's a cobalt 60 . high radioactive core . which is used for radiation mutagenesis in plant breeding . so you have all these plants . around this radioactive core which is so radioactive it has to be taken down into a lead chamber and capped . and time spent before people could come and . and look in . they then assess the var- the . what has happened they take the seed . grow them and see . what mut-mutances have have occurred . and they then use them . but with with with no .

**A:** risk assessment?

**B:** no risk assessment at all that is conventional breeding and then there's also . chemical . mutagenesis . and . under those circumstances . thousands of genes are moved . and they don't know from where to where . and your then telling me that there is a . serious risk . with .

GM technology where you move one gene . or lets say two genes . to a place . in the genome where you know . and you know the exact . nucleotide structure . of that gene . and you know the exact amino-acid structure and composition of the enzyme it produces to create the effect . it's a joke . that's kin- that is one . aspect of conventional breeding which of course . you know . few people . few people know about . most of the pasta . you eat I eat . comes from wheats wheat varieties that have been produced by radiation mutanogenesis . so your eating radioactive pasta! [loud]

**A:** [laughs]

**B:** big danger! label it! [still loud] . this pasta was produced from varieties created by radiation . hey we could've had a good scare going here?

**A:** [laughs] but then . I don't know . could that be that genetic modification is the less . of two evils instead of /xxx/?

**B:** /absolutely/ I I mean nothing is perfect and what I what I genuinely feel is that there has to be there has to be room for . organic farmers but they should not be allowed to dictate . the rest of agricultural systems in the whole country as they would like to do . there must be room for conventional agriculture and if farmers want the . chance and the choice to use GM technology then . that choice should also be . available for them once . that technology has shown- been shown to be as safe and advocacious as the other . other technologies and in general they have shown to be safer

**A:** ok can I move on to the

**B:** sure

**A:** next part of the interview . this is the press release . that was prepared in the University . it's just the beginning of it . if you could have a look at the first paragraph [hands over text]

**B:** [reads text] well I don't like . who is it aimed for?

**A:** mhmh aye that's was . one question I was gonna ask you . it's a general press release . who do you think it's prepared for? . do you see any . reader?

**B:** not a lot at the moment . I mean you know it is so convoluted . genetic modification or GM sometimes referred to by the earlier ter- [quotes from text] . who the hell wants to know earlier term of genetic engineering? . plenty of people still call it genetic engineering now . is a key

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technique in modern biological research that underpins many of the . recent advances in basic biological knowledge [quotes from text] . it's not what I would- . it's- but again it depends who they were if they were aiming that as the public . for . you know to hand out at a at a public . meeting . I don't . you would- people wouldn't get past the first sentence . 'in simple terms' [quotes from text] patronising . 'in simple terms it involves the isolation of one or a few . genes from an organism and their . insertion into another organism in such a way that all the descendents of that organism inherits the genes' . 'this offers the opportunity to study . the function of those genes in other organisms and also to speed up . traditional breeding process in a highly targeted manner'. I hate 'targeted manner' . especially in the . improvement of the crop plants . 'only specific gene . only specific genes are introduced into the new hybrid' . woo what . oh . alright OK . that's what we were saying . one gene as opposed to a lot . so . you know . there might be some . how far do I have to go down here in order to say that there might be easier and simpler ways in simpler English . /to express those concepts/

**A:** /to express that/ . so you think it . it fails to address . the general public by using . /complex/

**B:** /yeah/

**A:** and . you were mentioning . that 'genetic engineering' is still used . quite a lot do you see any difference at all . between using 'genetic modification' or 'genetic engineering'? . are they interchangeable?

**B:** well again you know . you're hanged if you do you're hanged if you don't because . the attempt to . 'modification' means change has a slight negative . connotation . 'engineering' . strong and . you know structure . if you move towards that then . ehm NGOs will . think that . genetic modificatio- it gives them an opening to say well . genetic modification is bad . but . I mean I use . I use GM . GM technology . genetic modification it's a big it's a mouthful . GM technology . the question is what proportion of . the general public know what . GM stands for? . I did a lot of work . with a product called . bovine /xxx/trozine . which . was shortened to BST . it's a hormone it was injected into cows it produced more milk it didn't make them ill or die or anything . and some of the surveys that were conducted . there are huge anti lobby against against that . most of the people when asked well what do you think about BST what is BST? . British Summer Time . so you know they'd . no idea what it was but I suspect most people probably know what GM . technology is now . GM crops I think GM food . those are very pop- common common terms

**A:** ehm do you . what do you think about . the idea that it . speeds up traditional breeding processes . do you see it as a continuation of traditional . I mean we touched on it before

**B:** it's . not it's not far off I mean in .ehrm there have been examples of . what is it rye and . is it rye and wheat produced [xxx]? . so you go . into specific hybrids . being produced here where genes from one crop have gone into an- nectarines? . there are examples where . crops have been crossed . to produce a better crop . or indeed a different . a different crop . it's . in a wa- it's you could make a strong case that this is . a . it's a new method of plant breeding but . the traditional what are we trying to do in traditional plant breeding we're trying to . bring genes . admittedly from . one plant . same species into the same species and to make . the result of one . better . that's the objective of plant breeding now whether . and we've got some examples of traditional plant breeding where genes have come in from other species so . it's not far off traditional

**A:** OK can I ask you to read an alternative version which was produced by . us it's this one here . so this was not the original

**B:** for the general public . I mean both of them here have produced the statement new situation and 'studied the effects of the genes'[quotes] general public aren't interested in that . 'they can breed new plants faster than before' . 'they no longer need to . change the whole plant as breeders did in the past . instead they can improve crops quickly . by giving them specific characteristics' . I like the idea of . in a way of of bullet points . it's short and simple I think that that is better . but I think it still . it again . on genetic modification I mean what are we . OK that's the introduction that's . what is genetic modification .

**A:** ok . can you- we go on to the . second paragraph of the original

**B:** OK [xxx: reads] . it's very wordy . 'the possible applications of the technique in the biological world are almost without limits' . now that's just sitting at your desk and reading it . the general public are not going to . not going to read read read this . 'and there are a multitude of potential benefits . in areas of [xxx] medicine . and in both pure and applied science' . I notice medicine has a capital 'm' . and applied science is lower case . 'in biology for example' . you don't need 'in biology for example' GM tech GM techniques or GM technology can provide basic . knowledge basic well basic knowledge well . I'm not trying to rewrite it (8) . 'biotechnology where use is made of biological organisms'. good gracious . 'GM techniques . offer the prospect of 'designer organisms' who . for example are able to clean up . toxic pollutants [xxx:carries on reading]' . well I'm already sort of skipping the last few lines not not a good read . not not not awfully . clever if you want to actually . put the . implications . through

**A:** what do you think of the term 'designer organisms' . which is used?

**B:** yeah . well I did go 'oh' when I got when I got to that . it's interesting . I'm not . I'm not absolutely absolutely sure whether it's . got positive or negative connotations I mean it might

have in relation to women in terms of designer clothes . but then you've got . designer babies . which would have perhaps negative . connotations so . I'm not too sure

**A:** what other . term might you use if you had to choose yourself

**B:** crops will improve nutritional characteristics such as . one two three which can . help to reduce . this this and this [telephone rings] . can I just take that?

**A:** sorry yes . so I'd better switch off the microphone [turns on the microphone after end of phone call] . it's working again . so you were saying you would use 'improved' . 'improved' . ehm . an- and give specific examples

**B:** abso- absolutely . and here . and there's also in here 'improved nutritional qualities can be introduced but . over-ripening delayed to improve storage' OK . that for us in the . developed world is is great but . there's no mention of . drought . better fertiliser use . there are no . it's not it's not sharp it's not clear

**A:** mhmh . OK can I have can you please have a look at the alternative version it's not supposed to be an improvement it's just a different- following [hands over a document] .. ah thank you is this produced by the University?

**B:** no no I was sent on that course because I was going to be involved in . a certain amount of . or possibly . I would because of the GM issues

**A:** And so this is a handbook about how to produce

**B:** /press releases/

**A:** /press releases/ . do you think I could make a photocopy or is it /xxx/?

**B:** I let's we'll we'll think about that

**A:** ok

**B:** dangerous to start off 'there's virtually no limits to the uses people can make of these achievements' [quoting from text] . I mean . I think they're clearly I can think there clearly are . there is huge potential for the use of . but you don't have to say 'unlimited' I mean that frightens people straight away unlimited power unlimited use . biologists and and this this thing

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can't make up it's mind whether it's addressing medicine or agriculture . fine bring in . mention medicine but don't . keep chopping and chopping and changing . 'biological and medical researchers can do their work better' ooh (12) . OK the I mean they 'are . able to improve plants to clean up poisons . produce useful chemicals' . 'plants can be modified . to' (5). what's the word [whispered] not bioremediation that's the bad word to use can . OK clean up . produce . chemical . produce drugs produce chemicals . you know that's mhm . practitioners? 'practitioners also benefit' ?

**A:** mhmh I think in the original version. there was . 'in Medicine the use of GM techniques offers the prospect of greatly improved methods for controlling diseases . such as diabetes'

**B:** yeah OK . much of that it's all all about medicine?

**B:** /yeahs yeah/

**A:** OK can we go back to the original ones the third . part of this [points on paper] please?

**B:** OK

**A:** I'll have a look at this in the meantime if I can [laughs: refers to document]

**B:** do you have a photographic memory?

**A:** no [laughs] . far from it . but

**B:** oh I like . I like the first sentence 'because . GM technology is such a powerful technique it is important that it is used safely . and in a way that presents . no hazard? mhmh!. either to the workers engaged in the technique? . we're not we're not talking about them we're talking about we're communicating to the . to the general public . or 'to the general human population'? . or the environment . 'the environment around us'? . the environment is around us . oh I'd like to take a red pencil to this lot . 'theoretical risks include the possibility that a novel micro organism could be created that caused a new and unusual . disease' so we're back into diseases now . whether that's actually true or not 'alternatively it has been suggested that a genetically modified' . plant could escape and colonise the surrounding countryside where it could kill or displace existing plants' . 'or be uncontrollable by . existing control methods' . that shows whoever wrote this isn't really on top of their . their topic . gene flow occurs . but there is . limited evidence to indicate that the plants that survive . are . fit for survival- are- have a high survivability . 'however practical experience of GM technology has shown that many of the theoretical risks' . theoretical I like that . 'have little basis in reality when the work is conducted in accordance with the relevant legislation'

**A:** /what's your/

**B:** /does/ that imply that there is work that is carried out . not in accordance . with relevant legislation . is it?

**A:** mhmh . it scares people

**B:** ya . but you know we again come back to the sort of robust . regulatory authorities in place with appropriate . regulations

**A:** do you . what's your definition of theoretical risk? . how do you understand this term?

**B:** theoretical risk one tends to associate that with a very low . level . of incidence . I do because . once you start talking about theoretical risks then you can't quantify it . you can't quantify it it's small very small and non-existent

**A:** so the remoteness of it

**B:** yes very remote

**A:** and . what do you think about the language. about the plant that could . 'escape' 'colonise' 'kill' 'displace'

**B:** well I I I think that that is .. that is a concern . there's no doubt it's a concern but it is putting a . a major emphasis on that one particular . one particular . issue . I think it needs to be there it is . it is a risk . it has happened . as it says before.. it's . sure it's a risk that you will hear of when you interview Greenpeace

**A:** mhmh . they will . mention that . in . line . 24 the second line you were . /you wouldn't have/

**B:** /oh no hazard/

**A:** yeah

**B:** well that- I mean no hazard is nonsense there's no such thing as no hazard as we've talked about before I don't think that's awfully . awfully clever

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**A:** do you think the lay public would . know . the difference between hazard and risk or

**B:** no . not really . not not really I don't think the general public would make much of that

**A:** ok . can I ask you to have a look at the . other version . it's that one

**B:** I like it that the- they're all shorter . so at least that's a very positive

**A:** yes [laughs]

**B:** positive . positive point

**A:** there is a principle in the modification . but I will explain later if you don't mind /xxx/

**B:** /yeah 'research/ is involved in this work of a great deal of power' . that's a fairly . contentious . contentious statement . how much power they actually have . is . ruled . by . the regulators they just can't go off and do anything . as they like so . whether your a Prof meant to . he made that as a controversial statement or not but I don't think that's an awfully . clever point to have in a . general ehr. as a as a start 'they must be very careful not to harm themselves the public or the environment' . sure 'some people have said that they might create a new plant which spreads a . new or unusual disease or that they might left one of their . approved plants spread uncontrollably causing other plants to die or . retreat . 1 2 3 4 5 that's 6 lines out of probably about 15 so . you're putting a lot- still putting a lot of emphasis on there . whether one can simplify that is that . concern has been expressed that the genes from . the modified plant may escape into the hedgerow . but . and then you . address it more like that . 'in the light of their experience however'. that's a bit wordy 'in the light of their experience however' . research workers believe . that this is unlikely . or just 'however' . 'and more related to fiction than fact' . that's . it's not related to fiction it does it does occur it is whether or not . whether . the consequences . of the gene flowing from the plant . to the hedgerow has any . consequence any . unforeseen consequences of . deleterious effect . so you know it's not fact or fiction it happens . 'in addition the Government has limited what they can do by introducing new laws' . strict regula- strict . regulations exist . for . the conduct of all studies . strict Government laws or whatever

**A:** mhmh . I think the principle guiding the . the version that the Professor did . was to . have a person being the . subject of every statement so there would always be . a personified agent that would . take responsibility for every action that is mentioned

**B:** yeah . OK

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**A:** and it's interesting that the f- . in the first line when the original version would have . 'because genetic modification is . such a powerful technique' . if we actually wrote this . modification to. it would find an agent a person that would do this would have to be researchers . that have a great deal of power but then it's a very . /like you mentioned/

**B:** /yeah/

**A:** it's a very disturbing /idea/

**B:** /yeah/

**A:** and you wouldn't have it in a press release

**B:** no . no . I wonder if you could have a . have a look at that [refers to document] . let's . oh this handout must not be loaned sold copied . or given to a third party in addition this handout must not be communicated

**A:** OK . I think I've asked you everything . oh yes . on a different . subject . you mentioned that you've . produced yourself material . for the lay . for the general public

**B:** well I'll show you something that was produced for the . /Scientific xxx/

**A:** /I'll switch this off/

**B:** yeah

## Interview extract two

[\*Presentation of Genetically Modified \(GM\) Crop Research to Non-specialists, 1997-2002: A Case Study\*](#)

### Information about interviewee

Date of birth: Unknown

Gender: Male

Marital status: Unknown

Occupation: GM Scientist

Geographic region: Reading

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Interviewee's name: JOHN /E

Interview ID: rsc\_int05

**A:** OK . it's . recording

**B:** OK . [xxx]

**A:** the interview is divided into parts the first part is just a way for us to gather general . opinions on GM . and the second part of the interview is a text . produced by the University and we would like to . get your . reactions to reading the first /three/ . paragraphs

**B:** /OK/

**A:** OK . can I ask you . as the first question what's your . what's your interpretation what is in your opinion the . what is behind the public response to GM in Britain?

**B:**(6) mistrust . I think . of .(5) organisations and then . people who are . seen to be . in authority . and in a position of special knowledge . and I think it's . stems from . a number of . origins .

**A:** mhmh . in the field of . in the . related field of food . scares or

**B:** well I think yes I think . things like BSE and so on had a . an impact but I think also there's a deeper . deeper resistance to . the way in which . society works in the UK to some extent I think . there's a perception that . what was MAFF . wasn't very open wasn't very clear had it's own agenda it was on the side of agriculture if you like not . what not thinking necessarily in the public interest . I think those are really the . things that . make people . nervous or made people nervous about GM

**A:** mhmh so there would be maybe a lack of trust in the government do you think also a lack of trust in . the people who are actually involved in the research? [someone knocks at the door]

**B:** yes . can I? [goes to open the door]

**A:** would you like me to switch this off [talking about the microphone] [they resume the interview]

**B:** so the question was?

**A:** so there is a . there seems to be a lack of trust you were mentioning in the government probably . or on the part of the bodies that [xxx] . do you think this lack of trust extends also to . people who are actually involved in the research? or

**B:** yes it's a it's a strange thing people's . lack of trust in scientists and all that . kind of thing . but there seems to be as much as . of a lack of trust in . special knowledge that a only a certain number of people . are perceived to have . I mean I . I don't know people say that scientists appear very . in a often in a very negative way . in in in the media and that maybe true but I think it's . more than . just people's resistance to . the fact that scientists don't interview very well . you know I think it's . because scientists are perceived to have doing something and . which is . many people don't have access to and don't fully understand . and the issues therefore are . very clouded

**A:** mhmh what do you see as the key issues to be communicated when communicating research . to do with genetic modification?

**B:** well I . I suppose I think that the key issues to de- are . more general . than that . that I mean in the sense that it's not specifically to do with . GM research it's to do with research it's to do with . knowledge and and when your . when your not certain . to do with uncertainty . things that are . but at the same time . the government I think had failed to . deal effectively with . communication of uncertainty because . they tried to they have tried to . respond to the public's wish for a black and white answer by giving them a black and white answer

**A:** mhmh do you think it was on the part of the public . a need for a black and white answer?

**B:** well it seems that or maybe the media? . I don't I mean certainly there seems to be . a wish to have . you know simple . clear cut . statements about . a-at least at that time that may have changed I think I think the media maybe it's changed a bit . but ten years ago I think . it's a pretty . it's pretty much it's the story they're more interested in

**A:** do you think it was hyped up . xxx the controversy

**B:** yes I do . ehr I mean I . because there doesn't seem it's I mean the public . resistance to GM . doesn't seem to . extend . necessarily to other areas of science . so I don't really understand where it comes from . I think it's probably a whole combination of things that's led to . GM being the focus for contention . because you'd expect in a way that the . the issues around . genetic modification in the relation to the medicine . healthcare ought to be . much more . sort of . sensitive but it's or I don't know but it doesn't seem to be the case . people seem to be more comfortable with the idea . of cloning humans than they are of eating GM .

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or food derived from GM crops . which seems incredible to me . but that does appear to be the case

**A:** do you . have different strategies that you adopt when you talk to different audiences . about research projects on GM?

**B:** no I don't . I don't really talk to many people about it . I suppose that if I did . I would I suppose . yes I think it's very hard to speak to people about it . in a way that's . that deals with the facts . because it's like you have to sort of . provide so much accessory information that you lose sight of what it is your trying to talk about . if it's somebody who really . has no idea of at all about it

**A:** mhmh . you were mentioning before that there is also . this perception that scientists are . a bit detached because they have access to some knowledge that the general public doesn't have access to . do you think what do you think would be a solution to this . perception?

**B:** well I don't know because I think the it's not it's not just a perception it's true that what scientists do . I mean it is very specialised and they spend a long time . getting to the point of where you can . sort of do it I think so . I think it's quite hard to see . you can involve people in a sort of general way . but any . it seems to me that any . you know idea of consulting with people . on these . issues things like . what's the best way to go about generating a GM plant or . I mean or you know I suppose if if it's if they're ethical things you can have that . consultation and that's fine people just do that . but when it's on the technical issues about . how you know what's the . best method to do the transformation or or maybe that's what people want . not what people want to know about . but I think there're . you can talk in general terms about it . and about the ethical implications and about . whether it really does . for instance a particular GM crop will . be useful . in terms of . food production on a world scale those kinds of things you can . perfectly talk to people about at length they're perfectly capable of . contributing . usefully to that . but I think . issues for instance about gene flow out of transgenic crops . into the environment . I mean that's . that's something which is . quite quite complicated there's a lot of things in there and I . I think that this is something that . can be addressed we just don't know . about the process not in not in detail so I think the mistake that was made with . you know in hind sight . with the GM . thing was that people . actually hadn't done enough research not really they had anticipated that the thing would just go past and everybody would say that's fine go out and do it . but then they realised too late . there was actually a need for a whole lot more information . but I think unfortunately the damage has been done

**A:** mhmh and . you were also mentioning before . the problem of dealing with uncertainty do you think . that side could be communicated to the public or . what do you think?

**B:** I don't know . because . if you say you're not sure about something it just seems that you don't know . well I suppose you don't know do you? [laughs]

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**A:** so do you think there is a pressure to say . to come up with /an answer?/

**B:** /yes/ . because that's that's the currency of . of everyday life isn't it to you know . you're required to express an opinion about something one way or the other usually . when it comes to . some of these questions . I mean to some extent you can do something about it by doing more research or something . but often . it's just . you can't ever be really certain about for instance about is there a risk associated with . GM if that's if that's a question . it's not really a question is it? . so maybe one of the . ways round it is to . persuade . everybody to . ask more specific questions and deal in in specifics rather than . you know talking about . are GM crops dangerous or . you know is it frankinfood or whatever . you know I think . perhaps the . the language of the . of the debate could be more . clearly focused . it's quite hard though isn't it because if if the person if there's an interview going on . say it's Jeremy Paxman or something sort of talking to somebody . he can't really be expected to . have a detailed understanding of of all the issues . you know in terms of the specialisation . of of . in order to . compose a question . but I think . often scientists have found themselves . in a corner where they're . kind of being . they're required to say something definite . I mean I don't you know . that's I think an impression that's come out of what has happened over the last 10 years . people feel they have to say one way or the other . you know . genes either definitely cannot escape from plants into the environment or they can . and the the answer is that that . maybe under some circumstances they can . but . we don't know . need to we don't know enough about it

**A:** mhmh do you think there is the same pressure also on . the need to communicate . not not to the media I don't know not in that kind of formal interviews but do you ever have occasions where communications . to non-specialists within the University? . I mean not articles that you would /publish/

**B:** /yeah/ not very often . I no . I mean to students to undergrads first year undergrads and so on you know who don't . necessarily know much about it . so you . but you tend to be in the situation there where you you know . unless it's a tutorial where there's . the students who are quite articulate and have thought through their ideas you tend to be in the driving seat so you're kind of . holding fort and telling them things . so that that's . not really comparable

**A:** but even in that case are there themes or are there . particular areas that would want to stress when communicating . the research . some topics /xxx/?

**B:** /yes/ I think I think I do try . I've tr- I have . given seminars and things to . for instance the students who do . you know MSc in horticulture or amenity things and they don't really know very much about . genetic modification and I've tried to . or I've been asked to try and talk to them about it . and in that situation I try and . talk about the debate that's gone on . and the . and the . the positive and the negative . dimensions to . genetic modification and and how it's . in a sense not very different from conventional plant breeding . but in another sense it is different because you can cross . not only species . differences between kingdoms between .

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animals and plants and the issues that raises . so . I think if you have an opportunity to sort of talk for about . 20 minutes or in in a way that students can say things . that I I don't know how or why it works but you you one feels that it works because they . they listen to what you are saying and then they come back with something . but I think that's a different . situation from dealing with the media

**A:** or do you have ever . an occasion in your . private . social life to . explain /xxx/?

**B:** /yes/ yes we're trying to do that it's usually a . bit of a nightmare . [A laughs] because I mean . you get the sort of University type of people you know . in who are in . sort of arts or something and they are often quite well informed so they . you know they all sort of assert things about GM or about . isn't it so that this that or the other you know they they they have opinions about it themselves it's hard to deal with that because . it's it's almost worse than somebody who has . absolutely no interest or information about it because they . they often say things which are . which sound true . or sound like they could be true . they sound like they . they have the . sound of reason to them . but you know when they're saying them that . that you it's not . possible for you to completely agree or even disagree . and I I just find that very difficult . it's . easier when there's they're people who really . don't profess to have an opinion about it and I suppose that that maybe because you feel that you can . kind of . control everything . but at the same time . in that case the people that the people often have just a resistance to a certain . aspect of the thing your talking and then it's . so it's yes it's quite difficult to talk about it . even socially

**A:** so how could- which ways could you see as a solution . in a way to have people be able to converse . so to be familiar with the technology and what's happening in the field at the same time . to argue for and against xxx?

**B:** I don't fully know what the I mean I find being a somebody who does science . and and not not necessarily just GM just in . knowing . in detail about a lot of . of some aspects of . plant science and research and such . it's quite difficult I wouldn't really try and talk to anybody about that . if I had a choice I wouldn't talk to them about it . I mean I might . I'd even try and resist talking to other . food scientists or . animal scientists about it because you . it's just not a . a useful form of com-of communication I don't think because . a useful form of communication is one in which both parties doing the communicating . understand the concepts and the . the the sort of things they're talking about they have some common ground . when your having a conversation like that . either your insulting the person your talking to because you your talking down to them your not . your pretending really you know I can talk about . the molecular control of flowering . to somebody who doesn't know the first thing about it . and I can . say anything . I suspect . or you try and . give them . you try and find some common ground . that's that can work quite well actually you can have an interesting conversation for instance about the control of flowering . to somebody who knows nothing about what I . work on but who is . who has knows something about flowering . you know even if they just say . you know isn't it interesting the way . this plant in my garden does this funny thing of opening the flowers only at night or something like that . that's you know that's quite which is interesting because you get a different . perspective that you know . you've got

the ground . there to sort of that you can communicate on . but I think talking about one's research . it must be true really I think about all people who do research actually . I mean you can talk to me about your linguistics or something without . to some extent sort of I don't know . glossing over some things and simplifying some of the issues in order to get . to get me up to speak about something

**A:** mhmh . yes it's just that there isn't such a big debate [laughs] . in my . area of work

**B:** no well . that's that's right but to some extent it's just coincidence that there's a big . debate about GM . I mean it could be that in 5 years time there will be a huge debate about . I don't know the language that people use . in advertising or something . you can imagine that that might become a . a sort of . contentious thing . so I just think we're victims of an unfortunate circ-circumstance

**A:** do you . [xxx] you were saying there isn't much occasion for the . department [xxx] for non-specialists in this University do you . not do any sort of promotion material for open day students or . any kind of ?

**B:** yeah no I I I mean I . I do I'm doing the Chelsea Flower Show this year . on on my research on . it's a thing to do with flowering but it's very difficult

**A:** is it linked in any way to genetic modification of /flowering/?

**B:** /ehr well/ it I mean I look- . the work that I actually do on flowering . is involves studying the effects of . different genes and and and . we use that commendable technology for research . that . it actually in this particular . display I don't think we mentioned genes . we talk about . some of the . interesting con-concepts in ehr that . that that we're interested in and that we're working on . so . we kind of skated round that one .

**A:** and can I ask you . now can we move on to another issue of the link between industry and . University . how do you see this link? . do you see room for improvement or [xxx]?

**B:** Industry in . plant biotech industry or?

**A:** yes . well or food industry . industry . that . applies genetic modification

**B:** well I think we have . quite . regular . communications and connections with . industry . they have their own . sort of obviously they have their own business agenda and what they want and . if the University fits into that then we have . you know in terms of research then . we get involved but that's I would say that really they . the industry calls the tune in that sense . but

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we run this . MSc course which you which you . know about and . that's an opportunity for when for us to sort of . talk to them . so . I'm not sure what . what's behind the question

**A:** I just wanted to know what's your opinion on the . link between what's it called I don't know good science and . if good science can be . driven by . by industry or not /xxx/

**B:** /oh yeah/ . mhmh . I think good science can come out of . out of . research that's . informed by the needs of industry almost incidentally . you know I think . industry needs some- something needs to . have more information about certain things like gene flow or something . and although the I mean it it they will answer so that will get funded and answers will come out and show ok not very often not very . ground-breaking I think because . you know the . the application of that . sort of .research and technology is . is is not pushing forward so much as as is consolidating but . but new things do arise because the academic institutes and the Universities have an opportunity to . to do things which are interesting almost . incidentally . because of of the funding going to a particular area so . I think in that sense it's a positive . you know there is there are opportunities . but I don't think that . it's good that industry . I mean it is a very danger in industry . dictating . what goes on in universities because . everybody in University is funded by industry it's . you know I think a bit of industry funding's fine . there has to be . money that comes from . non-industry sources

**A:** the Government or

**B:** yes I suppose . so that . I mean the Research Council money I think is . even though they are closer to industry than they used to be . it doesn't . seem yet to have got so bad that . that one is dictated to . although I think research is a bit more focused than it used to . you have to sort of talk in the grant proposals about . you know what are the . what are the industry applications for doing this

**A:** mhmh . finally if you walk in a supermarket in the States it's possible to see shelves . with products which may contain genetically mod- modified . ingredients . what would be the factor that would cause- make such a situation possible in the UK . do you see it as happening in the short term or?

**B:** I I I don't see it as happening actually . I think for it to happen there would have to be a product . which had a very . definite . benefit and probably one that you couldn't . get . without using GM

**A:** functional foods?

**B:** yes what are they? what peop- I don't know what people . mean by exactly . can you?

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**A:** I don't know . for . against the risk of cancer

**B:** yes . I suppose if . if they are . likely to be . you know to become . real things that have a real use and aren't just a kind of thing that you can talk about . I don't know about functional foods but yes . you know . that kind of thing I think that that that the situation has . got so pulverised in the UK that . without that . it's very hard to see the short term . GM products being available I think in a long term . it will become . you know accepted as . but in the short term it seems . hard to imagine

**A:** so the . potential improvement in the product would have to be . really a benefit to the consumer or

**B:** well I mean yes when it was all going on you know that was was . what people said you know that . that there's no- it's all benefits to the to the industry or benefits to the . producers or . shippers or whatever no benefits to consumers . so . maybe that was true . I mean . I think people just had- didn't have a very- didn't really think through very clearly . what it was we were doing I'm sure that's true when it all started you know with the fruit ripening . thing they were just doing something that they could do . it's like the first . we we can do this so let's make a product there wasn't any sense that . that that they were venturing into . dangerous waters.

## Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviewing is more flexible than standardised methods such as the structured interview or survey.

Although the interviewer in this technique will have some established general topics for investigation, this method allows for the exploration of emergent themes and ideas rather than relying only on concepts and questions defined in advance of the interview.

The interviewer would usually use a standardised interview schedule with set questions which will be asked of all respondents. The questions tend to be asked in a similar order and format to make a form of comparison between answers possible. However, there is also scope for pursuing and probing for novel, relevant information, through additional questions often noted as prompts on the schedule. The interviewer frequently has to formulate impromptu questions in order to follow up leads that emerge during the interview.

Usually, the interviewer's role is engaged and encouraging but not personally involved. The interviewer facilitates the interviewees to talk about their views and experiences in depth but with limited reciprocal engagement or disclosure.

## Example

SN 5190

Study Title: [Cross-Generational Investigation of the Making of Heterosexual Relationships, 1912-2003](#)

Principal Investigator(s): Hockey, J., Robinson, V., Meah, A.

Date of Fieldwork: June 2002 - July 2003

Abstract: This study represents the first major UK-based empirical study of the making of heterosexual relationships over the last 80 years. Making intimacy and the practices of everyday life its core focus, it asks how women and men manage and subjectively experience the institution of heterosexuality.

Citation: Hockey, J., Robinson, V. and Meah, A., *Cross-Generational Investigation of the Making of Heterosexual Relationships, 1912-2003* [computer file]. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], October 2005. SN: 5190, [DOI: 10.5255/UKDA-SN-5190-1](#)

## Interview schedule

[Cross-Generational Investigation of the Making of Heterosexual Relationships, 1912-2003](#)

INVITE EXAMPLES IN EACH CASE.

ASK HOW GRAND/PARENTS/CHILDREN VIEWED THEIR DECISIONS /ACTIONS IN PARTICULAR INSTANCES.

1. How did you find out about 'sex'/periods etc? Do you think that boys/girls were treated differently?

PROBE AROUND SOURCES OF SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE

2. When did you first notice/become 'interested' in boys/girls?
3. What was/is courtship like for people of your generation? What do/did you get up to? (ACTIVITIES: CINEMA, MEALS, OUTINGS, CLUBS, DANCING, HOLIDAYS, SEX?)
4. How did you know when you'd found what you thought was the 'right one'? What was 'right' about them?
5. The first time you slept together/were intimate together, was it a) what you expected?  
b) what your partner expected?  
(Was this on your wedding night or some other time or place?)

PROBE AROUND LOCATIONS (IF EXPERIENCED WITH MORE THAN ONE PARTNER)

6. Do/did you find yourself comparing other partners to your 'true love'? How have earlier or subsequent partners compared with this person sexually, emotionally etc?
7. Tell me about your wedding day. How did he/you propose? What was planning for it like - was it a big event or low key? How did you feel? What are your enduring memories of your wedding day(s)?
8. How did your courtship compare with day-to-day life after you decided to set up home together? Think about having to share each other's physical, psychological and emotional space and also sharing them with other people (in-laws, children etc)?
9. What impact did the arrival of children have on your relationship? Do you feel that you became less of a partner/husband/wife and more of a parent? Was there an 'identity' shift? What was the impact on your sexual relationship?
10. How did you make your choices about how to socialise your children? Did you replicate or reject existing family models? Do you feel that you treat your sons and daughters the same, or do/did you have different rules for the girls/boys? (E.g. re. sex and social lives - going out etc.)
11. How do/did you feel about the possibility of your children being sexually active in your home? OR Do/did your parents let your partners stay over?
12. How do you feel about the possibility that your parents are still sexually active, or that they are while you're in the house?
13. As you've got older, do you think that your relationship has become less physical and more emotional/companionship etc? If so, do you think that the latter has been a compensation for a waning sex life? How has your sex life changed from when you were younger, if at all? OR Do you think imagine that sex will hold the same place for you as you get older? When do you think that it might change?
14. Are there other moments that had a significant impact on your relationships - either by testing it/them or bringing you closer together? For example, starting or leaving work, changing body image/confidence, taking up an 'interest', children leaving home, moving house, becoming a grandparent, separation, divorce, loss, retirement?

INVITE EXAMPLES IN EACH CASE. ASK HOW GRAND/PARENTS/CHILDREN VIEWED THEIR DECISIONS /ACTIONS IN PARTICULAR INSTANCES.

15. What were the best and worst moments in your relationships? How did you and your partner(s) respond when difficulties arise?
16. How important is talking through things with your partner?
17. Who do you talk to when you're having problems or, share the good times with?  
Partner, parent, sibling, friend, grandparents etc?
18. What is okay to take outside the relationship? 'Bedroom moments', emotional or sexual difficulties etc?
19. How did/do your experiences of relationships compare with the expectations you had when you first started discovering men/women?
20. How have your relationships with your partners differed to those with your friends?  
What do you get from one and not the other?

21. What do you see as the key ingredients for a successful relationship?

## Interview extract one

*Cross-Generational Investigation of the Making of Heterosexual Relationships, 1912-2003*

### Information about interviewee

Date of birth: 1932

Gender: Female

Marital status: Unknown

Occupation: Retired

Geographic region: Interviewed at home

Interviewee's name: a\_smith

Interview ID: a\_smith

**INT** What do you remember about it?

**\*Anita** I was very nervous, and, it was really, March, St Patrick's Day, we got married and we got married at the church in Seacroft. You see, I mean, he must have paid the vicar. As I say, I must have been in a little dream world, just went along with things.

**INT** Were you quite involved in the organisation, or was that more

**\*Anita** Yeah, I had the bridesmaids' dresses made, we had three brides-, I mean, I didn't have a bride's dress to buy, but as I say, I don't know whether I bought the material or whether I paid the dressmaker or what, but, er, and then a wedding present from my grandma and granddad was a sit-down meal at (YPI), and that was our wedding present for 36 guests, and that was, I mean, that wouldn't be a lot, I mean, it would be a lot of money in them days, but now it's be next to nothing.

**INT** I would have thought it would be quite extravagant for a sit-down meal for 36 people.

**\*Anita** Just ham salad, I think it was.

**INT** Do you remember taking your vows?

**\*Anita** [...] Not clearly, not clearly. I can remember being in the church and going into the vestry, that's it, walking out, and you didn't have photos taken outside. We went to the studio,

Cecil's studio in town, and we just had one of me and Frank, one of the wedding group, that's all.

**INT** Your honeymoon, Scarborough, that's a popular destination for folk from Rivertown, so was your wedding night the first time, then?

**\*Anita** Well, I think we tried, you know, but I was frightened, I was really frightened, and, um, I think we went and bought some Vaseline to make it easier, you know. But, um, yeah, we hadn't done it before the wedding. I mean, then, you said, wait till you get married, you see, but they don't now, they don't now.

**INT** Some people do.

**\*Anita** Oh, yeah, there's still a few I think, isn't there.

**INT** So you didn't actually manage it on your wedding night?

**\*Anita** Don't, in fact, I think I was just finishing a period, I think, mm.

**INT** Bad timing.

**\*Anita** Yeah, it was, wasn't it? And we weren't in a hotel, it was somebody my grandma knew, who they used to go, it was just like a boarding, like a private house, I think it was, and I just can't, I often think, I'd love to find it, I just don't know, you know, I never asked any questions. We must have just had the address and got a taxi and, but I wouldn't know where it was.

**INT** So what about when you finally got round to making love, then? Was it as bad as what you thought it was going to be? What were you scared of, the pain and?

**\*Anita** I don't know really, maybe I was frightened of getting pregnant, I don't know. Um, [...] it takes some remembering [...]

**INT** And was it

**\*Anita** And I mean, I wasn't naked, I had a new nightie, and I had my nightie on all the time [LAUGH]. I mean, we learnt in later years to, you know, really go for it [LAUGH]. But I was really green.

**INT** Was Frank nervous as well, do you think, or was he just trying to be sensitive and patient for you?

**\*Anita** I think he was, yeah, yeah. I don't think he was nervous, because after all, he'd been in the navy, and I mean, he was that bit older. I mean, I've learnt over the years, but I was as green as grass, honestly.

**INT** Did you expect him to take the lead then, obviously because he was a man and you were that bit younger,

**\*Anita** Yeah, yeah, the what-you-call-it position.

**INT** Missionary?

**\*Anita** Missionary position [LAUGH].

**INT** Lie back and think of England.

**\*Anita** Yeah, [LAUGH]. That's the only way I thought there was [LAUGH].

**INT** Did you learn otherwise?

**\*Anita** I did [LAUGH].

**INT** So, given your initial fears, did you eventually grow into it, then?

**\*Anita** Yeah, mm, and we didn't use any, there was no contraceptives.

**INT** What about French letters?

**\*Anita** He couldn't use them. He used the withdrawal, you see, and he was quite good, because I didn't get pregnant immediately. Mind you, I lost my first baby, yeah, I was only a few weeks on, but we were really happy about it, but I miscarried, you see.

**INT** And how long had you been married when

**\*Anita** Seven months, seven months.

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**INT** Did do alright then.

**\*Anita** Mm. My sister got pregnant immediately.

**INT** Where did you live after you got married?

**\*Anita** We had a bedroom at my grandma's, down Ceylon Street at Seacroft, and we, Frank's mum had got us a second-hand bedroom suite, and we had that there. That's all we had, a second-hand bedroom suite, and I had this little box of things what I'd been collecting, and that's all we had.

**INT** Was that not a bit awkward, living at your grandma's?

**\*Anita** Well, we didn't think anything of it, we weren't there long. We were there about three months, and then we got a flat on Newford Road, Frank got us it, on Newford Road, near the hospital. I mean, it's all gone now, but that's where we started off.

**INT** What about making love in the house you grew up in and stuff like that, and knowing that your grandma and your dad and whoever were about, was that not a bit, phew, can't do that?

**\*Anita** Well, I don't think it arose really, because, I mean, we was only there three months.

**INT** But you must have slept together?

**\*Anita** We were sleeping together, I can't remember, I can't remember, you know, I just can't remember making a noise or anything, or thinking, maybe we did, I don't know, but maybe I was in a little world of my own and didn't care what everybody else

**INT** Did you kind of live your own lives out of that room?

**\*Anita** No, no, we lived in, we was in with the family, but as I say, it didn't last long, 'cause we got the flat.

**INT** And what was that like, actually setting up your own home?

**\*Anita** Oh, lovely, yeah, but we had to start from scratch, you know, and we had to go and buy two knives, two forks, two spoons, two of everything, and furniture on the higher purchase, and, um,

**INT** How did you go about choosing your furniture and stuff like that, I mean, did you have similar tastes or did you have different tastes, how did you go about it?

**\*Anita** We just did it all together, you know, we seemed to agree pretty well on everything.

**INT** What about that sort of adjusting to having a man in your space all the time? Did you ever get on each other's nerves and, you keep leaving the toilet seat up, and

**\*Anita** No, no.

**INT** You just enjoyed it?

**\*Anita** I just loved it [LAUGH].

**INT** So, you became pregnant after seven months?

**\*Anita** Yeah.

**INT** And was that planned, or?

**\*Anita** No, I think every month, you was thinking, am I or aren't I, am I or aren't I?

**INT** An awful way to live.

**\*Anita** Yeah, 'cause the contraceptive pill didn't come out while I had Jimmy, my last one, in 1961. I think it was just coming out, and it took me all my time to go to doctor's and ask for it [LAUGH] and then I was on it for 17 years [LAUGH].

**INT** So how did you react, then, when you found out you were pregnant?

**\*Anita** Oh, I was thrilled to bits.

**INT** And Frank?

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**\*Anita** Oh, yeah, yeah, but I was working at the Oval Royal, Prospect Centre's there now, do you know Rivertown centre?

**INT** -ish, yeah.

**\*Anita** Well, that was Rivertown Royal Infirmary and I was a ward orderly there. I always wanted to be a nurse, but I left school before I should have done, and I landed up, and I loved it.

**INT** Was that like an auxiliary or something?

**\*Anita** Yeah, you sort of helped the nurses and you do all sorts, and I think it was a bit heavy work, so whether, with it being heavy work, I lost it, yeah.

**INT** How did you react to that?

**\*Anita** Oh, I was upset, yeah.

**INT** What about Frank, was he upset when you

**\*Anita** Not as bad, I don't think, not as bad.

**INT** Did you grieve for the baby, or

**\*Anita** No, no.

**INT** Sort of in them days, oh, you'll get over it, you'll be able to have another one, sort of thing?

**\*Anita** Yeah, you just sort of hoped that you'd, yeah. I did, you know, with Maggie having hers quick, I felt as though I'd never have one, and then I went on to have four, you see.

**INT** So how soon after the miscarriage did you become pregnant with Simon?

**\*Anita** Well, quite a while afterwards, because I was 21 when I had Simon, I got married at 19, [SIGH] I was only just 19, so seven months after that, I'd be coming up to 20, wouldn't I, so it was a good year, more, wasn't it, before

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**INT** So how did you feel when you found out you were pregnant that time round?

**\*Anita** Oh, lovely, yeah, but then again, I thought I was going to lose Simon, because I started showing again, and I landed up in hospital.

**INT** I was going to say, did you take it easier that time?

**\*Anita** Yeah, I was in hospital and then everything settled down and I went ahead and got Simon.

**INT** Was Frank the sort of expectant father that kind of looked after you and tried doing things for you and stuff like that, or?

**\*Anita** No, we just took everything in our stride, I think.

**INT** Didn't like molly-coddle you because you'd had a miscarriage?

**\*Anita** No, no.

**INT** I meant to ask as well, you know, about housework and stuff like that, was that very much your job?

**\*Anita** Yes, yeah.

**INT** Or would he do his bit as well?

**\*Anita** He was good moral support, and he helped to wash up and that, but I sort of looked after the house and he looked after any cars or, mind you, we didn't have a car for quite a while, but he had motorbikes, he sort of did the outside, you see, in the flat, we didn't have a garden or anything, but when we moved, he sort of looked after the garden and the shed.

**INT** So very kind of gendered?

**\*Anita** Yeah.

**INT** Inside the house was your responsibility?

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**\*Anita** Yeah, that was my domain, and I think I sort of organised everything, you know, I looked after things, you know, bills and things.

**INT** I was going to say, who looked after the money?

**\*Anita** He used to give me housekeeping, and it was always enough to cover

**INT** Did you know how much he earned?

**\*Anita** Yeah, um,

**INT** A lot of women have said that they just got this allowance every week and they had no idea how much their husband earned.

**\*Anita** We used to talk about it, but, um, [...] I didn't think about it, as long as I had what I needed, and he never saw me short, if I was short, he, you know, saw me alright, and you see, then the gas meter man used to come and you used to get a discount, so I always got that, and the electric discount, I got that, all things like that, all extras, I got all that [LAUGH].

**INT** And what about actually having Simon then, presumably Frank wasn't?

**\*Anita** Oh, no, it wasn't heard of then, was it.

**INT** So did you do it on your own, or was your sister or your grandma with you?

**\*Anita** I was at Kennington Road Maternity Home, I had him in, but the other three I had at home, mm, where you had a midwife.

**INT** How did you respond to becoming parents, then? How did it change your lives?

**\*Anita** Oh, we just loved it, and Frank was good, you know, he was really good.

**INT** In what respect?

**\*Anita** He helped. I don't think he changed nappies or anything like that, no, he didn't.

**INT** A lot of women have said, that their husbands would play with the children, but they wouldn't do any of the messy stuff.

**\*Anita** No, no, no, and I don't think he fed him. [...] But he was always there for me, you know, if I needed him.

**INT** Was it ever a struggle, sort of, you know, your hormones in flux after you've had a baby and adjusting to sleep patterns and feeding patterns and being tired and having to do all the housework and whatever as well. Did you ever feel it put a strain on you?

**\*Anita** No, I just took it all in my stride and, I like routine, and as soon as we could, we trained them to bed, I believe in kids going to bed, and when we had the four of them, we used to begin at half-past-six with the youngest, half an hour after the next one, half an hour after the next one, and then, Frank used, when they were older, he used to wash them and get them ready for bed. We did it together.

**INT** And did you stay at home while the children were young, or did you have to go to work as well?

**\*Anita** I didn't work, I looked after the kids and the house, and Frank worked, and he earned enough to look after us.

**INT** Do you feel that it changed you in becoming a mother? Did you ever feel that you became more the boys' mum than you were Frank's wife?

**\*Anita** No, no. [...] No, we never used to go out, we used to just sit together and, I forget when television first came out, but once we got television, you know, we used to sit and, you know, get the kids off to bed and sort all the clothes out and everything, then enjoy our evenings together watching tele.

**INT** So, he weren't one for going to the pub or anything?

**\*Anita** No, Frank wasn't a drinker.

**INT** It must have been quite a nice change, then, after your dad?

**\*Anita** Mm, well, that didn't affect me really, you know, I mean, I used to just watch him and, I mean, you didn't say anything, you know, but he died young, my dad, he was only in his forties, when he died. During the war, we got bombed out, you see, and he got caught in the glass, yeah, so that was, er, we came home from Barden, and as I say, we hit the pick of the air raids, and I don't know whether it was drink, but you see, when the air raids went, you had

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to get up out of bed and go and get into the shelter. Well, whether my dad was maybe drunk, I don't know, I don't know whether he was drunk or whether, you know, I don't know, but he wouldn't get up, and this one night when the bomb fell into (Land) Street, I think, I don't know whether he was just coming down and he got blown through the shelter into the street and then he developed cancer of the lung, so, and he never smoked, so we presumed the blast caused that. He was only in his forties, so, I think he'd just met Frank, because he said, you know, when are you two going to get married? Yeah, so, it must have been when I was about 18, when he died.

**INT** A horrible way to go.

**\*Anita** Yeah.

**INT** Were the other children planned then, because they're like two years apart or something?

**\*Anita** Oh, they're, I went five months longer between each one, was two years four months, two years nine months and three years two months, but, as I say, it was all, am I or aren't I, you know.

**INT** It's not a very nice way to have to live, that?

**\*Anita** No, but we did, but you see, Frank was good, he used the withdrawal method. We couldn't use them condom things, couldn't use them at all, and then, as I say, it was when Ron was

**INT** Was it that he didn't like them?

**\*Anita** Just didn't work [LAUGH].

**INT** I won't ask any more questions about that.

**\*Anita** [LAUGH] I think by the time they get them on, it's gone. [LAUGH] I think he only tried maybe once or twice.

**INT** Did you have quite an active sex life, then? I mean, after all those initial fears, did you quite like it?

**\*Anita** Yeah, yeah.

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**INT** Was it an important part of your relationship?

**\*Anita** [...] I wouldn't say most important, no, but, it was alright, you know. There was one, the special time I remember, we went to, where was it, Miami beach, we used to go on, we've travelled, I'm glad we did it when we did, because now, I mean, I can't be bothered, can't be bothered to go abroad, and that was the best night we ever had, I don't know whether it was night or day, but we'd had a happy hour and then went to our room, and I was, I'd no inhibitions at all.

**INT** Be the drink, that.

**\*Anita** Yeah, that's what it was, and, never happened again after that, but that was, that's in my mind, you know, memories.

**INT** How old would you have been then?

**\*Anita** [...] I've got it wrote down, have I got time to, I've got all the list of, see, I wrote a list and we went to, these are all the places we've been, so I went '81, so two weeks Miami Beach.

**INT** So, you would have been 50-something then, would you? That would be exactly 30 years after you got married, wouldn't it?

**\*Anita** Yeah, so, um, I was 19, so I'd be 49, yeah.

**INT** So, it weren't like you were a young thing either?

**\*Anita** No, no, but as I say, we went on all them, and I kept quite a lot, so when I go, somebody'll have a good read, won't they.

**INT** Do you think that Frank shared your feelings about that afternoon?

**\*Anita** Yeah, we were both, both, and my sister and her husband were in the adjoining room, so I don't know [LAUGH], it was a hotel on Miami Beach, and it was, I don't know whether it was a welcome party, but it was on the outside and there was dancing and then we landed up in the room, you see, we was there for quite a while [LAUGH].

**INT** We won't probe around any more than we need to. In terms of bringing the boys up, I mean, were you disappointed that you never had a girl?

**\*Anita** Well, yeah, well, I wouldn't say disappointed, but I really thought I would have had a girl, but whether that first one was a girl and I lost it so easy, I always say, that must have been a girl. Now, when I had Simon, I thought, and then I got pregnant again, I thought, oh, this'll be a girl, call her Alison, you see. It was a boy, wasn't it, and then when I had Tim,

**INT** Who's the second one?

**\*Anita** Tim, then John, so when I was expecting John, he was going to be Sarah, Sarah-Jane, and he was a John, and then, of course I thought, oh, what's the point [LAUGH], what's the point. But, um, as I say, I loved them all, and, I mean we had our ups and downs with them, did we.

**INT** We'll get onto that in a minute. I was just, did you enjoy your sex life more after you went on the pill, because you could be more relaxed?

**\*Anita** Yes, definitely, definitely, yeah.

**INT** Getting onto the boys growing up, then, were you kind of primarily responsible for bringing them up and teaching them right from wrong and doing the facts of life?

**\*Anita** I think I was the main one, but Frank, we never argued, we backed each other up on everything, but I used to shout a lot, I mean, we didn't hit them, but I used to shout a lot, but they haven't turned out bad [LAUGH], I always think, anyhow.

**INT** What about the sort of, the growing up, the birds and the bees talk, was that Frank, did he have a man-to-man conversation with them?

**\*Anita** I don't think so, I think they learnt it all at, I can't remember talking to them about sex. I mean, it's only just this last few years that you're able to mention it, you know.

## Interview extract two

*[Cross-Generational Investigation of the Making of Heterosexual Relationships, 1912-2003](#)*

### Information about interviewee

Date of birth: 1958

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Gender: Female

Marital status: Unknown

Occupation: Sales Assistant

Geographic region: Interviewed at home

Interviewee's name: j\_underhill

Interview ID: j\_underhill

**INT** What did your courtship consist of? What sort of stuff would you do? There can't have been a great deal to do?

**\*Jennifer** There can't have been a lot in Marketown, no, not really, I don't know really. [...] I don't know, it's odd, isn't it, used to go to ( ), Beachton a few times, I suppose. His parents were in the RAF, he was an only child [COUGH]

**INT** Is that how he came to be here?

**\*Jennifer** Yeah, he got stationed at the RAF [COUGH] ( ) his dad. I don't know, go round the town, when he met me from work, I don't know, just a lot of walking really.

**INT** Did you love him?

**\*Jennifer** I probably did.

**INT** Did you do anything with him?

**\*Jennifer** Naughty bits?

**INT** More than kissing?

**\*Jennifer** Yeah, did naughty bits then [LAUGH].

**INT** How did your folks react, then?

**\*Jennifer** Well, she went ape-shit, I don't know about him, he never said anything. Because that's what, she says, I hope you're behaving and don't do anything rash and don't do anything this, and I said to Jane, what is it I'm supposed to not be doing, you know.

**INT** Given that she's never spoken to you about it?

**\*Jennifer** Yeah. Which is ironic.

**INT** Was it just that you had a boyfriend that she went ape about?

**\*Jennifer** Probably, yeah.

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**INT** About your mum and dad, do you kind of, I'm wondering whether, he's the silent type that doesn't say anything in front of you,

**\*Jennifer** Yeah.

**INT** and then they'd go away and have an argument about something, or he'd go off his head and then she'd come back and

**\*Jennifer** ( )

**INT** do the dirty work sort of thing. Is that fairly accurate?

**\*Jennifer** Yeah, they used to talk about me and Emily a lot, especially after I had Karen, and me and Emily used to go upstairs, we shared a bedroom, we used to put our ear to the floor, 'cause the kitchen was right below us, they were saying some horrible things about us.

**INT** He would?

**\*Jennifer** They both were, mm.

**INT** Like what?

**\*Jennifer** [SIGH] I don't know, it was upsetting at the time, like, sooner we get rid of her the better, things like that. I was sat on the sofa one day watching tele, in the middle and my mum sat on my knee, excuse me, you sat on me. What in hell am I sat on, (somat shitty) on this sofa, and she goes, tut, you're here are you. You see, Emily would bite back and fight and argue, and I wouldn't, and I think that upset her even more really, because I wouldn't fight back. She was quite vicious, she used to hit Sean something awful, and he wasn't very tall, 'cause he didn't sort of grow till he was about fifteen, he had puppy fat, he was a bit chubby (those two), and I came from school one day, and she had him on the floor and she was kicking him and shouting and ( ) off at him. Poor little lad was going blue in the face, so I knocked her off, and you know, slapped her. [COUGH] I've hit her twice now [COUGH], said, my dad come in, she says, I was kicking Sean. I said, excuse me, it was you. I don't know when she's going to stop lying, you're going to get nowhere lying, you're never going to heaven when you lie. And then about two days before I got married to John, [COUGH] she was on about, I'm not coming to your wedding, Sean isn't coming. I'm not bothered, and she said something else, and I've so had enough of you, we had this open stairwell in the room, I just got her up to it, I'm so sick of you, this is so, I went like, I flattened her one, my dad come in, Neil, Neil. He goes, no, you've been asking for that for a long time.

**INT** Seriously?

**\*Jennifer** Now he starts to stand up for me? And going down in the car to the wedding, he says, are you sure you want to do this? I says, no, but I can't stand it any more with you two.

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I'm sure we can sort her out. I says, she'll go ape-shit. He says, it doesn't matter, I'll sort her out.

**INT** How old were you when you got pregnant with Karen?

**\*Jennifer** Seventeen.

**INT** So would he have been, John is it?

**\*Jennifer** Yeah.

**INT** Would he have been your first sexual partner, then?

**\*Jennifer** Mm.

**INT** Are you alright talking about meeting him and

**\*Jennifer** Yeah, well, I met him down town in Marketown, yeah.

**INT** Was he same age, older?

**\*Jennifer** No, he's four years older, four years older.

**INT** What, so you met him when you were out or something?

**\*Jennifer** I worked at the Bell weekends 'cause at school, and

**INT** Is that a pub?

**\*Jennifer** Yeah, sorry, a hotel, yeah, and they had an account there, I had to go and pay at Curry's, and that's where he worked, and I thought nothing of it really, didn't particularly, I don't know [LAUGH], and you know when you're walking down the street and you see somebody, you move, and they move and you move, and the did that, tut, for goodness' sake, so moved to one side, and he goes, oh, do you fancy going out for a drink, I was going to ask you out for a drink one day? I thought, oh, alright then. Then he says, do you know my uncle? I said, no, why would I know your uncle? Because he's called Andrews, he goes, oh, ( ) Andrews the footballer, tut, oh dear, anyway, I thought, well, I'll go for a drink, so that's how that started really.

**INT** How did he, would you say he swept you off your feet?

**\*Jennifer** No. Mum thinks he did and Aunty Marjorie thinks he did.

**INT** Why, what makes them think that?

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**\*Jennifer** I don't know what makes them think that, because, I don't know, I don't [...] I don't know, mm, I don't tell anybody what's going on.

**INT** Well, it's hardly surprising.

**\*Jennifer** As far as I'm aware, it's none of their business. If I did start talking about it, they'd jump the subject to somebody else, not interested, so why bother? Mm.

**INT** How did you come to be sleeping with him, then, if you didn't particularly

**\*Jennifer** I don't know really, I don't know, I don't know, ( ) how am I supposed to know [LAUGH]. [COUGH]

**INT** Do you feel that, well, there are different scenarios, like I've spoken to people who've said that their virginity was just something they wanted to get rid of. They'd heard, you know, sex talked about as this wonderful thing, and they wanted to find out what the crack were, or that they were pressured into it,

**\*Jennifer** I don't know, it just seemed the next step, I suppose. I don't know.

**INT** Did you feel like you were in love with him?

**\*Jennifer** Um [...] I don't know, I can't remember, because it's different now, because [SIGH] after I met Gary who was totally different, I knew he was [SIGH]

**INT** You're looking at things through different lenses, aren't you?

**\*Jennifer** Yeah, and I knew John was not what I wanted, and I didn't, I never felt the same for John, ever, as I did for him.

**INT** But you wouldn't have known that at the time.

**\*Jennifer** At the time, yeah.

**INT** Was it planned thing, the first time, or was it just kind of spontaneous?

**\*Jennifer** No, just spontaneous, really, yeah.

**INT** Were you apprehensive about it or?

**\*Jennifer** [...] I don't think so.

**INT** Have a drink?

**\*Jennifer** Oh, yeah, a few drinks [LAUGH]

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**INT** A common thing now for young women is that, they were pissed.

**\*Jennifer** No way, no, Jen, I daren't go home drunk, had to be in by ten, for crying out loud. [LAUGH] I don't know how it happened, really, it's amazing, immaculate conception

**INT** Was it something that, I'll get off this quickly, do you recollect it as being something that was enjoyable or was it just?

**\*Jennifer** God, I don't know.

**INT** Or just part of being in a relationship, something that you kind of had to do?

**\*Jennifer** I suppose, probably, yeah, maybe, thinking about it, I don't know, yeah, maybe.

**INT** How long had you been seeing him before you fell pregnant with Karen?

**\*Jennifer** I don't know about [...] about a year, I suppose, maybe less, ten months.

**INT** And how did they react to him?

**\*Jennifer** Oh, they didn't like him.

**INT** Because he was older?

**\*Jennifer** A bit older, yeah, he had a car, he was taking me out in the car.

**INT** Or did they just not like him because?

**\*Jennifer** I think it was just didn't like any men, whoever it was.

**INT** Were you on any contraception?

**\*Jennifer** [LAUGH] ( ) Until after she was born.

**INT** (two)

**\*Jennifer** Yes, Jessica's an accident, I was definitely taking the pill and I went to the doctor's.

**INT** How did you react, when you fell pregnant?

**\*Jennifer** If I don't think about it, it'll go away.

**INT** How far gone were you when you told them?

**\*Jennifer** Two weeks before she was born.

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**INT** [...] You mean, you didn't show at all?

**\*Jennifer** I was only sixteen, I had a little tummy, I was thinner than I am now.

**INT** I interviewed one woman and she didn't know she was pregnant until she were actually giving birth, when she was full-term,

**\*Jennifer** I can believe that, because

**INT** but she was a big woman and she said she'd absorbed the baby, she said it were brilliant, she said, I lost three stone in one ( ).

**\*Jennifer** Yeah, I think I put half a stone on, 'cause they weighed me just before she was born, I just weighed (quite) seven stone. She was a big baby as well, she was seven pound eight, biggest I've had, huh.

**INT** So had you always been thin anyway, or do you think it was like stress as well?

**\*Jennifer** Probably both, I suppose, a bit of both, I don't know, ( ) at the time.

**INT** How far gone were you when you found out you were pregnant?

**\*Jennifer** I don't know really.

**INT** What I'm getting at is, did you carry that secret around with you for a long time?

**\*Jennifer** Yeah.

**INT** Christ. And did he know, John?

**\*Jennifer** Oh yeah, his parents knew, but mine didn't [LAUGH].

**INT** Good at keeping secrets, your family.

**\*Jennifer** We had a row, (stood near fire) and she says, I'll swear blind you're having a baby and all this and that, and I says, oh, well, for god's sake, for once you're bloody well right, aren't you.

**INT** Your mum said that to you?

**\*Jennifer** No, I said that to her.

**INT** No, she said, I'll swear blind you're having a baby?

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**\*Jennifer** Yeah, yeah, and um, she was, huh, well, when is it due then? I says, I don't know why, but I looked at my watch, like you do, I said, in about two weeks. That was that, I was shipped off, away, out. [LAUGH] What? It's nowt to do with her.

**INT** Was she not surprised, not at you, I'm not surprised at you, was she surprised, I didn't mean it

**\*Jennifer** I don't know, it's the only bit I remember of it really, I know I had my back to the fire, so she must have been in front of me, I don't know. I can't even remember what she looked like, or nothing, really, apart from that.

**INT** Just the red mist. Where were you shipped away to?

**\*Jennifer** A home in York for unmarried mothers who'd been naughty.

**INT** And were they all similarly aged naughty unmarried mothers?

**\*Jennifer** Oh, yes, all of us were, about eight of us. Her and the doctor organised it, and a horrible midwife.

**INT** What were you told about what was going to happen? Are you alright talking about this?

**\*Jennifer** Yeah, that I was going and that was that, I didn't have a say, I had no right to have a say, it was their house.

**INT** Did you attempt to argue, I mean, I know you said you wanted it to go away,

**\*Jennifer** Mm.

**INT** Had you thought about any, planned what was going to happen between you and John and his family?

**\*Jennifer** No, not really, no. [...] No I don't think I had really, I don't suppose you do, do you, I don't know.

**INT** And how did they react when you suddenly got shipped off to some home for delinquent young women?

**\*Jennifer** His parents?

**INT** Yeah, and John, as well?

**\*Jennifer** Nobody really said anything at all about it, they were all quite happy about it, really, as far as I can remember.

**INT** Do you feel like they all kind of colluded in it together?

**\*Jennifer** Oh, yeah, yeah, must have done, really. Mum and dad had made a decision, and that was that.

**INT** And what, that the baby was going to be given away or something?

**\*Jennifer** Mm, it was ( ) do with them, she said, 'cause they lived here and ( ), and that was that.

**INT** How did you feel?

**\*Jennifer** Oh, I don't know, annoyed, upset, angry.

**INT** Did you want to keep your baby?

**\*Jennifer** I was going to keep it [LAUGH], and that was that, yeah. [...] I never thought it wasn't, she wasn't going anywhere else.

## Unstructured interviews

In unstructured interviews respondents are seen to have their own agency, selfhood, and thus are not simply 'respondents' answering the questions posed by the interviewer.

The interview style is generally unstructured and interviewees have the freedom to tell their biographical stories in their own way, although there may be some gentle guidance offered by the interviewer in order to keep the narrative going.

The method has some overlap with the semi-structured interview, in that the interviewer may have a very simple schedule, but in the unstructured interviews that may not be strictly followed.

In the unstructured interview the interviewee is treated as an active subject, and not merely a reporter of facts or experiences.

This method is concerned with finding meanings, and attempts to develop a detailed biography with the interviewee. Often, the subject matter is personal, intimate and emotional, and the objective is to achieve some kind of deep disclosure (Johnson, 2001). The emphasis here is on acquiring deep knowledge and authenticity of people's life experiences (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001).

Considerable debate has been given to the way in which people recount their life stories.

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From a realist's position there is the belief that there is some objective knowledge of reality and that stories 'reflect a lived reality'.

This is opposed to the constructionist's claim that the interviewee's story and the way that it is interpreted by the interviewer are constructed and shaped by narrative conventions. In the constructionist's approach there is an emphasis on narrative formation and this includes taking into account the collaborative process of creating a story in the interview setting and also the performance involved in its production (Roberts, 2002). See Tonkin (1992) for further discussion of context in the interview.

## Example

Study Title: Negotiating Midlife: Exploring Subjective Experiences of Ageing

Principal Investigator(s): Morgan, B.

Date of Fieldwork: October 2006 - December 2007

Abstract: This study explored the subjective experiences of ageing amongst people who were in the midlife period.

## Interview method notes

Study title: Negotiating Midlife: Exploring Subjective Experiences of Ageing

In this study the researcher carried out two interviews with each interviewee.

The first was unstructured.

It opened with one question 'Can you tell me about your life in your own words' and then let the interviewee narrate their own life story in their own words with very little interruption from the interviewer.

## Interview extract one

Negotiating Midlife: Exploring Subjective Experiences of Ageing

### Information about interviewee

Date of birth: 1965

Gender: Female

Marital status: Married

Occupation: Housewife/hairdresser

Geographic region: Wales

Interviewee's name: Janet

Interview ID: Int:005

**B:** Can you tell me about yourself, whatever you like and you can start wherever you like,

**J:** Well I am a 40, nearly 41 years old. I am a housewife. I've got three children I have been married for twenty years. I've got, I do a little bit of hairdressing to keep my hand in. but I spend a lot of my time in the house I suppose I like to keep on top of things and that is my, that is my main thing, having three children life is quite busy. I have got a couple of interests, uh I go belly dancing which I thoroughly enjoy. Its more of a social event, you know just to get you out of the house more than anything, but its something, a bit of exercise with a bit of fun attached to it. I am not one for going, I don't mind going to the gym but I prefer going to aerobics and that sort of thing. It is just no fun to me. It has got to be a bit light hearted then, you know a bit of fun. I can't say I have got any hobbies as such because I haven't but life in general just ticks along [laughs] from one week to the next. I was born in Treglar, I am a welsh girl, or I see myself as a welsh girl, my family were born in Treglar so they all originate from there, I was the one who was left out. That's how I always look at it. I was the one who was born up here. That is my home down there, if we go to visit, as you get to steel works in Treglar and then you have got the mountains that's when I [gasp/sigh] you know I am home again. I have spent so much time down there as a young girl sort of during the school holidays, I was always not so much shipped off, but my mum was working and you know we used to go down there for six weeks, during the holidays and spend a lot of time with my cousins and you know it is, it is like another home for me and I thoroughly enjoyed it down there. I love it as a place now. But unfortunately my husband won't up and move, but property is cheaper down there and you know people go on about ooh you know the steel works and all the smell and all the rest of it, but life in general down there is just so different. The children seem to have more opportunities, they have got more about down there for them you know, cinemas on your doorstep and they have got a shopping centre down there which is marvellous you know. When I look at Chinnerton, and I think well we are a big place and we are getting bigger, but the town is just a town, although it is a town it has got a large inside shopping centre and it has got everything there you know, for kids of all age groups and their needs you know and I just think people knock the place but I think they have got far more down there than we have up here, for everybody, but like I said I would, I would like to move down there but I wouldn't like to leave my mum now really although it is only an hour down the road sort of thing, but I wouldn't like to go I suppose. Perhaps years ago maybe, or if my mum would say yeah she'd go down there maybe it would be different. No I just think they seem to have more to offer there, but that's about it really.

**B:** Your mum...

**J:** Yeah she is only down the road, so I mean we didn't move close intentionally, we'd arranged to get married and we were looking for somewhere to live and we were sort of let

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down with a place and time was running out and so it was a case of either cancel the wedding or my mum and dad suggested that we carried on and got married and we would go and live with them you know for however long until we got ourselves sorted, so Christopher didn't mind and because they had an extension built on the house, so we had our own bedroom and we had our own sitting room upstairs sort of thing with a settee and tele and that sort of thing, so if we wanted to spend time on our own we could and if we wanted to sit with the family we could do that as well. So that worked very well and we only stayed there six months and that enabled us to save a bit more money anyway and then this place came up on the market and it was I was brought up in a house like this and I am comfortable in a house like this you know, so we were lucky and we had it, so that's how it really came about. We never sort of said we were going to move far away, it was always going to be in the Chinnerton area and obviously whatever suited our pockets but it was an opportunity too good to miss so that's how we came to live so close really but like I said not intentionally, but it was like oh god I don't want to move too far away like, it was like that. But now on hindsight I am glad I haven't, having lost my dad six years ago and being only just up the road from my mum if she needs us you know so which is always nice.

**B:** Are you very close to your mum?

**J:** Yes, yeah I am, I don't, I don't say that I see her, I say oh that's my day to go down and see her. I always see her once a week because I do her hair for her, that's one visit that I always do, um there is no set day or time for that, it just falls in and just depends on what she's got on you know, if she's going somewhere I do it for her, or if I know I have already done it but I know she is going somewhere I will probably do it again so she looks tidy, but I do try and make a social visit in the evening perhaps to go down there. We might sit there, have a natter and have a bottle of wine between us and just catch up on the gen. [general gossip], but she's a very good friend then. I can say anything to her and she can say anything to me and you know we wouldn't fall out, if something was said and it was a bit, it would be said and over with and you could get back to normal you know, so yeah we are quite close but like I said we don't live in one another's pockets. We are there if we need each other. So if she wants anything doing, if we can help out we do, like Christopher will go and help out and do something for her, my brother in law will that sort of thing. Yeah we keep an eye on her [Laugh].

**B:** You said you lost your dad six years ago, can you tell me about that time?

**J:** Um, that was something that wasn't expected and um a very big shock. [Her son poked his head round the door at this moment]. We were away at the time, only at Butlins we had only gone for a weekend and um to cut a long story short it was mothering Sunday, tried to get hold of my mum, couldn't you know as the time went on I began to get worried because knowing it was a Sunday she would be there cooking the dinner so I rang their next door neighbour and they told us that they had seen an ambulance outside but could say where it had gone and I was a bit annoyed I suppose really because I thought they had lived next door

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to my mum and dad for over 30 years and they are very close you know. Again don't live in one another's pockets but they are always there if anybody needed, but nobody had gone to see whether it was at my house, my mum's house then, because they knew my dad had Parkinsons and but he said he would try to find out and he would ask around and would ring me back and he did ring me back and he said yes apparently it had come from our house, which of course my brother in law then rang the hospital A&E and they said yes he was there and we managed to talk to my mum and she said 'oh he's all right', he had fallen, he was having a bath on his own which he is not supposed to do, she had only popped out to get the paper and of course he had fallen and he had got himself wedged between sort of the bath and the radiator and he couldn't move, so she got a neighbour across the road to help, when she came and of course ended up being there and she was like 'no he's fine', it was only a fall, he has got a bit of a burn on his back you know but he is fine. So we were due to come home the following day anyway so I said shall we come home. There is no need for you to come home she said there is nothing you can do, he is all tucked up in hospital and he is fine and she said you are coming home tomorrow anyway so I said alright then and me and my sister were torn you know didn't know what to do and I said to him 'well, she's saying he's fine and the kids are enjoying themselves its only one night you know and we will be home tomorrow and there is nothing we can do' and so we decided to stay and when we went home them we will go straight down to see him and of course by the time we got there she was on pins then she wanted to go down and so when we got there we couldn't go in so me and my sister popped up into the town and he needed some pyjamas and that so we got some and then when we came back then we went in to see him but she said 'oh he was fine' and so we went in to see him and had a bit of shock really, because it wasn't my dad. You know I thought she'd either, she either was either not looking at reality I suppose, she just didn't want to see what was there and I was a bit cross then because if we had known he was like that then we would have come back in a minute like you know and um he was very disorientated and he didn't really know us and he couldn't drink properly. We had to give him a baby cup to drink out of and he didn't really have, apart from having a fall, nothing else had happened that they were aware of and you know as the days went on, that was on the Monday and then Tuesday, my mum would go down at 10 o'clock in the morning my husband would come home from work and take her down because she would sit with him all day and do things for him that helped the nurses and he would get agitated if she wasn't around so um [says goodbye to son] and so Christopher would finish work at half past 4 so he used to come in from work and I used to go straight down and I would sit there then and give him his tea and my mum could go off and have a wander to stretch her legs and whatever you know. But it was so awful because he had this awful vacant look about him you know and you would be feeding him and some of him would seem, he knows its me you know and then some of it would be I don't think he really knows who it is, does he really want his food and that, we used to try and have a little natter you know, so we sort of sat there and chatted and he said to me, he said 'I won't be coming out' and I said 'oh you will you know' and I said 'its early days yet, you've only been in here a couple of days' I said and he never said anymore then and I came home and rang my brother, because my brother lives back down in Treglar and I thought he needs to come, so I said do you know when you're coming up and he said he was finishing

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work on the Friday and bearing in mind that this was a Tuesday and I said, I said 'you need to come up now, he is not going to be here on Friday' and he said 'is he that bad?' and I said 'yes he is not dad at all', so he came straight up and he came up on the Tuesday and then he stayed with my mum and then they went back down on the Wednesday and I had done the same thing because Christopher had taken my mum down then at 10 o'clock and Simon came down on the train then that morning, the following evening, no the evening before sorry, so took them down both together and I had down my thing then and gone down about 5ish and gave him his tea then for them to go and have a wander and my auntie. My dad has only got one sister and his mother is still alive as well and she is now 92 and she had come that afternoon and talked and talked and talked and my auntie is a little bit deaf and she shouts and she talks ten to the dozen and you can't get a word in if you want to and they, he'd had a very tiring afternoon and he was absolutely exhausted and you could see by his face after they went and so I said to my mum 'I will give him his tea and you go and have a wander' and he didn't eat a lot of tea because he was just so tired and me and my brother got him back into bed then, because he was tired then and he went to sleep and just the three of us were sitting there then and then later on then my sister and her husband called in and I am not sure if she had the children with her or not, just to say hello and I said 'oh he's asleep we don't want to wake him because he is shattered' so we decided to all come away then because visiting was over anyway and said tata to him but he was still asleep and I said to my mum 'oh don't wake him', it was a shame to wake him and so we all kissed him tata and we come away and then later I had just got up to the bath that night, it was about 12 o'clock and the phone went and it was my sister ringing from the hospital and of course I knew what was coming I just went to pieces and I couldn't, and Christopher couldn't take me down because of the children and they all went to bed, and so Trevor drove me down and got my brother but he was dead when we got there and so there was a lot of guilt I suppose really I just wish I had listened to my gut instinct the day before. I didn't want to come away from there because he was still sleeping. I would have rather waited till he was awake, but I think now you know I think he was unconscious when we left it wasn't just a sleep, you know and I just wish we had stayed there and my mum said the same thing and she said if you had said to me we could have sat there with him because he was in a room of his own and we could have stayed there and it wouldn't have mattered to anybody and we would have been there with him when he died he wouldn't have been on his own, so you know after then there was a lot of ifs and buts you know and if onllys which doesn't make anything any better does it. We all know that now; just wish we had done things differently. Well, no, it did turn out that after apparently, because perhaps over the last three months previous to that he had been having little blips where he wanted to talk and he couldn't talk and he didn't know why you know and we didn't know why either and it was a case of 'oh that's a bit odd' and it was say 20 minutes or so later he might start to be able to talk again and but I think what had happened, he had some, some problems with his heart and it wasn't from time to time not pushing the oxygen around enough and this was what was causing these little blips so he was little short bursts then of what do you call it, no oxygen going to the brain, which then led on to him having a heart attack so better to go that way than other way I think, but you know he was still only 67, he was quite young really.

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**B:** How long was he in hospital for?

**J:** He went in on the Sunday and he died on the Wednesday. So it wasn't long, and then if you had asked then they didn't even see it coming either so we couldn't have been pre-warned or anything like that you know.

**B:** How has it affected your family?

**J:** Well, I think we were all shocked you know, just didn't expect it, but looking back now, because I lost my father-in-law this year and he died of cancer and I practically nursed him right through it and I think how lucky we were to lose my dad the way we did not to have to see him suffer and not be able to do anything about it you know and even my mum said that we were lucky and my brother-in-law's father died from a heart attack very quick like that and my mum commented to my sister and my brother in law that we were lucky that we lost them like that, not like Christopher's dad because that was terrible, absolutely awful. I wouldn't want to see anybody suffer like that you know, but I think that if I was ever diagnosed with anything like that I think I would take an overdose straight away, yeah so. [...] I am the only daughter-in-law and my husband has got three sisters and I don't know really know why but the father-in-law just felt very secure with me and as far as he was concerned I was very efficient and when we on the regular visits to the chemotherapy, I knew what had to be done as far as appointments, pharmacy, this and that not because I was the only one that went, but I went most of the time or probably 99% of the time probably and when only one of the other daughters went and things were never done properly, he had missed an appointment and things like that, which then got him agitated and he was like 'ooh it should have been done should have been sorted' and I used to tell her, when she went make sure this is done, you have got to do that and get this appointment and this has all got to be sorted for next time, 'ok, ok' like you know, but of course it didn't get done and that was it then he wouldn't go with anybody else, he just wanted me to go, but not that I minded going. I would drop everything and go with him, but I just felt that I didn't want any backlash at any stage 'ooh I took over' you know, I didn't want people to think I was taking over because after all he was my father-in-law, not my father. Not that I wouldn't do as much for him as I would my own father but um

**B:** Was there any jealousy or things like that?

**J:** I don't know, I think so because I don't really get on with Christopher's sisters very well. One of them the older one, we do get on quite well now, she is very much like me, but the other two I don't [says goodbye to son again], I don't approve of their lifestyle and things like that and I have been hurt by both of them in sorts of manners and so the youngest sister in particular, I hate her I won't tolerate her at all, but I think especially with her I think she was jealous of me because I was the blue eyed girl all of a sudden you know and she was the youngest girl and I think she thought she always the blue eyed girl but I wasn't, I didn't stop anybody from going but two of them in particular didn't even go when asked to go with him, you know didn't want to go with him and I didn't want to go with him, I didn't want to go and sit

there with him either, but somebody had to go with him and so it ended up being me all the time and you know towards the end I always seemed to be there when he needed somebody and I'd shave him and mop his brow and he was being sick and all of that and all the rest of, of and it didn't bother me, and I said it doesn't bother me, don't worry about that, God that is the least of your problems and you know I always seemed to be on hand if anybody wanted anything it was always me who'd ring so I mean he felt comfortable around me, which I was glad about and in the end he went up the community hospital and I knew he was going in and he wasn't coming out, even though the palliative care nurse said he was only going in to get this minor problem sorted out but he was going down hill you know, very quickly and the last day I had gone up there in the morning about 10 o'clock taken my mother-in-law up and he wasn't too bad and then I brought my mother in law home and I stayed up there about 2 hours and then brought my mother in law home, to get a few things and there brought her here to have some tea and then to go back up and in the meantime it was like a changeover you know and my husband stayed up there with his two sisters and you know so when we went back up then the two sisters had gone and it was only me and my husband there and I thought the one sister hadn't been up there long, she stayed an hour I think, and when I got back in what probably the 2 maybe 3 hours in which we had left there was a big, big deterioration in him and when his other sister came back then the oldest sister and she is a nurse and she could see the same as me and we went outside and we had a natter and I said to her I said I think you ought to ring his sister, she only lives in Monmouth and I said I think you better ring her to come down, 'yes' she said 'it is going to be tonight', I said 'yes I think so', so she said that she was going to stay up there with him and I thought I don't care if I am treading on anybodies toes, no, I am not being pushed out of this I have seen him through all of it so I said 'do you mind if I stay with you', and she said 'no', she said that she said 'you don't have to', 'I know I don't have to' I said, 'but I want to, I have gone this far with him and I am not going to leave him now', so we sat with him all night and we had we had a dreadful night because if someone had put us in the picture to start with and the one palliative care nurse was very, very nice, but had she had told us what was in store at least we would have been ready for it you know, but he was in a room of his own and that was, they knew that he was dying and um he started and he'd had a very, very minute bit of ice-cream at tea time and he didn't want anything else, and he said 'oh god I feel really terrible, I feel really poorly' you know and it was 'oh god' like you know and then he was sleeping and then waking up but he wasn't really with it and then of course everybody had gone and his sister had come down to visit, so she came and sat for three hours with us and then they left about 11 o'clock I think it was and then after she had, it was very strange because after she'd left he started vomiting and he, he has, he had bowel cancer and that had gone to the liver and the lungs and by then there was a blockage in the bowel and so everything started coming up, so it was faeces that he was vomiting and urrg it wasn't so much, that didn't bother me but I just felt so awful for him you know he kept saying 'oh god it smells, don't worry I'll manage' you know, but I am not bothered about that you know, but we had to keep lifting him physically up when he wanted to be sick because if he was half laid and half sat he couldn't get his head up high enough to sit it out, so we had to pull him up to sit him up so he could be sick and it went on and on, it was 3 hours and you could see by, Christopher, Christopher was at home with the children, and I

said to him that if he wanted to stay he could because Alexander was 16 and was old enough to stay with the other two and my mum would have come up or whatever and I said if you want to be up here and he said I don't know whether I do. I said that's fine, I said I don't want you to think that I want you at home with the children, if you want to be here, you be here, so he just kept popping up and down through the night, a couple of hours perhaps and then he called in then and his sister had just gone to the loo and at that particular moment his dad wanted to be sick and I couldn't lift him on my own and I tried and of course he was screaming then because it was starting to hurt his back and so he managed to help me with him then but you could see by him that he didn't want to be there he didn't want to see his dad like that which I can understand. So he stayed for a little bit then, then he came back home and you could see the change again and I said to Christopher's older sister, I said he's unconscious now, because there was a change, because he was sleeping but he would be twitching you know like this for hours and then all of a sudden he was just still and there was no movement with him at all, and she said 'yeah he has gone into a coma', and you know and then she was getting upset and 'go on dad you can go now' like, 'we'll look after mum' and all that and she got one of her friends was a nurse on the nightshift from her ward to come in and she said Marlene 'don't forget that the hearing is the last thing to go, so don't say things that you will regret', and she said 'oh but I just want him to go now, he's been through enough' so then all of a sudden then he started, he was gurgling and we both looked at each other and we didn't know what on earth that was and like 'oh my god what is it?' It sounded like he wanted to be sick but it would come up and we tried to lift him because it looked like he wanted to be sick and he screamed in pain and it was 'oh what have we done' like, you know so we managed to sit him back down and then we got on the buzzer and the nurse came in and I can't remember what she called it, but what it meant that the lungs we starting to fill with fluid [I ask 'the death rattle?'] yeah something, yeah the lungs had started to fill up with water and that was the noise, the respiration, something like that and I said 'ooh can't you do something' you know but at the same time you didn't want her to do anything that was prolong things I said 'if this is it then leave it', I said 'how long?' And she said it could go on for hours and she said 'I can't go on listening to that', it was horrendous and she said I could give him something, inject him with something to dry it up so she did and literally within ten minutes the sound had gone and she was back to as he was but still like unconscious and then it was back to watching the clock and it was how long and it was about 3 hours later and by then it was half past five in the morning and it started again and we were like 'oh just leave it', we were saying it can't be much longer because I was gob smacked that he carried on all through the night you know and it can't be far away now surely and it just went on and on and he sounded dreadful again and we let the nurse come in again and she said look I can give him something else but I don't think he has got long but I can give him another injection, so we said yeah and so she gave him another one and things started to settle down very quickly but then his breathing altered and me and Marlene were just sitting there watching him and it was deteriorating and getting slower and more [she makes a deep out breathe sound] you know and I said 'this is it, isn't it?' I had never been with anybody till the end before but you could just tell and she said 'yes, she said he's going' so we both got up and either side [Janet starts to cry a little] and just put our arms around him and sort of told him that we loved him and he just took ooh one almighty

breath and he sort of went, or at least we thought he had you know and although Marlene is in nursing and we both sort of looked at one another and 'is he gone?' and she was like 'I don't know' and by that time you didn't want to call anybody else in you didn't want any, because if it is there like, so of course I went to put my hand on his pulse to try and find a pulse of some kind and with that he sort of just went [she makes a very sudden deep in-breath] like that and he frightened me too, and then that was it, that was the last breath you know and you know it frightened me, and we sort of laughed and cried more or less together because both of us were so taken aback by that and we just more or less lied down with him and just cooched [cuddled] him before we called anyone to come in and left it about ten minutes or so and then I came out and rang Christopher and he came up with his sisters and that and his mum wouldn't come up, she wanted to remember him how she'd seen him that afternoon and she said that she didn't want to see him any other way, but to me he was at peace then, you know he wasn't complaining, he wasn't in pain and I think it would have been better for her to come up and been with him while he was like that, but she just didn't want to, she didn't want to be there with him when he died, and she didn't want to see him after either so.

**B:** That must have been terrible to have gone through that

**J:** Oh, awful like I said it has painted a completely different picture, with some forms of cancer there is light at the end of the tunnel but I think for certain sorts there just isn't and I think that they should allow them to go with dignity. I really am into this euthanasia you know I think there is something to be said about that.

**B:** To see it first hand like that

**J:** My argument is that you wouldn't let an animal suffer like that, they put them to sleep and when you know, I know that they worry that people might use it willy-nilly but that doesn't even come into the equation you know. As long as you are under medical supervision and they know that there is no hope that things are going to get worse and once things do start to deteriorate then you should have that choice of go now, because I am sure that if Rodger had had that choice he'd have gone a fortnight before, he wouldn't have wanted. If he knew now what was going to come he wouldn't have wanted it like that, no way, it was awful for him to go through it.

## Feminist interviews

The feminist interview method encourages and promotes a more reflexive and reciprocal approach and seeks to neutralise the hierarchical, exploitative power relations that were claimed to be inherent in the more traditional interview structure. This is a technique also adopted by other interview methods such as oral history.

Through social research, feminist methods go beyond studying women as objects of investigation. Rather they seek to challenge gender inequalities in social research and to

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motivate emancipatory, political change of women's experiences in society. Moreover, feminist research is primarily concerned with gender relations and this includes masculinities as well as femininities.

Contemporary feminist approaches acknowledge gender inequality and seek to incorporate an awareness of gender relations in the analysis and through a reflexive understanding of interviews.

Historically, social scientific research methods have marginalised, inadequately represented, and even excluded, women's experiences. In addition, the feminist researcher's primary motivations are to empower women and to restructure the imbalance of equality in understanding women's experiences. In short, feminist research challenges both the knowledge which is produced and the methods of producing knowledge.

Feminists have described the traditional interview as a site for the exploitation and subordination of women, with the interviewers potentially creating outcomes against their interviewees' interests (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000).

One way in which feminist researchers have addressed this problem is through treating the interview as co-constructive.

For example, in traditional interview formats the interviewer directs the questioning and takes ownership of the material; in the feminist interview method the woman would recount her experiences in her own words with the interviewer serving only as a guide to the account.

This research method rejects the positivistic ideal of producing an impersonal, value-free and objective account of experience.

Instead, feminist researchers claim that developing a rapport with interviewees is an essential part of establishing trust, respect and maintaining an empathetic position.

Many feminist researchers suggest that a closer relationship with interviewees can produce a more valid and meaningful account of women's experiences. However, recent work on feminist methodology incorporates concepts with 'difference' and shows how sometimes a shared gender is not sufficient as a means of establishing rapport. See for example Riessman (1987), and Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1996). This concern with difference is a central tenet of contemporary feminist theory.

## Example

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SN 4523

Study Title: [\*Mental Health of Chinese Women in Britain, 1945-2000\*](#)

Principal Investigator(s): Green, G., Bradby, H., Lee, M., Eldridge, K.

Date of Fieldwork: September 1999-February 2000

Abstract: The aim of this exploratory study of the mental health of Chinese women in Britain was to identify issues of cultural difference between the Chinese community and the health system in contemporary Britain, which may have resulted in an under-estimation of their mental health problems.

Citation: Green, G. et al. , *Mental Health of Chinese Women in Britain, 1945-2000* [computer file]. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], July 2002. SN: 4523, [DOI: 10.5255/UKDA-SN-4523-1](#)

## Interview schedule

### [\*Mental Health of Chinese Women in Britain, 1945-2000\*](#)

1. The interviewee's migration history, and that of her immediate family
  - Where were you born?
  - How did you come to live in this part of England?
  - What are the best/worst aspects of having family elsewhere in the world?
2. The interviewee's employment history and how this combined with domestic responsibility and mental well-being.
  - Could you tell me about the first paid jobs you had? And what about the next? etc.
  - How have you managed to combine your employment with your responsibilities for your husband/children/parents/parents-in-law?
  - Can you tell me about a time when this combination was quite easy to manage? Why did it work well? Did this have any effect on your health?
  - Can you tell me about a period when this combination was difficult to manage, and why? Did this have any effect on your health?
3. Informal and formal help and support-seeking during times of mental distress.
  - Thinking of the last time when things were difficult: Did you ask anyone for any practical help? Did you tell anyone about the problems?
  - If things got difficult again, would you turn to the same people for help?
  - Do you or members of your family routinely use Chinese health centre/general practitioner/hospital/social services/drop-in centre/community or cultural centre? What for?
  - Would you consider trying to get help from Chinese health centre/general practitioner/hospital/social services/drop-in centre/community or cultural centre? Why?
  - Are there any changes that could be made to the NHS that would make you more willing to use it?

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## Interview schedule (revised)

- a) Migration history:
- Country of origin: herself, husband, parents.
  - How did you come to live in England? (Reasons? How? Social network)
  - Anticipation and/or experiences of any difficulties: physical, cultural, racial and linguistic; problems overcome or still persist?
  - Family or relatives of your side (composition, family size, residence, feelings of them living here or elsewhere, the best/worst aspects).
  - Family or relatives of your husband side (composition, size, residence, the best or worst aspects of them living here or elsewhere).
  - Future plan: leaving or settling in this country.
- b) Employment history:
- Work history (the no. of jobs before and in this country; nature of each jobs; mode of employment; reasons for change; difficulties or social networks in getting jobs in this country).
  - Work conditions (no. of hours, working environment, wages, relationships with colleagues).
  - Feelings and experiences of paid.
- c) Family relations (Immediate Family, own family, and husband's family):
- When and where get married? No. and composition of household members?
  - Number, age, education/occupation of children? Planned or accident? Family planning: knowledge and usage of services?
  - Household division of labour: who do what and why? Sources and main providers of family income?
  - Child-caring experiences: happiness or difficulties? Does/did it affect employment, family finance, social life, or health? Expectation and realisation on children? Similarities and differences between her and her husband in terms of responsibilities, practice, disciplining, expectations.
  - Relationship with, responsibilities to, and support from in-laws and husband's relatives and friends.
  - Relationship with, responsibilities for, and support from own family and relatives.
- d) Informal and formal help and support-seeking:
- The best and worst time so far? Share with whom? Any support and resources when needed? Whom, where, what?
  - Knowledge and usage of social services/drop-in centre/community or cultural centre? How often? When and what for?

- Physical and social activeness (exercise, driving, leisure, study and classes, family and/or social activities? How often? What kind? With whom?)
- e) Medical history:
- Health conditions? Chronic illness (esp. on headache, insomnia, loss of weight, palpitation, pressures on chest, numbness or shaking of limbs?) other serious or minor illness? When and possible reasons? Treatment? What kind? Diagnosis (self, GP, and Chinese doctor).
  - Worries, pressures and anxieties? When? What kind? Why? And how to handle?
  - Health of other family members (Type of illness? Kind(s) of treatment? Diagnosis (self and doctors, Chinese or GP).
  - Perception, knowledge and usage of medical services: Chinese health centre/Chinese medicine/GP/alternative medicine? When to use what? How often? Any difficulties: language, accessibility, affordability, and cultural differences with medical officers? Suggestions for improvement?

## Interview extract one

*Mental Health of Chinese Women in Britain, 1945-2000*

### Information about interviewee

Date of birth: 1950s

Gender: Female

Marital status: Married

Occupation: Housewife

Geographic region: South East of England

Interviewee's name: Fanny

Interview ID: interview01

Date -- 20/7/99

Interviewee - (F)

Interviewer - (I)

In her 40s, married with 2 children. A rather well-off family, they paid about £460 a month on rent. Husband was in his late 40s.

Although she said that she was very quiet, she seemed to be very relaxed and willing to share her views. She studied a master degree in subject and was in a profession before. However she quit her job when her children were born. Housework seemed to be her main source of stress. She had very rather high expectations on her children, their study, appearance, and herself (including her English and her homemaking). I came to her place, a bungalow in {location}, which is immaculate clean and tidy. She may have spent a lot of time on tidying the

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house. There seems to be a clear division of labour at home. Husband just concentrates on his study and the wife is responsible for everything related to the whole family.

Although she told me that she was now very happy and satisfied with her life here, there seemed to be a time that she had great difficulties (the first year when she came). Her health conditions, such {medical condition} might be a reason.

**I:** How long have you been here?

**F:** Nearly four years

**I:** Nearly four years. You are -- (she started to laugh) relax, it is alright (laugh). Just ignore it (the recorder) (laugh)... You are from Taiwan?

**F:** Yes, I come from Taiwan.

**I:** What is your aim in coming here?

**F:** My husband came here to study for a {qualification}, so we came along too.

**I:** Did you come here with your husband, or did your husband come over here on his own first?

**F:** We came here together.

**I:** Came here together. How do you find the life here?

**F:** It is alright. I found it quite hard when I first came here, but it is getting better now.

**I:** Why did you find it hard? Why?

**F:** No friends.

**I:** But there are a lot of Taiwanese here.

**F:** Taiwanese -- we did not know many of them, because the place where we used to live was not close to the university, therefore we did not have much connection. Even though there were some Taiwanese students, they came here to study, also they were..., that is, that is not the same. Of course we have some friends, that is, that is every family has its own problems. Yes, we have some contacts, but that is not as easy as it is in Taiwan.

**I:** Then what do you feel now?

**F:** It is better now. Now I know how to get on with my life (laugh).

**I:** Do you still have any problems in adjusting now?

**F:** It is better now. It is mainly because the weather, now you know what to wear for different weather. When we first came here, I felt the English people were very reserved. There are some things which we Chinese ... they were very polite, they said things very formally, otherwise they think you are rude. When I first came here, I did not know about that. Now we know they emphasise that, otherwise you are like a barbarian. That is something like that. I don't know whether you have the same feeling?

**I:** Yes, yes, I have the same feeling too. I don't like it.

**F:** Yes, now if I hear that, for example, someone has just come over to this country, and they are talking with foreigners, I will tell them, I will tell them if you say it in this way, the hearer will think you are very rude. They don't know how to say it formally. Because we attended the class and our friends told us that the English people like that, you should say it in that way. Also after hearing that for many times, you know how to talk with them in a way that is polite. That is why it is better now.

**I:** So you understand it now.

**F:** Yes, yes. But sometimes I still make some mistakes (laugh).

**I:** You said earlier that it was hard when you first came here - the main reason is what?

**F:** That is, that is the language problem. Also because of my husband's study. Because they had to study for a master's degree in their first year. Then he did not pass, he could not carry on to do a {qualification}. Although he had a {qualification} already, it was not useful because it was not recognised here. Their department is very tough, they needed to attend the classes, to do the course work, and also to take exams for many subjects.

**I:** How about your children?

**F:** They are alright. There is a lot of homework, but not so hard, they are catching up gradually.

**I:** Did your family come over to see you?

**F:** Yes, they did. We also have regular contacts. That is not too bad.

**I:** But do you prefer it if they are close to you or not?

**F:** Good or bad, it depends. You know we Chinese people are like that. You have a family and then you have some friends. If you have some friends it means that there will be some problems and gossip. I don't know how to say it in English.

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**I:** Yes....

**F:** I think I think it is the same here.

**I:** Yes.

**F:** It is the same here. Of course, relations can help. If you have relations, you can contact them sometimes. But then there may be some troubles. So it can be good or bad, it is difficult to say.

**I:** What do you think about here?

**F:** Here, I like the fresher air here.

**I:** Fresher air.

**F:** Fresher air. Also, it is very democratic here. In Taiwan, we shouted for democracy for a long time, said how we Chinese people should be, it was all the talk. When we came here and saw what it should be like. I came at the time when Tony Blair won, then he came to power immediately. And the next day, the whole government changed. If that is for we Chinese, it must be at least a few months for the transition. But here the new people took up the job the next day. There was no problem. I found that they are really very democratic.

**I:** Did you work before you came here?

**F:** At the very beginning I worked. But I quit the job later when my husband went to {European country}. We stayed there for three years and then we went back to Taiwan. I gave birth to a baby [babies] in {European country}. I did not work again. I have not worked since I came here.

**I:** You haven't worked for a long time.

**F:** Haven't worked for a long time, yes.

**I:** You prefer working or not?

**F:** At that time, I preferred working. But later I found some advantages in not working. There are some advantages in working too. But now it is not easy to find a job. I have children to look after, for example, to get a job during the time when the children go to school. It is difficult to get a job here.

**I:** But my previous flatmates from Taiwan, they were able to get some part time jobs. Have you tried?

**F:** I thought of trying. I talked about that with my husband. But later I found that when I was not at home, my husband would read books in his room and our children would watch television or do something else in the living room. Even when I went to do the shopping and came back late, they would act as if I was not there. When I came back, they would rush to turn off the television. So I wonder whether I should work or do something. Also, it is not easy to get a job. What you can get are those low class jobs -- such as a cleaner or something like that. Then I decided to leave it. I prefer to look after my two children well, because my husband does not care about this. Although I have thought of it, I finally decided not to. So I did not try.

**I:** But how your husband, does he like you to work?

**F:** Not bad. He does not say that I must work. He said it is more important to take care of everything at home. That is the main aim of why we came here together. Otherwise we would have been better off not coming and just letting my husband come over here on his own.

**I:** Yes. My sister told me that being a housewife is very demanding, very hard.

**F:** Yes, it is very hard. Because you think that you are not working and you are supposed to look after the children and the home well. It is hard.

**I:** Do you have many friends here now?

**F:** Now we have some friends here, but they have their own private affairs. I am very friendly with our neighbour -- she is nearly 88 years old.

**I:** What sort of person is she?

**F:** She is a widow. She is on her own. We are neighbours. Our neighbours here are quite friendly. But sometimes I find my English is not very good, so I am not very close to them. But it is better with the old lady, because she is quite old and also she is a bit forgetful. She is quite kind. In this area, here in {British location}, most of our neighbours are quite old. They stay in their bungalows and seldom move. Those neighbours are quite good, but -- I don't know-- maybe that is my personality -- not so open. My husband always says that I should go out to know more people, but I think I am not good at communicating with people.

**I:** No.

**F:** I am not good at communicating with people. My husband's English is also not very good, but he is very good at chatting with other people. I can't. If there is no topic, I will have nothing to say. I will then sit there and not know what to do. That may be because of my personality. So I am not very familiar with them.

**I:** But were you the same in Taiwan?

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**F:** In Taiwan, I did not have many friends, only a few. Because I think if we can get along, we are friends. If not, I don't want to waste my time. I don't want to pretend to be friendly.

**I:** Do you have Taiwanese friends here?

**F:** I have some, but I met them here after I came to this country. I am quite friendly with a few of them, but some of them have left already.

**I:** Earlier you said if you didn't feel well, you would go and see the doctor?

**F:** Yes, if I didn't feel well, I would go and see the doctor.

**I:** Do you have any difficulties when you go to see the doctor, and is it convenient?

**F:** What do you mean by "difficulties"?

**I:** Because some women have told me that they have language problems. Sometimes, the doctors don't understand them.

**F:** Before I went to see a doctor, if I didn't know how to describe my symptoms, I would look them up in a dictionary beforehand and try to memorise the words. The doctors said -- sometimes, if they used spoken English which I didn't understand, I would ask them to clarify what they had said. I would ask them what it meant. They said "off-colour". What is "off-colour"? I didn't understand the meaning. It means a bit like "ill". I would ask them. Sometimes, I would ask them to write it down for me. But I could not read it, because their handwriting is very sloppy. Very sloppy, so I gave up. Anyway, I took the medicine.

**I:** Are they helpful?

**F:** Yes, they are.

**I:** They are quite good?

**F:** I feel it is alright, not bad. But of course some doctors are not as good as others. You just have to see if you are lucky. After visiting them for a few times, you know which ones are good and will try to stick with them. I believe there are some good doctors and some bad doctors; it is not possible that all of them are good. People usually try to see the good doctors, therefore if there is an emergency, you may not be able to make an appointment with them. It is impossible and you have to wait, that is the down side of it. I feel that things are always like this.

**I:** What do think the reasons for this?

**F:** This behaviour is not just to the foreigners, he is a bit unkind. For example, some doctors will talk a lot with you, but some just ask how you are and then you come out very quickly.

**I:** Do you feel any cultural difference between you and them?

**F:** Cultural difference, yes, but it is not just between you and the doctors. We have cultural differences with all the English people. We have different viewpoints on different things. For example, we Chinese are not the same as them -- we are very courteous to our visitors -- "Please come in and take a seat" -- unlike our neighbours; if you chatted with them at their front doors for half an hour, 45 mins, or even an hour, they still would not invite you to go inside. I felt my legs were very sore, I told them that I was very tired, but they did not stop talking. You stood there and they stood there too -- I found it so strange. Later, I realise that those foreigners, they usually won't invite you inside their houses. Now I've learned how to deal with it -- I also may not invite them into my house. Also, sometimes when they come, our house may be a bit messy, then I may just chat with them outside the house for 10 mins or 15 mins. I don't know, they are like that, they won't invite you inside and offer you a cup of tea. The English people are like this.

**I:** Yes, some of them are more reserved.

**F:** Yes. Of course, some of them are nice. But most of them are like that. But our opposite neighbour, she is very nice, very nice. Maybe they just get use to being like that. So I feel -- it is something like this. This is why many foreigners visit Taiwan and have the impression that Chinese people are very warm-hearted. This is why.

**I:** (laugh) Have you ever visited a Chinese doctor here?

**F:** Yes, once.

**I:** Once, how did you like it?

**F:** I threw the medicine away before I finished it (laugh).

**I:** (laugh) Why?

**F:** I don't know. The medicine was expensive and the cost was not covered by the NHS, I paid for it myself. I saw the doctor once and took a long time to boil the medicine. I did not drink it. The rest of the medicine was left untouched. And then last summer I visited my sister. She brought me to see a Chinese doctor there -- they have a Chinese doctor there. What he (she) said was not the same as the other doctor.

**I:** Not the same?

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**F:** Because he (she) felt my pulse -- I feel that some parts of my body have some problems. What they said are not the same, I don't know. That is it.... I need some exercise, it is related to exercise. Your mental condition affects your physical condition. If you are mentally healthy, you will have no problems. If there are some problems with your mental health, then nothing will be alright. I feel they are related.

**I:** But what medicine do you prefer?

**F:** you mean Chinese medicine?

**I:** Yes, yes.

**F:** It is difficult to say. We Chinese people say that for acute illness, consult a Western doctor; for chronic illness, see a Chinese doctor (laugh). Do you know what I mean?

**I:** (laugh) Yes.

**F:** Yes, that's it. If a Western doctor can do nothing, then you need to see a Chinese doctor. But there are many cases in Taiwan when Chinese medicine killed the patients. Of course, there are some good Chinese doctors, but you have to get to the right person. Some are not good and waste your time.

**I:** Why did you go to see a Chinese doctor at that time? Is it because the GP could not help?

**F:** It was not mainly because -- it was not because they could not help -- like, how do you say it, there are some women's illness diseases, western doctors cannot diagnose them. They cannot. I went to see them and they said it was normal. They are like that. But Chinese medicine can help, like we Chinese say what sorts of things are "cold" and what sorts of things are "hot", isn't it? You eat "pai choi", you will have a lot of discharges, that is normal. I don't know whether you understand.

**I:** I also have similar belief.

**F:** But western doctors don't have this concept. Every time I ate "pai choi", I would have a noticeable reaction to it immediately. The western doctors said it was normal. But Chinese doctors know about the difference. They are different. I went to see Chinese doctors in Taiwan sometimes, I drank the medicine too. The biggest difference between western medicine and Chinese medicine is that, for western medicine, you will see the result in a few days, but for Chinese medicine, it may take a few months, you have to wait. So I really don't know which of them is more effective. Generally, western medicine is effective, but people say drugs are not good.

**I:** This is one of the reasons of this project. Most of the foreigners think we Chinese, most of us, will go to see Chinese doctors when we fall ill and don't go to see the GPs. That is why the

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usage of the NHS -- the statistics are so low. That is why we want to find out the reasons. They wonder whether most of the Chinese people prefer to see Chinese doctors.

**F:** You wonder whether it is because of the language problem? I don't know, I don't know whether those people you are interviewing know English. I think -- are you wondering if those old people who came to this country earlier may not speak English and they may have this problem. There is -- but, because, I have a friend who works in the Chinese medicine centre, on Saturday, they have a lot of foreign patients -- some of them are old men or old ladies. They have a lot of foreign patients.

**I:** Yes, I was told that most of them are foreigners, they are not Chinese.

**F:** Not Chinese.

**I:** Yes. That is why we were surprised. Because we thought most of the patients were Chinese, but it was not so.

**F:** I found it very expensive. A bag of medicine costs £5, very expensive, it is very expensive. We here -- medicine -- see £5 can last -- I found it very expensive.

**I:** You mentioned about most of the problems related to mental and physical...

**F:** Yes, mental and physical, I think they are closely linked. When I first came here, I was not familiar with the environment, I had no friends and also I felt the pressure, I felt very tired, really. I wanted to see a doctor, but didn't know who to go to. Also the doctors, like what I said, the English people -- they said something very formally -- "How are you", "fine" -- just something like this. We went to the class and our teacher told us that if an English people asks "How are you", you must answer "fine", don't say, don't say you have any problems, they won't be prepared to listen to you.

**I:** Yes?

**F:** When you have a headache, don't mention it, talk to your doctor about the problem, don't mention it to other people. And when I asked the teacher how to answer, he (she) said to say "not bad", then they would not carry on asking about the problems. They won't ask what part of your body is not well. That is the difference -- we are very warm-hearted, we are like this. But now I know about it, before that I was a bit stupid and didn't understand that, and also no one taught me about that. So now I see some friends -- not from Taiwan, friends from other countries, whom I met mainly in the English class, I see them making the same mistakes as I did. But they are going home soon, so they don't care.

**I:** The class seems to be quite useful. It teaches you many things.

**F:** We learned it bit by bit. The course is grade number. The teacher has taught a lot of foreigners. He (she) has a Chinese student, who is a man and is quite old. He was absent for a few days and did not attend the class for a few days. And then when he came back to the class, the teacher asked him what happened and why he had not been attending the class. Probably the teacher asked the question quite casually. But then this Chinese man replied that he had been passing some black excrement (laugh).

**I:** (laugh)

**F:** The teacher said "Oh! Oh!". He (she) asked why he said that. But that was what he (she) had asked about. He (she) did not think so. Then he (she) decided to give us a lesson on the cultural difference. He (she) said we English people did not listen to something like this -- how could you mention something like this so casually. But we think that if you ask me, then I should tell you. Because you asked me, so I will tell you. That is quite interesting.

**I:** But how about yourself, you have been in this country for four years. During which period have you felt happier?

**F:** When I saw that my children were looked after well (laugh).

**I:** (laugh)

**F:** Yes. I find the countryside here very beautiful. Sometimes a trip out is quite good. But I don't like going out so much. It is because before we have a trip out, I have to do the packing. And then when we come back, I need to do a lot of laundry. Do you understand? My husband organised the trip and then when we were back, I had to do the washing. Our children, they enjoyed it very much. And they came back, I had to do the work. I felt very exhausted.

**I:** (laugh) So you don't go out?

**F:** No, we still go out. I just don't want to be out for so many days. If we go out for many days, I will feel very exhausted. My husband is a serious person. We travelled on the train -- a few years ago -- about two years ago -- at that time our children were still quite young -- we did not have a car, we travelled by trains. Our children were playing on the train and then my husband said "Look! You foreigners are making a loud noise on the train. That is not good". I said "but they are children". He just worried that they might disturb other passengers. If we were in Taiwan, that would not matter because we were all Chinese. But we are in a foreign country, we should behave better -- I feel this is very tiring. He [my husband] was very serious. The children did not care. But that affected me -- I did not feel the atmosphere was right -- I felt very tired on the journey.

**I:** Which is the hardest period since you came here?

**F:** The hardest period, that would be the first year.

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**I:** The first year.

**F:** The first year.

**I:** How did you cope with it?

**F:** I cried. After I cried for a few times, I felt better. If I did not feel good, I cried and then I felt alright.

**I:** Crying can help? Not for me. After crying, I still need a friend to talk with.

**F:** I might scold the children -- I don't know -- because my son did not behave well in the first year. How to say -- he was not really behaving badly. Because in Taiwan they had a lot of homework, but here all the sudden -- he realised that he can have a different kind of life. He was still young. He did not know what was right and what was not wrong. In Taiwan we felt that too much homework and pressure was not good. But here I worried that he might fail the exams. I was very worried about him. He is getting better now. He is not bad -- in his school, in the secondary school, some students are behaving very badly, they are really bad. Bullying is very common, real bullying.

**I:** Here?

**F:** Here, there are a lot of bad students in their secondary school. They are really bad. They fight. He is not bad, he did not join in, but he did watch. Not bad, he did not join them. He is not bad.

**I:** Have you talked about that with your friends or someone else, like people who are also parents.

**F:** Friends? If I have a worry?

**I:** Yes, would you?

**F:** I have a friend who is also from Taiwan. But they are going home this year. They also have a family. Because her husband is a job. He quit his previous job. But my husband did not. Our situations are quite similar because her husband is also not young. Her husband is from Hong Kong.

**I:** Is that so? Can he speak Cantonese?

**F:** Yes, he can. He is a profession here. They are going home this year. But my friend is a Taiwanese. Her husband lived in Taiwan. They thought of getting a job in Hong Kong because the wages in Hong Kong are high.

**I:** Yes, yes.

**F:** But there are not many opportunities there. There are more opportunities in Taiwan, more opportunities in Taiwan.

**I:** Accounting, accounting in Hong Kong...

**F:** Not accounting. Her husband does subject. They are going home soon. Sometimes they will chat with us. I also have -- {person} -- {person} is also quite good.

**I:** Did you meet her when you first came here?

**F:** Yes, when we first arrived. Because we stayed at {location} and my husband brought my daughter out -- shopping before Christmas -- and met {person}. She is nice. She said that if we had no friends, we could go to their house for Christmas. Since then, we went to their house every Christmas -- 24th, 25th, 27th, we went there (laugh).

**I:** That is pretty good.

**F:** {person} is very nice. We know her whole family.

**I:** Who can you go for if you still have any problems, since your friend is leaving.

**F:** I still have someone who I got to know through {person}-- {person} (??)-- An English woman. She is quite nice.

**I:** When you were in Taiwan, if you had any problems, who did you talk to?

**F:** Neighbours. They could not solve my problems, but after chatting with them, I felt better. The problems were still there, but you had someone to talk to. Talking about it is pretty important

**I:** Since we are Chinese, do you feel that you have greater pressure in this country?

**F:** It depends on your aims. If you come here to study only, you leave once you get your degree. If you move to here, it would not be easy to deal with the society here. You are -- a second class citizen. Things are like that. I don't know which kind of circumstances you are talking about? Like us, after we finish the study, we will leave. So all the pressure is only temporary, it will not be -- if I thought about staying here forever, then I'd have a lot to consider. I think they are different.

**I:** Yes, not the same. Because our orientations are not the same, attitudes are not the same.

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**F:** Not the same. Attitudes are not the same. But I think the children who grow up here, they will be completely different from us. Even in Taiwan, the old generations and young generations are very different, they are really different.

**I:** But do you prefer staying here?

**F:** If it is possible, I am willing to do so. Firstly, the environment is better.

**I:** You mean physical?

**F:** Yes, it is so disordered in Taiwan, very crowded. A high population and a high number of cars, people are everywhere. During holidays, Oh dear, all the parks are packed with people. You go there and all you can see is people. You will feel -- I don't know how about in Hong Kong.

**I:** The same.

**F:** People are everywhere. Also in Taiwan, we need to be quick all the time. People here are slow, and you feel that there is no need to hurry. But in Taiwan, always be quick, be quick, otherwise you can't compete with other people, you can't catch up, you have to be faster than other people. But it is not the same here. The education system is not same as ours. Like last time, my son's school has an award...

**I:** Ceremony?

**F:** Yes, ceremony. I attended that. They divided students by their results -- say top group, second group. Of course, they have different expectation on the students from the top group and the second group -- the teachers are not the same and neither is the homework. I found that they gave out the award to both groups of students. I was surprised to see one of the students -- because a girl who was my son's classmate in the primary school, she is also living in {location}, she came to see my son quite often. She pressed the bell and said she wanted to play with {son}. I found her so strange and I told her that {son} hadn't finished his homework yet. I asked her whether she would like to come in and do some work. She said yes. Then I found some homework for her to do. Two girls, they were two girls, their levels were not the same. It turned out that that girl did not know how to do multiplication. Then I did addition and subtraction with them. For the subtraction, she knew how to do minus nine, minus 10, but not minus 11. Because she used her fingers. For example, I said 31 minus 9, she did it in this way. She did not know how to do more than 10. I asked her to write down the time-table, but she could not. I asked her what year she was in -- year 5 -- in year 5, she still did not know how to do those things. She only knew how to read the time from a digital display, not the other way to tell the time. And on the ceremony that day -- she got an award for maths. I was very surprised. It sounds impossible -- she should not have been able to make such great progress in such a short time. It may be, because her teacher thought that her performance in the second group was quite good -- she also got a certificate. In Taiwan, this is not possible. I

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don't know about the other people, but I know her well because I had taught her. At that time, I also asked her to do a calculation -- I've forgotten the question already -- she did not do it correctly. How come she also got an award? People here have a different concept about what standard should be achieved to give out an award -- you don't have to get 100 to get an award. This is quite good for the children. This is quite a good learning environment. The homework and project which my son is doing is very different from what we used to do. When we were students, we had to do the homework and also pass all the tests. But here students need to search for a lot of books and to plan how to go about their work. For the children, here is better.

**I:** It may be better for the children, but how about for the adults, for example, how about job opportunities, friends...

**F:** Yes, less good. But my husband is better because he has got quite a lot of friends. He is better at speaking -- maybe this is down to his personality -- I think so -- so he has got quite a lot of friends.

**I:** But his friends are also your friends, aren't they?

**F:** His friends are mainly those from the university. He is also quite friendly with the teachers.

**I:** But do you gather together with them?

**F:** Yes, but I did not talk a lot. You might not think that way as I talk a lot with you (laugh).

**I:** Yes, yes, I don't think you can't talk a lot.

**F:** (laugh) My husband said "Look, how much you can talk -- you chatted on the phone for such a long time, how come you say you don't talk much" ... I don't have a lot to say, I don't have a lot to say. Unless I talk to those I am familiar with, otherwise I don't have much to say, especially in English conversations. The other day -- it is the holidays at the moment and we have no classes at the university -- a few "Tai Tai", who are going home soon, contacted {person}. Do you know her? -- {person}-- she is retired.

**I:** No.

**F:** She used to share the same office with him (her?). {person} retired last year. They asked {person} to teach us English and we paid a little bit of money. My course has finished already, so I went to that class. It is good to have a chance to speak a bit of English. I went to the class. A bit like an infection, they all got pregnant. Four of them got pregnant. They are still quite young, but they are pregnant. They talked about pregnancy and I listened to them. {person} asked me to talk about something. If she did not call my name, I would just sit there and not say a lot. I am usually like that. I sit there quietly. My husband often comments on it. Although I know that it is not good, I find it difficult to change myself.

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**I:** I feel that you are very active -- you visit other people.

**F:** Our friend said that I care too much about what other people think of me. She did not care. That is if I know how you think of me -- when I say something, I know you would think of me like that. I care too much about other people. I am looking for perfection. She does not care -- even though her English is not good, she still tries. I listen to her on the phone, I think she is a bit impolite. I think people would not understand our English. I said just say the main points, if they don't understand, what can we do? Then we will forget about all the polite words, like "please". When I listen to her, I was worrying about her. But when I say that myself, I make the same mistakes.

**I:** Is your husband more relaxed?

**F:** My husband, not really. But he is good at having funny chats with other people.

**I:** you mean he is a fun person.

**F:** I give your example. A man came to repair -- to check... (point to the firework)

**I:** Firework.

**F:** Firework. To check the gas. He chatted with my husband. My husband asked his name -- {name} -- a teacher at his department had the same first name and surname as the man -- he asked whether they had any connection. The man said his cousin had the same name as him, but he was not working at the university. Then my husband -- my husband's surname is {name}-- told him that his surname in Chinese also means "{name}", so they were both "{name}" -- belonging to the royal family. They both broke into a big laugh. (laugh).

**I:** (laugh).

**F:** I don't know how to chat with people like this.

**I:** Neither do I.

**F:** I don't know how to do that too. He is so capable -- he knows how to do that. I can't. It seems that it is in the nature of him. I listen to him and find it very interesting.

**I:** Yes. That is quite good.

**F:** He is capable of doing that. So he has a lot of friends. He has a lot of friends.

**I:** But I think you can do the same because you are also willing to chat with people.

**F:** I don't know. If it is not necessary, I won't say anything in the classroom, I just listen.

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**I:** But are you going to the class and attending the sports day?

**F:** Sports day -- it was because my son asked me to go there. I had to go. I did not go in the first year, and my son said "Mum, you did not come". Now he has quite a lot of friends. I did not go on some school trips with him. He asked me to go, but I did not. I don't know what I should do. If I go with him, I would remind him what to do and what not to do. I feel I will lose face. As a mother, I think I should tell him what is right and what is not right. But the foreign mothers don't care about this. I think if I went with him, I would be in charge of him. I don't think that is good. He would have more freedom if I don't go. I think I would not be able to control myself not to interfere.

**I:** Is your expectation a bit high?

**F:** Maybe. Our attitude towards children -- the cultures are completely different -- their mums don't care. They said give them freedom and they would learn it themselves later. I don't know. But our Chinese mums will tell our children what is right and then ask them to follow it and not to make mistakes. We tell them what is right. I don't know. We tell them to do this, not to do that -- the foreigners don't. A friend of mine, who is a teacher, told us that his (her) child jumped down from a high place. I said it was dangerous. At that time, my daughter was very small -- I was a bit worried. He (she) went to a pub with us. He (she) did not worry about his (her) child and said that his (her) child knew how to get down from the high place. But I worried. Place children in a high position and let them come down themselves -- I find it very ... looking for a word.)

**I:** Dangerous?

**F:** Yes, it is dangerous. But they have a different concept. He (she) is a teacher, he (she) has the experience and he (she) did not worry. But I worry a lot about my children. So I think I would better not go with my son.

**I:** You said earlier that the life here is more relaxing. Does that imply that people here are healthier?

**F:** No, I don't think so. I think that is because of the fresher air, a lot of space, a slower pace of life, so people here live longer. Also, because the welfare for the elderly people is good. I find that the social benefits here are good. Each month the elderly people can get £70, is it £70 or more...

**I:** I don't know.

**F:** The old lady next door gets £70. Mainly because the rhythm of life here is slower. Every Wednesday, they go to 'place', a kind of centre for the elderly people -- they come and bring them out. Every Wednesday.

**I:** They come every wed? That is quite good.

**F:** Every Wednesday. They bring them -- take them to the car. If you can't wash your hair or take a bath, they will help you. They help them to do what they can't do at home. Also, they give them tea and lunch. That is good. It is impossible in Taiwan. They paid £3 or £4, it is not expensive. Of course, you can't get the biscuits or bread twice. Coffee should be alright .... potatoes -- they have a Christmas party -- quite good -- the council pays for that. That is very good. Sometimes they go to see art exhibitions, to pubs. I find that is quite good. They have meals delivered to them.

**I:** yes.

**F:** Our next door's next door neighbour is 88. Our next door neighbour is also 88. He was 87 and this year he was 88. He is male. Our next door neighbour is a lady and she cooks for herself. But that man -- his wife has died already and he has no children -- so sometimes he has that kind of meal. It is very convenient as they are delivered to his home. He simply puts them into the oven. I feel the welfare benefits for the elderly people are better here. Also they are a bit different from us Chinese. We Chinese have the concept that bringing up children to help with their old age. They are not like this. The next door old lady, she is clever. Although she wants to have her son around, she thinks that her son has his own family problems and she does not want to disturb him. She is very good. She is clever. She said they had their own life, she did not want to go and disturb them. So her son helps her do the shopping every Thursday and buys her a newspaper and a lottery ticket every Saturday. That it is. Although she wants her son to come to see her, but she does not force him do so. To be like this is not ...

**I:** Not easy.

**F:** Yes, not easy. This is different from us Chinese. Some people may ask for help, but she is not like that. She will try to do things herself. She does not want people to think she is troublesome. She does not want people to feel disgusted with her. Her thinking is different from us.

**I:** Then do you think that we Chinese people here are healthier?

**F:** Healthier? I think first you have a job, you have money -- that is very important -- you have money -- then if you want to do something, like go to see a doctor, you will have no problem, isn't that so? If you want to live in a nice place, then it is no problem. Like here there are some areas -- with a lot of single parents, they use bad language. You have a stable income, that is very important, and you can live very healthily, I think (laugh).

**I:** (laugh).

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**F:** Isn't that so? You have money, you can afford to see a doctor or to be ill. A study has shown that rich people live longer (laugh). This is true. Rich people don't have to worry too much before they go to see a doctor. They don't have to take some difficult or dangerous jobs.

**I:** how about the health service of this country? Is it quite good?

**F:** Yes, but there is nothing more than that. If you need further treatment, you have to join the long waiting list. The dental treatment is expensive. The dental treatment is expensive. Some people don't have money to pay for that. This also happens.

**I:** What do you think about mental health? ... What do think about it?

**F:** Religions can be part of it. I feel religions can be very influential. I don't know whether those Chinese "Tai Tai" and Chinese ladies, who you have interviewed, have any religion. I think religions can be a factor. When we were in Taiwan, my husband was always very busy and I felt very bored at home all day. I sometime asked him to bring me out after his work. I told him that I was bored, tired, and was not comfortable staying at home. Later, I became a Buddhist. I bought some tapes and I felt better.

**I:** (laugh).

**F:** Sometimes, I listened to the tapes, to the Buddhist sermons. I felt better. Here some people go to church, I don't think it is useful. But many people don't go to church, many people don't go to church. Some people have gatherings at their homes or their friend's homes. Some people are doing that. Like this morning, I went to my daughter's sports day, her friend -- her classmate's mum -- her classmate's brother is the classmate of my son -- so we are quite familiar with each other. She does not like her mum's attitude towards religion -- she has her own interpretation about the Bible. Anyway, she is a good person. She probably doesn't go to church.

**I:** But do you go to church?

**F:** No, I don't.

**I:** You don't go there.

**F:** I don't, I am a Buddhist.

**I:** Are you still listening to those tapes here?

**F:** No. I've brought those tapes with me, but I haven't listened to them yet (laugh).

**I:** (laugh) Why didn't you listen to them?

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**F:** Firstly, I cannot find it possible to calm myself down, there are so many things to do and I cannot stop. I've brought some books with me, but I have not read them either.

**I:** But I think there is quite a lot of spare time here, isn't there?

**F:** It depends -- take the children to school and bring them home, and then go shopping. There should be plenty of time, but it is busy -- time is flying. After you take the children to the school, you don't have time to do much and then it is time to bring them home. I used to attend the class as well. I went to watch films with my friends a few times, and my husband went to pick up the children. Otherwise, I would not have been able to do that, if I had had to rush back to pick the children up. Now I also do the ironing, We didn't iron our clothes in Taiwan.

**I:** (laugh).

**F:** But here we have to do the ironing. I do it on my own, I do the ironing for four people, it is very tiring.

**I:** Very tiring.

**F:** Our children -- my son in the secondary school -- they have a lot of clothes. I don't know. He told me that his friend's mum did not wash his clothes for him -- every times he had a PE class, he used the spray to get rid of the odour. I said it would not be clean by just using the spray, the stain would still be there. The boy is dirty.

**I:** So you spend a lot of time doing...

**F:** Housework? Yes. I spend a lot of time doing housework. I want my children going out with clean clothes, I don't want them to be dirty. If there is any dirt on their clothes, I will wash them as soon as possible. One of my daughter's friends came to our house, they are dirty -- their mums don't do the washing --. it is not good. It is not important whether the clothes are good quality or not, but they should be clean.

**I:** That is pretty good ... Does any of your family members go to see a Chinese doctor? Apart from yourself -- you went to see a Chinese doctor once, how about your family members?

**F:** My family members are in Taiwan.

**I:** Your children?

**F:** Only I have seen a Chinese doctor here. But in Taiwan, they all go to see Chinese doctor.

**I:** How about your husband?

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**F:** My husband. In Taiwan, yes, he did.

**I:** But not here?

**F:** He doesn't like going to see a doctor here.

**I:** Why? Is he very healthy?

**F:** I don't know. He is not very healthy -- he likes taking medicine.

**I:** You mean he takes his own medicine. He takes his own medicine without seeing a doctor...

(Side B)

**I:** They gave you antibiotics, didn't they?

**F:** I would take them, but he -- he said antibiotics are not effective. I said how come you expect a result by taking them just twice -- they are not poison. You have to take the antibiotics for several days before you see the result.

**I:** Yes, yes.

**F:** I said that to him. It is hopeless. He does not see a doctor.

**I:** Does your family prefer Chinese medicine, your family?

**F:** No (laugh).

**I:** No (laugh).

**F:** The children don't have to pay for the treatment if you go to see a western doctor, but not a Chinese doctor. But for the chronic illnesses, I think Chinese medicine is better. For the children, western medicine is more effective. For example asthma -- like my son, he suffers from asthma when the weather is not good ...

**I:** I have that too.

**F:** You have that too. Ice-cold food is not good for asthma. But children can't resist ice-cold food. They need exercise in that kind of weather. Recently he hasn't taken the medicine. Do you use an inhaler?

**I:** I did.

**F:** How about now?

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**I:** Not now. I am not using it now, I have sore throat and it is very uncomfortable. I am not coughing now. I am not using it now.

**F:** How long have you used it for?

**I:** No. If I used it every day, I found my throat was very sore and I didn't like it.

**F:** Which one did you use -- blue or brown?

**I:** I used both.

**F:** When did you stop? ... Summer, when the weather is better.

**I:** Since March.

**F:** March -- it was still quite cold at that time. My son -- I told him recently -- your inhaler has steroids, isn't it? That one is not good, it can be addictive.

**I:** I asked them and they said it did not matter.

**F:** But that is not good. I talked with him, he studies medicine -- He talked to my son, but my son did not believe it -- he found using it very convenient -- he was surprised to hear that it could be additive -- he felt in great pain without it. When the weather got cold, he thought he needed it. Later, I told him that it was not good, not good, not good. Gradually, he gets better -- he forces himself not to use it. Sometime, I saw he was going to be short of breath, but he would overcome it and get better later. He did not use an inhaler in Taiwan. He started to use it here and it was not easy to stop. How many years did you use it for?

**I:** I started to use it last September... I did not have asthma before. I asked them why I got it, they said it is probably because of stress.

**F:** Stress?

**I:** They said many people did not realise it... But I didn't like it -- it made me uncomfortable.

**F:** You felt uncomfortable if you used it, but he felt uncomfortable if he did not use it.

**I:** Maybe we are not the same. It may be because I worried about the steroids, so I didn't like it.

## Interview extract two

[Mental Health of Chinese Women in Britain, 1945-2000](#)

**Information about interviewee**

Date of birth: Unknown  
Gender: Female  
Marital status: Married  
Occupation: Housewife  
Geographic region: London  
Interviewee's name: Ah Yuen (Y)  
Interview ID: interview08

Date -- 1/9/99  
Interviewee -- (Y)  
Interviewer - (I)

(Side A)

**Y:** I came here in late 1968.

**I:** You came here in late 1968? Many years already.

**Y:** 31 years already. 31 years already.

**I:** (laugh) It is really a long time. Why did you choose to come to England at that time?

**Y:** I met my husband and after we got married in Hong Kong, I applied to come to England.

**I:** You met your husband in Hong Kong?

**Y:** Yes.

**I:** He was working here [in England] already?

**Y:** After he worked here for a few years -- in the past, it was quite common for them to go back to Hong Kong to get a wife. Someone introduced us and we both fancied each other. At that time, it was alright to me to get married like that as I wanted to leave Hong Kong. It was like a gamble. It was really like a gamble.

**I:** You were very brave to think about going abroad as you were so young at that time.

**Y:** No. I was very innocent at that time. I was very obedient to my mum. The circumstance of my family was not very good. So I thought that if I married to someone whose financial situation was good, then it could help my family's finance.

**I:** Is that so? What rank are you?

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**Y:** I am the eldest.

**I:** You are the eldest sister.

**Y:** Yes. I have two younger brothers and two younger sisters.

**I:** As the eldest sister, you had to support your family?

**Y:** I went out to work in a factory when I was 14. I worked there for a few years. The factory was not a big one. It was situated in {location}. It was a small family factory which knitted gloves.

**I:** Knitting gloves?

**Y:** Knitting woollen gloves.

**I:** Was the pay good?

**Y:** Our salary was low. It was just so so.

**I:** Knitting gloves was very common at that time?

**Y:** Knitting gloves or jumpers was very common, and so was working in electronics factories. But there was no electronics factory in {location}. People went outside to work. I worked there and it was not bad. I worked with those people I knew in the area.

**I:** They introduced you to work there?

**Y:** Yes.

**I:** After you decided to come to England, were you worried about the adjustments?

**Y:** Yes.

**I:** What did you worry about most?

**Y:** There was a lot to worry about. I got pregnant right after I got married. It was a big problem. I came here two months after I got married and I was two months pregnant already. When I arrived, we did not have our own place. You know for those who were working at that time, they stayed in the place where they worked. Once my husband brought me here, he had to get another place to stay at.

**I:** They did not allow you to stay in the shop?

**Y:** We had no place. We had no place.

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**I:** How about his previous room? Could you stay with him in that room?

**Y:** No. It was not convenient once you had your wife. We tried to rent a place after we arrived.

**I:** So when you first arrived, you must have been very miserable as you were pregnant and you still had to look for a place to stay?

**Y:** It was not so miserable. I did not know to worry too much at that time. I followed other people's advice. People told me -- our relations had already rented a room for us. They helped us to get a room. So we went there to stay. We stayed there for quite a while. After my child was born, we moved to other place.

**I:** You have some relations here?

**Y:** They live far away. I don't have much contact with them. They live in {British city}. I have not met them yet.

**I:** Your husband has some relations here?

**Y:** All of them are the relations of him. All of them are his cousins. He has a few younger brothers, but they had not come to England yet at that time.

**I:** So when you first arrived, it was his cousins who helped look after you two?

**Y:** Not much. He worked. I was more than two months pregnant. When I first arrived -- I am not joking, we had no bowls or anything. We had to buy everything. I had only brought some of my clothes with me. We had nothing and we bought everything bit by bit.

**I:** Why didn't you wait until you gave birth to the baby before you came? It was dangerous to travel on the plane when you were pregnant.

**Y:** I did not want to stay in Hong Kong for longer. Once we got married, I had to stay with his family.

**I:** You stayed with his family after you got married?

**Y:** Yes. It was not so convenient. Also, I was not familiar with his family. I heard that it was quite difficult to get along with his family.

**I:** Could you stay with your family?

**Y:** Our place was very small and also I have a lot of brothers and sisters. Our place was small. So I thought it would be better to come here. Soon after I got married, I applied to come here and got it. I came here two months after I got married.

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I: Were you sad that you had no one from your family around you here?

Y: It was miserable. I would be very sad in the middle of the night. I cried. He comforted me. Sometimes I could not get to sleep at night -- as a girl who had never left home, I missed my mother, my father and my family. Though the circumstance of my family was not good -- though I did not miss those circumstances, I missed the people.

I: Also at that time, it was not easy to telephone to Hong Kong?

Y: You had to go to the post office in London -- they called it "Bu Ye Tian" at that time. It opened 24 hours a day. We went there in the morning to register, and waited for them to call us to a room. We talked for three minutes -- the cost was pre-paid. After 3 minutes, they would ask you to say good bye as the time was up.

I: So you could not telephone home very often?

Y: You could not telephone home very often.

I: It was expensive.

Y: We lived far away. Also it was expensive. Most of the time, we wrote letters. Sometimes, when we went to London and I missed home or there was something special, we would telephone home.

I: You came to London first after you arrived? Or did you go somewhere else first?

Y: I came here -- in this district.

I: Why did you choose this district of London?

Y: He worked in this district.

I: He has always worked in this district?

Y: He was not working in this district when he first arrived. He worked here before he got married. So we looked for a place in the nearby areas. It was because of him. And we have settled here for such a long time.

I: You mentioned earlier that when you first arrived, you rented a room ...

Y: The room we rented at that time was also on this street. It is very interesting. I am now on the front of the street and I used to live on the end of the street. We rented a room from those Indian people. The room was very small. We had not rented that room yet. I am muddling things up. At the beginning, it was his boss who rented out an empty room for us on the first

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floor. He could not get us a place immediately. So he allowed us to stay in that room. The room was originally a play room of his children. He tidied it up for us. We stayed there for a few months. We felt that it was not so convenient. Later, we moved to another place. Those houses were for renting. The landlord lived at another place. He divided the house into different rooms and rented them out. I rented one of the rooms. Our neighbours included Pakistanis, Indians. Later, some Chinese people came too. You know for a few families to use the same kitchen, the same toilet, was very troublesome. The children wanted their food at any time. We paid the gas when you used it.

**I:** Is that so? I don't know about it.

**Y:** When you used it, you put the money in. If you could not finish it, other people would use it up. Then when you wanted to use it again, the money was finished. But when other people used it, I did not dare to use it. It was very troublesome. It was troublesome. At that time, central heating was not common. People used the heater. When you wanted to use the heater -- those have two wires...

**I:** That one is quite dangerous.

**Y:** Yes, it is very dangerous. It is very dangerous.

**I:** Those have two red bars?

**Y:** Yes. When you were cold, you needed to turn it on. But the rent did not include the heating. There was a box which was next to the switch. You put 10 pence -- 10 shillings at that time. We still used shillings -- when the money finished, the heater switched off automatically. Then we put in more money. It cost a lot. Though you put 10 shillings, you may get only 5 shillings worth of electricity. The rest of the money was taken by the landlady.

**I:** She made some profit.

**Y:** But you had no choice and you were forced to use it.

**I:** Especially since you had children, it would be more difficult not to use it.

**Y:** Yes, if you have children.

**I:** Adults may be able to cope with it, but not the children.

**Y:** I am afraid of the cold very much.

**I:** (laugh) You are afraid of the cold too.

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**Y:** I am afraid of the cold very much. I am very much afraid of the cold. I was very thin at that time, though I am fat now.

**I:** No. You are just right.

**Y:** I was only 80 odd pounds at that time. I am now 110 odd pounds. It is a big difference.

**I:** You were so thin at that time?

**Y:** Yes. I was small and thin. Now I am fat. I got fat after I gave birth to my two children. I am even fatter recently. My figure had been kept for twenty years. Over the last few years, I have got fatter a bit.

**I:** Why? Happier?

**Y:** No. Maybe I am getting old.

**I:** No.

**Y:** Not much exercise. I have got fatter a little bit. (091)

**I:** Is that so? I feel that you are just right. If you say you are 51, your figure is very good in comparison with those English people. They feel that we are very slim.

**Y:** Is that so?

**I:** Yes.

**Y:** Maybe the frame of my bones is small.

**I:** I feel that your figure is good.

**Y:** I prefer as slim as you.

**I:** I will be happy if my figure would be like you when I reach your age. Think about it, as the most important factor is that I have had children yet.

**Y:** Yes. I was 80 odd pounds. Then I became 90 odd pounds after I gave birth to two children.

**I:** My mum was like that. My mum told me that her waist was 20 inches.

**Y:** Oh.

**I:** None of the girls in my family has a 20 inch waist.

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**Y:** You must be at most just 26 inch.

**I:** But when my mum was young, her waist was only 20 inches.

**Y:** When I was young, my waist was 22 inches already. I was not as slim as your mum.

**I:** I don't know how she could be like that. But now her waist is 30 odd inches.

**Y:** Your mum is just 30 something?

**I:** I am not quite sure, but her trousers are very loose.

**Y:** 30 odd inch waist of the trousers. I am 30 inches now.

**I:** She is 30 odd inches. She has to alter the waist of the trousers every time she buys trousers. I think it is because she has a big belly.

**Y:** Then why doesn't she buy something looser? If so, no alterations are needed.

**I:** For those pretty styles, they are always like that. My mum is very fastidious about clothing.

**Y:** Hong Kong people are like this. City people are like this. They pay great attention to that. They make themselves up when they go out.

**I:** Yes. My mum does. I don't wear make up.

**Y:** Instead, you don't wear make up.

**I:** Maybe it is because I spend most of my time in the university, I seldom wear make up. My mum has a full make-up every week when she goes out.

**Y:** It depends on who you are going out with.

**I:** That is true.

**Y:** As a student, you don't have to do so. No one ...

**I:** My classmates don't wear make up. It would be very strange if I did wear make up.

**Y:** Yes.

**I:** What was the biggest adjustment after you arrived?

**Y:** The biggest adjustment -- I had to adjust to everything. Like, the expressions of other people. Even those Chinese people -- I knew nothing -- like, going shopping. It was funny -- I

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brought a whole load of coins with me, but I did not know how much to pay for even when I bought a pack of vegetable. I asked the people to take the exact amount from the coins.

**I:** It happened quite often?

**Y:** Yes.

**I:** How did you know whether anyone took more than it should be?

**Y:** No. They were English people. There were not so many Indian people at that time. At that time, many English people ran small shops -- like the green grocery shops. There were not -- very small shops. It was only temporary. Later, I learnt how to pay the money. Sometimes, I paid more and they would give me the extra back.

**I:** That is quite good.

**Y:** They would give the extra back to you. They were honest and they wouldn't deceive you. They wanted the business.

**I:** Did you have any difficulty in travelling with the public transport?

**Y:** I did not go far away too often. I did not travel around.

**I:** Most of the time, you stayed at home.

**Y:** When my husband was off work, he would bring me to watch movies or go to London to "drink tea".

**I:** When did you start working?

**Y:** When my son was four and my daughter was two, I brought them back home -- to Hong Kong.

**I:** Your son is older?

**Y:** My son is older. He was born first. When he was two years and two months old, the daughter was born. When my daughter was two years and four months and my son was four and half years old, I brought them back to Hong Kong. We stayed there for almost two years.

**I:** You left your husband behind here?

**Y:** Yes. At that time, we were renting. So after we left, he went back to stay at the shop. It was not a problem. I brought them to Hong Kong to stay with my mum. Before I brought them back, I came across a girl who was also from my village. She told me that she had bought a

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flat in our village and that was quite good. She told me some of the flats were still on the market and if I wanted one, I could ask my mother to buy one for me. I had no money at that time, but I dared to telephone my mum, "Someone has bought a flat there. She said it was quite good." And the builder was my family's relation. That person was the elder sister of my uncle. I told my mum about this. She said she would try. Finally, we bought a flat there -- on the second floor. When the building work finished, I needed to go back to have a look.

**I:** Why did you think of buying a property there as you had settled here already?

**Y:** I thought ... I don't know what I thought at that time -- I thought about bringing them back there [Hong Kong] to study. My thinking was strange. I thought about bringing them back. I thought about going back in the future. I did not expect to stay in England permanently. I brought them back and went to see the flat. I asked some people to decorate it and I bought some furniture. I moved in and stayed there for two months. My husband was still here. After two months, I ... later, I moved back to stay with my mum and I rented the flat out. I got some rent. I seemed to prefer to stay with my mum. She helped look after them and looked for a kindergarten.

**I:** Looking for a kindergarten in Hong Kong?

**Y:** Yes. I went back to work in a small family factory for more than one year.

**I:** You worked in Hong Kong?

**Y:** I earned very little money. The money I earned was not enough to see the doctor when they were ill.

**I:** If you only earned so little money, then why did you decide to work?

**Y:** My mum could look after them. They did not need my special attention. I had some spare time. My younger sister was working there and she told me, "Elder sister, you have spare time. We have vacancies. You can come to join us." There were no fixed working hours. And I could earn some money. It seems that I was happier with my two children than with my husband. So I did not rush to come back (laugh). Later, less than two years, I came back here and left my two children to be looked after by my mum.

**I:** So your children went to school in Hong Kong?

**Y:** Yes. They went to school there for 10 years.

**I:** For 10 years.

**Y:** My daughter finished Form one and my son finished Form two when they came back here. They went to secondary school here, then went to the universities. After my daughter

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graduated from the university, she went back to work in Hong Kong. Her Chinese is very good. Her Chinese writing is very good.

**I:** It should be if she had studied in Hong Kong.

**Y:** She studied in {school's name} school.

**I:** {school's name} school is quite good.

**Y:** My flat is just next to the school. But they stayed with my mum. They liked staying there. After 10 years, I urged them to come back. They did not want to. I said that, "1997 is

coming. If you don't come back, you will be a mainlander when the Chinese government takes over Hong Kong." I urged them, but they did not want to. Finally, I called them back. When they came back, we did not own the whole house yet and we lived upstairs.

**I:** They must have a lot of adjustments when they came back?

**Y:** They were not happy themselves. You know the English level in Hong Kong schools is not good. Even though they're in the secondary schools, they are not using English all the time. In general, they use Cantonese.

**I:** Yes. Yes.

**Y:** English does not occupy a lot of teaching time. When they first came back, they were very distressed. They was not happy to go to school.

**I:** Did they complain, "Why do you ask me to come back"?

**Y:** They were not so happy. I prepared the breakfast for them in the morning. After the breakfast, they did go to school. Later, they were happy. They were relaxed enough to go to school after the breakfast. They started to get used to it. Their pressure was not as great as it was at the beginning. At the middle of the year, my daughter's teacher asked me to see her -- because if someone finished Form 1 in Hong Kong -- my daughter finished Form 1 in Hong Kong already, but they required my daughter to repeat Form 1 again. They said it was because her English was not good.

**I:** She could not follow ...

**Y:** They thought that she could not follow, so they asked her to repeat.

**I:** But her maths should be better than the students here.

**Y:** Yes. She finished Form 1 in Hong Kong. She started Form 2 here. Her teacher talked to me at the middle of the year. She wanted her to repeat Form 2. She said she was good and had no problem. When she first started, she attended the special classes. She attended classes with other students, but attended the special classes for English sometimes. They required her to repeat a year and so did my son. After one year, the teacher saw me again. She said, "The result of her daughter is very good. Follow this progress, I am sure she will enter to university."

**I:** Is that so?

**Y:** It means that she was very good and she could go to the university. She worked quite hard. If the home was noisy, she would go to the library to study. (189)

**I:** Your children are capable of studying. The children of some of the people I met do not do well ...

**Y:** She was alright. She studied in a girl's secondary school. Later, she went to a college to study A-levels. Then she chose to go to {British} University. She studied there for three years. After she graduated, she went back to Hong Kong.

**I:** She went back to Hong Kong.

**Y:** She went back to Hong Kong to work.

**I:** Relatively, your children have done very well as they both went to the university.

**Y:** I don't say they have done very well. Like my son, he has problems. It seems that there is a barrier and he cannot overcome it.

**I:** If he has chosen a wrong subject, there is nothing he can do now.

**Y:** I feel that he has chosen a wrong subject. His result is not particularly good. But between them, their results in the university were "middle upper".

**I:** Their results were both "middle upper".

**Y:** They graduated with "middle upper" -- how to say it -- "two one".

**I:** "Two one" is "middle upper".

**Y:** Their results were both "middle upper". Later, he said he wanted to study for a {qualification} degree. He has then studied that and he has not graduated yet.

**I:** He is still studying? What is his subject now?

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Y: {Subject}

I: He has changed to study for a {qualification}. That's interesting.

Y: He used to study {subject} as an undergraduate.

I: He does not have to stick to it. He can change to other subjects.

Y: I don't really know about him. His seniors do not approve of him and he cannot pass it.

I: I know. He is working on his thesis. It is a bit like us. We do not have a time limit. You write it up yourself and then take an exam. If your supervisor and those external ...

Y: You are also doing a {qualification}

I: I am doing a {qualification}.

Y: A {qualification},

I: If they are not satisfied, you have to rewrite it again and again until they are satisfied.

Y: Yes. If you cannot pass it...

I: There is no fixed time limit. I think he is doing that sort of study.

Y: I don't see him writing a lot. He faces the computer most of the time.

I: He works on the computer. I also face the computer most of the time.

Y: You also face the computer.

I: We don't write it by hand any more. We write on the computer. You cannot finish it in a rush.

Y: People always ask me, "How is your son's studying. He has grown up now. Does he has a girlfriend?" I said not yet. I told them not to ask me, not to bother me. I don't know how to answer those questions. I am very vexed already. When I asked him about it, he said, "I am vexed. I don't know how to tell you." How can I answer those questions from those outsiders. I have no obligation to give them an answer. I am vexed myself. There is no point in telling them more about my son. Even if I tell them about it, they won't understand. I don't want to tell them everything. I said, "I don't know. Don't ask me. I am very vexed."

I: I think he is vexed himself.

Y: Yes. I don't dare to ask him about it.

**I:** Because if he did it, but they did not give him a pass, then there would not be much he could do. He has to change it. Also the pressure is great.

**Y:** So he works part-time for two days in a week. It is not a big company or a big shop. It is a family business. They sell computers. He works there for two days to earn some money. At least, he can support his car and his own expenses. At home, he eats what I cook. I will buy all the necessities for the house. He does not need to spend on this. Sometimes, when I go out, I buy him some shirts or trousers.

**I:** You still do this for your son even though he has grown up now? My mum has stopped doing this for my younger brother many years ago already.

**Y:** If you don't buy it for him, he won't buy it for himself. Even if there is a hole on his shirt -- he keeps wearing his old shirts. Sometimes, I throw them away secretly.

**I:** You are still looking after him a lot?

**Y:** Yes. At home, he eats what I cook. There is no shortage of food at home.

**I:** You mentioned that you went back to Hong Kong and worked in a factory with your younger sister -- what did you do? (240)

**Y:** Knitting gloves again.

**Y:** After I left them behind in Hong Kong. I went to work in the factory here.

**I:** How did you get the job?

**Y:** I got the job through the introduction of my friend. When I met my friend, I asked her, "What are you doing?" "I am working in a factory" "What do you do?" "Sewing jeans."

**I:** It is difficult.

**Y:** I did not know sewing. I did not know sewing, but I followed her to go there. At that time, it was those Greek people who ran the shop. The shop was famous -- {name} jeans. I guess the shop is closed down already. At the time, the shop was famous. They sewed jeans in different divisions. I did not know about it at all. They allowed people to learn for a month.

**I:** They allowed you to learn.

**Y:** They didn't charge any money. Instead, they paid you some money -- the basic salary.

**I:** It was quite good. It is better than in Hong Kong.

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**Y:** They gave you the basic salary. A supervisor would teach you. At that time, six to seven of us were there. We all got a sewing machine. They gave me something to practise. When we were ready, we worked on the line. They had different divisions. At the beginning, I sewed the labels, seams, attached the pockets, or attached the zip. They divided the job into different divisions.

**I:** Which division were you in?

**Y:** My division -- are you wearing jeans? I did this one.

**I:** This one. Was it difficult?

**Y:** This one -- joined a small piece of cloth and the trouser legs together.

**I:** Because my mum also sewed jeans. When I was younger, she brought me there to do the "ears".

**Y:** Doing the "ears" is quite simple.

**I:** I could not do them. She then asked us to cut the threads. {Describes sewing the jeans}. So I know a bit of the divisions of sewing jeans.

**Y:** I did only that one. Some of my friends -- they called it a "Chain Machine" which has two lines. {Describes sewing the jeans}.

**I:** Did you enjoy your job?

**Y:** It was alright. After I left my two children, I had to get a job here. I did not want to work in restaurants or take-aways?

**I:** Why didn't you want to work there?

**Y:** I did not like that kind of job. It was uncomfortable to go into the kitchen. It was wet. I preferred jobs which were more gentle. I don't look like someone who works in the kitchen. So I worked in the factory for a few years.

**I:** You worked there for a few years.

**Y:** I worked for those western people. At the beginning, there were six to seven Chinese people. It was quite happy. During the lunch time, we occupied a long table. We chatted. I worked in {a place} ...

**I:** You were talking about working in the factory...

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**Y:** We had to pay tax at that time. They reported me as a part-time worker and I only paid very little tax. It was a disadvantage.

**I:** It was a disadvantage?

**Y:** Because if I was sick, I would not get any money.

**I:** Is that so?

**Y:** In the past, it was not like this. But after Thatcher came into power, those who work part-time would not get any money for sick leave.

**I:** Why didn't they report you as a full-time worker?

**Y:** I don't know the reason.

**I:** But you paid less tax.

**Y:** Yes, I paid less tax. Before that, my relation who was also reported as a part-timer was sick. During the period when she was in the hospital and was taking rest at home, she still got some money. It was paid by the government. Later, I was ill – I had {medical condition}. I went into the hospital, but I could not get any money. Thatcher had just come into power and she abolished that benefit.

**I:** It was bad. So did you pay for the operation?

**Y:** No. In England, you don't have to pay money when you are sick.

**I:** In Hong Kong, people pay to see a doctor.

**Y:** No. In the past, you did not have to pay. You paid for the medicine only. If the hospital gives you the medicine, you don't have to pay for it. But if they give you the prescription only, then you have to pay for the medicine.

**I:** Did they tell you that they reported you as a part-time worker?

**Y:** At that time, I could not speak English. Even until now I still cannot speak English. I needed someone to help. When the supervisor asked me to do something, if I could understand it, I would do it immediately; otherwise, I would ask someone to explain it for me.

**I:** So you did not know the difference?

**Y:** No, I did not know. After my illness, I went back to work and asked them to report me as "full-time" worker. I paid more tax then. But not long after that, I stopped working there.

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I: Why?

Y: Because it was a really hard job. I got up at 6:20 in the morning -- it was not bright yet. It was not too bad in the summer, but it was miserable during the period before and after Christmas. It was dark. I got up at 6:20 in the morning when other people were still sleeping. I did not dare to make any noise -- we were renting and had not moved to here yet. I had only five minutes to get dressed, to wash my face and to drink a glass of water. There was no time for the breakfast. Also I could not eat at that early time. I then went to the bus stop and the bus would just have arrived. My time was very tight. If I was a bit late, the bus would have gone already. If I was a bit early, I would have to wait. We started working at eight.

I: You started working at eight up until what time?

Y: Up until 4:45.

I: It is a bit like nine to five, but you started an hour earlier.

Y: An hour earlier. Forty-five minutes for lunch. They had a canteen. (320)

I: You felt that the job was hard, so you quit?

Y: My husband worried about me. You know he worked in the kitchen and always got home after 12 -- most likely he came home at 1 in the morning. When he got back, I was in a sound sleep already -- I went to bed at 11 at the latest. Therefore, we seldom had time to talk. In the morning, when I got up, he was very sleepy, though he would still open his eyes and see what I was doing. We seldom had time to see each other. I finished work at 4:45, but after I travelled with different buses, I would finally get home at 6. At that time, he had got back to work already. I did not have time to see him.

I: Yes, you two saw each other very little.

Y: Ten years or so ago, it snowed a lot in England. It was cold. Sometimes when the snow was very heavy, even the factory would advise us to go home earlier in order to catch the bus. He worried about me. Later, we learnt that some people deliver the sewing work to people's homes.

I: So you did that instead?

Y: I changed to do that.

I: Did you earn less from that?

**Y:** I earned more, I earned more because I did not have to pay tax. Since you do it privately, if no one reports it, the authorities will not know about it. If the factory does not report it to the authorities and neither do you, the authorities will not know about it.

**I:** In that case, you got no benefits.

**Y:** No. No.

**I:** You would not get money when you were ill.

**Y:** No. Nowadays, I heard that people who work in the factory would get paid for the bank holidays and also 17 day extra holiday. They are paid holidays. They are the benefits. So during the Christmas period, people would get three days holidays. If they add two more days, they would get five days holidays. Join that with the weekends before and after Christmas, they would get 10 days paid holiday. But you got more freedom by working at home. It did not matter whether I preferred to work up until 12 o'clock or I started my work in 7 in the morning or 2 in the afternoon. It gave you more freedom. You decided how much you want to work on. Say, today I would like to see a friend and not to work. It is right. But it would not be possible if I worked in the factory.

**I:** So that is quite good. I thought that it was harder and earned less to work at home.

**Y:** It depends on how hard you work on it. In the morning, before I started working, I would have my breakfast, I would tidy the house up, I would do the laundry -- I prefer hand-washing. Even now I don't use a washing machine, I do the washing by hand. I separate those white and those black. I wash them by hand. If I put them all into the washing machine, they will mix together.

**I:** You are quite fastidious.

**Y:** Yes. Also the clothes are more durable if you do hand-washing.

**I:** Yes. They will be more durable.

**Y:** I regard hand-washing as a kind of exercise. Some people start their work soon after they get up. They work up until the evening. They are more tired. If you do some housework, wander around, and then work for an hour, and then take a break and have a cup a tea, you would feel more refreshed.

**I:** Why were you willing to part with your children and leave them behind in Hong Kong at that time?

**Y:** I was not willing to part with them. I was not willing to part with them. But they preferred to study in Hong Kong. At that time, their health was not very good.

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**I:** But you were not around to look after them?

**Y:** My mum knew how to look after them. I did not know how to look after them.

**I:** What problems did they have?

**Y:** They had a bit of asthma.

**I:** Asthma cannot be cured in Hong Kong.

**Y:** They started to have it here.

**I:** You would rather to let them to see the doctors in Hong Kong. Did you feel miserable as your two children were not staying with you for so many years?

**Y:** It was. Ten years. After ten years, I asked them to come back.

**I:** Did it affect the relationship between you and them?

**Y:** Of course. It did. We had a gap, when they first came back. We had a gap. I could not tell them something in loud voice. Also I could not tell them something in low voice as they would not listen to me. If I talked to them in a loud voice, they would say I was fierce. Since we were not so close, they, the children, would not forgive me for many things.

**I:** They were just children.

**Y:** They were in their teens.

**I:** They were still very young.

**Y:** They were about 13 and 14. If they had stayed with me and had got used to acting like a spoiled child in front of me, then even if I told them off in a loud voice, they would forget about it when they got up the next morning. But since we were not close, they needed to take a much longer time to accept me again. Also, people at their ages are more rebellious. Young people nowadays become rebellious younger than we used to. We were rebellious when we were about 16 and 17. But for them, they start to be rebellious when they are 13 or 14.

**I:** So the most difficult time would be the period after they first came back?

**Y:** Yes. It was difficult for me as well as for them. Because they had to adjust themselves to the new school environment. They had to start everything all over again. They had no friends here.

**I:** So you needed a lot of skills to talk to them at that time?

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**Y:** Yes. I accommodated to them a lot.

**I:** Was anyone able to give you any advice or to help you?

**Y:** No.

**I:** You tried to do it yourself?

**Y:** Say, I would buy things which they liked. But I wouldn't do everything for them. It depends on my finance. I did sewing at home when they went to school. Our finance was not that good as only one of us had a full-time job. We had not taken over the downstairs yet. All of us squashed upstairs.

**I:** So conflicts may occur?

**Y:** My daughter was very "stiff-necked". If she was angry with me, she would not talk to me for a week.

**I:** That serious?

**Y:** She would not talk to me. It was hard to accommodate. Sometimes, if I was not happy, I grieved about it myself in my room. I would not transfer my anger to them. They had their own difficulties when they started going to school here.

**I:** What did you and your husband do in order to improve your relationship with them?

**Y:** No. We did not do anything special. Sometimes, when my husband wanted to scold them, I would stop him. For example, he said, "Look at other children. Look at you two yourselves." I would then say to my husband, " Things are not the same. Our children have been away for such a long time. How come you expect them to be the same as they were when they were babies. They have grown up now. If you sit closer to them, they will move."

**I:** That serious?

**Y:** Because she is a girl. How come a daughter would want to sit so close to her father?

**I:** So it was very difficult to adjust after such a long separation. Did you expect to separate from them for such a long time?

**Y:** No. I thought it would be for 3 to 4 years only. Every time we phoned them and asked them to come, they refused.

**I:** You had visited them in Hong Kong?

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**Y:** I went there once every two or three years. I went back quite often.

**I:** Even so, their relationship with you was still not close?

**Y:** It was not that bad. We did go out together. But -- my two children are a bit unsociable -- a bit strange. I don't know whether it was because they were left to be looked after by other people.

**I:** How about their relationship with their grandmother?

**Y:** It is good. My family is very fond of them.

**I:** Maybe it is because they were close to their grandmother that they were not so close to you.

**Y:** But her relationship with her grandmother is not so good now.

**I:** Not so good now.

**Y:** Because they are not living together any longer.

**I:** So she is not so close to her grandmother even though she is in Hong Kong now?

**Y:** When she was young, she went to school by holding hands with her grandmother. She has grown up now. They are not as close as they used to be. When I went back to see them when they were young, they would hold my mother's hands instead of my hands. My mother looked after them -- bought them clothes, cooked them meals, looked after them when they were ill. They were very close. When I first went back to see her, I examined her from head to toe and said, "Why are you so thin?" or something else. She was scared of me and did not talk to me (laugh). It was a long time for us to get close again. They know that I treat them well. They are my children. I don't want to moan at them so often. I told them off only because I wanted them to learn something good. When they got older, our relationship got better.

**I:** It takes time. When was the happiest time in England since you arrived here?

**Y:** I don't know how to say. Nothing really special. They are the same.

**I:** How about now? Your children have grown up and you have your own house.

**Y:** The life is easier, but my mind is still heavy.

**I:** Why is your mind heavy?

**Y:** My son. My daughter is living alone in Hong Kong. A while ago, she went to see the doctor for a skin allergy. She felt very itchy. She went to the A {Hong Kong} University to see a Chinese doctor -- is that right?

**I:** Yes. That is a new service -- in both the {A Hong Kong} University and the {A Hong Kong} University.

**Y:** It seems that she went to the {A Hong Kong} hospital. She went to see a Chinese doctor. She tried a lot of western medicine, but it did not help. She has a skin allergy.

**I:** There are a lot of Chinese doctors in Hong Kong. There is no need to go to the {A Hong Kong} hospital. But she lives quite close to the hospital.

**Y:** She boiled the medicine in the evening. No one helps her.

**I:** Instead, she goes to see a Chinese doctor?

**Y:** She went there because there was no other alternative. The western medicine does not cure the cause. She was itching and she got some medicine from the doctors. After a few days, it came back -- maybe she had eaten something wrong. So she went to see a Chinese doctor. She said it is getting better now.

**I:** Do you see Chinese doctors here?

**Y:** Very seldom. About 10 years ago, I went to China Town to see Dr name.

**I:** For what sort of problem?

**Y:** {Medical condition}. I am very careful in my diet now. I can't eat duck, "Dong Kuai", "Ginseng", or "Pilose Antler".

**I:** Your body is "hot"?

**Y:** My body is "hot". I cannot take any tonic.

**I:** You will waste it even if you take it.

**Y:** It is not about wasting it. But the result will be bad -- I will get a red and itching face, and also my body. I have to eat something light.

**I:** That is good.

**Y:** For me, a small jar of "Ji Jing" will be enough for me.

**I:** Once a week is enough?

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**Y:** Yes. Once a week. Sometimes I do not take it if I don't feel like having it.

**I:** Do you feel more energetic after you take it?

**Y:** If I feel that I am lacking in energy, I will take one. I feel better then.

**I:** How is your health?

**Y:** Apart from hay fever, I don't have any big problem.

**I:** You have hay fever. I thought it was your son who had it.

**Y:** He has that and so do I. People tell me not to do any work in the garden. But I like it. I blow my nose when I am working in the garden.

**I:** Is it bad?

**Y:** Yes. When I first got it, I was miserable as I was pregnant with my daughter.

**I:** How many years have you had this problem?

**Y:** 28 years already.

**I:** You have hay fever since you arrived here?

**Y:** No. I have been here for 31 years. I did not have it before I was pregnant with my daughter. I don't know whether it was because it was hot and I did not wear enough. I got the cold and it developed to hay fever.

**I:** You have the problem every year?

**Y:** It has been better in the past two years -- in the past few years. It has not been that bad. I feel that this year has been the best.

**I:** No big problem.

**Y:** No big problem.

**I:** Apart from hay fever, do you have any other problems -- how about sleeping and eating?

**Y:** I cannot sleep very well. I feel a bit of pain on my heart when I get up.

**I:** Why?

**Y:** I worry about the future of my son.

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I: You worry about your son quite a lot.

Y: Yes, I worry about him a lot. And also my family and my daughter.

I: In fact, they are doing quite well, you should not have to worry about them.

Y: No. My son is 30 now.

I: What do you worry about him?

Y: A lot. A lot -- like his health. His health is not so good. He still gets the hay fever.

I: You cannot get rid of it completely.

Y: Asthma.

I: It is difficult to get rid of it.

Y: That is one of the problems. Also he is 30 now, but he has no girlfriend.

I: It is difficult for him as he studies subject.

Y: Is that so?

I: When I was in the university, we found that they were the most difficult group to get girlfriends.

Y: Why?

I: In the class, they are all boys. How can they get the girls? That was why they went to the ball every year. They would give out free tickets to girls and invited them to the ball. Not just him. Around the world, those who study subject find it difficult to get a girlfriend. Also since they communicate with boys most of time, they don't know much ....

Y: The biggest problem is that he does not have many Chinese friends. His university used to be a polytechnic. But now it is a university. Many of the students are foreigners. They left once they finished the course.

I: You don't want him to have a foreign girlfriend?

Y: I cannot control it, though it would be better if she was a Chinese.

I: But the Chinese society here ...

Y: Very small.

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**I:** He has not made many Chinese friends since he arrived?

**Y:** No. A lot of problems. Many boys in his age have their own career, girlfriends and some of them may have got married already. He has nothing.

**I:** It doesn't matter. He is not old yet.

**Y:** The biggest problem is about his nose allergy. I ask him to see a doctor, but he does not want to. He has a stuffed nose very often. Sometimes, when I talk to him, he makes "Ha Ha" - he breathes with his mouth. I ask him to see a doctor, but he ignores me and walks away. His health is the biggest problem.

**I:** If he is that bad, you would better to force him to see the doctor.

**Y:** He does not listen to me. First of all, I cannot speak. He has to talk to the doctor himself. If he does not talk, there is nothing I can do. It is not like in Hong Kong where if I forced him to go to the clinic, the doctor would then see him. Here, you need to make an appointment. In the clinic, you need to wait too. During the waiting, he may just walk away.

**I:** If his health is better ... (Side B)

**Y:** I make soup every other day. I make soup at least three times in a week. The meals are a balanced diet. He does not like eating fish. Also, unlike in Hong Kong, it is hard to get fresh fish in England.

**I:** Yes. It is different. We eat frozen fish.

**Y:** I cook meat and vegetables. He likes chicken. Today, I will make roasted chicken. And also vegetables. I will give him enough to eat. He is not eating so much now. He says he does not want to get fat.

**I:** Is that so? Ask him to do some exercise.

**Y:** Exercises will help. He has a big belly. He is not so tall. He looks a bit fat. It is troublesome.

**I:** But he has grown up now, you should not have to worry too much.

**Y:** It is still a problem. Like my husband, he will retire in a few year time. But our life won't be a problem after he retires. I have some savings in the bank. When he retires, we can use the money. I have been saving money for our old age. Some people are not like this -- they spend all of their earnings. They buy a lot for their house. My home is very simple. We don't have many things.

**I:** So you are a good planner?

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Y: You cannot predict what will happen.

I: Are you familiar with the social services and the welfare system in England?

Y: No.

I: Can someone tell you? For example, where to get the benefits or to get help?

Y: No. I don't know who can help me. So far, I don't need it.

I: Because one of our questions is that whether you know about the health services or ...

Y: I only know that when I am sick, I will go to see the doctor.

I: Do you know about their services which are provided especially for women, like, the screening ...

Y: Is that for the breasts? I went to have that once.

I: Breasts, womb ...

Y: I have finished it already.

I: They don't require you to have it anymore?

Y: I had an {operation} in 1989. Nine years before 1989, I was 32 or 33. I had a {medical condition}.

I: A {medical condition} is not something very serious.

Y: It was not serious. But nine or ten years later, I had it internally and externally.

I: Why was it?

Y: I don't know why.

I: Did the doctor explain the reason to you?

Y: No. They said there was a {medical condition}. I went to the hospital and they gave me some medicine. I asked someone to be my translator. They said there was {medical condition and procedure}

I: We all ask her not to do so. But the doctor really suggested to her to have an operation. We said that those doctors in Hong Kong are not trustworthy as they ask people to have

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operations so easily. We asked her not to do so and seek other alternatives. The doctor had that suggestion. I know that it is very inconvenient for her.

Y: It is only temp.

## Life story interviews

Atkinson (1998) defines a sociological life story as "the story a person chooses to tell about the life he has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another" (p.8, italics omitted).

The life story technique puts greater emphasis on eliciting personal narratives, that is, asking the interviewees to tell their life stories in their own words and recounting events in their preferred order without asking them too many direct and predetermined questions.

This enables the interviewees to arrange their experiences and relate them to other life events.

However, the life story is often more than just a narration of events. It can be argued that this respondent-led process facilitates organisation, clarification and sometimes justification of the life experiences. It should also be noted that not all stories are neatly organised, and that can also be an interesting feature for investigation.

The life story technique specifically permits the detailed study of complex relationships of experiences across time and should cover the life story right up until the present day, whereas the oral history interview covers an aspect of someone's life and the timeline of the story can end before the date of the interview.

This method can be used to investigate specific social, cultural and historical issues through the individual's life story and it explores the link between individual lives and wider public events.

These interviews are also useful for studying a single aspect of a person's life in the context of a more complicated life story.

It can also be interesting to compare family stories and identify intergenerational patterns of behaviour, opinions and attitudes that have been passed down through the family.

A typical life story is recorded or written down and may cover some of the following topics:

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- Family and early life, including memories about family background, the neighbourhood and community, everyday life at home, youth and leisure.
- Work, looking at a person's work history, a typical working day, influences from work, and perhaps the social life connected to the workplace.
- Later family life, exploring issues such as marriage, housing, children, friendships, and discussing later life experiences such as retirement, becoming a grandparent and social life.

This is not an exhaustive list and the interviewers should adapt their questions according to the specific experiences of the interviewees. This technique requires the interviewers to be flexible in their questioning and to follow up interesting and important leads as they arise.

## Example

SN 4938

Study Title: [\*Families, Social Mobility and Ageing, an Intergenerational Approach, 1900-1988\*](#)

Principal Investigator(s): Thompson, P., Newby, H.

Date of Fieldwork: 1985-1988

Abstract: The field work for this study was conducted jointly for two projects, Families and Social Mobility, and Life Stories and Ageing. The former sought to combine two normally separate fields of study, family life and social mobility. It examined connections between these themes through in-depth life story interviews. The objective of the research was to produce a sample-based investigation of ordinary families and normal processes of intergenerational influences with which to compare them. The study explored geographical and social mobility and the role of the family in intergenerational terms from the perspective of gender and migration. Participants were asked extensive questions relating to their own, and their family's, education, politics, family tree, marriage and relationships, housing, parents' work, and leisure.

For the Life Stories and Ageing project the researchers conducted approximately 100 interviews with people in mid-life and then attempted to interview older or younger generations in the same family, totalling 170 interviews across the generations.

Citation: Thompson, P. and Newby, H., *Families, Social Mobility and Ageing, an Intergenerational Approach, 1900-1988* [computer file]. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], July 2005. SN: 4938, [DOI: 10.5255/UKDA-SN-4938-1](https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-4938-1)

## Interview schedule

[\*Families, Social Mobility and Ageing, an Intergenerational Approach, 1900-1988\*](#)

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## Introductory note

Our purpose in interviewing is to gather a combination of ethnographic (daily life 'as it was') and dynamic (the narrative life story, 'how it happened') information. We want a range of essential detail, but too many questions risk destroying the narrative flavour of the interview. The best balance will differ between informants, so that it may be worth using more questions with those who say less spontaneously. But in general we should aim to collect full ethnographic detail only as follows:

(a) Grandparents' generation (born 1905-1935): primarily on their own ageing

Memories of their own grandparents and parent's ageing will inevitably be very variable, and cannot constitute a real cross-section; it will be worth collecting what comes relatively freely, but not pushing beyond this, so that the main effort of the interview should be focussed on informant's later years. The second priority would be accounts of themselves as parents. Ethnographic detail of their own childhoods need not be sought as we already have a fuller survey of this from the 444 Edwardian interviews.

(b) Middle generation (born 1930-1955)

We should concentrate for ethnographic detail on two periods only, one in childhood and the other in marriage, choosing what seems to interest the informant most. In the case of marriage, it would be best to concentrate on the most recent period in which there were still schoolchildren in the home. If we try to cover each phase in full detail we shall either exhaust the informants, or produce interviews which are too long so that we don't have the resources to transcribe them.

(c) Children's generation: (born 1950-1970)

We should collect for two/three periods, the first from childhood,- the second as a teenager, and the third (where applicable) from marriage.

Chronologically we shall therefore be collecting 'as it was' information for the following time periods:

	Childhood	Teenage	Marriage	Ageing
<b>1900</b>	Edwardians		Edwardians	
<b>1910</b>				
<b>1920</b>				
<b>1930</b>	Middle Generation		Grandparent's Generation	

	Childhood	Teenage	Marriage	Ageing
<b>1940</b>				
<b>1950</b>				
<b>1960</b>			Middle Generation	
<b>1970</b>	Children's Generation	Children's Generation	Grandparent's Generation	

We should expect to require two or three sessions for middle generation interviews, two sessions with grandparent's generation and one session with children's generation - totalling approximately four, three and two hours' recording respectively. If the average recording comes above ten hours per family we shall not have the resources for transcribing all the interviews.

For middle generation informants born after 1945 it is likely that their parents may be under 55 and their children under 15. We may need to consider using a special brief interview with their parents (the grandparents generation) focussing primarily on parenting, and carry out an additional interview with one of the great-grandparents focussing on ageing.

For divorced informants the choice of focus will be especially difficult and will depend on the length of each phase. We do, however, want to collect accounts of unsuccessful marriages 'as they were', and also especially of parent-child relationships following divorce and in step-families. These families therefore ought to require an additional session.

The schedules have to be used strategically to shape interviews which are held together by the dynamics of the life story, but pause at certain moments to allow a fuller, static picture (Figure 1).

1. Simple Sequence                      2. Broken Sequence                      Reconstituted after transcription

But from both the story and the daily life picture, information will come on cross cutting themes, which will be important for both types of analysis -such as on houses, childbirth, child discipline, marital roles, sex etc. Depending on the informant, it may be wise to collect the information on these topics as part of a single discussion - especially if the subject is a delicate one and the informant has begun to talk freely about it.

Hence the schedule needs to be understood as a series of thematic blocks which can be put together either horizontally ('as it was') or vertically ('how it changed1) (Figure 2).



	Born	Where lived	Occupations	Financial resources	Health
grandmother					

Do you remember your grandparents?

Where did they live?

How old were they? Did they seem old?

What had been their occupations? Were they retired?

Did they have enough to live on comfortably? Pension?

Did they seem to get on well together?

#### c) GRANDPARENT'S LEISURE

- Can you remember what their main interests were?
  - Did they go out regularly? Occasionally? Where to? Who with?
  - Did this decline as they got older?
- Who did they see the most of?
  - Did they have friends? Did they mix with their neighbours?
- Did any neighbours do anything for them?
  - Cook a meal, do their shopping? Did you? Did either of your parents?

#### d) RELATIONSHIPS WITH GRANDPARENTS

- How often did you see them?
  - What about your parents?
  - Were they invited regularly to your parents' house?
  - Did you visit them? How often?
  - Did they see any other member of your family regularly? Occasionally? Who?
  - Who did they see the most?
- What part did they play in your upbringing?
  - Did they look after you when your parents were at work?
  - Can you remember any conflicts between your parents and grandparents about how you should be brought up?
  - Did your grandparents take any interest in your schooling/work?
  - (IF LIVED WITH INFORMANT) What part did they play in the running of the home?
  - Can you remember if your grandparents helped your parents in any other ways, e.g. financially?
- Were you close to them?
  - Did they make you things? (toys, clothes)
  - Did they give you pocket money?

- Would you say that any of your grandparents have been a strong influence on your life?

e) GRANDPARENT'S HEALTH, CARE AND BEREAVEMENT

- What was their health like?
  - Did they lead active lives?
  - When did their health begin to fail?
- Were they ill or not able to look after themselves for long?
  - Who looked after them during this time?
- When did your grandfather/mother die?
- Did you go to their funeral?
  - What do you remember about it?
  - Can you describe it?
  - Who was there?

f) GREAT UNCLES AND AUNTS: ENTER ON TREE

Did you have any great uncles and/or aunts? Do you remember them? Occupations

IF WORKED AFTER MARRIAGE:

Who looked after the children while your mother was at work?

g) IF INFORMANT HAD SUBSTITUTE PARENT, e.g. grandparent, step-parent REPEAT FOR THEM

- born (where from)
- education
- occupations.

h) AUNTS AND UNCLES: ENTER ON TREE Birth order & occupations needed

Did you have any aunts or uncles?

Do you remember them?

i) SIBLINGS Did you have any brothers or sisters? Education & occupations can be asked later

ENTER ON TREE, CHECK BIRTH ORDER

Birth order	Name	Born	Education	Occupations of self and spouse
1				
2				

Birth order	Name	Born	Education	Occupations of self and spouse
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				

Total including informant.

Include stillbirths and early deaths but not miscarriages of whom died before 15.

### 1. HOUSING AND DOMESTIC ROUTINE IN CHILDHOOD

How many years did you live in the house where you were born?

Where did you live then?

CONTINUE FOR MOVES UP TO MARRIAGE

Do you remember why your family made these moves?

Homes	Where	When
First		
Second		
Third		
Fourth		
Fifth		
Sixth		

Can you describe the house at? (Select best remembered)

Was this house rented or owned? How were the rooms used?

How many bedrooms, other rooms; furniture.

Did anyone else besides your parents and brothers and sisters live in the house? Other relatives, or lodgers? (If LODGERS: where did they sleep? Where did they eat? How much did they pay? Did you have much to do with them?)

Now I'd like to talk about who did what in and about the house when you were a child?

Did your parents pay anyone to help in the house? What were her/his duties: cleaning; looking after children; hours, pay? How did you get on with her? Who supervised/paid her/him? What did she call your mother/father/yourself? What did you call her?)

FOR SERVANTS WHO LOOKED AFTER CHILDREN: ADD ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FROM SECTION 3 ONWARDS

Who did the following jobs around the house, your father or mother: cleaning; cooking; washing up; shopping; fires; washing clothes; decorating; repairs and improvements? cook preserves/ wash-up washing shop decorating garden livestock drinks repairs improvements

mother

father

Did your mother or father make any of the family's clothes?

Did you have any tasks you had to carry out regularly at home to help your mother and father?

REPEAT FOR BROTHERS AND SISTERS

How did the family manage with washing and bathing?

Were any clothes bought secondhand?

Where?

How long did you continue to do these tasks? After you left school?

How often did you bath? (Outside/Inside toilets, plumbing and bathrooms, washing machine)

Can you tell me about going to bed at that time?

Fixed time? Did your mother or father or anyone else put you to bed? At what age did you put yourself to bed? Did you share the bedroom with anyone? The bed? Did your parents ever let you come into their bed?

## 2. MEALS

Now I'd like you to describe:

Which was the main meal? Who did the meals you had in those days, cooking? Cooking equipment (range or gas, cooker, fridge) Which room did you eat in? What members of the family were present?

Did they do any baking or preserving?

---

What about home-made drinks? Bake bread; make jam or jelly; bottle fruit or vegetables; make pickles; wine or beer?

Did your father or mother grow vegetables and fruit?

Who?

Did they keep any livestock for family? Hens, pigs, goats? Who?

Were you allowed to talk during meals or not? Could you choose what you wanted to eat from what was cooking or did you have to eat a bit of everything?

Were you expected to hold your knife and fork in a certain way and sit in a certain way?

When could you leave the table?

### 3. GENERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS AND SIBLINGS: INFLUENCE & DISCIPLINE

	Can confide	Shows affection	Takes out on own
Mother			
Father			

Do you remember talking much with your mother as a child?

Could you share your worries with her?

Did she show affection?

Would she listen to your problems? Would your mother tell you about any of her worries? If yes: did you feel comfortable when your mother was confiding in you? Is there any conversation with her you especially remember?

REPEAT FOR FATHER

Do you remember either of them crying? Could you chat with your parents about family problems?

As a child, was there any older person you felt more comfortable with than your parents? (GRANDPARENTS, OTHER RELATIVES)

NOTE: IF THE PARENT HAS REMARRIED WHAT WAS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INFORMANT AND STEP-FAMILY?

Did your parents bring you up to consider certain things important in life?

What did your parents think of telling lies? Spoiling clothes?

If you did something that your parents disapproved of, what would happen?

If PUNISHED: By whom? How? How often? Ever by other parent?

Do you remember any particular occasion when you were punished? How did you feel about it?

Do you think one of your parents influenced you more than another?

	No part in discipline	Verbal only	Takes out on own	Restrictions	Corporal: rarely Or occasionally	Normally Or often	Severe
Mother							
Father							

What kind of person do you think your parents hoped you would grow up to be?  
 Did your parents expect you to achieve certain things in life? What? (Money, Status)

How did you get on with your brothers and sisters?

REPEAT FOR BROTHERS AND SISTERS

Was there one you felt particularly close to? Was there one you did not get on with?  
 If quarrelled: did your parents say anything about that?

#### 4. PARENTS FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND HEALTH

Did your parents save money for you?

Do you remember if your mother or father belonged to any "saving's clubs? Insurance, sick, funeral? Were you insured by your parents?

Did they open a bank account in your name?

Do you know what arrangements your parents had about money?

Who paid the bills (gas, electricity, coal)? Who decided about big purchases, e.g. furniture?

Did your father or mother have a bank account? Do you remember if your mother or father owned shares of investments?

IF HOME RENTED: Did you see anything of your landlord? How was the rent paid? How did you feel about the landlord?

Do you remember feeling that your parents had to struggle to make ends meet?

Did your parents ever mention that they were sacrificing themselves for your benefit?

Did they get financial help from anywhere?

Friends, relatives, church, social security? How were they treated? What did you feel? Did they help people who were poorer than themselves?

What difference did it make to the family when your father was ill or out of work? How often?

REPEAT FOR MOTHER

Were you or your brothers or sisters ever seriously ill?

How did this effect your family?

What kind of, ideas about money did you get from your childhood?

Did your parents give you any pocket money? How much? Regularly? What for?

## 5. FAMILY ACTIVITIES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE HOME

### a) When you were a child, did your parents play any games with you?

Did your father ever look after you on his own?

Would the family get together in the evenings?

Were there books in the house?

Did your brothers and sisters join in? Was there anyone else?

What-would they do? Radio, Record player, T.V.?

Did you have any musical instruments in the home? Players? Was there anyone in the family who sang? Did you ever make music together as a family?

Did you belong to the library?

Newspapers? Magazines?

Do you remember your mother or father reading?

Did they ever read aloud to you or to each other? Or tell you stories?

When you had a birthday would it be different from any other day?

About their own past lives?

Did you receive any presents; have anything special to eat; guests?

### b) Were you taken out by your parents visiting neighbours, friends or relations?

With whom?

Were you taken out shopping?

With whom? Do you remember any other outings with your parents?

Did you ever go out just with your father? Weekends?

Could anyone in your family drive a car? If yes: who? Did they own the car? Who maintained the car? Would the family go on outings? Where? Who would go?

Did you ever go away on holiday?

For how long? Regularly?

Which members of the family went?

Where?

### c) Did you stay with relatives?

Were there any (other) relations of your parents you saw quite often?

Did they live nearby?

When did you see them? Where?

Can you remember an occasion or occasions when the whole family would get together?

Do you remember them influencing you in anyway, teaching you anything?  
Celebrations? Religious days? Funerals? Weddings? Holidays?

Would that include aunts and uncles? Were family get togethers unusual at that time?

## 6. INFORMANTS LEISURE UP TO MID TEENAGE

As a child, who did you usually play with yourself?

Where did you play?

Brothers; sisters; neighbours? Did you have your own special group of friends? Did you play games against other groups?

Yard/garden/street/other homes/elsewhere? What games did you play? Were you allowed to get dirty when you played? Did boys and girls play the same games?

Were you free to play with anyone you pleased?

Did your parents stop you or discourage you from playing with certain children?

If yes: why?

What did they think about girls or boys fighting in the street? Were you ever involved in a fight? Who with? What caused the fight? If a child hurt you would you tell your mother, or your father, or both?

What would they say? Would they tell you to hit back?

Did you belong to any youth organisations?

Boys Brigade, Scouts, Guides? What activities? When you were at home after school did you have any hobbies? Did you keep any pets; collect anything; do gardening? (stamps, cigarette cards)

Did you go fishing; for walks; swimming; bicycling? With whom?

Did you take part in any sports? Did you watch any sport (football, rugby, boxing, swimming)?

Did you follow a team? Away games?

Were you sent to dancing or music lessons?

Did you go to any theatres; concerts; music halls; cinemas while you were still at school?

## 7. WEEKENDS AND RELIGION

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Could you tell me how you spent weekends in those days?

Saturdays? Shopping, sport, evenings, Sundays? Did you have different clothes? Did you play games?

Did your parents attend a place of worship or not?

Denomination? How often? Both mother and father?

	Never attend	Occasionally	Regularly	Denomination
Mother				
Father				

Did either hold any position in the church/chapel? Did you attend? If yes: how often? Did you go to a Sunday School or not?

Were there Sunday School outings? Did the church/chapel run any temperance club? (PROMPT: Band of Hope?)

Were any members of your family members or not? (If yes: who?)

Activities: (e.g. evening classes, outings) Did any of your family sign the pledge? (Abstaining from alcohol?) How much would you say religion meant to you as a child? Why?

## 8. POLITICS

When you were at home do you remember your parents discussing politics?

If yes: what sort of discussion?

Do you know what party he voted for? Why? Do you remember your father voting in a General Election?

REPEAT FOR MOTHER

Was your father/mother a member of. a political party? Do you remember him working for one of the parties at an election?

Did your parents take part in any political activity other than at election time?

Did your parents attend any of the social clubs run by political parties. What influence do you think your parents political outlook has had on you?

---

	No views	Changeable votes for:	Member/active supporter
Mother			
Father			

## 9. PARENT'S OTHER INTERESTS

When your parents were not doing their work, how did they spend their time? Together, separately?

Did your mother have any interests outside of the home?

When she went out what did she do (visiting friends, cinema, dancing?) Who did she go with? (PROMPT: father, friend, relation). Was she working at this time? Who looked after the children?

How much of his time would your father be at home?

When did your father get home from work in the evening? How many evenings a week would he spend at home? How much was he about the house at weekends? How would he spend the time? Did your mother have more free time on Saturdays?

Did your mother and-father have a radio or gramophone? Did your parents often listen to records or the radio? Did you have to stay quiet while the radio/gramophone was on? Did your parents discuss radio programmes? Were you allowed to choose programmes/records?

Did your father or mother attend any clubs or pubs?

When did he/she go (on way home from work, after tea, Sunday dinner time?)

Did your father take part in any sport?

Did your mother take part in any sports or games?

Did he watch sport? Did he bet on the races? Snooker? Bowls?

## 10. COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL CLASS

Did your parents have friends?

REPEAT FOR FATHER

Where did they live? Where did they see them? Did they share the same friends? Did your mother have friends of her own? Where did she see them? Did she visit anyone who was not a relation?

REPEAT FOR FATHER

Did any of them give your mother help in looking after the house or family? Did other neighbours or relatives help?

Were people ever invited into the home?

How often? Who were they? (PROMPT: relations, neighbours, friends?)

Would they be offered anything to eat or drink? Would you say that the people invited in were your mother's friends or your father's friends, or both?

Did your parents ever go out to visit friends or neighbours?

What do you think your parents did when they got together with their friends/neighbours? (Music, games, radio)

How?

Did your mother or father help neighbours or friends out? Who would they help? How would they help? Regularly?

If your mother was out when you came home from school where would you go? Would a neighbour, friend of the family, or relative look after you?

If your mother was ill or confined to bed how did she manage?

Do you remember what happened when one of your younger brothers/sisters was born?

At that time did you think of people belonging to different social- groups or classes?

Could you tell me what the different ones were? What class/group?

(INFORMANT'S OWN TERM) would you say you belonged to yourself? What sort of people belonged to the same class/group as yourself? To the other groups? What sort of people lived in your neighbourhood? Who were considered the most important people?

Where you lived did all the people have the same standard of living, or would you say there were different groups? Do you think that one group felt itself superior to the rest?

Were some families thought of as respectable?

Were some families thought of as rough?

---

Do you remember seeing a policeman around when you lived as a child? What did you think of him? How do you think he treated people?

Did you ever get into any scrapes with the law yourself?

Was there anyone in your neighbourhood who people disapproved of? Who? Why?

How was this disapproval shown? (Racial, Religious groupings)

Do you think your mother thought of herself as a member of a class?

Working class, middle class?

Why? Why not?

What made her put herself in that class? (own home background, her job, her type of house, your father's position?)

How did your mother feel about people who were not in the same class as herself?

(PROMPT: Minister, doctor, doctor's wife, teachers)

Did you think it was possible at that time to move from one class to another?

Can you remember anyone who did?

### 11. SCHOOL

Now I'd like to ask you about school.'

Did anyone give lessons before you started at school? How old were you when you first went to school?

	Council	Church	Private	Mixed/single sex
First School				
Second School				
Third School				
Fourth School				

What kind of school was it? What did you think of it?

Did your parents choose this school for you?

Why?/Why not?

---

Did you have good friends at school?

Were they better or worse at studying than you? Did any of them try to avoid coming to school?

What was more important to you: your friends or your schoolwork? Were you good at schoolwork? (Did you study well?)

Were your brothers and sisters at the same school?

IF NOT: at which school?

Did they protect you at school - or you them? Who from?

Do you remember times when your schoolwork was poorer/better than before? When?

Do you remember any times when your schoolwork was better than before? When?

How did you feel about the teachers?

If you did something the teachers disapproved of, what would happen? Did the teachers emphasise certain things as important in life? If yes: what? And what did your parents think of this?

Did your parents encourage you to do school work?

Was it important for them that you did well? Did they ever help you with homework? Did your parents ever come to the school to speak to the teachers? Did they have meetings with the teachers after school?

Did the teachers encourage discussion in class?

If you had problems with school work did you have anyone to discuss these with? Were you encouraged to speak proper English in class? (By whom: teachers, parents)

Did you speak in a different way at home?

When did you leave this school?

Where did you go then?

REPEAT FOR OTHER PRINCIPAL SCHOOLS ATTENDED. WERE CHOICES POSSIBLE (e.g. at 11 plus):

---

Advantage/disadvantage

Why did you go to this school? Would you have liked to have gone to another?

IF CHOSE PRIVATE/SELECTIVE SECONDARY SCHOOL, ASK AS FOR COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY

Did you keep your old friends or not?

How old were you when you left school? Would you have stayed longer if you had had the opportunity?

Did you attend any part-time education afterwards? Evening classes?

IF AT COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY:

Did your parents/teachers/friends encourage you to go to College/University? Why did you choose...?

What did you study?

What influence did your time at have on your life?

Did you keep your old friends or not?

## 12. WORK

While you were at school, did you have a part-time job? How did you get it?-  
Why did you choose it?

(Through parents, friends, parents friends). Who did you work for? Did you enjoy this job, or not? Did you give any of the money to your mother? What was it spent on? Why did you give it up?

REPEAT FOR OTHER PART-TIME JOBS UNTIL LEFT SCHOOL

Did you receive any career guidance when you were at school?

Did your parents try to influence you on your choice of a job/profession?

Did either of them have a precise idea about what you should do in life?

Did they tell you to avoid any given job or profession?

What sort of job would you have liked? Were your parents afraid of you being unemployed after you left school?

Was your idea of a good job influenced by your parents?

Or a reaction to them? Or to your brothers/sisters' jobs?

What was your first full-time job? Why did you choose it? How did you get it? How long did you stay in it?

Why did you give it up?

CONTINUE COMPLETE WORK HISTORY: OF MAIN JOBS: ALSO ASK:

Did you like it or dislike it?

What exactly did you have to do in this job?

How did you learn?

Was training given?

What were you paid?

Did you feel that was a fair wage, or not? Could you save any of the money?

(Bank, insurance)

How did you get on with the other people you worked with?

Were there chances for promotion in your job?

By seniority; by experience; by knowledge? Were you promoted?

Why?/Why not?

Were you aware that there were/were not chances of promotion when you first started the job?

Did you (or any of your employees) belong to any trade union/professional organisation?

Did you take part in any of its activities? Did you feel that employers and workers had the same, or different interests?

Who was your employer?

How did your employer treat you? How did you feel about him/her?

IF AN EMPLOYER OR MANAGER ALSO ASK: Can you tell me who owned the business?

How was it run?

---

Partnership, limited company? How was it founded?

How did you learn about the different sides of the business (technology, sales, staffing, finance)?

Which interested you most? Did you become a partner?

What share did you have in the profits and losses? Did senior partners/directors share a social life together?

Invite each other to dinner? What did the workers call you? Which of them did you know by name? Did you meet any of them outside work?

ASK ALL:

Would you have liked a different sort of career?

Do you feel a pride in what you have achieved/done at work?

What was your first full-time job? Why did you choose it? How did you get it? How long did you stay in it?

Why did you give it up?

CONTINUE COMPLETE WORK HISTORY: OF MAIN JOBS: ALSO ASK:

Did you like it or dislike it?

What exactly did you have to do in this job?

How did you learn?

Was training given?

What were you paid?

Did you feel that was a fair wage, or not? Could you save any of the money? (Bank, insurance)

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ASK ALL:

Would you have liked a different sort of career?

Do you feel a pride in what you have achieved/done at work?

Can you tell me what were the main occupations of your brothers and sisters?

What did their husbands/wives do?

CHECK TREE AND BOX

### 13. HOME LIFE AND LEISURE FROM LATER TEENAGE YEARS

I'd like to ask you about your home life by the time you were in your late teens. How long did you continue to live with your parents?

IF SEPARATELY:

Did you live alone or share with anyone? Did you have any domestic help?

Can you describe the house? Where did you mainly eat?

---

**IF NOT WORKING:**

Would you have rather done something else?

How did you manage for money?

How did you spend your time? Housework, social calls, family business?

**IF WORKING:**

How much of your wage did you give to your parents? Did starting full-time work change your relationship with them at all? With brothers and sisters?

Can you tell me something of how you spent your spare time as a young man/woman?

Did your interests change?

What did you do when you finished work for the day? Would you ever meet your workmates/colleagues after work?

Where would you go? What would you do?

Did you belong to any clubs or societies?

What was a good night out in those days?

**IF FEMALE:**

Did you go shopping with friends? Did you meet to talk with women friends? What would you discuss?

Did you ever go dancing?

Did you go to the cinema?

Did you go to the music hall or theatre at that time?

**IF MALE:**

Would you meet friends in the evening? Where? Who? When?

Did you ever go to the pub? How often did you go to the pub? Who did you meet there? Why did you go there?

What would you talk about?

Did women go into pubs in those days?

Why not?

What did you think of women not being allowed to go into pubs?

Where? Could a woman ask a man up to dance?

Did you have a regular partner?

---

Who with? What films do you remember? What films did you like? (Horror, romance etc. )  
Who with?

IF THEATRE:

What plays did you like?

IF MUSIC HALL:

What acts did you like?  
How did the audience react? To a bad act?

Did your parents expect you to be home by a certain time? What would happen if you were out late?

Would your mother or father wait up for you?  
Did they expect to know where you were? Would they be worried? Would you get into trouble for staying up late?  
Did your parents disapprove of any of your activities at this time?

What did they do?  
Did you smoke?  
What did they think of young people who got into fights/gambling/pinching things?  
When did-you start? - What did your parents think of you smoking? Did they smoke? Did you stop smoking? Did you try to stop smoking?

Did you take part in any sporting activities? Did you watch any sports such as football or boxing?  
Did you ever go to the fair when it was in town?

IF YES:

Did you cycle/walk with anyone special?  
Did you ever walk around the town with friends in the evening or on your day off?  
Did you spend your Sunday any differently? Church/chapel; Sunday school?  
Did religion mean more or less to you after childhood?

Did you make any new friends - How did you meet them? Did you stick boys or girls - at this time? to a group of friends? What did you do with them? Where?

Did you ever bring friends home? Did you have your own room where you could entertain them?

---

Did you have any special friends at this time?

Boys or girls? Were there any special places where boys and girls could meet? Where could you go with them? Were you allowed to be with them alone? Did your parents meet your friends? Did they tell you what they thought about them?

#### 14. ATTITUDES TOWARDS SEX

Do you remember your parents' attitudes towards sex? And sexual relationships? Did your mother's and father's attitudes differ? In what way? What information did they give you about sex? When? How? Were you able to talk to your parents about your sexuality, sexual experience or relationships? Mother? Father?

INVITE RESPONDENT TO DESCRIBE THE HISTORY OF THEIR OWN SOCIAL/SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS BEFORE MARRIAGE - IN WHATEVER WAY IS APPROPRIATE FOR THEM

Did you have relationships with anyone before your marriage? Describe: Who? When? Where? In what circumstances? What was important to you about this relationship? Why did it end? Repeat for all key relationships. Were any of these serious? Did the possibility of marriage come into any of these relationships? IF APPROPRIATE, CONTINUE: How would you describe the sexual side of your marriage? Has it been an important part of your relationship? Has it changed over the time/period of your marriage? Describe, give reasons.

#### 15. ATTITUDES TO MARRIAGE

Did your parents expect you to marry?  
Did you expect to marry?

How did you know/how did they let you know? Did your parents' marriage influence your attitude towards marrying? In what way?

Did you have a particular kind of person in mind - e.g. social class, looks', age?

How far did you get your ideas of a good marriage from your parents?

Were they close? Affectionate? How did they show this? What were the failings or weak points in their relationship? Did they argue or fight? What form did this take? Do you think they had a good marriage? Why? Why not?

#### 16. MARRIAGE

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Can you tell me how you and your, husband/wife first met?  
 Did you marry the kind of person you expected to marry?  
 How did your parents feel about your choice?

How old were you? How old was your partner? Describe meeting (common friends, role of relations), courtship, how the relationship developed and how long, a formal engagement or not, the decision to marry.

Where did they come from? What kind/'class' of family? Were they the partner of your dreams?

Would they have preferred you to marry someone else? How did your partner's parents feel about the marriage?

What kind of wedding did you have? Guests. Honeymoon.  
 Where did you live immediately after you married?  
 How long did you live there? Where did you go then?  
 Why did you move?  
 DESCRIBE HOUSE, NEIGHBOURHOOD, ETC.

FOR MARRIED HOMES:

Did you own any of these houses?  
 Did anyone else live in the house with you?

Other relatives, lodgers? Where did they sleep? Where did they eat? What did they pay?

Would you have liked to have lived in a different kind of place?  
 Did you improve it? Heating. Kitchen. When?

	Where	When	Owned/Rented
First home			
Second			
Third			
Fourth			
Fifth			
Sixth			

Did you save up to get married?  
 Did your parents or your partner's parents help you in any way at the time of your marriage?

With money? Other ways?

How did you spend your time when you were not working when you were first married?

## 17. FINANCE AFTER MARRIAGE

FOR WOMEN:

Did you continue to work after your marriage?

What was your husband's attitude to your working?

ASK FOR ALL JOBS,

(Part-time/full-time, where? How much?) Why?

How did you feel about it? What was your husband's job when you got married? Did he have other jobs before or after?

PROBE: including part-time, casual jobs.

Were you happy with your husband's work and income?

FOR MEN:

Did your wife have a job when you married? Had she any other jobs before that?

Did she continue working after your marriage?

IF YES: How did you feel about that? What jobs has she had since then?

ASK FOR ALL JOBS.

MEN:

How much of your earnings would you give to your wife? How? When?

Tip-up allowance knows wage

WOMEN:

Did you know how much your husband earned?

How much did he give you?

IF BOTH EARN:

Who earned the most?

Did this matter?

Did you or your partner inherit any money or property on marriage?

Have you inherited any money or property during your marriage?

Did you discuss how to spend your money?

Who owned the house/flat?

Did you ever have to struggle to make ends meet?

How did you and your partner manage your joint expenses after your marriage?

Did you have bank or post office accounts? A joint account? Separate accounts? Did you have a savings account?

Who paid the bills? Who decided how money should be spent? Who decided on new furniture? Food; drink; clothes for children, husband, wife; presents; outings/holidays?

Under what conditions? Joint mortgage? In whose name was the house or flat if rented? Why? Who was landlord?

Were you ever in receipt of benefits? What? When? Why? Other financial help - relatives, friends?

Did you argue/disagree over money? Occasionally? Often? Has your financial situation or management of money changed over your marriage?

## 18. CHILDBIRTH

Did you want to have children sometime in your life?

What influenced you in this? Had you got an idea of how many you wanted?

How many did you have? FILL IN TREE

	Name	Born	Last Education	Main Occupation
First home				
Second				
Third				
Fourth				
Fifth				

	Name	Born	Last Education	Main Occupation
Sixth				

Did you plan to have children when you did?

How many did you want to have? Were you and your partner in agreement about the number and timing/spacing of your children? If not, how was the difference resolved?

Did you use any contraceptives or birth control then or later on? Different at different times?

WOMEN:

How did you feel about getting pregnant?

DESCRIBE COURSE OF PREGNANCY AND BIRTH.

What antenatal care did you receive?

Were there any difficulties in the pregnancy? Did you attend childbirth classes?

Did you know what to expect in childbirth?

How did it go? Was it a home/hospital birth? How did you feel about it? Could it have been different or better?

Did your husband participate in the preparation or the birth itself?

How itself different was your experience in having the other children?

MEN:

What did you feel when you knew you were going to have a child?

Were you involved in her pregnancy? Did you go to childbirth classes?

Follow the growth of the baby?

Want to be at the birth? How did you feel about it? Were you present at the birth?

## 19. CHILD REARING: INFANTS

### a) FIRST WEEK

WOMEN;

IF HOSPITAL BIRTH, how long were you in hospital? Was the baby with you from the

time of birth? Did you breast feed or bottle feed or both?

All the time?

Did you have any difficulty in feeding? What help did you get? What did you need to learn to care for your baby, e.g. feeding, handling, clothing, bathing, changing?

How did your experience differ with the other children?

MEN:

What contact did you have with her and your baby during the first week

At hospital or at home? What help did you give with the baby in the first week? What did you need to learn e.g. feeding, handling, clothing, bathing, changing? How did you find out?

How about with the other children?

## b) FIRST YEAR

How did you look after the child in the first year?

What child care was shared? Who did feeding, bathing., clothing, playing, getting up in the night?

Who did the domestic housework? Cooking? washing? cleaning? shopping? Did the pattern of this change after the birth of the baby?

	Feeding	Bathing	Changing	Dressing	Playing	Nights
Mother						
Father						

What help did you get/give?

Did having a baby change your relationship with your parents?

From partner? Own mother/father?

Mother-in-law/father-in-law? Others? Or with your in-laws, or friends?

If you needed advice about the baby, Who did you talk to?

How often did you see your mother/in law?

Did your mother live near? Your mother-in-law?  
Advice from them?

In what ways did having a baby change your life-style?

Outings, holidays, position at work?

Was being a parent how you expected it to be like?

## 20. CHILD-REARING: CHILDREN

FOR BOTH PARENTS:

As the children grew older, who did what in caring for them?  
Who fed, helped dress and bath, played read, took out?

Would father look after them on his own? Take them out on his own?

Did you use a playgroup, nursery, etc?

	Feeding	Dressing	Bathing	Playing	Reading	Take out
Mother						
Father						

WOMEN: Did you want to work outside the home as well as in?

MEN: Did your wife want to work outside the home after the baby? Did you want her to?

IF WIFE WORKED, ASK BOTH:

What work? Did she earn from working at home?  
Who looked after your children?

Did you need to?  
Why?

Part-time/full-time; pay; hours; where? Homework, e.g. child-raising, sewing, cooking. How much did it cost? How did you feel about leaving the child/ren with someone else?

## 21. LOVE AND DISCIPLINE

### a) The Marital Relationship

How would you describe the relationship you have with ...?

What do you do when you disagree?

Do you talk to each other and share things that are important in your lives?

How would you describe the sexual side of your marriage?

Are you close? Affectionate?

How do you show this? What is it you like/dislike most about...?

Do you quarrel? How do you resolve differences?

Has your relationship changed over the period of your marriage?

Has it been an important part of your relationship? Has it changed? What attitude to sex passed on to children?

### b) The Parent/Child Relationship

Before you had children of your own, did you have any definite ideas about how children should be brought up? How did you get these ideas? Did you and... have the same or different ideas about bringing up children?

How would you say you showed love and affection to your children?

What were these ideas? Did you talk about this? How did you resolve the differences?

In what ways did you want for your child-rearing to be the same or different than your parent's rearing of you?

How much did you and... talk to your children?

Do you remember an important conversation you had with any of your children?

Did you have any beliefs about discipline?

If they did something you disapproved of, what would happen?

What sort of things did you disapprove of?

How did your children get on with each other?

What about? Listen to their problems? Would you confide in them - your worries? Did you read to them and tell them stories? Did you talk to them about your own past life - or their grand-parents?

With whom, on what topic?

Did you punish your children? How? For what?  
 Did you have any trouble with your children at any point?  
 What did you think of telling lies?  
 Where any of them particularly close? Did you expect them to behave in a particular way towards each other?

Did you bring your children up to consider certain things important in life? Did you hope your children would achieve certain things in life?  
 Did you save money for your children's future?  
 What kinds of attitudes about money did you try to pass on to your children?

## 22. DOMESTIC ROUTINE

Now I'd like to talk about who does/did what in and about the house. Did you pay anyone to help in the house?

What? (Money, status)  
 How? How much? For what?  
 Will your children inherit any money or property at your death?  
 Did you have any financial problems in raising your children? Describe.

What were her/his duties? cleaning; looking after children; hours, pay? How did you get on with her? Who supervised/paid her/him? What did she call you? What did you call her?

Who did/does the following jobs cleaning; cooking; washing up; shopping; washing clothes; fires; decorating; repairs & improvements?

Did you get a washing machine? around the house, you or.... ?

	Cook	Preserves / drinks	Wash-up	Washing	Shop	Decorating repairs/ improvements	Garden	Livestock
Wife								
Husband								

Did you or ...make any of the family's clothes?

Were any clothes bought second-hand?  
 Where?

Did your children have any tasks they had to carry out regularly at home to help?

How long did they continue to do these tasks? After they left school?

### 23. MEALS

Now I'd like you to describe the meals you had/have.

Do/did you do any baking or preserving? What about home made drinks?

Which was the main meal?

Who did the cooking?

Cooking equipment, (range or gas, cooker, fridge)

Which rooms did you eat in? What members of the family were present?

Bake bread; make jam or jelly; bottle fruit or vegetables; make pickles; wine or beer?

Do you/.. grow vegetables and fruit?

Who?

Do you keep any livestock for family? Hens, pigs, goats?

Who looks after them?

Did you allow your children to talk during meals or not?

Could they choose what they wanted to eat from what was cooking or did they have to eat a bit of everything? Were they expected to hold their knife and fork in a certain way, and sit in a certain way? When could they leave the table?

### 24. FAMILY ACTIVITIES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE HOME

Would the family get together in the evenings?

Were there books in your house?

Did you or your spouse do any reading? Did you ever read aloud to your children or to each other? Or tell them stories?

What would they do? Radio, record player, TV? Did you have any musical instruments in the home? Players? Was there anyone in the family who sang? Did you ever make music together as a family?

Did you belong to the library? Newspapers? Magazines?  
About your past lives?

When you or your children had a birthday, would it be different from any other day?  
Did/do you take your children out visiting neighbours, friends or relations; shopping?  
Did/do you go on any outings? Weekends?  
Did one of you ever go out on your own with your children? Who?  
Where?

Did you/they receive any presents; have anything special to eat; guests?  
Did anyone in your family drive a car? IF YES: who? Did they own the car?. Who maintained the car? Would the family go on outings? Where? Who would go?  
What did you do on your own with your child/ren? What did your spouse do on their own with the child/ren? What did you do together as a family?

Do you ever go away on holiday?

For how long? Regularly? Which members of the family went? Where? Did you stay with relatives?

Were there any other relations you have seen quite often?

Did they live nearby? Do you phone them? When did you see them? Where? Do you remember them influencing your children in any way, teaching them anything?

Can you remember an occasion or occasions when the whole family got together?

Celebrations? Religious days? Funerals Weddings? Holidays? Would that include aunts and uncles? Were family get-togethers unusual?

## 25. CHILDREN'S PLAY

Who did/do your children play with? Did they have their own special group of friends? Were they free to play with anyone they pleased? Did you discourage them from playing with certain children?

What did they play? Where?  
Did/do they belong to any youth organisations?

Did they have any hobbies? Did they keep any pets? Did they go fishing; swimming; cycling; dancing or music lessons? Did they take part in any sports?

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## 26. OWN LEISURE

When you were not doing your work, how do/did you/... spend your time? Did you have any interests outside the home?

Did/do you/... attend any clubs or pubs? Did you/... take part in any sports or games?

During this period, what time would you get home from work? How much time did you spend at home?

Did you go out? Where did you go? With whom? What did you do on your own? What did your spouse do on their own? What did you do together?

How did you/your spouse's work influence family life? How did family life/demands influence you/your spouse's work?

Were there any big career moves/changes in occupation that had an impact on your relationship/family? Specify?

## 27. WEEKENDS AND RELIGION

Could you tell me how you spent weekends?

Saturdays? Shopping, sport, evenings. Sundays? Did you have any different clothes? Did you play games?

Do you attend a church or not? Denomination? How often? Both of you?

	Never attend	Occasionally	Regularly	Denomination
Husband				
Wife				

Did either of you hold any position in the church/chapel? Did your children attend? IF YES: how often? Did they go to a Sunday School or not? Were there any Sunday School outings? Did the church/chapel run any temperance club?(PROMPT: Band of Hope?)

Were any members of your family members or not? (IF YES: Who?)

Activities: (e.g. evening classes, outings)

Did any of your family sign the pledge? (Abstaining from alcohol?)

How much would you say religion has meant to you as an adult?

Why?

## 28. POLITICS

Do you vote in a General Election? What party? Why?

REPEAT FOR SPOUSE

Do you/your spouse ever discuss politics?

Did you/your spouse take part in any political activity other than at election time?

Did you/your spouse attend any of the social clubs run by political parties?

What influence do you think your political outlook has had on your children?

	No views	Changeable	Votes for:	Member/active supporter
Husband				
Wife				

## 29. FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS, COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL CLASS

How important have friends been to you in your married life?

Where did they live?

Where did you see them?

Talk on telephone?

Did you share the same friends? Did your spouse have friends of their own?

Were people ever invited into the home? How often? Who were they? (PROMPT: Relations, neighbours, friends?) Would they be offered anything to eat or drink? Would you say that your people invited in were your friends or your spouses friends or both of you? Did you ever go out to visit friends or neighbours? What did you do when you got together with your friends/ neighbours? (Music, games, radio)

Have any of them given you..../ spouse help in looking after the house or family?

Have other neighbours or relatives helped?

Did anyone outside the home help you/ your spouse look after the house or family? Relations;

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friends neighbours? In what ways? Regularly? Did you/your spouse help neighbours or friends out? Who would they help? Regularly? If you/your spouse was out when the children came home from school, where would they go? Would a neighbour, friend of the family, or relative look after there?

If you or was ill or confined to bed, how did you manage?

What happened when your children were born?

Do you think of people belonging to different social groups or classes

Could you tell me what the different ones are?

What class/group (INFORMANT'S OWN TERM) would you say you belonged to yourself?

Why? (own home background, job, house, education, spouses position?)

What sort of people belong to the same class/group as yourself? To the other groups?

What sort of people live in your neighbourhood?

Who are considered the most important people? Where you live, do all the people have the same standards of living, or would you say there are different groups?

Do you think that one group feels itself superior to the rest? Are some families thought of as respectable? Are some families thought of as rough? What is your attitude to the police? How do you think they treat people? Is there anyone in your neighbourhood who people disapprove of? Who? Why? How is this disapproval shown? (Racial, Religious groupings)

Do you think ... thinks of themselves as a member of a class?

Working class? Middle class? Why? Why not? What makes them put themselves in that class? (own home background, job, type of house, spouse's position?) How does ... feel about people who are not in the same class as themselves? (PROMPT: doctor, doctor's wife, clergyman, teacher).

Do you think it is possible to move from one class to another?

Do you know anyone who has?

### 30. CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

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Did you have ideas about what kind of education you wanted your children to have?  
Does education matter? Did you have any ambitions for their education? Were they different from those your parents had for you? Did you have the same expectations/plans for both your daughter and son?

Did you believe that girls should be treated the same way as boys when you had your children?

That they should be taught the same - e.g. girls carpentry, football? Boys sewing, cooking, dancing, piano? How did you teach your boy to behave to his sister (e.g. opening doors, carry things)?; your girl to her brother (sew for him, cook for him)?

What kind of schools did your children go to up to 11?

Council/church/private. What did you think of the school? Were you satisfied with it?

Did you talk to the teachers or go to school meetings?

Was somebody at home when they came home?

What kind of schools did they go to after 11?

Council/church/private? Boarding? Mixed/single sex? Secondary modern/Grammar/Comprehensive?

Why did you choose...?

IF SELECTIVE/PRIVATE 5

How do you think going to.... affected their relationships with their friends? And with you? IF

BOARDING: How did you feel about their going away from home?

Did they suffer? Did you miss them? Were there losses as well as gains? What gains?

Did you help them with their school work?

Homework

Did you talk to the teachers or go to school meetings?

Did you ever look for a better school for them?

How did they do at school?

As well as you wanted?

How old were they when they left? Did you want them to go on to college/university/evening classes? DETAILS

Did they?

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How do you feel your children's education has affected their lives?

Child	School	Before 11			After 11		
		Council Church Private	Mixed Single sex	Boarding	Council Church Private	Mixed Single sex	Boarding
<b>1st</b>	1st						
	2nd						
<b>2nd</b>	1st						
	2nd						
<b>3rd</b>	1st						
	2nd						
<b>4th</b>	1st						
	2nd						
	2nd						
<b>5th</b>	1st						
	2nd						
<b>6th</b>	1st						
	2nd						

### 31. ADULT CHILDREN

What kind of jobs did you hope your children would get?

What were their jobs? Did you have ambitions for them? Are you satisfied with their work careers?

ENTER/CHECK ON TREE

Child	Job:						Age of leaving home
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	

Child	Job:						Age of leaving home
1st							
2nd							
3rd							
4th							
5th							
6th							

At what age did your children leave home?

What has been your relationship with them since they left home?

Where did they go? What did they do? How did you feel about it? Did you help them? How?

How often do you see each other? Do you talk on the telephone? What do you do when you meet? Would you say you are close? Are you as close as you would like to be?

## 32. AGEING GRANDPARENTS

Are both your parents still alive? When did they die?

Can you tell me something about their lives in later years? When did you notice that they seemed to be getting old?

How? Before or after retirement?

When did your father (and mother) retire?

How did they manage financially?

Did they receive individual pensions? Did they have any other source of income? Would they accept help from anyone if they needed it?

Did they help you financially?

Did they transfer any money to you at this stage in their lives? Or in their wills?

Did your parents spend more time together after retirement?

Were they both happy about this?

Did your father look forward to retiring? (REPEAT FOR MOTHER IF RELEVANT)

Did your mother look forward to your father retiring? Did she like having him at home?

How did it affect their relationship?

Did it alter her life-style to any extent? Did he get under her feet?

What were their main interests - outside and inside the home?

Church groups? Were they religious? Aimed at the elderly?

Did they take up any new interest or hobby on retirement?

How often did they go out?

Were they in any clubs?

Did they lead active lives?

Where to? Who with? Did this change as they got older?

Did they join any groups specifically

Did they keep up their involvement in activities practiced in their younger days?

Did your mother go out without your father?

Your father without your mother?

How often did you see your parents? Your parents-in-law? Did they visit you regularly? Did you visit there too? How often did you phone them? Did you go out together? Where to?

How often?

Did you ever go on holiday with them?

Did they see any other relatives? Who? Who did they see the most?

Did your relationship with your parents change as they got older?

Did they influence how you brought your children up? Was there ever conflict over this?

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Did your children visit them regularly?

Did they -stay with them? Did they -go on holiday with them?

Did they look after them when you were at work? Did they give them pocket money? Did they make them anything?

Were they close to them? Do you think they were an influence on them?

How?

Did they always live in their own home?

Did they rent or own it?

Did they receive any form of home help?

Did neighbours help them in any ways? Did they do anything for their neighbours? Did you/your partner help them? In what ways?

IF NOT: where did they live?

With whom?

When did they move?

Whose decision was it?

Were they happy with it?

Did they miss their own home? When did they move (health/money?) How did you feel about the move? How did it affect you - your lifestyle and your relationship with your parents?

IF LIVED WITH INFORMANT:

Did it curtail your privacy, freedom, cause friction with partner?

Did they help?

Cooking, babysitting?

Did they need full-time care?

Who in the family took care of them?

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IF IN RESIDENTIAL CARE:

How often do/did you visit?

Did anyone else in the family? Did they come and see you? Did they go out with you or anyone else?

Did they like living in

What happened when your father/ mother died? How did (s)he die?

How did your mother/father cope? Had she nursed him? Or you?

What kind of funeral did they have? Describe funeral; who organised; guests. Had they prepared for their death? Had they written a will? Talked about dying? How did their death affect your life? Inheritance?

Did your relationship with your mother/father change?

How long did it take her/ him to adjust?

Has she made any new friends, interests? Has it aged her/him?

Has it made you think about growing older yourself?

### 33. DAUGHTER/SON-IN-LAWS AND GRANDCHILDREN

Did you expect your children to marry?

Who did they marry?

How do you feel about .... (in-law)?

Do you have any grandchildren?

Both your daughter and your son? Did you have any ideas about the kind of person you wanted them to marry and when?

Occupation? Education?

Did you want to be grandparents? Did you have any idea of what it would be like? How has it been?

As a grandparent, what have you done with and for your grand-children?

34. END

What has been the best thing about your life?

The worst thing?

What would you most like to do in the time ahead?

APPENDIX

Divorce

TO BE USED AT WHATEVER STAGES IN THE CHRONOLOGY IT OCCURRED

Have you been divorced?

When?

How long had you been married?

What happened?

Why?

INVITE RESPONDENT TO TELL THE STORY IN SOME DETAIL tell the story some detail.

How did you feel about it at the time? How do you feel about it now?

What financial, custody and access arrangements were made?

What contact have you had with your ex-partner?

What contact do the children have with their father/mother? How do the visits go?

DESCRIBE VISITS

SUBSEQUENT LONG-TERM/LIVE-IN RELATIONSHIPS, RE-MARRIAGE/STEP FAMILIES

Have you got a second partner?

Have you re-married?

Why? Why not? Has s/he children by an earlier marriage?

Who? When?

USE APPROPRIATE QUESTIONS FOR THE SECTIONS ON MARRIAGE

REPEAT QUESTIONS ON CHILDREN AND STEP-CHILDREN

Are there problems?

Transport at access

Are clothes and possessions kept in both houses?

Children's attitudes to food;

Do children contribute to housework?

Can they invite friends to both houses?  
How to you think separation has affected their lives?

## Interview extract one

*[Families, Social Mobility and Ageing, an Intergenerational Approach, 1900-1988](#)*

### Information about interviewee

Date of birth: 1937  
Gender: Female  
Marital status: Married  
Occupation: Personal service occupations  
Geographic region: Birmingham  
Interviewee's name: Mrs Jill Hunter  
Interview ID: int071

**Int.:** Do you remember your grandparents?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Which side, your mother's side or your father's side?

**JH:** Well, both of them, because they lived close, so you'd go to see one and then the other the same... I think my father's parents, because I particularly liked that side of the family, even as a kid, they were sort of more fun. There was more going on in that house. Well, obviously, because she had 12 children, so there would be all my cousins and the house was.... it was a very... they were a family that had lots of parties and so there was more going on, so I obviously, as a child, liked that side of the family.

**Int.:** How often would you go and see them?

**JH:** Quite a lot actually. Perhaps not to sort a socialise in the evenings, when all the families got together, but specially in the day, 'cos my father used to work for his father, and the house... his workplace was built at the top of the garden, so when I was sort of old enough to go with my father, he used to take me down to work and I used to go and see my gran while he was working, so I did... and I used to like going down there to play.

**Int.:** Would you go with your sister and brother as well?

**JH:** No, just me. I was the one.... David would be too young - the time I was talking about. And my sister stayed with my mother, but I used to sort of go off with my father.

**Int.:** What kind of job was it?

**JH:** Silversmith.

**Int.:** And your grandfather as well, so that it passed from one to the other?

**JH:** Yes, he started it - my grandfather.

**Int.:** Has your father continued doing that?

**JH:** Yes, he's dead now. Yes, and my brother does it as well now. It's passed on. So it's three generations.

**Int.:** Do you remember whether your grandmother used to work?

**JH:** No. No. No. Believe it or not, even with 12 children, and her sister died, and her sisters husband couldn't look after the family, so she took her three children, and she had quite a lady's life, because the one used to.... as they grew up they all used to look after each other. And I can only really remember her always being dressed up, very very smart, with hair all piled on top and, yeah, for 12 kids, I mean.... I'm harassed.... I mean it was just... they say one looks after the others.

**Int.:** You said they had a lot of social life...

**JH:** Within the family. I mean the sisters... the children going, and they used to all get together, in fact I should my father was the quietest one of the lot, he never used to mix in with.... they used to like a drink and my father never drank. So we were there during the daytime, but only weddings and christenings and things like that, but they used to have a party every Saturday night, the whole family.

**Int.:** And you wouldn't go?

**JH:** No, no.

**Int.:** This was because your father didn't like it?

**JH:** No, no, they didn't, and course I was only young.

**Int.:** Did you go on holiday with them?

**JH:** I can remember... I can't remember when it was... but, we went to Blackpool illuminations, the whole family, this is my father's side, and they hired a coach and we all went on the coach to see Blackpool... but I thoroughly enjoyed it. Yes, the whole family went for the weekend.

**Int.:** Did you do it just once?

**JH:** Yes. Somebody suggested it and they booked up this hotel. I think they had the whole hotel at Blackpool, and we all went off for the weekend to see Blackpool illuminations. We all went in a coach - filled the coach. Aunties and cousins. There's a photograph actually. I think my brothers got it. A framed photograph where we all had to sit together, with me grandparents in the middle - everybody all standing round. A marvellous photograph. It really is.

**Int.:** How old would you have been then?

**JH:** I can find out all these sort a things...

**Int.:** Were you around ten or younger than that?

**JH:** Well, I can remember.... I might be a bit younger, yes, but I can remember it.

**Int.:** So it must have been soon after the war?

**JH:** Yes, it most likely was.

**Int.:** You were born in '37 or something like that?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Do you remember whether your grandparents seemed very old to you when you were a child?

**JH:** Well they always do, don't they. My grandfather was very very strict, but my grandma, I don't think I would think of her as old, because I can... actually, thinking about her now, I can actually see her. I used to think how nice she was, what a nice old lady, I mean she was a very attractive old lady. You know how you get some very sort of stately.... her hair was sort of white and all piled on top, and she had little kiss curls that used to fall... and... I can remember all that. So I perhaps wouldn't think of her as old, 'cos I used to think how attractive she was. She used to lead quite a.... but from the age of about 30... I think they had quite a game to get her to Blackpool - she never went outside the.... she must have had this - what do they call it now - this phobia that people don't go outside of the house, frightened to go out. Because what happened, everybody used to do her errands for her, so she didn't... she didn't have to go to the shops, I mean she never went shopping or anything like... there was always somebody to run to the corner shop for her and everything, and she actually... I mean the toilet wasn't in the house, it was up the yard - as they used to call it. Well, that's as far as she went on the outside. She never went out of the front door, and she was, as I say, the most attractive... she'd obviously got this.... what is it... a phobia. They put it down to just awkward, lazy and all the rest of it, then.

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**Int.:** There wasn't any family tale about how she developed this phobia?

**JH:** Oh no, no. She just sort of wouldn't go out. Everybody was doing her shopping and I think she perhaps got so used to sitting at home ordering everybody about, because she did, she sat in her chair and.... and yes, in the end she just wouldn't go.

**Int.:** What do you remember about your grandfather's personality, was he strict?

**JH:** He was very strict, very upright and he used to have a white moustache, and it always used to annoy me because he used to, if he had a drink, he used to get {missing} and I didn't used to like that. No, I don't think I was so keen on him as me gran. He was strict and he frightened me. When I think about it, not that strict, but he used to just.... sort of I used to be a bit nervous of him.

**Int.:** And what happened when you used to see him in the workshop with your father, how did he treat you then?

**JH:** Oh, alright.

**Int.:** He wasn't frightening then?

**JH:** Oh no, not if me father was about. I mean it was just perhaps if I went down - down into the house. Actually, I suppose it was just me, because he never did anything, he never sort of shouted, it was just perhaps that he'd got a brisk manner, and it just sort of. I suppose you'd have to if you'd brought up 12.... I mean, have some sort of control.

**Int.:** So apart from being with their kids and all the family, was there something else they used to do together. Did they have any interests, any hobby, any group of friends?

**JH:** No, I think it was virtually... my grandparents would be just all within the family. No, I can never remember any outsiders, no.

**Int.:** Do you know whether the neighbours popped in and were friendly with them?

**JH:** The next door neighbours, yes, but not for meals and things like that, just.... my grandfather owned the house next door, and they used to be his tenants, and they used to just pop in and she used to help look after my... she was a lot younger of course, Mrs. Owton, she used to pop in and do things for my grandma.

**Int.:** She would have helped her then?

**JH:** Yes. And I think they just used to pay a very very low rent. She had a bit of help off her as well.

**Int.:** What part do you think they had in your upbringing?

**JH:** Nothing.

**Int.:** Not even in terms of models, ideas you get from seeing how hard the people live?

**JH:** No, because I can remember them living... well, you know, not the sort of standards.... but food wise, very very well. And they were always.... no, I think they... he used to work hard, my grandfather. But of course he'd got his own business, so perhaps there was a little bit more money than perhaps... not a lot, but... no, there was no hardship that I know of, anyhow. I can't remember them having any outside interests apart from the family.

**Int.:** Did you used to spend some time with them individually, either with him or with her, on your own?

**JH:** No, because I think if I found my grandfather on his own I'd soon scurry out and find somebody else.

**Int.:** What about your grandmother?

**JH:** Oh, yes, yeah.

**Int.:** Could you confide in her?

**JH:** When I was very young. I wouldn't really have anything to sort of say.

**Int.:** How old were you when she died?

**JH:** Now, saying that, I did live with her when I was first married for a bit. Well, not with her, but in the two rooms upstairs. And I was married a couple of.... I think I'd been married... I had Mark when I was 23... I was 25 or 26 when she died.

**Int.:** So you actually lived with her?

**JH:** Yes, I got married very quickly, so we hadn't got much money, and my father said well, you can have the two.... because my grandfather had died by then, my grandma... I think she was 82 when she died... it all comes back now... 82, 'cos she died... she had cataracts on her eyes, and very bad, she went and had an operation, she died on the operating table, 82 she was. And my grandfather had died by then, and of course dad had inherited the firm, because he was the only one that worked with my grandfather, and the houses had to go with the firm because it was all sort of... they were only old sort of... attached. So to save for a deposit for our house, we went and lived there, we didn't pay any rent or anything like that. We lived there for a couple of years, while I was working, and my husband was working, and we saved for our first house, only two years. It was a nightmare. She was a cantankerous... she was 82.

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When I say nightmare... it wouldn't be a nightmare to me now, but you know when you're young and you're first married, she used to interfere with... I'd be cooking, and you know when they get old they've got no taste. I'd be out at work all day, I'd come home and I'd leave my stew on, and Mrs. Owton next door used to keep her eye on it, or she used to put it on for me, but my grandmother used to go in and keep on salting it, so by the time I came home... and you know they have no taste when they get... they lose their taste, it was uneatable. And of course we'd only got the two bedrooms upstairs and I used to have to keep all my kitchen stuff downstairs, which on the whole was OK, but milk she used to use and water down, so I didn't know. No need for it. My coffee, it was this liquid coffee then, you're going back some years - Camp, I think it was, and she used to have that and water it down, so I wouldn't know. The times I said to her look gran, I don't mind you having my... just use my coffee and the milk, but don't water it down. Things like that used to sort of get on your nerves, but apart from that.... And then she used to lock all up at night, then we used to come in and she'd be going very deaf, and we used to come in at night at about 12 o'clock, and we couldn't get in, she'd put the bolts all on the front door, and back door would all be locked up, we'd be knocking... I suppose it was quite interesting when you think about it.

**Int.:** Was your mother working?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** So it wasn't a case of your grandmother having to look after you?

**JH:** Oh no, no.

**Int.:** Do you ever remember your grandparents taking an interest in your schoolwork?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Did you spend time talking?

**JH:** Oh yes, like all grandparents - what have you been doing today and what.... but I can't remember them taking any interest in..... I mean they had so many grandchildren.

**Int.:** What do you remember of your other grandparents?

**JH:** Well, not a lot really. 'cos I seemed to go.... going down with my mother and my mother used to shop down there, I can never think why, but she used to go all that way to shop with her mother, and I used to go to the shops with them. And of course she used to spend a lot of... when my grandfather died, my mother's mother used to spend a lot of time... she used to come up to see... to see us.

**Int.:** Do you remember how many brothers and sisters your mother had?

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**JH:** Yes, five. Three girls - one died, Dora, that's how I come to have the middle name Dora. And two brothers, David and Frank. My mother was the eldest.

**Int.:** We are talking about your grandmother coming to see you when your grandfather died? Would she do it very often?

**JH:** Oh every week... every weekend, every Sunday for dinner.

**Int.:** What was your grandparents' health like? Do you know whether they were very active up until the day they died or whether they had any particular illness?

**JH:** No, my mother's mother was very... apart from she went deaf, but I mean then you're talking about an old lady, I think she was 70 something when she died, about 76, but that's just a guess. Her hair was as dark as yours is now, when she died. She hadn't got a grey hair. Amazing. Now my grandfather, my mother's father, all I can remember of him was sitting in the chair by the fire, never saw him move. Yet he was a sailor and he wouldn't go out at night, and my grandma used to go out every night for a drink, and he used to.... they used to have these big black leaded grates, and they used to cook with them, and I can always remember he used to just sit in a chair, very quiet, poke the fire occasionally.

**Int.:** Would he talk at all?

**JH:** No, no, not a lot. There again I didn't spend a lotta time there, I was always down.... if I went with my mother we were either going shopping, so pick my gran up and then we'd go shopping, and then we'd come home. Or if my mother was going to stay there and perhaps help her with her housework - this is when she was getting a bit older - I used to go round to my other gran's.

**Int.:** Do you remember who your grandmother was going to have a drink with? You said she went out every night?

**JH:** Oh yes, but it was only sort of she'd sit there with one glass all night. Just round the local, with all the neighbours.

**Int.:** What do you remember about her, was she a nice woman?

**JH:** Yes, very sweet little person, a bit like... apart from my mother being fair, and my grandma was dark, very quiet and seemed sort of.... Now, my sister would have a different tale to tell you about that grandma. Because she was very close, my eldest sister, she was very close to that grandma, and I think perhaps that might have been the problem, she might have made a lot of fuss of June, so I got a bit.... Because June was always quieter than I was. She was four years older than me, and she was always very quiet and nice and helpful and that. And she used to often go and stay with my grandma for weekends. She used to love going down there.

Whereas I went to the other side. And that carried on right to..... So June would have a different tale to tell.

**Int.:** Do you remember when your grandparents started getting a bit old and ill, whether they had anyone to look after them, or whether they actually looked after themselves up to the end?

**JH:** I was there in the evenings, so she wouldn't be there at night, but she was very well..... course my grandma was alive... so she always looked after... they were very well looked after by one or other... they all seemed to live close, not my parents, they've moved away, but most of them were in the same district and they were always popping in, and like the daughters and that. Yeah, very very close. She was very well looked after, my gran, right to the bitter end.

**Int.:** And that's the same for the other one as well?

**JH:** Oh yes. Yes.

**Int.:** So it would have been mainly family looking after them?

**JH:** Oh yes, nobody else, never went into hospital.

**Int.:** What was their financial situation? Were they self-sufficient do you think, or did your parents have to help them?

**JH:** Once my grandfather died, he left the business to my father, and my father paid all the bills and everything, for my grandma. But that was on the understanding she hadn't got any money of her own. She never used to have housekeeping or anything, she just... I don't think anyone would perhaps... I mean I wouldn't put up with it, but I mean she had everything she needed, but I think my father started to give her a bit of money for herself. And the lady next door, Mrs. Owton, of course, she used to go and look after gran, right... cook her breakfast for her and do everything.

**Int.:** Mrs. Owton was still a tenant?

**JH:** Oh yes, right to the day they died, because they were father's tenants then after .. They sort of just faded away.

**Int.:** So when your grandfather died your grandmother was provided with everyone by your father?

**JH:** Oh yes.

**Int.:** What about her lifestyle?

**JH:** I can remember her as very nice, smart, a bit like Queen Victoria, upright and hair all.... Yes, I can remember her like that. Perhaps that's why I went down, you never know, because I've always liked somebody who looked after themselves.

**Int.:** And what about the other side, your father's side, - financially?

**JH:** No, I shouldn't say they ever went short of anything, but.... Just sort of very ordinary, I suppose my mother perhaps would help, no doubt she would.

**Int.:** Your grandfather had been a sailor. Had she worked as well, your mother's mother?

**JH:** Not when I knew her. I don't know whether when she was first married... wouldn't even know what she did. I mean I'm talking about the time, now, when he was.... I can't remember anything, because mum was a kid then, I wasn't born then. No, no. I can only ever remember them as grandparents. So I don't know whether gran....

**Int.:** Did their money come from just his pension?

**JH:** Oh yes, and he was so mean. This is my mother's ... he was so mean, that he saved, but he was doing it so my grandma would have a bit of money, I suppose, when he went. You're only talking about a few hundred. I suppose she'd have a pension, wouldn't she. But she never went short anyhow. 'Cos she always had holidays. She was always a one when my grandfather died... she started... 'Cos we used to laugh about it, started to live then, because she used to go off on these old age pensioners trips and holidays, 'cos we always .. I know my father used to pull her leg something wicked, saying oh, now he's gone you're really... because he was a real miserable old.... he'd never take her out or... and he was tight, terribly tight with her. But there again, she had a good time on his money for... there was a few hundred then, she could travel with that. She spent every penny of it. She had holidays. I suppose that little bit of extra money supplemented her pension. So she had a good time.

**Int.:** Do you ever remember if you went to your grandparents' funerals?

**JH:** No. No.

**Int.:** Do you remember any great uncle or great aunt? Was there, in your family, any old person you remember?

**JH:** Aunts, do you mean, like me father's....?

**Int.:** Your father's sisters or brothers or someone else?

**JH:** Oh yeah. Well they're all down there; they're all there, just like ordinary uncles...

**Int.:** But were they kind of old enough?

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**JH:** Oh yeah, yeah. Just like any other aunt... we used to visit... we used to visit my mother's sister a lot. Mum used to take June and I there one week in the school holidays, or whatever, and the aunts used to bring her kids to our house one week, just like I did with my sister, when we got married and had kids.

**Int.:** So the family was quite important in all your gatherings?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Your father was born in 1907 and he was working with your grandfather. Your mother was born in 1909. Do you know whether she had a job either before or after she got married?

**JH:** Yes, before. Never afterwards. My father didn't believe in women.....she worked in a bank before she was married. I think she was on the counter.

**Int.:** She must have had quite an education?

**JH:** I don't know, I can't.... she's not dim, my mother. She's quite a bright little lady. No, I should say ... because when you got married in those days, a woman had to give her job up. My mother definitely... the day she... when she was getting married, her job was finished. She couldn't have kept that... no, they didn't employ married women in the bank. I think she had my sister anyhow, nine months... virtually nine months to the day of getting married. 'Cos grandfather used to say I hope she doesn't have a premature birth because you know... how neighbours talk, it doesn't matter these days, but then... she had my sister nine months to the day of the wedding.

**Int.:** Did she ever regret not working anymore?

**JH:** No, no. But believe it or not, she goes down and helps my brother now - 70 something - yeah, and loves it. In fact, looking back, we often talk, my sister and I, when we'd grown up, 'cos my mum did like looking after us, she was one of these believed you should be at home with your kids, and all the rest of it. But after that, I mean there was years and years left, where she could have gone and helped my father doing the books... she does the books for David. And she'd have loved to have been involved.

**Int.:** But he wouldn't let her do it?

**JH:** Well, he... I don't suppose it ever entered his head, and mum wouldn't push it. But she goes down and does all David's books and everything, for him. And she likes it, it keeps her active and they're all very nice to her. Make a fuss of her.

**Int.:** How many people did your grandfather employ?

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**JH:** There was my father, and then there was my father's eldest brother - Charlie used to work for him a bit, but he couldn't stand it, so virtually it was my father and my grandfather, most of the time, I should say. Then my father's younger brother went and worked for them as well.

**Int.:** So it would never be more than three people?

**JH:** No. Dad even had to leave during the war because they wouldn't allow small businesses, so he worked at Lucas's during the war. They're closing it down now in Birmingham, it's a car accessory place, a factory. War stuff they'd be doing then - bombshells, things like that.

**Int.:** Do you remember when your father took over the factory whether he had people working for him?

**JH:** He didn't take it over until my grandfather.... grandfather kept tight reins on everything until the day he died. He wouldn't even have a telephone or anything put in the factory. He used to say if people want us and want our stuff, they'll come - and they did. It had a very very good name. They made spoons, cutlery... and they did. Can you imagine that, couldn't be that arrogant, could you, but in those days... only spoon manufacturer in Birmingham. All the others are in Sheffield, like they are now.

**Int.:** So it was a very good business?

**JH:** Oh, a very good living, yes. He never paid my father hardly anything - ten shillings a week. He had to work for every penny he got. And because dad didn't drink with them, but if he'd have been a drinker like all the others, they used to go next door with him, into the pub next door, and he used to hand them ten shillings outright, for doing nothing, just because they were.... my father didn't drink, you see. Yes, he even had to go to work in the morning before he got married, on the Saturday, had to do a few hours work.

**Int.:** Do you ever remember your father talking about the job, did he like it?

**JH:** I always thought he didn't, 'till he was dying..... I always thought.... but my mother always said the happiest time was when he worked at Lucas's with other men. With more people. Yes, in the war, at Lucas's, just for a few years. She always reckoned he was happier then.

**Int.:** What do you think made him unhappy. Having always to work with the same people, or the actual job?

**JH:** Oh, the actual job, I think. But I can never remember dad as sad, he just... in fact, when he was dying, and I used to go up every day and look after him. I was very very close to my father. And he'd talk and he'd say I never liked spoons, but that could have been because he was ill, but there again, I wished I'd have done something....

**Int.:** So your mother worked before getting married and she is now working, but in between she hasn't worked?

**JH:** Oh no.

**Int.:** So she always looked after you?

**JH:** Oh yes, my goodness, if you came home from school and you shouted mum, and there wasn't an answer, ooooh. She was always there, when I came home from school,... and you know, perhaps you've done the same yourself, you go in and I used to shout mum, and if she didn't answer - oh, oh.

**Int.:** Is there any particular aunt or uncle you remember best?

**JH:** Violet. Auntie Violet. She was the closest. Because she came to live by where we were living, about three doors down, and I used to go down and see her, as a kid. Help her with her housework, you don't help your mother, but you help your auntie down the road. But not to go out with, but just to sort of go in the house with her. But she worked all her married life. Sunday I used to go down and help her with her housework. She was a butcher's assistant.

**Int.:** And she had a husband?

**JH:** Oh yes. And the person she worked for was a great friend. The butcher.

**Int.:** You don't remember about the others?

**JH:** Only as ordinary aunties, seeing them...

**Int.:** Your sister June was born four years before you. What kind of education did she get?

**JH:** Ordinary, and then I think she went to secretarial college. It wasn't a college - my parents had to pay for about the last year - shorthand and typing college. In town somewhere.

**Int.:** And she worked after that?

**JH:** Yes, until she had Janice.

**Int.:** How many kids has she had?

**JH:** Janice, Paul, Neil and the twins - five.

**Int.:** What's the name of the twins?

**JH:** Jane and Anne.

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**Int.:** How many kids have you had?

**JH:** two. Mark and Simon.

**Int.:** Did you have the same kind of education as your sister?

**JH:** No, I went to ordinary school and left school at 15 - hairdressing. No, I didn't like school at all.

**Int.:** Have you had any occupation after that?

**JH:** Hairdressing. I used to be a hairdresser.

**Int.:** Have you been doing it for long?

**JH:** Yeah, right from... I left school, 'till I got married, and then after I married, until I had Mark - that's my eldest son. And then I used to... when I was having Mark, you can work so long in hairdressing because of standing and that - then I bought a hairdryer and I used to do it at home. Only until Mark was about seven, and then I decided I'd had enough. I'd got Simon then - 'cos there's five years difference between them.

**Int.:** Has your brother got kids?

**JH:** Yes, he's got three.

**Int.:** And he's doing your father's job now?

**JH:** Yes, silversmith.

**Int.:** Did he have a different education to yours? Did he go to other schools?

**JH:** Yes, they did give him a private education, and he hated it, so they had to send him back to an ordinary school. He hated the uniform, and it was right the other side of town, and mother used to take him - Greenmore College, Edgbaston - and we were living in Sutton then, she used to take him and when she got home he was on the doorstep. He used to get home before her. Made himself ill. That was purely because he didn't like the uniform and he wanted to go with his friends. I don't think you could count a couple of months at private school as an education.

**Int.:** Do you know why he was sent to a private school, and not the two of you?

**JH:** Well, I definitely wouldn't have wanted..... I don't suppose they could afford it when we were.....

**Int.:** He was younger than you, and they were better off?

**JH:** Oh yes, 'cos.... I'm eight years older than David, and very likely my grandfather had..... 'Cos he did keep a tight rein... I mean, there was never any extras, I mean we weren't.... but I can remember wanting things and I always had them, but I always had to wait. He did the best he could.... I remember wanting ice skates for ages, and he said I'll get them as soon as I can. But I think I had to wait a couple of years for a pair of ice skates of my own. You got the things, but you just had to wait.

**Int.:** Do you remember roughly how many years you lived in the house you were born in?

**JH:** I was born in the house, and I lived there 'till I got married. They moved just after I got married.

**Int.:** How old were you when you got married?

**JH:** Nearly 19.

**Int.:** Can you describe this house a bit?

**JH:** It was just an ordinary semi detached, just two smallish rooms downstairs, and a kitchen, a hallway, a little tiny sort a hall. Stairs at the side, two bedrooms and a box room, separate toilet and a bathroom.

**Int.:** So you had to share your room with your sister?

**JH:** We used to sleep in a double bed together and then I objected, I didn't like sleeping with anyone, and so then I had the box room, and then when David was born and wanted a bedroom, I went back in with my sister, and then when he was a bit older he used to get in with us, David, he used to like to get in, so I then moved back into his room and he slept with my sister.

**Int.:** How old were you when you first objected to sharing the room with your sister?

**JH:** I don't think it was actually sharing. I used to like to sleep alone. It wouldn't be my sharing with her, because she used to be quite a good sister as I can remember. She used to tell lovely stories in bed. I just didn't like sleeping with anyone. No, I used to like my own bed. In fact I suppose I was an awkward little so and so. I was the naughty one in the family, I think.

**Int.:** Did your parents own this house or was it rented?

**JH:** No, they'd bought it. A mortgage.

**Int.:** Did you ever have any lodgers or relatives living there for a while?

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**JH:** No, no. The only.... yes, only for a few weeks, when my auntie, I can remember, sold her fish and chip shop, and until the new place she was having was ready. I think they stayed a few weeks. Auntie Laura.

**Int.:** Did you ever have anyone to help your mother in the house?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Can you tell me who did the cooking?

**JH:** Mother. I can remember doing the odd thing when my mother went in hospital, I looked after them for a fortnight, and cooked, but that was the only time.

**Int.:** Otherwise it would have been her?

**JH:** Yeah, running the house. You'd perhaps help when you got a bit older, or if.... but no, I should say mum did all the housework.

**Int.:** And the shopping?

**JH:** Yeah.

**Int.:** Who did the decorating or improvements?

**JH:** I suppose dad would. I can't remember who did decorating. I should think dad.... mind you, he never did anything later, so..... What I can remember, he used to have somebody, but then that was at the other house, but I can't honestly remember.

**Int.:** So what would he do at home?

**JH:** He loved gardening. He used to do the garden. He didn't do any housework. He always used to make the fire up in the winter, it was his first job - he used to come home from work, take his coat off, rake the fire, make it up, then he'd have his tea, so then the fire was all nice for when he came to sit down. I can always remember him doing that. It was a thing. No, they didn't go out a lot unless they were taking us out for the day. But I don't think there was a lot of money to.... I was 15 before he had a car. He used to go to work on a bike.

**Int.:** Was work very far away from the house?

**JH:** I should say about four miles. Ten minutes in a car.

**Int.:** So he used to the bike in all seasons?

**JH:** Oh yes, yes, and he used to put a cushion on the crossbar.....

**Int.:** Did you have a fixed time to go to bed?

**JH:** Yeah, I think I could please myself, but I'm afraid I always went to bed early, so I was no problem.

**Int.:** Did anyone read you stories?

**JH:** Yes, my dad. He didn't read stories; he used to make them up.

**Int.:** And you used to like it a lot?

**JH:** Oh yeah.

**Int.:** What kind of stories were they?

**JH:** I suppose silly stories really. The stories my father told me, I told mine about it. He used to make the same story really, about a chocolate house, it'd all be eaten up, and somebody used to come along and eat the door and eat the.... you know, stories like that.

**Int.:** Did he used to do that with all of you?

**JH:** Oh yes. More often than not though, I was asleep in bed when he came in. He used to work late when I was a child. Nine o'clock dad used to work 'till. He hardly ever used to see us, but when he was there, yeah, he was marvellous with all of us.

**Int.:** Did you have a meal altogether?

**JH:** As we can got older, yes, and you could wait, but as I say he used to be working late.

**Int.:** So mealtime would be with your mother and the three of you?

**JH:** Yes. The only time we ever sat down, altogether, would be Sunday lunchtime.

**Int.:** Were you allowed to talk at the table?

**JH:** Oh yeah. You couldn't do what you liked, but no, you could talk if you wanted to.

**Int.:** Was there something in particular you talked about?

**JH:** What I can remember of my childhood, would be to eat my tea as quick as I could, so I could get out to play, so that was me.

**Int.:** And your mother wouldn't object to that?

**JH:** No, no. Because we had a park right at the bottom of the garden, so I used to go there. Everybody would be waiting to play games in the park.

**Int.:** Then you went back and home and went to bed?

**JH:** Yeah.

**Int.:** Do you ever remember your mother baking or making jam?

**JH:** Oh yes. Don't forget, when I was young, the war.... and there was rationing, right until I was at work, 15, rationing was on, because I can remember... I mean my coupons to go and get the sort of sweets I wanted, with my money. There wasn't cordials and things like that, what there is now.

**Int.:** What would you eat at mealtimes?

**JH:** An awful lot of stews, as I can remember, 'cos I suppose the meat ration would go. It would be stew one day and then the stew used to have a pastry crust on the next day. Liver, an awful lot of offal we used to eat. I suppose economical meals, as I say, because I can't remember.... we never went without, but really stodgy I suppose. Steam puddings and apple turnovers and custard, and rice puddings and things like that.

**Int.:** Did you have a vegetable garden?

**JH:** I know dad used to keep chickens for eggs, at the bottom of the garden - only a few. I can't remember if he grew vegetables. I think it was all flowers. Apple trees and things like that, but flowers mostly.

**Int.:** Would you confide or talk to your mother or father, who would you talk more to?

**JH:** When I was older I suppose... I don't know... I was close to my sister when we were at home, because she was so different. I should imagine my father, if I'd got to tell anybody anything, but then.... no, I should say both, when I was young.

**Int.:** And then things changed when you got a bit older?

**JH:** I suppose I talked to my mother, but I think I was always close to my father. Maybe you could ask anything, you could have an open relationship with her, but there again she didn't know an awful lot, my mother. I mean when I started work at 15, it was... I could tell my mother more about things than what my mother... I mean my mother never sat me down and told me about the facts of.... she seemed to sort of.... I often used to go home after work and say to my mum, what does so and so... they'd been talking... and she'd say well, I don't know. That'd be my mother.

**Int.:** Was your father like that. How come you were closer to him?

**JH:** He did more with you when he was.... you couldn't buy toys so he used to make me loads of things, and my sister was very close to my mother, she was quiet like my mother and I was more outgoing. My father, when I was born, wanted a boy, that's how I come to be called Jill. He said well, if you can't be Jack, you'd better be Jo. So I've been told. And so he used to take me to football matches, I used to go to boxing matches with him, and I used to do everything he'd do with a son until David, and then when David was born, dad really had gone past that, he was a bit too..... well, not too old. He didn't have any social life apart from relations. No friends, like going out for meals and a drink. I never went to a restaurant for meals.

**Int.:** Did they ever go out?

**JH:** For a weeks holiday. They used to save all year round so he could take us for a week's holiday, in the summer, but that was ... oh we used to go the park and if there was a fair on, and relations, we'd perhaps go to tea occasionally, but it wasn't week in, week out affair. It was all just within the ..

**Int.:** Would the two of them go out together, without you?

**JH:** No, I can't ever remember them getting a babysitter and going.... no, no. If we went to the pictures, we'd all go, so it'd be something suitable for all of us.

**Int.:** Did your parents, do you think, bring you up to consider certain things as important?

**JH:** You couldn't be sort of cheeky, as close as I was to my father I used to have many a smack, because I'd cheeked my mother, and my mother never used to smack. I'll tell father when he comes home. So she used to tell my father when he came home, and then I had a smack. If they told me to come in at a certain time, I'd have to. Easy going but you couldn't stay out at night. And if I wanted to stay out on special occasions .. I mean this is 15 or 16, - if I wanted to get the last bus home from town, he'd be meeting me at the bus stop, but there again I wanted him to because I was so scared of the dark. I think they gave up on me education-wise, I just wasn't interested, I wasn't very...practical, yes.

**Int.:** Do you think they considered education very important?

**JH:** No, not as important as they do today. No, I don't think so. But there again, I wasn't interested, and they really let me get away with it. A bit easy.

**Int.:** Do you remember any particular occasion when you got punished?

**JH:** I remember being smacked loads of times. Those were for just ordinary..... naughty things, which I would have normally slapped my kids for there and then, and that's it.

**Int.:** How did you feel about being smacked?

**JH:** I didn't like it, but.... no, I suppose I felt hurt. I always thought my mother was against me, but this was purely because she always used to tell and then me father used to have to smack me. I mean if she'd have smacked me there and then, OK, but I think I was the only one that ever used to be smacked in the family. I suppose I deserved it.

**Int.:** Because the others were calmer?

**JH:** My sister was very quiet, June, she never used to do anything to warrant a smack. It was nothing bad, it was just perhaps you'd cheek her at the table or something.

**Int.:** What about David then. What kind of a relationship did you have with him?

**JH:** Very good.

**Int.:** Did you feel closer to him than to June?

**JH:** Yes, because of course I'm eight years older, so June would be.... she adored him as a baby, absolutely adored him, she was his second mother. He was just a little pest to me. I hadn't got any time for him - 'till he got to be about four, and then he used to trail after me everywhere, and I used to take him with me, it never used to worry me. We had a good relationship. We still have. He was a horrible little brother, but all little brothers are, aren't they. If you wanted him out the way when you were courting, you used to have to pay him, else he'd hang around. But that goes on now, doesn't it, so....

**Int.:** Do you know whether your parents saved any money for you?

**JH:** Yes, mum used to pay, I think it was 2/6d., I used to take to school for stamps, savings stamps. Yes, but I had a Post Office Savings book.

**Int.:** And were you allowed to touch it?

**JH:** No. No. No. Mind you, I do think I had... I wanted a bike when I was 15, and they couldn't really afford to..... I could have the money then for that, if I wanted one. I suppose I nagged and nagged until in desperation mum said well, have it. But you're not talking about a lot of money.

**Int.:** Do you know if they did the same for the others?

**JH:** Oh yes, we were all treated the same. Yes, if one got 6d, the other one would get 6d. If mum has to.... June always had a harder time, even when she was married, than me. I mean five kids and all the rest of it. But June was a bit short. So if mum treated her to something, she'd always give me exactly the same. And even now, if she gives one money for our

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birthday - we all get the same. David doesn't, 'cos he's got the business, so she just does it for June and I.

**Int.:** Do you know what arrangements your parents had about money. Did he give her all his money, or would he give her just enough, or did she have to ask him?

**JH:** What was mum's was mum's, and what was dad's was mum's as well. They used to have a joint account. But mum used to save out of the housekeeping, she always had her own money and she brought up June and I exactly the same - five shilling of your own money is worth £1 of..... to have your own bank account.

**Int.:** Was she the one who was actually managing the money at home then?

**JH:** Yes, I should say she was. Perhaps not later on in life, when dad.... but especially when we were children, yes.

**Int.:** Who decided about the purchase of furniture?

**JH:** They'd do that together.

**Int.:** But she actually had control?

**JH:** Yes, because I know my father was quite a.... he would have bought lots of things, where mum, sensible, would say oh no, we don't need it. Mum was a stabilising influence, really. I think dad would have spent his last penny.

**Int.:** Did they have to struggle to make ends meet?

**JH:** Oh I don't think they had it easy at first, but I think by the time David was perhaps about ten things started to look up, 'cos they could afford to send him to this public school, if he'd have stayed. So you don't do that with.... 'Cos I don't think education was that important to them, that they'd made themselves short or gone without to send you to... it wasn't that.

**Int.:** Did they mention that they were sacrificing themselves for you?

**JH:** No. No. No. No. Quite honestly, I'd have thought.... I mean I know differently now, but you never heard them discuss money. I thought we were alright. There was no question.... perhaps if they were struggling - there's no way any of us would have known.

**Int.:** Did they ever get financial help from anywhere?

**JH:** No. Never believed in HP either, my father. If you couldn't afford to pay, you got no rights to.... but that was an old fashioned belief. If you couldn't pay for it, you'd got no rights to have it, sort of thing. But I mean...

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**Int.:** Was your father ever ill or out of work?

**JH:** He was ill before he died, of course, but no. Not during my childhood. He was ill when he was a boy. But no, no.

**Int.:** How about your mother?

**JH:** Yes, I can remember mum having pneumonia, which turned to pleurisy, would it be, when I was a child. I was about ten. The aunt that I said I used to go down and see used to come up and help her. Bath the kids and generally sort of be a help. Mum was in bed for quite some time, she was very poorly.

**Int.:** She was at home, not in hospital?

**JH:** Oh no, she was at home.

**Int.:** So you did have someone else to look after you?

**JH:** Yeah, but just sort of occasionally.

**Int.:** What kind of ideas about money did you get from your childhood?

**JH:** Really, when you live in these sort of houses, everyone's more or less on the same sort of.... I never felt poor. I never thought we were hard up. But I don't suppose we were really; we just had to be careful.

**Int.:** So you actually learned how to be careful.

**JH:** Yes, but I do spend. I am a spendthrift. I'm not a saver. I mean.... I do always have to keep a little bit because if ever she asked for my book to put some more in, I'd be ashamed if.... But, no, I spend most of my money on the kids - anything - top up what the father does, if they want something and he can't perhaps.... holidays, boats, and things like that. 'Cos I've always had my own money - off my mother. I'm not talking about a lot, I'm just talking about a few.... I've usually topped up, instead of him having to borrow and things like that, I pay the things for them.

**Int.:** So you were given a bit of pocket money?

**JH:** Oh yes. Six-pence I think.

**Int.:** What would you do with that?

**JH:** Used to be able to go to the cinema. I'd have my sweet ration with that.

**Int.:** Would you go to the cinema with your friends?

**JH:** Oh yeah.

**Int.:** Was there a special day when you did that?

**JH:** Saturday mornings.

**Int.:** There were children's shows then?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did your parents play games with you when you were little?

**JH:** Oh yeah, yeah, tiddlywinks. Yes, all those sort of games.

**Int.:** Both of them?

**JH:** Oh yeah, we'd sit down, no tele. Used to have family games.

**Int.:** What would you do in the evening before going to bed? As a family, would you play cards, play games?

**JH:** Yeah. That's if dad was home. 'Cos he used to work late, you see.

**Int.:** Did you have a radio then, or a gramophone?

**JH:** Oh yes. Radio.

**Int.:** Would the family listen to that altogether?

**JH:** Yeah, but they weren't musical or anything like that. Didn't have a radiogram until they were much older and they moved to Sutton. 'Cos I can remember buying a radiogram, wireless and thingybob, and dad saying oh, that's nice. I was married then. And he went out and bought one the same. And he loved his records and things, but everything was later on in life he did all these things.

**Int.:** So when you were together you would all play?

**JH:** Yes, games, or....

**Int.:** Were there books in the house?

**JH:** No. We were very lacking on that side of.... no.

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**Int.:** Do you know whether your brother or sister spent time reading?

**JH:** They might have. Encyclopaedias, I can remember those, but I can't ever remember opening them. But I can remember a shelf of those. I think my mother's still got them. But I can't ever remember opening them. I don't know whether June.... June might have read. But I don't think David.... I don't know.

**Int.:** But your parents didn't read?

**JH:** Only magazines, mum would perhaps buy the weeklies.

**Int.:** Did you have newspapers?

**JH:** Oh yes, yes.

**Int.:** Were you reading them as well?

**JH:** I don't think I read them as a child. Not newspapers. I can remember reading them at home when I was older, when I was living at home, 'cos I can always remember my father - he used to have the News of the World and People. Always remember I used to take the News of the World up and read it in the bath on Sunday morning, I can always remember being told off about that. Used to say bad enough reading the News of the World, but reading it in the bath... And my mother used to say well, you can soon stop that by not buying it, and then she wouldn't read it. But then you're talking about 16 or 17, a girl at work.

**Int.:** Did you have a particular celebration for your birthday, was it a particular day?

**JH:** Oh yes, you'd have a party, with all your friends, yes.

**Int.:** So you'd have your cake and things like that?

**JH:** Oh yes, yes.

**Int.:** So your friends were allowed at home?

**JH:** Oh yes, I could take anyone home.

**Int.:** Were you taken out by your parents visiting neighbours, friends, relations?

**JH:** Yeah, we used to go out.

**Int.:** Who did you used to go out and see, apart from your grandparents?

**JH:** Aunties and uncles.

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**Int.:** Would it be friends besides the family?

**JH:** No, no, they didn't. Most peculiar. As I say, we never went out for a meal or anything like that.

**Int.:** So they wouldn't have friends at home, because they didn't have friends in general?

**JH:** No, relations. Mum had had one friend down the road, but then you're talking about woman to woman, they used to go shopping together, and things, but no, they wouldn't meet. My dad wouldn't socialise, he'd say hello to her husband, but no, they never went out. No, I often think about that.... no, they didn't.

**Int.:** What would you mother do with this other woman, shopping?

**JH:** Shop, and perhaps they'd have a cuppa tea, but that would be it.

**Int.:** That would be during the daytime?

**JH:** In the daytime, nothing to do with evening.

**Int.:** So you had holidays. Where did you go?

**JH:** Rhyl or Barmouth. Quite near, you see, because we used to have to either go on the coach or the train, because we didn't have a car.

**Int.:** And where would you stay?

**JH:** Boarding house I suppose. Wouldn't be a hotel.

**Int.:** And do you remember that period particularly, did you used to wait for that?

**JH:** Oh yes, you got excited, because we always used to go when it was my birthday - take my cake. Yes, I always had a cake. Fancy taking a cake on a train. We must have always had the same week every year. I mean that just shows you, it must have been boring. They were very very happy.

**Int.:** Only the five of you then, not with other relatives?

**JH:** Oh no, just us.

**Int.:** Can you remember any occasion when all the family and relations would get together?

**JH:** Weddings, christenings, oh, and don't forget Blackpool. Yes, we used to have family do's, if there was any excuse, 'cos as I say that side of the family, apart from dad, I would say was the most quiet and reserved, and mum.

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**Int.:** What about Christmas?

**JH:** We always used to have it as a family, at home. I think my mother's mother came up on Christmas, when my grandfather died, but I never remember my mother's father coming to our house, at all, ever. It's amazing isn't it... but my gran used to.

**Int.:** As a child who did you usually play with?

**JH:** Boys, believe it or not, because I liked rough, like rounders and things like that, and my best pal was a boy, Barry Ellis. He used to have my doll and pram and I used to have his gun. I can remember that.

**Int.:** What was he doing with your doll and pram?

**JH:** He was pushing and...

**Int.:** You were actually playing together?

**JH:** We were together, but I can't remember what we actually played, but I know I played with him most days, it's when I was smaller. But then there used to be all the kids, and as I say, we used to have a park at the back of our garden, and we used to play rounders, in the summer we were in the park every night, in fact my father loosened the park railings so we could all go through. When the Parkie wasn't looking, we slid the railing and all went in. It was virtually at the bottom of the garden, but in the park. It was marvellous.

**Int.:** They were kids from the neighbourhood?

**JH:** Oh yeah, from around. We used to knock and say are you coming to play rounders or whatever.

**Int.:** Were there other girls?

**JH:** Oh yeah.

**Int.:** What about your sister, was she in your group as well?

**JH:** Oh no, she'd never come out to play. She used to sit with mum and knit or embroider. Yes, ever so quiet, June was.

**Int.:** What about the friends you had at school, did you play with them as well?

**JH:** Oh yes, the school was only just up the road, so it'd be perhaps the same, you'd have girlfriends and... I had a very good childhood, when I think back. No aggro, no upsets, just.....

**Int.:** Did your parents stop or discourage you from playing with someone they didn't particularly like?

**JH:** No, I don't think so..... No.... No... because they were all more or less the same sort of kids in the road. Some would be a bit rougher than others, but then kids sort them out themselves don't they, I don't really think you have to.... no, I was never told that you.....

**Int.:** Did you ever belong to any youth organisations?

**JH:** Yes, Youth Clubs. Brownies, Girl Guides. I used to go to camp with them.

**Int.:** How did you get involved with the Girl Guides?

**JH:** From church. Sunday school every Sunday. It was the thing, Sunday afternoons, Sunday school. I did object, but there again I couldn't go to... if you didn't go to Sunday school, you couldn't belong to the Brownies, so that's how they used to get you there. So I used to have to go to Sunday school so I could be in the Brownies, and the Girl Guides then.

**Int.:** So how long did you stay in these groups. For quite a while?

**JH:** Oh yes, I think so, yes, until perhaps.... oh, perhaps I must have given the Girl Guides up when I started going to the Youth Club.

**Int.:** Was this attached to the church as well?

**JH:** No, I think it was.... I'd started at the senior school then, so I'd got a different set of friends, and I think the Youth Club was somewhere by the school, and I certainly didn't go to that church to go to the Youth Club. It used to be just a Youth Club where you mixed with boys, and generally flirted and played table tennis and walked home. But I would have to be home by about nine or 9.30. That's where they were strict. And if I wasn't....

**Int.:** What did you do in this Youth Club. Just chat and talk to the boys and girls?

**JH:** Yeah, generally, and used to play table tennis.

**Int.:** Did you have music and dances there?

**JH:** Oh, I think so, yes. What would it be.... Don't they have them anymore - they must do. Yes, generally mess around and giggle and do stupid things.

**Int.:** Was there a grown up keeping an eye on you?

**JH:** Oh yes, there'd be the leaders, older people that ran them. They'd be the churchgoers. They were youth leaders. Keep the kids off the streets. I mean they were at it then.

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**Int.:** Did you take part in any sports, in an organised way, in some organisation?

**JH:** No. No. I used to ice skate a lot then, in the evenings, from about 14 to 17, used to go about three nights a week.

**Int.:** Were you in a team or just doing it for yourself?

**JH:** No, just going and having a good time.

**Int.:** Were you sent to dancing lessons or music lessons?

**JH:** I was sent to music lessons. Well, I wasn't sent, my sister used to go, and I thought I ought to go as well, but I only went for a few weeks and was useless.

**Int.:** What instrument was that?

**JH:** Piano. Oh no, no good at all.

**Int.:** Was June good?

**JH:** Oh yes, June was quite good. I used to cycle a lot and do things. I was a tomboy, outside, doing things. Play. Nothing that'd help later on in life, but I was having a damn good time.

**Int.:** Can you tell me how you spent weekends in those days?

**JH:** Same as weekdays really. I'd either perhaps go out with my parents, or if not I'd be playing.

**Int.:** So you didn't go out every weekend with your parents?

**JH:** Oh no, no.

**Int.:** So you went to church on Sunday?

**JH:** Yes, Sunday afternoon. Sunday school. Church of England.

**Int.:** Did your parents attend church regularly?

**JH:** No, never. No, my mother didn't go to church - weddings, christenings.

**Int.:** And what about your father?

**JH:** No, the same.

**Int.:** Were you actually pushed by them to go to Sunday school?

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**JH:** Oh yes, you had to go to Sunday school. My father said religion was how you carried out your life, not going to church and all the rest of it, but we all had to go. I think it was to get us out the way. We used to have to drag David along as well.

**Int.:** Did you like going to Sunday school?

**JH:** Not really, but I had to go because I wanted to be in the Brownies.

**Int.:** So how much would you say religion meant to you as a child?

**JH:** I don't suppose I even thought about it.

**Int.:** Were you brought up in a religious way by your parents, did they tell you about religion?

**JH:** Oh yes. My father was a definite believer. Definite believer. Life after death and all that. I think mums just hopeful that there's something, but no, no. I mean to the extent you'd have to get married in church, or christened in church. I can remember when June and I, every child we had, we couldn't go to dads until we'd been blessed in church after we'd had a baby. That sort a thing, but I suppose that carried on from his family.

**Int.:** Which was religious as well?

**JH:** Their beliefs, just like saying don't walk under a ladder, it's bad luck. I think this business of.... but I would say dad was ... yes, I think he was the only person I really knew that really did believe.

**Int.:** But he never went to church?

**JH:** No, but he sent us.

**Int.:** When you were at home do you remember your parents discussing politics?

**JH:** Not really. Not when I was young, because I'd got no time. When we were older, yes. Had quite a few.... discussions about politics, yes.

**Int.:** Did they vote?

**JH:** Oh yes, yes.

**Int.:** Do you know what they voted?

**JH:** Yes, Conservative.

**Int.:** What kind of discussion did you have then, the one you can remember?

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**JH:** Well, they wouldn't be long, intelligent discussions. Very likely they'd only be when there was an election coming up, or about what they could ... more local I suppose, because lets face it, the local elections concerned us more than the... it's what they do for us - which isn't a great deal. No, I can't really say we had any great...

**Int.:** Would you say that their political view has influenced you in that respect?

**JH:** I think it would be for quite a few years, yes. I would be of the attitude oh, mum and dad always voted Conservative, I'm a Conservative, sort of thing. But it certainly wouldn't now, just because they voted... I'd vote now how I felt. It certainly wouldn't influence me. I still vote Conservative, but I'd vote for the candidate locally who I thinks going to do more good.

**Int.:** This is about what your parents did when they weren't working?

**JH:** It wasn't a household.... no books or encouraged you to.... they didn't think that education was the end of ... just that type....

**Int.:** The two of them didn't have any interests outside the home?

**JH:** No, it was just us. We were there, fell in love, got married and dad worked hard, did the best he possibly could ... just an ordinary...

**Int.:** How much time did your father spend at home?

**JH:** Well a lot really, apart from... he was working hard, a holiday once a year and the occasional trips, very.... mind you, I suppose lots of people do it now, don't they.

**Int.:** And you said they didn't really have any friends outside?

**JH:** No, not socially.

**Int.:** Did you think of people as belonging to different social groups or classes, when you were younger. Did you have a bad perception...?

**JH:** No, I was always brought up to think I was as good as anybody else, and nobody was.... which I suppose is a bit ridiculous really, when you think about it, but I always had a ... no, no, I was always brought up to...you're as good as... I mean my father, I think he gave me.... he told us all we were so lovely and marvellous, it was quite a shock when you go out into the big world, and not everybody thinks you're so marvellous as your mum and dad. We were just brought up to believe we were as good as anyone else. But never any inferiority complex about it.

**Int.:** Do you think that everyone in your neighbourhood had a similar standard of living?

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**JH:** I suppose so. Only the odd one, you'd get the odd one. My mother always used to say all kippers and curtains, all sort of show, but not ... no, they were more or less the same. All with the same mortgages.

**Int.:** Was there any family that was considered to be a bit rough?

**JH:** Oh yes, we'd got one family down the bottom of the road that was... but there again, it was because she'd got a large family and they were all boys and they were all having a good time, and I always used to play with them, in the park, while I was young, so yes, I can remember the neighbours.

**Int.:** Why were they considered rougher then?

**JH:** Well, I suppose because they were all boys. I think she'd got about five or six boys - well they would be loud and noisy, but a perfectly ordinary.... thinking back ... but I played with them.

**Int.:** Do you ever remember seeing a policeman around?

**JH:** Oh yes, he used to walk the streets.

**Int.:** Was he a kind of family figure?

**JH:** No, I think I was always a bit frightened of policemen, when I was a kid. They always used to be there on their bikes, pushing their bikes. Yes, I remember that.

**Int.:** So you never got into scrapes with the law yourself?

**JH:** No. Never.

**Int.:** What about the other kids you were playing with?

**JH:** No. No. The only scrape would be perhaps the park keeper. If you were sitting on the flowerbeds say, but that was about the limit.

**Int.:** Do you think your parents thought of themselves as a member of a particular class?

**JH:** They thought of themselves as ordinary, decent....

**Int.:** Did you think it was possible at that time to move from one class to another?

**JH:** I suppose when I was a child, what influenced me was the size of peoples houses, and if they'd got cars and things. Really - that's it, I mean I didn't look to see if they'd got diamonds, it used to be the size of the house, actually. Yes, I was very impressed at times.

**Int.:** But you used to think you could have that one day?

**JH:** Oh yeah, no doubt. We were only living in the house we were living, because mum and dad liked it there, not because they couldn't afford it. That's how I was brought up to think. If I'd have perhaps said anything... oh, so and so doesn't half live in a nice house, my mother would have very likely turned round and said oh, but we like it here. We were never sort of given the impression that we couldn't. I mean we weren't told that we'd got lots of money, but we were never given the impression that we couldn't...

**Int.:** Did you go to private school or council school?

**JH:** Council.

**Int.:** You left school when?

**JH:** I left at 15.

**Int.:** Did you get through your O-levels?

**JH:** No, never took anything. Just left.

**Int.:** How come you left?

**JH:** I left because it was the leaving age, and I started work at 15.

**Int.:** Why didn't you like school?

**JH:** I don't think I was very bright - I know I wasn't. I had a terrible reading problem, and if you can't read, well it really stops everything. I read now, and I read everything I can get my hands on, I still can't spell. So I wouldn't have sat an exam for the simple reason ... perhaps knew a lot ... if I could've been in a room and just spoke, they asked me questions, I knew it, but I couldn't put it down on paper. I couldn't spell. So that was the end of that.

**Int.:** Wasn't there any teacher who tried to teach you?

**JH:** Yes. When I was in the junior school.

**Int.:** Do you remember any teacher who was particularly good with you?

**JH:** Yes, the Headmaster, in infants or junior school. Used to have me in every afternoon, and try. Mother used to have to go up to school, I suppose because she was worried, about my reading. But no, no good. And spelling, you know when the teacher puts all the spelling on the board and you have ten spellings, well, I used to worry about that. I used to be terrible, I used to worry, and I used to say... I learned it parrot fashion, actually memorised everything, and

my mother used to worry about this, we used to practice at home, and she used to... so I suppose in that she used to help me. And I used to say, don't worry mum, be OK, so long as she gives me the spellings. And she'd put them on the board. She'd only have to alter them around, put one spelling before the other, and of course my whole.... I just sort of memorised.

**Int.:** What do you think it depends on, this difficulty with spelling?

**JH:** I don't know, because I can't spell now. I read and read and read and my husband just cannot understand. I suppose it's what you call ... you can go to school for it now... word blindness... what's that word for word blindness, what do they call it.... I'm in quite good company, some famous people can't spell. I mean I can read now, as easily as anything, but I just can't spell. Still can't. It's a very common thing. But it stops you from doing things.

**Int.:** So you went to infant school, junior school and then senior school?

**JH:** And then I finished school and went into hairdressing.

**Int.:** Did you have good friends at school as well?

**JH:** Oh yes.

**Int.:** Were they children from the neighbourhood?

**JH:** Yeah, more or less, within so many miles.

**Int.:** Why did you go to that school particularly, was it the one you had to go to?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Do you remember whether your friends were better or worse at studying than you?

**JH:** No, very likely better. If I'm honest. Yeah, apart from the practical things, and then there was no one that could.... because you compensate don't you. I mean I was always very artistic in lots of things. I couldn't paint or draw or anything like that, but I mean sewing or arranging things or colour and ... things like that.

**Int.:** Did you have cooking lessons?

**JH:** Yeah, oh anything like that I used to love. Top of the class.

**Int.:** Were your sister and brother at the same school?

**JH:** Yes, apart from David and he went to....

**Int.:** Did they have the same problems as you had?

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**JH:** No. June was bright, 'cos I used to get - why can't you be like your sister. Which didn't help. Quiet and all the rest of it, and good at school. I mean I'm not brilliant, but I mean June was good average, hold her own. I suppose David was alright. David's not brilliant, but he's.....

**Int.:** How did you feel about your teachers in general?

**JH:** Some I liked, some I didn't. More frightened... they were stricter in those days. You respected them. They told you to do something, you did it. But I think I spent a lot of my time at school worried, so I was pleased to leave. Worried because I felt... well, I wasn't really learning anything because of this... I suppose I could read by then, but I couldn't put things down on paper, and you had no help. My mother sent me coaching, but then that helped slightly, but ... just for reading and writing ... That was when I was older, in the senior school, but...

**Int.:** How come you didn't get any help. Wouldn't the teacher be interested if you were a slow learner?

**JH:** No, I just didn't... can't remember. I suppose they tried, but I mean... I think I needed sort of what they give you now, a more specialised help, and you just didn't get it. My parents sent me somewhere, after school, in the evenings, for what they call... it wasn't coaching - it was just to sort of see if they could... but it didn't do....

**Int.:** Did your parents encourage you to do schoolwork?

**JH:** Oh yes, they... I used to have to sit and do this spelling and reading every night to get me to read, but it wasn't hammered or .. I wasn't threatened or... no, no.

**Int.:** Do you ever remember your teachers encouraging discussion in class?

**JH:** Yes, 'cos of course I used to like things like that, stories and discussions where you could just sort of... you're not writing it down, you can just have a discussion. Oh yes, I loved things like that.

**Int.:** Was it common practice to have discussions?

**JH:** I wouldn't say it was common practice, but I think I can remember the odd occasion.

**Int.:** When you left school you went into hairdressing?

**JH:** Yes, an apprenticeship.

**Int.:** Was that the only choice possible?

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**JH:** No, I could have had... it was the only thing I ever wanted to do, from a very very early age - that was hairdressing. Yes, I had a choice. But actually I didn't consider anything else, I was going to be a hairdresser, and that was it.

**Int.:** And you started doing that before you left school?

**JH:** Oh yes, I used to have a Saturday job for about six months before, to see if I liked it.

**Int.:** Can you tell me a bit about the job. Did you start part time or full time?

**JH:** Full time.

**Int.:** And you got a salary?

**JH:** Yes. About £1 a week.

**Int.:** Did you have to give it to your mum?

**JH:** I kept my first weeks money, I had that all to myself, and then half, I think. Yes, half of the £1. Yes, I always had to pay her housekeeping. And when I had a rise, she used to have half of that. But I did very well 'cos I had my tips. So it was no.... and I could always have subs ... well, not subs, dad was always alright for a.....

**Int.:** And then did you start up your own shop?

**JH:** No, did my apprenticeship and then I got a job after my apprenticeship and then I was manageress of a shop after that, and I got married in between, and then I was manageress until I left to have Mark after I'd been married about three years.

**Int.:** So you would have been about 22?

**JH:** About 23 when I had Mark.

**Int.:** Then you started work again?

**JH:** I just used to do it at home.

**Int.:** What did you particularly like in this job?

**JH:** I like meeting people. I like being with people. I loved every minute of work, get tired, but I love my job.

**Int.:** So you like the creative side of it as well?

**JH:** Yes.

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**Int.:** Did you keep in touch with the new fashions?

**JH:** Oh yeah, but when it was sets... I'd just finished my apprenticeship when rollers came in; there was no blow-wave or anything like that, just rollers. You washed and you waved the hair, and then you pincurled every pin. Yes, very hard work. Just as I'd finished, rollers came in, well of course it was a doddle then. Just rolling it up, it was as easy as anything. Used to go to college for Marcel waving - that's with the irons, and you wave with the iron. But I was never ever asked to do one. So... I couldn't do that now to save me life.

**Int.:** Did you use dyes as well?

**JH:** Oh yes, everything.

**Int.:** Being a hairdresser you must have spent tons of time with other women. How did you find that? Before starting work you told me that you'd been playing with boys?

**JH:** Well, yes, I used to like boys because I was more of a tomboy.

**Int.:** So did you find it difficult to have all those women around you or not?

**JH:** No, because you go to senior school and you start mixing with girls, really, you have more chats with girls. I mean it was boys really when I was younger. It's girls when you're older, senior school. Well, anyhow, there wasn't any boys there. No, I used to love it.

**Int.:** Then you started doing it at home. Was it very different from going out every day?

**JH:** No, I did think... when I found out I was having Mark, I wasn't very pleased, because I used to like work, and I said oh. But once I had him .. and then I'd got my house then, the house I was telling you about, I lived in eight years, and I loved that, and I loved looking after him. I did go out to work when he was tiny, he was in a pushchair, and I decided to get a job because we needed some money, and mum said she'd have him, so I went part time, I went for two days, and couldn't stand it, I couldn't bear to leave him with my mother, and I never went out to work ever since.

**Int.:** So you haven't done any other paid work?

**JH:** No, apart from I used to do it at home then. Shouldn't have done, but I did. In the mornings and earned just as much money as I did at work. And I'd got Mark with me. Yes, I liked being at home after a bit. I help my husband now.

**Int.:** What does he do?

**JH:** He's a silversmith. He makes all this stuff, what you see round. Nothing to do with families, we met in the park, on the swings.

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**Int.:** What do you do with him?

**JH:** I just generally... I don't go that much, but when there's wrapping up to be done, generally help... no office work, obviously - answer the phone and generally act intelligent... with people ... smooth em down, and things like that, and help wrap up and things, for him, but it's not regular, only when he's busy.

**Int.:** Did you regret not having worked over the years?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** You actually like being at home?

**JH:** Yes, but there again, I used to do my hairdressing at home to meet people, so... no, no. Quite like it, actually.

**Int.:** So you weren't unemployed when you first left school, you went straight into an apprenticeship?

**JH:** Yes. Always got a job. I always got a job, and then I handed in my notice.

**Int.:** What were the working conditions like while you were training?

**JH:** Very pleasant, but she was vile. She was a woman, and I never ever worked for a woman after that.

**Int.:** Why. How was she vile?

**JH:** She was hard, bitchy - a good hairdresser, she gave me very very good training, but I suppose I was just unfortunate with my boss. But I stuck it out because it was an apprenticeship - father had paid for me to do it, so I stuck it.

**Int.:** Was she only like that with you, or with the other people?

**JH:** No, she was very charming with other people, but she was a bitch. One of those women that really felt her authority over a little 15-year-old apprentice. And I never ever worked for a woman after that.

**Int.:** So you found it easier to work for men?

**JH:** Oh God yes.

**Int.:** Why do you think so?

**JH:** They don't realise women are as tough as they are. They don't ask you to work as hard, I don't think. They don't expect as much physical work out of you. They don't push you as hard as a woman. A woman knows you're capable of hard work. But I think she was particularly bad.

**Int.:** But you've been a manageress yourself, so how did you treat the other women working for you?

**JH:** Well, fair. Because after.... and let's face it, you get more out of people by being fair. You encourage them; tell them they're doing well, and all the rest of it.

**Int.:** Did you like the manageress role?

**JH:** Well, I was a working manageress, so it didn't make a lot of difference. It was only a small place. It was OK. Yes, it's nice not to have anyone to answer to, apart from the immediate... I could always go and sit in the back and have coffee without being told off.

**Int.:** Would you have liked a different sort of career?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Can you tell me the occupation of your brother?

**JH:** Silversmith.

**Int.:** He's always done that?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** And your sister?

**JH:** Secretary. Shorthand and typing.

**Int.:** What does her husband do?

**JH:** He was a teacher. Technical. The left a few years back, they used to live in Sutton, and bought a mushroom farm in Weston.

**Int.:** So they grow mushrooms?

**JH:** Well they did, but it wasn't paying, so they do chickens.

**Int.:** What about David's wife. Does she work?

**JH:** No.

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**Int.:** Now we are talking about your teenage years. How long did you live with your parents?

**JH:** Till I got married, I was 19.

**Int.:** So before that you never lived on your own?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** How did you spend your spare time as a young woman?

**JH:** Ice skating, dancing, generally enjoying myself.

**Int.:** Did you go on holiday with your parents? Or did you start going on holiday with your friends?

**JH:** No, my parents. I only had one holiday without... well, I used to go on holiday when I was in the youth club. But it was all organised. No, I wouldn't have been allowed to go away with girlfriends. It just wasn't done. And I don't think it was a case of whether they trusted you or not, it just was not... it wasn't done. I think I had one holiday with Donald before we were married, and that took some persuading.

**Int.:** So you actually went on holiday with them up until you got married?

**JH:** Yes. And then they used to come with us. We used to quite like it. That was when we had Mark of course. Until we had children we used to go on our own, of course. But then once we had Mark - dad adored him - and they used to come away, and it suited us because they would have helped.

**Int.:** When you finished work for the day, where would you go, what would you do?

**JH:** Home for my tea, and get ready to go out.

**Int.:** Did you have a different group of friends from the ones you had in your childhood, or was it still the same friends in the neighbourhood?

**JH:** Yeah, I should say it was the same friends. From the senior school, not from the junior school, and not girls out of the road, or anything like that. Girls that I met at school, we just carried on seeing each other.

**Int.:** So now it was mainly a group of girls?

**JH:** Oh yeah.

**Int.:** And you went dancing?

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**JH:** No. Only very very occasionally. I wasn't really encouraged to go to the local music halls, no. It was mostly ice-skating. I used to go there about three times a week. Then I used to go with Arnold, that's my husband, because I knew him when I was 13. And he went in the Forces and I used to see him every weekend when he used to get home. 'Cos they had to go in the National Services - he was in the RAF. So I used to see him at weekends. He used to get home most weekends. And it was ice-skating in the week. And pictures.

**Int.:** So boys were very rare occasions in your groups. Just the boyfriends you were going out with?

**JH:** Yeah, well there'd be perhaps all friends ice-skating. It only used to be ice-skating where I'd see somebody else, there's no way Arnold would come ice-skating. He was no good at it, so... he's very very sporty, and he had to be absolutely tops at everything, he wasn't coming to make a fool of himself. So really I just used to see.... yes, it used to be in gangs really. Small group of people.

**Int.:** Do you think starting a full time job changed your relationship with your girlfriends?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Did they mostly go out to work as well, or did they go to college?

**JH:** Work.

**Int.:** What kind of jobs did they mainly do?

**JH:** Shops, office work. Mostly office work.

**Int.:** Did you ever meet with your workmates after work?

**JH:** No, because it..... well, three years of it was an apprenticeship, and there was the boss and me, she was a married woman anyhow. And then yes, the girls at the other shops, perhaps we'd go into town, pictures - but that was about it.

**Int.:** You never went to pubs?

**JH:** No. There's no way I could've gone out and had a drink, and gone home. There was no drinking at home, no alcohol. They didn't object to it afterwards, when I was older, but there would be no way I'd say to my father I'm going for a drink. I used to, of course, when I was sort of 18 or 19, but there again I didn't drink, it'd be a bitter lemon or tomato juice. Because I didn't want it, I didn't know the taste. I mean I love it now. But I didn't know... I didn't need it. Not like they do now. And Arnold never used to drink, he was exactly the same. He used to borrow his father's car and we used to go for a ride and things like that, but it would only be a bitter lemon or tomato juice.

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**Int.:** What was a good night out in those days?

**JH:** Ice-skating was my favourite occupation. I've never been over keen on dancing, but ice-skating I used to love.

**Int.:** Where did you go?

**JH:** Into town.

**Int.:** Did you ever go shopping with your girlfriends?

**JH:** Oh yeah. When I was at work, of course, I used to work Saturdays, and I'd have a half-day in the week, so they'd be at work. OK, holiday times, yes. But mostly mum would come, I'd go shopping with mum on my day off.

**Int.:** Do you remember what you talked about with your girlfriends?

**JH:** Nothing serious. I suppose it would be clothes and boys. It wouldn't be politics or anything like that.

**Int.:** What did you talk about when you were talking about boys?

**JH:** What you very likely talk about, or what you used to talk about. I don't know, can't remember.

**Int.:** You wouldn't talk about your relationship with a particular boy with the others?

**JH:** In those days, you had a boyfriend and you didn't flit from one to the other - put yourself about quite as much as they do now.

**Int.:** Yes, fair enough, but even if you have just one boyfriend..?

**JH:** Yeah, it's the same thing. I suppose what you would now. But there wouldn't be so many of them. I suppose just giggle about things. I mean nothing serious. I can't think.

**Int.:** Did your parents disapprove of any of these activities. In terms of leisure?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** What time did they expect you home?

**JH:** What age are you talking about?

**Int.:** Sixteen, 17, 18?

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**JH:** If they knew where I was going, and if I was perhaps with Arnold and be in the car, yeah, but 11 o'clock at the very latest.

**Int.:** Even at weekends?

**JH:** Yes, there wouldn't be a big row. But that would be late. But that would be late as far as I was concerned. Even now, I can get fed up and want to come home by 11 or 12 o'clock. If we are out at somebody's house. I'm one for my sleep. Not normal is it. I'm not a night owl, never have been. As I say, if I was out on my own, - I was frightened of the dark - and my father would say I'm not meeting you any later off the bus than so and so. Which... he's got to go to work the next morning. So I'd be perhaps on the last bus and dad would be at the bus stop for me, so that would be it. Unless I was with Arnold at the weekend. I suppose I could've stayed out later, but it never entered my head. Well anyhow, we used to go home and perhaps mum and dad would go to bed early, and we could sort of ... we'd be downstairs on our own.

**Int.:** Did you smoke?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** When did you start?

**JH:** The occasional cigarette - well I know I stopped smoking when I found out I was having Mark, straight away. Soon as I had him I started again, but then you're only talking about a couple a day.

**Int.:** Did your parents smoke?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** So you started later on then?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** So you tried to stop smoking after Mark?

**JH:** I didn't try, I did, completely stopped, because I thought it was wrong, and as soon as I had him I started again. Then I carried on. But you're only talking about one or two in a day. And then I did the same with Simon, I stopped, and as soon as I'd had him and I came out the home I started again. I remember my mother saying don't, you've done without it for nearly nine months, don't, don't smoke.

**Int.:** You had a half-day off when you were working?

**JH:** Yes, and I think there was one job I had when we had the whole of Monday off.

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**Int.:** What did you do on your day off?

**JH:** I think when it was my whole day off I'd be perhaps married, so I'd either go shopping or do some housework.

**Int.:** Did you spend your Sundays differently when you were a teenager?

**JH:** I stopped going to Sunday school for a start. Yes, I used to go out for the day with my pals. In summer. Yes, I used to do my own thing.

**Int.:** What did you do in the wintertime?

**JH:** It'd be Brownies, Guides and then youth club and ice-skating.

**Int.:** Did religion mean more or less to you then?

**JH:** No, I used to go to church on a Sunday, but that would only be because I think we used to have a good time in town, so I went to a church in town, then we used to go down to the Bullring after church, having all the speeches on the boxes, and there'd be.... so that's the only reason I went, it's no good me saying I went for religion, because I didn't.

**Int.:** Did you have any special friends at that time?

**JH:** One girlfriend, yeah.

**Int.:** Where did you meet her?

**JH:** At school, and we just carried on from there.

**Int.:** Did you stop seeing her afterwards?

**JH:** Mmmm, yes, she went to Australia, Gillian. She met somebody, got married and went to Australia, so that was it. And you only really have close friends like that when you're at school. You don't make those sort of..... I mean the friends we've got now, are friends we've met as couples.

**Int.:** And they're not as close ?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Did your parents meet your friends?

**JH:** Oh yes, I could take anybody home.

**Int.:** They weren't disapproving of any of them?

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**JH:** Oh yes, as I got older... where did you meet her, she's a bit.... if they were a little bit sort a noisy or.... no, they didn't approve of anybody, but they never stopped me from.... I don't think I ever actually went out with anyone that was too objectionable.

**Int.:** Were you allowed to have makeup on?

**JH:** Yes. But my father didn't like it. But I did put makeup on. Oh, but I was at work, and then of course I was working so I could please myself. But not a lot. Not before... I used to have to go outside and put it on under the street lamp and then it'd only be a bitta lipstick, and I used to have to get it off before I went back home. 'Cos me mum never wore makeup, your mother's never needed it.

**Int.:** Do you remember your parents attitude towards sex. Did they tell you anything about it?

**JH:** No. No. I think I was one of those children that thought my parents didn't do it, they were too old. No, never anything discussed. I really wasn't interested in anything like that until I went work, and then listening to the other women. You just know - I don't where I learnt about it, but certainly I didn't have any discussion with my mother.

**Int.:** And what about having discussions with your friends then?

**JH:** Oh yeah, just general talk.

**Int.:** Were you taught anything at school?

**JH:** No, only how to bath a baby, but they didn't really tell you how you got the baby in the first place. But how to bath a baby. I can remember having a couple of lessons. This big crock doll, and I wasn't interested in that either, so... that was the last thing. I was 14 or 51. No, no, we didn't have any lessons on that.

**Int.:** So you really learned bits of information from your job and listening to the other women?

**JH:** Yes, and reading and.... certainly not off me mother.

**Int.:** Do you ever remember wanting to ask your mother and father about it?

**JH:** I think I'd have been too embarrassed. Isn't it ridiculous, because I have long conversations about all silly things with my mother now, and she's perfectly... you can tell her jokes and she laughs her head off and all the rest of it, 76, which is absolutely.....

**Int.:** Was your husband the first boyfriend you had?

**JH:** Oh no.

**Int.:** In terms of sexual relationship he was the first?

**JH:** Yeah.

**Int.:** What kind of relationship did you have with the other boyfriends?

**JH:** I really, only ever really.... I know this is hard to believe, but from about 14 I was only really ever interested in Arnold, the one I've married. So, I did go with others at the youth club, but it was only a kiss and walking me home, I just hadn't got... it was absolutely ridiculous... when you think. And never ever been interested in anybody since, either. I suppose it's nice. Since I saw him I liked him, 14, and that's it. And nobody... I don't even let them kiss me because I always thought of him.

**Int.:** But you hadn't actually told him and he hadn't told you. That was an idea of yours?

**JH:** I think I was a pest to him, quite frankly. For years. I did all the running. Till he went in the Forces and I was a bit older then - out of sight, out of mind. This business of the heart grows fonder - it doesn't. And then he started to get interested, but until then....

**Int.:** So you caught him then?

**JH:** Oh yes, he didn't stand a chance. I followed him everywhere. I kept on ringing him up and.... oh yes, a perfect pest.

**Int.:** How did he react to all that?

**JH:** Well, he was.... I should think I was a pest. He much preferred a game of football. No, I was just a.... he'd be playing sport all the while, so I used to virtually know where he was going, and I used to go along with my pals and watch, and then hope he'd walk home with me, and if he wouldn't walk home with me I'd take him home, and that was it.

**Int.:** What did your friends think about that?

**JH:** I should think they thought I was mad. No, that was it, there was no.... there's no question... I was never ever interested in anybody else. And it wasn't for lack of opportunities. I just wasn't ... isn't it ridiculous.

**Int.:** He would be the one you started your sexual life with?

**JH:** Oh yes.

**Int.:** Was it even before marriage?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Do you think it was the norm during that period?

**JH:** No. Well, I don't know. Never told anyone. Because in case it ever slipped out, because I'm afraid if my parents knew, they'd have been very very upset. Yes, they would, because they trusted me. And it never entered their heads that I would... so no, I kept it very very....

**Int.:** Did you decide that together, starting your relationship before you married? Did you think it was going to be important for your marriage as well?

**JH:** No, because I mean I was very young. So God, no. I mean I wasn't even thinking of marriage. I think it was just sheer... well I don't know... sheer curiosity, I should think. I can't even remember. It was very very childish.

**Int.:** He is not much older than you is he?

**JH:** No, he's only two years older. Very innocent, both of us.

**Int.:** How would you describe the sexual side of your marriage?

**JH:** Very good. I think. But I haven't got a lot to compare it with. But you know, I mean, yeah...

**Int.:** Has it always been an important side of the story?

**JH:** Yes, I think so.

**Int.:** Do you think it's changed in terms of importance during the years?

**JH:** Oh yes, it's not so important now. I think it's important, but not so much as it used to be. I mean there's other things. I mean I... yeah, when you're younger and that, I suppose you'd think there was something wrong if.... I think it's important yes... but not so as it used to be.

**Int.:** What do you think has been compensating that?

**JH:** I don't know. I don't know, you just get into a sort of more quieter, pleasanter... well, no, not pleasanter, but quieter .. I mean it's not the be end of..... I could visualise living a very... life without, but I mean a few years ago I wouldn't.

**Int.:** Do you think your husband would say the same?

**JH:** Yes, I think we are about equal. I don't know, he might say totally different, and be shocked, but I mean I can only go on how..... Yes, I think we are pretty evenly matched.

**Int.:** Did your parents expect you to marry?

**JH:** What do you mean, eventually? Oh yeah.

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**Int.:** Did they think you were a bit too young when you eventually got married?

**JH:** They must have done, but they never said a thing. Arnold was in the Forces and never done a days work in his life - they must have been worried to death. But they liked him. I was quite an independent... I'd got a good job, I earned quite good money, a lot more than my clever friends and all the rest of it. Yes, I was quite confident. But I mean they must have been worried. I'd have been worried. I mean give me the same situation now, I would be worried sick. I'm worried about Simon and Lisa, but I mean Arnold had gone straight from college into the RAF, he'd never done a days work in his life. We got married three months before he came out.

**Int.:** So he didn't actually have a job?

**JH:** No. Amazing.

**Int.:** Did you expect to marry when you were younger?

**JH:** Oh yes. Yes, it never entered my head I wouldn't get married. That's confidence for you. No, it didn't, no.

**Int.:** Did you have a particular person in mind in those days?

**JH:** Are you talking about a fantasy. Well, I suppose really, the only.... Johnny Ray and Frankie Vaughan, we used to queue up and go and watch them at the Town Hall, the concerts at the Hippodrome, Johnny Ray .. Oh God, I must have been ... when I think he was deaf. My father used to say well, he's deaf and he croaks, what do you see in him. Oh, and Jimmy Young. Jimmy Young isn't on the wireless now. Yes, Jimmy Young, you see, they were all the crooners when I was a teenager. Oh, Robert Taylor, yes, Robert Taylor. I know he's dead, but I still quite fancy him now. Dark and..... yes. I used to have fantasies, but always out of reach.

**Int.:** In terms of looks - what did he have to look like?

**JH:** No, it was only film stars.... I always used to like fair men. But there again, Robert Taylor was dark. Yes, these tall Swedes, or something like that. I still do.

**Int.:** How far do you think you got your ideas of a good marriage from your parents?

**JH:** Oh well I think they had a good marriage in their own way. Never argued, never in front of us anyhow. Bit dull, when I think... well, it might not have been dull to them, but I mean... Yes, I thought marriage was very smooth and happy, and loving, until I got married, and it was a bit of a shock. Rows and differences, 'cos Arnold, his parents had rowed and that, it was a very sort of more aggressive sort of ... more assertive. And when I first heard his father shout and say things to his mother, .. my father never called my mother anything, or never said dam to

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her, surely he must have felt like it at times, but I mean she can be very infuriating, my mother, she likes her own way.

**Int.:** How different was marriage from what you expected?

**JH:** At first... well, I liked married life. Independent, away from the family....I was working and Arnold was working as well. He'd come out of the Forces, he was working as well, then he was going to night school, so for the first few years while we were living at my grandmothers, it really was just work, saving and we used to go out every Saturday night, we used to have a good time at the weekends. Save most of the money, because we were saving, I wanted a house. Just really playing at being married, legally. It was quite pleasant.

**Int.:** What did you do at weekends then?

**JH:** We used to go out to a different place for meals, and in the summer it was cricket, I occasionally used to go and watch that. Pictures, theatre. We were never in. Oh, and visiting home, of course. But of course the first three months he was in the Forces, and I stayed at home.

**Int.:** Where was he?

**JH:** England. Yes, he never got any further than Gloucester or Cheltenham. He got home most weekends. Yes, it was all very pleasant, and then we were saving for our house, and six months afterwards I had Mark. We used to go out a lot. Meals mostly. I wasn't so keen on dancing. Theatre.

**Int.:** Was it the two of you or did you go out with friends as well?

**JH:** We used to go out with other couples.

**Int.:** How did you first meet Arnold?

**JH:** In the park, on the swings.

**Int.:** And you were 13?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did you have a formal engagement?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** When you decided to get married who told your parents?

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**JH:** I think... I suppose he told his and I told mine and ... that was it.

**Int.:** It wasn't a shock for your parents?

**JH:** It must have been a great surprise. Wouldn't wait or anything like that? We got married in a registry office. Couldn't be talked out of it.

**Int.:** You didn't marry in church?

**JH:** No, no, father begged me to, but I wouldn't.

**Int.:** Home come you didn't?

**JH:** Because I didn't want a church wedding, I wanted ... my sister was getting married and so I said I'd have exactly the same as she had, in what it 'cost for the wedding, and I wouldn't get married in church, I didn't want a dress and I didn't want this... I wanted... and have exactly the same. So I had exactly what it 'cost for June's wedding. And I had the rest to put in the bank and save for a house. Practical 'til the last.

**Int.:** You told me your father was keen on you getting married in church?

**JH:** Oh yes, he wanted me to, but I wouldn't. Even when June got married, he wanted me to just blessed in church, and I said... I wasn't going to have that. No. But there was no aggro, there was no argument at all. But I mean couldn't really do a lot.

**Int.:** Is your husband religious?

**JH:** No, no. I should say we are the same. In fact I should say Arnold, yes, would fancy... if I'd go along to church with Arnold. Arnold quite likes it, but I think he likes singing.... Not that he sings, but he nearly always wants to go Christmas Eve, he gets the feeling then. It's nice to go to church Christmas Eve. I know what he means, but I can never be bothered. I think perhaps Arnold's more of a believer than what I am. But not going to church.....

**Int.:** Do you think you married the kind of person you expected to marry?

**JH:** I never thought about it... the person I expected to marry. No. I'd never got anybody in my mind; I just sort of saw Arnold and thought right. And I can't think why, because when I look back on photographs now... I'm not saying anything I wouldn't tell him, just in case he gets his hands on this tape. No, I often say I don't know what I saw in you. You can't explain it, can you? Chemistry I suppose. I think perhaps I was beginning to be a bit of..... I used to like the nice things in life, mixing with different people that used to come into the hairdressers, and you hear them talking, and Arnold went to private school most of his.... and he used to speak beautiful... doesn't now so much, because you mix and.... but he used to, and that's what attracted me in the first place. And as I said before, I was impressed by bigger houses, and he

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lived in a ... which, when I think about it now, wasn't much bigger than the one we lived in. But, I was impressed. It's a terrible thing to say, 14 year old.

**Int.:** So he came from a different class to yours?

**JH:** No, no. His father had just got on better - quicker. But certainly his family - no, no.

**Int.:** What kind of occupation did he have at this time?

**JH:** Silversmith. Because he'd worked for his father. But he'd sort of got.... he got money quicker than.... well, his staff, I suppose, was bigger.

**Int.:** It wasn't just cutlery?

**JH:** My father was just cutlery. But Arnold's dad made tea sets, sports trophies. You name it, they used to.... and then in the war his father used to... because he couldn't do fancy goods in the war, his father spun shells for the bombs and things. He was a very good craftsman, Arnold's father.

**Int.:** So when you first met his family what did you think of them? Did you feel it was very much different from yours?

**JH:** Oh yes, yes. He hadn't had the sort of.... he went to a good school and he had everything good, but there wasn't that... that closeness that I'd been brought up in. Mind you, his mother was OK, but I think his father felt affection but couldn't show it - he was hard. He'd had a hard upbringing, Arnold's father. So he just couldn't show affection. I think it was perhaps there, because he was very very nice and loving to Mark. But he could never tell him. If he wanted to praise Mark up, - that was our first son - he used to do it over the telephone - Arnold's father. You've done very... you've done well at school, I'm very proud of you. But he was for education. Very proud of you. But it always used to be over the phone.

**Int.:** Never personally. There was never any clear affection?

**JH:** There was, but he couldn't show it. My husband - his father - never ever put his arms round him or kissed him. He never ever remembers....

**Int.:** Which you did in your family?

**JH:** Oh God, yeah. Can never remember. He often said he wanted his father to say well done. But he never did. Bought him things, the best, and believed in education, paid, must have worked really hard, and sacrificed other things to give Shirley and Arnold what he thought was a good education.

**Int.:** So how did your parents feel about Arnold? Did they like him?

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**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** What about his parents, did they like you?

**JH:** Well you can never really get close to his father. His mother was a bit..... I don't know.... not close. His father, I think, thought I was alright and I was a worker, and I did work. Even when I gave up work I was quite prepared to earn some extra money at home. Apart from needing the money, but I liked it as well. I used to enjoy it. But I mean we could do with the money. I think he admired a worker. His mother... she could take me or leave me. And it's been all the way through.

**Int.:** Do you think it wasn't just because it was you; it was because it was a cold family, or was it because of you as well?

**JH:** I don't know. I think it's just a mother-in-law... she perhaps thought she could perhaps have done better. And I let her know she couldn't. I don't suppose she could put a finger on it, and I couldn't honestly say she's ever really ever done anything nasty ... it's just ... not there. She's always very good with the children, but ...

**Int.:** She's still alive is she?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did you have a honeymoon?

**JH:** Yes, we went away for the weekend, 'cos he was still in the RAF. I think we went to.... we were going to Barmouth, but we got as far as Welshpool, and then I think we went to Barmouth the next day, just to say we'd been there. But I mean we didn't go the full way that day.

**Int.:** So then you lived with your grandmother for two years, and then you moved to another house. How long did you live there?

**JH:** Eighteen years.

**Int.:** Can you describe that house?

**JH:** It was a modern cottage. It was absolutely beautiful. When I say cottage, it wasn't an old cottage, but it was built... the bedrooms were in the roof, a lounge straight through the one side. Well, it was just like a child would draw a picture. The roof coming right down. Front door in the centre, two windows each side of the front door, and then a window at the side - there's two windows in the dining room, and there's two windows in the lounge, a big window in the lounge, and the garden, all the way round, and I grew roses everywhere. It was absolutely.... tiny little kitchen. I mean couldn't have a washing machine. We had an outer house, so... It

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was so small, the kitchen, it was just functional. But I just loved it. And the bathroom was so tiny, I mean you could sort of sit on the toilet, wash your hands and soak your feet in the bath. You couldn't open the door unless... the door opened inwards, so only one person could.... It was absolutely lovely.

**Int.:** Did you own it?

**JH:** Yes, we were buying it. I wouldn't leave.

**Int.:** What were the neighbours like?

**JH:** Smashing. We had marvellous neighbours. There was four of these cottages, and there was a tiny little path that worked all the way through them, just like fairyland. The garages were at the bottom of the drive - everybody's garages, and we were the only family... they were all spinsters. The woman that had had them built lived at the top. Then we'd got two spinsters opposite that shared this house, one upstairs, one down, and then we lived in one, and then the other one was divorced, or her husband had died. And we were the only sort of young family there, and it was absolutely smashing.

**Int.:** So did you have a good relationship with them?

**JH:** Oh they were marvellous. They loved Mark when he came. The spinster up the way - it was open hours. He just used to toddle up. 'Cos we were away off the road. Yes, it was marvellous. 18 years of sheer pleasure.

**Int.:** Is it very far away from here?

**JH:** No, just round the.... just off the.....? Road.

**Int.:** When did you move here?

**JH:** About nine years ago.

**Int.:** And you own this house as well?

**JH:** Yes. Well, yes, nearly.

**Int.:** You've got a mortgage?

**JH:** Yes. Not much, but a mortgage.

**Int.:** And this is much bigger?

**JH:** Oh yeah, you could drop our cottage into this twice. Nothing fit. There wasn't a.... It had a decent lounge, 18 foot. It was just nice. We've virtually got the same furniture, apart from all that, that's new, because I'm altering my ideas.

**Int.:** Did your parents or your husband's parents help you in any way at the time of your marriage?

**JH:** No. Apart from my parents, yes. I had my money, and my wedding present. But no, his parents didn't. We had promises..... he was going to buy us a lounge suite for our wedding, so I went and ordered one, a really nice one, and when... we had to wait six weeks for it to be made, and when it was ready I told him it was ready, and we had to pay for it. So no, we didn't. No. No, apart from dad paid... we had a little bit of a reception. But we saved for our house. We hadn't got any money then, when we got married, at all. I think we went away with about £10 on our honeymoon for the weekend. Got the firms van, his father's van, went away in that. And then we just saved for our home. My father used to buy us things. Not a lot, no. Since my father died, my mother gives us a little bit. Apart from ordinary presents.

**Int.:** What was your husband's attitude towards you working?

**JH:** Loved it. Yes, he didn't mind at all.

**Int.:** He wasn't like your father who was dead against it?

**JH:** Oh no. Crumbs no. No.

**Int.:** What is the financial arrangement between you and your husband now you don't work. Does he give all the money to you, or do you manage it together?

**JH:** I just have my housekeeping and he does all the bills. And if I run short I just ask for more.

**Int.:** Do you actually know how much he earns?

**JH:** Yes. I got on payday and just help myself to....

**Int.:** Do you have the same account or do you have separate accounts?

**JH:** No, just got the one account, he's got the chequebook, and he pays... it all goes into that account, and then I have an Access that he pays for on his account. Because I have Access because I just have to sign my name, don't I. Never do cheques you see. So he pays all the bills and I've got my own bank account. I've got my own private bank account. I don't save with his money, but I save.... We did once have a joint account. I don't know what happened. No, we don't have any trouble about money, what's his is mine. No, we don't. We share.

**Int.:** So you do take joint decisions on how to spend your money?

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**JH:** Yeah.

**Int.:** Big purchases?

**JH:** Yeah. He pays for everything like that. Unless.... whoever's got it at the time. Makes no difference, does it, really.

**Int.:** Did you ever have to struggle to make ends meet?

**JH:** Yeah.

**Int.:** How long did it take for him to find his first job?

**JH:** Oh not long when he came out the Forces. He wanted to be an accountant, so he started that, and then his father became very ill, and he was asked to go and help his father, and he went into the family business, and he's never ever liked it. And the other sons do, but Arnold doesn't.

**Int.:** So Simon likes it?

**JH:** And Mark works for his dad.

**Int.:** Both of them work for him?

**JH:** Yes. And Mark is like Arnold's father used to be. He's interested in it. Arnold just isn't. He just doesn't like it. He'd been better being what he wanted to be - an accountant. He probably had the wrong education, he had a commercial education. And this is a practical... it looks all very nice, but... he does all the business management.

**Int.:** Before you got married, when you were younger, did you think about having children. Did you think would have liked to have had children in your life. Or was it a very remote chance?

**JH:** Very remote. I never thought about it.

**Int.:** It never occurred to you?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** And when you got married did you have any idea about how many children you wanted, or if you wanted to have them earlier or later?

**JH:** No, no. no. It wasn't even discussed. Never even gave it a thought. I suppose it was because I was young. I was still virtually a child. No, no. It was never discussed, how many, or what, or how long we'd be married before we'd have them. Mark just happened.

**Int.:** How long was that after you got married?

**JH:** Three or four years. We got married in 1956 and Mark was born in 1960.

**Int.:** And what about the other one?

**JH:** He was five years afterwards. Born in 1965.

**Int.:** How many kids did you want to have. Did you stop at two because you didn't want to have anymore or did you make a decision about it?

**JH:** Yes, I really... I think I'd perhaps just have had one, but my husband said you can't just have an only one. And Mark was always coming home saying he'd like a brother or a sister, as children do, and yes, and then we were trying for quite some time, to have another one, so that's why there's quite a bit of difference. But that was it, specially afterwards, that was it. Not greatly.... I mean I like children, but two was enough.

**Int.:** Why did you think one would be enough?

**JH:** I don't know. I used to just enjoy Mark, on his own and all the rest of it.

**Int.:** So you would have been content with one?

**JH:** Oh yes, it wouldn't have worried me.

**Int.:** Did you ever use any contraceptive.?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Before or afterwards?

**JH:** No. Yes, amazing. Yes, don't take that as a very good method. I was very lucky I suppose.

**Int.:** Why didn't you decide to take any contraceptive?

**JH:** I don't know. I suppose it was just the method we used and it was very... satisfactory, so I just didn't bother to take any precautions at all. I had quite a few comments off my friends about I must have been absolutely mad, but no.

**Int.:** And your friends did use things?

**JH:** Oh yes, course they did. Oh, and then the pill. I mean that wasn't about really when ... and I am a bit of a coward where tablets are concerned. I don't think you should mess around with nature. I mean I've got to have a bad headache before I'll take an aspirin. There again, I mean

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I don't have headaches much, so.... and then I'd got a vein, which I still have got, and..... I've got a vein in my leg and thrombosis and things like that... no, I just don't believe that ... absolutely old fashioned, no reason why I should feel like this, but that's me.

**Int.:** Did you ever discuss it with your husband?

**JH:** No, not really. It was my decision.

**Int.:** When you first got pregnant how did you feel about it?

**JH:** Mark was a mistake and I was quite disappointed because I thought well, I could have carried on working a bit longer. No great maternal instincts. So that was it. But once I had him that was it. Loved him.

**Int.:** When he was growing inside you, how did you feel about that. About being pregnant?

**JH:** I didn't read a thing about it. I actually went to the hospital to have him. I didn't look at a book, they gave you books, it was my own fault, but it just turned my stomach over to see pictures of them growing in my stomach. I just didn't want to know. So I did everything I was supposed to do, looked after meself, I was quite well, apart from a few months and I had severe toxæmia - very bad, but when you have toxæmia you feel quite well. I looked well, everybody told me I looked smashing, I quite enjoyed being pregnant, because my skin cleared up and everything. I really enjoyed it.

**Int.:** Did you receive any antenatal care?

**JH:** Oh yes, I used to go to the doctors, in fact you used to go more regularly then than you do now. Yes, right 'till the end.

**Int.:** Did you give birth in hospital?

**JH:** Yes, I had to because I'd got toxæmia and I was overdue, and really it was a bit of neglect on the doctor's part. In a sense. He was old, he died just after, of cancer, and I don't think he was feeling. But anyhow, at the very last, when I went over, I was so swollen. When you've got severe toxæmia - I don't know whether you know - but you swell - my ankles would come up, I couldn't bend my fingers or anything, and this was when I was really overdue. Mark was born on February first and he was due for January 26th, and so then he decided I'd better go to Loveday Street, which is one of the big hospitals in town... and when they saw me, they tested me and they said I had to go in the next day. I was induced. And it was a very very nasty labour, so I should imagine that's what put me off for quite some time.

**Int.:** Was it painful or difficult?

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**JH:** Well, it was very long drawn out. I went in on the Saturday morning and they started me off virtually at lunchtime, and I didn't have him until Monday morning, and I was virtually in labour all that time.

**Int.:** Was your husband there?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** He was not allowed in or he didn't want to be there?

**JH:** I don't think he would have been allowed in then. I mean you're going back 26 years. I certainly don't think I'd want him there.

**Int.:** Because of your privacy or what?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** How different was the second childbirth to the first?

**JH:** It was the same... longer, drawn out, and they virtually told me I'd always be the same from then on. So from then on I decided that was it, he was the last one. Even though you get over it. But yes, not being greatly maternal, that decided me. I thought well, if I'm going to get sort of longer and more drawn out every time I have a baby, I think I'll call it a day. So that was it.

**Int.:** In terms of preparation, did you do the same things you'd done the first time? You didn't need to re-learn anything; you didn't want to know anything?

**JH:** No, I just took it very casual. All the knitting and everything they needed and things like that. But very very sort of... I didn't delve into anything. I suppose really I was quite..... I was always very well, as I say, apart from... but even with toxemia you feel well with it, and that's why... I had them and as I was never very interested in babies, I sort of coped. I did everything I was supposed to do. Took them to the clinic every week to be weighed, and all the rest of it. Looked at my baby and yes, better than anybody else's. And fed them. And that was it. No, no aggro.

**Int.:** How long were you in hospital?

**JH:** I always went privately to have them. When I say privately, it was a place that my sister had gone to, thoroughly recommended it for kindness and good treatment, so when I had Mark I had to go in Loveday Street, because I'd got toxemia, but I had booked in to go to this private home, which run by the Salvation Army, for unmarried mother's. But they just take a few paying patients, to help run the home, and what it 'costs was... you know the State benefit you get ... you know that lump sum, I think it was about £15 then a week, I don't know what it

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is now. But it was about £15 that you got in a lump sum, and that's what it always 'cost to go into this home. I think I stayed in ten days to a fortnight, I can't remember.

**Int.:** So you did go in there for the first child?

**JH:** Oh yes. They took me back to the home by ambulance, so yes, because I'd booked in for the care.

**Int.:** For two weeks?

**JH:** Yes, I'm sure it was.

**Int.:** So what happened there?

**JH:** Just like in a hospital. Of course I'd had Mark then, in Loveday Street, so the birth was over. But they just looked after you and looked after your babies and you stay in bed, feeling very pleased with yourself, and brought the baby in to be fed and then they took it back. They just.... very very kind, as you can imagine, Salvation Army. It's very nice actually.

**Int.:** And you did that twice?

**JH:** Oh yes, they were so kind and good that ... then when I had Simon I booked into have ... go there again, because I didn't want my own home. I wanted to be in the right place, didn't make any fuss, but I just wanted to be in the right place with all the instruments and ... if anything went wrong, I wanted to be in hospital. So I went back there, and of course I had Simon in the home, and they were very good.

**Int.:** Did they give you any kind of instructions after the kids were born?

**JH:** Well, with boys, they just tell you what to do. Yes. You bath them in front of people. But they were very good. Very good indeed. How to hold them, how to wind them and all sorts of things.

**Int.:** Did you breast-feed them?

**JH:** Yes. For a short while. About three months I suppose.

**Int.:** Why such a short time?

**JH:** Well, I don't consider that is a short time. I mean in the home she virtually told me that three months was... even if you can only feed them for a fortnight, it does a baby good, it gets rid of all the impurities, and you're giving them the right thing and all the rest of it. But then I think after that, you just pull yourself down, quite frankly, it takes a lot out of you. And I don't... I

can't say I enjoyed it, feeding. I did it because it was the right thing to do. But I didn't enjoy feeding them.

**Int.:** So it was your own decision to stop?

**JH:** Yes, and I think perhaps because I wasn't so keen, my milk started to.... I used to be very... very likely subconsciously I'd stopped drinking so much and gradually my milk went, because I knew I didn't really want to go on... That was my decision. My sister used to feed 'till nine months a year old. Well, to me that was.....

**Int.:** Were the babies with you from the time of birth or were they separated from you?

**JH:** Yeah, they used to bring them in to be fed. No, they weren't at the bottom of the bed. They didn't really like visitors. Your husband could come, and then my mother and father after the first few.... but children weren't allowed in.

**Int.:** So Mark didn't see Simon?

**JH:** No, not 'till we brought him home. No, no, children weren't allowed to visit. Weren't allowed to see the babies because of infection.

**Int.:** And they were sleeping in another room?

**JH:** In a nursery. Yes, so you had no trouble with them waking you up in the night. It was very nice actually. Thoroughly recommend it.

**Int.:** In the first weeks who bathed them, changed them?

**JH:** Me.

**Int.:** When you were at home did your husband help you?

**JH:** No. Not at all. My husband was the type that when I was climbing back into bed, after seeing to the baby, he'd say oh, you lay down and I'll change the nappy. But no.

**Int.:** How about night time, would he take turns to look after them?

**JH:** No, because I was feeding, and then more or less... mine were very good as babies.

**Int.:** During the first year how did you look after the children? Did you get help from outside; did you get help from your parents?

**JH:** Me mum would come visiting and.... yes, yes, those few weeks, mum used to come every day. Be there early in the morning and just help me. But no, I was very very good, I really

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wanted to do it all on my own. I really enjoyed.... it didn't frighten me. Considering I didn't really ever consider having children, I really enjoyed each baby.

**Int.:** Did you have any help with the domestic chores?

**JH:** No. I used to hairdress as well when I had Mark. I used to get him ready and he used to be in his pram and I used to hairdress in the mornings. Alright 'till he was about... when I had Simon as well I used to do the same, I used to hairdress at home. They were never any problem. But they were good babies, so that's.... never any crying, used to be fed, no, they were no trouble at all. I suppose I was lucky.

**Int.:** And if you needed any advice about the baby who would you.....?

**JH:** I used to take them to the clinic every week, to have them weighed, to see how they were doing and all the rest of it. And they used to tell me anything I wanted, when to start giving them solids, bit of egg or whatever it is, all that cereal you mix up. I just worked through their advice.

**Int.:** So they were the main source of advice?

**JH:** Oh yes.

**Int.:** Would your mother-in-law come and help you as well?

**JH:** No, not a lot.

**Int.:** In what way do you think having a baby changed your lifestyle?

**JH:** I don't really think they do at first, because when they're in the carrycots, we used to do exactly what we used to do before, we went visiting friends, you can keep them in the carrycot. In fact I think the first six months is the easiest part, because you're going out, they're in the carrycots, and then perhaps you put them on somebody's bed - if you still go visiting. You can go riding in the car, because they're in the carrycot. It's actually, I think, children stop you from perhaps going out together is when they have to go to bed at regular... you undress and put them in their pyjamas and they go in a bed, they're out of carrycots, which is about six months onwards. I think it was then.

**Int.:** What happened then?

**JH:** Well, we used to have to get a babysitter and then perhaps just go out once a week together. But we did go out. I've always liked going out for.... I don't like dancing and things like that, so we used to go out for a meal with friends, once a week, try different places, and that was it really. Always go on holiday with them.

**Int.:** So it never changed in that respect?

**JH:** No, never changed. We've always done everything together with them. I think if anybody, we perhaps changed to fit in with them. No ... the sort of holidays we've always liked... my husbands very very sporty, so he's always liked sporty pursuits. We've still got a caravan. And really, we've had the sort of holidays that suited us all, sporty holidays, boats, water skiing and... Been a marvellous father. Not a very good husband, but a marvellous father.

**Int.:** So what did he do with the kids? Did he take them out...?

**JH:** Never any trouble, Arnold played football, he used to... this would be when they could be left to go with him. Once they started to... say from five onwards, he was absolutely marvellous, if he played football on Saturday he used to take them along with him and they'd watch him play football, and he's absolutely... He's the same now.

**Int.:** So does he spend time with them now?

**JH:** Oh yes, but if we go away and Mark wants to come they still all water ski together, they've got these surf sailing - wind surfing - he's got one as well, which drives me round the bend. 'Cos I have to help carry it on the beach, because we are on our own - great big thing. But they've always done things together and now the young one of course he had a complete set of golf clubs, so he went playing golf with his father Sunday. They're just great pals.

**Int.:** So that happened from when they were about five on?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** And what about before, did he talk to them, did he play with them?

**JH:** Yes, not as a baby, he didn't do anything for them as a baby, or dress or... take no interest in them in that sense. What mother's normally do - I did. I don't think they'd ever say to their father well, can I come with you, and he'd say no. I'm talking about daytime pursuits. If ever he was going anywhere that was suitable for them to go, he took them. Absolutely.

**Int.:** Do you think that being a parent has been how you expected it to be?

**JH:** Yeah.

**Int.:** Even in later years when they grew up?

**JH:** You get your aggro. Things that they do that you don't approve of, but no, no, they've never really been in any trouble.

**Int.:** How would you describe the relationship that you have with your husband. Would you describe it as close, affectionate, has it changed through the years?

**JH:** Very happy. Ups and downs. Arguments. Disagreements. Yes, but nothing that couldn't be solved.

**Int.:** What do you disagree mostly about?

**JH:** His work. Well, he doesn't like what he's doing so it's always..... The only time I think Arnold and I ever argue, and that's even now, and right from when we were married, was because he.... if something had upset him at work and he's always brought his work worries home, and Arnold is a worrier, in a sense I suppose if he's a breadwinner, he's worrying about that, and I refuse to worry about a thing until it happens. Not going to spend my life worrying about something that might happen. And Arnold, never really having any great interest in what he was doing, because it was his father's firm, he's worried over things that perhaps if somebody really liked what they were doing, it wouldn't worry them. So that is really about the only time we ever argue, because then I get annoyed and he says I'm unsympathetic, and that is it.

**Int.:** Do you talk to each other and share things that are important to you? Or he does it more than you do, or vice versa?

**JH:** Yeah, he talks more about his worries and I sit and listen until I've had enough, then I blow my top and he's being stupid and all the rest of it. He's worrying about things that are never going to happen, which he has done. Over the years - what's gonna happen when his best polisher leaves 'cos she's getting old. Things like that. Simple, stupid things. Yeah, that's it. We get on.

**Int.:** And do you talk to him about your own worries?

**JH:** Oh I could tell him anything, there's no embarrassment. No, not really, because I'm not interested in the things he likes doing. When he was younger - cricket. I always used to go and watch him play cricket. Didn't like it, but I did go along, 'cos it was a Sunday afternoon out with the kids, and they used to have tea and things like that, and I could chat to the other women. So I used to go along there, but I can't say I ever watched him actually playing cricket. I was there for the social side with the children. And he used to like us all to go along. Football, of course, I was never interested in, I never went and watched that. Sport, I'm not sporty at all. But of course our holidays have been all that.... but there again, I've been on the beach sunning myself.

**Int.:** You would say you live in two different worlds?

**JH:** Oh yes, I'm not sporty at all. I like chatting and talking and he really likes me on my own, so that can be a bone of.... like if we go out for a meal and I perhaps start up a conversation with someone, he'll get a bit annoyed about that.

**Int.:** Because he likes you to talk to him?

**JH:** Yeah. You don't know them so ... but nothing that's to really worry him that much. He'd stop taking me out, wouldn't he? Led a very boring life really.

**Int.:** Why?

**JH:** I suppose we get on... no, we haven't done a lot together. It really is all family.

**Int.:** What about before having the kids then?

**JH:** He was in the Forces for a bit. And then we used to work in the week and go out in the evenings, save for our house. We've always gone out. Not nightclubs, dancing or anything like that - meals or rides in the car to see places. All the stately homes of England I think we've seen. Things like that.

**Int.:** Before you had the kids did either of you have any definite ideas on how to bring them up?

**JH:** No. We just went along. Just hoped. No, no, children weren't discussed before we got married. I don't think they were even discussed when we were married. Mark just happened, and he arrived and he fitted in, and that was it.

**Int.:** So you didn't have any discussions about how to bring them up when they were already there, in terms of education, where to send them to school?

**JH:** No, I always wanted Mark to go to Cambridge and play tennis, but I mean it never happened, so.... yes, I could always see him at Cambridge, Mark.

**Int.:** Doing what?

**JH:** Well, I don't know. I hadn't got any ideas, just wanted him to go to University and play tennis at Wimbledon. The top seed. That's about the only ambition I had. And neither happened and I can't say ... because I used to like watching tennis.

**Int.:** In what way do you think the way you brought them up was different from the way you were brought up?

**JH:** I suppose we took them out and about more than I ever went out with my parents. I was determined... but there again we always had a car, my parents didn't. If we went out for a day,

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it was quite a planned thing because they had to find out the time of the buses or the coaches; everything had to be packed up for picnics. But when you've got a car or some sort of transport, just throw everything in, and go when you're ready. So yes, we went out a lot. More so than what I did with my parents.

**Int.:** Do you think you were as strict as your parents had been?

**JH:** About the same. Never had naughty children, so we didn't have to... only a normal smack. If they went off or...

**Int.:** How would you say you showed affection to them?

**JH:** I mean I still do it now... tell them they're the greatest thing since sliced bread, whether they are or not. I just love them. Kiss and cuddle... not over, because they're boys. But yes, Mark, the eldest is more affectionate. Mark wouldn't leave the house without kissing me. Simon, I have to ask. But I ask, and I get a quick peck. He feels it, but he just doesn't show it. But boys are like that, I think boys are easier, girls are a bit harder, independent, as you know.

**Int.:** Do they, or did they, confide in you and talk to you?

**JH:** Oh yes, the eldest, not the younger one. He keeps things to himself, but he will talk, but the eldest literally tells me everything. He still does. Sit down and have long conversations.

**Int.:** And does he listen to you as well?

**JH:** Oh yes, it's usually asking what do I think, or.... and I tell him, straight, sometimes he likes it, sometimes he doesn't. But he's asked, so.....

**Int.:** When they did something naughty would you punish them. Would you just tell them off, smack them?

**JH:** No, I never smacked. I used to yell and bawl and my husband used to say to me if you smacked them more instead of yelling and bawling we might get somewhere, but neither did he smack either of them. But if they did anything to upset me I used to do the.... well, I don't say smack, you tap them if you can catch them. I don't think I've ever never given my children a good hiding. A calculated good hiding, and I don't think their father has either. I mean if you can catch them, yes, a smack round the legs, but I don't think I've ever sort of... no.

**Int.:** And you wouldn't say well, you've done this, now you're not going out tonight?

**JH:** Oh yeah, I've... yeah, but they've always been able to get round me. I've never stuck to it. Perhaps.... I think I'm a lazy mother in that sense, I do think if you can stick to your guns it's better. If you say right, you're not doing so and so, I think it's a better sign of a good mother if she can stick to it, but normally the nagging would wear me down. Oh mum, I will behave... let

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me.... I put them to bed, go to bed early. But the nagging and the calling down. Oh, can I come down now. Can I have something to eat or drink. I mean I've given way. But I don't think it's ... just that I've wanted a bit of peace personally, so I've given way. But I don't think it's done them any harm, so...

**Int.:** What sort of things would you scold them for? What would you disapprove of?

**JH:** Don't like cheek. Downright.... turn round, mouthing, or anything like that. If they'd done anything nasty or mean to anybody I should be very annoyed. I suppose if I had a bad report they'd get a good telling off - from school. Never really.... meanness. If they did anything to anyone... well, mean or anything like that, yes, I'd tell them off and perhaps.... but there again, it wouldn't last long. But there again, they've been good. I mean they're not little angels, I suppose there's things I've forgotten, must be. But no, I haven't really had a lot of trouble.

**Int.:** How do they get on with each other?

**JH:** Very well at first, because Mark wanted a brother or a sister, so he adored him, Mark did, being a little bit older, he spoilt Simon, which made Simon quite... he used to interfere a lot with Mark then, as he got older. Whereas Mark had spoilt him when he was younger, and then when he started to interfere with him when he was older, he didn't want to know. And they went through a period like that. But now they get on great. They argue, but they soon... they're brothers, and they can say what they like to each other, but let anybody else criticise one or the other, and...

**Int.:** Do they go out together?

**JH:** Occasionally, not all that much. Mark went out on Saturday night because it's Simon's 21st, but they don't go out drinking or anything like that, together. If there's parties or anything going on like that, and they have a weekend sometimes away together. They go down to the caravan on their own.

**Int.:** The two of them?

**JH:** Yeah. Well... they go and have a.....

**Int.:** Did you bring them up to consider certain things important in life?

**JH:** No. No. I think they just take it from how we've lived. No, not really.

**Int.:** Did you hope they would achieve certain things?

**JH:** Yes, as I say... playing tennis.

**Int.:** That's for Mark, how about Simon?

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**JH:** Well, yes, you do, but perhaps not so much... the first one... but Simon was never very keen on school, so there really wasn't any hope there at all. He left the day he could and that was it.

**Int.:** What kind of attitude about money did you try and pass on to your children?

**JH:** I never let them know that we couldn't afford certain things. Never let them think that we... they couldn't have things because we couldn't afford it, which was perhaps the real reason, but they had to wait for things. They didn't have everything they asked for. Managing pocket money... really they didn't have any pocket money either. It was just when they wanted to do things, they asked, and if it was reasonable, they weren't being wasteful, they got it. But you see mostly through their childhood we went away every weekend, so they were doing things. Through the summer.

**Int.:** So do you think that their attitude towards money nowadays depends a lot on the way they were brought up?

**JH:** They don't have everything. If they want things they have to save up and....

**Int.:** And they do it?

**JH:** Oh yeah, if they want something big. I mean now, yes. I mean I'm not... I mean OK, he's had his golf clubs, but he's put a lot himself, I mean his nan gave him some money, my mother gave him some money and we topped it... he's had to put his own as well. They don't get it all their own way.

**Int.:** Did you ever have paid help in the house?

**JH:** Yes. It's when I had Mark, not as a baby, but when he got older I started doing more hairdressing, and didn't particularly like housework, so I used to have someone just to come once a week in the morning, while I was doing my hairdressing, just once a week, she used to just do perhaps the bedrooms, the bathroom and toilet, things like that. Just generally.... not cooking, or changing the beds. I used to do that, and then she used to do the bedroom. It was only once a week for about three hours, but it wasn't a lot. I suppose that would be for a couple of years. Then recently I had a boy that was at college, and he was 17, he's got a summer job now, so he doesn't come. But he used to come, but that only lasted three weeks because he got himself a better job.

**Int.:** What did he do?

**JH:** Housework, he was smashing. Recently, that was. Really good he was.

**Int.:** Did he come and knock at your door to offer?

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**JH:** No, my friend had got him and he was looking for another afternoon, while he was at college, and I said oh, he can come and ... come here, and he was so good that I... then after about three or four weeks of coming, he got himself ... term stopped, this is recently, and he got himself a full time summer job. So I suppose he'll ring me when he goes back to college. Does windows and things. He's smashing. Having boys, you really have to ... well he just didn't. I'll have the windows done this week. Doing it, and really doing it well. Marvellous he was.

**Int.:** Once a week he came?

**JH:** Yes, just one afternoon. Smashing.

**Int.:** Apart from these two occasions did you have to do all the household chores, cleaning, shopping, cooking?

**JH:** Yes, the lot.

**Int.:** Did you receive any help from the boys?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Who does the garden?

**JH:** Me.

**Int.:** And if there is some decorating to do?

**JH:** Me. Mind you Simon has decorated all this. I'm only finishing off the odd....

**Int.:** But generally speaking you do it all?

**JH:** I do the lot.

**Int.:** Did you make any of the families clothes?

**JH:** Knitting, yes, but not sewing.

**Int.:** Did your children have any tasks to carry out regularly?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Because you didn't want them to, or because they wouldn't have done it?

**JH:** Never asked them to. Snow clearing and things like that, yeah. Those sort a things, yes, I wouldn't do things like that, but no, no. But we've never had a house that caused a lotta work. It's easy, this house, there's nothing complicated about this.

**Int.:** Mealtimes, when the children were younger. Would you have the main meal together?

**JH:** I used to cook.. and we've always eaten quite early, so they didn't wait too long from school for their meal, round about five or 5.30, so perhaps I would be eating my meals with the children, and then perhaps sometimes my husband would be home, or if not I kept his warm. More often than not we ate together. Always on a Sunday.

**Int.:** Would you talk at mealtime or watch tele?

**JH:** Well, it's all according I suppose, sometimes they used to have it on their lap if there was programmes they wanted to watch. But more or less in the kitchen, or in the dining room at the other house - where they spent most of their childhood. No, just generally conversation, what they've done at school and what they hadn't done.

**Int.:** Were they expected to behave in a certain way, were there rules?

**JH:** Well, yeah, they used to have to eat. No messing about and things like that. Generally eat their meal. But they certainly could talk while we were having a meal.

**Int.:** Did you have prayers at the beginning?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Did you ever grow vegetables?

**JH:** No, flowers. We did once have a cherry tree at the other house.

**Int.:** So you buy all the things you eat?

**JH:** Yes, ... flowers. I've never had a garden large enough to be able to grow vegetables and flowers, and I'm afraid flowers always.... I used to grow tomatoes in a greenhouse, but then it's getting neighbours to come and water them, because we used to go away in the summer, that I gave that up as a bad... By the time they were ready in our climate, they were cheap in the shops. No, more for flowers. I suppose if I'd had a larger garden I would have grown vegetables.

**Int.:** Have you had any livestock?

**JH:** No. Apart from the dog. No hens.

**Int.:** In the evenings would the family get together and do certain things together?

**JH:** In the summer they've always done sport. Certainly go to the park, because we always had Sutton Park, which is a marvellous park, and we'd go.

**Int.:** Would you go with them or would they go on their own?

**JH:** Yes, when they were younger I'd go as well.

**Int.:** What about the winter evenings. How would you spend your time at home?

**JH:** I suppose games or watching tele.

**Int.:** Did you have any music?

**JH:** They did, but we didn't. And then they'd have it in the bedroom.

**Int.:** Were there any books in the house they could read?

**JH:** No, not really.

**Int.:** Did they belong to a library?

**JH:** Oh yes, belonged to the library. Get the books they wanted from the library.

**Int.:** Did you read them stories?

**JH:** Yes, yes, all the Ladybird books they used to have when they were young, help them with their reading. But I used to make up stories for them.

**Int.:** Do you think you encouraged them to read?

**JH:** Mark used to read quite a lot, and as I say there was always the library, and I used to go down with them because the schools would tell me what books to get. Mark used to, but Simon was most difficult, he just wasn't interested. He was terrible really. He doesn't even read now.

**Int.:** Were there newspapers in the house?

**JH:** Oh yes, yes.

**Int.:** And were they encouraged to read them?

**JH:** They were just left there, if they wanted to read them they could. That was it.

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**Int.:** Did you have birthday parties for them?

**JH:** Yes, they always had parties, until they were about 12. I think the last party we had in our house, I opened the front door and all these boys dashed in, and started to swing off everything, and I said right, that's it, I'll never have another party in this house for you. And so really I suppose Mark would be 12, so Simon would have suffered then because there was no way... they nearly wrecked the place. I just couldn't control them. My husband was there as well. Saturday afternoon. He couldn't control them either. I said that's it. So after that they either went to the pictures or they could invite a friend to go to the pictures, but... They've had them as they've got older. Simon had a do on Saturday, but not when they...

**Int.:** So you stopped having parties when Mark was 12?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** What did you do at weekends?

**JH:** We just used to go out.

**Int.:** Would that be on a Saturday or Sunday?

**JH:** Sunday mostly. My husband always played football usually Saturday afternoon, and they'd either go with him and watch him, and I'd perhaps do the garden, do my own thing, have a bit of peace on my own without them all, or then perhaps we used to go for a ride Sundays, after lunch, or visit someone, grandparents.

**Int.:** So Sunday you used to go visiting as well?

**JH:** Oh yeah.

**Int.:** Did you have other friends coming on these outings with you or was it just family?

**JH:** Oh sometimes, yes.

**Int.:** You would go with those, and they had kids as well?

**JH:** Mmmm.

**Int.:** Did you go on holidays with friends?

**JH:** No, mostly on our own, but we met people down there.

**Int.:** You always went to the same place, didn't you?

**JH:** Yes, more or less once we had the caravan. At first, when they were very little, we always used to go to the Isle of Wight, and then mum and dad had always come with us. But after that we bought the caravan and went to {missing} when they were a bit older.

**Int.:** Which is in Wales?

**JH:** Yeah. Those sort of holidays.

**Int.:** Do you go on a camping site, or did you put the caravan wherever you felt like?

**JH:** It's static; it's on the same site.

**Int.:** Is it an organised campsite?

**JH:** It's a site just for caravans. Do your own thing.

**Int.:** Do you have your own facilities? Is there a restaurant?

**JH:** Not on the site. I don't like that, it can get too noisy. No, we go out for a meal in the evening, pub meals. But when they were little, of course, it used to be more expensive, so we used to cook, but it wasn't food like I cook at home, it was more or less easy, we only had a little stove, so you couldn't do a lot, and I mean you made life easy for yourself. So in any case it was on the beach all day, so it would be sandwiches, rolls and what have you. And then sometimes we'd go out for... perhaps we'd go out and buy fish and chips and we'd have them back in the caravan, or we'd go out to a pub and have a cheap pub meal, or I'd have taken something down and just had to warm it up.

**Int.:** So you weren't working as much as you would be here?

**JH:** Oh no.

**Int.:** It was a holiday for you as well?

**JH:** Oh yeah.

**Int.:** Were there any relations that you saw quite often in that period, or friends that you saw more often than others?

**JH:** Oh yes, a couple of friends we used to have. Two sort of different families, friends from... well perhaps from just after we were married or just before - had got married and had children, yeah.

**Int.:** So your kids were playing with them?

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**JH:** Oh yeah.

**Int.:** Was there any occasion when your family and your husband's family got together? Or maybe you two and your family?

**JH:** Oh yes, lots of times.

**Int.:** And what particular occasion would that be?

**JH:** We used to go visiting every Sunday virtually, one or the other.

**Int.:** Who would your children play with mostly when they were young?

**JH:** Neighbour's children.

**Int.:** Did they have a group?

**JH:** No, I suppose they had certain pals in the street that they played with, and then when they go to school they get their own friends there that either come back or they meet.

**Int.:** When they got back from school did they go out and play?

**JH:** Yeah.

**Int.:** And would they be the same friends from school?

**JH:** More or less.

**Int.:** Were there girls at the school as well?

**JH:** I think both. Both went to mixed schools all the way through their schooling.

**Int.:** Were they free to play with whoever they wanted or did you ever say..?

**JH:** No, no, because they were all decent kids, they were families that were the same sort of like we are. No, no.

**Int.:** So it never happened that they were playing with kids that you didn't approve of?

**JH:** No, no, they'd have to be pretty bad for me to.....

**Int.:** Where did they play mainly?

**JH:** Used to play in the gardens normally. Mine or somebody else's. Used to take it in turns.

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**Int.:** So they wouldn't play in the park or the street?

**JH:** Well no, no, it used to be gardens, it'd be frowned on. And then the park was too far away then, when they were children. They'd have to be taken. If they went in the park it was virtually with us in the evening. Arnold and I.

**Int.:** But not on their own?

**JH:** No. Now that's something they would be stopped doing. Especially in this park - Sutton Park.

**Int.:** Why?

**JH:** Oh there's terrible goings on there. Well, men... that's where that boy was murdered, in the park. A couple of years ago. Oh yes, it's nasty...

**Int.:** So kids are not allowed there now?

**JH:** I suppose they are, they are, and parents let them obviously. I used to go in Sutton Park, I used to have to get the bus, but in those days I used to go for the day with a picnic with my pals. But it's not the same sort of park now, not the same sort of... anywhere, is it, that it used to be when I was a child.

**Int.:** Did your kids belong to any youth club organisation?

**JH:** Yeah, the cubs.

**Int.:** What is that?

**JH:** It's like a church thing... like Girl Guides or Brownies, but cubs for boys. They never carried on long enough to go to the Scouts, they'd finished then.

**Int.:** So they never went out in tents for the weekends?

**JH:** No, cubs don't, do they. They used to go on school trips to the school cottage in Wales.

**Int.:** So that is the only organisation they belonged to?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** For a short while?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did they have any hobbies?

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**JH:** Yes, Mark used to like doing things with his hands, building aeroplanes. And Simon was the same; he used to have a go.

**Int.:** Were they into sport?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Were they in teams?

**JH:** Oh yes, they played for the school teams and that. At one stage all three of them were in the same football team - my husband and my two boys. Wildgreen Old Boys. Wildgreen was a school and it was like the old boys that got this team up, and my husband used to play for them, and then when they were short of players they used to call on the sons to make up the teams. And at one stage the three of them were in the same team.

**Int.:** Did they used to discuss sport?

**JH:** Oh yes. Terrible. Nothing but sport, it's disgusting.

**Int.:** When you were not working, did you have any interests outside the house? Did you see friends of yours on your own, do things on your own?

**JH:** Coffee mornings and gardening. I used to love gardening. No, only coffee mornings. I didn't used to go out in the evening on my own with a friend. Very very rare.

**Int.:** So you spent the majority of your time on your own, when they were all out?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Have you kept any of your previous friends?

**JH:** Yes, I've got a lot that I made at the other house, 'cos we were there 18 years before we moved here, but a couple that we have days out.

**Int.:** And you call them up?

**JH:** Oh yes, any trouble or....

**Int.:** You don't actually do things on your own, apart from the house?

**JH:** No, not really. Then of course we'd got my sister, we used to visit a lot.

**Int.:** Does she live far from here?

**JH:** She does now, but she didn't used to when the kids were young.

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**Int.:** Did you, or do you attend church?

**JH:** No, only christenings, weddings and funerals.

**Int.:** What about the kids?

**JH:** No. They did it at school. It's up to them.

**Int.:** Do you think they are religious?

**JH:** They both believe, yes, but not.....

**Int.:** Do you vote in the General Election?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** You always did?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** And you said you were a Tory?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Do you discuss politics at home?

**JH:** Oh yes, yes, I'm quite...

**Int.:** And the kids discuss it as well?

**JH:** Oh yes, yes, they have quite heated...

**Int.:** Do you think you share the same ideas?

**JH:** Yes, I think so. They work for their father, so you are inclined to sort of think... I don't know... these days I don't know who I would vote for actually. I don't think there's anyone at the moment. Yes, but certainly not... nothing to do with us. I think they think for their selves. I don't think we'd be able to influence them one way or the other, they'd vote for who they thought.

**Int.:** When you say you have heated discussions. What do you disagree about?

**JH:** Anything that's in the paper, or Mrs. Thatcher's done anything. Just generally.

**Int.:** It's a topic, which is discussed?

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**JH:** Oh yeah.

**Int.:** Do you discuss it with your husband as well?

**JH:** Oh yes, yeah.

**Int.:** In terms of your married life, how important do you think friends have been? Do you think there have been friends who have been important in your married life?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Have you changed your friends and made new friends?

**JH:** No. Virtually the same sort of... made a lot of acquaintances, specially going away and that, we've got very good friends that live away, that will come here for the weekends and we go to them, but no, I shouldn't say anybody outside the family would influence us in any way.

**Int.:** Do you think you have support from your friends when say, you were ill?

**JH:** Oh yeah, there's always somebody I could call on.

**Int.:** Would it be a woman?

**JH:** Oh yeah.

**Int.:** Do you have people dropping in?

**JH:** Yeah.

**Int.:** And you do the same?

**JH:** No. I have to be invited anywhere I go.

**Int.:** What do you think about these friends dropping in then?

**JH:** I don't mind, and that's why my husband says I shouldn't mind doing the same to them. But I don't. I have to be asked. Say - come round a certain night, and then I'll go, but I couldn't be passing anywhere and say oh, lets go and see if....

**Int.:** Do you think it comes from your family?

**JH:** Yes, definitely. They would never do that.

**Int.:** When you go to your friends is it for dinner?

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**JH:** No, mostly after dinner for drinks in the evening.

**Int.:** Did you used to go when the kids were younger?

**JH:** Yeah.

**Int.:** Take them with you?

**JH:** No, perhaps not so much. It'd be more relations then, you'd go to tea with the kids, and you'd come home in the evening. Our friends are ones that we'd perhaps get a babysitter and go round for drinks, or as they got older they'd be left, and we'd go round for drinks. More relations for tea and meals.

**Int.:** What class or group would you say you belonged to?

**JH:** Don't know. Don't ever think anybody's better than me, if that's what you mean, apart from the Queen. Well, certainly not lower class am I. I don't know - middle class.

**Int.:** Do you ever think about people belonging to one class or another, or social group, in terms of status, money?

**JH:** No, I think education wise, yeah, I think people are a lot better and that, but no, no, I think it's the luck of the draw. They're no better just because they've got more money. I think they're better if they've had an education and they put their selves out and learn more and things like that. But only better mentally, no, I'm afraid perhaps I've got a high opinion, but no, I don't think anyone's got any right to think they're better than anybody else.

**Int.:** So you would define yourself as middle class. On what basis?

**JH:** It's the luck the draw isn't it. Perhaps... I'm certainly better than a criminal or these down and outs. But I think if everybody's... just because I've perhaps... my parents had a better chance than perhaps their mother's, grandfather and that, we've never really been that hard up, but it doesn't make me any better say than the lady down the street, that perhaps hasn't had the same. No, no. But then you're talking about snobbishness then, aren't you. Perhaps not what you're on about.

**Int.:** What sort of people live in this neighbourhood. Do they have a similar way of life or standard of living?

**JH:** Well, yeah, I should think so. They're all more or less in the same houses. Perhaps some think they're a bit better than others, but then that's their problem. I think there's an awful lot of people that live down here that are either Bank Managers, they're that type of people. Travellers, things like that, because they seem to change houses quite.... down here, and I always think that's a sign of Bank Managers. And they're young, with children. Ok, perhaps

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some of the children are growing up now, but they were very young with children, and I always used to think they could only afford those vast... if they're getting cheap mortgages. They were that age group. Whereas unless you'd got a very very good job or ... you're talking about 25-30 age group, with young children - then you can afford these places if you're only paying four percent mortgage. But if you're in my age group and you're paying a full mortgage, you're round about 45 before you.... like your second home. A lot of them, it was their first home, some of them.

**Int.:** So you are actually getting to know many of them?

**JH:** No. They don't speak. You see the women have cars, don't they? Go straight off in cars. You don't get the... neighbourliness of... like neighbours.

**Int.:** So you don't really get to know them?

**JH:** No, a couple of them... they smile and they wave, some of them. Others don't. But then....

**Int.:** Are there any families around here that are thought of as rough?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Are there any black people living around here?

**JH:** There is over the road, I think. I don't think, I know. I don't know what he does, but he certainly.... yeah, a man and a woman. I think they've got one little boy, 'cos I've seen a little boy.

**Int.:** Were there any black people in the previous neighbourhood you lived in?

**JH:** Yeah, a few. I know there was one little friend Simon had who was a little black girl, when he was in the junior school. She used to come to the house, not a lot, not a lot, no. There was one little boy, an African, who'd been adopted by some schoolteachers over the road, and that was it. No, very few families.

**Int.:** What do you think about having black people in the neighbourhood?

**JH:** If they live like we do... three bedrooms. I don't like them all... all the families moving into... crowds of people living in a house that's only supposed to be for four people and you can get 12 in, and things like that. No, I don't like that.

**Int.:** Do you think that is a characteristic of black people, cramming into...?

**JH:** Well, they do, don't they. I mean it's a fact, they do. But if they live normal... no, I haven't got any... in that sense, as long as they live sort of decently, like we do. I mean Simon used to

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play with a little black girl from school, a little dark girl, and she was perfectly alright. In fact I used to feel... I used to feel terrible about her. I can remember going on a charity walk with Simon for his school - do so many miles. And my husband... we were all going, my husband... we were walking in front, and these two were at the back, and I heard this little girl say..... Simon used to stay for school dinners and this little girl used to go home to dinner and I think she used to get him his sweets and take them back afterwards. And as we were walking round I heard her say to Simon... and I mean you're talking about little, they were in the infant school, little kids, and I heard her say to Simon you are lucky being white Simon. I thought Christ... you know. That's ... you know .. that's terrible, quite frankly, when they grow up with that sort of... that age, to feel that, I thought oh, God. We don't discuss anything like that, as long as they live... it doesn't worry me. I think they let too many in the country.... purely not because they're black, white, yellow or whatever their colour is, there isn't the jobs for them, but I know they carry British passports, so they've got the right to, so, that's it. But I mean there again, I think that of the Irish... and when there aren't jobs, and they're overcrowded and things like that, that's it. So if that's prejudice.... I don't know whether it is or not.

**Int.:** Do you feel it is possible to move from one social class to another? Is it possible to move up?

**JH:** Well, yes, I suppose so. Through marriage do you mean? Yes, I suppose you can, yes.

**Int.:** Do you know anyone who has actually made it?

**JH:** No, no, I don't actually. No, no, not off hand, no.

**Int.:** But you think it could happen?

**JH:** Oh yes, well it does, doesn't it. I tell a lie, I do, I knew Lady Bird. Lived round the corner, it was a friend of my father's, he got to know her first, and he took me round once, she's a very old lady. And Lady Bird - she was married to Sir Bird, the custard manufacturer. You know Birds custard. Well, she was married to him, but she was a showgirl before she was Lady Bird. Used to have a yellow Rolls Royce.

**Int.:** And you've met her?

**JH:** Yes, she's dead now, of course.

**Int.:** Was she nice?

**JH:** She was a showgirl - a typical chorus girl. His family would have nothing to do with her at all. And I think his will ... when she died everything went back to.... I don't think they'd got any children. I think she was his second wife that I can remember. But once she died everything... it was so tied up, that it all went back into the Bird family.

**Int.:** Did you think education was very important for your children?

**JH:** Yes, I suppose it is but.... yes, but neither of them were particularly bright. I mean Mark had coaching. Simon wouldn't have any help whatsoever, just said no, and we let him get away with it. No, I wouldn't have wanted to send them away to boarding school, but there again perhaps if we'd been in a different social thing, it might have been the thing, but I wouldn't have wanted to do, so...

**Int.:** You didn't want to because of the expense or because...?

**JH:** Oh no, because of them going away from home. Not when they were young.

**Int.:** Have they got any qualifications, O or A-levels?

**JH:** Simon didn't get anything, he wouldn't sit an exam. Mark got his maths 'O'. He didn't get English because he was only talking about going to get that. He's got biology, he did start to take his A-level in physics... or biology... and he found it very very hard. So different from his 'O' to his 'A'. He just couldn't cope and it just wasn't worth it so...

**Int.:** How old were they when they left school?

**JH:** Simon was 16, Mark was 18.

**Int.:** So they never thought of going to college or University?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** What do you think they found so difficult at school?

**JH:** I think Simon was perhaps a bit like me, he wasn't very academic so he found everything a bit of a struggle and turned it into one big holiday camp, as you might say, to get over not being the brightest boy in the school. So he wouldn't have gone on to... we wanted him to take a trade and perhaps go to college in a sense for a trade, but he wouldn't. He wouldn't even do that, he'd finished school, and that was it, so.... He went to work for a plumber, and quite frankly he loved it, at first, but then there was just no hope, they were just using him on one of these scheme things, it was terrible, the hours and.... It wasn't a scheme, it wasn't a government scheme, he actually got the job and went, and he was on.... I think it was worse money than if he'd been on a scheme, and oh, the hours he was doing and plumbing outside. He was plumbing, decorating, everything. He loved the decorating, because he has a go now. In fact he loved it and he was so interested and he was really learning, and he was only there six months, and the things that kid picked up. But they just put on him, and then he went to work for his father.

**Int.:** What about Mark?

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**JH:** He went to work for his father straight from college. He wanted to, he really wanted to and he likes it. Whereas his father doesn't, he's like his grandfather, he likes it. He finds great pleasure in.....

**Int.:** When they were at school did you help them with their schoolwork?

**JH:** Yes, their father's very good with them, because of course he was..... I used to help them with ... sit and listen to them reading, when they were very young. I couldn't really ... all the simple little things, until they went to senior school and then really..... I wasn't that dim, I could sort of ... but once they left ... then their father used to help them, and if we couldn't, Mark had a bit of coaching off a neighbour who was very good. He was a teacher. And that was it.

**Int.:** This was council schools?

**JH:** Oh yeah.

**Int.:** Did you go and talk to the teachers?.

**JH:** Oh yes, parents.....

**Int.:** Did your husband go as well?

**JH:** We used to both go.

**Int.:** So they both work for their father. Are you satisfied with that?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** Or would you have preferred them to go into some other trade?

**JH:** No, not as long as they liked it. That's it.

**Int.:** Do you think they're not going to leave it, they're not going to change?

**JH:** No, I think they'll stay. Unless something drastic happens. I always have an inkling that now Mark's marriage has failed that he might... sometimes he gets a bit fed up, but I don't think that's anything to do with work, I think that's just sheer frustration... he might get up and say I'm going abroad for a few years. I wouldn't be a bit surprised.

**Int.:** How old was he when he left home?

**JH:** He was 23 when he got married.

**Int.:** So he left when he got married?

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**JH:** Oh yes.

**Int.:** How did you feel about that, about him leaving?

**JH:** Oh I missed him. He he's only around the corner, I see him at work, when I go to work, and he's round here. I mean he was round here last night with a girl barbecuing outside.

**Int.:** Did you help him and his ex wife to start their own house and things like that?

**JH:** Mmmmm. In the sense that I gave them a wedding present, yes.

**Int.:** How did you feel about them splitting?

**JH:** Terrible.

**Int.:** Was it very sudden?

**JH:** Well I knew something was up for about three months before, because you can tell. But I wasn't surprised in a sense, no, because they weren't suited.

**Int.:** How long had they been married?

**JH:** two years.

**Int.:** Did you like the girl?

**JH:** No.

**Int.:** Did you do anything to prevent them getting married?

**JH:** No. I pointed out a few things to Mark, which has turned out right, but I mean I only pointed them out and then it was up to him, he was in love. And you try putting anybody off anybody that's in love. You just... It's no satisfaction now being told you were right, weren't you mum. I get no pleasure out of it at all.

**Int.:** He's not considering coming back home now?

**JH:** Oh no. Once they've left home they've left home. Could you go back home and live with your.... no, no. He might as well be at home, he gets all his washing and his ironing and..... at night he comes for meals, if he ... he's not daft, he rings up to see what we are having, and if it's anything he fancies he comes, if it isn't he doesn't. I'm no fool.

**Int.:** Does he live far away from here?

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**JH:** No, just round the corner. He's given me the key, he doesn't mind me having the key to his house, in case I ever have a spare minute, I can go down and..... I would never let myself in without knocking at the door if I thought he was in, never use the key unless I know he's at work and that. I wouldn't go down in the evening without knocking and..... because it's his home now. But he never minds me going down because I only go down when ... he did say last night when he was going, if you get a spare minute. I said well, I went today, so.... It's in a bit of a mess.

**Int.:** So he doesn't do anything to the house at all. He doesn't look after it?

**JH:** Oh yes, he's very good actually. Done his decorating. Everything he does he does very well. He's thorough. He's like Simon, they're both pretty good. But he perhaps doesn't do housework as often as he should, but I'll very likely go in now, and he's very tidy, but the boys don't get down to the... I don't suppose he does skirting boards and things like that. But there again he's at work all day. So fair's fair. But yes, he can cook. He's quite good. He'd never starve, neither would Simon. I've shown them how to do things like that.

**Int.:** How did they learn?

**JH:** I got onto them.

**Int.:** You taught them?

**JH:** Yeah, just basic things, because my husbands a nit in that sense. I mean when we first got married, OK he could go round to his mum, but say there had been no one, he'd completely left home and there'd be no-one, I think he might have starved. Well, I don't know, I don't know, but I mean he really was... he couldn't iron, he couldn't.... and he'd been in the Forces as well. He hadn't picked up a bloomin' thing. He was an absolute... I used to think... and it used to worry me. I used to think what if I'm ill. If I was ill my mother used to have to come round because Arnold couldn't have coped. Which fortunately I wasn't ill very often. But I made sure that mine could at least grill themselves a chop, do themselves some potatoes, OK not gravy and things like that, but they would not starve, and that's how they....

**Int.:** Are they able to iron things?

**JH:** Yes, Mark, especially. Simon, he could, but he doesn't if he.... If I flatly refused.... if he wants a shirt... he's got one shirt he's always wearing it, so it's always in the wash, so whenever he wants it it's always needs ironing, and if he particularly wants it and I refuse flatly, that I'm not going to do it, because I'm doing something... yes, he will struggle, it's not very good, but he'll do it. If he thinks.... he's got an attitude... if his mums about his mum will do it. I'm not all stupid.

**Int.:** When did your father die?

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**JH:** He's been dead about eight years.

**Int.:** Can you tell me something about their life in later years? Do you think growing older had changed it a lot? The kind of life they had?

**JH:** No, it was exactly the same. They didn't do a lot; they were very very fond of each other. Led a very placid, happy life... what they thought, just each other and the family. Used to love us to go visiting, and mum, always welcome to take your kids, always baby-sit. Wouldn't come outa the house, used to have to take the kids to them, but they would always do anything for you. No, I should say it was just the same as... they didn't go out a lot. They always had holidays and things like that.

**Int.:** Had he retired at that stage?

**JH:** No, because he'd got his own business, you see. He was ill for quite some time. So he couldn't go to work, but he used to say to me I think when I get better I'm going to have a few mornings or a few days off. But of course he was dying, so... lung cancer. He never smoked. Didn't drink. His hobby was gardening. He lead a very .. really clean, healthy sort of... apart from he was always overweight, like I was, then he lost weight and he said well, Jill, I've always wanted to lose weight, but this is ridiculous, because of course he went so thin.

**Int.:** How do you think your mother's life changed after that. Has she been really upset?

**JH:** Oh yes, she misses him, misses him.

**Int.:** Has she started going out again?

**JH:** She goes to work with my brother every day, never worked a day in her life when my father was alive, and as soon as dad went... which is a good thing, because she's quite a clever woman. Dad would never let her do anything, 'cos he thought women should stay at home, but she does all my brothers books and everything for him.

**Int.:** She started soon after?

**JH:** Yes. Well, she started to get fed up and I think if she hadn't have gone out to work... she perhaps wouldn't have been here now. It kept her going. Interest.

**Int.:** So she's still very lively?

**JH:** Well, I wouldn't say lively, she sort of... but she goes every morning.

**Int.:** Lots of will power anyway?

**JH:** Oh yeah, very, very.

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**Int.:** Did they go out together as well?

**JH:** Oh yes, what they did they did together.

**Int.:** And what did they do?

**JH:** Not a lot. In the sense that... they used to go on holidays. And rides in the country in the car. All very simple, never used to go out much for meals unless I took... I insisted they did, and they came. They used to come here a lot.

**Int.:** They never went to pubs, because they didn't drink?

**JH:** No. If we were going for a meal in a pub, yes, but ... he didn't object to people drinking, he just didn't do it himself, and it wouldn't be dad's way of wanting a night out in a smokey atmosphere. I mean if I went, he'd say here you come, polluting our nice clean air. If I smoked in the house. He was just very, very... he was just very simple and...

**Int.:** Did your children visit them regularly?

**JH:** Oh yes, they loved their grandparents.

**Int.:** What about the other grandparents?

**JH:** Yes.

**Int.:** They are still both alive?

**JH:** No. Arnold's mother's alive, but...

**Int.:** How do you think she has coped without her husband?

**JH:** Very well. I'm rotten. Very well.

**Int.:** What do you think has been the best thing about your life?

**JH:** I don't know. No trouble. Seeing your kids grow up with no deformity... good health.... just happiness, I suppose. It doesn't sound very exciting, but...

**Int.:** So you think the period you spent building up your family has been the best?

**JH:** Yes. Yes, it has.

**Int.:** And what has been the worst thing?

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**JH:** Sorrow at losing my father. Losing my niece now. And Mark's marriage break up. Not because I miss a daughter-in-law, but to see what he went through. Which he isn't now, but he did at the time. All those worries.

**Int.:** So that's mainly it?

**JH:** Well yeah, because it's not ended yet, has it. You come in another year's time, I might be able to....

**Int.:** What do you think you would most like to do in the time ahead?

**JH:** I would like to travel more. Very mercenary, I would like to have more money so I could travel more and see the world.

**Int.:** Would you do it on your own?

**JH:** No, with my husband. See different sights.

**Int.:** Do you think it's going to happen?

**JH:** Yeah, I hope so. I don't know about money, but I think... I might not be able to do it in the style if I'd got the money, but yes, I think we will start.... doing more of our own.... yes, I feel it's my turn now. I fell in with everybody for my holidays and sitting on the beach for long enough, and so I want to start doing the things I would like to do now. Travel and see places.

## Oral history

Oral history is a method which records and explores the biographical accounts of people's lives.

Its primary technique is the life story interview, with the oral historian guiding the respondents through their stories.

However, it differs from the life story in so far as it is primarily a historical project and need only cover an earlier period of the interviewees' lives, such as their childhood or education or work, but not continue the life stories up to the present.

Oral histories typically aim to record and preserve memories of an older generation. This method provides the opportunity to study history through first-hand accounts of those people who have actually experienced it; in particular it gives a voice to those who may have been marginalised in society.

Oral history has, like the feminist and life story interview techniques, become increasingly alert to the co-constructive, collaborative nature of the discourse in the interview. To quote Portelli (1998), "oral historians have had a growing awareness of its practice as a 'dialogic discourse' (cf. Bakhtin) which involves not merely the utterances of the narrator, but, in addition, the relation with the researcher in the interview and his/her subsequent finished study" (p.23).

Another issue for consideration with all qualitative interviews, which oral historians have particularly addressed, concerns validity and reliability.

How can interviewers be sure that what they are told is accurate or true?

In response, oral historians have argued that their interviews have a double validity, conveying both information and description on the one hand, and feelings and changing consciousness on the other, and so offer both objective and subjective evidence. As Portelli argues, "oral history is not merely interested in 'facts' but in the respondent's perception of what is 'true'" (Roberts, 2001, p.106).

See Perks and Thompson (2006) and Thompson (2000) for further information on oral history interviews.

## Example

SN 2000

Study Title: [\*Family Life and Work Experience before 1918, 1870-1973\*](#)

Principal Investigator(s): Thompson, P.

Date of Fieldwork: 1969-1973

Abstract: This study comprises over 450 oral history interviews, undertaken in the early 1970s and formed the basis of the first national oral history project in the United Kingdom. The interviews covered the period from childhood until 1918. They were open-ended, using an interview guide in a flexible approach, and averaged over three hours in length. The project intended to present a broad analysis of the demographic and occupational structure of Britain in the period 1880-1918, covering themes such as: stratification, ideal styles of life, physical types of community, family relationships, deviance and crime, religion and education, wherever possible making comparisons with the contemporary situation.

Citation: Thompson, P. and Lummis, T., *Family Life and Work Experience Before 1918, 1870-1973* [computer file]. 7th Edition. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], May 2009. SN: 2000. DOI: [10.5255/UKDA-SN-2000-1](https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-2000-1)

## Interview schedule

### Family Life and Work Experience before 1918, 1870-1973

#### 1. The Household

- a. Respondent's name, present address, year of birth, marital status, year of marriage, birthplace (street or district if known).
- b. How many years did you live in the house where you were born?  
Where did you live then?  
*CONTINUE FOR MOVES TO END OF 1918. FIND OUT ADDRESS AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE FOR 1911.*  
Do you remember why the family made these moves?
- c. How many brothers and sisters did you have?  
Birth order and spacing.
- d. How old was your father when you were born? *(PROMPT: How old was he when he died? When was that?)*  
Where did he come from?  
Occupation. *(IF EMPLOYER: How many people did he employ?)*  
Did he have another job before or after he became that?  
Did he also do any casual or part-time jobs?  
*CONTINUE FOR ALL JOBS UNTIL DEATH, INCLUDING AFTER 1918.*  
Do you remember your father ever being out of work?
- e. How old was your mother when you were born? *(PROMPT: How old was she when she died? When was that?)*  
Where did she come from?  
Had she any jobs before she married? *(IF EMPLOYER: How many people did she employ?)*  
Did she work after she was married or not?  
Part-time jobs.  
Hours.  
*CONTINUE FOR ALL JOBS UNTIL DEATH, INCLUDING AFTER 1918.*
- f. If mother worked after she had children, who looked after the children while your mother was at work?

#### 2. Domestic Routine

- a. I should like now to ask you about life at home when you were a child; the time up to when you left school. Can you describe the house at ...*(SELECT FROM 1b)?*  
How were the rooms used? Bedrooms; other rooms.
- b. Did anyone else besides your parents and brothers and sisters live in the house?  
Other relatives, or lodgers?  
*(IF LODGERS: Where did they eat, sleep? What meals did they get? How much did they pay?)*
- c. Did your mother pay anyone to help in the house?  
*(IF DAILY OR IRREGULAR HELP: What were her duties: cleaning; looking after children; hours. How did you get on with her? What did she call you and your mother? What did you call her?)*  
*IF LIVING IN HELP, GO ON TO SECTION 18.*
- d. How was the washing done?
- e. Did your mother or father make the family's clothes? Were any clothes bought new or secondhand? Where were they bought?  
Were they bought for special occasions? *(PROMPT: Christmas, Easter Sunday, school, anniversaries)*  
Who mended clothes?  
*REPEAT FOR SHOES.*
- f. Did your father help your mother with any of the jobs in the house?  
Cleaning; cooking; washing up; fires; decorating; repairs; improvements to the house?  
Did he dress; undress; bath you; read to you; tell you stories; take you out without your mother; look after you when she was out?

2.

g. Did you have any tasks you had to carry out regularly at home to help your mother and father? How long did you continue to do these tasks? After you left school?  
*REPEAT FOR BROTHERS AND SISTERS.*  
 Did the older children help the younger with things they found difficult (dressing or eating) or look after them in other ways?  
 Did the younger children help the older in any ways?

h. Were you expected to go to bed at a certain time in your school days? Did your mother or anyone else put you to bed? At what age did you put yourself to bed? Did you share the bed with anyone? Who else slept in your bedroom? Sleeping arrangements of whole family.

i. How did the family manage with washing and bathing? How often did you bath? When did you have clean clothes to put on?

### 3. Meals

a. Where did the family have their meals? Were there any occasions when they ate in another room?

b. Where did your mother cook? Cooking equipment (range or gas).

c. When was breakfast eaten? What members of the family were present? How did the others manage for their first meal? What did you usually eat and drink? Did you have anything different on certain days (Sundays)?  
*REPEAT FOR MIDDAY AND EVENING MEALS.*

d. Did your mother or father bake bread; make jam; bottle fruit or vegetables; make pickles, wine, or any medicines for the family? Was any beer brewed for the family?

e. Did your father or mother grow vegetables and fruit? Did they buy any? Tinned or dried vegetables or fruit?

f. Did they keep any livestock for family (hens, pigs, goats)? Who looked after them?

g. How many times a week did you eat meat? Tinned meat?

h. Did you ever get some extra meat such as rabbit from poaching? Who from? How often?

i. Do you remember seeing your mother having less food so that the family could have more? Did your father have larger helpings? Or extra food (e.g. tea time or late supper)?

j. Were you allowed to talk during meals or not? Could you choose what you wanted to eat from what was cooked or did you have to eat a bit of everything? What was your parents' attitude if you left some food uneaten on the plate? Could you ask for a second helping? Were you expected to hold your knife and fork in a certain way and sit in a certain way? When could you leave the table?

k. Did all the family sit at the table for the meal? Did you always have the same places at table? How was the meal served (by whom)? What order were you served in? Where did the younger brothers and sisters sit before they could feed themselves? Who fed them? *IF FED SEPARATELY:* When were they able to join in family meals?

3.

1. *IF EMPLOYED SERVANTS:* Where did the servants eat?  
Did they have different food? What was the difference?

4. General Relationships with Parents: Influence and Discipline

- a. Was your mother an easy person to talk to? Did she show affection?  
If you had any worries could you share them with her or not?  
*REPEAT FOR FATHER.*  
How did your parents expect you to behave towards them?  
As a child, was there any older person you felt more comfortable with  
than your parents?
- b. Did your parents bring you up to behave towards your brothers and sisters  
in certain ways?  
If you said that a child had hurt you what would your *(PROMPT: Would they tell you  
parents say? to hit back?)*
- c. What kind of people do you think your parents hoped you would grow up to be?  
Did your parents bring you up to consider certain things important in life?
- d. What did they think of swearing?
- e. When grown-ups were talking, were you allowed to join in?
- f. If you did something that your parents disapproved of, what would happen?  
*IF PUNISHED:* By whom? How?  
How often? Ever by other parent?  
Do you remember any particular occasion when you were punished?  
Do you remember how you felt about being punished?
- g. Would you say that you received the ideas you had about how to behave from both  
your parents, or did one play a more important part than the other?

5. Family Activities in the Home

- a. When you had a birthday would it be different from any other day?  
Did you receive any presents; have anything special to eat; guests?
- b. How did you spend Christmas Day? *(PROMPT: church, visiting  
relations)*
- c. Did you have any musical instruments in the home?  
Players?  
Was there anyone in the family who sang?  
Did you ever make music together as a family?
- d. Did your parents play any games with you?
- e. Were there books in the house? Did you belong to the library?  
Newspapers? Magazines?  
Do you remember your mother or father reading?  
Did they ever read aloud to you or to each other?
- f. Do you remember a funeral in the family? What happened?  
Who attended? Did you take part?  
Did you wear mourning?
- g. Do you remember a wedding in the family? What happened?  
Who attended?

4.

6. Family Activities Outside the Home

- a. Were you taken out visiting neighbours, friends or relations? With whom?  
Were you taken shopping? With whom?
- b. Do you remember any other outings with your parents? Bank Holidays?
- c. Did you ever go away for a holiday? For how long? Regularly?  
Which members of the family went? Where?  
Activities?

7. Weekends and Religion

- a. Could you tell me how you spent Saturdays in those days? How about Sundays?  
Did you have different clothes?  
Did you play games? Did your parents think it wrong to work or play on Sunday?
- b. Did your parents attend a place of worship or not? Denomination.  
How often? Both mother and father?  
Did either hold any position in the church/chapel?  
Did you attend?
- c. Did you go to a Sunday School or not?
- d. Were there any Sunday School outings?
- e. What other social activities organised by the church/chapel did you take part in?
- f. Did you belong to the choir? Activities.
- g. Did the church/chapel run any temperance club? (PROMPT: Band of Hope?)  
Were you a member of that or not?  
Activities (e.g. evening classes, outings, treats).
- h. Did you belong to any other club organised by the church/chapel? Activities.
- i. Was grace said at meals in your family? By whom?
- j. Were you taught to say prayers at night? Did you ever have family prayers?  
What happened?
- k. How much would you say religion meant to you as a child? Why?

8. Parents' Political Attitudes

- a. Did your father take an interest in politics? Do you know what his views were?  
Why do you think he held those views?  
*REPEAT FOR MOTHER.*
- b. Do you remember your father voting in a General Election before 1919?  
Do you know what party he voted for?  
Do you remember your mother voting in the first election when women had the vote?  
Who for?
- c. In some places at that time men felt they risked losing their job or their house if they voted differently from their employers. Do you know if your father felt himself under that kind of pressure to vote for a particular party?

- 7
- 5.
- d. Was your father a member of a political party? Do you remember him working for one of the parties at an election?  
*REPEAT FOR MOTHER.*
- e. Did your parents take part in any political activity other than at election time?
9. Parents' Other Interests
- a. When your parents were not doing their work, how did they spend their time?
- b. Did your mother have any interests outside the home?
- c. When she went out what did she do? (PROMPT: father, friend,  
Did she ever go out to enjoy herself? Who did she go with? relation)
- d. When did your father get home from work in the evenings?  
How many evenings a week would be spent at home? How much was he about the house at weekends? How would he spend the time?
- e. Did your father attend any clubs or pubs?  
When did he go (on way home from work, after tea, Sunday dinner time)?  
Did your mother go too?
- f. Did your father take part in any sport? Did he watch sport?  
Did he attend the races? Did he bet?  
Did your mother take part in any sports or games?
- g. Did your father or mother belong to any savings clubs?  
Insurance; boot; sick; funeral; etc.  
Do you know what arrangements your parents had about money?
10. Respondent's Leisure Before Leaving School
- a. How did you get on with your brothers and sisters?  
Was there one you felt particularly close to?  
Was there one you did not get on with?
- b. As a child, who did you play with? Brothers; sisters; neighbours?  
Did you have your own special group of friends? Did you play games against other groups?
- c. Where did you play? Yard/garden/street/other homes/elsewhere?
- d. What games did you play?  
Were you allowed to get dirty when you played?  
Did boys and girls play the same games?
- e. Were you free to play with anyone you pleased?  
Did your parents discourage you from playing with certain children?  
(IF YES: Why?) What did they think about children fighting or gambling in the street?
- f. Did you belong to any youth organisations? (PROMPT: Scouts, Girl Guides)
- g. I should now like to ask about how you spent your free time when you were at school.  
Did you have any hobbies then? Did you keep any pets; collect anything; do gardening?  
(PROMPT: Cigarette cards)
- h. Did you go fishing; for walks; bicycling? With whom?

6.

- i. Did you take part in any sports?
- j. Did you go to any theatres; concerts; music halls; cinemas while you were still at school?
- k. Did your parents give you any pocket money? How much? Regularly? What did you spend the money on?

11. Community and Social Class

- a. Did anyone outside the home help your mother look after her house or family? Relations; friends; neighbours? In what ways? Regularly?
- b. If your mother was ill or confined to bed how did she manage? Do you remember what happened when one of your younger brothers/sisters was born?
- c. What relations of your father do you remember? Did any live nearby? When did you see them? Where? Do you remember them influencing you in anyway, teaching you anything? *REPEAT FOR MOTHER.*
- d. Did your parents have friends? Where did they live? Where did they see them? Did they share the same friends? Did your mother have friends of her own? Where did she see them? Did she visit anyone who was not a relation? *REPEAT FOR FATHER.*
- e. Were people ever invited into the home? How often? Who were they? *(PROMPT: relations, neighbours, friends)?* Would they be offered anything to eat or drink? On any particular days or occasions? Would you say that the people invited in were your mother's friends or your father's friends or both of them?
- f. Did people call in casually without an invitation? When?
- g. Did your parents ever go out to visit friends or neighbours? Would they call on them casually without invitation?
- h. People often tell us that in those days they made their own amusements. What do you think your parents did when they got together with their friends/ neighbours? Music? Games?
- i. Many people divide society into different social classes or groups. In that time before 1918 did you think of some people belonging to one and some to another? Could you tell me what the different ones were?
- j. What class/group *(RESPONDENT'S OWN TERM)* would you say you belonged to yourself? What sort of people belonged to the same class/group as yourself?
- k. What sort of people belonged to the other classes/groups you have mentioned?
- l. Can you remember being brought up to treat people of one sort differently from people of another? Were you ever told to curtsy; touch your cap; show respect in some way? To whom? Was there anyone you called "sir" or "master"/"madam"? Do you remember anyone showing respect to your parents in these ways?

- 7.
- m. In the district/village, who were considered the most important people? Did you come into contact with them? Why were they considered important? *IF RESPONDENT MIDDLE OR UPPER CLASS:* Would these people have been considered at that time to be "in society"?
- n. What about the shopkeepers: who did they associate with? *REPEAT FOR OTHER LOCAL SOCIAL GROUPS:* e.g. clergy, teachers, employers, farmers.
- o. What sort of people would you say went to the church? And the chapel?
- p. Where you lived, did all the people in the working (*OR lower OR OTHER TERM USED BY RESPONDENT*) class have the same standard of living, or would you say there were different groups? Describe a family within each group. Do you think that one group felt itself superior to the rest? Were some families thought of as rough, and others as respectable? Do you remember a distinction of this kind between craftsmen and labourers? (*PROMPT: What made a family seem tough?*)
- q. How did your mother behave towards people who were not in the same class as herself? (*PROMPT: Minister, doctor's wife, dustman's wife?*) *REPEAT FOR FATHER.* (*other racial groups?*)
- r. Do you think your mother thought of herself as a member of a class? (*PROMPT: middle class, working class?*) Why?/Why not? What made her put herself in that class? (*PROMPT: own home background, her job, her type of house, your father's position?*)
- s. Was it possible at that time to move from one class to another? Can you remember anyone who did?
- t. Do you remember anyone being described as a "real gentleman"/"real lady"? Why do you think that was?
- u. Do you remember seeing a policeman around where you lived as a child? What did you think of him (e.g. when you were naughty, did your mother ever say "I'll call a policeman")?
- v. How do you think he treated the people?
- w. Was your home rented? *IF YES:* Did you see anything of your landlord? What did you feel about him as a landlord?
- x. Do you remember feeling that your parents had to struggle to make ends meet? *IF NO:* Did they help poorer people in any way? Did they belong to any philanthropic organisations? *IF YES:* What did you think about that? What difference did it make to the family when your father was ill or out of work? How often? Did you ever get help from the Guardians or the parish or any charity? How did they treat you? How did you feel about that?
- y. When there was someone in the district whom the people disapproved of very strongly, was there any special way in which they showed it? Do you remember anyone being made to leave by "rough music"? What for? Was an effigy made?

8.

12. School

- a. Were you given lessons by one of your parents, a tutor or governess?  
*IF NO:* Go on to 12 b.  
*IF YES:* Where?  
 Hours? Did they increase when older?  
 Alone/with other children?  
 What lessons did you have? How did you feel about . . . as a teacher?  
 Did they emphasise certain things as important in life?  
 Manners; tidiness; punctuality; ways of speaking?  
 If you did something they disapproved of, what would happen? Would they punish you?  
 How? What for?  
 How long were you taught by . . . ?  
 Did you then go to school? *IF NO:* Why not?
- b. How old were you when you first went to school?  
 When you first started, what time of the morning did you go and when did you come back?
- c. What kind of school was it (board/private/church; day/boarding; boys/girls/mixed)?  
*IF BOARDING, SEE ALSO SECTION 19 and OMIT 12 d.*
- d. How did you get to school? How long did it take you? Who went with you?
- e. Where did you have your midday meal then?  
*IF NOT AT HOME:* What did you have to eat?
- f. What did you think of school? Did you like it or dislike it?  
 How did you feel about the teachers?
- g. Did the teachers emphasise certain things as important in life?  
 Manners; how to treat the opposite sex; tidiness; punctuality; ways of speaking?  
 Did they encourage intellectual discussion?  
 Was any science taught?
- h. What games did you play? Compulsory?
- i. If you did something the teachers disapproved of, what would happen?  
 How did they punish the children? Girls the same as boys?  
 For what offences?
- j. Did your parents show an interest in your school work?  
 Did they ask you what you did at school; visit the school; meet the teachers?
- k. What sort of homes did most of the other children come from? (Some worse dressed than others?)
- l. Did the teachers single out some children for different treatment from the others?
- m. Were there any gangs or groups in the school? *(PROMPT: From different*  
 Were there any children who were left out *streets or parts of the town?)*  
 of things?
- n. Did you go on to another school afterwards?  
*IF YES: REPEAT 12 b - 12 n.*  
*IF AT A SECONDARY SCHOOL:* Did you join a cadet corps? Were you a prefect?
- o. How old were you when you left school?  
 Would you have stayed longer if you had had the opportunity?  
 Did you attend any part-time education afterwards? (e.g. evening classes).
- p. Do you have any regrets about your education?  
 Do you think you benefitted from attending school?

- 9.
- q. *IF AT UNIVERSITY:* Subjects? New friends? New attitudes?  
Influence of tutors? Intellectual discussion? Religion? Clubs and Societies?  
Other leisure?  
How were women regarded at University at that time?

13. Work

- a. While you were at school, did you have a part-time job or any means of earning a little regular money?  
*IF NO: GO ON TO 13 l.*
- b. How did you get it? (Through parents?)
- c. What exactly did you have to do in this job?  
How did you learn? Were any practical jokes played on you?
- d. What hours did you work? Sunday? Saturday? Half-day?  
Were there breaks for meals?  
Did you have any holidays with pay?
- e. What were you paid?  
Did you feel that was a fair wage, or not?
- f. Did you give any of the money to your mother?  
What was it spent on?
- g. How did you get on with the other people you worked with?  
Did men and women work together? Could you talk or relax at all?  
(Could you play games in the breaks?)  
Was there a works club? A works outing? Any other entertainments for employees?  
Was there a presentation when a worker retired? Did any of the employers or wives visit workers and their wives at times of sickness or bereavement?
- h. How did your employer treat you? How did you feel about him?
- i. How did you feel about the work? Did you like it or dislike it? Why did you give it up?
- j. Did the job alter your attitude to school?
- k. Did you do any other part-time jobs before you left school?  
*IF YES: REPEAT 13 b. - k.*
- l. Now I should like to ask you about your first full-time job.  
What was that?  
*REPEAT 13 b. - i.*  
*IF LIVING-IN DOMESTIC SERVANT, ASK SECTION 18, THEN RETURN HERE.*  
How long did you do that for? What did you do after that?  
*REPEAT 13 b. - i. FOR ALL JOBS (INCLUDING PART-TIME) UP TO END OF 1918.*  
*IF ANY ARE AS DOMESTIC SERVANT, ASK SECTION 18, THEN RETURN HERE.*  
*NOTE: Remember to ask how many months/years each job lasted.*
- m. What jobs have you done since the First World War?
- n. Would you have preferred another type of occupation?
- o. Did you serve an apprenticeship or training period for any of your jobs?
- p. Did you (or any of your employees) belong to any trade union/professional organisation?  
Did you take part in any of its activities?  
Did you feel that employers and workers had the same interests, or different?

10.

- q. Did you feel that there were divisions of interest among workers? Some people say that in those days there was a great division between trained craftsmen and other workers. Did you feel that, or not?
- r. *IF AN EMPLOYER OR MANAGER:* Can you tell me who owned the business (partnership, limited company)? How was it founded? How was it run? How did you learn about the different sides of the business (technology, sales, staffing, finance)? Which interested you most? Did you become a partner? What share did you have in the profits and losses? Did senior partners/directors share a social life together? Invite each other to dinner? What did the workers call you? Which of them did you know by name? Did you meet any of them outside work?
- s. Would you say that full-time work changed your general attitude to life in any way?

#### 14. Home Life After Leaving School

- a. I'd like to ask you about your life at home after you left school. Did you continue to live at home then? For how long?  
*IF AT HOME:* Did you have your own room where you could entertain friends privately?  
*IF SEPARATELY:* Did you live alone or share with anyone? Describe house. Did you have any domestic help? Where did you mainly eat?
- b. *IF WORKING:* Did starting full-time work change your relationship with your parents at all? With brothers and sisters?  
*IF NOT WORKING:* How did you manage for money? Would you have rather done something else? How did you spend your time (housework, social calls, family business)?
- c. Did you spend your Sunday any differently? Church/chapel; Sunday School? Did religion mean more or less to you after childhood? Why do you think that was?
- d. Did you take an interest in politics? (Did you take up any voluntary work?)  
*IF RESPONDENT MARRIED AFTER 1918 OR NEVER MARRIED, ASK SECTION 17viii AND OMIT 'REPEAT FOR HUSBAND/WIFE'. THEN RETURN HERE*
- e. Can you tell me something of how you spent your spare time as a young man/woman? Did your interests change? Did you belong to any clubs or youth organisations; take part in sports or games (cards; tennis) go to dances; hobbies; collect anything; go for outings or away for weekends; concerts, theatre, music hall, cinema; pubs?
- f. Did you go out in the evening? Where to? Who with? Holidays? Where; who with?
- g. Did you make any new friends - boys or girls - at this time? How did you meet them? Did you stick to a group of friends? What did you do with them? Where? Did you ever bring friends home?
- h. Did you have any special friends at this time? Boys or girls? Were there any special places where boys and girls could meet? Where would you go with them? Were you allowed to be with them alone?
- i. Did your parents meet your friends? Did they tell you what they thought about them? Did they expect to know where you were? Did you have to be home by a certain time? Did your parents disapprove of any of your activities at this time? What did they think of young people who got into fights; gambling; pinching things?

11.

15. Marriage

- a. What age were you when you married?
- b. How long had you known your husband/wife then? How did you meet?  
Where did he/she come from? From what kind of family?
- c. How long were you engaged?  
Did you save up money before getting married, or not?  
Did your parents help you in setting up a home?  
Did they help you later on? (or leave you anything?)  
(Or by that stage, did you have to help them?)
- d. Could you describe the wedding? Presents? Guests?  
Did you have a honeymoon?
- e. Where did you live after you married? How many years?  
(Did you ever consider moving out of the area when you first married?)  
Where did you live then?  
*CONTINUE FOR MOVES TO END OF 1918.*
- f. How old was your husband/wife when you married?
- g. *IF WOMAN:* What was your husband's job when you married?  
Did he have other jobs before or after?  
*ASK FOR ALL JOBS: DO NOT STOP AT 1918.*  
Did he also do any casual or part-time jobs?  
*IF RESPONDENT WORKED AFTER MARRIAGE (see 13 1.):* How did your husband feel about your working?  
*IF MAN:* Did your wife have a job when you married? Had she any other jobs before that? Did she continue working after your marriage?  
*IF YES:* How did you feel about that? What jobs had she had since then?  
*ASK FOR ALL FULL-TIME JOBS: PART-TIME JOBS ONLY TO END OF 1918.*
- h. How do you think your husband/wife felt about his/her work? Like or dislike?

16. Childbirth and Infancy

- a. Did you have any children?  
*IF NO, GO ON TO 17.*  
How many? Names (who were they named after)?  
Dates of birth of all children.
- b. Were your children born at home?  
*IF WOMAN:* Did you know what to expect in childbirth? How did you get on?  
Did you read any books about birth or infant care?
- c. Did you have any medical help? Did your husband/you help?  
How soon were you/was your wife out of bed? For the whole day?  
How did you/she manage while you were/she was in bed?  
Did any of your relations or neighbours help? How exactly?  
Did you have a nurse? For how long?  
*IF FOR MORE THAN TWO MONTHS:* What did the nurse do for the baby?
- d. *IF WOMAN:* How did you feed your first baby?  
*IF ANY BREAST FEEDING:* did you enjoy feeding the baby?  
*IF LITTLE OR NO BREAST FEEDING:* did you have any special reasons for not breast feeding? What method did you use instead?

12.

- e. *IF WOMAN:* Did you have any difficulties in feeding? If you needed advice, who did you ask?  
If the baby was asleep, would you wake it for a feed? If it cried before the normal time, would you feed it? What did you do if it didn't seem hungry?  
How long would you let it go on feeding? When did you first give it solid food?  
When did you wean the baby? Did the baby mind?
- f. *IF WOMAN:* Did you think at the time that it did any harm to a baby to let it cry, or not?  
Did you punish it when it was naughty? How? For what?
- g. How much did your husband/you (*IF MAN*) have to do with your children when they were babies under one year?  
Did you/he feed/bath them; change their nappies; play with them; get them to sleep; attend to them in the night; take them out without you/your wife?

17. Family Life After Marriage

I want to ask you how you and your husband/wife managed the housekeeping in those years before 1919.

(i) Budget and Control of Household

- a. *IF HUSBAND:* How much of your earnings would you give to your wife at that time? (Did your wife have a personal allowance?)  
Did you pay any of the house bills yourself? Which?  
*IF WIFE:* Did you know what your husband earned? How much of that would he give to you? Did he pay any of the bills himself? Which?  
(Did you have a dress allowance?)  
Did you discuss with your wife/husband how the money should be spent?  
*IF WIFE EARNED:* What were your wife's earnings spent on?
- b. Who chose new furniture; food; drink; doctor; church; clothes of children, husband; presents; outings; holidays; who should be invited to stay or to meals?  
Who looked after the garden?

(ii) Domestic Routine

- a. Can you describe the house at . . . (*SELECT FROM 15 e.*)? What were the rooms used for?
- b. Were there any relatives or lodgers living with you? (Terms?)
- c. Paid help in the house? Living-in?  
*IF YES: GO ON TO SECTION 18.*  
*IF DAILY OR IRREGULAR HELP:* What were her duties: cleaning, looking after children?  
Hours? What did you call each other?
- d. How was the washing done?
- e. Clothes made by wife and/or husband? Bought new or second-hand?  
Where bought? When? Who mended them?  
*REPEAT FOR SHOES.*
- f. Husband's help with jobs in the house: cleaning; cooking; washing; washing-up; fires; decorating; repairs; improvements to the house?  
*IF CHILDLESS, GO ON TO iii (Meals).*  
Husband's help with children: dressing; undressing; bathing; reading aloud; telling stories; taking out without mother; looking after children when mother out?

13.

- g. Regular household tasks for children to help you?
- h. Time at which children went to bed? Put to bed by themselves or a parent?  
Did children share a bed or bedroom? Sleeping arrangements for whole family?
- i. Washing and bathing arrangements? When?  
When did children have clean clothes?
- (iii) Meals
- a. Where were meals eaten?  
Occasions, if any, when eaten in another room?
- b. Where did wife cook? Cooking equipment (range or gas)?
- c. When was breakfast eaten? What members of the family were present?  
How did the others manage for their first meal? What did you usually eat and drink?  
Did you have anything different on certain days (Sundays)?  
*REPEAT FOR MIDDAY AND EVENING MEALS.*
- d. Making of bread; jam; pickles; wine; beer; medicines; bottled fruit or vegetables.
- e. Vegetables and fruit grown and/or bought?  
Tinned or dried vegetables or fruit?
- f. Livestock kept for family (hens, pigs, goats)?  
Looked after by whom?
- g. How many times a week did you eat meat? Tinned meat?
- h. Extra meat obtained from poaching. From whom? How often?
- i. Did wife ever have to go short so that husband or children could have more?  
Did husband have larger helpings of food? Extra food at teatime or supper?  
*IF CHILDLESS, GO ON TO (v) (Family Activities in the Home)*
- j. Table manners of children: allowed to talk during meals or not?  
Choose what they wanted to eat from what was cooked or have to eat a bit  
of everything? Parents' attitude if some food left uneaten on the plate?  
Hold knife and fork in a certain way and sit in a certain way?  
When did members of the family leave the table?
- k. Did all the family present for the meal sit at the table? Regular places at table?  
Meal served (by whom; serving order)?  
Method of feeding and seating children too young to feed themselves?  
*IF SEPARATELY.* When did they join in family meals?
- (iv) General Relationships with Children: Influence and Discipline.
- a. When your children were young did you feel that there was a right way/wrong way  
of bringing up children?  
Did you and your wife/husband have the same ideas about bringing up children,  
or different ideas? Did you talk about this?  
Was there anyone you used to talk to if you were worried about the children?  
Was your mother alive when your children were small? How often did you see her?  
Did you ask her advice in bringing up the children?  
Did you and she have the same ideas on this?  
*REPEAT FOR MOTHER-IN-LAW.*

/contd.

14.

(iv) contd.

- a. *IF EMPLOYED NANNY:* Did you discuss with the nanny how you wanted the children brought up? Were her ideas the same as yours, or different? Did you ever disagree with the way she managed the children? Why was this?
- b. Can you tell me some of the things you felt you ought to do for your children? Affection; safety; food; discipline. Did you want them to share their worries with you? How did you want them to behave towards you? What did they call you and your wife/husband?  
*IF NANNY EMPLOYED:* How did you want them to behave towards their nanny?
- c. *(OMIT IF NANNY EMPLOYED)* When the children were young, did you both ever manage to leave them so that you could go out? When? Did somebody come in to look after them? Relation/friend/neighbour/older child: stays in house/looks in occasionally/listens from elsewhere/nobody responsible.
- d. Did you let your children join in when grown-ups were talking?
- e. What did you bring them up to consider important in life?
- f. Did you tell them they should hit back or not if another child hurt them?
- g. Were there any other children you discouraged them from playing with? What was it you did not like about those children?
- h. If your children did something you disapproved of, what would happen?  
*IF PUNISHED:* By whom? How? How often? Ever by other parent?  
*IF NANNY EMPLOYED:* Ever by nanny?  
Do you remember any particular occasion when you punished them?
- i. Would you say that your children received the ideas they had about how to behave from both parents, or did one of you play a more important part than the other? (e.g. father with sons, mother with daughters)?  
*IF NANNY EMPLOYED:* What influence did their nanny have on them? What did the children feel about her?
- j. Did you believe that girls should be treated the same way as boys when you had your children? That they should be taught the same skills and the same games (e.g. girls carpentry, hunting; boys sewing, cooking, dancing, piano)? How did you teach your boy to behave to his sister (e.g. opening doors, carry things)?; your girl to her brother (sew for him, wait on him)?
- k. *IF WIFE WORKED AFTER HAVING CHILDREN:* Who looked after the children while you/your wife was at work? How did you feel about leaving the children with somebody else? Some people think that children should be with the mother all the time, others think it is not necessary and does them good to be with other people quite a lot too. What did you think at that time?
- l. Did you send your children to the local county school?  
*IF NO:* Why not? Who chose the school?  
Did you think that boys needed a different education from girls?

15.

(v) Family Activities in the Home.

- a. *(OMIT IF CHILDLESS)* When your children had a birthday, would it be different from any other day? Did they receive presents; have anything different to eat; guests?
- b. What did you and *(IF ANY)* your children do on Christmas Day?
- c. Did you have any musical instruments in the home? Players?  
Did any of you sing? Did you ever make music together?
- d. *(OMIT IF CHILDLESS)* Did you play any games with the children?  
Did your wife/husband join in the games or play different ones?
- e. Were there books; newspapers; magazines in the house? Where did you get them from?  
Did you belong to a library? Did you read aloud to each other or to the children?  
*(OMIT IF CHILDLESS)*  
*IF NANNY EMPLOYED:* Did the nanny read to the children?

(vi) Family Activities Outside the Home.

- a. *(IF CHILDLESS: START AT c.)*  
Were the children taken out visiting neighbours, friends or relations?  
By whom? Were they taken shopping? By whom?  
*IF NANNY EMPLOYED:* Did the children ever visit their nanny's family?
- b. Did the children ever go out with just their father?
- c. Could the children go out by themselves? Where to? Girls as well as boys?
- d. What did you do on Bank Holidays? With children and nanny *(IF ANY)*?
- e. Did you ever go away for a holiday? For how long? Regularly?  
Where? Why did you choose to go there?  
Did you all go (wife; husband; children; nanny)? Activities.

(vii) Weekends and Religion

- a. Could you tell me how you spent Saturdays in those days?  
Sundays?  
Did you or the children *(IF ANY)* put on different clothes?  
Did you think it wrong to work or to enjoy yourself on a Sunday or did you think it did not matter?  
*(OMIT IF CHILDLESS)* Did you allow your children to play games?
- b. Did you attend a place of worship or not? Denomination? How often?  
Did your husband/wife attend too?
- c. Did you belong to the choir?
- d. Did the church/chapel run any temperance club? Were you a member of that?  
Activities.
- e. Did you belong to any other clubs organised by the church/chapel? Activities.  
Did you or your husband/wife hold any position in the church/chapel organisation?
- f. *(OMIT IF CHILDLESS)* Did your children go to Sunday School?  
Did they go to any adult or family services at the church/chapel?

16.

- g. Was grace said at meals?
- h. Did you have family prayers?
- i. *(OMIT IF CHILDLESS)* Were your children taught to say prayers? Who taught them their prayers? Did you talk to your children about God?
- j. Did religion come to mean more or less to you after you were married? Why do you think that was?

(viii) Political Attitudes.

- a. Did you take an interest in politics? What were your views?  
Why did you think that?  
*REPEAT FOR HUSBAND/WIFE.*
- b. *IF HUSBAND:* Did you vote in a General Election before 1919?  
*IF WIFE:* Did you vote in the first General Election when women had the vote?
- c. Did you or your husband/wife ever feel under any pressure from anybody to vote for a particular party (e.g. from an employer)?
- d. Were you a member of a political party?  
Did you ever work for one of the parties at an election?
- e. Did you take part in any political activity other than at election time?

(ix) Other Interests and Leisure.

- a. When you and your wife/husband were not doing your work, how did you spend your time?  
Did you ever go out together in the evening? Where? How often?
- b. When did you (*IF MAN*)/your husband get home from work in the evenings?  
How many evenings a week would you/he spend at home?
- c. Did either of you go to any clubs, institutes or pubs? How often did you go?  
Did you go together?
- d. Did you belong to any savings clubs? Insurance, boot, sick, funeral, etc.
- e. Did either of you take part in any sport? (*PROMPT:* cricket, football,  
Did either of you bet on anything? fishing, shooting, bicycling,  
walking, racing).
- f. Did you go to any theatres, concerts, music halls or cinemas?
- g. Did you have any hobbies? Did you keep any pets, collect anything, or do gardening?
- h. Did you (*IF WOMAN*)/your wife have any other interests outside the home?  
Did you (*IF WOMAN*)/your wife ever go out to enjoy yourself/herself? With whom?

(x) Relations, Friends and Neighbours.

- a. Did anyone outside the home help you (*IF WOMAN*)/your wife look after her house or family? Relations, friends or neighbours?  
In what ways? Regularly?
- b. If you (*IF WOMAN*)/your wife was confined to bed, how did you manage?
- c. Did either of you have any relatives living nearby? How much did you see of them?  
Where?
- d. Did you have friends? Where did they live? Did you share the same friends?
- e. Were people ever invited into the home? How often?  
Who were these people? Would they be offered anything to eat or drink?  
On particular days or occasions? (Sunday?)  
Would you say that the people invited in were your wife's/husband's friends or relations or both?  
*IF EMPLOYED NANNY*: Did the children meet people who came to call or have meals (casual or formal) with you?
- f. Did people call in casually without an invitation? When?
- g. Did you ever go out to visit friends or neighbours? Did you call in casually without an invitation?
- h. People often tell us that in these days they made their own amusements. What did you do when you got together with friends or neighbours? Music? Games?
- i. Was your home rented?  
*IF YES*: Did you see anything of your landlord?  
How did you feel about him as a landlord?
- j. (*IF RESPONDENT HAS NOT MOVED FROM COMMUNITY DESCRIBED EARLIER, GO ON TO n.*)  
In the district/village where you lived then, who were considered the most important people?  
Did you come into contact with them? Why were they considered important?
- k. What about the shopkeepers? Who did they associate with?  
*REPEAT* for clergy, teachers, farmers, employers.
- l. What sort of people would you say went to the church? And to chapel?
- m. Where you lived, did all the people in the working class have the same standard of living, or would you say there were different groups? Describe a family in each group. Do you think that one group felt itself superior to the rest? Were some families thought of as rough, and some as respectable? Do you remember a distinction of this kind between craftsmen and labourers?
- n. Did you have a struggle to make ends meet at that time?  
*IF NO*: Did you help poorer people in any way? (Did you join any philanthropic organisation?)  
*IF YES*: What did you think about that?  
What difference did it make when you (*IF MAN*) your husband was ill or out of work? How often? For how long? Did you ever get help from the Guardians, the parish or a charity? How did they treat you? How did you feel about that?  
How did you spend your time when you were out of work (at home, with friends in the street, in pub)? Did friends help you out at all.

18.

18. Living-in Servants

(i) NOTE: THIS SECTION SHOULD BE USED BOTH WHEN RESPONDENT OR PARENTS EMPLOYED LIVING-IN SERVANTS, AND WHEN RESPONDENT WAS AN EMPLOYEE OF THIS KIND. IN THE LATTER CASE THE SECTION SHOULD BE REPEATED FOR ANY HOUSEHOLD WHICH THE RESPONDENT CAN REMEMBER IN SATISFACTORY DETAIL.

- a. IF SERVANT: How did you get your first position in service (personal recommendation, registry office, advertisement)?  
What were you called (e.g. kitchen maid, housemaid, etc.)?  
What hours did you work (weekdays/weekends)? Did you get any holidays?  
What were you paid? Did you think that was a fair wage or not?
- b. How many servants were there? LIST titles and work.  
Where slept and ate.  
Was there a division into upper and lower servants?  
Was there a servant's hall, or anywhere they could sit when they were not working?  
Did the mistress supervise all the housework personally? Or pass orders through the senior servants? (PROMPT: housekeeper)?
- c. Did you feel at ease with the servants/members of the family?  
How did servants and members of the family address each other? Did you feel that any of them was interested in you as a person?
- d. Did the mistress give any moral guidance to her servants? Were they allowed any time to do just what they liked? When could they go out of the home? Did she mind what they did then, or when they returned?
- e. IF SERVANT: Did you feel homesick? Were you lonely or did you have enough companionship? Was there anything you particularly liked or disliked about that situation?

(ii) Domestic Routine

- a. How did the housework go? Was the washing sent out?  
Who made or mended the family's clothes?  
Who did the cooking?  
Who was responsible for repairs and improvements to the house?  
Did your father help with any of the jobs in the house? Did he help look after you?
- b. Was there a nanny or servant responsible for the children? Was there a nursery maid?  
IF NO, GO BACK TO 2f. WHEN ASKING RESPONDENT ABOUT CHILDHOOD, OR TO 17 (ii) f.  
WHEN ASKING ABOUT RESPONDENT'S MARRIED LIFE: IF RESPONDENT IS A SERVANT, NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR CHILDREN, GO ON TO (iii) Meals.  
  
Nanny's duties, hours, time off. Holidays?  
What did your mother do for you (dressing, bathing, bedtime, games, shopping, outings, reading)?  
Where child would see parents, in the house: nursery, drawing room or elsewhere?  
When?  
IF MOTHER WORKING: Time spent at home.  
IF CHILD: How long did nurse look after you? Until what age?  
What was she like? Were you fond of her?  
Were there any other servants who you were close to?

- c. Did the children have any tasks to carry out regularly to help in the home? When? How long did tasks continue? After leaving school?  
*REPEAT FOR BROTHERS AND SISTERS.*  
Did the older children help the younger with things they found difficult (dressing, eating) or look after them in other ways?  
Did the younger children help the older in any ways?
- d. Children's bedtime. Who put children to bed? At what age did children put themselves to bed? Did children share bedroom or bed with anyone?  
Sleeping arrangements of whole family (including nurse)?
- e. What room for bathing? How often did children bath? When were clean clothes put on?

(iii) Meals

- a. Where did the adults eat their meals?  
*IF THERE WERE CHILDREN:* Where did the children eat their meals?  
Were there any exceptions to this? Were any adults with them when they ate?  
Did the adult(s) eat then too? At what age did you have meals with your parents (breakfast, lunch, tea, dinner)?
- b. What cooking equipment was there in the house (range, gas)?
- c. When was breakfast eaten? What members of the family were present?  
When did the others have their breakfast? What food was eaten at breakfast?  
Anything different on certain days (Sundays)?  
*REPEAT FOR OTHER MEALS.*
- d. Were any of the following made in the house: bread, jam, bottled fruit and vegetables, pickles, wine, beer, medicines? Who made them?
- e. Were fruit and vegetables grown. Were any bought for the household?  
Tinned or dried? Who did the garden?
- f. Was any livestock kept for the family (hens, pigs, goats)?  
Who looked after them?
- g. How many times a week was meat eaten? Was any tinned meat used?
- h. Did children, servants and parents have the same food or different food?  
What were the differences?
- i. Where did the servants eat?  
*IF NURSE, GOVERNESS:* Where did the nurse, governess eat?  
*IF SERVANT NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR CHILDREN, GO ON TO (v) b.*
- j. Were children allowed to talk at meals or not? Was this different when visitors came? Could they choose what they wanted to eat from what was cooked or did they have to eat a bit of everything? What was said if something was left uneaten on the plate? Could children ask for a second helping?  
Were children expected to hold their knife and fork in a certain way, sit in a certain way? Could toys or books be brought to the table? When could they leave the table?

20.

- k. *IF FAMILY ATE WITH CHILDREN:* Did you always have the same places at table? Who served the meal? In what order?  
*IF CHILDREN ATE SOME MEALS APART FROM PARENTS:* Were there any special preparations when the child ate with its parents (e.g. grooming, special clothes)? Who supervised the children's meals when they ate separately? Did she have her meal with them? Who served the meal?  
 Did the mother or father appear during the children's meals?  
 Did the mother or father take an interest in what the children had eaten and how they had behaved? Were the children taught table manners by their parents or someone else?  
*IF RESPONDENT IS A PARENT, RETURN TO 17 (iv).*

(iv) General Relationship with Parents and Nanny: Influence and Discipline.

- a. What did you call your mother? Was she an easy person to talk to? Did she show affection? If child had any worries, could it take them to her or not? Would you say you were frightened of her?  
*REPEAT FOR FATHER AND NANNY.*  
 How did parents expect child to behave towards them? And towards brothers and sisters? And towards nanny? How did nanny expect child to behave towards herself?
- b. Did nanny tell child how to behave towards brothers, sisters and parents? If child was hit by another child, would it be told to hit back or not? Who would tell child this (nanny or parents)?
- c. What kind of people did parents hope child would grow up to be? Did they consider certain things important in life? Did nanny teach child what she thought was important in life? Did she have similar attitudes to parents in this way?
- d. What did parents think about swearing? What about accents? What did nanny think about it?
- e. When grown-ups were talking, was child allowed to join in?
- f. If child did something parents disapproved of, what would happen?  
*IF PUNISHED:* By whom? How? How often? Ever by other parent? By nanny?  
*IF CHILD:* Do you remember a particular occasion when you were punished? Do you remember how you felt about being punished?
- g. *IF CHILD:* Would you say that you received the ideas you had about how to behave from both your parents, or did one play a more important part than the other? What influence did your nanny have on your behaviour? How did you feel about nanny?  
*IF NANNY:* How did you feel about the way the parents wanted to bring up their children? If there was any difficulty, did you ever feel yourself on the side of the children, rather than the parents?

(v) Family Activities in the Home.

- a. Were children's birthdays any different from any other day? Presents, special food, or guests?
- b. Can you remember anything the family did together on Christmas Day?
- c. Were there any musical instruments in the home? Players? Was there anyone in the family who sang? Did you ever make music together as a family?
- d. Did parents play any games with child? Did nanny play any games with child?

(v) Family Activities in the Home contd.

- e. Were there books in the house? Newspapers? Magazines?  
Do you remember mother or father reading?  
Did they read aloud to each other? To the child?  
Did nanny read to child?
- f. Do you remember a funeral in the family? Who attended? Mourning clothes.
- g. Did people come to stay? How did this alter your routine?

(vi) Family Activities Outside the Home

- a. *IF CHILD*  
Were you taken out visiting neighbours, friends or relations? With whom?  
Were you taken shopping? With whom?  
Were you ever taken to visit nanny's family home or relations? What did they call you? Did you enjoy it?  
Did you ever go out just with your father?  
Do you remember any other outings with your parents? Bank holidays.  
Did nanny go? Did you ever go away for a holiday? For how long? Regularly?  
Which members of the family went? Where? Activities? Did nanny go too?  
What did you and she do on the holiday?
- b. *IF SERVANT*  
Did you take the child out for walks or shopping? Were you allowed to talk to people while you were out with the children? Did you ever take the mistress's child to your own home? For how long? How did he/she get on at home?  
What did your relations call him/her? What did he/she call them?  
Did you ever go out with the master and mistress on a weekend or Bank Holiday?  
Describe occasion. Did you like it or dislike it?  
Did you ever go with the master and mistress when they went away on a holiday or to stay with people? For how long? Regularly? Who else went? Where?  
Activities? Did they seem different on holiday from what they did at home?  
In what ways? Was it a holiday for you or did you have as much work as usual?  
*IF CHILD, RETURN TO SECTION 7: IF SERVANT, GO ON.*

(vii) Weekends and Religion

- a. Did the master and mistress think it wrong to work or play on Sunday?  
Did they go to church or chapel? How often? Both master and mistress?  
Did the children go to church or Sunday School?
- b. Did any of the servants attend the same church as the master and mistress?  
Where did the servants and master and mistress sit?
- c. Was grace said at meals? By whom? Did you have family prayers?

(viii) Political Attitudes

- a. Did the master and mistress take an interest in politics?

(ix) Other Interests and Leisure

- a. Did the master take part in sport, go to the races, play cards?  
Did he go to a club? How often?
- b. Did the mistress go out on her own? Where did she go?  
Did she have interests outside the home? Did she do any work for  
charities, sit on committees, etc.?
- c. Did the master and mistress go out together?

(x) Social Class

- a. What was your master's occupation? Was he ever away from home? How long?  
What difference did this make to the way the household was run?  
*REPEAT FOR MISTRESS*
- b. Did the master and mistress have friends?  
When did you see their friends: calling, staying in the house, dining, balls?  
Describe these occasions. What kind of people were these friends and callers?  
Were they the same class as the master and mistress? What class would  
you say that was? Was the mistress the same class as the master?
- c. Did the master and mistress treat some of their friends differently from others  
(with more elaborate entertainment or more respect)? Why do you think that was?
- d. Describe the behaviour of the guests towards the servants.  
Did some guests treat you differently from others?
- e. Do you think the master and mistress were content with their station in life  
or do you think they would have liked a higher position? What made you think so?
- f. Had you known people like your master and mistress before? What did you think of  
them and their way of living? Did their manners and general behaviour seem  
different from people you had associated with before? In what ways?

*RETURN TO SECTION 13 a. (Work)*

19. Institutional Homes for Children and Boarding Education

*IN ADDITION TO SECTION 12, ASK*

- a. Type of school/institution. Number of children.
- b. How old were you when you went? For how long? Why? Did you want to go or not?  
Did your parents discuss it with you? Where had they been educated themselves?
- c. Typical day  
Meals (*COMPARE WITH HOME*)  
How much time did you have to yourself to do as you liked?  
How often were you allowed out (walks, church, visits to home or friends)?  
Were you allowed home at weekends?
- d. Were you allowed to wear your own clothes rather than uniform at any time?  
Other personal possessions.

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## NOTES

This interview schedule should be treated as a guide and not as a rigid questionnaire. Some respondents are happier when they feel they can rely on an interviewer to ask them questions, and in such cases it is possible to work through the schedule methodically. Others are keen to take some part in directing the interview and have definite ideas about the information they wish to give. It is always best to encourage them to do so, inserting follow-up questions as far as possible, and returning to the missing questions at a later stage when the respondent has said what he or she considers most relevant. The interview schedule can be used as a checklist and annotated when the first session is played back. A full interview with a respondent who enjoys telling stories will take several sessions. If an attempt is made at the beginning of the interview to stop an anecdote which seems irrelevant, in order to get to the point, it is important to realise that this will reduce the respondent's willingness to talk well on those subjects which are of central importance. The respondent must therefore be steered to the right period and subject matter without interrupting. In general, respondents should be encouraged and reassured; especially if they are worried by, for example, difficulty in remembering dates. It does not help at all, however, to be over-tactful. The interviewer should not be afraid of asking questions as simply and clearly as possible. An attempt to rephrase them more vaguely on sensitive matters is more likely to either produce a meaningless answer, or convey the interviewer's own embarrassment to the respondent. A question can sometimes be asked with the prefix "it says" (referring to the schedule). But it is better to know the questions, ask them directly at the right moment, and keep the schedule in the background. This makes for the most relaxed and effective interview; the schedule becomes a map for the interviewer which will then be referred to only from time to time.

You should arrive punctually for an interview or the respondent may become tense waiting for you. It is equally important to stop before a respondent becomes tired. If a respondent is giving brief or monosyllabic answers, he/she may be feeling tired, or unwell, or watching the clock for some other engagement. You should then close the recording session as quickly as possible. On the other hand, do not rush away with indecent haste; and in particular, do not refuse to show interest in family photographs etc. or to take refreshments when offered. You need to show as much warmth and appreciation of what the respondent has been telling you as possible. But an interview is not a conversation; you should keep yourself as far as possible in the background, nodding silently so that your encouragement is not recorded, not thrusting in comments or stories of your own. Do not be afraid of pauses; they can often bring out a supplementary comment to an answer. The time for ordinary two-way conversation is afterwards, when the recorder is switched off. This time will also produce additional information, which after leaving should be noted down or dictated into the recorder. Avoid arguments (e.g. about teenage behaviour) which may make the respondent more reticent later on. Lastly, it is good to write to thank a respondent, but if you want a reply always include a stamped addressed envelope.

25.

### 1. The Household

- c. Respondents are not often able to recite the names of the children in the family from eldest to youngest and the spaces between them. It is useful in these cases to ask where the respondent came in the family and then ask who was older than him and the spaces between the children who were older than him. Then ask about the younger ones. Respondents are sometimes vague about the respective ages of their siblings, e.g. "We come at pretty regular intervals". Try to find out what these intervals were, and if there were any exceptions to the average interval. Respondents sometimes find it easier to write down or tell you the ages and names of their siblings, alive and dead, at the present time.

- d. The schedule assumes a 'typical' family with mother, father and children. If your respondent lacks one or both parents, or had a substitute parent (step parent, grandparent, foster parent) adapt the form of the questions as appropriate to get a full picture of the child's relationships with other adults.

e. The schedule was designed principally for respondents whose families came from the region in which they were interviewed. When a family migrated a significant distance during a child's lifetime, follow-up questions should be asked on how the decision to do this was reached, who helped at each end (family, clergy, etc.), what the journey was like, first impressions, economic consequences of moving, and social differences (accents; keeping up with people who came from the same region - clubs, churches, letters home, etc.). If a substantial part of the respondent's life was spent outside Britain, the schedule needs considerably more modification, particularly to Section 11.

When respondents do not know the age of their father when they were born, ask if they know how old their father was when he died (assuming he is dead) and what year that was. Or respondents may know the age their father was when he married and the date. Approximate dates will do.

### 2. Domestic Routine

- a. Select the house in which respondent spent the longest time he can remember before leaving home.
- c. The duties are those of the servant, not the mother. Servants in this period who did not live in were usually charwomen or women who came in "to do the rough", i.e. to do the rough housework. There were also washerwomen who came in to do the washing and young girls who came in to look after children. Where the respondent as a child came into a lot of contact with the servant, particularly if she looked after the respondent, find out what the relationship was between them, the sort of things she did for the respondent, etc.
- g. Older children sometimes looked after the younger children, took them out for walks, saw them to school, etc.

### 3. Meals

- c. Men and women whose working day started early would often take something with them for breakfast. When asking about meals find out when the respondent took food and what he called those meals and stick to the terminology he uses. Lunch is the mid-day meal to some, particularly in class 1 and 2, to an agricultural labourer it is a snack eaten at about 11. a.m. Dinner is the mid-day meal to the majority of respondents. To some, again in class 1 and 2 it is a meal at about 7 or 8 p.m. Tea to most respondents is a meal mainly of bread and tea with occasionally something cooked, and is the last meal of the day. To some, in class 1 and 2 mainly, it is

the last meal of the day. To some, in class 1 and 2 mainly, it is a cup of tea and bread and butter and cake at about 4 p.m. It is usually distinguished as afternoon tea in that case. Supper may be a cup of cocoa and some bread and cheese taken just before bed at 9 p.m. when tea has been the last meal at about 5 p.m. Or it may be a meal of two courses either hot or cold eaten at about 7 p.m.

- k. Sometimes a person might take his plate and sit by the corner of the fire during a meal. Or a person in a hurry might snatch some food standing up.

#### 4. General Relationships with Parents: Influence and Discipline

- a. Feel your way carefully here. Many respondents have never put into words their feelings about their parents and some wordings of the question may get a better response than others. The first three questions in this section have all got satisfactory responses. Other questions are: Did you feel close to your mother when you were a child? Was your mother a motherly person? Did you get on well with your mother?  
"She was one of the best", said with emotion, may be all you will get from a respondent.
- c. Respondents may interpret this question as intending to ask what sort of position or job their parents hoped they would hold, or they may interpret it as a question about values and character. It is deliberately worded ambiguously to find out what the respondent remembers as his parents main aspiration for him. With the question "Did your parents bring you up to consider certain things important in life?" prompting may often be needed, e.g. What sort of things did they bring you up to consider right and wrong? What sort of things did they consider wrong?

#### 5. Family Activities in the Home

- d. Outdoor games should be asked about too. Information about family activities will often be given in the form of anecdotes, accounts of particular social events and there is likely to be a great deal of overlap of questions a, h, c, and d. This is a good way of getting this sort of information. Where you can, try to get an approximate date for a description of a particular birthday, etc. or a funeral. You may realise suddenly that you are being told about something that happened after 1918. It may be upsetting to the respondent to be suddenly cut short but if you can do so inconspicuously put the pause lever down.

#### 6. Family Activities Outside the Home

- d. Where the respondent's family lived in poverty this question may be treated with scorn by the respondent. The same applies to question 2 c. Explain that questions have been devised to apply to a wide range of income, and that as they are on the schedule they must be put in although the answer seems obvious. If you feel foolish or embarrassed asking a particular question, and occasionally a respondent does have this effect on one, it is best to disassociate yourself from the question by dropping the conversational way in which you have been asking the questions and simply read it in a neutral way from the schedule. Never apologise for the questions or you will transmit your lack of confidence in the value of the questions to the respondent.

### 7. Weekends and Religion

Supplementary questions must be asked if respondents are Roman Catholic or Jewish: the pattern of worship, festivals, social life attached to the religious community and religious observance in the home.

### 8. Parents' Political Attitudes

- a. Respondents may interpret this question as meaning an active interest in the politics of a particular party, and so deny political interest. Find out if respondent's parents talked about any particular issue, if they had any views about who should govern the country, if they thought the working man had a square deal, etc.
- b. It may be useful to know that the General Elections in the period are as follows:- 1900, 1906, 1910 (January and December), 1918. Women were eligible for the vote in 1918.

### 11. Community and Social Class

- i. Some respondents find these questions difficult and if they are unsure of their own class position evade the questions. If you don't get an answer try some of the other questions in the section, e.g., l, o, s, t, which respondents who are reluctant to talk about class usually find easier as they are less personal.
- t. This is a particularly useful question for introducing the subject of class to a class-shy respondent. It almost always gets a response. An alternative form of wording is: "If someone was described as 'a real lady' or 'a real gentleman' what sort of person would you expect them to be?"
- l. If you get some response to these questions try i, j, k, again perhaps
- o. phrasing them differently.
- s.
- t.
- o. This question is designed to elicit information about the social differences between Non-Conformist (Chapel) and the Church of England (Church). Where there are a considerable number of Roman Catholics or Jews in the area, ask a supplementary question about them, and also ask whether there was any friction between Roman Catholics, Protestants or Jews.
- p. Where locally appropriate, supplementary questions should be asked about different social groups here.
- y. "Rough music" would be produced by a crowd banging saucepans and tin cans, with shouts of "clear out" at intervals, outside the offender's house. Sometimes an effigy of the offending person was made and paraded about with the accompanying "music". This was done for flagrant breaches of accepted standards of behaviour, e.g. if a man sold his wife to another man, beat his wife, lived with two women, etc.

### 12. School

- k. Respondents may need prompting here. Many schools had their outcast children:
  - l. children from the workhouse, children who were mentally handicapped, abnormally badly dressed or dirty. In some schools, clever children were favoured or
  - m. children from relatively better off homes who were well dressed, or whose parents gave money to the school.

13. Work

This section is very schematic. For the respondent's main jobs, once known, much fuller questioning should be devised.

- h. Other ways of wording the question "How did you find...", "What did you think of..."
- i. Don't alter the wording of a question so that you load it, e.g. imply that the respondent liked his work, etc.
- m. We need to know the approximate length of each job.

15. Marriage

The supplementary questions on courtship and marriage may be substituted for appropriate respondents.

16. Childbirth and Infancy

- b. This is the best point at which supplementary questions on birth control and contraception might be asked.

17. Family Life After Marriage

- (ii a) Select the house in which the respondent spent the greater part of his married life up to the end of 1918.
- (x n) Do not worry about asking respondents who appear to have been well off if they had a struggle to make ends meet. It was just as possible to live beyond one's income and feel the pinch at £1,000 per annum as at £100!

18. Living-in Servants

Interviews with respondents who have (a) been in domestic service (b) had parents who employed domestic servants (c) employed servants themselves will be more complicated and longer than most other interviews. Prepare carefully for interviews where section 18 will be asked, working out the order of the interview beforehand. Unless you are interviewing a respondent whose parents employed servants you will not usually reach section 18 until the second interview. The following two examples of respondents and the pattern of their interviews have been given as a guide. There will, of course, be far more of the first type than the second, as non-manual workers are only one-fifth of our sample and they employed nearly all the domestic servants in private houses. Domestic service absorbed a very large proportion of the women workers in the period 1900-1918, so we will be interviewing more respondents who worked as servants than employed them.

- 1. Respondent born 1898. 1912-1918 employed as a housemaid. Had very little to do with the children in the household, looking after them only once a week when the nanny was out. Married 1918. Two children born 1919 and 1923. Lived in the village in which she was born all her married life.

Sections

- 1 to 12
- 13 a. to l.
- 18 i; ii a.b.; iii a. to i.; v b. to f.; vi b.; vii; viii; ix; xi.
- 13 m. to r.
- 14, 15, 16 a. (17 i; ii a. to f.; iii a. to i.; v b., c., e.; vi c. d.;
- 20. (vii a. - e., g. - h.; viii; ix; x, xi a. - i., n.;

29.

2. Respondent born 1890. Cared for by nanny as a child. Educated at home. Never had paid employment. Married 1915. First child born January 1917. Second child born June 1920. When married set up house in another town from that in which she grew up. Household contained cook, housemaid, nurse and nursery maid.

Sections

1.  
 2 a. - c.  
 18 i a. - c.; ii; iii; iv; v; vi a.  
 7 to 11  
 12 a.  
 13 a., 1.  
 14 to 16  
 17 i; ii a. - c.  
 18 i a. - c.; ii a. - e.; iii a. - k.  
 19 iv a., b., d. - i.; v; vi; vii; viii; ix; xi.  
 20.

(ii b.) Servants responsible for the children have been called "nannies" for convenience in the following questions. But when putting the questions the title used for this particular servant by the respondent should be used, e.g. maid, nursemaid, nurse, or the nanny's own name. Servant "responsible for the children" includes servants in households where the mother cared for the children too. In some households the nanny virtually brought up the children in separate quarters of the house, in others a girl lived with the family who took the children for walks, helped in the kitchen and house, put the children to bed and gave them their food, sharing these tasks a lot of the time with the children's mother. Both types of servant will be called nanny for the purpose of this schedule and both will be considered "responsible for the children". The purpose of the questions about the nanny's role is to find out what sort of contact the children had with their parents, how much time they spent with them, what effect the nanny's care of the children had on their relationship with their parents, etc.

(ii b-e) The word "child" or "children" has been used so that the questions can be asked of respondents when children themselves, when they had married and had their own children. It will generally be better to substitute "you" in the former case and "your children" in the latter.

(iv) General relationship with Parents and Nanny: Influence and Discipline. This section has been designed so that the questions can be asked of (a) respondents who were nannies (abbreviated cue IF NANNY). (b) Respondents who were looked after by nannies (abbreviated cue IF CHILD). The questions will be re-phrased appropriately.

(vi b.; vii; viii. ix; x.) Some employers of servants were not very different in their style of life from the families whose children entered their households as servants. Others were heads of grand establishments keeping a large number of servants, holding house parties, large dinner parties, etc. The questions in these sections are a guide to the kind of information wanted about the employer and the lives of the servants they employed. We are interested in how the servants saw their employers, what they remember about their personalities, manners, relationships with members of their family, servants, friends and acquaintances. Where respondents are keen to talk about their lives as domestic servants encourage them to range freely over life below and above stairs. We have used "master" and "mistress" but it is best to use the name that the respondent uses of his employer.

30.

18. Other Living in Employees (e.g. hotel servants, shop assistants).

In a family shop or hotel the situation of the employee would be similar to that of a domestic servant, and the schedule can be followed with modification. Where the employee was not integrated with the employer's family, ask section 13 b. - i. as normally for work, and also section 18 (i) a., c. and d. (substituting 'your employer' for 'the mistress' if necessary), and section 18 (iii) c. (meals). Ask about leisure activities in the hotel, shop or hostel; sleeping arrangements. Also ask: What sort of people were the customers/guests? Did you find contact with them easy or difficult? When you wanted to say something to another assistant/servant without a customer/guest understanding, what did you do?

20. Children's and Siblings' Occupations

This section can be written down rather than recorded. We need all children and siblings, whenever born. Count all "sociological" siblings or children e.g. unofficially adopted nieces, step-children who were well integrated into the family. Do not count half-brothers and sisters or step-children who were not part of the family. We must have enough detail about jobs to enable us to classify them. This is very important. "Worked in a hospital" or "had a job in a factory" or "engineer" is not enough. "Was a cleaner in a hospital" or "stripper in a biscuit factory" or "engineer - had served an apprenticeship" is enough.

When women were married more than once, we need to know the other husbands' jobs. When respondents were married more than once after 1918 we need to know the other spouses' jobs.

*NOTE:*

Where daughters or sisters were unmarried please state. Remember to find out what jobs daughters and sisters did after marriage and indicate which these were.

## Interview extract one

### Family Life and Work Experience before 1918, 1870-1973

#### Information about interviewee

Date of birth: 1895

Gender: Male

Marital status: Married

Occupation: Final occupation Coop manager/administrator

Geographic region: Bolton

Interviewee's name: Frank Benson

Interview ID: int054

**Int.:** Your name please?

**FB:** Frank Benson.

**Int.:** Your present address?

**FB:** 29 Malvern Avenue, Smithills, Bolton.

**Int.:** Marital status?

**FB:** Married.

**Int.:** Year of marriage?

**FB:** 1922.

**Int.:** Year of birth?

**FB:** 1895.

**Int.:** Where were you born?

**FB:** Bolton. Crumpsall Street.

**Int.:** How many years did you live in the particular house where you were born?

**FB:** 9.

**Int.:** And where did you move to then?

**FB:** To a new house on a new housing estate. A new house in Astley Bridge. Well I was born in Crumpsall St. which is actually on this side of Astley Bridge. Then we moved over the bridge. What we called the bridge to Bloomfield Street. Bolton.

**Int.:** Can you remember why it was you moved?

**FB:** Because of the growing family.

**Int.:** How long did you stay at that address?

**FB:** 'Til I was married. 1904-1922 apart from the war years.

**Int.:** How many brothers and sisters did you have?

**FB:** Four sisters, one brother.

**Int.:** Could you give me the order in which they came?

**FB:** One elder sister, 3 years older than I am I was second; next a brother 3 years younger; a sister another 3 years younger; another sister 3 years younger again; another sister 5 years younger. That was the spacing between them.

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**Int.:** How old was your father when you were born?

**FB:** Twenty six.

**Int.:** Where did he come from?

**FB:** I think it was Pabold.

**Int.:** What was his job?

**FB:** Moulder in a foundry - iron moulder in a textile firm. For making textile machinery.

**Int.:** Did he have any other job before that or after that?

**FB:** No. He did that all his life. He came to Bolton to be an apprentice, as a moulder. It was a craft trade. He served five years.

**Int.:** Did he have any casual or part-time jobs of any sort?

**FB:** Not paid jobs. Plenty of voluntary. I can't think that any of them were paid unless it was an honorarium for trade union work. He'd probably get a small fee for being on the co-operative educational committee.

**Int.:** Do you remember him every being out of work?

**FB:** Yes. Yes many occasions - well not many. There was such things as short time and slack time and I think I can remember one long period of a strike about ten weeks. Oh yes, various periods of unemployment because of shortage of orders I suppose. I remember as a child that my mother would be put to it to find enough money to feed us when he was out of a job. When there was no work and no unemployment pay or anything like that.

**Int.:** How old was your mother when you were born?

**FB:** Twenty five.

**Int.:** Where did she come from?

**FB:** Astley Bridge.

**Int.:** Had she any jobs before she was married?

**FB:** No. Unless you call looking after the family shop. They had a small mixed business. I think it was one of those small corner shops, something like that, her step father, and she used to help in it. She stayed at home and the rest of the family went out to work.

**Int.:** Did she work after she was married or not?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Not even part-time jobs?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** I should like to ask you about life at home when you were a child; the time up to when you left school.

**Int.:** As a child the house you lived in longest would be in Crumpsall Street, wouldn't it?

**FB:** As a child, yes.

**Int.:** Can you tell me how many rooms there were in the house in Crumpsall Street?

**FB:** Just two up and two down. Well there'd be a scullery at the back, which was used as a wash house, and then a kitchen and I think there was a small sitting room, and two bedrooms. Which mean's we had to get out as we got bigger - that was the reason for moving. We had three children when we left there.

**Int.:** Did anyone else besides you and your parents and brothers and sisters live in the house?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Did your mother have anyone to help her in the house?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Was the washing done at home?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did your mother or father make or mend the family's clothes?

**FB:** Oh mother did. Mother was clothes mender and baker. She used to bake her own bread.

**Int.:** You would I suppose buy some clothes?

**FB:** Oh yes.

**Int.:** And these would be bought new or second-hand?

**FB:** All new.

**Int.:** Where were they bought?

**FB:** At the Co-op.

**Int.:** How often would you say that you had new clothes?

**FB:** We had a new suit every sermons. Every Sunday School sermons.

**Int.:** And what about shoes?

**FB:** We'd have a new pair of shoes. We used to be fit out every May when it was Sunday School sermons. We'd have new clothes and shoes and those would go on for twelve months and then you would take them for school, for everyday wear.

**Int.:** Did your father ever mend your shoes?

**FB:** Yes. On occasions yes. By the way, we wore clogs not shoes. We had a pair of shoes for Sunday, not for everyday of the week.

**Int.:** Did your father help your mother at all with any of the jobs in the house?

**FB:** Yes. He would help with the washing up at night. He'd mend.... He'd do his own repairs in the house. I wouldn't say he did anything else apart from washing up, helping to wash up.

**Int.:** Did he make the fires?

**FB:** Oh yes, on occasions, yes. He would be up early in the morning and have the fire going for us to get up to.

**Int.:** Did he do any decorating?

**FB:** Apart from white-washing and lime-washing, no. Well yes, he would do some ordinary plain painting in the house. He'd keep the place going in decent order.

**Int.:** Did he ever do any cleaning or cooking?

**FB:** Yes when mother was confined and in bed with the children. He had to.

**Int.:** Did he do anything for you as children? Like dressing, undressing or feeding you or anything like that?

**FB:** In emergencies, yes. But not normally, no.

**Int.:** Would he read to you or tell you stories?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Would he take you out without your mother?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Would he look after you while she went out?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** As children did you have any tasks that you had to carry out regularly at home?

**FB:** Yes. Saturday mornings you had certain jobs to do. I had to clean the knives and forks, spoons and cutlery. My sisters had their regular jobs on Saturday mornings helping Mum to clean the house. The house had to be gone through, cleaned right through. And we all had to do certain jobs that were allocated to us, and we didn't get our pocket money, which was a 1/2d until we'd done them.

**Int.:** Was this confined to Saturdays or did you have to do things throughout the week as well?

**FB:** As far as I can remember it was confined to Saturdays. Or possibly maybe Friday night; if there was something important on like a Sunday School outing or something like that we'd do them Friday night.

**Int.:** How long did you go on doing this? After you left school?

**FB:** Yes. We always had to do something in the house. I started to earn money when I was. In fact my first recollection of earning money was when I got 2d. a week for carrying breakfasts up into the spinning mill. In those days the spinners started to work at 6 o'clock. They used to break for breakfast at 8 o'clock till half past. And if they wanted a cooked breakfast it had to be carried into them. If they wanted a cooked breakfast, eggs and bacon or bacon and tomatoes. My first job was carrying breakfasts up to 2 spinners in the cotton mill which earned me a penny each from each of them. Then of course when I was going to school I took up papers. Helped the family income earning 2/- a week taking on papers every day. Yes my sister went as a half timer. There was a need as the family grew up for more income. Everything was geared to earning more money, in order to get more clothes, to live better. When we were very young father's age wasn't an adequate one for 3 children or four children or five or six as it was in later years. By the time the last 2, the 2 younger, I was earning 2 shillings a week on a paper round and my elder sisters would be earning 2 or 3 shillings a week as a half timer in the weaving shed.

**Int.:** Did the older children help the younger children with things they found difficult? Helping to feed or dress them and so on?

**FB:** Yes. Yes.

**Int.:** Did the younger children do anything to help the older ones in any way?

**FB:** Can't ever remember, no.

**Int.:** Were you expected to go to bed at a particular time?

**FB:** Yes. When we were very young we were put to bed at seven o'clock, as we grew up eight o'clock and later nine o'clock. And of course the light nights in the summer we didn't go to bed until it was dark.

**Int.:** At what age did you start to put yourself to bed?

**FB:** About eight.

**Int.:** And was it your mother who put you to bed before then or did your father do it?

**FB:** One or the other. If we'd been naughty father would put us to bed with a slap, if we'd been good mother would put us to bed.

**Int.:** Did you share the bedroom with anybody?

**FB:** Yes until we moved we had to. The three children had to sleep in one room. Two boys and a girl. By the time I was eight of course we had moved into a bigger house and the girls shared one bedroom and the two boys shared another.

**Int.:** What room did you bath in?

**FB:** We used to bath in the old tin bath in front of the fire.

**Int.:** How often did you bath?

**FB:** On Friday nights and the three children had their baths one after the other.

**Int.:** How often did you have clean clothes to put on?

**FB:** Every week on a Friday night.

**Int.:** Where did the family have their meals?

**FB:** In the kitchen.

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**Int.:** Was there any occasions when you would eat in another room?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Where did your mother do the cooking?

**FB:** In the kitchen.

**Int.:** That would be on a fire range would it?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** What time would you have breakfast?

**FB:** Eight o'clock.

**Int.:** And would you all have breakfast then?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** What about your father?

**FB:** Oh he would go off to work at six o'clock and take his breakfast with him. He'd take sandwiches with him to the foundry.

**Int.:** Would he have anything at all before he went?

**FB:** Oh I expect so. He would probably cook himself some bacon. Yes I think he used to get a breakfast. Or probably I should say he would have some porridge, oatmeal porridge, and milk to go off with and may be a cup of tea. And take some bacon sandwiches with him. For the breakfast half hour - eight o'clock till half past.

**Int.:** What did the rest of you have for breakfast?

**FB:** It varied. Bread and butter and maybe when eggs were cheap we'd have an egg between the two of us. Or porridge - we'd just have porridge and nothing else. And Oatmeal porridge Easter day was the one day in the year we had a whole egg.

**Int.:** Did you ever have anything special on Sundays?

**FB:** We had a joint when times were good enough, permitted, father was in full work. We'd have a big Sunday dinner with beef and Yorkshire pudding, tomato.

**Int.:** But you wouldn't have anything special at breakfast time?

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**FB:** No.

**Int.:** What did you have to drink?

**FB:** Tea and cocoa. Generally cocoa at breakfast in winter time. That was our winter beverage, both for breakfast and supper.

**Int.:** Now you said you had a big joint on Sundays for dinner time, what about the other days in the week?

**FB:** We'd have the cold meat on Monday. We'd have stew on Tuesday, or fish, or if there was enough meat left over Mother would make it into cottage pie, or she would stew up the meat and serve it with boiled potatoes. Wednesday was baking day and we had Lancashire potato pie that was the standard thing. We might have anything on Thursday. Perhaps if the wages permitted it we might have chops - chops were a luxury. But I can remember the time when I've gone out, mother used to send me to the butchers when we were really hard up and father was out of work, I'd go out with 2d and buy herbs and we'd just have soup made out of perhaps some bone and what we called pot herbs. Quite a lot, you'd get an onion and a carrot and a bit of cabbage for about 2d, two-penny worth of pot herbs and a bone from the butchers, which he might give to you if you were a regular customer. And mum would make soup up and put some peas or lentils in it and we might have that one day a week.

**Int.:** Did you have a pudding or anything like that?

**FB:** Yes, if the oven was heated, we'd have a rice pudding. Possibly three times a week. Wednesday, possibly Friday and Sunday we'd have a rice pudding. Occasionally mother would make what's called a syrup dumpling (flour dumpling with treacle). May be just a banana chopped up in milk. But we had a second course most dinners, unless times were bad. I've known bad times when mother was put to it to give us a proper meal. I remember one period, a ten week strike when I was a child and we just had to scratch what we could get. For 2d or 3d mother would make us a soup dinner and that would be it.

**Int.:** Were you able to get meat at all during that period when they were really tight?

**FB:** Maybe some scraps, you know, what we call pie meat or something like that to make a stew of perhaps once a week. But on the whole our life was fairly good standard for working class in Bolton. There must have been hundreds of families for worse off than me. We were called the respectable working class. And we were taught to make the best use of them halfpenny penny that came into the house. We had it {ILLEGIBLE} in us 10 sticks with you too.

**Int.:** Did your father come home at dinner time?

**FB:** Yes. He used to run up Kay Street. There were two big foundries in Kay Street. I can remember all these chaps coming out with their black faces rushing up to catch special trams which were waiting for them at the top of Kay Street to bring them up to Astley Bridge and they would practically run in the house, sit down to a hot meal, just have a pull at the pipe for five minutes and then off back. They were brought back of course. They had an hour's break. But there were no canteen or feeding arrangements inside the foundry not until the war came. I think there were some canteen meals during the first world war which was the start of canteen meals.

**Int.:** So you'd all have your dinner together?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** About what time would it be?

**FB:** Half past twelve to half past one. Father would be in the house at a quarter to one prompt. It would take him a quarter of an hour to get home. And he would be out of the house at ten minutes past one. We always sat down at quarter-to-one prompt. At quarter to one dinner was on the table had to be.

**Int.:** And tea time?

**FB:** Tea would be at quarter-to-six.

**Int.:** What sort of a meal did you have then?

**FB:** That used to vary. Bread and butter and jam mainly. Tea. And for an occasional treat, very rarely, I can remember potted meat that you buy from the butchers; or some lettuce in season, tomatoes in season. But mostly bread and jam or bread and margarine when things were bad.

**Int.:** What about on Sundays?

**FB:** We had high tea on Sundays. That may be some boiled ham or a little bit of the cold meat and salad, and jelly and maybe a tin of fruit, or a tin of salmon, which was quite a luxury.

**Int.:** Then I suppose you'd have something at bedtime, a drink would you?

**FB:** Not when we were children, no. Not until we started to work, then we were allowed a cup of cocoa and maybe a biscuit.

**Int.:** Now you say your mother baked her own bread?

**FB:** Yes.

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**Int.:** Was this on the three days when the oven was heated?

**FB:** The two days it was heated.

**Int.:** Did she make cakes and things like that?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did she make her own jam or bottle fruit?

**FB:** Yes. She wouldn't bottle fruit. She'd make marmalade and jam.

**Int.:** Would she preserve vegetables?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Would she make pickles?

**FB:** Yes on one or two occasions she pickled some onions.

**Int.:** Did she ever make wine or brew beer?

**FB:** Yes. Herb beer.

**Int.:** Did she used to make up any medicines for you?

**FB:** Yes. Camomile tea and brimstone and treacle, castor oil of course was always a good standby, and malt extract, cod liver oil, she used to mix up. She used to have various concoctions. Camomile tea Senna and linseed. She used to boil linseed and stick Spanish in it for coughs and colds in winter. Spanish {ILLEGIBLE} liquorice

**Int.:** Did you have a garden? Were you able to grow your own vegetables or fruit?

**FB:** My father took an allotment during the First World War and grew vegetables, before that they were all bought. This was the first time we grew any vegetables for the house.

**Int.:** Would they buy fresh vegetables?

**FB:** Sometimes.

**Int.:** Or would they be tinned or dried?

**FB:** Mostly fresh vegetables. Not far out of Astley Bridge you could go to what they called salad gardens and buy lettuces from people that grew them, on the outskirts of the village, Astley Bridge. You're soon in the country there. People used to grow things where they had a

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back garden and you used to go and buy them from the growers. Or in the winter you'd go to the greengrocer on the main road, and buy carrots and cabbages and cauliflowers and things.

**Int.:** When you did get your own allotment were you able to cope with all the needs of the family for fruit and vegetables?

**FB:** Oh no. You'd buy in winter.

**Int.:** Did your parents keep any livestock for the family; hens, pigs, goats, etc.?

**FB:** In later years, yes, we had a few hens on the allotment. A little piece which was cut off with wire netting. I remember my father building a little hen cote and we'd probably have half a dozen hens there.

**Int.:** Who looked after the hens?

**FB:** My father and mother and the two boys; of course we were growing up then, in our teens, I was at any rate. I used to go and help feed the hens and clean the mess up. You know.

**Int.:** Did you ever get some extra meat such as rabbit from poaching?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Do you remember seeing your mother having less food to eat so that the family could have more?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did your father have more?

**FB:** Yes. He was a heavy worker. Heavy industry. He had to. It was a necessary that he should be fed he was the breadwinner and had a very heavy rough job.

**Int.:** At the meal time were you allowed to talk during the meal?

**FB:** No. It was a case of speak when you're spoken to. We weren't encouraged to talk. If we were asked questions we were supposed to give honest answers to them. I can't remember being invited to talk as a child except perhaps at parties when you were invited to give a recitation - something you learn.

**Int.:** Could you choose what you wanted to eat from what was cooked or did you have to eat a bit of everything?

**FB:** Oh we had to have what was put on the table.

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**Int.:** What was your parents' attitude if you ever left anything uneaten?

**FB:** Oh you got a lecture about it, you had to eat it, you weren't allowed to leave it. Waste not want not. These ideas were enforced. Nothing more 'till we'd eaten that. Oh yes we had to have what another gave us - or nothing or do without.

**Int.:** If there was something on the table that you wanted. If you wanted the salt for instance, could you ask for it or did you have to wait for it to be passed round?

**FB:** You would wait for it to be passed round. But if it was near you'd reach for it. Everybody helped themselves to what was on the table, in the way of...

**Int.:** Could you ask for a second helping of anything?

**FB:** Yes but you didn't always get it. If you wanted a second helping you had to say well "There's a bit of pudding left hands up who wants some more", and you shared it.

**Int.:** Were you expected to hold your knife and fork in a particular way and sit in a particular way at the table?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Were you ever allowed to bring a book or bring toys up to the table?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** When could you leave the table?

**FB:** When father got up. Mostly. Unless you had somewhere to go like. Errands to do or jobs to do and Mother would say well get up and do what I told you to do. Generally when father got up out of his chair, his easy chair, and got his pipe we got up from the table.

**Int.:** Did you have to ask if you could leave the table?

**FB:** Yes. Except when the meal was over and father got up. But if you wanted to leave before father got up you'd say 'May I leave the table?'

**Int.:** I suppose that all the family would sit at the table for the meal?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did you always all have the same places?

**FB:** Yes.

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**Int.:** Was it your mother who served the meal?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** How would she serve it?

**FB:** She would give us all our portions served on the plates.

**Int.:** What order would she serve you in?

**FB:** Father first of course, and down from the eldest to the youngest, and herself last.

**Int.:** When you had younger brothers and sisters where did they sit before they could feed themselves?

**FB:** In a high chair.

**Int.:** Who fed them?

**FB:** Mother and then the eldest sister. The teenage sister would help if she was there of course.

**Int.:** What age would the younger ones graduate to the stage of coming up to the table?

**FB:** About four.

**Int.:** Well now, can you tell me something about your mother, about the sort of woman she was.

**FB:** Very religious, both father and mother, attended church regularly. Father was a local preacher in a way. He used to go about to various men's groups on Sunday afternoons - men's classes. Give them a talk.

**Int.:** Did you feel you could talk easily to your mother about things. Could you confide in her?

**FB:** No, we never volunteered it. Mother usually got into our minds by questions. If she wanted to know what we were thinking we'd get questions. I can't think that we were encouraged to converse. We were taught to listen rather than talk. We would never volunteer to join in a conversation.

**Int.:** If you had any special worry?

**FB:** We used to keep it to ourselves.

**Int.:** You didn't confide either in your mother or your father?

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**FB:** I don't think so. No. I can't remember opening my heart to anybody because we always felt, we always had a guilty conscience about things we used to do.

**Int.:** Did you confide in one another as children then?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did you feel close to your parents?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did they show affection in any way?

**FB:** Yes. My mother did, yes. I had a very good mother. But we were never spoiled. We were disciplined. There was very rigid discipline in the house. Mother would give us a religious talk in her own fashion. This was bad - this was wrong and that was right and God wouldn't like us if we did this. Got this sort of religious atmosphere in the home.

**Int.:** How did your parents expect you to behave towards them?

**FB:** Certainly with respect.

**Int.:** What about behaviour amongst the children? Were you brought up to behave towards your brothers and sisters in a certain way?

**FB:** Oh yes. But I can't say it always came off, you know. We used to quarrel. Have our little tiffs and quarrels and arguments over various possessions. We used to guard our rights as children. You don't play with my toys unless I know about it.

**Int.:** Did your parents ever tell you you should hit back if another child hit you?

**FB:** This was something we hadn't to do. It didn't always work.

**Int.:** What sort of people do you think your parents hoped you would be when you grew up?

**FB:** God fearing, respectable, law abiding citizens. Respect for the law and respect for your parents. We were taught the ten commandments and they were pretty well drilled into us.

**Int.:** And these were the main things that they considered to be important in life?

**FB:** Oh yes.

**Int.:** What did they think about swearing?

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**FB:** Oh Blasphemy. Absolutely taboo. We would be thrashed. Any wrong doing was reported to father when he came home and if we did anything really wrong we would get thrashed for it.

**Int.:** What sort of offences did you get punished for?

**FB:** Potty pilfering Swearing (but I don't think we'd ever dream of swearing). Potty pilfering in the houses I remember I got one of my thrashings for pinching my mother's pearl buttons. We used to play odd games with them in the street. We used to play one game with buttons - we used to set up a stone and put a pearl button on it and they'd throw a marble at it. And of course to get pearl buttons we used to have to take them out of the house. Then mother found half a dozen of her pearl buttons were missing and we got accused of it, we had to own up and that was a thrashing. Taking cake or biscuits without her knowledge, that was petty pilfering, and that was punishable as well.

**Int.:** Can you remember if there were minor offences that might be punished less severely than that?

**FB:** No. I think that there were threats of a punishment or of being deprived of things. My parents would threaten that if that happens again we shan't take you to Southport or something like that. They would threaten to deprive us of treats and threaten would be enough. Usually the threat would be quite sufficient to deter us from repeating minor offences.

**Int.:** The thrashing was your father's job wasn't it?

**FB:** Yes. What we call a deliberate punishment would be father. Mother would punish on impulse, you know, smacks.

**Int.:** Would you say that you received the ideas you had about how to behave from both your parents or...?

**FB:** From both.

**Int.:** One didn't play a more important part than the other?

**FB:** Well of course my mother saw most of us, father was away at work all day, and he was also in his own particular way a worker at the church and Sunday school and he was active in his trade union and temperance movement and the co-operative movement and we didn't quite see so much of him as we would see of my mother. I dare say my father would be out, he'd come home from work, had his tea and get warmed and probably three nights a week, he'd {ILLEGIBLE} somewhere to some sort of meeting which he considered important.

**Int.:** When you had a birthday would that be any different from any other day?

**FB:** Not really, no. Maybe it would be remembered by just wishing 'Happy returns of the day', occasionally there might be a birthday cake. If it happened to be baking day she'd probably put a cake in the oven and say this was a birthday cake. Perhaps put a bit of icing on top and a cherry and that would be a birthday cake. But I wouldn't say that happened all the time. My particular birthday was near Christmas and was generally forgotten. If I said 'Where is my birthday cake, to my mother, she would say oh we're having your birthday cake on Christmas day. We're celebrating your birthday on Christmas Day. And that would have to suffice you see.

**Int.:** Was the same true of presents?

**FB:** Well presents were very, very rare indeed. I don't remember receiving any birthday presents of any consequence until I was twenty-one. When I was given a silver watch, and that was my first birthday present, that I remember.

**Int.:** Did you have guests in to celebrate?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** How would you spend Christmas Day?

**FB:** Oh it was quite an exciting day, especially in the morning. We hung our stockings up as children, until about the age of ten, or eleven, possibly twelve, and we expected some sort of present. I think my twelfth birthday was celebrated by a very important present which was a 5/- Ingersoll watch, which was quite a gift in those days. That was my twelfth birthday and I was earning 2/- week as a paper roundsman and that was some sort of reward for this as I was contributing to the family income I got a present in the shape of at 5/- watch. This was something really good. Previous to that Christmas presents would comprise of simple toys or games like Ludo or Dominoes, cheap toys which we treasured very much. The girls would probably get a doll and we would get a game and some sweets, and maybe one or two bars of chocolate and some nuts, and an apple. That was Christmas morning, which we thought was quite good. We always had a good Christmas dinner. A joint of pork or a fowl. In the afternoon Aunties and Uncles would come in for high tea and we'd have a party after tea and games and everybody would generally let their hair down, and have a jolly evening.

**Int.:** Did you go to Church on Christmas Day?

**FB:** I can't say we were compelled to go. I think my sisters would go out of a sense of duty and loyalty to Church, but I don't remember ever being compelled to go to Church. When we were in our younger teens we would be expected to go round carol singing 'til about one o'clock in the morning with the Sunday School, on Christmas Eve, and collect. And then we were allowed to lie in if we wanted to, but this generally didn't happen we were too excited, even in our teens. Christmas Day was... you know.

**Int.:** Did you have any musical instruments in the home?

**FB:** Yes, we had a violin - a very old violin which was the gift of someone who had played in the Halle Orchestra at one time. It was a family heirloom. I was given charge of it and I used to have lessons at school, out of school hours, which cost me 6d. a lesson. I remember having possibly twelve lessons and I got tired of it and just packed it in. Did anybody else try to play it? Yes my younger brother had a similar experience. I think he preserved a little bit more than I did but he fell by the wayside as regards music. Probably the violin was too difficult an instrument for youngsters to play. But we were certainly encouraged to be musical and as the family income grew, as we grew up, we ran to a piano and my younger sisters were encouraged to take lessons, two of them. But they never accomplished anything much, except to play hymn tunes and the popular ballads of the day to which we used to sing, round the piano, but this was later on when we were in our late teens. We would buy the popular songs of the day. I don't mean the old-fashioned "Drink to me only with thine eyes" business and these popular song books that we had you know. My particular favourite was "The Mountains of Morne", I used to sing that as a solo and party piece. And my brother and I would sing "Watchman what of the night" that was a particular favourite, as a duet.

**Int.:** Did any of your aunts and uncles come in to make music with you or was it just your parents and your brothers and sisters?

**FB:** Well at Christmas we each had our party piece, which was the same each Christmas. They all had their pieces to recite, you see, and were all expected to do their party piece on Christmas night and we used to enjoy it.

**Int.:** Did your parents ever play games with you?

**FB:** Oh yes. Indoor games in winter. Draughts, dominoes, ludo, snakes and ladders, can't remember any others. Oh my father would play games with us, yes. As regards outdoor sport, no. We used to make our own outdoor sport. When the cricket season started we'd go round all the neighbours and collect pennies to buy cricket bat and ball and we'd form a local cricket team with neighbourhood boys of our own age, from about the age of about ten onwards, and we used to have a cricket team which played on the spare ground. We'd collect enough pennies from fathers and mothers and neighbours for a cricket {ILLEGIBLE}. We used to build our wickets of bricks and stones, but the team was the important thing. We used to have a cricket team which played various local other gangs of boys. And when the football season started we would do the same. We'd generally go round and collect pennies and raise enough pennies to buy what we'd call a case ball, which was a proper football. And we used to have our own football team our local football team. And any time we could get out, which wasn't often enough, because I remember my mother insisting on I had to help with the washing-up and do things before going out to play. I'd come home from school and I had to do jobs around the house - perhaps one or two errands before tea at half past five. After tea my sister and I would probably have to wash up and then we were allowed to go out to play. And we

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were fortunate to own a piece of spare ground in front of the house which we played cricket and football on.

**Int.:** Did you have books about in the house?

**FB:** Yes. Certain kinds. These were censored pretty well. I was forbidden cheap magazines like the 'Magnet' and the 'Gem' these were considered to be no good at all, but they were very precious to us. And there was another popular one called 'The Boys Friend' and another about Sexton Blake, which were cheap weeklies. I think the 'Magnet' and the 'Gem' cost 1/2d but I was never allowed to buy these things. I got them second-hand, and I liked to smuggle them into the house and read them in the privacy of my own bedroom. And even then I would get a lecture, this was not suitable, this was wrong. It was trash, my mother's favourite work. But we were encouraged to read books in the house, and we had Sunday School prizes, books, and certain religious books. And the thing that came into the house every week was 'The Christian Herald' and that had a weekly serial by Silas Hocking or Joseph Hocking and we were encouraged to read that.

**Int.:** I think it was put as much trash as the boy's friend when I look back on it, but nevertheless it had a {ILLEGIBLE} basis, and it was accepted into the house.

**Int.:** What about newspapers?

**FB:** Just the local Bolton News, that came into the house.

**Int.:** You didn't have a morning paper?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Do you remember your mother or father reading?

**FB:** Yes I think my father read a bit. I wouldn't call him a well read man. He used to read his Bible. Both of them were Bible readers. And he used to read the Bible. I think after we'd gone to bed, they used to have a session with the Bible nearly every night, but I'm guessing here because once or twice I had to come downstairs with tummy ache or something like that, and I would overhear them reading from the Bible or religious literature of some sort.

**Int.:** Did they ever read aloud to you, to the children?

**FB:** No. I don't think so. I don't remember.

**Int.:** Do you remember there ever being a funeral in the family?

**FB:** Yes. The funeral was very important. I remember my grandmother's funeral. She died when she was 65. Grandmother Benson. I was taken into see her as she lay dead - when

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she'd been laid out in bed and made to look nice and decent - we were taken in as children to look at her for the last time. And I remember the funeral was rather an important occasion. My grandmother had a big family; there was three brothers and four sisters and all these came to the funeral with their own families of children, which amounted to perhaps four or five coach loads of relatives. And it was very important that she should be given a good funeral and a good headstone put on the grave. It stands out very clearly - I would have been nine years when grandmother died.

**Int.:** What about mourning clothes?

**FB:** Yes we all had to wear black. We had to have a new suit. We had to have black suits all of us. There were my sister and brother and I to fit out. My sister would have a black dress and my brother and I would have black suits for grandmother's funeral.

**Int.:** Is there anything in the way the funeral was conducted that was different from the way they are done today?

**FB:** There was a great deal more ceremony. Today they seem to be formal affairs. I think my grandma's funeral was important because she was important in the family. An important person. We had to take her to church and there was an impressive service in church and another impressive service at the graveside, and everybody shed tears and it was quite an impressive afternoon, as far as we were concerned as children. We finished up with high tea in our house - we had a fairly big kitchen in Bloomfield Street, Astley Bridge, and a good front sitting room and everybody came in. The people who came any distance went off without tea. Some of my aunties and uncles lived as far away as Horwich which was quite a distance in those days, and Leigh. That was another 6 miles but we used to think it was a long way to go. They would go off probably but I can remember some aunties and uncles coming to our house for tea after the funeral.

**Int.:** Were you taken out to visit your aunts and uncles, neighbours and friends when you were a child?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Who would it be that would take you?

**FB:** Father and mother together. Mostly on holidays - during the holiday period. We used to think it was quite an adventure to have a tram ride to Horwich to our cousins. Leigh was another place where we had cousins and we'd visit them during holidays some times and stay for a few days.

**Int.:** What exactly do you mean by holiday periods?

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**FB:** Well there was Easter. We got so few holidays at the seaside as children. I remember one or two probably seaside holidays. Bolton holidays when the works was closed we mostly spent in trips. My father would take us to Southport for the day or probably to Leigh for half a day, or Horwich. Or he would take us over Belmont and walk from Belmont to Rivington and come back by tram. That was the sort of way we'd spend our holidays.

**Int.:** Would this apply to Bank Holidays and odd days during the holiday week?

**FB:** That's right. Yes. Good Friday father would probably go to church, but we weren't compelled to go church on Good Friday, that was the day when mother would pack up sandwiches and as children we would go off on our own and spend the day on Rivington Pike or Belmont Moors or Alton Towers.

**Int.:** When you did get the chance to go away to the seaside for a holiday would this be all the family who would go together?

**FB:** I can't remember all our family ever going on a holiday together. I can remember as a young child when there were only three of us in the family, the three children, having a seaside holiday at a place called Knott End where I think lodgings were fairly cheap and some fresh air and a change and the great joy there was to have a wagonette drive. I've a feeling we probably went there two years in succession. I think we had two seaside holidays there and those were the only two seaside holidays I really remember. Although my mothers says she and my father took my sister and myself, when I was about three or four and she would be seven, to the Isle of Man. And we were all sick on the boat. But I don't know how long it was for.

**Int.:** When you went to Knott End how long would that be?

**FB:** That would be probably for a week.

**Int.:** When were Bolton holidays at this time?

**FB:** I think it was August.

**Int.:** How would you spend your Saturdays when you were a child?

**FB:** We were left to our own devices on Saturdays. Saturday mornings we had to do the errands and help with the housework, clean the house. Saturday afternoons we were free and we were left to our own devices. My earliest recollections was to go and watch cricket. The local cricket team. From a very early age I used to go and watch the local Sunday School cricket team. It was all sorts. I hadn't any money so I couldn't afford to go to a cricket match and pay to go in. Not even a penny. Bolton and district cricket league we could go in for a penny but we just didn't have a penny to go in. So I used to go and watch the Sunday School Cricket Team. I can remember on one occasion walking to Old Trafford and this was a school

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holiday. The High School holiday in August and a friend of mine and I we told our mother we would go out for the day and she would pack us jam sandwiches. We didn't tell her we were going to Old Trafford cricket ground. Might have been 11 then. And we would sit on a bridge and watch the boats come up the ship canal. Watch for boats to come up and that was a thrill to watch a big steamer come up the canal. And we would have our jam sandwiches on the canal bank. Then we would walk from there to Old Trafford cricket ground, wait for the gates to open to let the crowd come up after tea and the boys would then swarm in without paying - see the last hours cricket which was a reward in itself especially Johnny! Who was the famous Lancashire batsman of the day and the fast bowler who was a chap called Briersly. We would see these two operate and of course that made the day. Walking was one of the things we did. We prided ourselves on the distance we could walk... and then there was the walk home and if we'd two pence in our pockets we might have had a penny or twopence which we'd saved up for the occasion. Bound to do this probably two or three weeks before and the last penny would be spent on a halfpennyworth of chips and a bottle of pop on the way home somewhere - Clifton or Farnsworth - one of the little shops coming from Manchester along the main road to Bolton. This was quite a day.

**Int.:** What about your Sundays?

**FB:** Oh Sundays were very religiously observed. As children we went to Sunday School at half past nine in the morning and from the age of about ten or eleven we came out of Sunday School and went into church, and the younger ones would be allowed home at half past ten. The older ones would file into Church at twenty past ten for the Morning Service. Then there was Sunday School in the afternoon from half past two 'till half past three. And then as children we were expected to go again at six o'clock for a Children's service in the evening, the Evening Service.

**Int.:** Did you have different clothes on for Sundays?

**FB:** Yes. Very important we had our Sunday best clothes on.

**Int.:** Did your parents allow you to play games at all on a Sunday?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** I suppose they would both go to church, would they, your mother and father?

**FB:** Mother would be busy cooking in the mornings. Mother and father would go to church in the evenings. Sunday afternoons father would go about various churches talking to men's Bible classes - various places in the town district. And he would walk as far as Horwich to take a mens' class and nobody would persuade him to spend 2d. to go on the tram. He wouldn't. That was a crime to go on a tram on a Sunday. And he would walk both ways to take a mens' class say at Horwich from Astley Bridge.

**Int.:** Did your Sunday School organise outings?

**FB:** Yes. To local places. We had one annual outing a year. This was what we called the Sunday School class picnic, which meant the Sunday School would take anything from ten to twenty scholars in the class and go to some country place like Rivington Park or to Worsley, Heaton Park was another favourite for Sunday School picnics. Easy to get to by 1d. or 2d. tram rides, you'd get to them with a little walk.

**Int.:** What other social activities were organized by the church?

**FB:** Concerts mostly. Sunday School concerts and various branches of Sunday School activities like temperance society would organize their special gen in the form of a play - pointing out the use of strong drink and moral laws. I can remember the favourite play of the temperance society was one called 'The Prodigal Son'. They used to publish short one act plays which had a moral and religious purpose behind them - I can't remember the publisher now, but these plays were quite frequently done in Sunday School. The cricket club would have their concert, and the football club would organize a concert for the benefit of their own particular activity. The Church Lads' Brigade had a concert. The temperance society.

**Int.:** Did you belong to any of these?

**FB:** No. I used to want to join the Church Lads' Brigade but my mother used to think they were rather rough for me - the rougher end of the parish used to get in the Church Lads' Brigade. Out time then did. She didn't forbid it entirely but she used to discourage the idea. These lads came from the 'slummier' end of the parish, they were all very good lads most of 'em were killed in the 14-18 war, bless 'em but I wasn't encouraged to join.

**Int.:** Did you belong to the choir?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** What denomination was the Church?

**FB:** Church of England. All Souls.

**Int.:** Was grace said at home at meal time?

**FB:** Yes. Always.

**Int.:** And who was it that said it?

**FB:** Father.

**Int.:** Obviously you would be taught to say prayers at night?

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**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did you have family prayers?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Did your father take an interest at all in politics?

**FB:** No. Not an active interest. He was active in his trade union, which was I think the foundry men's trade union, at this time. No I wouldn't say he was an active party member at all.

**Int.:** But he had his own views?

**FB:** He had his own particular views which was in those days called Lib-Lab, which was a sort of right wing Labour man if you like, but he would vote Liberal. In those days Bolton was represented by one liberal and one labour and they used to run together against the Conservatives, you see, and they called them Lib-Labs. They would be frowned upon by the extreme left of the labour movement and the socialist movement would think these were traitors, but my father had no room for the extreme socialist type of person. I think the association with atheists and atheism and so forth.

**Int.:** What about your mother?

**FB:** Mother had no active interests outside her home.

**Int.:** Did she hold any particular political views?

**FB:** No I think what particular views she had she would get through the co-operative women's guild. I think she used to go there one night a week, when we were older and able to look after the younger children. My sister and I could stay and look after the younger children while she went to the guild on Thursday night. That was her only outdoor activity apart from the Church.

**Int.:** Would you say that she tended towards the labour?

**FB:** Oh yes. I think she got political ideas through the women's guild. Not that the women's guild had any party loyalties, I don't think, in those days it hadn't. There was no party loyalty. But there were various speakers who used to come to the guild I think and imparted what we termed as progressive ideas about politics.

**Int.:** Can you remember your mother and father voting in a General Election up to 1919?

**FB:** Yes. By 1918 they would both be voting labour. My father would certainly vote labour because the labour man prior to 1914 was a prominent local trade unionist and he would come on the loyalty of most active trade unionists in the town. He would be elected on a trade

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union vote, rather than on a party political vote I should think, before 1914. The 1918 election, well I was in the army in France and I don't remember much about it.

**Int.:** In some places at that time people used to think they may lose their job or their home if they didn't vote according to the wishes of their employer, or somebody else. Would this apply at all?

**FB:** I don't think it affected out family. I've no recollections of any influences. I know it happened - you'd vote as your employer wished you to do. But in the textile industry and in the engineering industries in the town there was quite an independent attitude from work people. They were large enough to stand on their own and the trade union dominated their thinking.

**Int.:** Neither your father or mother were active members of a political party so it's unlikely they would do anything to help the party at election time?

**FB:** No. They wouldn't do that. They would be sympathetic to the Labour Party but that was about the end of it.

**Int.:** Well, now, you've told me a little bit about your parents other interests. Your mother only went out to her co-operative women's guild, did she? Did she ever go out to enjoy herself, apart from that?

**FB:** As we grew up, and were teenagers, yes, she would leave us in charge of the younger ones and go to a Sunday School meeting or Sunday School concert in the evening, something like that. She would think that was a pleasant night out and a relief from domestic chores.

**Int.:** Who would she go with?

**FB:** She'd go by herself. She'd meet other people there. See her friends.

**Int.:** Did your father ever go out just for the purpose of enjoying himself? Rather than taking an active part in the union.

**FB:** No. All his activities were connected with some purpose. He was active in the temperance movement, in the trade union movement, and in the co-operative. I should say that the co-operative commanded quite a lot of his time. And I think as we grew older the co-operative society took over from the church in his part-time priorities. He was elected as a member of the education committee and I think this made demands on his time - he would have a committee meeting once a week, as a result of that he would have one or two, possibly three nights, taking children's classes in industrial history or what he called co-operation the history and principles of the co-operative movement. They were mostly school children from 10, 11, 12. There were children's groups and they used to attend these classes once a week in various parts of the town and my father and various other members of the committee would

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go and talk to them about the co-operative movement and how it was formed and the background to it. The story of Robert Owen and the Chartist movement and they had to make it part of their business to know about these people. To read about them. And my father would probably spend two or three hours in preparation to take these classes reading up his industrial history. About the {ILLEGIBLE} pioneers and {ILLEGIBLE} the Christian Socialists and Kingsley and he had to get an interest about these people and had to tell children what these people wanted to do, what they were trying to do.

**Int.:** Did he do anything of the same sort with adult groups?

**FB:** Yes. He would talk to an adult group on co-operative affairs. He was in demand as a speaker at various co-operative guilds. Men's guilds and Women's Guilds. There was a men's Guild which was formed much later during the 14-18 war. He helped to form what was called a Men's Guild which grew into quite an important body. I think it is defant now.

**Int.:** Would that be just groups in Bolton?

**FB:** No he would go about to places like Horwich and Leigh and Westhoughton talking to branch groups of men.

**Int.:** Obviously your father being a temperance man would not go to pubs at all, would he? Or did he go to try to reform the ...?

**FB:** Yes. I think he may have to go to one or two pubs in regard to trade union work because pubs were a favourite meeting ground for the committee - the trade union committee. He may have to go to places that was very much against his grain and he was always agitating that trade union meetings shouldn't go to public houses. I remember him having a thing about this.

**Int.:** Did he belong to any club at all?

**FB:** No. The only club, and he wasn't a very active member, was a Aconites Club was the sick club. They paid sick benefits. He wasn't active in it but he was a member, so that if he did fall on evil times there would be a few shillings coming in from the sick club.

**Int.:** Did your father or mother belong to any other type of savings club?

**FB:** No I don't think so. They paid their 1d. a week insurance clubs, you know.

**Int.:** Did your father take part in any sport?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** And he wouldn't go as a watcher to anything?

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**FB:** No. Only in what I would call the course of duty. If the men's guild had a bowling tournament he would go and show his interests there.

**Int.:** But would he do anything like going to the races?

**FB:** No. Oh dear me, no. That was the devils work!

**Int.:** Now we're back to you and your brothers and sisters. How did you get on together?

**FB:** On the whole very well I think. I think we used to have little bits of jealousies and quarrels, most families do, but they don't stand out as being anything. I think I sometimes used to resent having to take care, when I wanted to do things on my own I would resent having to take care of my younger brothers and sisters: take them out - take them with me where I happened to be going or do a spot of pram pushing when there were babies to be taken out. I used to be put on.

**Int.:** Was there any brother or sister that you felt particularly close to?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** You used to play together? Would you?

**FB:** Up to a certain age.

**Int.:** Did you play with neighbour's children?

**FB:** Change sometimes. I used to resent that and probably. Oh yes, very much so. I mean you got to the age of six, seven, eight, you found your own friends, amongst the neighbours' children.

**Int.:** And you would play with them rather than with your own family?

**FB:** Yes. There were different age groups in your own family so you would find someone of your own age to play with.

**Int.:** Now you said you had a piece of ground in front of the house where you could play?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did you play anywhere else besides there, either in the house or yard?

**FB:** Oh in the parks. We would go and play in the parks on occasions. Swings in the park. Astley Bridge Park wasn't far away and as boys we would go there and swing on the parallel bars and play on the swings and sometimes play cricket on the grass there. Sometimes when

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four or five of us would make a small cricket team up and go in the park and challenge four or five other boys, and play a game of cricket. That was quite frequent in the school holidays. But this was mainly during the four weeks school holidays we had in August. This was an activity - every afternoon we would think of a different park to go to. We'd go down to the Bolton Park sometimes. Perhaps a group of four or five boys and take a bat and ball and look for another small group of boys to challenge to a game of cricket.

**Int.:** Did you ever go into children's homes to play? And did other children come into yours?

**FB:** Not very often. No. Occasionally we might bring a friend but we didn't look upon the home as a place to play in at all except when father could spare a few minutes to play a game of draughts or teach us something like that. No I don't remember going to neighbours' houses to play. Except as you got older as you got your own particular friend you might have one particular friend and you'd go in his house and he'd come in yours. 11 or 12.

**Int.:** That would be when you were getting a little bit older wouldn't it?

**FB:** Yes. You would get attached to one particular boy and you would take him home sometimes to tea and his mother would perhaps invite you to tea sometimes.

**Int.:** You told me about when you were younger playing you're your mother's pearl buttons and marbles and so on. What other sorts of games would you have played at that age?

**FB:** There was all sorts of boys games. Rough games. One was know as duck stone. You built a little pyramid of stones and then put on stone on the top and you used to have to pick stones, sizeable stones which you could get in your fist, and try and knock the top stone off. And if you did that ... I've forgotten how we used to play this. There used to be come running in it, the boy who was out who was sort of victim. You used to try and knock the column of stones down and while the boy who was the victim was rebuilding it you'd used to have to run from corner to corner while he was rebuilding. It was like a game of rounders in a way. Yes. It had associations with rounders. Rounders was a popular game; we had another name for it though, rounders. Yes rounders, duck stone and certain jumping games - we had one we used to call ride a kench, this was played in teams of three or four boys and the boys would go down and hold each other behind, form a sort of chain, and you used to have to jump on their backs. If there were three boys you would aim at going in one jump on to the top boy's back, you see, over these two (you'd used these two as levers) to get on to the third boy. So that your team of three or four, playing say three a side, the three of you would have to jump on the three boys backs and if they collapsed they'd lost the game, you see. And there were penalties to pay, forfeits probably a kick in the pants or something like that. Another game we used to chase each other in teams and we used to do this to deliberately annoy some group of boys, to get chased and this would mean a real hare and hounds all round the streets and sometimes out into the country.

**Int.:** Were you allowed to get dirty when you played when you were little?

**FB:** Oh yes. We'd get punished for tearing clothes. We sometimes got a tear and mother would administer a slap over the head, or something like that, and 'get off to bed'. She'd show her disgust, you see, if we tore our clothes. But so long as we came in and cleaned ourselves up and didn't leave any dirt in the house. There was always a back way into the house, which if we had any mud on our clothes it was a good thing to get it cleaned off before you went into the house.

**Int.:** Were you free to play with anybody you pleased.

**FB:** More or less, yes.

**Int.:** Was there any type of child that you were ever discouraged from playing with?

**FB:** Not really. We would sometimes be advised to keep away from a certain clique or the 'lamb brow' lot. One hotel on the corner of Seymour Road is called. The Lamb Hotel and the road that runs up there is called Old Road. But we in our boyhood days it was known as the lamb brow for some reason or other, and it was a rather slummy area with a rough lot of lads. Big catholic families very roughly brought up, some of them hadn't any footwear. We used to challenge them to our patch to play football or cricket and this would generally {ILLEGIBLE} end with stone throwing going on and this was terribly discouraged. Possibly for two reasons. First of all these lads didn't hesitate to use bad language which we were never permitted. And second because the stone throwing usually ended in somebody's window being broken and this would mean we forfeited pocket money until the window was paid for, so that there was discouragement to associate with this group of boys. But it never prevented us because there was something of a challenge here, you see, if it came to a fight we were as good as they were. This would involve sometimes interference by parents these sort of stone-throwing fights, and sometimes fisticuffs or wrestling would be broken up by parents.

**Int.:** You say you would have liked to have belonged to the Church Lads' Brigade. Did you belong to any youth organisations at all?

**FB:** No. Only Band of Hope which was a sort of Monday night meeting.

**Int.:** Can you tell me something about how you spent your free time when you were at school?

**Int.:** Did you have any hobbies?

**FB:** Yes. We had rabbits. My brother was very fond of keeping pets. I wasn't particularly keen but I remember we shared a common interest in rabbits for a short period. I got tired of rabbits; my brother kept them and he followed on with guinea pigs and hens and he always had an interest in livestock. But not me. I was very fond of reading and at an early age I joined a local

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library in Astley Bridge which was then one of the new Carnegie libraries and this was a real treasure to me as a boy to go in there and to be able to get a book, at the age of ten or eleven, and reading was mostly adventure stories and school stories by popular authors of the day. Henty stories, adventure stories, school stories of the time. I was allowed to read these in the house, these were all right, because they were out of the public library. These were on a higher plain than the penny dreadfuls and the 1/2d. Magnets and Gems, you see. I can remember spending quite a lot of my time reading.

**Int.:** Did you collect anything?

**FB:** No. I don't think so. No. I was never a collector.

**Int.:** You wouldn't have a garden then would you?

**FB:** Just a small handkerchief garden in front of the house.

**Int.:** Did you do any gardening?

**FB:** No. Not really. My father used to keep it tidy. And put a few pansies in and lobelia and probably bedding out plants just in the front garden and they used to keep the privet... each garden was surrounded by a privet hedge which had to be clipped and I don't remember as a boy ever doing any gardening.

**Int.:** You liked outdoor activities like walking?

**FB:** Oh yes, very much.

**Int.:** What about fishing?

**FB:** No. Except with a jam jar and a little net. One of the favourite haunts was Barrow Bridge, over here, and there used to be a boating pond there and there was small fish in there we could sometimes catch with a net and in the stream there was little minnows and gudgeons, but you couldn't call it fishing.

**Int.:** Did you go any boating?

**FB:** No you couldn't afford to. Except when we were about ten or eleven we'd save our pennies we got from aunties and uncles and share a boat on Barrow Bridge lake, as a treat.

**Int.:** You took part in cricket and football did you?

**FB:** As a boy, oh yes.

**Int.:** Any other sport?

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**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Did you go to any theatres?

**FB:** No theatres were taboo. Another place for the devil.

**Int.:** Obviously the same would be true of music halls?

**FB:** Yes music halls were dens of inequity.

**Int.:** Concerts? You went to the Sunday School concerts?

**FB:** Yes. That's about all.

**Int.:** You didn't go to any others?

**FB:** Not as children. No.

**Int.:** What about the cinema?

**FB:** From 1904 when the first cinema projectors were used in the fair grounds on the town hall square in Bolton. The cinema used to come with a 1d. show. And we used to have a cinema at what was then the temperance hall in Bolton, which only came on Saturday afternoons. I don't say we were discouraged from going but we never had any money to go. But if we could raise 1d. as children we might go to the temperance hall on Saturday afternoon and see these very early films. 'Charles Peace' was one of them and 'The Great Train Robbery' I think, was another one, and some 'mock up' of the Boer War was another.

**Int.:** What about the fair? Did your parents allow you to go the fair?

**FB:** Reluctantly, yes. We were allowed to go.

**Int.:** What about a circus.

**FB:** No, we were discouraged. I can't recall them. Only a sort of Wild Beast Shows we used to call them round the fair in New Year, in Bolton. There was a wild beast show and a show where you could go and watch as we called them, Living Pictures. This would cost at 1d. It was a question of pocket money this.

**Int.:** Your pocket money was a weekly 1/2d. after you'd done your Saturday chores?

**FB:** Yes. Up to the age of twelve.

**Int.:** Was there anything else you spent the money on other than the things you've been telling me?

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**FB:** No, only sweets. Any extra amusements came from pennies that were given you by aunties and uncles. Or maybe for doing errands for some of the neighbours. If someone wanted somebody to run errands perhaps on Saturday morning you would get a 1/2d. or a 1d., and these we used to guard very preciously and save them 'till we got perhaps 3d. which was quite a lot of money and then we blew this on a fair or something, or walking to Old Trafford with 2d. in your pocket.

**Int.:** Did you ever save money to buy anything special with?

**FB:** The first I remember trying to save money was trying to buy a bicycle and this was a second hand one, and I was in my early teens, then thirteen.

**Int.:** This was the one that you shared with your brother?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did anyone outside the home help your mother to look after the house or family?

**FB:** Oh yes. When mother was confined. I can remember the three younger children being born. And when one of these were born auntie used to come in. She hadn't any children, she was an elderly aunt with no family of her own, and was the standby of the family when things were a bit tight and mother was poorly or confined. All the children were born in the house and auntie used to come along and act as home help.

**Int.:** Was your routine disrupted in any other way when one of the children was born?

**FB:** Not really. No.

**Int.:** Would anybody come in at any other time or only when your mother was ill?

**FB:** Yes. The next door neighbour might pop in sometimes to see if there was anything if my mother was ill or just off colour. We were trained to do what we could from an early age and to be independent and to cook our own breakfasts. If mother was poorly we could go downstairs and make our own porridge, and make some toast and tea and get off to school ourselves.

**Int.:** Apart from your aunt living nearby, did you have other relatives living close?

**FB:** Oh yes, all my mother's brothers and sisters were - their relationships was very close. But their own particular lives, their own particular activities didn't permit of attendance on each other at times of sickness. No. They all had their own families to look after. The only aunty who was a regular helper in the house was one who hadn't any children of her own.

**Int.:** Did you see your relatives frequently?

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**FB:** Very frequently. Yes. Sunday nights was an occasion when they used to visit. A visiting night. People would come in after church and stay until perhaps ten o'clock or half past. We would be packed off to bed of course at nine o'clock. But visiting on Sunday evening or sometimes a Saturday evening was quite a common practice, between relatives.

**Int.:** What about friends?

**FB:** And friends. Yes. Friends of the family used to come and visit us in the evenings - Saturday and Sunday evenings.

**Int.:** Did your parents share their friends or did your mother have her own particular friends?

**FB:** I think they were shared friends. One's friends were both's friends. I don't think there was any discrimination between friends. They were all welcome. They were mostly visiting couples.

**Int.:** And would your parents go and visit them?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** People that were invited into the house, would they be invited for a meal?

**FB:** Sometimes on Sundays, yes. They may be invited to tea on Sundays. But mostly it was a case of a cup of tea and sandwiches or biscuits in the evening or something like that in the evening. On occasions they'd be invited to tea, especially if they came over from Horwich or Leigh, they would come to tea on Sunday. We'd invite them to tea.

**Int.:** What about people calling in casually?

**FB:** The door was always open for casual visitors.

**Int.:** Would people who called in casually be offered something?

**FB:** Mother would say 'Have a cup of tea'.

**Int.:** Did people call in casually without an invitation quite often?

**FB:** Mostly friends of mother's in the afternoon might come over for an afternoon cup of tea.

**Int.:** Would neighbours drop in?

**FB:** Yes the next door neighbour. But mostly the neighbourliness was done over the back yard wall. Just a small brick or wooden partition between the two houses and mother would have a gossip over the yard wall.

**Int.:** There wasn't any dropping into each others houses and having a cup of tea?

**FB:** On occasions yes. Neighbours used to drop in just like that and pass the time of the day. And with mother not being well they'd come in "How's your mother" "Oh come in, She's all right. She'd like to talk to you - for a little gossip"

**Int.:** It's often said that at that time people used to make their own amusements, and I think from what you've said this seems to be pretty well true. Did your parents do anything in particular when they go together with their friends and relatives, in the way of say making music or playing games, or anything like this?

**FB:** Only at Christmas. Except when we were in our late teens (16, 17 and 18) we were allowed to bring friends in and we would get round the piano and sing and that was encouraged - as long as we sang the right stuff, you see. We started with hymns. This happened mostly on Sundays, after church, and one had to be very careful with your repertoire that you sang the right song with a good moral tone, you see.

**Int.:** Many people divide society into different social classes. In the time up to 1918 did you think of some people as belonging to one class and some to another?

**FB:** Oh yes. Well there was the wealthy class, the Chorley New Road people and the people that lived up Seymour Road, which was a residential area. There were certain residential areas, and Seymour Road in those days was one of them, where the professional classes lived, and they were a class on their own. The school master from Astley Bridge school lived up there; and the local mill owner Colonel Hesketh who was one of the important Bolton citizens, he lived in a big house there. There were some other mill owners, Mallinsons, who had mills and beach works, and there were the aristocrats of Astley Bridge in those days. Particularly Colonel Hesketh. And the Ashworths, they were also cotton mill owners. These were the upper class as far as we knew, we didn't know any nobility, they weren't titled people. The Colonels and the Captains were mostly the territorial or result of volunteer service, that they had these titles; mostly mill owners, industrialists, with their big houses and stables and the back - these were the aristocrats the really top class as we knew in those days. Then there was of course the distinct professional classes - the doctors and the solicitors and the school masters, who we thought were a class on their own - the professional classes. We, I suppose, thought ourselves as the respectable working class; we were a little bit above the labouring class who lived in the poorer districts of the town.

**Int.:** Were you taught to treat people of a particular class differently from people of another? Thinking say of the wealthy or top class people? Like Colonel Hesketh.

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** You'd have to raise your cap, or something like this, would you, if you saw him?

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**FB:** Yes, you would do as a mark of respect.

**Int.:** Were there any other people that you would have to show a mark of respect to?

**FB:** No, I don't think so, except the Minister, the Parson and the school master.

**Int.:** Was there anybody that you had to call 'sir' or 'madam'?

**FB:** You would do. But I don't say you had to. But you would call them 'sir' or 'madam' out of respect. You'd always say 'sir' to the headmaster. Our contact with these people would be very limited, it would be limited to special occasions like when they might come along to present Sunday School prizes and then you would say "Thank you 'sir'". The girls would give a little bow to show how grateful they were for all the small gifts they used to get. I can remember Lord Leverhulme distributing gifts. This was when he had Lever Park. And I was spending Christmas there. My father was poorly then - my father was in hospital one Christmas. And my sister and I were sent off to Horwich to stay with cousins. And Lady Lever - I don't know if she was Lady Lever then - the wife of Sir William Lever. I think he might be Sir William in those days but we knew him as Billy Lever, he was making his thousands then. And she was a very famous type and she would come into the houses of the Horwich people who lived in Rivington Park then. And I remember we got gifts on this occasion, very simple Christmas gifts, from Lady Lever. Simply because my uncle and aunt and cousins used to go to the same church as Lady Lever did. I don't think she was Lady Lever. She was Mrs. Lever then. They were important people.

**Int.:** In your particular district you would consider people like Colonel Hesketh the most important people?

**FB:** Colonel Hesketh yes. He was the most important person in Astley Bridge. Very worthy citizen of the town, of course. He was the Mayor of the town and stood for Parliament on one occasion.

**Int.:** So he was important for these sort of reasons not just because he was wealthy?

**FB:** Oh yes he was wealth and also a big employer of labour. He had these big mills in Astley Bridge then - and one or two other mills. I think, smaller mills. But he was the main employer of labour in Astley Bridge in the cotton spinning industry. And also a pillar of the church, Astley Bridge church.

**Int.:** What sort of people, apart from teachers, doctors, etc., that you considered to be the professional classes - are there any others that you would put in that particular group?

**FB:** No I don't think so.

**Int.:** Would you call them strictly professional classes?

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**FB:** Oh I should say that those were the people who we thought were middle class, above our particular ... We considered these important people. They did a job in their own particular way, they would attend church and show their interest in church activities. We didn't go to the village church in Astley Bridge, we went to All Saints. I went to Astley Bridge school. They always seemed to take an interest in the affairs of Astley Bridge, and I suppose in local civic affairs. They always seemed to have some sort of interest these people. They fulfilled a purpose in life.

**Int.:** What sort of people would they associate with? Would they associate with anybody about?

**FB:** Oh no no. They would have their own social circle. On Sundays they would come down to perhaps our level with regards going to church, and probably act as superintendent in Sunday School sometimes. They would be prominent on Sunday School anniversaries and donating subscriptions in the form of guineas and pennies. It was partly wealth and partly the better education; they were looked upon as better educated people.

**Int.:** What sort of people for instance would the clergy associate with?

**FB:** Their flock included all classes, didn't it? I suppose in Astley Bridge society the vicar would quite often be in Colonel Hesketh's house and vice versa. Colonel Hesketh being a big churchman and the vicar of Astley Bridge was considered an important person and in the same type of class as Colonel Hesketh and the other people. But on the other hand I suppose he visited the parishioners on occasions, especially during sick periods. But we used to look upon the vicar and the curate as somebody very important.

**Int.:** What about the teachers - the headmaster and the teachers at the school?

**FB:** I suppose they would have their own particular friends and social acquaintances. The more wealthy church patrons. The headmaster of a place like Astley Bridge he was expected to take his place in church activities and of course he would in the course of duty come in contact with people like the vicar, and Colonel Hesketh and the wealthier sections of the congregation.

**Int.:** Were there any farmers about?

**FB:** No I don't think so. I don't think you would find any farmers active in social activities at all, the farmers were very much a class unto themselves. There were farmers about on the fringe of the village, of course. We used to rely on milk production, deliver milk, take the milk round to the houses in Astley Bridge and maybe all round the town. They used to come down with a horse and milk load. But their social life was very much confined to themselves. They were a very exclusive class to themselves.

**Int.:** Would you say there was much mixing between the different professional groups within the same class?

**FB:** I wouldn't know. I couldn't tell you. There would be a certain amount of mixing politically because there was certain political activities they had in common and I should think that any social activities those days would be centred round the Conservative political party in those days and the Liberal party. Two distinct groups and the groups would contain elements of various classes of people. And there would be a common meeting ground here with common political party interests.

**Int.:** Going on to your class that you described as the respectable working class, what sort of people would belong to your group?

**FB:** Mostly artisan and craftsmen; cotton spinners would be included. The man in the cotton mill who was a sort of an employer in his own right. He was a spinner of what was known as a wheel gate and he employed two assistants - a side piece and a little piercer - and he used to pay these from his own earnings, so he was a sort of employer you see. He was employed by the mill owner and over him would be a mill manager. Possibly what was termed an overlooker. I think he was an overlooker overlooking the section of the mill in which the cotton spinning was done. Now then, there would be the cotton spinners who were a very important social group of their own, and they would be in the earnings of 50/- to Â£3 a week, the wealthy section of the working class people in those days. Then there would be the fitters and the engineers. Father was in the foundry - he was a craftsman, a moulder. In the foundry there were different skilled crafts:- moulders, pattern makers, fitters and one or two others, who had served their time at a particular trade. These were a class on their own, and would consider themselves somewhat distinct from the labouring classes. The people who used to do the fetching and carrying, and the assistants.

**Int.:** You speak of the cotton spinners being a class on their own, and people like engineers and fitters being a class on their own; would they in fact meet together on level grounds socially?

**FB:** Oh yes.

**Int.:** They weren't exclusive in that sense?

**FB:** No. They would all mix socially. Yes.

**Int.:** What about the labouring class?

**FB:** These were respectable labourers who would mix in various church activities I suppose, who would be considered religious in the religious life of the church, who took part in the religious life of the church. You would mix with them, you wouldn't look down on them in any shape or form. The only people you'd look down on was the people who used to drink and

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neglect their family life - their wives and children. These were the people you'd look down on. But the average labourer who was probably earning 18/- to Â£1 a week, and was trying to do the best he could for his family, there was no snobbish ideas about this at all. Oh no. The only people we used to think were a bit low were the people who used to go into pubs, who used to drink on Saturday nights and spend their money on gambling, on horses.

**Int.:** The people who would go to Astley Bridge Church, they would be a mixed congregation of all the different classes?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Your church, All Souls, would that be the same?

**FB:** The congregation socially, there wouldn't be the same element of aristocracy at All Souls. It was more in the working class part of the town, round what I call the working class perimeter of Bolton. Astley Bridge was more in the residential part you see. You got in the working class perimeter of Bolton which was centered within about 3/4 mile to a mile from the Town Hall. These were mostly what I would call typical slum dwellings where there were working class terraced houses, inhabited mostly by the lower income groups who would be earning 25/- to 30/- a week doing various jobs. Not altogether unskilled jobs, things like bus conductors, milk roundsmen, shop assistants and labourers too, that were very careful and wanted a decent life for their families. And these would be the people. We had a few business people at All Souls, shop keeping type of people, but I don't think we had any of the wealthy. I don't remember any doctors, lawyers, or solicitors, any of that type of people coming. It was a typical working class parish.

**Int.:** What sort of people would the shop keepers associate with? Who were their friends?

**FB:** I think a lot of them that went to church would confine their social activities to the church. They probably wouldn't admit it but I suppose business interest had a lot to do here, if you went to church and you had a shop in the parish, it was important. You used to patronise the shop because you know Mr. So and So, who happened to be a Sunday School teacher or superintendent. I suppose some of them had their own particular club life - the conservative club or liberal club - those were the social centres of the day. But quite a large proportion of them would belong to some church, either the non - conformist or the Church of England.

**Int.:** Do you know much about the non conformist and catholic communities?

**FB:** Not a great deal.

**Int.:** What sort of people would go to chapel?

**FB:** A fairly good cross section of working class people and one or two of the trades people type. I don't think they commanded many of what we called the better class people, what we

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might term the middle class or higher middle class, or the manufacturing classes of Bolton. I don't suppose many of them were non-conformists, one or two might be. Lever was of course - Lever himself built two or three congregational churches out of his money. But the non conformists were mostly very sincere working class people or trades people, with maybe one or two interested people from the other, But I don't think they dominated. I think they were, dominated by the respectable working class people, nonconformists, who couldn't accept the prayer book, {ILLEGIBLE} about the prayer book. Who found the non conformist service more attractive than the Church of England.

**Int.:** Was there a strong catholic community in that part of the town?

**FB:** Yes. In Bolton yes, Bolton's very shory In Astley Bridge there was a catholic community. Mostly the poorer element of Astley Bridge were Catholics. I think we used to despise them a little bit. I don't know why. In fact one of my early girl friends was a catholic and this was very much frowned upon both by her parents and mine.

**Int.:** Where you lived in Astley Bridge, would you say that all the people in the lower class, the labouring class, would have the same standard of living, or would you say they were different?

**FB:** Oh no. They were on much lower standard of living.

**Int.:** Within the class, would different categories have different standards of living would you say?

**FB:** Well I should think there was an Christian standard of thing and a labouring class standard of living broadly speaking. Well the working class generally depended on their children leaving school and supplementing the family income, before what we called a 'good standard of living' was reached. Most families had a minimum of three children and it could go up to eight, nine or ten in the family. And these were the people who really had a struggle. They'd buy second hand clothes and go to the rummage sales. I don't think it depended so much on income as the size of the family and the needs of the family and what parents were prepared to do for their families and what they were prepared to sacrifice for families. Now I wouldn't say that this sort of attitude, concern for the family welfare, was confined to the artisan classes; because the labourers, many of them, were anxious that their families should have a chance. There was no ideas of birth control or anything like that and the mother of a labouring class with four, five, or six children really had a tough time.

**Int.:** Is there any family of that kind that you can remember that you can describe?

**FB:** Oh yes. Several. Many families who needed help and were often helped by my own parents. My father, one of the places he used to visit, he did a fair amount of mission work in the slum areas of Brunel Ford. The mission was known as the Brunel Street Mission, and my father would help a lot of people there who came to the mission in need of material help. He would help them wherever he could and my mother would. They used to think this was part of

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their Christian obligation to help people, and they would do so. My father would help to organize subscriptions for his own particular workmates who were down on their own particular work. They'd have a whip round and help people who really needed it.

**Int.:** Would you say that your mother was class conscious at all?

**FB:** No. Or my father. I wouldn't say he was class conscious at all. No. We weren't class conscious, we recognized these people for what they were. They had.

**Int.:** Would you say it was possible in those days to move from one social class into another?

**FB:** Very difficult. It did happen occasionally. There was a certain gentleman who became to be known as Sir John Horden, a mill owner. He came out of a very poor family and he certainly rose socially to the top because he was the type. He was the Billy Lever type who could organize, take risks. Sir John Horden was a distant relative of mine through marriage. His own brothers and sisters lived typical working class lives, but he rose. He became a mill manager, then a mill owner. I think he emigrated from Astley Bridge to Leigh and founded a cotton mill there and became a very important person in Lancashire life. Money and they were respected because they took an interest, a sort of benevolent interest in the affairs of people in their own. The usual thing was that his sons didn't follow suit and they dissipated their father's fortune. But it was very unusual and very difficult. Those were exceptional cases, for a boy to pull himself by his own boot straps, we used to say, from clogs to clogs in three generations. But they were very rare cases these. Bill Lever was one of them of course Sir John Horden was another when I knew personally. There were one or two other people who rose to the top through their own efforts; their own commercial and industrial efforts. They must have had some sort of brain and dedication to money making.

**Int.:** Can you remember anybody who moved in the opposite direction, who started off higher up the scale?

**FB:** Oh yes. Mostly through drink. Colonel Hesketh had three sons, who were more or less fond of horses and dogs. And one of his sons was Colonel of the territorials, I think he fell addicted to drink. He was Colonel of the local territorials in the 1914-18 war and had to be brought home as a nervous wreck I think. There was a feeling that, well as the man who had made his own way felt that his own family mustn't go through what he'd done; he used to pamper them and this was bad for their own moral fibre.

**Int.:** Can you remember anybody that you would describe as a 'real gentleman' or a 'real lady'?

**FB:** Colonel Hesketh. We used to look upon him as a gentleman in every sense of the word. And the school master, too, I suppose; a gentleman in his own particular way. A discipline I went to Astley Bridge school and he was the authority in the school in his time.

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**Int.:** Do you remember seeing a policeman around where you lived?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** What did you think of him?

**FB:** We used to fear him. As boys we would occasionally get into minor trouble. We used to make fun of the night watchman and that sort of thing and I remember once getting into real trouble with a policeman, was when we thought it great fun to turn his hut over, and he brought the local bobby on to the job and this involved calling at certain boys' houses. One of them was mine and the policeman knocked at the door, I had gone to bed, and I was brought downstairs and questioned by the policeman was I in this gang that turned over the watchman's hut. And this was a terrible thing in our family. A policeman should knock at our door. And the local police sergeant was a man we feared very much indeed, because we used to sometimes climb over walls to get into a football match or a cricket match or in to the local village show. Try to get the through hedges and that sort of thing. And the policeman would pounce then and he'd administer his own punishment on the spot.

**Int.:** Did your mother ever say 'I'll call a policeman', when you were children?

**FB:** She'd say, "Well if you do that sort of thing you'll get into the hands of the police." She would say what sort of things were a crime and point out certain things must not be done, or the policeman would be after you.

**Int.:** How do you think the policeman treated people?

**FB:** Very well on the whole, I think. I think his job was mainly looking after drunks Saturday nights and Friday nights. There wasn't a lot of crime not as we know it today.

**Int.:** Do you think he treated people fairly or was he a bit harsh?

**FB:** Well if the local policeman caught you doing something you shouldn't do he'd administer, I've been turned over a policeman's knee and thrashed for trying to climb over a wall, where you know, there used to be a big stone wall around there and we used to play football over it. And because I didn't have a penny I'd climb on this wall and watch it you see. Oh yes, I remember being pulled down from this wall on Moss Bank Way. And over there, I can remember being pulled down off that wall and thrashed by a policeman; probably for my own good because it was a fairly high wall. I don't know whether it still is, to watch football. We would trespass sometimes and the policeman would be on his beat and he'd catch us and he'd administer punishment on the spot, and that was the end of it.

**Int.:** The home that you lived in, was it rented?

**FB:** Our second home was bought through the co-op housing, like hundreds of other homes in Bolton.

**Int.:** What about your earlier one?

**FB:** That was rented?

**Int.:** Did you ever see anything of the landlord?

**FB:** He used to call for his rent on Saturday mornings, regularly.

**Int.:** In person - he was a local man was he?

**FB:** I think so, as far as I know. I wouldn't know. I was only very young when we left that house.

**Int.:** You probably wouldn't remember how he was as a landlord, whether he was a good one or a bad one?

**FB:** I think he was good in his own particular way. He used to collect the rent, and would do the outside repairs, see the house was kept in good condition. I don't know about interior repairs whether we had to pay for them or not, I should imagine we did. Paper hanging would come once every six or seven years I should imagine and do what we called the decorating but who paid for that I wouldn't know. In general you would feel that he fulfilled his obligations. Yes. I should say he did. I think he performed quite a useful function because he would let him house for four or five shillings a week and for his own interest he would see that it was kept in good repair outside.

**Int.:** It sounds as if your parents did have a struggle to make ends meet?

**FB:** In the early days when we were young, yes.

**Int.:** What did you think about that?

**FB:** We had no particular views. We accepted it as the ordinary life of our particular family.

**Int.:** You took it upon yourselves to try to supplement things by taking on these jobs like paper round and such like?

**FB:** Yes. This was an important contribution to the family. The two-shillings a week I earned as a paper boy.

**Int.:** In the early days were you ever badly off enough to need help?

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**FB:** Yes. But my mother would never ask for it. My recollections were that we had to be content with soup when father was out of work, or on strike. We'd known then. Mother would say, "Well that's all you can have." It was probably a bowl of soup made of bone and vegetables, and this we knew was because father was out of work. And we just accepted it.

**Int.:** Were you given lessons by one of your parents, a tutor or governess?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** How old were you when you first went to school?

**FB:** Four.

**Int.:** Was that all day - morning and afternoon?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** About what times did you start and finish?

**FB:** Nine o'clock 'til twelve and two 'til four.

**Int.:** What kind of a school was it?

**FB:** My first school was Chalfont Street School, a council school. Then we moved over the bridge, as we used to call it, which was a move up in social life, to our own house. Then we went to Astley Bridge school, which was a Church of England school.

**Int.:** And both these would be mixed schools?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Which of these were you at the longest?

**FB:** Astley Bridge.

**Int.:** How long did it take you to get to school?

**FB:** Two or three minutes.

**Int.:** Were you ever escorted?

**FB:** Don't remember. We used to go on our own.

**Int.:** What did you think about school?

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**FB:** We looked upon it as a duty to learn our lessons and become proficient in the three Rs. And the great idea was to get a Scholarship to, what we called, the higher grade school. The Bolton Secondary School. I remember sitting for scholarship to the free higher educational school, which was known as the Municipal Secondary School in Great Moore Street. I won the scholarship to go there, but that involved keeping me there for four years, or three years at the least, you undertook to keep the child there 'till fifteen or sixteen. And this was a question of domestic economy again, and in my case my mother couldn't afford to let me take up the scholarship. She was very distressed about it. I accepted it seeing the distress which she showed about this and I said 'Don't worry I'll go and get myself and job.'

**Int.:** You yourself had no particular regrets about it?

**FB:** Afterwards, yes. It was one of the jealousies that I had with my younger brothers and sisters. At least two of them won scholarships and went to the secondary school. And afterwards I felt rather envious and felt that life wasn't really - this was very much later of course. But no I just accepted that I'd got to go out to work as soon as my school days were over, which was then at the age of thirteen. My eldest sister accepted the fact that she must go and work half-time in the weaving shed, as a half-timer, which she did.

**Int.:** Did you like school?

**FB:** Not particularly. I liked some of it. I was interested in History and Geography and I liked these things. I used to think Arithmetic was a bit of a bore but I used to do tolerably well at it. I did very well at school.

**Int.:** You didn't dislike school?

**FB:** No. I just accepted it as part of life.

**Int.:** How did you feel about the teachers?

**FB:** Some we liked and some we didn't. Some we respected and some we didn't. A lot depended on the teacher's personality. Whether the teacher was a friendly type and an encouraging type or whether he or she looked upon the cane as the sole means of controlling you. Some of them did, of course.

**Int.:** What would you regard as a friendly teacher in those days?

**FB:** One who would give you a smile now and again, especially if it was a lady teacher. And come and encourage you and say 'That's very nice.', "That's a good drawing you've done." Or "That's a good essay you've written". This sort of encouragement we used to value very much. This was the sort of teacher we liked. The sort of teacher we didn't like was "No, that's terrible, come over and take the cane, you've not tried your best." You used to be punished and this was the sort of thing was used to hate. They were a mixed crew, the teachers in those days.

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**Int.:** Did they used to emphasise particular things as being important in life?

**FB:** Yes. Getting on and getting a scholarship was very important. This was a real honour to the school. And the one or two bright boys who reached Bolton Grammar School these were the cream of the society. These were the important people. When you're about the age of 11 and you begin to show signs of intelligence you were picked out and joined a scholarship class. This meant extra tuition after school hours. The headmaster used to take an interest here I suppose for the honour of the school. You'd be encouraged to study and do a little bit of homework. Then you were sent in to enter for the very limited number of scholarships that were going you see. There was the Church Institute which was a higher educational establishment run by the church and then there was the Bolton School, grammar school, which was the boys school and the Higher Grade School which was mixed and to get a scholarship was a real aim of life.

**Int.:** Did they emphasise such things as manners and tidiness and punctuality?

**FB:** Oh yes.

**Int.:** As much as scholastic achievement?

**FB:** Yes. Hygiene and cleanliness - we used to form into ranks in the school yard and the teacher would go round and look at your clogs to see whether they had been cleaned. And whether your hands were clean. And punishment if you went with dirty hands or clogs. This was the cane again. Your hands and clogs would be inspected before you went into school, the teacher would walk round the ranks and look to see whether you'd polished your clogs that morning.

**Int.:** What about manners?

**FB:** Yes. Manners were taught. Good behaviour yes. We had Religious Instruction every morning which included behaviour - 'Honour thy father and thy mother'. Very important. The 10 Commandments were important. Prayer book was important, catechism was important.

**Int.:** Did they pay any attention to the way children spoke?

**FB:** Not particularly. No. Except of course we were taught to sound our Hs in English lessons. That was important.

**Int.:** If you did something that was disapproved of you would have some form of punishment?

**FB:** Yes. The cane.

**Int.:** You would be caned for bad work and dirty clogs?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** What other sorts of things would merit the cane?

**FB:** Talking in class. Or to laugh or interrupt a teacher. Or if the teacher left the room and came back to find everyone chattering she'd pounce on somebody and set an example.

**Int.:** Was there any kind of punishment besides the cane?

**FB:** No. I don't think so.

**Int.:** Did you just get told off for certain things?

**FB:** No. Just the cane.

**Int.:** Did this apply to girls and boys alike?

**FB:** Mostly the boys, the girls were pretty well behaved. It was the boys that used to create all the trouble. They used to tease the girls in class and the girls would perhaps weep and tell the teacher who'd done it.

**Int.:** Did your parents show an interest in your school work?

**FB:** I don't think so. Not particularly. Very proud of you if you'd done something. Just now and again there'd be a competition in school for the best essay and this might be shown at a sort of exhibition where the parents might come round and look at it, and you might be patted on the back for something that you'd done that was exceptional.

**Int.:** Your parents did come into school sometimes then?

**FB:** Very rarely. Didn't interfere much. Probably once a year when there'd be an exhibition of school work. And if you'd done something to merit being posted on the exhibition in the way of an essay or a drawing or a painting, the parents would be very pleased about it.

**Int.:** Did your parents meet your teachers?

**FB:** No. There was no consultation at all between parents and teachers.

**Int.:** Did the other children at Astley Bridge school come from similar types of home to your own?

**FB:** They were a very mixed crowd, of course. You'd have some ragamuffin types, with parents who didn't care or who couldn't afford decent clothes, obviously bought their clothes at rummage sales or second hand shops or pawn shops, and came to school untidy, especially

round the necks. Some of the boys would wear a scarf and a nice clean celluloid collar which could be washed every day. If you wore a collar then you came from a good home - that was a real distinguishing mark.

**Int.:** The school would be a cross section of the locality?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** The teachers used to single out the bright children for special scholarship tuition?

**FB:** The headmaster would when you got into the higher standard. Standard 6 was the top standard, so if there were any bright boys in standard 5, as I was, I was promoted to standard 6 before my time in order to join the scholarship class.

**Int.:** Did they single out any other groups for different treatment?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** Were there any favouritism or anything like that?

**FB:** No. If you were a favourite you were a well behaved one, you see, and pointed out as an example to the rest who weren't so well behaved.

**Int.:** Were there any gangs among the children?

**FB:** Not school gangs. The gangs were neighbourhood gangs, your own playmates in the immediate neighbourhood. We used to gang up against the Wesleyans you see and when snow came the thing was you'd go and snowball the Wesleyans. We used to have running fights with the neighbouring school which was in Seymour Road, there was a Wesleyan school there and no boys used to gang up and fight the Wesleyans with snowballs. There were no gangs in the school. In later school life you'd have your own particular friends in school.

**Int.:** Did any of the children seem to be left out of things? In the school playtimes?

**FB:** Yes, the nervous types. You could pick them out. Perhaps the ones that were badly treated at home. You could see they responded in two ways - you either became aggressive or you sunk into an inferiority complex and just didn't take part in school activities. You stood by the school wall in play times and couldn't join in - these were the nervous types. And then on the other hand there were the aggressive types who came from poor homes. I suppose the psychological effect there was to become aggressive and fight and show that - well - they were somebody.

**Int.:** Would you say that the children made any attempt to encourage the nervous ones to join in?

**FB:** No. They just went there own way. They would have a poor time the nervous ones.

**Int.:** Would you have stayed on longer at school if you could have done?

**FB:** No. I think the ambition there was to leave school and get a job.

**Int.:** You did attend part-time classes after you left school?

**FB:** Oh yes.

**Int.:** Would you like to tell me about some of the things you did?

**FB:** Well my first job on leaving school was an errand boy to an Ironmonger firm in the town. And for 5/- a week I used to work from 8 o'clock in the morning 'till 8 o'clock at night, delivering orders from this firm. A very important firm with a shop in Deansgate and they used to supply the wealthier classes, the Chorley New Road classes, the west end types, with domestic requirements; and also they were builders' merchants. And my job as an errand boy was to either take parcels out up Chorley New Road and deliver them or deliver ironmongery and builders' requirements to building sites with a hand truck. A builder would ring up and say he wanted so many drain pipers or down spouts, nails or screws, nuts or bolts, and I would deliver these on a hand cart, probably within any distance up to two miles from the town centre, with a hand cart.

**Int.:** How did you get this job?

**FB:** I just went down and applied for it. A friend of mine in my Sunday School class had already got himself a job as an errand boy with this firm. I told him I was leaving school at Christmas and looking for a job and he knew I was looking for a job and he had already got a job as errand boy with this firm said "We want another errand boy, come down. If you come down you'll probably get the job." So I went down and I got this job.

**Int.:** What hours did you work there?

**FB:** From eight in the morning 'till eight at night. And 'till one o'clock on a Saturday.

**Int.:** What about meal breaks?

**FB:** One hour for dinner and half an hour for tea. And we used to finish at eight o'clock, then I was expected to go to night school, which wasn't really right because night school used to run from seven 'til nine so I only got an hour instead of two hours' tuition. And I was so tired it was no good to me because I used to fall asleep, in the heated class room, trying to learn

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commercial arithmetic, and shorthand and book keeping. I went in for a commercial course, being in business then as a boy, and hoping to rise to something a bit more in the profession. I was encouraged to go to night school but I'm afraid for the first three years of my night school life I was much too tired to have any benefit of night school work.

**Int.:** Did you sit any exams there?

**FB:** Yes. Well later on. I had this errand boy's job for a matter of ten months and then my father thought this was not quite the thing and he encouraged me to sit an exam for a job at the Co-op.

**Int.:** Was that when your association with the Co-op began then?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Well this errand boy job with the ironmonger, this was your first full time job wasn't it?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** You were there for ten months - did you have any holidays during that period?

**FB:** No. I don't remember any.

**Int.:** Can you remember what you were paid?

**FB:** 5/-.

**Int.:** For what you were doing, and considering what wages were, did you feel that this was a fair wage?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did you give any of the money to your mother?

**FB:** Yes. All of it.

**Int.:** What was it spent on?

**FB:** It went into the family pool.

**Int.:** Did she give any of it back to you?

**FB:** 2d.

**Int.:** Were you carrying on with your paper round at this time?

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**FB:** Oh no. I gave that up when I left school. It was only an after school job.

**Int.:** How did you get on with the other people at work at the ironmongers?

**FB:** Very well.

**Int.:** You knew the other boy that had been at school with you.

**FB:** Yes we were the two errand boys, doing the same job.

**Int.:** What about the other people who worked there?

**FB:** They were seniors. We got on with them all right. They used to treat us fairly well. It was a shop that employed probably fourteen or fifteen people in and about the shop. And there were section heads you see and the great boss himself, George Grayson, who was a man to be feared. He used to come down to work at nine o'clock in the morning, after things had got going and he was the man who'd call us into the office if we'd done anything reported by the section head. We'd go into the office and get ticked off.

**Int.:** How did you feel he treated you?

**FB:** I suppose fair enough but sometimes we thought he was a bit unfair you know.

**Int.:** A bit harsh you mean?

**FB:** Yes. They were disciplinarians. "You don't do this my boy." Sometimes you'd got windows to clean and these were inspected by the boss and if they weren't clean enough to suit him you would be ticked off.

**Int.:** How did you feel about the work itself? Did you like it or not?

**FB:** Not particularly. We thought it was a bit rough to have to pull a truck about town. Some of it we liked. We liked to deliver parcels up Chorley New Road because this meant a free tram ride. We'd have half a dozen parcels and load them on to a tram and deliver them as we went along. And we had a pass to go on the tram in the form of an arm badge, this was what we liked.

**Int.:** And did the tram wait for you?

**FB:** No. We would get off at the first call. We'd probably have half a dozen parcels to deliver to the better class houses. Deliver them to the madeismen's entrance. We'd deliver them and then wait for the next tram to take you further on. Because you had a badge contract and when you were on this particular duty you would be given an arm badge. The work was shared between the two errand boys because this was quite nice work. Free tram riding. Then

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the other days you would be put on the merchant sort of end. And this meant a hand {ILLEGIBLE} which was pretty tough.

**Int.:** You then went on to the co-op. When would that be?

**FB:** Just before my fourteenth birthday.

**Int.:** What did you have to do?

**FB:** Deliver milk.

**Int.:** That was the first stage?

**FB:** Yes. That was the first stage of co-operative employment. To deliver milk on a milk round. And for that you used to report at a quarter past seven in the morning and deliver milk 'til about one o'clock. Then you'd come in and clean up all the cans. It was loose milk delivered in milk cans with a horse and milk float. There was a man in charge of the round and you was his boy and helped him to deliver milk. And about half past one or quarter to two you'd go home for a meal and you'd come back again at four o'clock. It was a sort of split duty because there was an evening round as well.

**Int.:** How long did you do this?

**FB:** Two years.

**Int.:** What time did you work on 'til when you came back at four?

**FB:** 'Til about seven o'clock by the time you'd cleaned up after you'd delivered the milk; you used to have to wash all your cans and the kits you know.

**Int.:** Who saw to the horse?

**FB:** The driver. The man in charge of the round. He had to go and feed the horse and bed it down.

**Int.:** You were on that particular type of work for two years. What were you paid for doing that?

**FB:** 5/-. Then you got 1/- rise on your first birthday. At fourteen 5/- and at fifteen 6/-.

**Int.:** Did you have any holidays with pay?

**FB:** Yes. One week's holiday with pay.

**Int.:** Did you go on giving all the money to your mother?

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**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Were you still getting the same back?

**FB:** Still 2d. Yes.

**Int.:** How did you find the people you worked with at the Co-op?

**FB:** Oh all right. There was a lot of boys. There was about then forty to fifty milk rounds, so there was 40-50 boys, so a lot of rough play about, especially when you was washing up when you came in. But this was again under strict supervision. You had bosses who looked after you and inspected your work. They used to look at your kits and cans to see whether they were properly cleaned and you weren't allowed to go home 'til they were properly cleaned.

**Int.:** Did you like this work or not?

**FB:** On the whole, yes. But I thought it was a bit unfair having to work Sunday mornings, because it was every morning; Sundays, Christmas Days, Bank Holidays, This was the time when we used to feel it a bit unjust. That we couldn't have the same holidays that other boys had. We had to turn out the whole year round, except for the week's holiday. And again I was too tired to get the full benefit out of night school. I was taught the elements of book keeping, and probably my arithmetic improved, but apart from that I didn't get the full benefit because I was too tired. And I can remember falling asleep on occasions because of being out of doors all day and going straight from work into a heated class room. I used to find I couldn't concentrate.

**Int.:** How did you find the Co-op as an employer?

**FB:** They were model employers. It was a great thing to get on the Co-op. It was considered quite a good safe respectable job once you got on the Co-op.

**Int.:** You went on after your two years of delivering milk into some other aspect of Co-op?

**FB:** Yes. Then you were drafted into the shop life from the milk department. The biggest employer of junior labour was of course the grocery department. But before I went into the grocery department I served a term as errand boy in the gent's outfitters, mostly specialising in hats, caps, collars and ties, and umbrellas. The manager of this shop wanted a boy so he reported this to the secretary of the Co-op, and he would inform the dairy manager that a senior boy, (in turn, the senior boy of the milk department would go into the department that required a boy) and this happened to be in my case the gents outfitting department. And I went there as sort of errand boy and window cleaner.

**Int.:** Did your hours of duty change?

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**FB:** Yes. Slightly better. From 8.30 in the morning, instead of eight o'clock, but there were late nights on Fridays and Saturdays. Nine o'clock on Friday and eight on Saturdays.

**Int.:** And normal shop hours the other days?

**FB:** Eight o'clock mostly. I had one what I think we called an early night. I think it was Mondays and Tuesdays, 7.30, Wednesdays early closing at one o'clock, Thursdays eight, Fridays nine, and Saturdays eight o'clock.

**Int.:** Did those hours apply to the other departments too?

**FB:** Yes. General hours.

**Int.:** So that those would be the hours you would be working from then up 'til the end of the war?

**FB:** Yes. Until I joined the army.

**Int.:** Did you have any other job with them before you joined up?

**FB:** I was transferred from this job as errand boy to the grocery department, which was supposed in those days to be a sort of apprenticeship - apprenticed grocer. You went into the grocery department and there you learnt the trade of being a grocer. Then of course night school became some benefit, because then I joined what we called institute classes and became a qualified grocer. I went two years, first year and second year grocery classes with examinations here. Then of course the war came along in 1914 and this was the end of night school and a different life altogether.

**Int.:** In these other departments in the Co-op, did you like the work there?

**FB:** Not particularly, but it was better than going in the mill or the foundry.

**Int.:** Did pay increase on transfer from one department to another?

**FB:** No. Pay increased according to age.

**Int.:** And then you went into the forces because of the war?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Could we just go back for a moment to those part-time activities that you did? When you were still at school there was a period when you took the spinner's breakfast and then you had your paper round; was there anything else that you did as a means of earning an odd little bit?

**FB:** No. Apart from odd pennies I got from neighbours for doing jobs - errands mostly.

**Int.:** How did you get the paper round?

**FB:** Just went to the newsagent and asked to be considered for the next vacancy. They were always changing as these boys went into full time employment. There was always a demand for a paper boy and as long as you were clean and presented a good appearance you for the job.

**Int.:** What exactly did you have to do?

**FB:** You kept a book and delivered the papers and collected the money on Saturday mornings. You kept a record in the book of the papers you delivered and was occupied all Saturday morning collecting the money from the people you had delivered the papers to.

**Int.:** What time did you have to begin?

**FB:** Half-past four in the evening we started, and finished at half-past six.

**Int.:** Was this on Saturdays and Sundays too?

**FB:** No. Not Sundays. Saturdays mornings, and this was up to you, if you wanted to earn extra pennies you'd go round selling football papers Saturday nights.

**Int.:** You would go round selling them in the streets?

**FB:** Yes. We used to short and people used to come and buy a football paper, if they were interested in football results. You'd run along the streets shouting "football final" and people would come up to their doors and whistle for you and you'd sell them a paper, and we used to get 2d for every dozen we sold. This was extra to the 2/- a week.

**Int.:** How long were you doing that?

**FB:** Twelve months.

**Int.:** Did you have any holiday at all from that?

**FB:** No.

**Int.:** And again you would give the money to your mother?

**FB:** Yes. But she would perhaps give me an extra, allow me to put some in my money box. If I'd earned an extra 8d or 10d, or if it had been an important cup final or something like that it

might amount to 1/- earned extra on Saturday night, and my mother would probably give me 2d or 3d to go in my savings.

**Int.:** How did you feel about the job? Did you like doing it?

**FB:** Well it was earning money, this was the point. There was an economic motive.

**Int.:** How did the newsagent treat you?

**FB:** Fair enough. All right. It was up to him to treat you properly or else you'd pack in the job.

**Int.:** Would he employ other boys on the rounds as well?

**FB:** Yes. There was two or three of us from the same shop.

**Int.:** How did you get on with them?

**FB:** All right.

**Int.:** Did having a job like this alter your attitude towards school?

**FB:** No I don't think it made any difference to school life.

**Int.:** It didn't make you want to leave any sooner?

**FB:** I think it gave you a sense of feeling that you were doing something to help your parents help the family. There was a little bit of satisfaction there which gave you a sort of communal feeling that you were doing something to repay your parents and help the family along.

**Int.:** Well going on then to the war. Would you like to tell me how you came to be called up and what branch you were in?

**FB:** This was the thing to do. This was an adventure in life. All school life had this patriotic bias - the history we were taught, the heroes of history were the soldiers and sailors. So of course to join the army was a great adventure. This was daring. The first world war broke out off we went down to the local artillery barracks and asked to join the local artillery, which was the thing. I remember the gang of us eighteen year olds who went down to join the artillery the night war broke out and fortunately or unfortunately were told they'd got their full complement the sergeant told us and to come back in two or three weeks' time. And I happened to go home on the Saturday night and mother asked the usual question, "Where have you been tonight?" And I told her that I had been down with so and so to join the army and this was a real shock to my mother and father, and my mother wept about this, and forbid me to do anything of the kind. And as the weeks progressed I was always at my mother, there was all the boys and my play mates in the same age group, they'd had the same experience with

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their parents, we all sort of compared notes on the following Sunday and they'd been discouraged from joining the army by their parents, they were too young (we were too young actually because the age of recruitment was nineteen). Eventually under continued pressure I got permission to join the army, this would be late October, and the war had been going then for two months. Eventually my mother gave way. Of course the air was full of bands and recruitment posters and it was all the young men's duty to join the army. The pressures were very great, and of course the call to join the army was very strong. I was eventually allowed to go down to the recruiting office and join the army. This was in late October and by the first week in November I was on my way to Portsmouth. I remember going down with half a dozen of my friends to join the army. And we all said we wanted to join the same regiment. We weren't particular which one so long as we could keep together. Because I was five foot nine, fairly tall for my age I was put in the artillery, and when we came out of the recruiting office that night we all found ourselves in different regiments, according to our particular physical abilities. And I was sent off the following day to join the artillery in Portsmouth, at least in Gosport, Hampshire. There was no time to think I just had to go home and tell mother I was off the following day, and I had to go and report to my shop manager that I couldn't start work that day as I'd joined the army. I was in a shop then that employed ten men and I was first in the shop to join, the youngest boy in the shop, and they all responded with "Bravo" and they made a collection for me and sent me off in good style. And this was the opening of a new life to me. I'd never been out of Bolton scarcely. To go through London, on a train to London, was a real adventure.

**Int.:** Did you enjoy this aspect of it then?

**FB:** Yes. Very much. This was a new life.

**Int.:** What was your response to this unaccustomed freedom?

**FB:** Fortunately here I began to value my home religious beliefs, because I found myself among a very rough crowd. Most of them I slept with the first night in a big barrack room - we were given a blanket and laid on the concrete floor of an army gymnasium in an army barracks - and the language I heard and the people who were in the army in my particular group there were terrible, I'd never experienced anything like it before. There was all sorts of filthy language going about. I found myself amongst people I never dreamt I should be associated with. They were a very mixed crowd of course. There were a few decent lads. Some had come out of goal and joined the army. But here again I think religious training counted for something. I think my home background.

**Int.:** Your attitude to life didn't alter as a result of your army career?

**FB:** No. My mother gave me a lecture on wine and women and all this sort of thing and it stuck fast did this, I think it did really. So army life did appeal because of the drill and the adventure of the thing - this appealed very much. I enjoyed army life.

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**Int.:** Where did you get sent to?

**FB:** They had so many recruits, everybody was joining the army so they had more than they could cope with. It was six weeks or so we were sleeping rough in all sorts of places where they could find to put us in. I know one was an old brewery which had been commandeered. Eventually we got posted to training units and I was very fortunate I got posted to Weymouth and found myself in billets. Billeted on some very nice people in Weymouth, I was fortunate here, it was a religious home a good influence with people who really did care and made us very comfortable. There were only two of us in the billet. There was an overdraft went down to Weymouth and we were billeted down the street. I think maybe a hundred in the charge of a sergeant, two in this house and two in that, right down the whole street. For two months, I was billeted with these very nice people and then we went into tents under canvas and I began to really enjoy being in the army. I got some training as an army signaller which I very much enjoyed and which appealed to me.

**Int.:** Were you in the signals?

**FB:** Yes. All the time.

**Int.:** Did you get posted out of Britain?

**FB:** Yes. Over to France.

**Int.:** Almost immediately would this be?

**FB:** Oh no. We had a long period of training in Weymouth, from January 'til the end of August before I passed out as a qualified signaller. Then I was posted to a battery and went through a course of training of firing on ranges, that sort of thing, and then we went out to France.

**Int.:** Were you in the same place in France most of the time?

**FB:** Right through the Somme yes. We were posted to the Somme district in April and spent three months preparing for the Somme battle, laying cables all over the place. Operation posts and battery positions. Trying to destroy the enemy trenches and fortifications, for three months in preparation for the Somme battle. Oh before that we were in training with our units in the battle line, up in the Rennes Louis district then after two or three months there we were sent down on the Somme to prepare for the Somme battle. And we were down there right through the Somme battle right up 'til Christmas 1916. Then we were moved about the whole front, Ypres, Arras. I was one of the fortunate ones who came home without any disability. We'd have long periods in the firing line and then we'd come out for three or four weeks rest, during which you played football and had a certain amount of recreation, behind the lines. No my only experience of army hospital was when I played football after the armistice and I got knee

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trouble and spent a few weeks in hospital with this knee. But apart from being gassed - I had a small does of gas once - yes... But otherwise I was very fortunate. More fortunate that the poor boys who got in the infantry. I think out of my Sunday School class - most of us jointed from the Sunday School teenagers - 17, 18, 19 year olds - very few of them came back so when I came back I considered myself indeed very very fortunate.

**Int.:** How long after the armistice was it before you came out of the army?

**FB:** Oh it wasn't very long, because I came home on leave in February 1919 and I didn't go back. Everybody then was clamouring for demobilization so I applied for mine while I was home on leave and I got it.

**Int.:** And then you resumed your career with the Co-op?

**FB:** Going back to the co-op before 1914.

**Int.:** Did you belong to a union or association?

**FB:** Yes. I was elected on to the branch committee. We had roughly about a thousand members which included the outlying districts - West Houghton, Horwich. I got pretty active in trade union work and became a branch secretary.

**Int.:** When would that be?

**FB:** In the 1920's.

**Int.:** But you joined when you first went into the Co-op?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did you belong when you were with the iron mongers?

**FB:** No. It was - I don't know that it was an actual condition of employment. When you joined the co-op all your work mates insisted that you should be a member of the union. It was the thing to join the union, you were more or less roped in. There was pressure on you to join. It wasn't actually a condition of employment then, but the pressure was there. It was the thing to join the union.

**Int.:** Some people say that there was in those days division between trained craftsmen and other workers. You would agree with that would you?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Would you say that full time work changed your attitude to life at all?

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**FB:** Yes. Because one joined educational classes run by the Co-op. You went to night school, if you were inclined that way, and I was encouraged to join classes and first of all take a salesman's course and then a managerial course, and eventually became a branch manager and from branch manager I became a managing secretary of a co-op of a small society. I had to leave Bolton of course to get a branch managers job. Applied for a job in other societies.

**Int.:** You feel that your career in the co-op, it influenced you because it had this method of promotion and education and so on?

**FB:** Yes. And idealistic purpose in the co-op which through attending classes organized by the co-operative union, book keeping and managerial courses, to become a co-op manager. If you got certificates in economics and commercial law, arithmetic and history and principles of co-operation and eventually you became qualified on paper for a managerial capacity, and this helped you to secure a job when you applied to other societies. You answered advertisements I left Bolton to become a branch manager in Southport. From Southport I applied and got a managing secretary of a small society in the Cotswolds, in the Midlands, in a little place called Fenny Compton, with a small village society where you were a very important person.

**Int.:** When you first left school and went back to work you continued living at home?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did going to work change your relationship at all with your parents?

**FB:** I think slightly, yes. You were allowed a little bit more latitude and freedom, although the home influence was still fairly strong until later on. Mother kept an eye on your girl friend and saw that you came in at decent time on Saturday nights.

**Int.:** Did you have a specific time for coming in?

**FB:** Yes I was expected to be home by eleven o'clock, even after I came home from the war. Eleven o'clock was still rather late to come home on Saturday nights. And dances was taboo actually, until dancing was allowed in Sunday School and I was permitted to go to a dance in Sunday School.

**Int.:** Did you still spend your Sundays the same way going to Sunday School and to Church?

**FB:** Well yes I did. But one came home for the army with ideas about whether you had been taught the truth about things and you begin to question your religious...

**Int.:** I meant when you first started working?

**FB:** Oh yes.

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**Int.:** It was only when you came out of the army that things began to change?

**FB:** Yes. New ideas. And you used to question things.

**Int.:** Did you develop an interest in politics?

**FB:** Yes. Very much so.

**Int.:** What were your views?

**FB:** My views were against war for a start. I got myself involved with the Labour party. The socialist movement.

**Int.:** This was before the war?

**FB:** No after the war. I don't think I had any strong political views before the war.

**Int.:** Before the war you weren't specially interested in politics?

**FB:** No, except at election time, when we used to look upon them as a bit of a sport.

**Int.:** Did you carry on spending your spare time in the same way, after you left school when you first went to work, or did you do different things?

**FB:** No I was interested mostly in sport. And my bitter regret about shop life, working in shops before the war, my teenage regret was that I had to work Saturday afternoons and couldn't join the Sunday School cricket club, or football club. And this was one thing I regretted about shop life it did deprive me of sporting activities.

**Int.:** Apart from going to the evening classes, did you go out in the evenings?

**FB:** No I don't think so. I had three nights a week at night school and the other nights I had a bit of homework to do and for the other spare hour I used to go into the reading room at the local Library. And read about the things that interest me.

**Int.:** Did you make any new friends were you started going out to work?

**FB:** No I kept to my old school friends - they boys I made friends with at school. You sorted your own particular group of friends out, and that was mainly on Sundays, and we'd chum up and go for walks. And take an interest in girl friends, which was frowned on at home, even when you were sixteen or seventeen. Girl friends were taboo, sex life was very taboo.

**Int.:** Did you have any special friends at this time? And take them home sometimes?

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**FB:** No. Not a great deal. The few of us would meet outside Sunday School and we'd walk the parade you know which was at Astley Bridge. Yes. I had two or three very close friends which I made at day school.

**Int.:** And you would continue on your Sunday evening walks with them?

**FB:** Yes. No. I don't think so. Well, one of my closest friends, very closest friend, was killed in the war and that unsettled me after the war. When I came back after the war I was very unsettled with my job. I went to join the police force but was rejected, I came out of the army with this injured knee and that prevented me joining the police force. I also applied for another job in the post office. I'd had some training in signalling, telephone work and I remember applying for a job at Rochdale as a post office engineer. They were applying for ex-signal service men for Rochdale post office. And I remember going there and there was a queue there of about 20 ex-servicemen and I was at the end of the queue and by the time my time came they'd got all they wanted. And so I just settled down to the job of being a grocer.

**Int.:** Previous to that would you have preferred any other occupation?

**FB:** Yes, I would but I hadn't the qualifications. I wanted to be a journalist. There were two things I wanted to be - a professional footballer and a professional cricketer, or a journalist. When I left school I would have liked to have gone and been a reporter on the local paper but I hadn't a secondary school education and that barred me and when my brothers finished his secondary school career he went and got the job I always hankered after and he became a cub reporter on the Bolton Evening News and I used to envy him. I was really jealous about this. Because he used to go to football matches with the senior reporter and learn his job at football and cricket matches and the local council and things like that. And I used to be very jealous and very envious. And this was when I really missed my secondary school education. If I could have chosen my career that's what it would have been. I think I would have made a very good reporter because I was interested in things.

**Int.:** Would your parents expect to know where you were and who you were with?

**FB:** Yes.

**Int.:** Did your parents meet your friends?

**FB:** Oh yes. I could take them home if I wanted to, but our particular later interests were outdoors. Always outdoors never inside.

## Psychosocial interviews

The psychosocial approach to interviewing modifies techniques derived from clinical psychoanalysis and applies them to the social research interview.

It examines both the social and psychological aspects of the interview. It pays particular attention to unconscious as well as conscious processes, allowing for a deeper, enriched understanding of the interview material.

The psychosocial approach takes into account narrative construction, beyond the conscious, spoken narrative level, by allowing unconscious influences to shape the end results.

The psychosocial interview pays particular attention to emotions, thoughts, motivations and feelings. A sociological interview may only be able to recognise these features at a conscious level whereas a psychosocial interviewer would seek to register emotions which reside outside conscious thought. These emotions are understood to be difficult to acknowledge in conscious thought or too sensitive or intimate to share explicitly with other people.

These unconscious emotions may be revealed through a number of techniques.

One is to look at the dynamics at play between the interviewer and the respondent.

Another method is to take into consideration the incoherencies, gaps and contradictions in a story and highlight the 'emotional subtexts' which are often ignored in other forms of sociological analysis (Day Sclater, 2000).

Finally, the method necessarily requires critical reflection by the interviewer in order to monitor the process. As in the life story/oral history narrative analysis, the psycho-social interviewer needs to be constantly asking 'why has this person said this?', 'why at this moment?' and, just as importantly, 'why did I respond in this way and how did it reflect in the interview?' (Roper, 2003).

Hollway and Jefferson (2000) have attempted to incorporate the sociological and psychological approaches in their study, whereby they adapt psychoanalytic ideas and practices in order to supplement their qualitative biographical approach to interviewing. They view the individual not as situated purely sociologically or psychologically, but rather necessarily and inescapably as a 'psychosocial' subject.

## Example

SN 4581

Study Title: [Gender Difference, Anxiety and the Fear of Crime 1995](#)

Principal Investigator(s): Hollway, W., Jefferson, T.

Date of Fieldwork: 15 June 1995-14 December 1995

Abstract: This research focused on crime and its relation to risk of victimisation and the suggestion that high-risk groups, in particular, young men, report lower fear than low-risk groups, in particular, older women. The research suggests that the relations between risk and fear of crime cannot be understood without theorising the multiple meanings attaching to a person's identity which become invested with anxiety.

Citation: Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T., *Gender Difference, Anxiety and the Fear of Crime, 1995* [computer file]. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], October 2003. SN: 4581, [DOI: 10.5255/UKDA-SN-4581-1](https://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-4581-1)

## Interview technique

[Gender Difference, Anxiety and the Fear of Crime 1995](#)

The first interview consisted of seven questions, each designed to elicit narrative answers, rather than explanations or descriptions (see appendix 4).

Questions follow the tripartite structure of criminal victimization/fear of crime; risk/safety; anxiety/worry. They began with factual issues (history of criminal victimization) and ended with a neutral question relating to their arrival on the estate (to pick up any contrast effects with where they'd moved from). This order was designed to 'top and tail' the interview with the most emotionally neutral subject matters.

We conducted a second interview, one week later, based on follow-up questions resulting from listening symptomatically to the first interview on audiotape, in order to identify areas where anxiety was obtruding in the account; for example through hesitations, avoidances, changes of tack, changes in emotional tone or contradictions. During the first interview, information was being received at many levels and the interviewer was managing the usual issues of attention, rapport and holding onto all important information for follow-up. It was therefore extremely useful to listen to the interview outside the face-to-face setting, with an ear focused on another level of meaning through these symptoms of anxiety. We strengthened this procedure further by both listening to each first interview tape so that, as well as the 'insider' insights (from the researcher who conducted the interview), an 'outsider' insight was also provided, and contributed to devising the narrative questions for the second interview. A further benefit of a second interview was, we found, that the relationship was no longer a

stranger one because, on second meeting, so much had passed between interviewer and interviewee that a certain familiarity, even intimacy, had developed.

As part of the second interview, following the questions that were devised to follow up symptomatic issues from interview one, a standard set of questions was asked to each interviewee (see appendix 5) in order to ensure comparability of information across respondents, which cannot be guaranteed using only a narrative interview format. These were derived from the pilot schedule

Immediately after the first doorstep meeting and after both interviews, the researchers made notes of their impressions. As well as the usual observations, we recorded what clinical psychoanalysts call the 'countertransference'; that is the researcher's emotional responses to the interviewee and their story. The purpose of this is to provide further information about unconscious communications. For example, one man's interviews revolved around the story of a major injustice at work. The interviewer's powerful emotions of anger pointed to the significance of the interviewee's lack of emotion. However, this aspect was not strongly developed and we hope to work on it more systematically in subsequent work.

## Interview extract one (part one)

[Gender Difference, Anxiety and the Fear of Crime 1995](#)

### Information about interviewee

Date of birth: 1953

Gender: Male

Marital status: Unknown

Occupation: Unemployed

Geographic region: Unknown but classed as a 'high crime' area.

Interviewee's name: Tommy/TJ(1)

Interview ID: int67

Tommy

**TJ** OK. Clear them out.

Mind that tape. (moving children out of the room). See you in a bit, you be a good boy for me.

**TJ** OK. Right I can - get myself all tangled up with this lot.

Oops sorry love.

**TJ** OK. OK. I'm going to ask a series of sort of fairly open ended questions and er, then depending how we go on those I might get through to the er, more specific ones, or I may leave those till next time. But let's just see how we go. First of all, can you just tell me about how crime has impacted on your life since you've been living here?

Well I've lived up here 33 year now.

**TJ** In this house or up here?

On this estate.

**TJ** Right.

1962 I moved up here. Lived at bottom of Market Street.

**TJ** Right.

And er, from 1962 onwards went to Sollyfield School and Sollyfield High School. Then I went to Highfield. Then I left Highfield. Started work at 15. Straight away 'cos there were that much work. From being 17 up to 18, crime started coming into estate, unbelievable 'cos what we used to - when I moved up 'ere I couldn't believe how people used to leave their doors and their windows open, the neighbours used to go in any time they want owt. In and out all the time. Now you can't, you're nailing the windows down and put bolts on your doors and that.

**TJ** Right.

'cos they'll get in any way na.

**TJ** Right. Did you say since you were 17, 18...

It started picking up.

**TJ** So it's about 20 years ago? Am I right?

Yeah, yeah.

**TJ** About 1975.

1975, yeah.

**TJ** OK, so before '75 you could leave your windows open and doors open?

Oh, unbelievable. It's unreal, what people 'ill tell ya.

**TJ** Yeah.

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You'll find out, you'll not believe what people tell ya, when you go across to that other lady's next week. She'll, she'll tell ya same, the estate on 'ere was - you couldn't get an 'ouse on this estate.

**TJ** Yeah.

That's how good it were. A 10 year waiting list - there used to be 10 years and 5 year waiting lists on this estate.

**TJ** Really.

Na everybody's trying to get off. Nobody wants to come back on Forest Grove estate.

**TJ** Yeah.

'cos of what it, the situation it's in.

**TJ** OK. Can you tell me em, how specifically crime has impacted on you in your life since you've been here?

Well, I've never been involved in it.

**TJ** Right.

I've never been involved in it. Er, I've seen it done.

**TJ** Yeah.

You have to keep your mouth shut, do you know what I mean?

**TJ** Yeah, yeah.

You just have to turn a cold shoulder. I'm, I'm not so bothered me 'cos I've a big family. I'm a family of 10, you know, stuck up for each other when we got in trouble. And everybody else used to come out and help each other. This estate (light laugh) the families what live on this estate were families of 14s and 15s. It were a big family estate. Everybody 'ad got over 10 kids on the estate. Everybody used to muck in wi' each other.

**TJ** Yeah, yeah.

Used to 'ave a tip and a quarry across 'ere, Northern City Brick Company.

**TJ** Yeah.

Used to be a quarry across there. Everybody used to make rafts.

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**TJ** Yeah.

Go rafting on quarry and go fishing with a stick, you know caught them with [inaudible]. Used to go on there for hours. We've got a wood on here, play cowboy and Indians on here in wood, making dens.

**TJ** Yeah.

used to walk to Rosewood, used to walk to school

**TJ** Yeah.

You can't say that. You daren't leave your 'ouse na. You do not leave - you dare not leave your 'ouse.

**TJ** Yeah. But let me just explore that a bit more, because when you say you haven't personally been involved. Does that mean that you've had no crimes committed against you?

No, I 'ad none, no.

**TJ** Since you've been here?

No. No.

**TJ** So.

I think, whether it's because it's, er, me name.

**TJ** Yeah.

Because we're well respected. We've been well respected on this estate ever since we've moved up.

**TJ** Yeah.

Whether it's that, but I've never been burgled or anything.

**TJ** No.

Next door and next door 'ave.

**TJ** Yeah.

Left me alone.

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**TJ** Right. Tell me first of all about - I mean since you know, you've obviously heard about the next door's burglary. Tell me about one of those.

These is, er, these is family of 13 these.

**TJ** Right.

(044) Sean's lived 'ere about 20 odd, about 20 years, Sean's lived 'ere. 'e's one of oldest of er, one of oldest of families, Sean. 'e's lived about 20 years. 'e's a smashing lad. 'e 'as a disco. Does a disco.

**TJ** Yeah.

But like I say, (pause) 'e 'as drugs.

**TJ** No.

Fiver a packet, do you know what I mean?

**TJ** Mmm.

Got 3 cars out there. No tax on 'em. Lady come knocking on door, "can you move your car please, my husband can't get in." "Tell them to wait while I shift it." [She?] turned round "'is car's taxed yours isn't." Told me other day, he says 'e's got a pile like that. All er, er, thingys [tax.demands] "just throw them away he says." But 'e's a smashing lad. I don't interfere wi' 'is business. 'e don't interfere, er, interfere in mine. Sit on front, sit on chatting away for hours. As soon as 'is friends come out, get up and move out of road. Well its been about, only lived 'ere 4 year. This 'ouse 4 year. There's been about 3 couples living in there. They just don't like the estate.

**TJ** Yeah.

They can't manage with it. That's why I've got all me back fenced off. Six foot fencing all way round back me. And with dog on back [inaudible] back.

**TJ** Right.

Always has a sensor light on back. Leave it on all night. I know it's dog sometimes. 'cos I leave dog out.

**TJ** Yeah.

And dog 'ill put sensor light on, but I know when there's somebody on back.

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**TJ** Yeah.

[inaudible] anybody on back, but er, I like it. I just like the estate. I shan't move anywhere else unless I win pools.

**TJ** Yeah.

Or lottery.

**TJ** So this character next door, you say, you say you've been burgled either side. You said there was a burglary there.

He broke into 'is 'ut. 'e's got a big 'ut there.

**TJ** Yeah.

They stole 'is tools and everything.

**TJ** Right.

This lady 'ere she went away for a week's holiday to 'er mother's. Pinched the television and video.

**TJ** Yeah.

See one incident, there's a girl that lives on back of there now, back 'ere. She bought a video camcorder.

**TJ** Yeah.

Broad daylight, 2 lads running down that road wi' it. Into a car and took off. And its come back an hour later wi' out anything. And she saw 'em running down road. She couldn't prove a thing. She said "well, 'ere take remote control 'ere because you've forgotten that you bastards." People were frightened of saying anything because they say "it weren't us, it weren't me." And I says "well it were you, 'cos I saw ya."

**TJ** Yeah, well let's just follow that story up if I may, I mean, what exactly happened. How did they get - did they go into a house?

They'd seen this video camera before.

**TJ** Yeah.

And it were set up in bedroom.

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**TJ** Right.

It were set up in bedroom, so they're walking past and they see it.

**TJ** Oh right.

So what they do, they try to keep chatting to [inaudible] probably get 'em round back.

**TJ** Yeah.

They come in front you see.

**TJ** Right.

So they're chatting away and he pops upstairs and gets that.

**TJ** And they ran off with it?

Ran off wi' it down this other road 'ere.

**TJ** And you saw 'em?

I say 'em, yeah.

**TJ** And you know who they are?

I know who they are. Well they're both on remand na.

**TJ** Right. So what happened afterwards? They came back?

Couldn't prove it.

**TJ** Couldn't prove anything.

Because nobody would stick up - because nobody...

**TJ** Did she report it?

She reported it.

**TJ** Yeah.

but nobody would say who it was.

**TJ** But did the police come and ask you?

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The police didn't come and ask me, no.

**TJ** No. If they had have done would you have said anything?

I'd 'ave said yes.

**TJ** Yeah.

I would have said yes, 'cos that - she's a nice girl.

**TJ** Yeah.

She's ended up moving 'erself.

**TJ** Yeah.

Two little kiddies.

**TJ** Yeah.

And it's over a thousand pounds worth a year, what they're gonna flog for about £400 to get some drugs wi' it.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

They're stupid.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah. So the police knew, they knew that these boys had been seen, but they didn't come around and do any - they didn't come round and ask

Well they moved it from 'ere and they moved it all way down other end of the estate.

**TJ** Yeah.

So when they came back they didn't raid their 'ouse.

**TJ** Yeah.

Nothing there, can't prove anything.

**TJ** Right.

'e comes out with a piece of paper like that, "I weren't there at 1/4 past 2, I were in court". A piece of paper to say he were in court to say 'e were in court at 1/4 past 2.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

I looked at it and it were wrong day.

**TJ** Yeah.

'e threw, threw piece of paper at me.

**TJ** Yeah.

Saying "'ere I weren't there." I says "waste of time showing me a piece of paper." I says "I saw thee". "Don't call me a liar."

**TJ** Yeah. They came and showed you this paper did they?

Well 'e'd come in the car and showed it here, look at that I were in court at 1/4 past 2.

**TJ** Right. Right. So, you've not been burgled but you know both sides have been?

Yeah.

**TJ** And you know of this particular incident, presumably you hear of others.

I know there's a lot of 'ouses been burgled. There were a chap, 'e'd just moved up onto estate. You know all this wire caging 'e'd put up on the 'ouses?

**TJ** Yeah.

You see, they'd watched 'im move everything in. Everything - fridge, fridge freezer, television, video, the lot.

**TJ** Yeah

'e'd just 'ad a brand new, new born baby.

**TJ** Yeah.

They weren't moving in while next day. When the moved in next day everything 'ad gone. They were running down back with videos, fridges, televisions, all round estate.

**TJ** Yeah.

And people don't see and say a thing.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

---

It is a terrible estate. I know Minefield's bad.

**TJ** Yeah.

But this is not bad at all. I know Minefield's bad, but this is catching up with Minefield.

**TJ** Yeah.

You know, car riders. Joy riders.

(102) You see, one time there, they just get in car and piss off straight round to wood. 'ave a joy ride, turn car oer and burn it.

**TJ** Yeah.

Get what they can off it, park it up [inaudible]. Then at night, with motor bikes - come flying round them motor bikes at night. Already 'ad a lad killed.

**TJ** Yeah?

About 8 year ago.

**TJ** Yeah.

'e were pillion. Skidded bike.

**TJ** Yeah.

'it gas lamp, come straight over. Smashed 'is 'ead straight onto gas lamp.

**TJ** Yeah.

Killed straightaway. That were at top of the road there. You know, that were only on a moped. And it's not sinking in. Because they don't wear helmets or anything. It's not sinking in. It's gonna 'appen again. I keep telling 'er "it's gonna 'appen again." I said "remember Chas Tooley. It 'appened to 'im. It's gonna 'appen to you what 'appened to him." I said "it weren't gonna 'appen to little Chas Tooley, but it did." 'e were only 14 at the time.

**TJ** Mmm, mmm.

It were shocking. It were shocking to see it.

**TJ** How long ago was that?

(pause) about 10 year ago now.

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**TJ** About 10 years ago. So the joy riding's been going on for 10 years?

They're barmy, they're honestly barmy. My mate, my mate who I've got up at Sollyfield - his brother bought a brand new bike - £1,000. 'e'd only 'ad it a week, 'ad it all chained up on back. They got it off back. Paid a £1,000 for it, 'e'd only 'ad it 3 days. They got it. If it's there they'll take it.

**TJ** Mmm. But that hasn't happened to your car?

What I do, I move my car away now. I take it off estate.

**TJ** Do you?

I've got a friend what lives up Sollyfield. I put it in 'is garage.

**TJ** Right.

I'll take it about 9 o'clock tonight. Take it 9 o'clock every night.

**TJ** Every night?

Bring it back in morning. Fetch it back ...

**TJ** How long does that - I mean how long does that take?

About 10 minutes.

**TJ** Ten minutes. You have to do it do you?

I don't 'ave to, but it's ....

**TJ** You feel ....

Alright they know me, but it can still 'appen to me can't it?

**TJ** Yeah I expect so. Although it hasn't!

It hasn't, touch wood, no. It 'asn't.

**TJ** Mmm. Can I just come back to the drugs that you mentioned? You say that em, they knock on his door. I mean do they knock on his door all the time?

Not all the time. When they want a smoke. It's a draw. £5 draw. Another chap round corner.

**TJ** Yeah.

---

Knocking on 'is door all time. "Come on in." They're straight in and straight out, you know what I mean?

**TJ** Mmm.

We 'ad a lad up - we've got a lad what's come out of prison now, who's living round corner. He were injecting himself.

**TJ** Mmm - with?

I don't know, whatever ...

**TJ** Well you can do it with speed or heroin.

Yeah, and it got him so bad, he were going round pinching that much.

**TJ** Ah.

To get the money to - they call it digging out, digging. He was pinching and getting caught, and he got put away. He got 18 month. It's the best 18 months 'e's ever done. He's admitted it. 'e's smartened 'is life up. They got 'im out of the drugs and everything. All 'is teeth were all untidy. 'e's 'ad all 'is teeth straightened up, 'e's says "first 2 or 3 week nearly killed me." When it's wearing off and you want it more.

**TJ** Withdrawal, yeah.

Withdrawal symptoms. He got over it. A lad down road na, looks like losing 'is legs through it.. 'e's not bothered.

**TJ** Really?

Oh it's shocking, honest.

**TJ** But losing his legs!

Well it's this digging and digging and digging ...

**TJ** Oh I see, for the veins, yeah.

For the veins.

**TJ** Yeah, yeah.

It's shocking, honest. Unbelievable. You'd be surprised. You want to come here one night, just have a walk round and see what things are going off.

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**TJ** Yeah.

Because this 'ouse 'ere now, what's all caged up, up at back 'ere.

**TJ** Yeah.

Little lad at 11 year old, prising it open wi' an 'ammer - to get in. To get in to get boiler. I said "well 'ow much is boiler gonna cost ya." He says "I can get £8 for it." I said "how much do you think it's gonna cost council to put it back? and mend it all when you've smashed it all?" "I don't know, I'm not bothered." I said "well I just go and see ya mam." "Oh no don't do that." I said "well get down then." So 'e got down. About half an hour later, 'e were back up again. (laugh). See they'd got it all open, they'd bent it all open and they got in. I says "right I'm coming up 'ere now, with 'ammer and nails and I'm gonna fasten that down while police come." "Alright we're not gonna go back in again. We're only gonna see what's in there, 'cos there's nowt in it, 'cos it's empty." I said "I know what you're after - you're after boiler." He goes and gets a ladder yesterday, he gets a ladder right onto top of roof and 'e's sat on roof, getting slates - slinging slates down. Couple live next door with 2 kiddies. Told 'em to get down. "We're not, nowt to do with thee." They've only just moved on estate see. They don't like causing trouble. In case owt 'appens. And I shouted to 'em, I said "na get down, do as thee told, they've got little kiddies in bed." Kiddies wouldn't go to bed. She takes kiddies to bed at 1/2 6, 7 o'clock, and er, they're on roof slinging slates down, on roof slinging slates down. Couldn't sleep. It's not right, in it.

**TJ** How old did you say?

One at 9, two at 11 and one at 8.

**TJ** Um hum.

(161) They don't want, they don't live on estate. They're not bothered. They turned round and said to me "you used to do it, when you were ..." I said "we never got up to things like this." I said "if we ever got up to things like this, our parents used to gi' us." I said "my dad 'ad a big leather belt wi' a buckle on it and 'e used to belt us wi' that. And we'd never do it again." I said "we never did anything like this." "Ah, you all say that, you all say that." I said "it's true." I said "we'd never do owt like this." They said "what did your do?" I said "well we used to go on wood, and make dens and play cowboys and Indians, walk to school, proper walk in them days, and 'ave a day out instead of doing owt like this, why wreck somebody's 'ouse." "Ah, alright then, we believe ya." And they go back again. It's just - it's going into their 'eads they can do it. They're growing up thieves - from 9 year old they're growing up to be thieves. And once they can get owt out of an 'ouse, they know they can do it again. It's gonna be in their blood all time and they'll not get out on it. It's unreal.

**TJ** But they do come down when you say you're gonna tell their parents, then they just go back when they think you're not looking, it sounds like.

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Well, what happened yesterday. I thought I'll not say nowt this time and I went through front door, 'cos they were on roof there. They went through - went on there. I shouted - 'is mother will be coming down gennel in minute. I went - and she run down gennel. And she give him what for. She really gi'd 'im what for. I says "I don't mind." I says to 'er - "mother", I said, "I don't mind." I said "but if 'e falls off that roof, who's at fault?" "How've they got up there, it shouldn't be your fault. I don't know what's going on here." I said "falling off a roof there, it's about 40 foot, nearly 50 foot for a 9 year old lad, it's a long way down."

**TJ** And the mother did give him what for then? But, not through not getting what for,

Not what for? Just a slap on back of 'ead, na get in 'ouse. Everything's settled - within 'alf an hour 'e's back out again. It's not as if 'e's grounded. 'til 'e gets 'urt, then 'e'll get grounded. That's what gonna 'appen. It's gonna 'appen again, I'll tell you that. Either somebody falling off a roof or falling through roof. Or somebody getting 'it on a bike.

**TJ** Yeah.

Coming off a bike, or joy riders in cars. It's gonna 'appen again, it's got to.

**TJ** But, I'm just trying to sort of, kind of summarise what I'm hearing. Em, though you don't think things are very likely to happen to you here, because they never have and you're a well known family, you still take precautions.

I still - oh, I take ever such a lot of precautions, yeah. Like I say, I've got dog on back.

**TJ** (194) You've got the dog on the back.

I've got 2 locks, I've got 2 locks. I've got a pair of sensor lights. I've got a light on front 'ere. What I leave on at night.

**TJ** And you park your car on a garage off the estate?

I park me car in a garage off the estate. So it's still there. There's a big window there. There's a television and video there.

**TJ** Yeah.

It's gonna just take 2 minutes to smash that and get 'old of that.

**TJ** Yeah.

In't it?

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah. But not with the dog there I doubt.

Oh no, not with dog there. Depending - what - they can gi'd dog summat can't they?

**TJ** Yeah, yeah.

They could fetch a bitch in. All they've got to do is fetch a bitch in you see. As daft as that. They're clever people on this estate.

**TJ** Mmm. Mmm.

I know 'em all. I'm friends wi' 'em all.

**TJ** Right. Let me just em, kind of re-cap a little bit. Em, can you go back to that time when you were sort of 17, 18 perhaps, and you said that's when it all sort of changed. I mean tell me a little bit about - life as a teenager

(206) Me, er,- I were, er [laughs]

**TJ** on the estate.

I'd got long 'air, I were 'ippy me, wi' long 'air and everything. It were all the fad then. And we just used to go walking about, used to sit on corners down on streets. On corner of streets.

**TJ** Yeah.

Smoking and chatting to girls.

**TJ** Yeah.

And we used to get - we used to have a certain time to be in.

**TJ** Yeah.

Even though I were 17.

**TJ** Yeah.

If you're not in at a certain time, the doors were locked, you don't get in.

**TJ** Yeah.

So we used to keep looking at our - if anybody 'ad got a watch on - you'd say "right I'm off, I'll see ya tomorrow." I've gotta be in, even though I'm 17, 18 years old.

**TJ** Yeah, yeah.

---

I've got to be in.

**TJ** Yeah, this is even after you were working? You said you started work ...

Yeah, I started work at 15.

**TJ** Fifteen.

To the Northern City Brick Company.

**TJ** Right. So even though you'd been out to work for 2 years you still had?

Oh yeah, still got to bide by they rules. 'cos we're a big family you see.

**TJ** Yeah.

Used to love it. You know, when we were at school?

**TJ** Yeah.

Imagine, imagine 10 at school all running 'ome at 1/2 past 3 for their teas. (laugh). It used to be great. It was only a little table, you 'ad to take your turn. You were running 'ome for first lot.

**TJ** Yeah.

Oh, it were great. They were great days them.

**TJ** But em, you with the long hair - were you not taking some drugs at this time?

Oh no, they were never thought of.

**TJ** No?

They were never thought of.

**TJ** Hippies and drugs - go together?

Never thought of no.

**TJ** No.

Never entered, never entered my mind.

**TJ** So being a hippy meant just having your hair long.

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Just having, just having me 'air long and I were, looked after me 'air. I used to love my 'air. I just 'ad me 'air long, just kept it long and that were it.

**TJ** Yeah. What did you work as? Did they mind you wearing it long at work?

Well, er, I used to, when I got me 'air long I worked at, I worked at Bosworths. I worked as a glass beveller.

**TJ** Right.

Bevelling glass. Put a bow round it. Stick it down back of me shirt.

**TJ** Right.

I served me apprenticeship.

**TJ** Yeah.

Seven year apprenticeship.

**TJ** Ah ha.

I served that in 1976, and closed. 'e went, 'e went bust.

**TJ** Did you get some stick for the long hair?

Well, I did sometimes. Aye. I did. But I enjoyed it.

**TJ** Yeah, yeah.

And er, I got engaged. She says "I'll get engaged if you 'ave your 'air cut." I said "I'm not 'aving me 'air cut."

**TJ** Yeah.

Came back to 'er 'ouse one night. 'er mother's waiting for me, weren't she. She'd got a pair of scissors. She went straight across it.

**TJ** Your kidding.

Straight across top, right across there.

**TJ** How did you feel about that?

I wasn't very pleased.

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**TJ** What did you do about that?

I couldn't - I just went barmy. I just got up and walked out. I got 'ome, it were just a big mess. I thought right - I 'ad to go to barbers. I said, I says "just smarten me up please. Put me a parting on side." It took about 5 year off me. And when I went round to see 'er, knocked on door, she nearly fainted 'cos she didn't know who it were. Well she knew who it were - she nearly fainted wi' shock, when she saw me new 'air style.

**TJ** Yeah.

She said "I told you you'd look better like that, instead of 'aving long 'air." But I liked, I liked me long 'air because it weren't dirty, it were clean.

**TJ** Yeah.

I looked after me 'air.

**TJ** Yeah.

Used to get me sister brushing it. And washing it. "Let me brush 'is 'air, let me wash it." She's living in China now, me sister.

**TJ** Right. So in these mid seventies you and your mates were hanging around and from what you're saying, it wasn't like it is now, it was - sounds much more gentle.

Yeah, it were great. Yeah.

**TJ** Laid back.

Well there were, there were hell's angels and skin 'eads weren't there in seventies?

**TJ** Right. Were there plenty round here?

No. I tell you, they used to be a few hells angels up 'ere, down at the pub, down at the back there. They used - skin 'eads used to run town.

**TJ** Right.

Hells angels used to [inaudible] I never went. I never went nowhere near 'em. You know Holdcroft Street?

**TJ** Oh yeah, I know, yeah.

Used to meet there skin 'eads, rival skin 'eads meet. Hells angels people used to meet, Holdcroft Street in town.

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**TJ** Yeah, yeah.

Just for a punch up.

**TJ** Yeah, yeah.

To see who were hardest.

**TJ** Yeah.

Which were all stupid. Somebody getting hurt.

**TJ** Yeah.

To see who were hardest.

**TJ** Yeah.

Best thing if you can run - run. If you can talk your way out of it, talk your way out of it. That were me, I weren't bothered.

**TJ** Yeah. So tell me, this has come forward a bit in time, from the mid-seventies. So let's come forward to the 80's. I mean I'm trying to get some feel for this transformation from the time when, you know

1980s

**TJ** and to now when you say it's all very different. Em, how did you experience that change?

All this change, all this changing come from - there's a pub on end of this road 'ere. This is where it's all changed from. That's where it all started.

**TJ** Which is that pub? Is that the ...

Robin Hood. Robin Hood. That's where it all started from. They started taking 'em in there. Drugs in there. And everybody found out what they are. Used to have disco's, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Packed out. All 'ad these whistles. These whistles, nothing like it, got these big [inaudible] bloody whistles, blowing these whistles. High on drugs. Still 'aving parties na. Five o'clock in the morning they're coming out of the pub. Five o'clock in the morning, and there's [inaudible] what live round on this estate. Complaining to police, "Oh, you're prejudiced", you know, [inaudible] you're racists. Like last week. Supposed to be pub week, pub year or summat. Pub year 17th to 25th. Well if you'd 'ave drove past 'ere Saturday there's 20 speakers on the front and 20 speakers round the back. There's one playing outside and one playing inside. And boy could you hear the music and that went on till early hours in the

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morning. And police told 'em to come and turn it down. They wouldn't turn it down. Until about 1/2 past 3.

**TJ** Is this the landlord or is this the DJ, the employers or?

It's not - 'e used to be DJ.

**TJ** Yeah.

'e's had [inaudible] took all 'is equipment off 'im.

**TJ** Right.

So don't know if 'e's going back - this chap what's got it na, 'e's leasing it.

**TJ** Right.

'e 'as discos. Strippers Sundays. Male stripper Tuesday for ladies. Tries to knock 'is beer down a bit for everybody going in. Buy 4 get one free. But that's since 'e's took over na. This pub. You know this pub were unbelievable. 1962 it opened this - Robin Hood. The lounge used to be a tap room. Tap room's a lounge na. Changed it round. From here that pub were out of this world. It were packed dinner time and night. That pub. By dinner time, got people queuing up outside Sunday morning at 12 o'clock waiting to get on dart board. 'Cos it used to last all day to play 'cos it only opened 12 while 2. Only open 2 hours, come back at night and finish game off if it weren't finished. Na, it's just gone to the, there's nobody goes in at dinner time. They go back at 1/2 past 10. There while about 1/2 past 4 - 5 o'clock. That's how 'e makes 'is money. It's going down and down and down and the people what live on this estate 'ere, old age pensioners - it's really getting to 'em. One old woman says she gonna go in and smash all machines and all speakers up, if 'e don't turn it down. Unfortunately there's a nursing 'ome being built at back of it. 120 residents, and it's about this length, away from the back of the Robin Hood. So whether 'e's gonna abide by the rules 'cos they're sick people what's moving into this nursing 'ome.

**TJ** Mmm.

If 'e keeps going on wi' music 'e'll end up losing 'is licence, which I think 'e's gonna lose 'is licence. Because 'e's been warned 5 or 6 times na. But its getting worse. He just doesn't take no notice. I think the noise is pathetic.

**TJ** And so it was the allowing the drugs to be dealt in there which changed ...

Ah but it got - 'e couldn't do anything about it. Well 'e put a poster up - no drugs allowed in this pub by order. Simon. Coppers raided it. 'e can't get done, 'cos there's a sign there. While it's up there I've told them, but they do. Just go in toilet.

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**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

Put it in silver paper, they 'eat it up. Snort it. Found syringes on 'ere. On this banking 'ere.

**TJ** Yeah. When did you find the syringes? Or do you find them regularly?

Don't find 'em regular. I found one about 2 month ago on 'ere. Because I thought it was Sean because he's a diabetic see. A diabetic, it hadn't been used. I thought, I don't know what it is, I'll sling it away. I thought it were one of 'is. It's a wonder 'e 'asn't got 'is music on na. You can - wall's like paper, 'e's got about 3 big speakers in 'is living room. He's starting afternoon shift. They're coming in 'til about 3 o'clock in the morning. Don't get up while about 2, 1/2 past 2. I've got nowt against 'im - 'e's nice lad, I've known him since 'e were that 'igh. All grown up together. But he, how this happened, 'e wants to earn some money. Let 'im earn some money. I keep out of 'is road. 'e's been raided once.

**TJ** Yeah.

But they didn't find anything.

**TJ** No.

'e's a good enough chap to me, 'e's alright.

**TJ** Yeah.

'e's 'ad this caravan put on 'ere.

**TJ** Oh is that his?

Ah ha. For 'is 2 daughters to play in at week ends. They sleep in it. Duty [?] council come 'cos they burned it down, so they fetched councillor.

**TJ** Yeah.

(331) Because it's - they've seen 'em living in it you see. Kiddies sleeping in it at week end. Which is not right.

**TJ** No.

So they fetched council with burning tackle. Burn it down. So they fetched, Steven phoned tenants association up. Told one of ladies to come. She's very good an' all. Told her to come. Because she's, so they came down from council. Any how the council they put them 4 big steel stumps up there. So I don't know how they're gonna get caravan off na. 'Cos one of daughters, she's grown up. She's nearly 16, other one's 11. They don't bother with it now. It's

just a big eye sore. It looks like mine 'cos it's in front of my 'ouse. It's not, it's 'is. Bought it for the kids. Well kids bought it them sens £20. It's been there for about 5 year na. It's just a big eye sore.

**TJ** As a play room for the kids, I mean it could be quite fun.

That was a play area.

**TJ** Yeah I now.

Got burnt down.

**TJ** Yeah. When did that get burnt down?

Before I moved on 'ere. And I knew who did it.

**TJ** (346) Before you moved on here?

Yeah, well before I moved on this road.

**TJ** Right, I see. Yes.

Before I moved on this road.

**TJ** Do you think he did it?

Well 'e didn't do it, 'e 'ad somebody else do it.

**TJ** What was that about?

Because he hated kids. 'e 'ates kids. 'e's got 2 daughters, 'e wanted a lad. 'e wanted a little lad you know. And he's pining for a little lad but he can't 'ave any more 'e loves little lads - 'e 'ates little lasses. Don't know why. "Get off of there" (TJ: Mmm). "Get off of there", 'e'd shout at 'em. Used to wake him up. They used to play on front, like I say it's his afternoon shift. "Get off of there. Trying to get some sleep." He got somebody to burn it down. Little roundabout, 2 little rocking 'orses. Little things. Two benches. It's all burnt down.

**TJ** And what happened? I mean - you know this - who else knows that?

Oh there's quite a lot. A chap across there with that big bay windows there. He says - they call him Mr Bond - he's left now because of all 'assle 'e's 'ad. He says 'e's took photos of everybody what's been in and out of 'is 'ouse. 'e's got photos of everybody. 'e's even saw who burnt that down. 'e's got the photos of the person who burnt that down. Fortunately 'e's moved now. 'e's moved onto Longfield. I'd 'ad loved to 'ave seen some of them photos.

**TJ** So what has happened? I mean did anybody ever inform the police? Did anything ever happen to him?

Not a thing.

**TJ** Not a thing.

Not a thing. Burnt down. Kiddies, nothing to do for the kiddies. Big spare land at back of there. Never been - well they put a fence up and put some hardcore down, they could have made that into a little play area. They could have made this into a car park. One person voted against so, so council won't do it. This'd been the car park, that would have been a play area.

**TJ** Mmm.

There's a lot of people complain about parking their cars on 'ere. 'e's got a van and 2 cars. And if he can't get 'is own, if 'e can't get 'is own car in, the person's car who's there. 'e'll park right up like that. So to get up in morning they can't get out.

**TJ** What happens?

Well they start swearing at 'im.

**TJ** Right.

Like I just said to you - lady on end block, "move your car, please" [inaudible]. Well, at least my car's taxed. "Your cars in't taxed or your van's taxed." "What you getting at. What you getting at." Walk off, slam door. You know best thing to do is just phone police in't it? Won't move 'is car so - no tax or test on 'em. Get 'em towed away 'cos 'e can't do nowt about it, can they?

**TJ** But that doesn't happen?

It don't 'appen no. Like I say, 'e's a smashing kid Sean, but 'e's just ignorant.

**TJ** Yeah.

'e's just ignorant.

**TJ** Yeah. How old is he?

(child interrupting) I'll fetch it yer in a bit.

**TJ** How old is he, just as a matter of interest?

Er, 39. Thirty nine next.

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**TJ** Right. Mmm. OK. Well I'm gonna move on to the next general area. That was fascinating! (laugh). Em...

## Interview extract one (part two)

### *Gender Difference, Anxiety and the Fear of Crime 1995*

Information about interviewee

Date of birth: 1953

Gender: Male

Marital status: Unknown

Occupation: Unemployed

Geographic region: Unknown but classed as a 'high crime' area.

Interviewee's name: Tommy/TJ(1)

Interview ID: int68

Tommy/TJ Interview 2 6 July 1995

**TJ** Right, sorry about that slow start. OK. This is really gonna be in 2 stages. I'm gonna follow up some of things that came out from last time

yeah

**TJ** and then there's some specific questions which may or may not be relevant, depending on what's come up beforehand

yeah

**TJ** if you see what I mean? OK. So the first - first sort of questions are really about your work history and your previous family history just to get it - I mean I realised after I'd listened I'd listened to the tape last time, I knew quite a lot about you now, and I felt I knew something about you as a young man

yeah

**TJ** a big chunk in the middle which I

some are missing

**TJ** so could you pick up your work history, after

leaving school

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**TJ** the apprenticeship. You did the apprenticeship with

yeah

**TJ** and then you say it finished in 1976.

Yeah well it went, it went bust.

**TJ** Right. Let's pick it up from there.

From on - from on, from that went on, from there then I went to er, Brishams. That was an aluminium firm.

**TJ** Right.

But that was working on nights and er, I didn't like, I didn't like nights. It were 10 while 6 o'clock. And they were long hours. There were just me and another chap on nights.

**TJ** Yeah.

And it was 5 nights a week.

**TJ** Yeah.

And to get from 'ere to other end of town

**TJ** yeah

it was a drag. And trying to get a bus in the morning to come back 'ome, it was even worse.

**TJ** Yeah.

And finishing at 6 and not getting 'ome while 1/2 past 7, 1/4 to 8

**TJ** yeah

it was really shattering. Well er, I were only there, I were only there for about 6 months. They laid me off. And from on there I were laid off for about 2 year then. And I worked at Foxwells on Shipwell Street. But - making moulds. That were only - that were only a 3 month job.

**TJ** Yeah.

That was a lay off.

**TJ** Yeah.

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Then from 1979 onwards I started at Allsops in [heavy manual work].

**TJ** Right.

Classed - I was classed as a er, a [heavy manual work] spare 'elper.

**TJ** Yeah.

There I used to work on nights I used to go on 6 while 6.

**TJ** Yep.

Six at night while 6 in the morning, 5 nights. Used to have 2 shifts, 6 "til, 6 "til 2, and er, 6 while 6 on nights. Er, I were, I were really enjoying that work, one of best jobs I've ever 'ad, because it's supposed to be a communist firm this.

**TJ** Yeah.

And you couldn't - you couldn't get into this firm unless you got - unless you'd got relations.

**TJ** Yeah.

Well this chap I know what lives down road, 'e worked there, 30 odd year. And 'e's told me there were some jobs available. He said "when you go down, just tell 'em your me uncle." And I went down for interview. "Sit down." I said "oh me uncle Chris - Chris Grimes ." They said "oh yeah, 'e's been 'ere a few year." Well I 'ad the interview. I got a phone call - well I 'ad a letter week after, to start on nights. Anyhow we were going on and on and on, and all of a sudden iit started slowing down and slowing down. He started taking, er, cranks elsewhere. You know like to Smithwells, where they'd got their own machines, you just press this straight down into one.

**TJ** Yeah.

Just took it out of fire, just pressed it straight into a crank, where as we were, we were taking it out of fire, 'itting it wi' an 'ammer, taking the scrap off and then piling all cranks up, and they ended up going down into machine shop. I lasted there 18 month but er, the [heavy manual workshop] closed down. But machine shop's still going. I'd got an option, taking redundancy or going into machine shop.

**TJ** Yeah.

So I ended up taking redundancy because the machine shop people - they all work for themselves. They didn't like, they didn't like anybody coming out of [heavy manual workshop] down to their place.

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**TJ** Yeah.

So I ended up taking redundancy. But from 1979 - well - I finished in 1980 and ever since I haven't 'ad a job.

**TJ** Since 1980?

Since 1980. '80, '81.

**TJ** Was that - that job lasted 18 months did you say?

Yeah.

**TJ** Eighteen months. Since 1981. And it was just that the firm ...

It was just that the, the [heavy manual workshop] - they took it, they took it elsewhere. They were just - there were just machines, it was Smithwells, they were just pressing the cranks, and er ...

**TJ** So how do you feel about being unemployed?

Well it's 'orrible.

**TJ** Yeah.

It is 'orrible. I've - nearly 15 year, well going on 15 year.

**TJ** Yeah.

Wi' out a job.

**TJ** Yeah.

It's gonna, it's gonna get worse before it gets better. Look what they've done now with, with dole offices.

**TJ** Yeah.

Made all them redundant.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

There's 3 million - there's 3 million unemployed na. So, in fact, I, I never go because you don't know which way to go. You don't know who's gonna gain and who's gonna lose. [Inaudible] It's, but er, I'd love to get a job.

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**TJ** Yeah.

Even a driving job.

**TJ** Yeah.

'cos I enjoy driving. But er, there's no-no-nothing. I think the best place to do na, is either emigrate or go down London where the work is. That's the only alternative you can do.

**TJ** Mmm.

Best thing to do na is emigrate. But you've got to 'ave money to, to emigrate 'aven't ya?

**TJ** It's true. But your partner works does she?

No.

**TJ** No? She doesn't?

No.

**TJ** No. So your both

both unemployed

**TJ** unemployed.

Well the situation there, she used to work at er, Robin Hood pub.

**TJ** Right.

But a coloured chap - we've got a coloured chap were running it.

**TJ** Yeah.

So 'e were getting a bit stropky. 'e were leaving 'er in pub on 'er own, while 'e were going out. And I didn't like that. So I went round and told 'im. Said "I'm 'er gaffer, not you." Said "I tell 'er what to do, but you don't tell 'er what to do." 'e started being clever. So I said "right" I says "that's it." I said "from now on she's not working for you no more." He turned round "oh yes she will." Said "Mary, you're not working for 'im no more." She went "alright love." It cost us a few bob, she were getting sixty odd pound a week part time. But I wanted to make sure I got in before 'e got in. And I wanted to prove to 'im to whom gaffer were, not, not 'im. You know what I mean? You know what I mean?

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

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And in fact, he turned to 'er. He want - she, she can go back tomorrow.

**TJ** Yeah.

She could go back tomorrow.

**TJ** Yeah.

But er, I'm not 'aving 'im dictating to 'er, or dictating to me - to tell me what to do with my missus.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah. Of course. So, (interruption "tea, no sugar, just a drop of milk.") Em, so how do you feel generally about the fact that you did this 7 - 6 year apprenticeship

Seven year apprenticeship. I've still got, I've still got certificate upstairs.

**TJ** And you never actually became a glass beveller?

(stumbling over beginning of sentence). No, it never came (stumbling) I passed me bevelling job, with me apprenticeship.

**TJ** Yeah.

And I never got into a job properly. And I served a 7 year apprenticeship. After all that, all that work had gone to waste.

**TJ** Mmm. You must have been one of the last of the apprenticeship servers.

Yeah. I've got to 'ave been, yeah. And after, after my apprenticeship er, there were Harold Passmore's glass place. But er, Mr Passmore 'is self, not Elmore, Selwyn Passmore - came down and gid me 2 pence an hour pay rise, 'cos I'd passed me apprenticeship. And I couldn't believe it. Worked - I worked 40 hours a week and 'e gid me 80 pence a week extra.

**TJ** (laugh). Oh no.

For serving me apprenticeship. [Inaudible] he give me, he give me a certificate.

**TJ** Yeah.

And I, I couldn't believe it. I've taken it upstairs in a, in a glass frame. It's, it's nice to 'ave, 'cos it's, it's something to have achieved. And I did. It took 7 years to do it and after that.

**TJ** I know.

he went bust.

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**TJ** Ironic isn't it?

See, go to every other glass firms they've all got glass bevellers, they don't want anybody else.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah. The other area was your previous family history that I just wanted to fill in a bit. Your first marriage. I mean did you actually get married to the woman you were engaged to when you had the long hair.

No, I've never been married.

**TJ** Ah, you've never been married?

Never been married.

**TJ** You were engaged then, though weren't you?

I was engaged - twice.

**TJ** Twice. OK.

I've, I've, I've 3 kiddies to me - I've 3 other children.

**TJ** Right the 3 you now have.

To me first girl.

**TJ** Right.

Got a daughter at 15, a lad at 12 and a lad at 9.

**TJ** Right.

And this young lad 'ere, 'e's my little lad - 'e's 5.

**TJ** Right.

But these 2 others are Mary's children.

**TJ** Yeah.

They've grown up with me from

**TJ** I understand

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well, as you can see.

**TJ** Yeah. So tell me a little bit about that relationship with the 3 children, 15, 12 and 9? What happened?

See, I used to come 'ome - this is when I were at [inaudible] working mornings and afternoons, nights. She liked the money, and she liked to get out. I used to listen to 'er and she used to tell me what to do. Because I 'ad to bite me lip, you know what I mean? 'cos I could 'ave got violent wi' 'er. But I just bit me lip. And then she started going out, started going out, and gradually she was stopping out for weekend. So what I did, I took the kids off 'er. Got me self 'ouse on Forest Grove estate round 'ere. And I took, I took the kids. I got the kids. And, fortunately I went out one night. I got a baby sitter in - went out one night to a night club and I met Mary there, who's with me na. And we 'it it off from there. She kept coming in. 'er 'usband found out. We didn't 'ave an argument or owt like that. She told 'im straight. 'e came to see me, never 'ad argument. And sorted it all out, er, within 2 week 'is solicitor came. Says to Mary "do you want a quick divorce?" Mary said "yeah." Within 3 weeks she were divorced. And we're still, and we're still good friends me and 'er, and 'er ex-husband, 'cos 'e phones up every time to see if, if 'is lads are alright. If 'is lads want to go down to see 'im, they go down and see 'im. But oldest one, Les - well 'e's grown up na - 'e's 19 this year, like 'e's accepting me as 'is grandad for 'is daughter - which I think were great. 'e don't want anything to do with 'is dad. 'cos 'is dad's never done anything for 'im. It's me what's done it for all for 'em. 'e passed 'is test yesterday.

**TJ** Yeah.

I paid for 'im to 'ave driving lessons. Forty two lessons, and er, £420.

**TJ** Yeah.

And 'e passed 'is test yesterday.

**TJ** Oh that's nice.

So I got 'im green L plates.

**TJ** Yeah.

I went to pick 'im up from work. 'cos 'e works at Bradleys. Finished at 2 o'clock. I'm sat in passenger - I says "come on then, let's get [inaudible] now you've passed your test." 'e wouldn't go in drivers seat - too nervous. I went in this morning, with 'im being on at 6, I said "have, have an extra lay in bed, 'ave 1/2 hour lay in bed." I says "take car wi' ya." He says "alright, thanks." So, as you know, I move the car off estate anyhow. And I told 'im where it were. Well he gets in car, about 10 minutes later 'e comes back. 'e says "I can't - steering wheel won't move." I says "'cos there's a steering lock on it." "What you've gotta do Les,

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you've got to put the key in, waggle key and steering wheel and steering wheel will come loose." I said "don't forget, just pull a little bit of choke out and gi' it some revs, you'll be alright."

**TJ** Yeah.

"Once the, once the car's going alright, just push the choke back in." "Right." So off, off 'e goes again. This time I were getting up at 1/4 to. So I thought, I'll take dog out, down to paper shop, fetch a paper. I'm walking down street - 'e's walking past. I said "what's up?" "Battery's flat on car." Well I gets there, 'e's that far away parked off, off of, off of a kerb.

**TJ** (laugh).

(111) Double yellow line. 'e'd pulled choke out about that much.

**TJ** Yeah.

'e'd flooded it.

**TJ** Flooded it.

So, I said, "now watch yourself." So I pushed choke in. I said "it'll start now." Just a couple of turns it started. 'e said "well how 'ave you done that?" I said "'cos you've flooded it, trying to set off." He said "just take me to work." He said "and leave it at that."

**TJ** (laugh).

I said "you've got to get used to it." I said "I've just put you on the insurance."

**TJ** Yeah. [Inaudible] So what happened to the children then - I mean you had them with you?

I 'ad them, and er, em

**TJ** but you don't have them now

no, she came back, and she wanted 'er kids back. I, I didn't want to argue about it. They, they always go back to the mother don't they? What I say, they always go back to the mother. They've gone back to their mother. "Er, er - I see 'em all, I still see me daughter 'cos me daughter was buying a house, "er and Martin was buying a house on [inaudible].

**TJ** Many thanks.

Thank you dear (cups rattling).

**TJ** How old were they when this happened.

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Er, our Martin's 9 now, so - 'e were only 2.

**TJ** So we're talking about 7

seven or 8 - 7 to 8 years yeah. I've known, I've been, I've known Mary 11 years.

**TJ** Mmm Hm.

No, our Martin's 11. Fifteen, 13 and 11. I've known Mary 11 years.

**TJ** Right.

And she's lived with me 8 years.

**TJ** So

So Paul, me young - Paul didn't really know anything about it. You know what I mean? With 'im being young. But the other 2 did you see.

**TJ** So was there a time when they were with you and you were seeing Mary before your wife

Yeah, I 'ad 'em, I 'ad 'em with me on, on Dowling Road.

**TJ** Right.

And Mary kept, and Mary kept coming up every other day to see me and see me kids. She found out I was with somebody else. So she thought right I'll get me kids back. I weren't gonna argue wi' 'er, 'cos I'd settled down and she were nice, she were great - Mary with kids. And one day she come up - she came up arguing she'd already took the kids back and she came up arguing. And Mary answered door. I were out me. And me ex-wife, ex-girl smacked Mary straight between eyes.

**TJ** Did she?

Because she said, er she's supposed to 'ave said something to middle one, Martin [?], and she didn't say anything malicious, you know what I mean?

**TJ** Yeah.

She came up, knocked on, knocked on door, she opened door, she smacked 'er straight between eyes. So I says, "right, leave it with me", I says. "No", she says, "I'll see to it." Because I, I wanted to fetch 'er back, and let 'er do same to 'er what she's done to 'er, but it'd 'ave all been 'bitty batty' you know what I mean? Anyhow, er, it's all, it's all seen to. I'd love to 'ave me daughter back, 'cos she might turn round when she's 18. She might want to come

back and live with me, 'cos I've even said to Mary, I said "if, if our Katie ever come, asked to come and live "ere with me", I said "would you?" She said, "'course I would." 'cos she's always wanted a daughter. And she's known my daughter since she were, since she were little.

**TJ** So you sound as if - it sounds as if it all was over very reasonably. But how did you feel about losing your children?

It, well it 'urt me, but you've got to live with it, you can't do nothing about it. You can not go arguing. If you still, if you go arguing, she's gonna go to court and she's gonna stop me from seeing kids. She don't stop me from seeing kids at all now. We even talk. But Mary, Mary don't like it. If I'm talking to 'er, "what you talking to 'er for?" I said, "there's nothing in it na." I said, "it's gone. I said "I've been living with you 11 years so what 'ave I got to talk to, talk to 'er about?" I said, "Our time is finished", I said, "I'm talking to 'er 'cos me kids are there." I said, "I'm not gonna argue and show me kids up, upset me kids."

**TJ** They're on the estate are they?

No they live at, er Pentlow Grange.

**TJ** Right. But do they come here?

Me daughter - me daughter and me eldest lad - they go to Highfield school. Other one goes to [inaudible] school till 'e's old enough to come to Highfield. But er, me daughter, she's stops down at 'er friends 'ere at weekends, on estate down - on new estate down 'ere. I see 'er every Saturday.

**TJ** Mmm.

She comes looking for me. I don't go looking for 'er, she'll come and look for me. If she wants me she'll come and get me.

**TJ** So you just see her incidentally?

Just see her incidentally yeah. She knows where I live. But she's shy in coming in to 'ouse in case Mary says anything. But Mary loves 'er. She's, she's really fond of Katie. Because she lost a daughter, Mary.

**TJ** Mmm. Mmm. Mmm. You said just now that you were nearly violent with 'er. She kind of wound you up a lot.

Oh, if she came up - oh I couldn't - if I'd 'ave done it, I'd 'ave, I'd 'ave, I'd 'ave been in prison.

**TJ** Yeah.

She was evil to me.

**TJ** You just bit your tongue?

Many a time I 'ad to bite my tongue. It were alright for 'er to go out, but not for me to go out.

**TJ** Yeah.

Came 'ome one night after we'd been for a drink and all me clothes were outside. Scattered all oer garden. All oer road. Just 'cos I'd been out and come back - come back about an hour late, hour and half late.

**TJ** Yeah.

That's because, er, because she wanted to get out. See I, I told 'er I'd be back for 10 o'clock, so she could go night clubbing.

**TJ** Yeah.

But I didn't get back while 1/2 past 11.

**TJ** Yeah.

So 'er friend 'ad gone.

**TJ** Yeah.

And she couldn't go.

**TJ** I see.

So all my clothes were outside on street.

**TJ** Yeah.

But she still went.

**TJ** And what did you do?

I let 'er go. I just, I just picked all me clothes and put 'em back in. I said "it's your turn now", I said, "I'm gonna throw your clothes out."

**TJ** Did you?

No.

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**TJ** (laugh).

And - she ended up - she ended up going out.

**TJ** Yeah.

She come back about 1/4 to 6.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

You know from night club. And night club closes at 2 o'clock.

**TJ** Yeah.

Get out for about 1/2 past 2, 1/4 to 3, get a taxi.

**TJ** Yeah.

1/4 to 6 she walked in. I knew what she'd been up to. But er, I knew it were coming to an end.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

I just bit me tongue. I says, "that's it." I got me suitcases, come up to me mam, "hi ya mam I'm 'ome." And that were it. Ever since then.

**TJ** Right. That was the

That was, that was the day it ended.

**TJ** Or the night when it ended.

It was a day when it ended. I'm a qualified referee. I've been refereeing 20 year na. And she wanted to go out this special weekend, 'cos she'd found a chap. And I were living at me mam's. And I said "I've 'ad 'em this weekend, it's your turn to 'ave 'em this weekend." Anyhow I'm refereeing - all 3 kids on touch line with a suitcase. "Buy, see you at weekend." I couldn't do nothing about it. I couldn't stop football match. And she left 'em wi' me.

**TJ** Yeah.

My mother went barmy. She'd gone away. She'd been away - gone away for dirty weekend. But er, that's by and by, and that's when [a tear fell?] I'm back 'ome. I knew where me bread's buttered. I knew me mother 'ad 'ave me back.

**TJ** Yeah, yeah, yeah. So that was after the night clubbing

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Mmm. Mmm.

**TJ** That was the final

yeah that was the final one yeah.

**TJ** Yeah. OK. Alright. I've got a sense of a - of that. Can I just also ask a few questions about em, your relations with your family? Your brothers, sisters. Em, your a twin aren't you?

(192) I'm a twin.

**TJ** What was it like growing up in such a large family with

it were great, you'd, you'd two sets of twins. You know wi' us being a big family, and everybody, and all at school, all used to come 'ome at 10 to 4. We, we always used to race 'ome for cow pie, what we used to call cow pie, you know big meat - get a big tin like that, me mother, and she'd put cup in so all crusts come up. Big meat potato pie - that's when we 'ad coal fires as well. Do you remember coal fires?

**TJ** I do.

They were the best fires that we've ever 'ad, and we all used to race 'ome at tea time, to see who got (laugh) biggest plate and everything. We used to 'ave some right arguments to see who got (laugh) biggest plate! And "is there, is there any more, is there any more?" It were brilliant. And sleeping arrangement - 'cos it - it were, it were one, it were a 3 bedroomed 'ouse, between 10 of us. Well me mum and dad 'ad got their own room

**TJ** Yeah.

So we'd 3 double beds in one room, 'cos there were 2 daughters, there were 2 girls you see. Well it were brilliant.

**TJ** (laugh).

There were - one, one, two, there were six of us. Three in one double bed, no two, two in each double bed.

**TJ** Yeah.

And in, well, you know then, we were skint. [TJ: Yeah] In the 60s we were skint.

**TJ** Yeah.

And to get a, to get a blanket to get covered up were unbelievable. To get big, big, big over coats.

**TJ** Yeah, yeah.

What me mother used to do, you, you know plates in oven - she used to put some bricks in. Get bricks out - t"warm bottom, warm bottom of the bed. And get plate out of oven, wrap it up in a er, a, a, a sheet and put it in bottom of bed, so stretch your feet out. And it were, it were, it were 'orrible in the morning 'cos it were freezing cold.

**TJ** Yeah.

Y"know, plate and brick. There were no double glazing, no central 'eating or anything. All we, all we lived for were coal fire.

**TJ** Yeah.

And me dad used to get up every morning, make s-sticks out of paper.

**TJ** Yeah.

About 6 o'clock. Used to get fire blaring out before we get up about, about 1/2 past 7, 1/4 to 8. Always used to run down for a cup of tea, run at side of fire. It, tremendous. They were tremendous years. But ever since that, you know when you get a family as big as, as we 'ave?

**TJ** Yeah.

You'd think all the family 'ld keep in touch. You know like every year, a get together. My family's never seem to 'ave done that.

**TJ** Why do you think that is?

Pardon?

**TJ** Why do you think that is?

I don't know. We've all grown up together and never met.

**TJ** Yeah.

But I've - I see me twin.

**TJ** Yeah.

Once a month.

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**TJ** You see your twin once a month?

Or, or sometimes once a fortnight. 'e'll come up into club to see me.

**TJ** Right. Is he on the estate?

No is on t'er - well 'e is - 'e's a bit further down road. It's like off Norton Street, Fordham Street 'e lives on.

**TJ** Right.

When 'e comes up 'e'll 'ave a drink - I'll sit in lounge and 'e'll go in concert room. Not sit wi' me, or I won't sit wi' 'im.

**TJ** Why's that?

I don't know. See it's the same with other set of twins.

**TJ** (225) Yeah?

They're, they're same. There's, there's, there's no personality there at all.

**TJ** You mean you don't feel very

You don't, you don't feel very close to each other. But 'e's me twin.

**TJ** Was it always like that?

We used to fight like cat and dog. Used to love each other.

**TJ** Yeah.

Er, since we've started growing, growing up, er, we've never 'ad a get together while I've, while I've been 'ere. Me grandma's still living. Me grandma's 96.

**TJ** I know.

Me mother's got 30 - I don't know if it's 36 or 38 grandkids. She knows every one of the birthdays, and she sends every, everyone a card. I've got a sister what lives in another northern city - I 'aven't seen 'er for 4 year.

**TJ** She lives where?

In another northern city.

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**TJ** You haven't seen her for 4 years?

Four year. Me other sister, me eldest sister, she's gone overseas.. She's coming back in August, she's entitled, she's allowed 2 holidays a year. So she's coming 'ome in August and she'll be coming 'ome at Christmas. 'er lad is in army.

**TJ** Yeah.

And er 'e's having trouble with 'is little daughter. She's been in - since she's only about 3 months old, she's 'ad about 10 operations, try and keep 'er alive. And she's worrying about that and everything. But, I've got another sister, she just lives on Watermill Crescent - I don't know 'ow she's grown - she's just grown, she"s just, just turned into such a liar. She was there - I used learn 'er to - I learnt 'er to walk when she were a baby. And she's grown up, she's grown up to be a big 'ead and such a liar. I 'ate 'er.

**TJ** You hate her?

It's me sister.

**TJ** Mmm.

And I 'ate 'er. For the things she does. She's such a liar.

**TJ** Give me an example of what you mean?

I can't stand 'er. I'll talk to 'er.

**TJ** No but, I'm not sure what you quite mean.

Well she says things what's she done, and she 'an't done.

**TJ** Oh I see.

It's like she's got a bank book of my mother's.

**TJ** Right.

She's got a bank book of my mother's. And she's forged my mother's signature to draw some money out of this bank book. Na that to my, to my - is evil woman. And to do it to 'er own mother: "I'll look after your bank book." Forging 'er signature to draw money out.

That's the only one in the family I 'ate. I love everybody else.

**TJ** Yeah.

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But er, it's funny - it's funny as well. I've 3 brothers wi' mousy 'air and I've 3 brothers with ginger 'air, and them 3 with ginger 'air are all bald.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

It's unbeliev - two sets, the other set of twins, they are identical. You could not, you could not tell them apart.

**TJ** Yeah.

They're identical. Them two get on great with each other. I get on great wi' 'em. But one of twins, 'cos they all go to see me mother at weekend, bar one. My oldest brother Elliott. 'e don't 'ave anything to do wi" mother. Why, I don't know. 'e's got a car, it's 2 minutes to me mothers.

**TJ** Yeah.

But we never seem to all click and all meet at one, all go to me mother's at one, at one time. Which to me is, is fantastic, to come, everybody to meet up and all go to see me mother. And have a laugh a - sit, and go there for an hour or two and 'ave a laugh of the times we've 'ad.

And we've 'ad some great times.

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

We've 'ad some great times.

**TJ** Your twin is not identical - your twin?

Yeah I'm identical, yeah, yeah.

I wish I could get me missus to get a photo, so we've got photos.

**TJ** So of all of your brothers, you see your twin every now and again - there was a brother you said you hadn't seen for 18 months

That's Danny that.

**TJ** Yeah.

But 'e's started to come back round.

**TJ** Right.

You see, 'e's been, 'e's been, 7 day a week, works 7 days a week because 'e's self employed.

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**TJ** Yeah.

'e 'as to work 7 days a week.

**TJ** Yeah.

Look after 'is family. Which I appreciate. And eh, er I caught 'im last week at me mother's. And 'e's started coming back. 'e's started coming to see me mam a bit. 'e just stopped once. Well, 'e's started coming back. I see me mother every day.

**TJ** Why haven't you seen your sister in another northern city? Four years is a long time.

She's 'ad a few problems, me sister. She's got - she's 7 kids na. She's 'ad 3 mis-carriages and a cot death.

**TJ** Mm Oh dear. That's bad.

And she flit from 'ere and moved and moved and moved. Been once to see 'er in another northern city. I said "na don't move again and we'll come and see you again." "I'm moving." See, you know Cablewick area where she used to live. She used to live in Cablewick area in Another Northern City and that's not a very nice place to go. But she loves it there. She met a chap in Northern City what come from Another Northern City, and went wi' 'im and they've been together ever since.

**TJ** Yeah.

**TW** But er (pause)

**TJ** You mentioned that em, you were close to your father?

Oh yeah.

**TJ** Do you - how about your mother?

I'm close to me mother, yeah. I'm very close to me mother. (Louder) But's there's one thing I don't ever do to me mother. I've never give 'er a kiss.

**TJ** That's interesting.

I never - I don't know why. I never - I go an see 'er every - I never. Little Keith, me little son. 'e stops at me mother's at weekends. What I do - she's a pensioner. So what we do, we go to supermarket and get her groceries in for weekend, or for week. And er, our Keith stops. I do that. Me sister what's round corner, what's a liar. She takes 'er 3 kids round, "look after kids while I go to work." She never gives 'er a penny.

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**TJ** Mmm.

And I feel - and me mum says "don't say nowt, 'cos if she starts. I know you buy me stuff." I buy 'er stuff every weekend. Well Mary does it as well, she goes to supermarket and gets me mother's weekend groceries in. For 'er Sunday dinners, she, she gets a roast and that. She can't make Yorkshire pudding me mam. So we buy them pre-packed

**TJ** yeah

buy a couple of pre-packed and 2 big ones, one for me mother, one for Keith. But er, I've never - I'll take 'im, I'll give me son a kiss before I go. I say "be a good boy for nan nan na." But no, I've never kissed me mam.

**TJ** Even when you were young?

Even when I were young. I just don't know why.

**TJ** Has she ever kissed you?

She might have done when I've been, when I've been in bed.

**TJ** Yeah. But otherwise.

To 'ave kissed goodnight, otherwise

**TJ** no?

er, I don't know why.

**TJ** Do you think - did she not kiss any of you?

Oh yeah. Well all all family kiss me mother when they come to see 'er. They all give 'er a kiss.

**TJ** Yeah.

I never do. I don't know why. I've never - I 'ave never done it (emphatic).

**TJ** Yeah.

It's so strange.

**TJ** What it was that interested me in that bit, was the kiss you didn't give your father.

Yeah. That's what it was, yeah. Well, er, er, but, with me not kissing me dad and me seeing me dad, in me dream. Well no, it weren't in me dream - I, I, I believe in ghosts because I saw

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my father. And it's, it never er (inaudible) in all the family who kiss me mother. But I just walk away.

**TJ** Yeah. And will she kiss all the rest of the family?

She does, aye.

**TJ** But not you?

But I- yes, well they all go up to 'er and give 'er a kiss. She won't give 'em a kiss back, no. They all go up and give 'er a kiss.

**TJ** Yeah, I see.

But I've never been up and give 'er a kiss. I say "I'll see you at weekend mam, 'ave a nice weekend." I've never done that. I go to see 'er every day.

**TJ** Yeah.

And talk to 'er.

**TJ** How did she cope though with such a big family? What kind of a mother was she? Was she strict? Or ...

Ooh strict! You never got 'er strict. Me father were strictest. Me father - me dad were ever so strict. Got a leather belt like that and a big brass buckle on t" end, and 'e said "if you're not in for 8 o'clock, you gets the strap. If you don't do as your told, you get the buckle." And we 'ad to be in 'ouse for 8 o'clock. I was in bed for 1/2 past 8.

**TJ** Mmm.

(326) And any murmur up them stairs - 'e used to run upstairs me dad. I thought, 'ere we go, get under, get 'old, get 'old of blankets and get covered up, 'cos we're gonna get whacked with his belt. (hesitation) And 'e used to come up and whack us with his belt.

**TJ** He did?

Oh, whaa, unbelievable, aye. But appreciated 'im for it because 'e knocked, 'e knocked us, 'e knocked sense into us, not to do it. But er, I, we were growing up, growing up, we 'ad some laughs. First, er, I started smoking and er, 'e knowed I'd been smoking. I were dying to 'ave a smoke in 'ouse in front of me dad (laugh). I said "I've got some cigs 'ere dad, do you want one?" He said "you know I don't smoke tipped cigarettes." He said "I know you do though." He says "so tha'd better get 'em out now and start smoking, 'cos I've seen ya smoking." So I started smoking in 'ouse, I thought I were right good.

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**TJ** How old were you then?

I were er, 16 or 17. And I felt right good, you know smoking in 'ouse? And tipping ash into open coal fire. It were - I couldn't believe it, and I've 'ad some great times with my dad.

**TJ** Were you afraid of him though?

Yeah.

**TJ** Yeah.

We all were.

**TJ** Yeah.

'cos once - 'e were big, 'e were 6' 2", 6'3".

**TJ** Yeah.

And 'e were big. 'e were a big stocky fellah.

**TJ** Yeah. Did he used to use the belt on the girls as well as the boys?

No. He idolised the girls.

**TJ** Yeah.

Well, we 'adn't got our Tina - what lives on 'ere. She was only about 6 month when we moved up on this estate.

**TJ** Right.

But me eldest sister - 'e adored 'er. And she loved me dad.

**TJ** Mmm.

And they were - they were like that, them 2. They loved each other. She 'ad a nervous break down, like me, me sister. It really 'urt 'er.

**TJ** When he died?

Oh! Because I 'ad to go and knock me sister up. We lived on bottom of this end and me sister lived at top end.

**TJ** Right.

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And got a phone call from next door, all of a sudden me mother starts. She's in a right state. I said "right." I went up to 'ouse about - it must 'ave been 1/2 past 2, 1/4 to 3 in the morning, knocking on door. I said "Shirley, come on love." She said "what's the matter?" I said "there"s a phone call." Well soon as I took 'er down street and me mother's roaring at door. She just burst into tears, screaming 'er 'ead off. She knew what 'ad 'appened. "They've took me dad, they've took me best pal away from me." And it - she ended up - she 'ad to move out of that 'ouse.

**TJ** Mmm.

'cos 'e wouldn't leave 'er alone. 'e were tormenting 'er.

**TJ** So did she have a break down while you had a break down?

She 'ad one bigger than me.

**TJ** Yeah.

She 'ad to get out of 'ouse.

**TJ** Yeah.

She still thinks, she's still there, she still talks about my dad na, as if 'e's still alive.

**TJ** Yeah.

"Nobody 'll come to, nobody 'll ever put my dad down". That close. Anyhow 'er marriage broke up. The kids were only about 14 or 15, 'er marriage broke up, 'cos she couldn't cope with me dad going. And that broke up. 'aving arguments with 'usband. 'e took 'is 'ook. Then she met this chap, who is unbelievable, Tim. Fantastic chap. Couldn't wish for a nicer chap. He"s took 'er on. They've been together about 10 or 12 year na. She's been all over world wi' 'im. With 'is job, you know 'is job. And she 'asn't got a care in the world na. She's probably still thinking about me dad. See them little bleeders on top of roof there? Just come off a roof. But er, still thinks about 'im. But she's so 'appy. She's really enjoying 'er life na.

**TJ** How long did that break down of hers last? You said yours lasted for months?

It did because it, can you can you imagine your parents you've lived wi' and one 'as got to leave you. And the one I loved. I did. I loved 'im. I love me mam. But I loved 'im, because I 'ad some laughs wi' 'im. I made my dad laugh. 'e made me laugh. He were, he were a well respected chap.

**TJ** Mmm.

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They still talk about 'im in, in club where we go into na. "There were nobody, there were nobody better than your dad, your dad were fantastic." And it's nice to hear it from somebody else what's been out with 'im and boozed wi' 'im. And to 'ear 'em talk about, to hear him talk about your father, it's nice. Saying nice things, not bad things. It is very nice. But it, it it really 'urt 'er. She's still, she"s still feeling it now, although although he's been gone 20 years.

**TJ** How long did you say she was ill from it? Or ..

She never, ever since she split up with - I don't think, she's still there. It's still there. It is still there.

**TJ** Were your other sisters affected like that?

Er, our Christine. Our Christine, yes she were yeah. But she were like that, she - I love 'er, (inaudible) - she just went out of things - she'd tattoos all over 'er arm, on 'er 'ead and everything. She just was a waste of time and I love 'er. But she just went wi' wrong people. Got mixed up wi' wrong people. She were never at school. Kept fetching 'ome. Out going round (inaudible) - she were away 2 or 3 days. And finally she clicked. She got this chap, went to Another northern city, started 'aving kiddies. Then me mother - a few year ago - before me mother moved into this flat, she'd got er, found out she'd got jaundice. She were ever so yellow, me mother. And summat, I think it were 'er gall bladder, or gall stones, whatever it were. And it were me mother's sister what came up. She used to visit and she were laid on settee and she were yellow. And it it 'adn't 'ave been for 'er sister coming - to see my mother - to get doctor in, 'cos doctor rushed 'er straight into 'ospital. She 'ad a big operation. She'd 'ave been dead na, me mam. We'd 'ave 'ad no family, there would have been no parents.

**TJ** Mmm.

I can't understand why a big family like that, me mother had got 3 sisters, 3 brothers. I seen one of 'er uncles. I've never seen any others. I've seen all aunties (raises voice pitch). You know, me aunties? I've never seen any of their brothers. Just one of uncles. It's a big family and I can't understand - you see these big families - and they always seem to 'ave a get together every, every year don't they? You know Christmas? They don't, they don't visit at Christmas. They don't visit at Christmas. You know like you go round to 'ouses? (big intake of breath) You go round to your, your family's 'ouses?

**TJ** Mmm.

"Hi ya, everything alright?" Think we 'ad 2 visitors 'ere last year. But I ain't bothered. So long as my kids are 'appy, wife's 'appy at Christmas, I ain't bothered. Let 'em enjoy themselves. I'm not bothered if nobody comes to door.

**TJ** Mmm. Mmm.

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But er I can never understand why it never 'it off. Because you can imagine na, if it started 'itting off na, can you imagine all grandkids and all kids, and all family getting back together, to find out how many we've really got.

**TJ** (laugh). Yes.

Wi' all us aunties and their kids and their kids. And me grandma's still alive. Ninety six year old.

**TJ** Yes. Have you thought you might try and

unbelievable. Well she's in 'ospital. She's in one of rest wards na. You know wi' her age?

**TJ** Yeah.

I tell ya, she's still alive and kicking.

**TJ** Mmm. I want to come back to that period when you broke down after your dad died, if I may, because it's a term that describes a lot of different things to different people. So I wonder if you could just describe those 3 or 4 weeks when you were off work, what exactly was going on for you?

I couldn't go anywhere. I daren't go out. Like I said to you

**TJ** you daren't go out?

I didn't want to go out. I didn't want to go out. Well for one thing, everybody knew me dad, if I went out "sorry to 'ear about your dad." I (pause) just burst out in tears.

**TJ** Mmm. Mmm.

I wanted it to settle down, die down, I didn't want anybody talking to me.

**TJ** Mmm.

It were 3 week. And like I said, me mother told this chap, well it were one of me friends "come on let's go out, have a drink. We'll go somewhere out of town, where we don't, don't, where we don't" - instead of going to local, you know what I mean? So we went out of town. Well went to town, itself, in Northern City.

**TJ** Mmm.

Started picking up a little bit. Then I started - they said "are we going in local." I said "no, not yet." I said we'll go in there, if they start "sorry to 'ear about your dad." I'd just 'ave to leave it

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and come out. So I gradually built meself up. Stopped coming down town, started going back into locals, and it worked from that. And then I accepted it, that me dad 'ad gone. I couldn't fetch 'im back. There was no way 'e was gonna come back. And it built up from that, it's gradually gone on and gone on. I still think about 'im. I always gi' me little, I always give me arm a little rub and a little kiss. Go in bath and make sure I wash 'im alright. You know what I mean?

**TJ** During this time when you weren't able to go out. I mean, I wondered what you did and how your family responded? How your family

I - they, they knew the situation. I - I loved me dad, they loved me, er, (pause) I were alright in 'ouse. I were 'appy in 'ouse. As long as I 'ad something there, something to eat and that telly, I weren't bothered if I didn't go out ever again. Wouldn't 'ave bothered me one bit. It's it is funny. 'cos I missed 'im that much and that's what 'urt me, with me not kissing 'im. And I don't know if that's where - with me not kissing me mam. 'cos I've never kissed me mam.

**TJ** Mmm.

And er...

**TJ** But you didn't miss him in quite the same way when you were in the house and you

No, I knew I were alright when I were in 'ouse.

**TJ** Yeah.

The only situation were, as soon as I got out of that door I know for a fact they were going to come to see me and say "sorry about your dad" and that - I couldn't 'ave coped with that.

**TJ** Yeah.

I wouldn't 'ave been able to cope wi' it.

**TJ** Yeah. Interesting, yes.

'cos to me sorry weren't enough. You know what I mean? Sorry's not enough. "Sorry to 'ear about your dad."

**TJ** Yeah.

It's - it's you can't say it, 'cos to me 'e were still there, you know what I mean?

**TJ** Did you sleep during this period?

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Well yeah, until I saw 'im, until I saw 'im. When I told you I'd seen 'im.

**TJ** Yeah.

And that made me a bit 'appier that.

**TJ** Yeah.

'cos I'd say and he said "don't worry about it, I love ya."

**TJ** Yeah. Yeah.

And that's when I told me mother. I said I'd seen me dad and 'e's told me 'e loves me. Whether it (pause) whether it were a dream (speeds up) I don't know. But I know for a fact I saw me dad. Whether because I didn't give 'im a kiss

**TJ** yeah

and 'e knew I didn't give 'im a kiss

**TJ** yeah

'e came back. Said to me "don't worry about it I still love ya." And that put me mind at rest. But I still didn't go out for over 2 to 3 week. Thinking that I'd seen me dad

**TJ** yeah

and known for a fact 'e still loves me. Because what I were trying to do, I were trying to get - I tried to think about it, and waking up to see if I could see 'im again.

**TJ** Yeah.

Like to say "I'm sorry for not kissing ya."

**TJ** Mmm.

And I were praying and praying, going to sleep, waking up and seeing if 'e were at bottom of bed again.

**TJ** Yeah.

To tell 'im that. "I'm sorry I didn't give you a kiss, and I still love you." But that were great when 'e says "I still love you, don't worry about it."

**TJ** Yeah.

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I'll never forget that day. Never.

## Teaching activities

### Activity 1

Arrange students into pairs or small groups (maximum four) and give each group a semi-structured interview extract and topic guide to work with.

1. Compare the topic guide to the questions actually asked in the interview.
2. What deviations can you identify?
3. Why do you think the interviewer has deviated at that point of the interview?
4. Discuss the ways in which these deviations might have impacted on the direction of the remaining part of the interview.

### Activity 2

Students should work individually or in pairs. Give each student a transcript.

1. What interviewing style/s can you identify in this transcript?
2. If more than one, which would you say was the most dominant technique?
3. Provide justification and evidence for your answers.

Print out the following extracts to use for this exercise.

- Feminist interviews - interview schedule.
- Feminist interviews - interview extract one.
- Life story interviews - interview extract one.

### Activity 3

Students should work individually on this task.

1. What is your personal research topic?
2. If you were to conduct interviews on this topic, which interviewing style would you consider to be the most appropriate for your research?
3. Why? Justify your answer.

### Activity 4

1. Read the account of the methodology given in the official publication or user guide. (The Discover catalogue record includes a listing of publications associated with each study.)
2. Does this account reflect how the research was conducted in the interview? Explain your answer.

Suggested comparison: Hollway and Jefferson (2000) and transcripts from SN 4581 Gender difference, anxiety and the fear of crime.

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