



## Open Research Online

### Citation

Williams, Ruth (2021). To what extent did paid employment and traditional values change for women of the Rhondda between the post war periods of 1918-24 and 1945-51? Student dissertation for The Open University module A329 The making of Welsh history.

### URL

<https://oro.open.ac.uk/78847/>

### License

(CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0) Creative Commons: Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 4.0

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

### Policy

This document has been downloaded from Open Research Online, The Open University's repository of research publications. This version is being made available in accordance with Open Research Online policies available from [Open Research Online \(ORO\) Policies](#)

### Versions

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding

**THE OPEN UNIVERSITY**

**A329**

**THE MAKING OF WELSH HISTORY**

**2020 – 2021**

**RUTH WILLIAMS**

**To what extent did paid employment and traditional values change for women of the Rhondda between the post war periods of 1918-24 and 1945-51?**

# CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	Page 3
CHAPTER 1: Introduction.....	Page 4
CHAPTER 2: Analysis of Census Data on Female Employment in the Rhondda 1911 – 1951....	Page 10
CHAPTER 3: Evaluation of Female Employment in the Rhondda after World War Two.....	Page 18
CHAPTER 4: Conclusion.....	Page 26
Appendices.....	Page 29
Bibliography.....	Page 39

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Paul, for believing in me, always.

Jack and Alice, for tolerating an absent Mum.

Mum, for being there unquestioningly.

My friends, for keeping me laughing.

Dad, for providing a well needed light at the end of the tunnel.

SJ, for answering endless queries with gentle good humour.

Fellow students and mentors, for being there on the journey.

I couldn't have made it without you!

## CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

The intended aim of this dissertation is to assess the extent of change to traditional values and opportunities for paid employment for women of the Rhondda valley in the South Wales coalfields in the period following World War Two (WW2) in comparison to the period immediately following World War One (WW1).

The dissertation will focus specifically on the Rhondda Urban District shown in Appendix A (p.29) the Local Government District which covered the Rhondda area of the South Wales coalfields between 1897 – 1955, for which the most complete census data for the periods is available. To narrow down the timescales, account has been taken of the date of the 1951 census, giving a six-year period to investigate after WW2. Applying the six-year interval to the period after WW1 avoids the complexities of the General Strike of 1926, which will almost certainly have interrupted female employment and would be beyond the scope of this dissertation. For a detailed consideration of the impact of the 1926 strike see: *The Women and Men of 1926: A Gender and Social History of the General Strike and Miners' Lockout in South Wales*. (Bruley, 2010).

Communities in the Rhondda in the period before WW1 were heavily characterised by the principle of separate spheres, where a man's role was as the 'breadwinner' and a woman's role was in the home as wife and mother. This ideology was adopted so entirely in the Welsh coalfields, partly as a non-conformist reaction to the *Report on the State of Education in Wales* (1847) which defamed Welsh women as being immoral, and partly out of necessity in an economy which relied almost entirely on coalmining (Beddoe, 2000, p.12-3). This macho-centric economy relied on women's unpaid labour in the home to "support and buttress" the work of the men (Durland, 1904, cited in Jones, 1991, p. 115). Women's unpaid labour was pivotal to the mining economy and community. The adherence to separate spheres in the

South Wales coalfields over generations led to the acceptance of these gender specific roles as 'traditional'. However, G.A. Williams argued that traditional values in South Wales were exceptional compared to most other regions of Britain, and the situation was "historically novel" (1983, p.530). Consequentially, female employment rates in the Rhondda before WW1 were some of the lowest in Britain.

Whilst acknowledging that women's unpaid domestic labour forms the greater part of the history of women in South Wales, this dissertation will focus on women's formal paid employment, for clarity referred to simply as 'employment'. To establish the context of women's employment, research into the domestic aspect of women's lives is essential.

Angela John's 1991 book *Our Mother's Land*, is a collection of essays about Welsh women during the period 1830 – 1939. It includes Dot Jones' 'Counting the Cost of Coal: Women's lives in the Rhondda 1881 – 1911' which describes the origins of the traditional values mentioned above and the harrowing consequences of these alongside poverty, inadequate housing, and high birth-rate. Women's personal experiences of these circumstances are explored in: 'Tidy Women – Women in the Rhondda Between the Wars' by Rosemary Crook (1982) which uses oral testimonies to assess the interdependence of Rhondda women and their attitudes to home and work in the interwar years. Mari A. Williams' 'Aspects of Women's Working Lives in the Mining Communities of South Wales, c. 1891 – 1939' (1991) argues that pre-WW2 women's unpaid labour and casual paid labour, which was often unrecorded and taken only "as a last resort" (p. 68) was highly gender specific. Williams asserts that women's unpaid domestic labour in this period was an "essential, albeit unwaged, contribution to the industrial economy" (p.63).

The traditional values of the Rhondda were challenged with the outbreak of WW1. The war created "an unprecedented demand for women's labour" (Beddoe, 1991, p.189). From 1916 women were urged to register at labour exchanges and for the Women's National Service

Scheme. The process of ‘substitution’ began and for the first-time women undertook traditionally male occupations as diverse as drivers, office clerks, postal-workers, and factory workers. Through the course of WW1 in Great Britain, “an estimated two million women replaced men in the labour force” (Hatton & Bailey, 1988, p. 166). In South Wales numerous munitions factories were established and, although there appears to be no specific record of numbers of women employed in war work in the Rhondda at this time, the Board of Trade claimed in May 1916: “5,000 women and girls engaged in munition production in South Wales” (Strachan, cited in Beddoe, 2000, p.60-1). To give an idea of the scale of this change Appendix B (p.30) shows that in the Rhondda in 1911 a total of only 7,105 women were employed.

Post-WW1 there was speculation that women’s contribution to the war effort had initiated “radical changes in society” in respect of traditional gender roles (Braybon & Summerfield, 2012, p. 116). The Representation of The People Act in February 1918, gave women over the age of thirty who met minimum property requirements, including married women, the vote followed swiftly by the allowance of women to stand as members of parliament. The Act was considered by many as a “reward for their [women’s] wartime services” (Beddoe, 2000, p. 72). However, the agreements which had required women to undertake men’s roles during WW1 were only valid for the duration of the war. The Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act of 1918 legislated that women had to leave their war-time posts to make way for the demobilisation of male war-workers and soldiers. Chapter 2 will show, through analysis of census data, that by 1921 paid female employment rates in the Rhondda had fallen to below pre-war levels. This poses the question, what happened to female employment after WW2? Were the same pressures applied to women to return to ‘women’s work’? How did the two periods differ? These questions form the inspiration and focus for this dissertation.

Further inspiration comes from Deirdre Beddoe's book *Out of the Shadows – A History of Women in Twentieth Century Wales*, (2000) which describes the period directly following WW2 as "one of the most neglected, complex and fascinating periods in twentieth-century Welsh women's history" (p.135). Beddoe's book uniquely provides a comprehensive study of Welsh women's history in the twentieth century and is therefore unavoidably the prime source of academic research for this dissertation. Focussing on aspects of Welsh women's lives including "education, waged work, home life, health, leisure, politics and other issues of special relevance to women" (Beddoe, 2000, p.1) the book gives a wide-ranging overview of this dissertation's span. The chapter 'Jobs, Gadgets, and the Pill, 1945-1970' deals to some extent with the immediate post-WW2 period, however, the broad timeframe of the chapter, covering aspects of four momentous and often revolutionary decades in women's history, only allows for a superficial exploration of the subject and does not focus solely on the women of the Rhondda. For a broader view of the period, the dissertation will rely on Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield's *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars* (2012). The chapters of this book cover a chronology of the events of both wars and address how these effected British women's lives. Using these two key sources as well as others as a foundation this dissertation hopes to make a small contribution to the historiography of Welsh women's history.

To achieve this, Chapter 2 will undertake an analysis of census data for the Rhondda area from the four census years valid to the period: 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1951. There was no census taken in 1941 due to the disruptions of WW2. Primarily looking at occupation tables to ascertain patterns in women's employment in the periods immediately following both wars. Although the census can give a fairly accurate snapshot of specific aspects of society, there are some issues which limit the accuracy and compatibility of the data. Employment data for women in this period must be considered cautiously because the guidelines for the

census years being analysed instructed that wives and “other relatives” who might work a “small number of hours”, but whose primary role was unpaid domestic labour, must be recorded as unoccupied (Gales, & Marks, 1974, p. 61). This instruction probably caused a large proportion of women’s casual paid labour to remain unrecorded and distorts the picture of female participation within the economy. Female activity rates can provide a more accurate measurement of women’s economic participation and these are also discussed and analysed in Chapter 2.

Another issue with the census data for Chapter 2 which must be considered is that there were discrepancies in the way occupations were classified between the successive censuses. In particular, the data collected for the 1911 census was arranged by area of industry, and not by job type, making direct comparisons between censuses problematic. For more information on these changes see: *A Vision of Britain Through Time (AVoBTT)*, ‘1921 General Census Report, Part VII.’ (2017a). However, there are enough similarities to enable contrast with the following decades. It is important to include data from the 1911 to allow comparison with the pre-war situation. In addition, whereas detailed Census Reports providing analysis and commentary on the data are available for 1911 and 1921, currently only Preliminary Reports are available for the remaining years, this reduces the scope for detailed evaluation of the employment of women in the Rhondda in the post-WW2 period, however, an as detailed as possible investigation has been undertaken.

To address the shortfall in available data for more detailed census analysis of the post-WW2 period, Chapter 3 will evaluate the reasons for and reactions to the apparent changes in female employment patterns in the Rhondda shown in the 1951 census. The chapter will use contemporary newspaper articles and Cabinet Office papers to evaluate the government and public attitudes to these changes. To highlight women’s private experiences of employment in this period, Chapter 3 will use the personal testimonies of female workers. Personal

testimonies form an important part of women's history, because the realities of female experience are often not reflected in public documents. The Women's Archive of Wales has created the 'Voices from the Factory Floor' (VftFF) project which has gathered over two hundred interviews with women and men who worked in the manufacturing industries of Wales between 1945 – 75 (VftFF, n.d.). Chapter 3 will use a sample of ten of these interviewees, born between 1923 – 1935, who were of working age within the post-WW2 period and who were employed in and around the Rhondda area. The sample of interviewees will be used to evaluate women's experiences of factory work in this period.

## CHAPTER 2 – ANALYSIS OF CENSUS DATA ON FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE RHONDDA 1911 – 1951

Using census data from between 1911 and 1951, this chapter will analyse occupation tables and other statistics to assess the extent of changes in female employment for women of the Rhondda between the periods following WW1 and WW2.

The overall numbers of women in employment in the Rhondda across the period can be seen in Appendix B (p.30). In 1921 levels of female employment were lower than the pre-war census, and continued to fall in 1931, showing that the gains achieved in women's employment during WW1 were not maintained (Appendix B, p.30). Female employment rates in the Rhondda did not rise until after WW2.

To give a clearer overall picture of female employment across the periods Appendix B (p.30) attempts to consolidate the main occupations of women in the Rhondda from the census occupation tables between 1911 and 1951, into eight groups. For easy reference, the groups have been colour-coded to correlate with the census occupation tables from which the data has been obtained in Appendices C, D, E and F (pp.31-4). The eight groups each contain similar types of employment where a relatively high number of women appear in at least one census year within the period.

The data presented in Appendix B (p.30) shows that there were three consistent areas of female employment between 1911 and 1951: 'personal service/domestic service'; 'commerce and finance /clerks and typists' and 'professional occupations.' These three groups will form chief areas of analysis for this chapter. Appendix B (p.30) also shows that following WW2 there was a marked expansion in the number of occupations undertaken by women. There were significant rises in 'unskilled occupations', 'textile/dress/clothing' and 'other'. These

apparent changes in 1951 will also be analysed in this chapter and evaluated further in Chapter 3.

Because women's employment was not measured effectively until much later in the twentieth century, female activity rates give a more accurate measurement than simple employment rates because they consider the proportion of women either in work or looking for it.

Appendix G (p.35) shows female activity rates for the Rhondda in 1921 were considerably lower than in England and the rest of Wales, with only around 12.5 percent of women economically active, in comparison with approximately 32 percent in England and Wales.

The figure for Wales was 23 percent (Beddoe, 1991, p. 195). This confirms that any overall gains made by the women of the Rhondda during WW1 were reversed. In contrast to the rest of the country, the female activity rate for the Rhondda appears to marginally drop throughout the 1920s, possibly as a reflection of the harsh impact of the economic depression on the coal-centred industries of South Wales. The apparent sudden rise in female activity rates from 1931 and throughout the 1930s, when male unemployment reached "staggering heights" in some Welsh coal towns (Beddoe, 2000, p. 85) may be explained by women taking on work to supplement the shortfall in men's wages. However, the sudden upturn in 1931 may indicate a change in recording methods rather than socio-economic factors, further investigation would be needed to confirm this.

Female activity rates in the Rhondda continued to steadily rise throughout WW2 and beyond. They stood at a level of 23 percent in 1951, almost double the rate of 1921, still considerably lower than England and Wales at 35 percent (Appendix G, p.35), but comparable to the rest of Wales which stood at almost 25 percent (Williams, cited in Beddoe, 2000, p. 139). No data for the female activity rate in the Rhondda is available after 1951, but for Wales the rate continued to climb in the post-war years and was slightly over 36 percent by 1971 (Rees, cited in Beddoe, 2000, p. 139). The data indicates that, unlike the period after WW1, working

women in the Rhondda were able for some extent to retain their levels of employment post-WW2, and in fact a steady upward trend was achieved.

Rates of paid female employment greatly differed depending on the age and status of women. Most women in domestic service post-WW1 were aged between fourteen and twenty, many entering service directly after leaving school (AVoBTT, 2017a). This appears to support the idea that women were expected to leave work when they married to look after the home. In fact, most of the female workforce for Britain in the interwar years were young and single (Beddoe, 1991, p. 195). In the post-WW1 period, traditional values were enforced by the introduction of marriage bars in many occupations in 1918 (Hatton & Bailey, 1988, p.166). Marriage bars will be discussed later in the chapter and Chapter 3.

The industrial character of a region also influenced rates of married women in employment. In South Wales in 1921 the rate of employed married women was just 9 percent, compared to 19 percent in Lancashire where the textile industry customarily employed women (Hatton & Bailey, 1988, p. 167). Numbers of married women in employment in the Rhondda in 1921 are not available, however, the South Wales figure of 9 percent is comparable to the total of employed married women across Britain (Appendix H, p.36). This appears to contradict the consensus that married women in the Rhondda were especially excluded from employment because of the traditional values of the coalfields. It may be the case that because the figure covers all South Wales, higher levels of female employment in more urbanised or affluent areas have masked true employment figures for married women in the Rhondda. By 1951, the percentage of married women in employment in the Rhondda was 21.24 percent (GB Historical GIS, 2017h). Again, this figure is comparable to the national total (Appendix H, p. 36). A definite conclusion as to the influence of traditional values on married women's employment in the Rhondda post-WW1 is hampered by lack of definitive data for 1921. However, the numbers of married women in employment in the Rhondda significantly

increased after WW2. The reasons for this increase and the attitudes to it will be evaluated in Chapter 3.

As previously discussed, one of the most consistent occupations for women in the Rhondda was domestic service. Following WW1 there was a concerted campaign by the government to place female war-workers into domestic service (Beddoe, 1991, pp. 194-200). For a detailed examination of domestic service in South Wales see Carys Howell's PhD thesis 'Wales' hidden industry: Domestic service in South Wales, 1871-1921' (2014). The government's pressure on women to return to domestic service following WW1 appears to have been successful in the Rhondda. Analysis of Appendix B (p.30) shows that in 1921 a total of 40 percent of employed women in the Rhondda were in domestic service, matching the percentage before WW1. By 1931 the total had increased to 43 percent (Appendix B, p.30). It was not until after WW2 that the percentage of Rhondda women employed in domestic service decreased. Despite a rise in female employment overall, by 1951 only 16 percent of the total were employed in 'Personal Service' (Appendix B, p.30). Full Census Report analysis of the age and marital status of women in domestic service after WW2 is currently unavailable. However, the figures indicate a significant shift away from domestic service as the dominant employment for women in the Rhondda in the post-WW2 period. The simultaneous overall rise in female employment in 1951 suggests that women were undertaking alternative roles in the post-WW2 period.

During the post WW1 period, women in the Rhondda were often employed in office and shop work, which were deemed acceptable roles for young women. As previously discussed, the 1911 census recorded occupation by industry rather than job-role, possibly disguising the numbers of women undertaking these roles. However, the pre-war census records just forty-nine women in the Rhondda listed under 'Commercial Occupations', the category that included shop keepers and assistants in 1911, (Appendix C, p.31). The lack of true figures for

the pre-war era makes it difficult to draw any conclusions on the statement by Beddoe, who argues that shop and office work became an area where women were able to maintain the gains they had made in WW1 (Beddoe, 2000, p. 82). However, a rise numbers of women employed in office work in the early part of the twentieth century was part of a national trend in which had been growing since 1891. The 1911 Census Report notes a rising proportion of female clerks, increasing from 7.8 in 1891, to 32.5 percent in 1911 (AVoBTT, 2017b). By 1921, in Wales, 35 percent of clerks were female, the majority of which were statistically likely to be employed by retail industries, their chief role being typing (AVoBTT, 2017a). At the same time women were increasingly employed in shop work., however although these occupations became increasingly more acceptable as ‘women’s work’ the majority were engaged in low-level roles. Evidence of this can be seen in 1921, when 75 percent of shopkeepers in England and Wales were male, and 53 percent of shop assistants were female, in Glamorgan the proportion of female assistants was 60 percent (AVoBTT, 2017a). The jobs were also universally for young women, as throughout England and Wales, “relatively few” women were employed in these occupations past the age of 34 (AVoBTT, 2017a). The figures appear to support the idea that in the post-WW1 period there were opportunities for employment in shop and office work for women in the Rhondda, although these roles were restricted to young women.

By 1951 the increasing social acceptance of office work as a suitable role for women was reflected in the reclassification of the census category ‘Clerks and Draughtsmen’ to ‘Clerks and Typists etc.’ and for the first-time women outnumbered men in this occupation, with 59.5 percent of the total in England and Wales (GB Historical GIS, 2017h). Appendix B (p.30) shows that the number of women in the Rhondda employed in both occupations had risen to 30.5 percent and Appendix F (p.34) shows that women almost equalled men in numbers. Despite the increases, women were still restricted to the lower paid roles, and often were paid

less than their male counterparts (Beddoe, 2000, p. 82). Lack of more detailed data for 1951 does not allow analysis of the age range of women undertaking these roles. Shop and Office work appear to have been common occupations for Rhondda women across the periods, but it was not until after WW2 that numbers significantly increased.

The next largest group of women workers in the Rhondda across the period is ‘Professional Occupations’. Appendix D (p.32) shows that in the Rhondda in 1921 women outnumbered men in this category for the first time. For most women in the Rhondda, employment in the professions meant nursing or teaching. In 1919 the Nurses Registration Act made nursing a profession for the first time, however, wages were “extremely low” (Beddoe, 2000, p.84). Following WW1, some women in England and Wales were for the first time able to access the learned professions. The 1921 Census Report notes that because of WW1, the number of professional males had remained static, whereas the number of women had risen from 2 – 5 percent; of these some were present for the first time in their vocation. There were: 49 architects, 46 consultant engineers, 24 vets, 20 barristers, and 17 solicitors (AVoBTT, 2017a). It is not known whether any of these exceptional women hailed from the Rhondda, and the probability of any working-class women featuring in such an exclusive list at this time seems unlikely but would make the grounds of an interesting study. There was, however, an increase in female Non-conformist ministers from 3 to 147 (AVoBTT, 2017a) and given the predominance of Non-conformism in Wales it seems possible some of these female ministers may have occurred here, although again, further investigation is needed.

As opposed to the previous female occupations discussed here, both teaching and nursing in the post-WW1 period were occupations where large proportions of the workforce were over the age of twenty-five (AVoBTT, 2017a). The large numbers of single women over the age of twenty-five in the nursing and teaching professions in 1921 may be linked to an excess of widows following WW1. Appendix H (p.36) shows that 25.5 percent of women in

employment in 1921 were either widowed or divorced. At this time, marriage bars excluded married women from both teaching and nursing. It was not until 1944 that the Education Act removed the marriage bar for teachers, however it remained “almost impossible” for a married woman to acquire a teaching post in South Wales until the 1960s (Beddoe, 2000, p. 143). To avoid marriage bars women were known to go to some lengths to disguise their married state to avoid dismissal (Beddoe, 2000, p. 84.) Unfortunately, there are currently no figures to compare age and status of teachers post WW2. Unlike nursing, despite unequal pay with their male colleagues, female teachers’ wages were “considered a well-paid job for a woman” (Beddoe, 2000, p.83) but it was not until 1961 that the principle of equal pay, won in 1954, finally filtered through to all female teachers (Beddoe, 2000, p.143). Appendix I (p.37) demonstrates that the percentage rate of Rhondda women undertaking professional roles between 1921 and 1951 fluctuated, but the actual numbers remained at a steady rate of increase. These statistics indicate that after WW2 the roles available for nurses and teachers in the Rhondda did not increase as rapidly as other lower status roles, despite the increase in overall female employment.

When comparing the census data across the whole period, the most notable change in employment for women of the Rhondda, apart from the rise in overall numbers in 1951, is the proliferation of different roles following WW2. Appendix F (p.34) shows in all categories of the 1951 census, except for ‘Fishermen’ of which there are no males either, women are represented. This contrasts dramatically with the 1921 and 1931 tables (Appendices D & E, pp.32-4) where there are numerous categories where very few or no women are represented. This change is also represented in Appendix B (p.30), which shows that women in the ‘Other’ category in 1921 and 1931 amount to 210 and 115 respectively, whereas in 1951 the number jumps to 1,115. Six areas showing significant rises in female employment in the Rhondda between 1921 and 1951 are demonstrated in Appendix J (p.38). It is likely that

many of the new roles for women working in the Rhondda in 1951 were undertaken in the newly developing manufacturing industries in South Wales, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. The overall increases in 1951, compared to the post-WW1 period indicate that there was significant change in the variety of roles for women in employment after WW2.

In summary, the figures indicate that in the Rhondda post WW1, numbers of women in employment dropped to below pre-war levels. Women who did seek employment were restricted to traditionally acceptable 'women's work' in domestic service, shop or office work, teaching, and nursing. Patterns of female employment were closely linked to age and marital status. Employed women tended to be young and single and only a small percentage of married women were officially recorded as working. It was not until after WW2 that signs of change appear in the census data. Female employment rose and the number of roles for women expanded. However, it is likely that a large percentage of this employment was still low-skill and low-paid work. For the first time, the rate of married women's participation in the Rhondda rose, indicating a shift in the ideology of separate spheres, and reflecting national trends. The reasons for the changes in female employment in the Rhondda after WW2, and public and private reactions to them, will be evaluated in Chapter 3.

## CHAPTER 3 – EVALUATION OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE RHONDDA AFTER WORLD WAR 2

Analysis of census data in Chapter 2 has shown that following WW2, patterns of female employment in the Rhondda changed. The numbers of women in employment increased and the diversity of jobs undertaken expanded, primarily in industrial roles. Married women's participation also rose. This chapter will evaluate why these changes occurred and explore contemporary public and private attitudes to the changes.

In the immediate period following WW2, there were expectations that many female war-workers would return to their domestic roles, but unlike the aftermath of WW1 there was no “wholesale dismissal of women” (Braybon & Summerfield, 2021, p.262). In a Cabinet meeting in September 1945, the Minister of Labour and National Service appeared confident that apparent high unemployment figures in South Wales stemmed from “the change-over from munitions production to other forms of employment” and that the “figures tended to be swollen by the inclusion of women who had taken up war work but who would not really be in the peace-time labour market.” (Cabinet Office, 1945, p.110). The government's expectations, however, did not bear out the reality. In 1950, Cabinet papers show that the total working population of Britain had massively exceeded the government forecast and this increase was largely due to an underestimation of “the number of women remaining in, or entering, industry” and admitted “the extent to which women would remain in industrial employment had been consistently under-estimated since 1945” (Cabinet Office, 1950a, p.91). Women's increased engagement in employment in the post-WW2 period was influenced by several factors.

One of the main factors which led to changes in employment for women in the Rhondda was an intentional diversification of industry. The government were keen to prevent the mass

unemployment and extreme economic hardships of the interwar period in Wales, which it suspected stemmed from an over-dependence on coal (Beddoe, 2000, p. 138). A programme of factory development in South Wales was undertaken almost immediately after the end of the war. An enthusiastic article in the conservative newspaper *The Western Mail* in October 1945 declared: “Hundreds of Firms want to Start Factories in Wales” (Western Mail, 1945). The article goes on to detail how over sixty government owned sites, including Royal Ordnance munitions Factories, were being repurposed to accommodate private manufacturing firms. It predicted: “virtually 5,000,000 square feet of factory space which will accommodate 16,000 male workers and 21,250 women workers in the region” (Western Mail, 1945). Although no timescales or sources for these figures are given, the greater number of female workers mentioned in the article seem to suggest that private industries embarking on new ventures in South Wales expected to employ large numbers of female workers. However, the article also mentions that, of the 10,500 demobilised munitions workers in Wales, only 5,898 had registered as unemployed, because many were “women who took up home duties once more” (Western Mail, 1945). The statement might reflect the newspaper’s conservative traditionalist values, but it does indicate that despite the new prospects for female employment, there were still expectations for women to maintain their domestic roles. By 1947 South Wales had more new industry than anywhere else in Britain (Beddoe, 2000, pp. 138-9). The new employment opportunities for women represented a significant change to the economic make-up of the Rhondda, previously so heavily reliant on the macho-centric coalfields from which the traditional values of South Wales stemmed.

The large numbers of female workers expected to work in the new South Wales Development Area may have been due to the inequality in pay rates for women. During WW2 there had been a concerted campaign for equal pay for women undertaking war work. An article in the *Western Mail* in August 1943 details how Mr Gibson of Coventry submitted a unanimously

carried motion to a conference of the Transport and General Workers' Union, demanding "a 'rate for the job' for women carrying out men's work, a rate of wages for women's normal work which would provide an adequate standard of living" (Western Mail, 1943). Despite this pressure from the unions, the government continually resisted equal pay for women throughout the war. In the post-WW2 period, the government continued to resist equal pay for women in practice, despite agreeing to it in principle in 1947 in the report of the Royal Commission on Equal Pay, when the Government "accepted the general principle that no difference should be made in respect of sex in payment for the same work" (Cabinet Office, 1950b, p.62). The government continued to resist equal pay in practice because of the cost implications, with an estimate of "about £35million" if introduced across "the Civil Service, local government service, the National Health Service and the teaching profession" (Cabinet Office, 1950b, p. 62). The continued resistance to equal pay consequentially meant that women were "cheaper to employ than men" and so were sought after by manufacturing industries where "simple and repetitive" work was thought suitable for women (Braybon & Summerfield, 2012, p. 264). In a Cabinet Office meeting of December 1948, it was admitted that "in industry women only received, on average, about three-fifths of the pay of men" (Cabinet Office, 1948, p.144). The continuance of low rates of pay for women would be attractive to the industries taking advantage of the new sites for manufacturing in and around the Rhondda.

Rhondda women's experiences and perceptions of the fairness of the rates of pay differed according to their situation and the factory where they worked. Within the sample of female factory workers taken from *Voices from the Factory Floor*, none make mention the issue of equal pay until they are describing their work in the 1970s, when the Equal Pay Act 1970 appeared to cause some tensions (VftFF, 2014e). This may be because, in the post-WW2 period the work appeared to be gender specific, with all the interviewees describing men

performing the roles of foreman, mechanic, or electrician, whilst the women worked the machines (VftFF, 2013-4a-i). These gender divisions were apparently universally accepted and therefore differences in pay levels would be perceived as justifiable.

Pay levels differed between factories and the women's abilities to perform. Barbara describes being able to "earn as much as £5 if you were fast enough and the end produce were passed", she describes how £5/week "felt like good money, for a woman" and it compared favourably with other available employment: "They only paid £2/10/- for shop work" (VftFF, 2014a). However, Marion describes how accomplishing full pay on piecework could be difficult to achieve, and she used to come home from one factory with £2 some weeks "crying my eyes out, you know, because I couldn't earn my money" (VftFF, 2014e). However, Marion was able to easily improve her situation by moving to a different factory: "there was plenty of work around in those days - they [we] had a choice" (VftFF, 2014e).

The apparent acceptance of low rates of pay for women may have been due to the large numbers of young and single women working in the new Rhondda factories. Most of the interviewees from the sample started work in the factories on leaving school. When asked how she got her job, Irene recalled: "Oh they were coming around schools telling you about it all you know all the time" (VftFF, 2014d). At the start of their working lives most of the interviewees still lived with their parent's and had few domestic responsibilities. All recall handing over their wages to their mothers, Marion typically remembers she "used to give it all to her mother for 'her keep'... [and] have a few shillings in her pocket for pocket money" (VftFF, 2014e). Although most of the young women did not have domestic responsibilities, some were relied upon for financial support where one or other of their parents had passed away. Irene's father had passed away and she continued to pass her wages to her mother "til the day she died" (VftFF, 2014d). Mair's mother passed away shortly after she started work

and her wages “kept the house going” (VftFF, 2014h). In general, the young women of the Rhondda were happy to accept the pay levels in order to contribute to their family’s earnings.

Another factor which may account for the increase in Rhondda women undertaking factory work in the post-ww2 period was a government appeal for more female factory workers. As early as 1946, shortages in production prompted the government to discuss encouraging more women into employment. Ernest Bevin MP, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, suggested that among other measures “an increase in the employment of women in industry” might help the economic position (Cabinet Office, 1946, p. 87). By 1947 the economic situation had not resolved, and the Cabinet were considering that “young women should be required to undertake work of national importance for a period of two years.” (Cabinet Office, 1947, p.52). The idea of National Service for women was abandoned due to concerns that it would mean sending many women away from their homes which was perceived to be unfeasible during peacetime (Cabinet Office, 1947a, p. 94).

Instead, the government undertook a publicity campaign to appeal for women workers to fill the man-power shortage. The *Western Mail* reported on 2 June 1947 a “Call for Women Workers” in which the broadcast words of the Minister of Labour and National Service appealed that “the country is badly in need of your help” (Western Mail, 1947a). The Minister’s appeal acknowledges that traditional values may be the cause of women’s reluctance to work, “I know that many of you have homes to run and I know that a woman's first duty is to her home’, however, he appeals for women to give “as much time as you can spare” (Western Mail, 1947a). The appeal represents a small but significant shift in the government’s traditional values and for the first time in peacetime they hoped to persuade women, as well as those with domestic responsibilities, to consider employment.

This alteration in attitudes was not universally accepted and the government's appeal for women to enter employment was actively opposed. In an article entitled "Mother's Place is in the Home" the *Western Mail* reported that The Bishop of Chester had made an "emphatic protest" against "encouraging married women to return to the ranks of industry" on the grounds that "medical officers of health" agreed it would lead to "a serious deterioration in home life" and that it was "un-Christian" (*Western Mail*, 1947b). The idea that mothers should remain in the home was not confined to conservative bodies such as the Church. Within the labour movement, the Women's Advisory Committee of the Trades Union Congress were "emphatic" that mothers of small children should not work (Braybon & Summerfield, 2012, p. 278). These ideas about women's traditional role were reinforced to a great degree by John Bowlby's psychological studies into "the effects on personality development of separation from the mother in early childhood" (Bowlby, 1951, p. 7), which influenced the overwhelming consensus at the time that a mother should never leave young children and added to social pressure on mothers to give up employment in favour of domestic responsibilities.

Despite these public reservations, analysis in Chapter 2 showed that numbers of married women increased in the Rhondda after WW2. Unlike the post-WW1 period, there was no extensive application of marriage bars following WW2 and there was evidence of some changes in legislation excluding married women from the workplace. In 1944 the Education Act had removed the marriage bar for teachers. By 1946 Cabinet ministers were "in favour of the complete removal of the marriage bar" for the Civil Service (Cabinet Office, 1946a, p.16). Although this approval was tempered by the understanding that "firmness should be shown in terminating the employment of married women whose domestic responsibilities were found to interfere with the efficient discharge of their duties" (Cabinet Office, 1946a, p.

16-7) revealing that although married women would be allowed in the workplace, few allowances were considered for her other burdens.

Changes in the number of married women in the workplace were experienced by women in the Rhondda. Most of the interviewees from the sample taken from Voices from the Factory Floor (VftFF) recall married women working in the factories in the post-WW2 period. In a typical comment, Phyllis recalled “there was a mix of married and single women at the factory” (VftFF, 2014f). However, often married women were expected to leave their jobs to have babies. Margaret said, “at the time if you were married and had a baby you had to finish work, but not during the war” (VftFF, 2013). This seems to suggest that the acceptance of married women in employment was a continuance of war-time practices. However, the social and practical pressures for mothers to look after young children at home remained strong.

It is likely that experiences differed between employers and for different women, Mair remembers that her employers “didn’t mind if you got married and went back to work after having children. You could work through pregnancy” (VftFF, 2014h). Lack of childcare for small children appears to have been a barrier to working, with the women reporting that there were no facilities provided at any of the factories (VftFF, 2013-4a-i). The provision of nurseries which had helped mothers to work during WW2 was halted at the end of the war (Beddoe, 2000, p.138). Mothers had to “make their own [childcare] arrangements”, said Phyllis (VftFF, 2014f). Following the Factories (Evening Employment) Order of 1950, some factories offered evening shifts (Chapman, 2016, p.88). Irene recalls: “they’d work in the night, about 4 hours a night [...]. They were all married women” (VftFF, 2014d). This change to working patterns presented a way for married women and mothers to participate in employment in addition to their domestic responsibilities. Whether the changes were introduced with female welfare in mind or to further exploit the cheap labour women represented is a matter for further investigation.

In summary, the post-WW2 period saw significant changes in female employment in the Rhondda. For the first time in peacetime there was an availability of opportunities for women which were generally deemed socially acceptable as ‘women’s work’. Employers accepted married women within their workforce, although public attitudes to this were varied. These changes were far from revolutionary, and most women’s “ambitions did not centre on work but marriage and children. Work may have been enjoyable, but it was not seen as a lifetime commitment” (Roberts 1995, cited in Chapman, 2016, p. 55). Women generally married young, with one bride in four under the age of twenty-one in 1945 (Braybon & Summerfield, 2012, p. 267). Women generally still relied on their husbands’ wages and worked to supplement his wages to “improve their standard of living” (Beddoe, 2000, p. 141).

## CHAPTER 4 – CONCLUSION

This dissertation has attempted to address a gap in the historiography of Welsh women by focussing on the period following WW2 identified by Deirdre Beddoe as “neglected” (Beddoe, 2000, p. 135). Its aim was to discover the extent of changes to paid employment and traditional values for women of the Rhondda in the six-year period following WW2 in comparison to the corresponding period following WW1.

Analysis of female employment in the Rhondda between 1911 and 1951 in Chapter 2 established that the gains in female employment in the Rhondda which challenged traditional values during WW1 were not maintained following the war. Employment rates and female activity rates for women were both lower in the period after WW1 than before the war. It was not until after WW2 that rates of female employment in the Rhondda rose.

Employment for women in the Rhonda in the post-WW1 period was usually undertaken by young, unmarried women. Available employment was restricted to a narrow variety of roles which were deemed acceptable as ‘women’s work’ with domestic service being by far the most common occupation. Women’s jobs were generally low paid and undemanding.

Married women were actively excluded from many types of employment by the enforcement of marriage bars and the traditional values which expected them to undertake a domestic role after marriage. It was not until the period following WW2 that changes in patterns of female employment appeared. As well as the increase in female employment, the most noticeable changes were in the variety of roles undertaken by women and the significant rise in the employment of married women.

Evaluation of the changes to Rhondda women’s work in Chapter 3 found that the increase in employment and variety of roles following WW2 stemmed from a combination of factors. A drive to diversify the economic make-up of South Wales attracted numerous manufacturing

industries to the area. These new industries were keen to exploit the economic benefits of employing a female workforce, whose labour was considerably cheaper than their male counterparts' due to the government's resistance to enforcing equal pay.

In direct contrast to the post-WW1 period where women were summarily dismissed from the workforce and marriage-bars were enforced, an economic crisis in the post WW2 period inspired the government to actively appeal for women to engage in employment. The appeal sought both single and married women to participate, demonstrating a small but significant shift in attitudes to traditional values across Britain. This did not go without challenge, and caused opposition, not just from traditionalists but the consensus of the time: that mothers should remain at home with their children.

From the testimonies of the women working in the factories of the Rhondda following WW2 it appeared that, in contrast to the post-WW1 period, married women were an acceptable and common presence in the workplace. However, the boundaries had simply shifted, and now it was specifically mothers who were socially excluded from the workforce. It appears that social expectations, rather than employment regulation kept Rhondda mothers from the workplace, as some employers did accept mothers if they wished to return after pregnancy.

Despite this slight loosening of traditional values, gender roles still pervaded in the factories, with women undertaking simple repetitive machine work and men performing more complex mechanical roles. These divisions were widely accepted and probably justified inequalities in pay, which appeared to go unquestioned. There was no evidence of women expecting to earn a living wage. Young women were recruited to the factories directly from school and worked to earn pocket-money, the rest going towards their family's joint resources. Married women still relied on their husband to earn the family's main wage. A wife's earnings went towards

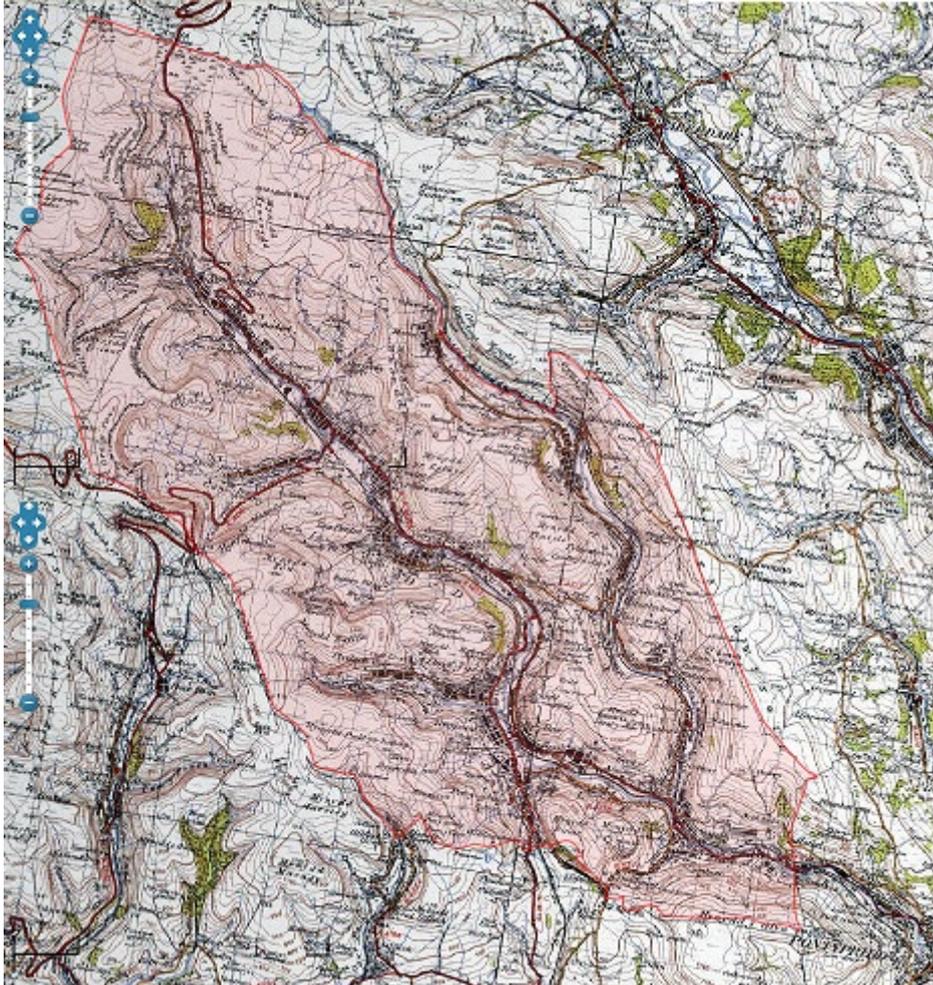
improving the family's standard of living, which in the era slowly moving away from the austerity of the war years was an emerging concept.

In summary, this dissertation has shown that, unlike the post-WW1 period, the post-WW2 period was significant in establishing changes in the traditional values which dominated the South Wales coalfield communities. The ethos of separate spheres that was intrinsically linked to the macho-centric economy of the Rhondda coalfield was disrupted by the diversification of industry and inequality of pay which led to increasing levels of female employment. Traditional values were further challenged by the gradual acceptance of married women into the workplace, which was stimulated by government appeals to bolster the national economy through female labour in a time of crisis. Traditional values still heavily influenced the role of women in the Rhondda, in particular mothers who were expected to fulfil their domestic duties, and female employment remained low skilled and low waged and secondary to male employment. However, in the context of the decades to come, the first tentative steps towards further change had been taken.

**WORD COUNT: 7657**

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A



Map of the Rhondda Urban District. The Local Government District from 1897 – 1955. Outlining the boundary of the area covered by census reports used in this dissertation.

GB Historical GIS Project (2017A) 'Rhondda UD/MB through time | Boundaries of Local Government District'. In: A Vision of Britain Through Time, University of Portsmouth [Online]. Available at: <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/boundary>. Accessed 21 May 2021.

## Appendix B

Main Occupations of Rhondda Women by Type and Year								
Year	1911		1921		1931		1951	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Personal Service/Domestic Service	2,884	40.59	2,748	40.23	2,361	43.05	1,698	16.31
Commerce & Finance / Clerks & Typists	49	0.69	1,827	26.75	1,497	27.30	3,184	30.58
Professional Occupations	880	12.39	1,043	15.27	1,151	20.99	1,232	11.83
Textiles/Dress/Clothing	1,929	27.15	851	12.46	278	5.07	1,696	16.29
Transport & Communication	8	0.11	89	1.30	44	0.80	78	0.75
Food and Drink	1,009	14.20	63	0.92	38	0.69	54	0.52
Unskilled Occupations	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1,351	12.98
Other	346	4.87	210	3.07	115	2.10	1,119	10.75
TOTAL	7,105	100.00	6,831	100.00	5,484	100.00	10,412	100.00

Data compiled from Rhondda Urban District Occupation Tables 1911, 1921, 1931, 1951.

These tables are reproduced here as Appendices C, D, E & F

(GB Historical GIS, 2017C-F)

## Appendix C

<b>Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1911 Occupational Order</b>		
<b>Occupational Order Classification</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>FEMALE</b>
Government	662	59
Defence	134	0
Professional Occupations	916	880
Domestic Services	181	2,884
Commercial Occupations	913	49
Transport	1,626	8
Agriculture	180	15
Mines and Quarries	41,444	2
Metals, Machines	1,450	8
Jewelry, Instruments	72	13
Building	2,283	3
Wood, Furniture	189	15
Brick, Cement	19	19
Chemicals	71	10
Skins, Leather	56	1
Paper, Prints	102	74
Textile Fabrics	195	291
Dress	855	1,637
Food, Drink	2,230	1,009
Gas, Water	172	0
Other and Undefined	2,023	128
Unoccupied	7,408	42,313
<b>TOTAL OCCUPIED</b>	<b>55,773</b>	<b>7,105</b>
<b>TOTAL INCL. UNOCCUPIED</b>	<b>63,181</b>	<b>49,418</b>

All males and females at ages 10 years and upwards.

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017c) ‘Rhondda UD/MB through time - Industry Statistics - Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1911 Occupational Order’. In: *A Vision of Britain Through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online]. Available at [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC\\_ORD1911\\_SEX](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC_ORD1911_SEX). Accessed 1 May 2021.

## Appendix D

<b>Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1921 Occupational Order</b>		
<b>Occupational Order Classification</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>FEMALE</b>
Fishermen	0	0
Agriculture	160	5
Mining and Quarrying	41,585	24
Mine and Quarry Products	39	0
Bricks, Pottery and Glass	8	3
Chemicals	6	0
Metal Workers	1,404	4
Precious Metals	1	0
Electrical Apparatus	257	2
Watches, Clocks and Instruments	35	2
Skins and Leather	48	0
Textile Workers	1	2
Textile Goods and Clothing	374	849
Foods, Drinks, and Tobacco	344	63
Wood and Furniture	504	1
Paper, Printing	63	10
Builders	1,000	0
Painters and Decorators	171	0
Other Materials	1	0
Mixed or Undefined Materials	114	4
Gas, Water and Electricity	93	2
Transport and Communication	1,728	89
Commerce and Finance	2,453	1,528
Public Administration and Defence	666	74
Professional Occupations	851	1,043
Entertainments and Sport	113	47
Personal Service	517	2,748
Clerks and Draughtsmen	658	299
Warehousemen	125	5
Stationary Engine Drivers	1,683	0
Other and Undefined Workers	887	27
<b>TOTAL OCCUPIED</b>	<b>55,889</b>	<b>6,831</b>

All persons of working age (12 or above in 1921)

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017d) ‘Rhondda UD/MB through time - Industry Statistics - Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1921 Occupational Order’. In: *A Vision of Britain through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at:

[http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC\\_ORD1921](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC_ORD1921). Accessed 26 April 2021.

## Appendix E

<b>Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1931 Occupational Order</b>		
<b>Occupational Order Classification</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>FEMALE</b>
Fishermen	0	0
Agriculture	136	6
Mining and Quarrying	34,808	0
Mine and Quarry Products	34	0
Bricks, Pottery and Glass	2	1
Chemicals	2	0
Metal Workers	1,167	0
Precious Metals	2	0
Electrical Apparatus	223	0
Watches, Clocks and Instruments	26	0
Skins and Leather	46	1
Textile Workers	18	11
Textile Goods and Clothing	250	266
Foods, Drinks, and Tobacco	316	38
Wood and Furniture	489	2
Paper, Bookbinding	1	8
Printers and Photographers	63	11
Builders	1,074	1
Painters and Decorators	195	0
Other Materials	7	1
Mixed or Undefined Materials	108	2
Transport and Communication	1,936	44
Commerce and Finance	3,276	1,189
Public Administration and Defence	236	2
Professional Occupations	949	1,151
Entertainments and Sport	190	31
Personal Service	618	2,361
Clerks and Draughtsmen	829	308
Warehousemen	111	11
Stationary Engine Drivers	1,834	0
Other and Undefined Workers	1,515	39
Retired or Not Gainfully Occupied	4,167	42,422
<b>TOTAL OCCUPIED</b>	<b>50,461</b>	<b>5,484</b>
<b>TOTAL INCL. UNOCCUPIED</b>	<b>54,628</b>	<b>47,906</b>

All persons of working age (14 or above in 1931)

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017e) 'Rhondda UD/MB through time - Industry Statistics - Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1931 Occupational Order'. In: *A Vision of Britain through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at: [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC\\_ORD1931](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC_ORD1931). Accessed 26 April 2021.

## Appendix F

<b>Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1951 Occupational Order</b>		
<b>Occupational Order Classification</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>FEMALE</b>
Fishermen	0	0
Agriculture	155	7
Mining and Quarrying	12,582	6
Ceramics, Glass, Cement, etc	105	34
Coal, Gas, Chemicals	72	19
Metal Manufacturing, Engineering	3,666	418
Textiles	102	93
Leather, Fur	192	165
Textile Goods, Dress	313	1,438
Food, Drink, Tobacco	319	54
Wood, Cane and Cork	881	4
Paper, Printing	128	65
Other Products	221	129
Building	2,691	3
Painters and Decorators	454	36
Administrators, Directors, Managers	283	27
Transport	2,426	78
Commerce, Finance	2,477	1,495
Professional, Technical	1,115	1,232
Defence	505	10
Entertainment and Sport	137	22
Personal Service	625	1,698
Clerks, Typists, etc	1,290	1,689
Warehousemen, Storekeepers, etc.	458	203
Stationery Engine Drivers, Stokers	1,170	6
Workers in Unskilled Occupations	2,252	1,351
Other and Undefined	618	130
Retired or Not Gainfully Occupied	6,076	33,827
<b>TOTAL OCCUPIED</b>	<b>35,237</b>	<b>10,412</b>
<b>TOTAL INCL. UNOCCUPIED</b>	<b>41,313</b>	<b>44,239</b>

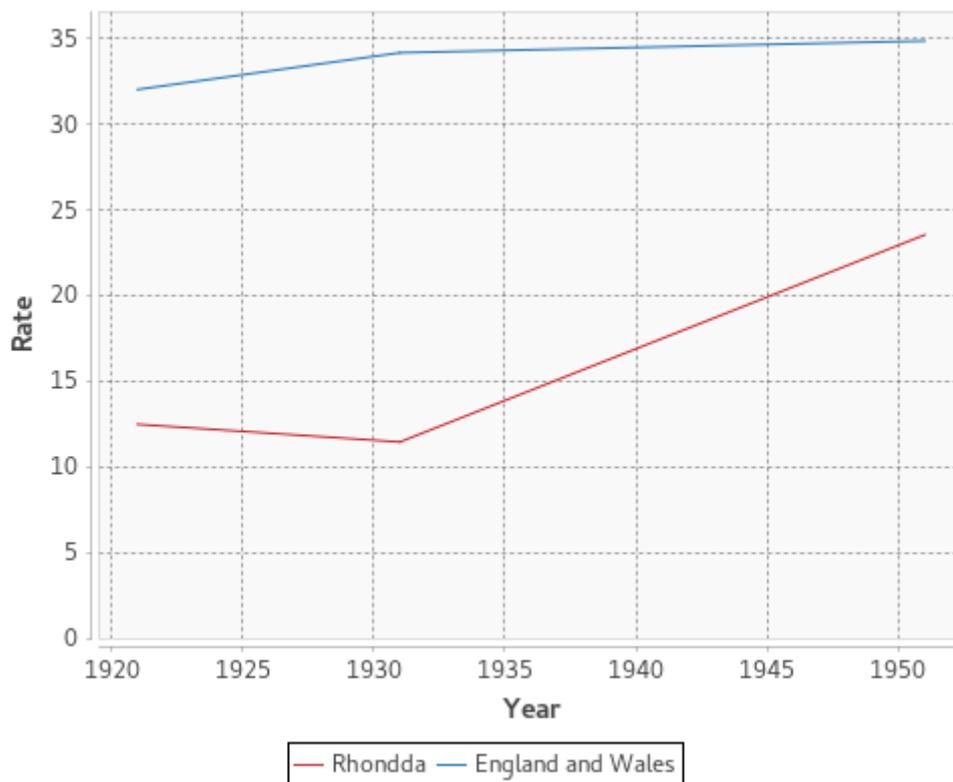
All persons of working age (15 or above in 1951).

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017f) 'Rhondda UD/MB through time - Industry Statistics - Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1951 Occupational Order'. In: *A Vision of Britain through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at:

[http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC\\_ORD1951](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC_ORD1951). Accessed 26 April 2021.

## Appendix G

## Female Activity Rate in The Rhondda 1921 - 1951



Great British Historical GIS Project (2017g) 'Rhondda UD/MB through time - Historical Statistics on Work and Poverty for the Local Government District - Rate: Female Activity Rate'. In: *A Vision of Britain through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at: [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/rate/CENSUS\\_FEM\\_ACTIVE](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/rate/CENSUS_FEM_ACTIVE). Accessed 1 May 2021.

## Appendix H

**Table 2.7**  
**Great Britain: Female labor force participation rates**  
**(in percent), by marital status and year.**

	Married	Single	Widowed/Divorced
1911	9.6	70.1	29.4
1921	8.7	72.5	25.5
1931	10.1	74.0	21.2
1951	21.5	73.7	20.9
1961	30.1	69.4	22.8
1971	42.9	61.5	23.6
1981	47.2	60.8	22.9

*Sources:*

1911–51: Long (1958, Table A-10, p. 304). Refers to persons age 16 or older.

1961: *Census 1961 Great Britain Summary Tables*, Table 32, p. 76. Refers to persons age 15 or older.

1971: *Census 1971 Great Britain Advance Analysis*, Table 1, p. 1. Refers to persons age 15 or older.

1981: *Census 1981: Economic Activity Great Britain (10 percent sample)*, Table 48. Refers to persons age 15 or older.

Heckman J. and Killingsworth M. (1986) 'Female Labor Supply: A Survey'. In: *Handbook of Labor Economics*, Volume I. Ashenfelter O. & Layard R. (eds), Our World in Data [Online] Available at: <https://ourworldindata.org/uploads/2017/08/LFP-UK-Married-Women-Heckman-and-Killingsworth-1986-.png>. Accessed 27 April 2021

## Appendix I

<b>Women employed in Professional Occupations</b>		
<b>Year</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
1911	880	12.4
1921	1,043	15.2
1931	1,151	21
1951	1,232	11.8

Number of women employed in professional occupations in the Rhondda in 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1951. Taken from Occupation Tables in Appendices C-F.

(GB Historical GIS, 2017c-f).

## Appendix J

<b>Significant Changes Between Directly Comparable Occupations 1921 &amp; 1951</b>		
<b>Occupational Order Classification</b>	<b>1921</b>	<b>1951</b>
Ceramics, Glass, Cement (Bricks, Pottery, Glass)	3	34
Paper, Printing	10	65
Other Products (Other Materials)	0	129
Painters and Decorators	0	36
Warehousemen, Storekeepers, etc. (Warehousemen)	0	203
Other and Undefined	27	130

Because there were some changes to the classification of occupations between the 1921 and 1951, only categories where direct comparison can be made have been used. (Titles of the 1921 census categories in brackets where differently worded.)

Comparison of numbers of women employed in directly comparable occupations in 1921 and 1951. Taken from Occupation Tables in Appendices D and F.

(GB Historical GIS, 2017d & f).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

Bowlby, J. (1951) *Maternal care and mental health* (Vol. 2). World Health Organization, Geneva. Available at:

<https://pages.uoregon.edu/eherman/teaching/texts/Bowlby%20Maternal%20Care%20and%20Mental%20Health.pdf>. Accessed 10 May 2021.

Cabinet Office (1945) 'Man-Power, Employment Situation' 18 September 1945 (CM 33 (45)), p. 110. National Archives [Online] Available at:

<http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/large/cab-128-1.pdf>. Accessed 18 May 2021.

Cabinet Office (1946) 'National Service' 24 October 1946 (CM 90 (46)), p. 85. National Archives [Online] Available at: <http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/large/cab-128-6.pdf>. Accessed on 18 May 2021.

Cabinet Office (1946a) 'Civil Service - Abolition of the Marriage Bar' 9 September 1946 (CM 80 (46)), p. 16-7. National Archives [Online] Available at:

<http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/large/cab-128-6.pdf>. Accessed 18 May 2021.

Cabinet Office (1947) 'Economic Survey of 1947, Direction of Women into National Service' 17 January 1947 (CM 8 (47)), p.52. National Archives [Online] Available at:

<http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/large/cab-128-9.pdf>. Accessed 18 May 2021.

Cabinet Office (1947a) 'Economic Survey for 1947, Employment of Women.' 30 January 1947 (CM 14 (47)), p. 94. National Archives [Online] Available at:

<http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/large/cab-128-9.pdf>. Accessed 18 May 2021.

Cabinet Office (1948) 'Service Pay and Allowances' 9 December 1948 (CM 79 (48)), p.144.

National Archives [Online] Available at:

<http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/large/cab-128-13.pdf>. Accessed 22 May 2021.

Cabinet Office (1950a) 'Economic Affairs, Man-Power' 20 March 1950 (CM 16 (50)), p.91.

National Archives [Online] Available at:

<http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/large/cab-128-17.pdf>. Accessed 18 May 20121.

Cabinet Office (1950b) 'Equal Pay, Discussion at International. Labour Conference, 1950' 6 June 1950 (CM 35 (50)), p. 62. National Archives [Online] Available at:

<http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/large/cab-128-17.pdf>. Accessed on 18 May 2021.

GB Historical GIS Project (2017a) 'Rhondda UD/MB through time | Boundaries of Local Government District'. In: *A Vision of Britain Through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online]. Available at: <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/boundary>. Accessed 21 May 2021.

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017c) 'Rhondda UD/MB through time - Industry Statistics - Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1911 Occupational Order'. In: *A Vision of Britain Through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online]. Available at [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC\\_ORD1911\\_SEX](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC_ORD1911_SEX). Accessed 1 May 2021.

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017d) 'Rhondda UD/MB through time - Industry Statistics - Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1921 Occupational Order'. In: *A Vision of Britain through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at: [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC\\_ORD1921](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC_ORD1921). Accessed 26 April 2021.

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017e) ‘Rhondda UD/MB through time - Industry Statistics | Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1931 Occupational Order’. In: *A Vision of Britain through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at: [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC\\_ORD1931](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC_ORD1931). Accessed 26 April 2021.

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017f) ‘Rhondda UD/MB through time - Industry Statistics - Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1951 Occupational Order’. In: *A Vision of Britain through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at: [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC\\_ORD1951](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/cube/OCC_ORD1951). Accessed 26 April 2021.

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017g) ‘Rhondda UD/MB through time - Historical Statistics on Work and Poverty for the Local Government District - Rate: Female Activity Rate’. In: *A Vision of Britain through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at: [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/rate/CENSUS\\_FEM\\_ACTIVE](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10299780/rate/CENSUS_FEM_ACTIVE). Accessed 1 May 2021.

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017h) ‘1951 Census of England and Wales, Industry Tables (Laid before Parliament pursuant to Section 4 (1), Census Act, 1920), Table 2 " Industries (Minimum List) and Status Aggregates. Occupied Males and Females aged 15 and over for Con, AC, CB, MetB, Urban Areas with population of 50,000 or more". In: *A Vision of Britain through Time*, University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at: [https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/table/EW1951IND\\_M2](https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/table/EW1951IND_M2). Accessed 8 May 2021.

Great British Historical GIS Project (2017i) ‘1951 Census of England and Wales, Occupation Tables (Laid before Parliament pursuant to Section 4 (1), Census Act, 1920), Table 20: Selected Occupations with Status Aggregates for EW, Regions of E, W, Con, AC, CB, MetB,

Urban Areas with Population of 50,000 or more.’ In: *A Vision of Britain through Time*,

University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at:

[https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/table/EW1951OCC\\_M20](https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/table/EW1951OCC_M20). Accessed 8 May 2021.

Heckman J. and Killingsworth M. (1986) ‘Female Labor Supply: A Survey’. In: *Handbook of Labor Economics*, Volume I. Ashenfelter O. & Layard R. (eds), Our World in Data [Online]

Available at: [https://ourworldindata.org/uploads/2017/08/LFP-UK-Married-Women-](https://ourworldindata.org/uploads/2017/08/LFP-UK-Married-Women-Heckman-and-Killingsworth-1986-.png)

[Heckman-and-Killingsworth-1986-.png](https://ourworldindata.org/uploads/2017/08/LFP-UK-Married-Women-Heckman-and-Killingsworth-1986-.png). Accessed 27 April 2021

Merthyr Express (1950) ‘Not Enough Women Workers, Poor Response to Appeal’. In

*Merthyr Express*, 28 October 1950, p. 1. British Newspaper Archive [Online] Available at:

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0002970/19501028/011/0001>.

Accessed 4 May 2021.

*Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales* (1847) ‘The Blue Books’. The National Library of Wales [Online] Available at:

<http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4753129>. Accessed 15 May 2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (2013) ‘VSE012 Margaret Chislett’. In: Interview conducted

11 December 2013 by Catrin Edwards on behalf of the Women’s Archive of Wales [Online].

Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/uploads/VSE012.2.pdf>. Accessed 17 April

2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (2014a) ‘VSE027 Barbara Irene Morgan’. In: Interview

conducted 5 February 2014 by Catrin Edwards on behalf of the Women’s Archive of Wales

[Online]. Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/uploads/VSE027.2.pdf>. Accessed

17 April 2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (2014b) ‘VSE042 Yvonne Smith’. In: Interview conducted 7

April 2014 by Catrin Edwards on behalf of the Women’s Archive of Wales [Online].

Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/uploads/VSE042.2.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (2014c) ‘VSW059 Hilda Glenys Rees’. In: Interview conducted 30 May 2014 by Susan Roberts on behalf of the Women’s Archive of Wales [Online]. Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/uploads/VSW059.2.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (2014d) ‘VSE024 Irene Hughes’. In: Interview conducted 25 January 2014 by Jayne Sandells on behalf of the Women’s Archive of Wales [Online]. Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/uploads/VSE024.2.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (2014e) ‘VSE028 Marion Blanche Jones’. In: Interview conducted 10 February 2014 by Catrin Edwards on behalf of the Women’s Archive of Wales [Online]. Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/uploads/VSE028.2.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (2014f) ‘VSE016 Phyllis Powell’. In: Interview conducted 14 January 2014 by Catrin Edwards on behalf of the Women’s Archive of Wales [Online]. Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/uploads/VSE016.2.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (2014g) ‘VSW027 Joyce Evans’. In: Interview conducted 10 February 2014 by Susan Roberts on behalf of the Women’s Archive of Wales [Online]. Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/uploads/VSW027.2.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (2014h) ‘VSE025 Mair Richards’. In: Interview conducted 10 January 2014 by Catrin Edwards on behalf of the Women’s Archive of Wales [Online].

Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/uploads/VSE025.2.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (2014i) 'VSE064 Martha Irene Lewis'. In: Interview conducted 12 June 2014 by Catrin Edwards on behalf of the Women's Archive of Wales [Online]. Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/uploads/VSE064.2.pdf>. Accessed 17 April 2021.

Western Mail (1943) 'Equal Pay for Women Demanded'. In *Western Mail*, 4 August 1943, p.3. British Newspaper Archive [Online]. Available at:

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000104/19430804/034/0003>

Accessed 18 April 2021.

Western Mail (1945) 'Hundreds of Firms want to Start Factories in Wales'. In: *Western Mail*, 26 July 1945, p. 4. British Newspaper Archive [Online]. Available at:

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000104/19450726/075/0004>.

Accessed 26 April 2021.

Western Mail (1947a) 'Call for Women Workers'. In: *Western Mail*, 2 June 1947, p.2. British Newspaper Archive [Online]. Available at:

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000104/19470602/030/0002>.

Accessed 26 April 2021.

Western Mail 1947b) 'A Mother's Place is in the Home'. In *Western Mail*, 28 May 1947, p.3. British Newspaper Archive [Online]. Available at:

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000104/19470528/034/0003>.

Accessed 26 April 2021.



## SECONDARY SOURCES

*A Vision of Britain Through Time* (2017a) '1921 – General Census Report, Part VII, Occupation and Employment' University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at: <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1921GEN/8>. Accessed 3 May 2021.

*A Vision of Britain Through Time* (2017b) '1911 – General Census Report, Part IV Occupation and Industry' University of Portsmouth [Online] Available at: <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1911GEN/5>. Accessed 4 May 2021.

Beddoe, D. (1981) 'Towards a Welsh Women's History'. In: *Llafur the Journal of the Society for the Study of Welsh Labour*, vol 3, no. 2. Pp. 34-40. Available at: <https://journals.library.wales/view/1326508/1327246/33#?cv=33&m=9&h=articleauthor:&c=0&s=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F1326508%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=-619%2C0%2C4087%2C3873>. Accessed 7 April 2021.

Beddoe, D. (1991) 'Munitionettes, Maids and Mams: Women in Wales, 1914-1939'. In: *Our Mother's Land*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff.

Beddoe, D. (2000) 'Jobs, Gadgets and the Pill, 1945-1970'. In: *Out of the Shadows: A History of Women in Twentieth Century Wales*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff.

Braybon, G. & Summerfield, P. (2012) 'Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars'. In: *Women's Experiences in Two World Wars*, Taylor & Francis Group, London. Available from: ProQuest Ebook Central. [Online] Available at: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/open/reader.action?docID=1143747&ppg=274>.

(Accessed on 13 March 2021)

Bruley, S. (2010) 'The Women and Men of 1926: A Gender and Social History of the General Strike and Miners' Lockout in South Wales' University of Wales Press, Cardiff.

Available at: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/open/detail.action?docID=1889095>.

Accessed on 5 May 2021.

Burge, A. (2002) 'Swimming against the tide'. In: *Llafur the journal of the Society for the Study of Welsh Labour History*. Vol 8, no3 p.16. [Online] Available at:

<https://journals.library.wales/view/1326508/1329694/15#?cv=15&m=29&h=women+OR+OR+OR+work+OR+OR+OR+rhondda+OR+OR+OR+&c=0&s=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F1326508%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=-698%2C0%2C4246%2C4024>. Accessed on 16 March 2021.

Chapman, C. (2016) 'My Name Was Mud! Women's Experiences of Conformity and Resistance in Post-War Rhondda' University of South Wales (United Kingdom). ProQuest

Dissertations Publishing [Online] Available at: <https://search-proquest-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/pqdtglobal/docview/2230937548/1BEF834CEF884A85PQ/70?accountid=14697>. Accessed on 29 April 2021.

Cook, K. & Evans, N. (1991) 'The Petty Antics of the Bell-Ringing Boisterous Band'? The Women's Suffrage Movement in Wales, 1890-1918'. In: *Our Mother's Land*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff.

Crook, R. (1982) 'Tidy Women: Women in the Rhondda between the Wars'. In: *Oral History*, vol 10, no 2. pp. 40-46. [Online] Available at:

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40178717>. Accessed on 15 March 2021.

Davies, J. Jenkins, N. Baines, M. & et. al. (2008) 'Rhondda (Rhondda Cynon Taff) Constituency and one-time borough and district.' In: *The Welsh Academy Encyclopedia of Wales*. [Online]. Cardiff: Literature Wales. Available from:

<http://libezproxy.open.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/waenc>

[ywales/rhondda\\_rhondda\\_cynon\\_taff\\_constituency\\_and\\_one\\_time\\_borough\\_and\\_district/0?institutionId=292](#). Accessed 15 March 2021.

Gales, K. E. & Marks, P. H. (1974) 'Twentieth Century Trends in The Work of Women in England and Wales.' In: *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*. Series A (General) 137, no. 1 pp. 60-74. Available at: doi:10.2307/2345145. Accessed 27 April 2021.

Hatton, T. J. & Bailey R. E. (1988) 'Female Labour Force Participation in Interwar Britain.' In: *Oxford Economic Papers*, New Series, 40, no. 4, pp. 695-718. [Online] Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2663037>. Accessed 27 April 2021.

Howells, C. (2014) 'Wales' Hidden Industry: Domestic Service in South Wales, 1871-1921'. PhD Thesis, Swansea University. Available at: <https://www-proquest-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/docview/2041899777/FC04CEEED214414BPQ/1?accountid=14697>. Accessed 16 May 2021.

Jones, D. (1991) 'Counting the Cost of Coal: Women's Lives in the Rhondda, 1881 – 1911', in *Our Mother's Land*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff.

John, V.A. (1984) 'A Miner Struggle? Women's Protests in Welsh Mining History'. In: *Llafur the Journal of the Society for the Study of Welsh Labour*, vol 4, no 1. pp. 72-90.

National Library of Wales [Online]. Available at:

<https://journals.library.wales/view/1326508/1327555/73#?cv=73&m=12&h=&c=0&s=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F1326508%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=-670%2C0%2C4105%2C3890>. Accessed 18 March 2021.

John, V.A. (1991) *Our Mother's Land, Chapters in Welsh Women's History 1830 – 1939*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press.

McDonald, E. (2018) 'A Slave to the Home - Female Labour and Mortality in the Rhondda 1881 – 1911.' Student Dissertation for The Open University Module A329 The Making of Welsh History [Online] Available at [http://oro.open.ac.uk/56083/2/Macdonald\\_A329-RVoR.pdf](http://oro.open.ac.uk/56083/2/Macdonald_A329-RVoR.pdf). Accessed 26 April 2021

Roberts, B. (1999) 'The Budgie Train'. In: *Llafur the Journal of the Society for the Study of Welsh Labour*, vol 7, nos 3-4. National Library of Wales [Online]. Available at: <https://journals.library.wales/view/1326508/1329235/145#?xywh=-711%2C-1%2C4210%2C3991>. Accessed 8 March 2021.

Rogers, A. (2020) 'Struggle or Starve – Life in the South Wales Coalfield for Working-Class Women c1900 – 1939' Student Dissertation for The Open University Module A329 The Making of Welsh History [Online] Available at: [http://oro.open.ac.uk/73335/1/ROGERS\\_A329\\_RVOR.pdf](http://oro.open.ac.uk/73335/1/ROGERS_A329_RVOR.pdf). Accessed 26 April 2021.

Snook, L. (2001) 'Out of the Cage – Women and the First World War in Pontypridd'. In: *Llafur the Journal of the Society for the Study of Welsh Labour*, vol 8, no. 2. National Library of Wales [Online]. Available at: <https://journals.library.wales/view/1326508/1329561/80#?cv=80&m=28&h=women+OR+OR+OR+work&c=0&s=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F1326508%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=-698%2C0%2C4246%2C4024>. Accessed 8 March 2021.

UK Parliament (2021) 'Representation of the People Act 1918' [Online] Available at: <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/parliamentary-collections/collections-the-vote-and-after/representation-of-the-people-act-1918/>. Accessed 2 May 2021.

Van Noord, C. (1983) 'The Decline in Employment of Young Single Women in Service Occupations, England and Wales, 1871-1961' PhD Thesis, New School for Social Research, New York. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing [Online]. Available at: <https://www-proquest-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/docview/303277450/226EDEF9AC184805PQ/1?accountid=14697>. Accessed 8 May 2021.

Voices from the Factory Floor (n.d.) 'Introduction'. In: Women's Archive of Wales [Online]. Available at: <http://factorywomensvoices.wales/>. Accessed 14 April 2021.

Williams, G.A. (1983) 'Women Workers in Wales, 1968-82'. In: *Welsh History Review*, vol. 11, no. 1-4, p.530 [Online]. Available at: <https://journals.library.wales/view/1073091/1078288/553#?xywh=-497%2C817%2C3894%2C3690>. Accessed 7 March 2021.

Williams L.J. & Jones, D. (1982) 'Women at Work in the Nineteenth Century'. In: *Llafur the Journal of the Society for the Study of Welsh Labour*, vol 3, no. 3. National Library of Wales [Online]. Available at: <https://journals.library.wales/view/1326508/1327349/21#?cv=21&m=10&h=WOMEN%20OR%20WORK%20IN%20NINETEENTH%20CENTURY&c=0&s=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F1326508%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=-619%2C0%2C4087%2C3873>. Accessed on 27 April 2021.

Williams, M.A. (1999) 'Aspects of Women's Working Lives in the Mining Communities of south Wales, c 1891–1939'. In: *Folk Life*, vol. 38, no 1, pp. 56-70 [Online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1179/flk.1999.38.1.56>. Accessed on 16 March 2021.

Williams, M.A. (1999) 'In the Wars: Wales 1914 – 1945', In: Jones, G.E. & Smith, D (eds) *The People of Wales*, Llandysul, Gomer Press. Pp. 179 – 206.

Williams, M.A. (2002) 'The New London Welsh: Domestic Servants 1918 – 1939'. In: Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorian, vol. 9, pp. 135-151 [Online].

Available at:

<https://journals.library.wales/view/1386666/1426329/134#?cv=134&m=105&h=domestic%20servants%20OR%20articleauthor:&c=0&s=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F1386666%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=-600%2C0%2C3680%2C3487>.

Accessed 18 May 2021.

Winckler, V. (1987) 'Women in Post-War Wales'. In: *Llafur the Journal of the Society for the Study of Welsh Labour*, vol 4, no. 4. National Library of Wales [Online]. Available at

<https://journals.library.wales/view/1326508/1327876/70#?xywh=-671%2C-1%2C4105%2C3890>. Accessed 8 March 2021.

Winckler, V. (1987) 'Women and Work in Contemporary Wales'. In: *Contemporary Wales, an annual of economic and social research*, vol. 1, pp. 63-81 [Online]. National Library of Wales. Available at

<https://journals.library.wales/view/1179046/1179047/62#?cv=62&m=0&h=women+OR+OR+OR+work&c=0&s=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F1179046%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=-626%2C-1%2C3715%2C3522>. Accessed 8 March 2021.