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**Being a 'Clydesider' in the Age of Deindustrialisation: skilled male identity and economic restructuring  
in the West of Scotland since the 1960s**

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**Abstract**

This article examines the relationship between long-running deindustrialisation and skilled male employment culture in the West of Scotland. The *age of deindustrialisation* is a valuable designation: the contraction of industrial production and employment in the United Kingdom was gradual rather than sudden, managed carefully in the 1960s and 1970s and then recklessly in the 1980s. In Scotland there was an important transition in the 1960s from established to younger industrial sectors. In the sphere of employment culture this tested the Clydesider skilled male identity, which was constructed and reproduced in workplaces and industrial communities. The resilience of this identity is tracked through oral history examination of workers employed at the Fairfields shipyard in Govan, Glasgow, and the Linwood car plant, ten miles west in Renfrewshire. The Clydesider identity was derived from shipyard employment culture. It privileged earnings, workplace voice and relative autonomy from managerial supervision. Workers at Linwood used the Clydesider identity to advance their influence on the shop floor, contesting the frustrations of assembly goods manufacturing and asserting skill and autonomy. The article shows how manual workers on the Clyde adjusted to and made sense of deindustrialisation in the 1960s and 1970s in moral economy terms. The protracted and incomplete 'half-life' of deindustrialisation contained positive as well as negative effects.

'We not only build ships on the Clyde; we also build men'. These are the famous words of Jimmy Reid, Communist, skilled engineer and union steward in John Browns yard during the 1971-72 Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) work-in. The work-in was triggered in Clydebank and Glasgow when Edward Heath's Conservative government refused to extend credit to UCS. The group faced liquidation despite an extensive order book, threatening 8,000 men with redundancy. The work-in mobilised a cross-party alliance of labour, employers, MPs and civic leaders in Scotland against market forces and Westminster decision-makers who Reid characterised as 'faceless men', remote physically and socially from the yards. The work-in inspired trade-union, socialist and counter-cultural support from far and wide, including a bouquet of roses and a cheque for £5,000 from Yoko Ono and John Lennon. Heath's government was forced into retreat, conceding a major programme of investment that secured the retention of 6,000 shipyard jobs (Foster and Woolfson, 1999).

The work-in was often analysed in emotive terms. The shipyards, depending on perspective, were the front line in a war waged by employers and policy-makers against greedy workers (Broadway, 1976), a scene of grave policy-making confusion (Johnman and Murphy 2002), or the crucible of anti-working class prejudice and industrial butchery (Buchan, 1972). Across these competing narratives there was common emphasis on industrial decline, influenced by interpretations of deindustrialisation as a sudden phenomenon that followed the election of Margaret Thatcher's first Conservative government in 1979 (Devine, 1999, pp. 591-9; Harvie, 1998, p. 164). The employment dimensions of industrial contraction were in fact experienced incrementally in Scotland, and preceded the work-in. Adding manufacturing to coal mining plus construction, industry share of all employment, male and female, amounted in 1962 to 46.7 per cent. This dropped from 46.1 per cent in 1965 to 43.8 per cent in 1969 and 39.1 per cent in 1978, and then more rapidly to 28.0 per cent in 1988.<sup>1</sup>

The *age of deindustrialisation* is therefore a valuable designation. The contraction of industrial production and employment in the United Kingdom was gradual, managed carefully in the 1960s and 1970s by Labour governments and then recklessly by Conservative governments in the 1980s. Deindustrialisation was a process rather than an event. This article focuses on the relationship between long-running economic restructuring and the skilled male employment culture defended by the UCS work-in. In Scotland the age of deindustrialisation involved an important transition in the 1960s and 1970s from established to younger forms of industry. In coal, shipbuilding, metal manufacturing and textiles post-Second World War employment peaked in the mid-1950s (Gibbs and Tomlinson, 2016). Emergent sectors were then stimulated by UK government regional policy, with grants and loans to

multinationals which located near the shipyards or in the coalfields (Scott, 2004). Sensitive administration of these changes by Labour governments included dialogue and agreement with the political and union representatives of workers affected; and restructuring was broadly understood as strengthening economic resilience in industrial communities (Gibbs, 2018). When the rate of new job creation in the coalfields slowed in the late 1960s, miners secured the stabilisation of production and employment, lasting until the early 1980s, which was an important facet of a popular moral economy of deindustrialisation (Phillips, 2019, pp. 199-209). This moral economy had substantial traction on the Clyde too. Job losses in the shipyards were resisted during the work-in because there was insufficient alternative employment across Glasgow and its environs in the late 1960s and early 1970s (MacInnes, 1995).

The foundation and evolution of the Linwood car plant in Renfrewshire, opened in 1963 by the Rootes group, was an important illustration of this moral economy and a test of the Clydesider culture. The Linwood workforce was drawn from shipbuilding as well as heavy engineering and coal mining. The car plant ostensibly satisfied a crucial component of Clydesiderism: economic security through industrial employment. But operationally it challenged worker autonomy and craft skill, key tenets of Clydesiderism (Knox and McKinlay, 1999). In stark contrast to shipyard production, motor manufacturing entailed close managerial supervision of workers executing standardised or semi-standardised tasks (Knox, 1999, pp. 272-9). In 1969 across the UCS group 59 per cent were skilled (Herron, 1972); at Linwood 60 per cent in 1975 were semi-skilled.<sup>2</sup> In the longer-run, moreover, the central pillar of Clydesiderism, earnings from employment, was also recurrently compromised by the transition to assembly goods. Ownership at Linwood passed to the US multinational Chrysler in 1966-67, and then to Peugeot-Citroen in 1978 before closure in 1981. Employment levels fluctuated, with intermittent large-scale redundancies, and a threat of closure in 1975 averted only by the activism of Harold Wilson's Labour government. The car plant was then allowed to shut by Thatcher's Conservative government, which mismanaged the process of deindustrialisation (Phillips, Wright and Tomlinson, 2019). Its 'economic adventurism', especially the increase in the cost of borrowing and, above all, the appreciation of the sterling exchange rate, greatly accelerated industrial job losses (Tomlinson, 2007).

The resilience of the Clydesider culture in confronting the difficulties of deindustrialisation since the 1960s is tracked through oral history examination of workers employed at Linwood and the Fairfields shipyard in Govan, a major site in the UCS work-in. Workers at Linwood used the Clydesider identity to advance their influence on the shop floor. They contested the frustrations of assembly

manufacturing, protecting their security by asserting a right to greater autonomy and a command of craft skill. Employees at Fairfield and Linwood adapted to deindustrialisation, making sense first of the partial movement from established to younger forms of production in the 1960s and 1970s, and then the accelerated loss of manufacturing in the 1980s and 1990s. The age of deindustrialisation did not finish with the twentieth century. Various social ills in the 2000s and 2010s in the USA as well as the UK were attributed to the ending of mass industrial employment in the 1970s and 1980s. A 'half-life' of deindustrialisation has been hypothesised. This encompassed population decline in ex-industrial localities, along with a decaying built-environment and heavy unemployment, plus poor mental and physical health (Linkon, 2018). The piecemeal contraction of shipyard employment in Govan and the closure of Linwood had serious economic and social consequences in Clydeside. The later decades of deindustrialisation in Scotland nevertheless contained positive as well as negative features. Borrowing from Raymond Williams, Tim Strangleman (2012 and 2017) argues that the 'half-life' encompassed powerful 'residual structures of feeling'. Citizens in the de-industrial revolution in Scotland defended the fairness of their economic and social condition using norms and structures developed in industrial society. Formative experiences in youth of older citizens who attained adulthood in the 1960s or 1970s were important in constructing a common 'intelligible moral order', and the outlook of younger citizens socialised in ex-industrial communities since the 1980s was also shaped by industrial-era norms.

The 'intelligible moral order' of skilled male workers on the Clyde, encapsulated in Reid's repudiation of 'faceless' policy-makers, was fashioned in opposition to the political authority of the state, the liberal market and employers. The testimonies of former Clydeside workers cumulatively demonstrate the enduring presence of this powerful working-class cultural identity, which was produced through everyday contact in industrial workplaces and communities. Transmitted across generations, this identity framed the attitudes and actions of workers in three highly distinct labour market situations: the shipyards, the car plant and the post-industrial environment facing ex-employees from each site. The Clydesider identity was defined largely in male and working-class terms but had a profound influence on Scotland's broader political trajectory, which was increasingly distinct within the UK during the age of deindustrialisation. This trajectory encompassed a relatively progressive response to the problems of deindustrialisation, involving continued emphasis on collective state action in the economy, social solidarity among citizens and the value of trade-union organisation (Kendrick and McCrone, 1989). This contrasted with the emergence of right-wing variants of political populism in other regions and nations of the UK. In the 2016 UK referendum on European Union membership there were large Leave votes in many ex-industrial towns in England, although not in the larger cities. In Scotland,

by contrast, Remain secured majorities in all 32 local authority areas and was supported by 62 per cent of the voters.<sup>3</sup> In the 2019 elections for the European Parliament the Brexit Party won large minorities of votes cast in ex-industrial regions of England: 38.7 per cent in the North East, 36.5 per cent in Yorkshire and the Humber, 37.7 per cent in the West Midlands, and 38.2 per cent in the East Midlands. In Scotland, by contrast, the party secured just 14.8 per cent.<sup>4</sup>

The analysis is structured in two main parts. The transmission of the Clydesider identity within Fairfields is examined first, along with the challenge posed by prolonged crisis in the shipyard from 1965 to 1972. The ways in which Clydesiderism assumed a prominent form at Linwood is explored in the second part. A short third section details the culture's 'residual' presence in the post-industrial lives of the interviewees. This shielded them from the 'wounds of class' experienced by others in Scotland and elsewhere in the deindustrialised world (High, 2013b). The oral history methodology is guided by Alessandro Portelli's study of the mining communities of Harlan County in Kentucky. Portelli related his approach to the baroque oratorio: a sequence of single-voice 'arias' interspersed with multi-voice 'chorales' (2010, p. 11). In the Scottish workers' chorus assembled here there are two lead vocalists: Alan Glover, born in 1956 in Govan, a welder in Fairfields; and Joe Reilly, born in 1945, also in Govan, an assembly-line welder at Linwood. The employment structures and contingencies which framed the testimonies are established through study of government, business and trade-union archive materials.

### **Clydesiderism in Fairfields**

Manual craft skill was the key ingredient of the Clydesider male working-class culture. At Fairfields white collar workers and unskilled male cleaners were not considered 'Clydesiders'. Within skilled manual trades there was an important rivalry between boilermakers who built the ships and those in engineering and other finishing trades such as carpenters, plumbers and electricians. There were micro-differences too within the 'black trades' which composed the boilermakers: caulkers, platers and welders. Alan Glover, a welder, put it like this: 'I didnae want to be a caulker burner, erm ... Erm, that's like being a drummer in a band, you don't want to be the drummer in a band, you want to be the lead guitarist ... or the singer, right'. For him welders 'were the royalty'. The caulkers were nevertheless part of the 'band', having worked 'on the tools', learned their trade through time-served apprenticeship and become skilled men.<sup>5</sup>

Esteem in the yards was burnished by earning 'good' money, which the UCS work-in secured for men like Tam Brady, born in 1960, who chose an apprenticeship in Fairfields in 1976 at £27 a week over the alternative as an electrician on £16 a week.<sup>6</sup> Alan's father, a welder in Fairfields, was paid 'basically double' that of welders and comparable workers in other local trades. These premium earnings enabled Alan's father to take the family on holiday to Spain in 1969. Providing in this way was a satisfying element of employment at Fairfields,<sup>7</sup> and the breadwinner ideology was as important in the shipyards as in coal mining and other male-dominated employment sectors (Wight, 1993, pp. 87-112). Presumed masculine attributes of resilience and responsibility were also central to Clydesiderism, involving relative autonomy from managerial supervision. This was a legacy of shipbuilding's brutal labour process on the Clyde. The boilermakers were laid off when a vessel was launched, unless another was already on order, and the carpenters, electricians, engineers and plumbers likewise could expect redundancy once fitting-out was complete. The autonomous workers' moral culture was codified informally and relentlessly reproduced. Resilience and responsibility were learned from older men who taught new entrants 'how to behave themselves', to become good tradesmen and survive the arduous labour required. Personal integrity and honesty were emphasised, along with fulfilling obligations to work-mates.<sup>8</sup>

Alan recalled his entry to the shipyard as a rite of passage:

it was like walking into Dante's Inferno, right [...] my father was a welder in the shipyards, my Uncle George was a welder in the shipyards. And the foreman said to me, what's your name, son, and I says, Alan Glover, and he said, erm, what one's your dad, Jimmy or George? And I says, Jimmy. He went, I can kick ... sorry ... your dad can kick the crap out of me, but I bet you I can kick the crap out of you. And I went, I doubt it, I can kick the crap out my dad. Now, I couldn't. But right away, the light bulb went on, and I thought, you'll need to be smart in here, son, right.<sup>9</sup>

Quickness of mind and verbal violence were learned strategies for dealing with the yard's rigours. But Alan, conscious of contemporary mores in the late 2010s, and specifically concerns about workplace bullying, defended his mentors:



And the best one, erm, and people talk about reverse psychology, erm, Willie McClellan was his name, he was a welding foreman, but his nickname was The Hook. And he looked like, when I saw the video for the, Pink Floyd's Another Brick in the Wall, the, Teacher, Leave Us Alone, that's what he looked like. Tall, stooped, with a big Roman nose. And his language was atrocious, erm, but he would always abuse you, mentally, like, you're a long haired, useless hippy B. You'll never be able to tie your father's bootlaces, you're crap, you're this, you're that. And if you don't do this, you're gonna get this punishment. And yet, in a perverse way, he was educating you, to push you, and push you, and ... I always remember him. In fact, years later, after I'd left the shipyard, or into a launch, and Willie was retired, and he was there. And I introduced him to two of my colleagues, and he turned round and says to them, my god, my worst nightmare has appeared, right. But that's the way the man was, he actually cared about a lot of the apprentices. He didn't show it, though.

Other ex-workers shared Alan's view that verbal abuse from older colleagues 'toughened you up'. This is remembered in positive terms by Alex Wright, born in Paisley in 1956, who also started in Fairfields in 1971 and equally attributed his moral foundation to daily contacts with older workers:

But Fairfields has taken me from a boy to a man. And that's how it's formative. [...] Because you have, you had, going in there as a fifteen and sixteen-year-old, to learn off the men that came from a similar background to you. [...] As I say, I couldn't speak up more highly about the working-class environment that, not, I just didn't grow up in, but also worked in. Because I looked up to they guys. [...] You know, that was a great place to grow up. Although it was tough at times, and you got your leg pulled mercilessly. It was a great place to actually grow up, and just kind of toughen up a bit. The men were once apprentices themselves, and went through the same sort of kind of, almost it's like growing pains in some respect, you know.<sup>10</sup>

Tam was raised in Cranhill, ten miles east of Govan. Joining Fairfields from school 'made me the person that I am today and [...] Govan like an awful lot of institutions like that, whether it be the shipyards,

steelworks or whatever, they make the men.’ Tam talked up his acquired status as a Govanite when interviewed in 2017.<sup>11</sup>

Apprenticeships were served partly in the training school and prefabrication shed at Fairfields, but Alan related ‘real’ learning to time spent on ships under construction, under the tutelage of older men:

I remember a big guy, Jimmy Port, erm, and it was up on the deck, and it was a wee, tiny space. And this man, he was probably about six foot, erm, he probably weighed about thirteen, fourteen stone. And I think most of the guys that were welders or plater/shipwrights, could have got a job in the circus as contortionists ... because ... and he would show you how to get into these wee spaces, and right, move your shoulder this way, and move. It, it was amazing. Or even maybe if you were maybe not welding a job right, and they would say, look, I'll show you a better way to do this. So there was a lot of guys who kind of mentored you.<sup>12</sup>

The process of inter-generational teaching was more than technical.

It moulded me in a lot of beliefs, my political beliefs, my beliefs about my fellow man as well. And educated me, because it sparked interest with certain things, with just people I spoke to, my dad being one of them, but others as well. Even guys that I worked with. So, I could sum it up and say, it's the best university in the world, personally. That's, that's the way I would round it up. [...] And I, I've said it many a time, and I've said it many ... and I'm not an idiot, I'm not a genius, but I'm not an idiot, and I'm pretty well read. And I put a lot back to that, it's as simple as that.<sup>13</sup>

This political component of the Clydesider identity was important, and encompassed freedom from managerial supervision. Recognition of the distinct class interests of workers and employers was fundamental to the learned politics of shipyard workers, and expressed through the exercise of workplace voice, to paraphrase Hirschman (1970). There were admittedly parallels between

Clydesiderism and other forms of politicised working-class masculinity in manual sectors in Scotland and the UK. Class tensions were sharp in the coalfields, for instance, despite nationalisation in 1947, with miners fiercely protecting their independence from National Coal Board managers (Zahn, 2015). Dock workers likewise frequently asserted claims to workplace autonomy, notably from the late 1960s when confronting the innovation of cargo-containerisation (Taylor, 2017). The culture of Norwegian shipyard workers, moreover, demonstrates that in maritime engineering the values of skill and independence were not asserted on the Clyde alone (Økland and Croucher, 2017). It might therefore be ventured that in objective terms Clydesiderism was less of a distinct social force than a variant of a national or even trans-national working-class identity. Subjectivities are nevertheless important, particularly where *self-identity* is concerned. Portelli (2003) has emphasised that the ‘psychological truth’ is ‘real’ within subjective interpretations of the past as well as the present.

The collective Clydesider identity at Fairfields was strengthened, furthermore, by a prolonged period of crisis from 1965, when the yards temporarily entered receivership, to 1972, with the conclusion of the UCS work-in. Fairfields came out of receivership in 1965 via an exercise in industrial reconstruction overseen by the Labour government, driven principally by George Brown, Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and his departmental officials. The government took a 50 per cent stake in a new firm, Fairfields (Glasgow) Limited, predicated on substantial changes to production methods and business organisation, with an ‘experiment’ in work study and industrial partnership (Paulden and Hawkins, 1969). Key figures included Sir Ian Stewart, Chairman of the new firm, Oliver Blanford, General Manager, and James Houston, Director of Productivity Services, who negotiated changes to working practices with unions representing the boilermakers and the engineers (Alexander and Jenkins, 1970). A highlight of the experiment’s publicity campaign was *The Bowler and the Bunnet*, an energetic documentary film released in 1967. Written by Clifford Hanley, and directed and presented by Sean Connery, this claimed that the experiment had narrowed the social distance between the bowler-hatted managers and the bunnet-wearing workers. Cycling around the yard with a bunnet on his head, Connery argued that partnership at Fairfields had improved productivity.<sup>14</sup> There was some basis to this claim: according to UCS Board minutes, in the boilermaker trades the average number of man hours per equivalent ton was reduced at Fairfields from 84 in 1966 to 60 in 1967, and in the fitting-out trades output per worker was 33 per cent greater in 1967 than in 1964.<sup>15</sup>

The experiment in partnership was cut short by the government’s grouping strategy for the shipbuilding industry. Prioritising economies of scale, this pushed Fairfields into UCS in 1968 with three

other yards: Connell and Stephen in Glasgow, and John Brown in Clydebank. The new group faced a succession of increasingly serious financial difficulties and the distinct class interests of workers re-emerged, consolidating their oppositional identity and moral culture. John Brown had accumulated substantial losses in building the *QE2* for Cunard, launched in September 1967. Department of Economic Affairs officials saw the luxurious liner's expensive legacy as a 'major factor' in UCS's predicted liquidation in February 1969.<sup>16</sup> This was averted by the Labour government, pushed to act by workplace union representatives, local MPs, and the Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC).<sup>17</sup> The government's approach was steered by Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Minister of Technology, before his radical personal and political re-engineering in 1970 as Tony Benn, the champion of workers in struggle. Benn opposed nationalisation in 1969, favoured by the STUC and workers in the yards. He was nevertheless concerned about the social costs of mass-redundancy that would follow liquidation, and that ending shipbuilding on the Upper Clyde would damage the Labour Party and even jeopardise the future integrity of the UK.<sup>18</sup> Financial assistance was therefore provided to keep UCS running, but only if the group reduced its labour costs significantly.<sup>19</sup> Between August 1969 and January 1971 about 2,000 men accepted incentivised redundancy terms: four to eight weeks tax-free pay in addition to statutory entitlements. Along with natural wastage this reduced the workforce from 10,800 to 8,400 by June 1971 (Herron, 1972).

The redundancies were agreed by trade-union representatives largely because employment alternatives were believed to be available for those who left the yards. Reconstruction was presented by government ministers and UCS management as establishing a viable future for remaining employees. Here was 'the moral economy' of deindustrialisation in operation, with the security of the affected workers and communities apparently prioritised.<sup>20</sup> But those who left in 1969 and 1970 did not find comparable jobs easily. Unemployment rose unexpectedly in 1969, and under the Heath government increased further from 2.7 per cent in the summer of 1970 to more than 4 per cent in 1971 (Tomlinson, 2017, pp. 145-8). This countered the effects of Benn's rescue plan, particularly as the situation was acute in Glasgow, with male unemployment jumping from 6.8 per cent in the first quarter of 1970 to 10.5 per cent in the third quarter of 1971.<sup>21</sup> The challenges facing redundant UCS workers in this deteriorating labour market were analysed in a Department of Employment-commissioned survey, designed and overseen at the University of Glasgow. A research team led by Frank Herron assembled a sample of 400 redundant UCS men, 40 per cent of them from Fairfields. A ten per cent control sample of remaining UCS employees in 1971 indicated that 36 per cent were skilled boilermakers, from the black trades. Only 6 per cent of the redundant population were boilermakers. A disproportionately large

number were drawn from the finishing trades. Two-thirds were plumbers and painters, electricians, joiners and polishers, or engineers and fitters.<sup>22</sup>

Herron and his team hypothesised that men with these finishing skills were better equipped than others to adapt to occupational change, but many reported frustrating and insecure post-UCS employment experiences. Having enjoyed a long association with the shipyards, they took pride in their craft skills and relatively-high manual earnings. Many regretted leaving the shipyards (Herron, 1972, pp. 233-6, 248). More than a quarter reported that post-UCS employment involved less skill, and a significant minority, 37 per cent, experienced two or more spells of unemployment between 1969 and 1971. Further redundancy was the most common explanation for leaving post-UCS jobs.<sup>23</sup> The case of an ex-Fairfields fitter, born in 1928, encapsulated the survey's broad narrative of displaced and downwardly-mobile redundant workers. The fitter left UCS in May 1970 after twenty years with a lump sum of £100. He was interviewed on 21 June 1971, a week after the grouping entered liquidation. This may have conditioned his pessimistic tone, but material circumstances were important. Unemployed for eight out of thirteen months after redundancy, his earnings in intermittent jobs had been ten per cent lower than at UCS. With three girls and three boys under the age of sixteen the fitter had been unable to provide for his family. 'It has shattered my plans', he said, using a bike instead of a car and relying on social security benefits to pay for his children's shoes.<sup>24</sup>

The growth of unemployment, and specifically the absence of meaningful job alternatives, sharpened class feeling and shaped workforce resistance to the liquidation of UCS in June 1971. The potential collapse of the group was a further transgression of moral economy expectations and a stern challenge to the Clydesider identity. Economic security and meaningful workplace voice were threatened. Davie Torrance, a young draftsman in 1971, explicitly relates his account to the exercise of working-class voice and control: 'It was our fuckin yard'.<sup>25</sup> The work-in was nevertheless complex. The role of the official liquidator, Robert Smith, was under-estimated. He maintained the flow of supplies to the yards and cash to creditors, enabling continued work on vessels already under production. Smith developed a pragmatic relationship with the leaders of the work-in, and paid wages as normal to the vast majority of UCS employees who were retained: 7,149 in December 1971, and 6,882 in June 1972.<sup>26</sup> Jimmy Reid and other stewards, notably Jimmy Airlie, an engineering union representative in Fairfields, deployed a careful rhetorical strategy, measuring the value of shipyard employment in cultural as well as material capital. The special position of shipbuilding on the Clyde was accentuated, along with the centrality of the Clyde to Scotland's economic future. Supportive campaigners included Frank Field,

future Labour MP for Birkenhead but then of the Child Poverty Action Group, and the Institute for Workers' Control. Field's analysis of the social security costs of closure alone, rising to £20 million over the first three years, was published by the Institute in its 'social audit', a moral economy-infused critique of the narrow financial criteria applied by the government when establishing the 'viability' of an industrial enterprise.<sup>27</sup> Heath's government was pressured into reversing its position. Through major state investment three of the four yards were kept open, including Fairfields and John Brown, and three in four of the threatened jobs were preserved (Foster and Woolfson, 1999). The Labour Party was also moved to an important change in policy, Benn and others accepting the trade-union argument that shipbuilding should be nationalised. UCS demonstrated the 'failure' of private capital to marshal the resources needed to modernise production and safeguard employment. Nationalisation followed Labour's re-election in 1974.<sup>28</sup>

The UCS work-in was therefore a moral economy victory for the Clydeside working class. This is a fresh and valuable perspective on a perhaps over-studied but thinly-understood episode (Knox and McKinlay, 2019). The perception of righteous struggle and victory in 1971-72 was central to the strengthening of Clydesider identity. Alan's father was part of a large UCS delegation that petitioned MPs at Westminster in July 1971, while the stewards warned government ministers and officials about the dangers of squandering the Clyde's heritage of skilled work and high-quality production.<sup>29</sup> The work-in is a core element of Alan's family and personal history. In his narrative the measured and disciplined nature of the struggle was plain:

I remember my dad going down with the big demonstration, with Jimmy Airlie, Jimmy Reid. And there was trains, there were actually trains chartered, that left Glasgow Central Station, with pipers, it was on the news, et cetera. And I remember my dad telling me that, erm, Tony Benn, the Labour MP, he was very supportive of the, the campaign. And, erm, they were all marching down towards Downing Street, and there was agitators there, they were getting hussled, and shoved, et cetera. And Tony Benn, and Jimmy Reid, and that, says, keep the order, lads, keep the order. And they kept the order. And my dad said, as we rounded round to Downing Street, there was about twenty black marias, big police vans. Because that's what they're hoping for ... they're hoping for people to riot, create disorder, then they can point the finger and say, look at these working-class scum, right. And they're not working-class scum. And again, if it wasn't for the likes of ... I don't, I'm gonna be honest with you. For example, the UCS work-in, I don't think it

was the politicians that, erm, saved that, the shipbuilding, it was the men. It was the men. And it was the men that not only led it, but the men believed in the fight. And I've got nothing but, erm ... I'm getting emotional. I've got nothing but, erm, total admiration for them.<sup>30</sup>

### **Clydesiderism at Linwood**

Making cars on Clydeside was different from building ships, in three important respects. First, the labour process was organised around mass manufacture of semi-standard products. Second, market fluctuations had a more immediate bearing on production and employment volumes. Third, US ownership under Chrysler from 1967 to 1978 shaped a distinct style of management, less formal in personal-social terms than that of the shipyards but more authoritarian in its attempted control of the workplace. These distinct elements of production tested the Clydeside workers' moral code but craft culture had agency in the plant and was frequently asserted. The tactic of work rationing was lifted directly from the Clydesider repertoire of resistance, to control output and seek better wages (Gilmour, 2009, pp. 261-6). Management responded starkly, seeing this as 'fundamental breach and wrongful repudiation' of the employment contract. Sackings of unofficial strikers were administered in the early years of production, when a highly conflictual pattern of industrial relations was established.<sup>31</sup>

In adopting the labour-protectionist practices of the shipyards, Linwood workers associated themselves with Clydesiderism. This collective identity was sustained through the structures and conduct of 'everyday life' (Abrams and Brown, 2010, pp. 1-12) in the community that developed around the car plant. With large-scale construction of public sector housing the village of Linwood became a medium-sized town, known locally in the 1960s as 'Rootesville', after the original operator, the Rootes group.<sup>32</sup> Its population quadrupled from 2,500 in 1961 to 10,500 in 1971, and then doubled to 23,000 in 1981. Seven out of ten workers at the plant in 1975 lived in Linwood, the adjacent settlement of Johnstone, which also grew quickly, or the large nearby town of Paisley. Half the working-age population in Linwood were employed at the plant. They were mainly young. Only 12 per cent of the workforce was 50 or older, compared with 25 per cent of the economically-active male population in Strathclyde Region as a whole. New families were built along with the cars.<sup>33</sup> 'They all had two point five kids', said Joe Reilly, setting out his belief that Chrysler saw youth and nuclear families as strengthening employee commitment: older or single workers, with few dependents or none, would be less reliable attenders.<sup>34</sup> The testimony of a former employee in the training department, recorded in 1984, confirms this

impression: 'we were told to avoid young single men, eh they wanted steady family people'.<sup>35</sup> In this practice Chrysler followed other US car manufacturers in the 1960s and 1970s, recruiting workers 'scientifically' through personnel management departments that sifted job applications to identify workers deemed compliant by family and material circumstances (Streeck, 2019). Joe was newly married when he started at Linwood, moving ten miles from Govan to qualify for a new-built local-authority house in Johnstone. There was no realistic prospect of obtaining a similar home in Glasgow, where he and his wife were starting married life in a rented tenement flat:

We were a young couple, and the way out of it was either to, um, move abroad, which some of my relations did or the overspill, and some of my relations had moved to Cumbernauld [a New Town seventeen miles north-east of Govan] and places like that ... and I thought, no, that's the back of beyond, used to take about two days on the bus and train to get to Cumbernauld, you know? So I opted for to get a job in Chrysler [...]. I thought, a brand new house, no-one had ever lived in it, and that's for me, so that's how I ended up in Johnstone.<sup>36</sup>

The young workers and citizens of Linwood were the 'new Clydesiders' of Damer's survey (1983), conducted in the immediate aftermath of the plant's closure. This term signalled the limited social impact of industrial change. Orientations to employment and social practices at Linwood were little different from those in established industrial communities in West-Central Scotland. The intensity and scale of employment in the plant provided Linwood citizens with a strong working-class identity. Leisure activities were highly communal, centred on pubs and clubs. These included a social facility attached to the plant, run by employees, encompassing sports facilities that could be used by family members. Joe remembered workers organising family trips 'doon the watter' to the seaside, children's Christmas parties and dinner dances at the social club.<sup>37</sup> There was minimal emphasis at Linwood, therefore, on the types of home-based leisure associated with the 'affluent workers' in the famous study of Luton in the 1960s, apparent symptoms of a distinct and less 'solidaristic' working-class identity (Goldthorpe et al, 1968, 1969a, 1969b). This ostensible shift in class identity was not straightforward. Examining the original *Affluent Worker* research notes, Mike Savage (2005) observed that in relating their experiences to those of other 'ordinary' people, the Luton manual employees associated themselves at least indirectly with a collective working-class identity. A recent study of East Kilbride, a



New Town established in the 1950s nine miles south-east of Glasgow, offers a more direct and relevant counterpoint to Linwood. In East Kilbride there was a heterogeneity of industrial employers. Collective working-class identities were established in the New Town but not with the same intensity as in Linwood's single-industry conurbation, and the influence of the shipbuilding craft tradition was less immediate (Abrams et al, 2018).

There was clearly little social distance between Linwood and Govan, at least in the memories of Joe, whose life straddled the two communities. 'Linwood was built by the men whose fathers built the ships', and 'we saw ourselves as the sons of the men who had built the greatest ships in the world on Clydeside'. Joe's earlier working life was varied, with time in the merchant navy, but many of his Linwood work-mates came directly from the shipyards. There was no obvious aversion among management to hiring them, despite their associations with 'red' politics or industrial militancy. Familial and political linkages peppered Joe's Govan-Linwood narrative. Political and trade-union activism were in his 'DNA'. He was 'brought up with, um, the trade union and the Labour party movement.' His maternal grandfather was a full-time official for the Society of Smiths and Strikers, and then divisional organiser of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. He was active in electoral politics too, as an Independent Labour Party councillor for the Fairfields ward in Govan from 1919, later elevated to the status of Baillie, a senior official, in Glasgow City Corporation. Joe's career mirrored this combination of industrial and political activism, a shop steward in Linwood and a Labour councillor in Johnstone from 1972.<sup>38</sup>

Joe was embedded in a pattern of trade-union organisation that secured high wages at Linwood. This core element of Clydesiderism in Fairfields, earning and providing, featured prominently in the new industrial environment. Joe remembered the plant as 'one of the highest wage payers in the area'.<sup>39</sup> This key contingency, that manual wages were won through arduous labour and collective action, was often downplayed in debates about working-class affluence in the 1960s and 1970s (Whiting, 2008). The position was further complicated at Linwood by regional pay differentials in the car industry. In common with other car and commercial vehicle manufacturers in regional development areas, like the British Motor Corporation at Bathgate in West Lothian (MacDonald, 2013), and Ford at Halewood, Merseyside (Beynon, 1973), Rootes and then Chrysler paid workers below the UK industry average. This was a source of tension, under-writing many industrial disputes at Bathgate and Halewood as well as Linwood (Murden, 2005). Rootes executives told the Donovan Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations in 1966 that they regretted not being able to pay more at Linwood, restrained partly by the

need to maintain good relationships with other engineering businesses on Clydeside which paid less.<sup>40</sup> Joe was nevertheless correct in saying that Linwood earnings were above local rates. Ewan Gibbs has interviewed an ex-Lanarkshire coal miner who remembered comparing wages with other Rangers supporters at Ibrox Park in the late 1960s. Linwood car assemblers were paid £35 a week, 50 per cent more than the miner's £22-10s (Gibbs, 2016). A similar differential persuaded Barry Brown, a skilled painter-decorator, to join the Linwood assembly line in 1970 and gain an extra £14 a week.<sup>41</sup> Skilled men coming to Linwood directly from shipbuilding in 1968 earned an additional 4d an hour, a weekly premium of almost £1.<sup>42</sup>

High relative earnings were central to the reproduced Clydesider identity at Linwood. But the new regime challenged Clydesiderism in other ways. Redundancy and spells of unemployment were problematic, with a thousand workers laid off temporarily in 1966 and 1971, and more than 2,000 in 1974.<sup>43</sup> Barry left in 1975, preferring the stability of employment as a painter-decorator in the public sector to higher-paid precariousness at Linwood.<sup>44</sup> A more serious problem was posed by assembly-line production, evident in the early struggles over work-rationing in the 1960s. There was a clash of industrial cultures. Workers, many steeped in the craft traditions, chafed against the requirement to exercise a relatively narrow range of skills while subjected to a high degree of supervision. As in the shipyards there were skill differentials and a plurality of unions representing different grades of employees. The core distinction was between skilled engineers who produced parts, represented by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), and semi-skilled assemblers, who were the majority and mainly members of the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU). There were plainly inter-union tensions, in the 1960s where engineers defended pay differentials as these gradually narrowed, and when lengthy stoppages by assemblers in 1977 and 1978 resulted in all employees being temporarily laid off.<sup>45</sup>

Joe overlooked union protection of sectional interests, which his narrative accommodated by emphasising macro-class conflict between workers and managers as the key problem.<sup>46</sup> The 1977 and 1978 stoppages were provoked when management attempted to exert greater control over assembly, changing inspection and supervision arrangements in the first instance and reducing relief breaks during hot weather in the latter. Each initiative was successfully blocked.<sup>47</sup> Joe derived his class-oppositional perspective from working in the 'very, very famous crazy K' assembly block. He was a welder and a 'snagman', stationed at the end of the line 'catching everything that didn't get done correctly'. There was less routine to this job than others in the K building, but Joe still managed semi-standardised tasks while reading and interacting with work-mates. Conversations, jokes, singing and playing, including

chess and draughts, were everyday elements of life on the line. This was how Clydesiders protected themselves mentally and morally against the numbing and relentless regime of assembly production: 'guys were quite happy to keep their brain active, if you like, while they were doing the routine'.<sup>48</sup> Alison Gilmour's close reading (2007) of a TGWU steward's diary shows that these types of behaviour were accepted as fair within a collective moral code, distinct from repeated drunkenness, fighting and property theft. These types of behaviour could not be defended because they transgressed labour solidarity and disrupted production.

Supporting work-mates in legitimate dispute with management was as important to employees in the car plant as it was in the shipyards. So was helping new colleagues to learn the job and acquire the identity of a skilled industrial worker. At Linwood women worked throughout the 1960s in the administration block and the trim shops, sewing car interiors. In the mid-1970s women also entered assembly. The Labour government's intervention in 1975, discussed below, accentuated the advantages of widening opportunities for women. Joe happily fulfilled a mentoring role for new-start female welders:

It was the Labour government and it's not just that it's a political fact, right, the Labour government started to go down the road of equality. And the Labour government insisted that the equality thing was not ... had to be sorted or you weren't getting your [regional policy] grants. So there was government interference to get that. Prior to that, the women in the factory were all doing the trimming and the seats and stuff like that. The ... I was given two young women to teach how to weld on the production line ... And I always remember at teatime and we were all sitting there with our overalls on, and I says to them, this is going to create havoc with your social life. And this young woman says, why's that, Joe? And I said, if you're at the dancing, are you going to tell people you're a welder?

This was an important gender shift, which clearly differentiated Linwood from Fairfields. In the car plant workplace relations were further distinguished by the idiosyncrasies of multinational management. Joe remembered a curious but instructive episode when Chrysler managers resolved to make the buildings cleaner. Pattern makers were asked to make a large effigy of a pig. This would be situated in the dirtiest part of the plant, to shame the workers involved into improving their immediate environment. 'Aye',

asked Joe, 'are you going to shame a Scotsman? He's more likely to hit you with the bloody thing isn't he?' Managers then decided to award a gold Rolex watch to several workers in the cleanest building. Joe habitually kept his work areas tidy and won a watch, but 'had no respect for it. That's why I just wore it to work, you know, because of the incident with the pig'. Joe related this episode directly to the work culture and traditions of Clydeside. The workforce could not be coerced by the attempted humiliation of the mock pig; and nor could his 'loyalty' be bought with a gold watch. His narrative continually returned to the Clyde, and the formative influence of the shipyards on Linwood workers' expectations and behaviour.<sup>49</sup>

A serious threat of closure at Linwood in 1975 was resisted, when Chrysler, facing substantial financial difficulties in the USA as well as Europe, considered withdrawal from the UK. The firm ran three plants in the English Midlands in addition to Linwood. Concerted trade-union action and a political campaign involving Labour-led local authorities in Strathclyde moved the government to adopt a major programme of investment that persuaded Chrysler to stay. Government finance was offered in return for a significant restructuring of production, including the advancement of female employees recalled by Joe. Chrysler was compelled to move construction of some cars and components from England to Linwood, where 5,000 workers were retained. It will be remembered from the introduction that all-industry share of employment was falling across Scotland in the 1970s, so the relative value of these car manufacturing jobs was increasing. Employment subsequently rose again at Linwood to 9,000 in 1977.<sup>50</sup> Joe likened this rescue to the UCS victory in 1971-72, where 'responsible' trade-union leadership acted to enforce 'respectable' working-class claims to economic security through well-paid manual employment.<sup>51</sup> Chrysler produced a short film to publicise Linwood's reinvigorated future, which featured the plant's AUEW convenor, John Carty. Employed continuously at the site since 1963, Carty asserted that the core Clydesider value of working-class responsibility was central to the manufacture of high-quality cars at Linwood.<sup>52</sup>

### **Being a Clydesider in the later years of deindustrialisation**

Linwood was closed on cost-cutting grounds by Peugeot-Citroen in 1981. Thatcher's government, having taken office in May 1979, effected a major turn in the management of deindustrialisation. It tolerated a rapid and destabilising increase in unemployment across Clydeside and Scotland. Amid this insecurity a majority of the plant's 4,800 employees voted to accept redundancy terms, equivalent to a year's wages, Joe recalled.<sup>53</sup> The incidence of high-profile closure leading to major job losses and community

ruination has been a strong theme in the global deindustrialisation narrative (High, 2013a). The acceleration of deindustrialisation in Scotland in the 1980s and early 1990s involved the ending of production at Linwood and other major sites of manufacturing employment, including the commercial vehicle plant at Bathgate (MacDonald, 2013), the Caterpillar earth-moving equipment factory at Uddingston (Gibbs and Phillips, 2018), and the steel mill at Ravenscraig in Lanarkshire (Payne, 1995). Big closures aggravated overall job losses, but deindustrialisation was still mainly a phenomenon of attrition. The peak level of employment in firms that closed after 1979 had usually been passed ten or even fifteen years earlier (Hood and Young, 1992). The scale of job loss at Linwood in 1981 was therefore unusual, even if it was just more than half of the 9,000 employed in 1977. The case of the Timex watch and electronics assembly operation in Dundee was probably more typical. Timex employment in the city peaked at 6,000 in 1974, fell back to 2,000 in 1983, then dropped to 1,000 in 1985 and 580 in 1990. Only 340 workers – less than six per cent of the 1974 volume – were directly affected by the eventual closure in 1993, bitter and contested though this was (Martin and Dowling, 1995). A similar if less exaggerated trend was evident at Fairfields. Narrowly escaping closure in both 1965 and 1971, the yard remained a site of industrial production in 2019 as part of the BAE systems group, fulfilling UK Ministry of Defence contracts for military vessels. But job numbers were relatively small, perhaps a quarter of the 3,000 employed in the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>54</sup>

It is nevertheless right that historians analyse the specific problems of closure as distinct from those of incremental job loss (High, MacKinnon and Perchard, 2017). When a locality loses a source of jobs and income with long historical pedigree, the feelings of abandonment and insecurity are intense. The withdrawal of car manufacturing from Linwood was experienced by many workers in shattering terms. Joe's recently published memoir includes Figure 1, his illustration of the grim trail that ex-car workers followed to the social security office – the 'brew' – and onto the industrial waste pile of unemployment, death and burial. This vividly distils the essence of later-stage deindustrialisation: the ending of employment careers; the absence of job alternatives; chronic social insecurity; and lost personal and communal purpose.

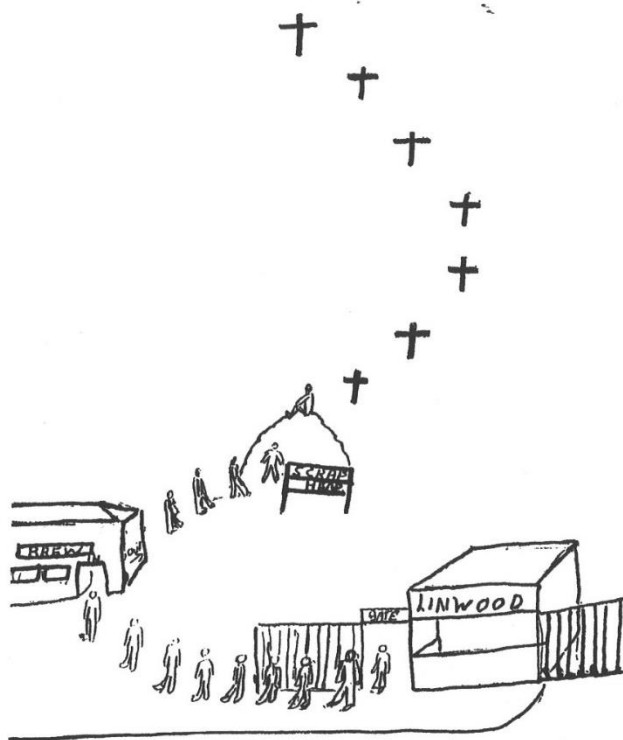


Figure 1: Joe Reilly, 'The Linwood Line', *Scottish Labour History Review*, 53 (2018), 40-58, ©Joe Riley

In his role as a local councillor Joe analysed the closure's impact on the wider area. The plant was demolished in 1984 and the site lay vacant until redevelopment began in the early 1990s. For a while Joe kept away from the abandoned brownfield location:

Yeah. You didn't want to go near it, right, you avoided driving by it. I think ... and I don't think it's an emotional thing, you just did not want to go near it. Right? And I actually knew one of my neighbours who told me he got up one morning and it had been about ten years since it closed, and he just found himself driving to work at Linwood. You know, that was a long term ... I found that was the effect it was having on him in later life, you know? So you didn't want to look at it.<sup>55</sup>

Walkerdine's discussion (2015) of damaged working-class self-confidence in a South Wales former steelmaking community emphasised corrosive disengagement from economic life. Gendered male expectations were prominent, as younger men especially rejected 'women's employment' in service sectors. Social dysfunction of this type is often referenced by authors examining the 'half-life' of deindustrialisation (Linken, 2018), and it is likely that many males in late-deindustrialisation Clydeside resented their narrowing range of employment options. But it also probable that the Clydesider identity articulated by Joe and Alan was more malleable and optimistic than the South Wales variant of working-class masculinity identified by Walkerdine. Each of these Clyde-built men adapted to life without industrial employment. Joe became a gardener and then entered further education, concluding his working career as a Community Facilities Officer with Glasgow City Council. In his political activism Joe was part of the Labour-controlled Renfrewshire District Council committee which oversaw the redevelopment of Linwood in the 1990s. This took new shape as the Phoenix retail and leisure complex, including car showrooms. Joe shopped at the Phoenix 'all the time', with 'no emotional attachment at all' to the site where he worked for ten years on the assembly line.<sup>56</sup>

Clydesiderism similarly prepared ex-Fairfields workers for employment outside industry. After leaving the shipyard Alan joined the civil service, with the Ministry of Defence (MoD) in Glasgow. When his office was threatened with closure, Alan took inspiration from the UCS work-in:

What I did is, and I'm not allowed to do it as a civil service, I met with journalists. [...] But we wrote to our MPs, I made template letters up with parliamentary questions getting asked. We had total solidarity. And I kept saying to the workers in our place, we're not dead yet, right. And we won the fight, we kept the jobs in Glasgow. We're actually recruiting staff. And that, that only happened because I'm convinced of it, and I'm not, I don't say this lightly. This only happened because of the background and the upbringing I had ... working in Govan. And even guys that I worked beside, like Alec Fairlie, he even said that, he said, that, that's the Govan coming out in you, right. [...] And I, I'm not, I, I don't want to sound like romantic, like a ... Barbara Cartland story. But because of my education, in Govan ... and my, the way my father was, and seeing the way Jimmy Reid [...] you know, shipbuilding's not just shipbuilding, it's a social thing. It goes beyond the shipyard. And now we're in the twenty-first century, and I've used tools that I picked up from the shipyard ... not as a welder, but used them in my current employment. And I think that's ... that's learning, that's learning ... you know.<sup>57</sup>

Alan saw another way in which he used his shipyard 'university' training, to guide younger colleagues as he was helped by older men upon entering Fairfields:

I'm sixty two, now, and I've always believed in helping young people. I've done that, you know, most of my adult life, in different shapes and forms. [...] I mean, recently, we've started, because of the demographics of our office, there's a couple of younger people came in. And, and I've been helping them, well, with, with certain things. Obviously, if they need to know, well I need to know. But we spoke about this, even in the MoD, that some of the guys that came out of engineering, we all know what we were like as apprentices, people helping us. And it's something that's stayed with a lot of us ... that we help young people. Because I use a phrase – knowledge is power. Some people don't like to impart their knowledge, because that makes them feel more powerful. I don't agree with that, right.<sup>58</sup>

Brian Glen, Alan's friend and fellow early-career welder at Fairfields in the early 1970s, was back at the yard employed by BAE Systems in the 2010s. Brian saw that collective organisation remained valuable in the cultivation and defence of employee welfare. Unions did not have quite the depth or range of influence in the yard that they had enjoyed in his youth. They nevertheless still negotiated valuable improvements to workplace and employment conditions, notably on health and safety questions, paternity and compassionate leave, and leisure amenities and canteen facilities. Brian contrasted this progress with the dangerous and rudimentary environment that he and Alan entered as young men.<sup>59</sup> These observations bring to mind an important study in 2012 by Beynon, Davies and Davies (2012), *contra* Walkerdine, that working-class traditions in South Wales developed in the world of industry have shaped economic life beneficially for manual and non-manual employees in the age of deindustrialisation. A strong culture of trade-union organisation and activism passed from one generation to the next, so that collective bargaining in service occupations was more robust in South Wales than in many regions of England. Empirical evidence indicates that historical tradition also had lasting effects on Clydeside. In Strathclyde in 2017 collective bargaining coverage was significantly higher than in regions of England with similar employment structures (Gall, 2018). This was highly suggestive of a 'residual structure of feeling', to return to Strangleman's analysis (2017) examined in the introduction,



where the Clydesider culture bridged the incomplete passage from industrial to post-industrial society. Throughout the 2010s it remained a valuable resource, enabling workers to mitigate the negative effects of deindustrialisation, such as low pay and authoritarian employers.

## **Conclusion**

Deindustrialisation was phased and gradual in Scotland from the 1950s onwards. The process involved a shift of capital and labour from established to new forms of industry. This article traced the transition by examining the testimonies of ex-workers from the Fairfields shipyard in Govan and the car manufacturing plant at Linwood, focusing on the masculine working-class culture of Clydesiderism. This was constructed in workplaces and communities, remembered as sites of learning – the shipyard was ‘the best university in the world’ – where knowledge and understanding were transmitted inter-generationally. Graduates emerged with a distinct working-class moral worldview that structured their thoughts and actions in different labour market situations. The culture was challenged in the prolonged age of deindustrialisation but survived. Ex-Fairfields workers testify that Clydesiderism remained a powerful contingency in shaping everyday expectations and experiences in the shipyards in the 1970s. Clydesiderism privileged earnings, workplace voice and relative autonomy from managerial supervision. Shrinking shipyard employment was tolerated in moral economy terms from the 1950s to the late 1960s because alternative forms of manual work were available in new ventures such as Linwood, created through UK government regional-policy investment. When the development of these alternatives slowed, in the later 1960s and 1970s, trade-union action enforced moral economy expectations of employment and income through the preservation of surviving shipyard jobs. It was shown here that Clydesiderism provided the successful work-in of 1971-72 with decisive moral authority. The defence of the Upper Clyde yards provided opportunities for younger men like Alan who entered the industry in the early 1970s. These opportunities had become more valuable because of the broader reduction in industrial employment. Learning from older colleagues, including family members, these workers extended the life and agency of Clydesiderism into the twenty-first century.

The case of Linwood shows how Clydesider values were passed from established to new industry. Workers in the car plant self-identified as Clydesiders. A crucial factor in this transmission was the migration of workers from Glasgow, who brought family histories of trade-union organisation and political activism. Local-authority housing and the intensity of car manufacturing employment in

Linwood and neighbouring settlements further strengthened working-class identity in the new community. The Clydesider emphasis on working-class autonomy was reproduced. Workers organised social institutions and activities while constructing a strong and vibrant trade-union culture in the car plant. Oral history adds persuasive texture to the evidence from documentary sources examined here that semi-skilled as well as skilled workers challenged their employer at Linwood in Clydesider terms. Managerial controls were tested by work rationing, and the dulling routine of car production offset by reading, chatting and larking on the assembly line. There was a culture clash between employer and employees, but perhaps this was less dysfunctional than has often been supposed. The assertion of the Clydesider skilled male identity helped Linwood workers in their difficult adjustment to the new regime, supporting the business of car manufacturing. Joe from Linwood spoke with the same degree of pride as Alan from Fairfields in recounting his role in industrial production. Memories from these two sites show how the process of deindustrialisation was understood by manual workers in moral economy terms and made to fit their interests in the 1960s and 1970s. Subsequent experiences of life and work on the Clyde were positive as well as negative. Both Alan and Joe used Clydesider reasoning and values when negotiating different facets of Scotland's de-industrial revolution. Their narratives underlined the valuable endurance of working-class organisation and activism throughout the long and continuing age of deindustrialisation.

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- <sup>6</sup> Tam Brady, Interview with VW, 20 September 2017.
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- <sup>8</sup> Alex Wright, Interview with VW, Paisley, 29 August 2017.
- <sup>9</sup> Alan, Interview.
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- <sup>11</sup> Tam, Interview.
- <sup>12</sup> Alan, Interview.
- <sup>13</sup> Alan, Interview.
- <sup>14</sup> *The Bowler and the Bunnet*, written and researched by Clifford Hanley, directed and presented by Sean Connery (Sean Connery, Scottish Television, 1967), 36 minutes, black and white; the film is included in *Tales From the Shipyard. Britain's Shipbuilding Heritage on Film* (British Film Institute, DVD, 2011).
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