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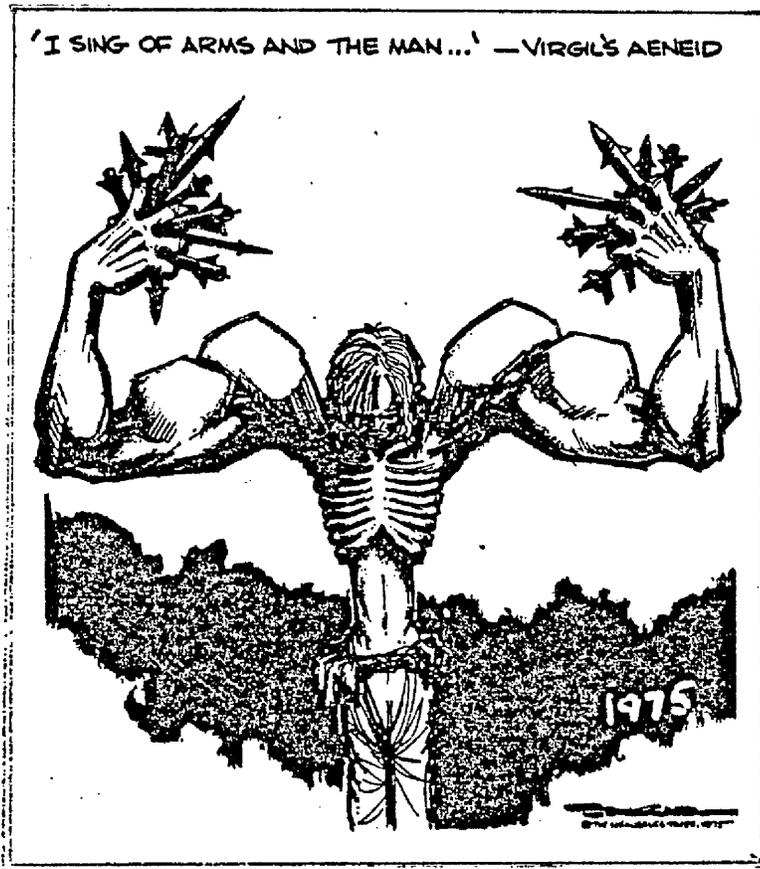
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BETWEEN McALPINE AND POLARIS:
A Social Inscape Study - PH.D. THESIS .

GEORGE GIACINTO GIARCHI

Oct., 1980, SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT, GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.

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BETWEEN McALPINE AND POLARIS : A SOCIAL INSCAPE STUDY

S U M M A R Y

On the 4th. March, 1961, the Polaris Nuclear Submarine Base was set up on the Holy Loch, in an area known as East Cowal, Argyllshire, Scotland. About 3,000 Americans, mostly U.S. servicemen, settled either at Base or ashore in the semi-remote area. Another outside intrusion upon the quiet life of the people in the Cowal Peninsula took place in the winter of 1972, when McAlpine, the civil engineering and building contractor, set up a concrete gravity structural complex at Ardyne within the same area. Almost 1,600 navvies descended upon the locality to build North Sea platforms for the oil exploration off-shore in East Scotland. For eleven years before, the people had had experience of inroads of foreign populations coming in by regular rotation. In 1972 the situation altered dramatically, with the incomers total a proportion of 29% of the resident population.

Between these two intruding, mostly bachelor, alien groups, life in the old capital of Cowal, Dunoon, and a girdle of villages stretching on either side, had been affected, and a seaside locality pushed into the front-line of the arms build-up. The ecology, the political set-up, the economy, and the culture locally had been diversely affected by the invasions.

In addition, regionalization exacerbated the outside remote controls when area was absorbed into the Strathclyde Region. For centuries the township of Dunoon had been the administrative centre for the shore settlements. Now the area was to be administered by Glasgow regarding major matters, and by Lochgilphead regarding District affairs. Lochgilphead, ironically had been for years a challenge to the Dunoonite bid for more and more local autonomy. However, in 1975 the Dunoon Provost and the Town Council were waived aside, and the locality together with the town were administered by a lesser burgh. The outside controls were now complete, as the locality became more and more enmeshed within the faraway centres of power - Washington with its military aims, London with its oil objectives and associated industries, and Glasgow with its Regionalization programmes. The peripheral was therefore necessarily caught up with the centres of power with a growing local frustration.

The impact was assessed during the election campaign of autumn '74, when 130 people were interviewed in the Burgh, so as to explore the burning local issues that were surfacing during the local debates, at a time when discussion was encouraged regarding macro and micro issues.

Letters to the local press concerning the intrusions had been analyzed in the macro/micro context, and the Sheriff Court accounts explored, in an attempt to piece together the impact at cultural levels. The photographs in the local press over the period since the USN invasion were also assessed to establish the comparative effects of the intrusions and also of regionalization locally.

A conspectus of what the visitors to the traditional seaside holiday strip felt about the possible changes was in part established through interviews on the ferries, when 148 visitors were contacted during the summer season of 1975. Opinions of the locality have been ascertained, thus providing an outside view, and some appraisal of what visitors were feeling about the changing face of East Cowal.

In the autumn/winter of 1975-'76, 525 people were interviewed in their homes within the locality, so as to establish what they were feeling about the changes which appeared to constitute a state almost of social siege, which provided an inside view of local happenings and feelings.

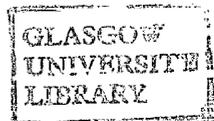
The whole study was organized and designed within a new approach, providing a macro/micro analysis of events and their outcome over the years since Proteus arrived at Holy Loch, and also an assessment, in particular, of the plural consciousness of the people during the period of research.

Throughout that approach the study was set in the historical context of the locality, especially of its old capital Dunoon, and focused upon the locality in triptych viz. the Burgh of Dunoon in the centre, and the settlements to the South-West and the North-East flanking it and hinged to it on each side.

Central to the approach - a "social-inscape approach" - was the importance of the familiar to the residents, and the psychosocial upset that surprise may bring. "Particularity" was a central concept throughout. From the initial impact of outside invasions phases have been identified in the chronicle of local events described as a "maze". The political interventions from faraway centres of power were also analyzed, and often exposed as "oblique" intrusions.

FOR CLARE
WHO
INTRODUCED ME TO THE "INSCAPE" OF HOPKINS
AND
WIDENED MY UNDERSTANDING OF LIFE ..

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S:

Above all, I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council who financed this study which otherwise would have been impossible.

I am indebted especially to Professor J.E.T. Eldridge, firstly, for introducing me to Sociology; secondly, for his inspiration; and thirdly, for his patient understanding, without which this study would never have reached completion.

I am indebted to Dr. D. Dunkerley and Dr. S. Charsley for comments, also to Doreen McBarnet whose supervision and support enabled me to grapple with research problems, and whose hours spent in assessing the progress have been much appreciated.

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I am indebted to Mike Moore of Glasgow University Computing Centre for his assiduous work with the data, and his ability to make formidable research tasks look simpler.

I am indebted to "Willie" Inglis, late editor of the Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard, who not only allowed me access to his records, but also permitted me to use his office, bringing me cups of tea as I scanned and analyzed the tabloid columns of the local press covering the period under study.

I am indebted to Miss Jane Gould, Mrs. Suzanne Tolan, Mrs. Sandy Fawle and Mrs. Gloria Day for the typing of the script.

I am indebted to Dr. C. Cannon and Geoff Payne of Plymouth Polytechnic for the support of my venture and encouragement.

I am indebted to the people of Dunoon District for their hospitality, and their cooperation; to the administrators, the clergy; the staff at the Dunoon Observer Office in John Street, and to the East Cowal residents into whose homes I was welcomed and given so much local information.

Lastly, but not least, I am indebted to my family who supported me in my venture, and who did so with so much forbearance and understanding.

P R E F A C E

"Above this race of men stands an immense and tutelary power, which takes upon itself alone to secure their gratifications and to watch over their fate. That power is absolute, minute, regular, provident and mild. It would be like the authority of a parent if, like that authority, its object was to prepare men for manhood; but, it seeks, on the contrary, to keep them in a perpetual state of childhood: it is well content that people should rejoice, provided they think of nothing but rejoicing. For their happiness such a government willingly labours, but it chooses to be the sole agent and the only arbiter of that happiness; it provides for their security, foresees and supplies their necessities, facilitates their pleasures, manages their principal concerns, directs their industry, regulates the descent of property, and subdivides their inheritances: what remains, but to spare them all the care of thinking, and all the trouble of living?

"Thus it every day renders the exercise of the free agency of man less useful and less frequent; it circumscribes the will within a narrower range and gradually robs a man of all the uses of himself.... After having thus successively taken each member of the community in its powerful grasp and fashioned him at will, the supreme power then extends its arm over the whole community. It covers the surface of society with a network of small, complicated rules, minute and uniform, through which the most original minds and most energetic characters cannot penetrate, to rise above the crowd. The will of man is not shattered, but softened, bent and guided..... Such a power does not destroy, but it prevents existence; it does not tyrannise, but it compresses, enervates, extinguishes, and stupefies a people, till each nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious

animals of which the government is the shepherd."

Tocqueville (1840):

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

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PART ONE

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1. Setting the Local Scene

CHAPTER 2. Some Seminal Ideas:
Change, Impact and Community
Concepts.

1.

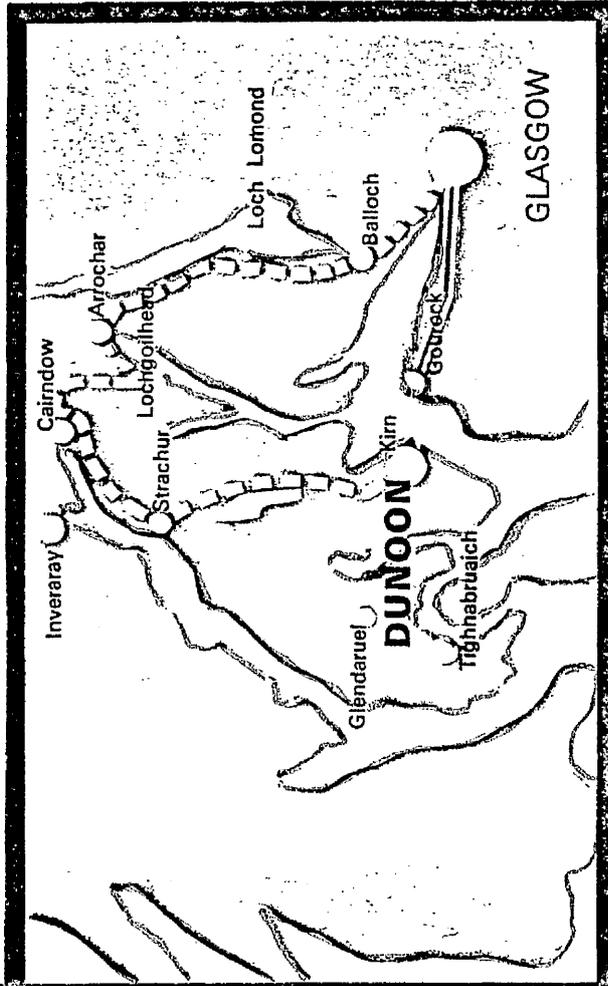
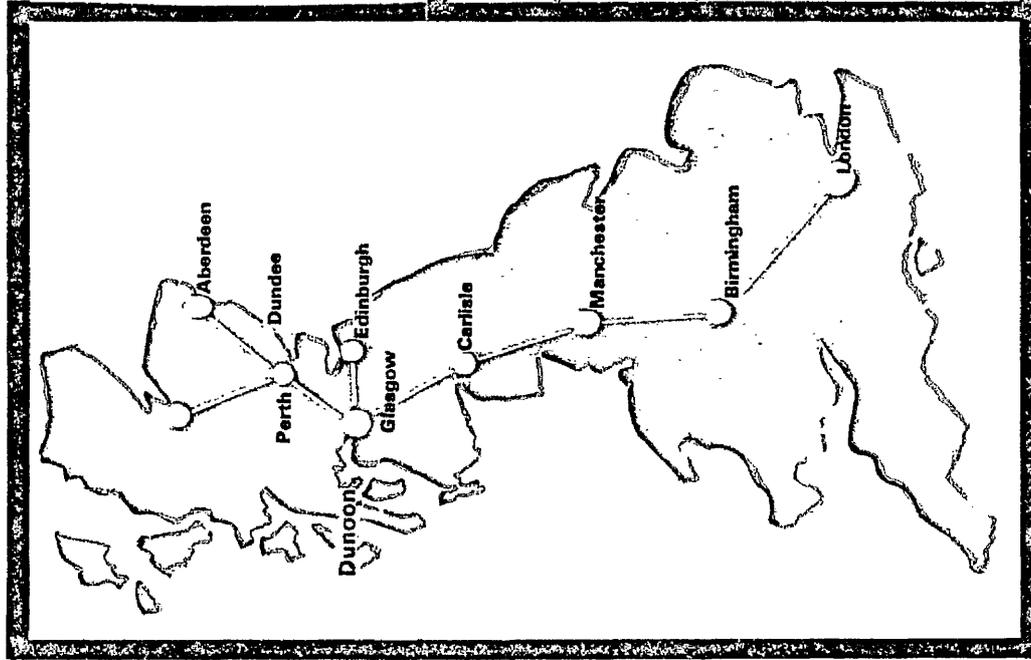
SETTING THE LOCAL SCENE

Extending alongside the fretted shoreline of the Cowal Peninsula, south Argyll, Scotland, lie tourist resorts which have catered for work-weary urbanites from the earliest days of the Industrial Revolution. The peninsula extends out towards the Isle of Bute, washed on all three sides by the waters of lochs, Kyles and Firth. It hangs onto the mainland only by a narrow strip, some six miles across and serrated by two glens: Kinglas and Croe. The land-mass takes on the shape of a giant claw with fissures running inland from the sharp-pointed promontaries, fragmenting the pawlike terrains with glens, inland lochs, rivers and streams. Most of the area is mountainous and approximately half is wooded, with settlements largely along the shoreline; almost all of which face the densely populated West of Scotland industrial region (see Map Diagrams 1, for location and main communications).

Dunoon, the capital of Cowal, stands at the narrowest point on the Firth where for centuries travellers have ferried between Highland and Lowland. It is around and within this small burgh of approx. 9,200 people that most of the population of Cowal is clustered. Map Diagram 2 accompanied by general information gives some indication of the town's size and local facilities. As on Map 5, there is a line of smaller settlements stretching on each side of the capital, which could be described as a necklace of villages connected by a winding road around the neck of the Holy Loch. Settlements here stand more or less apart, beginning with Ardentinny, then Blairmore, Strone, Kilmun, Sandback and Ardnadam, and so round to Hunters Quay and Kirn extending to the centre-piece, Dunoon. On the other side, in a south westerly

MAP DIAGRAM I:

LOCATION OF DUNOON
AND COMMUNICATION



(SOURCE: DUNOON INFORMATION TOURIST OFFICE)

COMMUNICATIONS (1974-'76): There were two main ferry routes to/from Dunoon and to/from Hunters Quay linking Cowal with "the other side" . The Dunoon route carried the main bulk of the passengers. Car ferries sailed from/to both settlements .

A local bus service provided by a Dunoon garage owner linked Dunoon with the shore settlements. public transport service had been discontinued some years before. There was no railway.

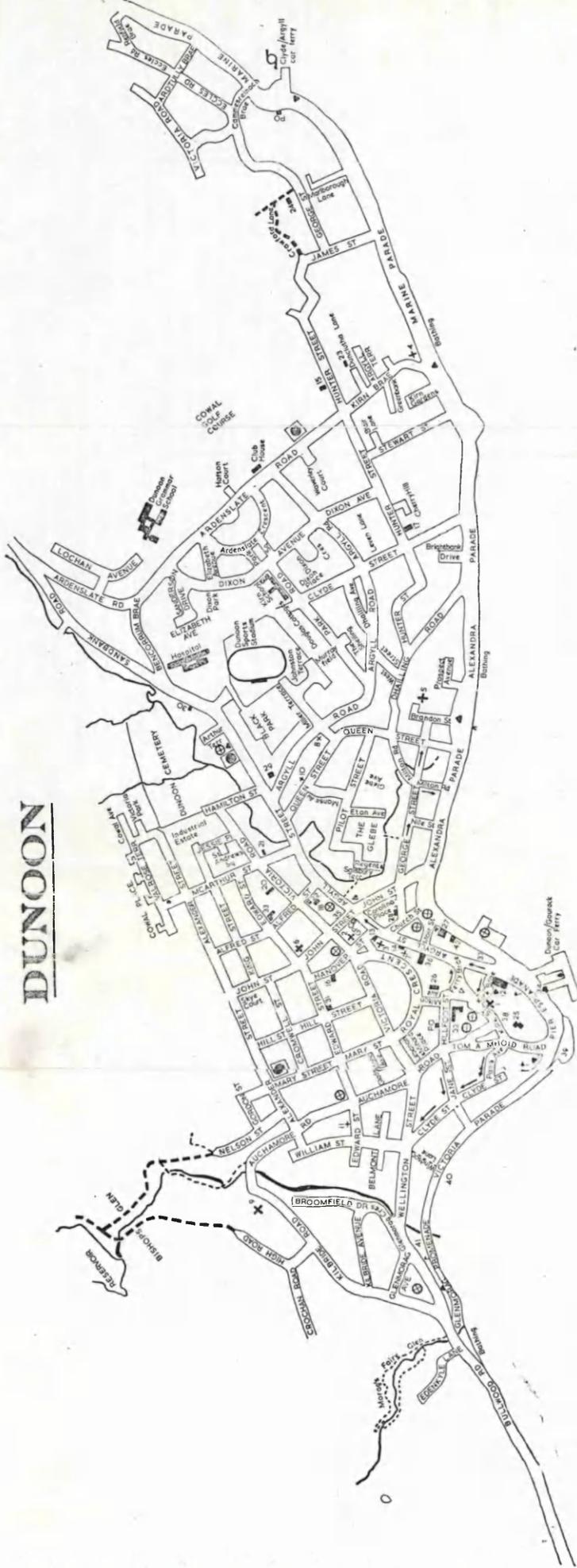
direction lie Bullwood, Innellan and Toward, stretching out to Ardyne Point, where the road runs upwards into the wilds of Inverchaolain - the other end of the necklace of settlements. That road ends by Loch Striven alongside the shore, and is one of the most dramatic cul-de-sacs in Britain. Significantly, the road at the other end also stops dead just outside of Ardentinny, to the north, alongside Loch Long, although a single road swings off, just before it ends, into the woods over the hill to Loch Eck. The ends of both roads, therefore, can be said to lead nowhere, as the ebb and flow of life by the water's edge run to and from the town of Dunoon, known since the thirteenth century as "the capital castle of the Lordship of Cowal"¹ It is about these settlements, uniquely linked over time in their semi-isolation that this study is concerned. Although two roadways, the B836 and the A815, run out of the straggling shore-road westwards and northwards, they are travellers' highways where no local bus service or railway-line run.

In an area that lays claim to be one of the finest beauty spots in Britain (and according to many locals: in the world) everything imaginable is offered the out-of-door enthusiast on land, and on water. Both the yachtsman and the pony-trekker are catered for, as well as the rock-climber and sea-angler, the sub-aquaticist as well as the bird and wild-life observer. Cowal not only leads to the Highlands, it offers its own miniature highland heathered peaks, and its nine lochs, to the tourist, with forest and mountain walks, together with trout streams and salmon rivers (see Map Diagram 5). The wildness of the peninsula can best be attested by the fact that over 39 different bird species, including the Heron and the Golden Eagle make their home in Cowal.

It was in this peaceful and semi-isolated area that militarists established an American naval missile base in 1961. This was no ordinary arrangement, because it was the first European US

MAP 2: DUNOON BURGH: EXTENT AND PUBLIC AMENITIES

DUNOON



- Church of Scotland:**
 Old Parish Church, +1
 St. John's Church, +2
 St. Cuthbert's Church, +3
 R.C. Church, Our Lady and St. +4
 Mun's, +5
- PLACES OF WORSHIP +**
 Baptist Church, +6
 Free Church, +7
 Free Presbyterian Church, +8
 Episcopal Church, +9
 Apostolic Church, +10
 Christian Brethren, Park Road, +11
 Jehovah's Witness, +12
- HALLS.**
 Old Parish Church Hall, +16
 Queen's Hall, +17
 Burgh Hall, +18
 Masonic Hall, +19
 Kilm Parish Hall, +20
 Old Parish Church Hall, +21
 Church Centre, Kilm, +22
 Kilm Scout Hall, +23
- PLACES OF INTEREST.**
 Y.M.C.A., +31
 Public Library, +32
 Burgh Hall, +33
 Milton House (Town Clerk), +34
 Swimming Pool, +35
 Sheriff Court, +36
 Site of New Police Station, +37
 Fire Station, +38
- REGISTRAR,**
 Dunoon Grammar School, +19
 Dunoon Primary School, +20
 Kilm Primary School, +21
 St. Mun's Primary School, +22
 Information Centre, +23
 "Dunoon Observer" Office, +24
 Cinema, +25
- 18**
 Dunoon Guide Hall, +18
 Dunoon Scout Hall, +19
 Boys' Brigade Hall, +20
 Old Men's Club, +21
 Senior Citizens' Club, +22
 Kilm Guide Hall, +23
 Kilm Scout Hall, +24
- PLACES OF INTEREST.**
 Y.M.C.A., +31
 Public Library, +32
 Burgh Hall, +33
 Milton House (Town Clerk), +34
 Swimming Pool, +35
 Sheriff Court, +36
 Site of New Police Station, +37
 Fire Station, +38
- OUTDOOR RECREATIONS.**
 Argyll Gardens, +37
 Dunoon Sports Stadium, +38
 Tennis, +39
 Crazy Golf, +40
 Brazy Golf, +41
 Children's Paddling Pond and Swing Park, +42
- Putting,**
 Bowling Greens,
 Parking (Circle/Cross),
 Toilets.

(SOURCE: DUNOON INFORMATION TOURIST OFFICE)

Polaris Base, altering the balance of power in the US/Russian confrontation. Moreover, it brought the realities of nuclear threat more dramatically home to the local people of a rather remote part of Scotland. Set up within the parish of Dunoon and Kilmun, the nuclear missiles stacked at first aboard the depot ship, and later stored within the surrounding mountains and countryside, pushed the rural-urban locality into the very forefront of nuclear threat. The element of surprise runs throughout the story of the US Base, as we shall see, from the first announcement of the establishment of the Base by Macmillan to his colleagues, from the subsequent local intimation to the Dunoon Town Council by a telegram; from the consequent establishment of the Polaris Base overnight, as the US depot ship moved in and anchored off-shore. Unlike other bases there was here no previous onshore installation, no building of quays, nor quarters. The anchorage was a natural one, and the ship was both quarter and workshop for the service personnel and submariners. The local newspaper of 4 March 1961 described the arrival at Holy Loch of the nuclear submarine tender-ship, Proteus on the third of March:

"The vessel entered the loch shortly before 10 o'clock, flying the stars and stripes at her rear mast. She was towed stern first to her moorings by two powerful tug-boats, a third tug being deployed at the stern to keep her course. Three planes flew overhead, while pinnaces of the Royal Navy patrolled the loch."²

Instantly, the quiet loch lost its peace, and the necklace of villages and centrepiece township of Dunoon were hung around a neck of nuclear armaments. Overnight, the loch had become one of the West's most strategic vantage-points.

The establishment, personified by the Burgh officials, offered a civic reception on Friday 10 March, when the Lady Provost

addressed the USN personnel in these terms:

"It gives me particular pleasure on behalf of the Town Council and of the citizens of the Burgh of Dunoon to welcome most warmly the officers and enlisted men of the USS Proteus, who are to be our new neighbours at their station in the Holy Loch. Dunoon and the Cowal shore may at this moment be unfamiliar to you, but soon you will get your bearings, and will enjoy with us this lovely part of Scotland, where we have the hills the glens, the lochs and the beautiful Firth of Clyde. I hope that you will get a lot of joy and pleasure from the surroundings in which you now find yourselves. We are friendly people in Dunoon, and we pride ourselves that we know how to welcome visitors in our midst. We do not, however, look on you as visitors, for you are going to work and live here, and will, we hope, become one with us."³

It was said then, that the USN Base would probably remain three years in the area; that was suggested 15 years ago. There are many questions which must be raised about the effects of that military and foreign presence which cover aspects of life locally, and it was to answer some of them that I moved into Dunoon in 1974 to explore the social texture of life within the linked settlements on the eastern shores of the Cowal Peninsula. However, I was not aware until I took up residence in the locality that other events had been afoot within the locality of eastern Cowal.

About ten years after the USN Base was established, when the census of 1971 was completed, plans were carried out for the creation of a "gravity structure" plant at Ardyne to the south of the Burgh of Dunoon, which would involve the influx of outside labourers and technicians, and an onshore ecological change to the landscape, with the buildings of basins along the shore, excavations, and the

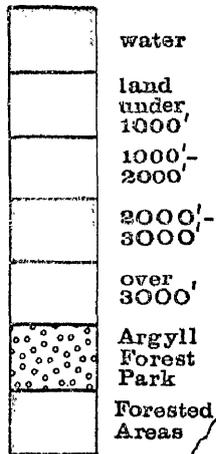
COWAL

FOUR
NEW
PENCE

Note: East Cowal roughly covers the peninsula jutting out into the Firth, bounded by Loch Striven, the Firth, Loch Long, and the hills between the top of Loch Striven, the north end of Loch Eck and Ben Ime (from the North of Lock Eck)

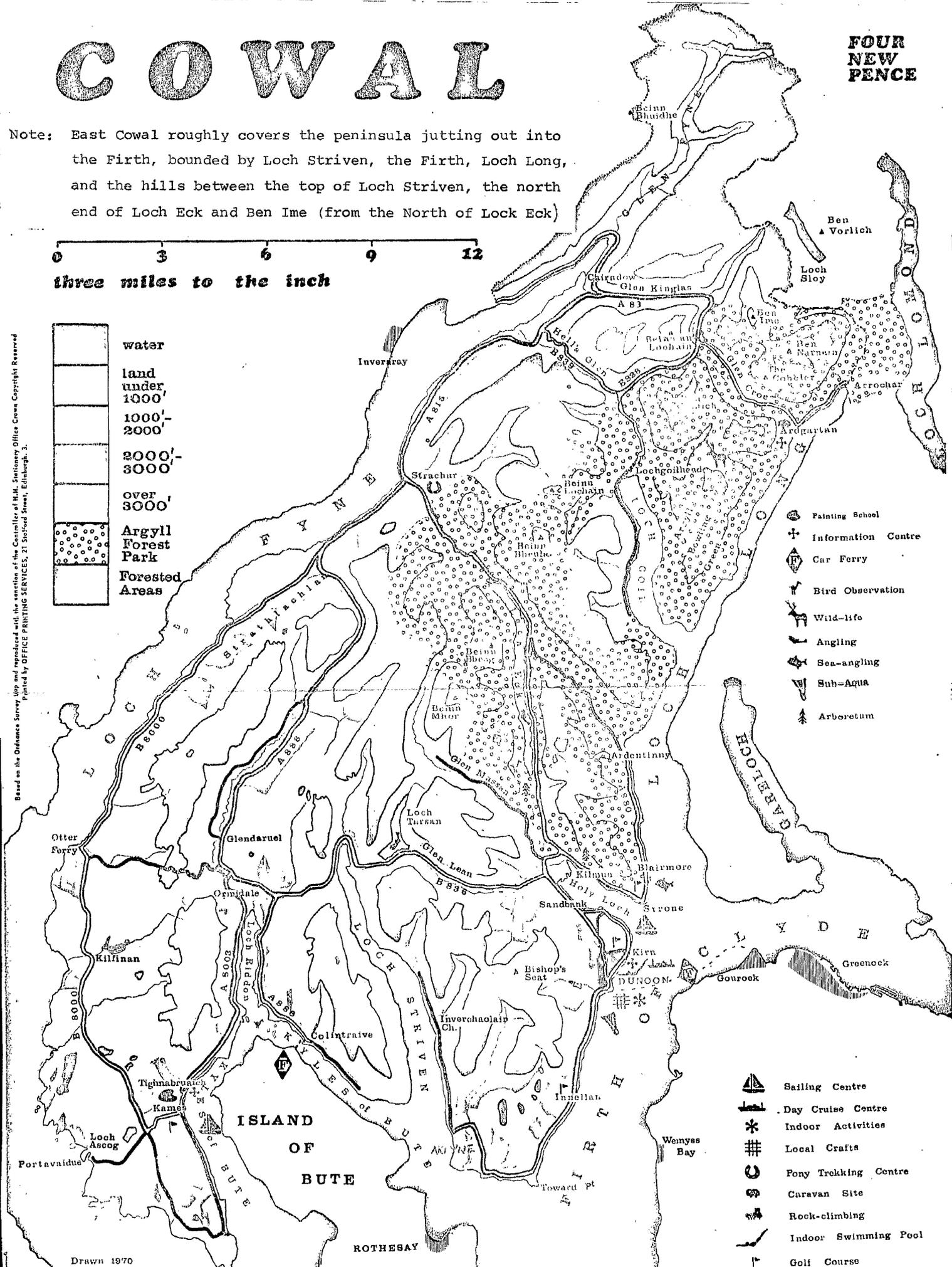
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three miles to the inch



(SOURCE: DUNOON INFORMATION TOURIST OFFICE)

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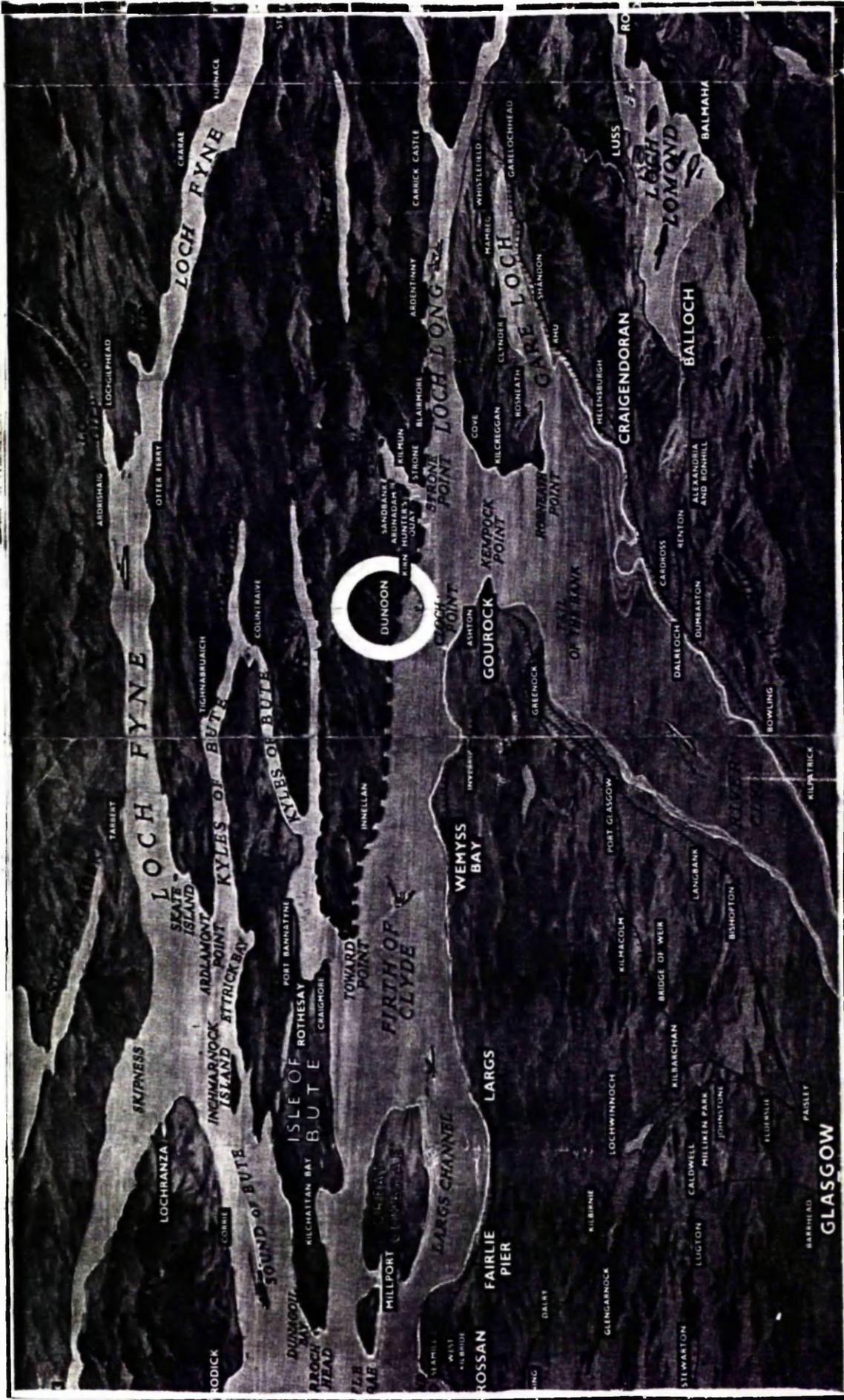
- Fainting School
- Information Centre
- Car Ferry
- Bird Observation
- Wild-life
- Angling
- Sea-angling
- Sub-Aqua
- Arboretum

- Sailing Centre
- Day Cruise Centre
- Indoor Activities
- Local Crafts
- Pony Trekking Centre
- Caravan Site
- Rock-climbing
- Indoor Swimming Pool
- Golf Course

Drawn 1970

MAP 4: COWAL

MAP 6: THE COVAL PENINSULA AND THE FIRTH



Area studied traced : - - - - - on map.

erection of a McAlpine navy camp. The soil and rocks from the shore were to alter the shore-line by the building up of a hill overlooking the site. Here in the quiet countryside where the sheep grazed, and where people retired for the rural solitude, a whole new world erupted with an endless stream of heavy lorries, both day and night, carrying concrete mix and girders. Buses brought hundred of navvies from daybreak along the narrow shore road, with at least 1050 men journeying by ferry from "the other side", or from Bute.

So, the pressures for the local people of the Cowal Shore came from two ends of the old parish of Dunoon and Kilmun: from the Navy Base at the north end, and the navy camp at the south end. Between Polaris and McAlpine a whole new world of living and style of life invaded the rural-urban locality. And as if to put the final turn on the screw, regionalisation, some years after, was to be implemented in May 1975, altering the controlling powers by taking the district out of a Highland and Islands setting, and placing it with the industrial mass of Strathclyde to the south, making commercial Glasgow its administrative and planning centre, the metropolis on "the other side" of the Firth.

The estimated population of the settlements in East Cowal in 1975 was approximately as follows:

The Burgh of Dunoon:

Population 9, 122 comprising the township of Dunoon and the settlements of Kirn and Hunters Quay to the East, and part of Bullwood to the West.⁴ These settlements constitute one burgh, which is not to say that they constitute one place, a matter to be discussed later.

The Eastern Cowal Shore:

1. Population of the five settlements lying to the north-east of the Burgh:

Ardentinny:	estimated population	100
Blairmore:	estimated population	309
Strone:	estimated population	363

Kilmun: estimated population 318

Sandbank & Ardnadam: estimated population 850 (two settlements merged into one but not necessarily one in the minds of the people-- to be discussed later.)

2. Population of the two settlements to the south-west of the Burgh :

Innellan: estimated population 956

Toward: estimated population 110

3. Population of a coastline row of houses called Bullwood, running into the Burgh and also into Innellan:

estimated population 384 *

The Scattered Areas:

1. Population of associated scattered rural homesteads, less determined, or linked with settlements to the west of the Burgh:

Inverchaolain (including Port Lamont):

estimated population 120

2. Population of associated scattered rural homesteads (by Loch Eck, the tail-end of the Holy Loch)

Benmore and Rashfield and also scattered homesteads by Glens Lean and Masson :

estimated population 105

(All above estimates include children.)

These estimates were difficult to establish, short of a complete population survey, because the researcher had only the 1971 "Index to Scottish Place Names" (HMSO) to go by, the R.G. Report estimates, and discussion over the possible populations with administrators to the District, with locals, and reference to electoral rolls and data from the Information Tourist Office locally. The estimates are set out to present some comparative measure for size. The scatter of houses amidst fields and alongside the lochs does not make assignment easy, where ultimately local consensus as to the identification of

* The settlement populations given above are not to be confused with the C.C.E.D.s of the Census which include more than the settlements.

boundaries alone can ultimately establish where villages begin and end, a matter which will be considered later when I will consider and also discuss the 6% sample of the entire area around Dunoon. The intention was not to present a demographic study. The Census itself leaves the data incomplete, because it does not take count of places below 100 people (which places can considerably alter from one Census to the next).

In any case, my study set out to assess certain factors of a sociological nature within a limited timespan, so that "exact" statistics for every single place were not possible, nor were they always necessary.

If the difficulty in establishing the exact populations of the scattered settlements around Dunoon presented difficulties, that of estimating the number of USN personnel and the Ardyne workforce proved much more problematical. A conversation with officers attached to the Base and with administrators at Ardyne Camp, convinced me forcibly that there can be as much secrecy about personnel within an industrial workforce as with the military. In fact, the military were more cooperative when it came to manpower estimates.

The USN American and Ardyne populations were as follows in the autumn of 1975:

1. American/ Servicemen:

- (a) aboard USS vessels : : approx. 1400
- (b) ashore: in East Cowal : " 700 (approx. 600 accompanied by wife)

on the other side

- of the Firth : : approx. 180 (approx 100 accompanied by wife)

Dependents.

(a) residing in East Cowal:

wives approx. 600
children approx. 480

b) residing on the other side of the Firth:

wives approx. 100
children approx. 60

Note: those residing ashore without wife were not necessarily single, some were married enlisted men whose wives were in the USA). The CB.s (Brigade of semi-military men engaged in construction work) - 20.

Civil Technical Staff: attached to the Base -

approx. 90 (for 6 month periods)

2. McAlpine Personnel:

(a) navvies resident at the Camp:

approx. 500

(b) various personnel resident in East Cowal:

approx. 160
married with wife approx. 25

(c) daily work force coming in by chartered ferries:

approx. 800

(d) daily work force coming in by usual ferries:

approx. 250

(e) American technicians for short periods:

approx. 60

Dependents:

In East Cowal - approx. 25 wives
approx. 36 children

Of the approximately 480 children of USN personnel residing in East Cowal in Autumn 1975, 312 were on the local school rolls, as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1: PROPORTION OF USN PUPILS IN EAST COWAL SCHOOLS (1975-76)

Schools in East Cowal	Teaching Staff	Total Number of Pupils	Number of USN Pupils	% USN Pupils
1. ST. MUN'S R.C. PRIMARY	9	201	67	33.3
2. STRONE PRIMARY	4	91	23	25.3
3. SANDBANK PRIMARY	9	127	23	18.1
4. KIRN PRIMARY	16	377	59	15.7
5. DUNOON PRIMARY	15	378	57	15.1
6. RASHFIELD PRIMARY	2	42	5	11.9
7. INNELLAN PRIMARY	4	75	8	10.7
8. DUNOON GRAMMAR	71	986	69	7.0
9. TOWARD PRIMARY	2	31	1	3.2
10. ARDENTINNY PRIMARY	2	20	0	0.0
TOTALS: ALL SCHOOLS	134	2328	312	13.4
TOTALS: PRIMARY SCHOOLS	63	2257	245	10.7

(Source: DIVISIONAL EDUCATION OFFICER - ARGYLL + BUTE DIVISION)

The teacher ratio was between 1 to 10 pupils (Ardentinny) and 1 to 25.2 (Dunoon Primary), so that it would appear, at first sight at any rate, that the influx of USN pupils had not strained the teacher/pupil ratio. (Children of incoming "Ardyners" could not be accurately checked from rolls. Being mostly Scots, with local addresses, no special note was made of them on rolls). However, the USN rotation of crews and personnel during the school year created sudden and unpredictable rises in the number of children sometimes overcrowding certain classes and upsetting the curriculum as shall later be discussed.

The composition of the total population as estimated above approximately,

works out as follows:

TABLE 2: PROPORTION OF USN/ARDYNE WORKER INCOMERS/AND DEPENDENTS

Population types		Approx No.	%
LOCAL RESIDENTS (including children	in Burgh of Dunoon	9,122	71.6
	"furth" (outside) of Burgh	3,615	28.4
	TOTALS	12,737	100.0
USN RESIDENT INCOMERS AT BASE OR IN LOCALITY	Naval personnel aboard Canopus and Barge	1,400	42.6
	Naval personnel ashore in East Cowal	700	21.3
	Wives residing in East Cowal	600	18.2
	Children residing in East Cowal	480	14.6
	American civil technical staff	90	2.7
	CB.s	20	0.6
	TOTALS:	3,290	100.0
PERSONNEL OF McALPINE RESIDENT LOCALLY	Navvies at camp	350	44.8
	Resident in East Cowal	310	39.7
	Wives resident in East Cowal	25	3.2
	Children resident in East Cowal	36	4.6
	American technicians	60	7.7
	TOTALS:	781	100.0
SUM TOTAL RESIDENTS:		16,808	100.00
INCOMING WORKERS	Daily from the other side of the Firth	1,050	5.9
SUM TOTALS: ALL RESIDENTS + DAILY WORKER INCOMERS:		17,858	100.00

These "working approximate totals" indicate that taking the incomers both resident and daily migrants (5,121), they represented a proportion of 28.7% of the 17,858. Taking both the McAlpine and USN incomers at Base and ashore, or at the camp, (4,071), they represented a proportion of 24.2% of the residents - the "Outsiders' Proportion Ratio" (O.P.R.)

The impact of the O.P.R. and the travelling alien population implies considerable possible psychosocial and socio-economic problems for

the people of the Burgh and surrounding locality.

When in this study I refer to "incomers", I will be referring to the people in the above population of 3,290 USN personnel and dependents, 781 McAlpine staff and dependents, and 1,050 incoming daily workers. The local people referred to them as "the incomers".

Dunoon Burgh is really three settlements. Firstly, there is the old town area converging around the pier and main street, then, merging into it, are the settlements of Kirn and Hunters Quay to the North-East, alongside the shore of what is known locally as the East Bay. On the other side of the pier is the West Bay (see Map 2). The immediate shore-line dwellings that skirt the four miles of promenade running from the West Bay to the East Bay were built around the middle or end of the last century, with a few blatant exceptions, such as the concrete Hall and some modern shops standing almost on top of the pier, looking incongruous by the Victorian main street building-line. The sweep of the Bays to the left and right of the pier, with the neat line of houses and gardens alongside the promenade, present an imposing aspect, but the old walls and grey facades of once prouder mansions tell one that the Burgh has known better days.

The town, as shown in Map 2, is mainly centred upon Argyll Street, the chief shopping place. In all, there are only two other streets: Hillfoot Street, and John Street, which could be regarded as shopping precincts. Apart from the hotels and boarding houses skirting the two bays, the Burgh is mainly residential. At the time of the research, there were six public houses, three restaurants, two cafes, two tea-rooms, four Scottish Banks, three chemist shops, the Burgh Hall, a closed-down cinema, and a Woolworths store, in the main street characterised by a long line of small shops running up from the Esplanade and public gardens in front of the pier.

The old Kirk dominates Dunoon on the hill behind the pier, complemented by the imposing steeples of two Presbyterian Churches overlooking the main street.

The modern indoor swimming pool on the East Bay, together with the Queen's Hall, break the shore contour of a nineteenth-century watering resort. Only when one reaches the inner streets and comes across three modern Council Estates: at the Glebe (off George Street), Valrose Terrace (off Alexander Street), and at Ardenslate (alongside Ardenslate Road), does one come across

the more contemporary scene (see Map 2). Running into the Ardenslate scheme are the Waverley Court flats, where USN enlisted personnel live. Off the main street, standing like a Warehouse, is the American Commissary. Both the naval flats, and the Commissary, are tucked out of sight.

American cars in the streets with their US number plates, however, stand out from the Scottish scene, and American accents betray the presence of hundreds of civilian-clad naval personnel.

So much for the small Burgh, what of the surrounding locality? Motoring from Dunoon to Ardyne along the East Shore in a southerly direction, the visitor noticed in 1974-76, the heavy traffic of lorries and green McAlpine vans. Here the road was being widened and straightened by scores of navvies. On approaching Ardyne, low flying helicopters patrolled the environs around Toward and Ardyne. At Ardyne the gigantic towers of concrete platforms for the North Sea oil field appeared beyond the trees, rising above dust and hundreds of men at work, amidst the shouting of gangers and the whirr of huge mixers, each tower being higher than the Post Office Tower in London.

When the visitor journeyed from Dunoon, in the other direction towards the North West, after leaving Hunters Quay, the grey hull of the US Polaris depot ship loomed up incongruously alongside a gigantic floating dry dock with nuclear submarines alongside. The hum of engines, and the busy activity of small craft, coasting to and from the long pier at Ardnadam, presented a discordant picture, in an otherwise remote and peaceful loch setting, intruding upon the peaceful villages of Sandbank, Kilmun, and Strone, which together with the line of dwellings known as Rashfield, circled the loch and its noisy vessels. Around Strone Point the small villages of Blairmore and Ardentinny appeared to be more removed from the US naval intrusion, but a sense of peace was soon shattered when arriving at the naval torpedo range at Loch Long, once noted for its quiet retreat and its herons.

The concrete gravity North Sea structures at Ardyne to the south, and the USN Base to the north of the Burgh, were out of sight, when one was in Dunoon, but the casual visitor was reminded by the USN cars, the green McAlpine vans, and the strange accents of incomers, that things were afoot in Cowal. For me the intriguing question was to repeatedly come back between 1974-76 during my stay within the locality - "What is actually happening to the people in the settlements between McAlpine and Polaris?" The answers I formulated are set out in this study, but more was happening in Cowal besides the USN and McAlpine impact.

At the same time, there was the 1975 administrative annexation of the locality with Glasgow. I was anxious to assess the local impact of the American, Ardyne invasions, plus the annexation, because they seemed to concertina upon the life of the people at so many levels. I had originally gone to Dunoon imagining that the study would be solely of the impact of the USN Base upon the people, only to discover, as shall be demonstrated later, that local people were also concerned about the new Ardyne complex, and the disruption of the local administration through the new regionalization. It appeared that the impact of the USN Base had to be seen in comparative terms, and a triple analysis carried out: of the impact of the Polaris Base, of Ardyne and of regionalization. An impact study cannot assess the change and consequent stress outside the total framework. As it was to happen, there emerged a triptych of life in the locality - but, it appeared that the three outside intrusions were shifting across that triptych taking turns as it were to be in the centre.

The Burgh was central, the settlements to the South-West and the North-East, flanked it on each side, in a population distribution where the main bulk of the people lived in the Burgh along the shore, and the other minor groupings to the right and left of it. None of the settlements to the NE and SW of Dunoon appeared to have centres - they straggled by

the coast; whereas, Dunoon had a centre around its main street, which is the chief shopping street for the settlements on either side of the Burgh, which is their ancient capital. The study will therefore attempt to examine life within the locality under the impact of the three intrusions of militarization, industrialization and regionalization. These will be studied mainly with regard to their effect principally on Dunoon. But all three impacts, as will be seen, shook each sector of the locality in turn, because all three sectors were linked together historically, economically, and socially with the Burgh as shall be demonstrated.

REFERENCES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Cf. the first post-war brochure: "DUNOON ON THE FIRTH OF CLYDE":
Jack House: Glasgow: McCorquodale, p.17
2. Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard: March 4th, 1961.
3. "Ibid": March 11th.
4. Burgh of Dunoon ~~statistics estimated at Ladywell House,~~ Edinburgh,
1974.

SOME SEMINAL IDEAS: CHANGE, IMPACT,
AND COMMUNITY CONCEPTS

"It is not to be denied that if the point of view from which the analysis is made were pressed further there would be much more to be explained. The extent to which a concept explains something can never be absolute; it always keeps step with the expansion and intensification of insight into the total structure"

Karl Mannheim (1936)¹

The number and variety of locality or settlement studies concerned with their social structure and institutions are rather bewildering in their myriad approaches and because of their multiple foci. As far back as 1927 a bibliography put together by Allen Eaton and Shelby M. Harrison contained no fewer than 2,275 titles of projects or studies, of which 154 were comprehensive locality studies and 2,621 were specialised assessments of diverse areas in settlements.² Plowman, D.E.G. et.al. (1962) list 21 British "community studies" carried out since 1939. After 1962 there has been a renewed interest in such projects, amongst which have been the notable studies of: Stacey, M. (1960), Collison, P. (1963), Emmett, L. (1964), Glass, R. (1964), Jennings, H. (1962), Littlejohn, J. (1964), Spencer, J. (1964), Williams, W.M. (1963), Elias, N. & Scotson, J.L. (1965) and Frankenberg, R. (1966).³ At the same time, numerous books offered critiques of "community studies".⁴ Moreover, there has been a renewed interest in the effects of industrialisation upon small settlements in Scotland during the upsurge in oil development.

In search for a conceptual and methodological lead to follow, the substantive context of the study will be the guiding factor in utilising

previous approaches.

This is the study of impact upon a peripheral locality, firstly by events and decisions made in the outside sphere of the larger world, and secondly by the invasion of outsiders within its confines. This being the substantive context, and clusters of settlements in East Cowal being the areal context, will necessitate some discussion at the outset of the relevant concepts of impact, and social change . Although other concepts will be utilised, these are the major hinges upon which the present analysis revolves. Given, as shall be shown, the multiple sociological perspectives on both change and community, and the sociological gaps in the discussion of impact, the explanatory framework can hardly be put together without a careful selection of suitable material drawn from a tested store of knowledge.

Sociological analysis with regard to impact demands further study. The framework stands or falls on its cardinal concepts, but on social changes there is a profusion of data and on impact too little. The concepts will be dealt with each in turn and the problematics associated with them within their theoretic field; a viewpoint will be adopted, and the concepts which are cardinal to this study will be related to each other within a basic framework.

R Nisbet (1972) has shown that the sociological study of social change is concerned with the search for successive differences in time of a persisting identity⁵. Since over time settlements may change endogenously, or exogenously, or both, it will be necessary to review the social theories which bear more directly upon cumulative change and difference under impact. The backdrop to Western living is modernity with its dynamic innovations and explosive proliferation of new ideas. When any outside event intrudes upon the local scene, one must be able to assess first of all what changes may be ascribed to the ongoing diffusion of modernity, and what changes to the unusual event with differences to match either growth or impact. A synoptic view of the theories indicates that broadly speaking they divide into firstly, those which chart trends or dialectical development which evolve over long periods of time (evolutionism), and secondly, those which assess the disjunctures

caused either in the short or long term, in micro/macro terms which may be planned/unplanned, or be intended/unintended processes (diffusionism). The metaphoric substrata underlying the former are analogies of flow and growth in change, and underlying the latter those of discontinuity and intrusion.

The first approach, though it represents a broad umbrella for numerous evolutionary and neo-evolutionary theories, emphasises the ceaselessness of change, but at the same time the continuity underlying the progression and development. The movement across modern society is from the simple to the complex⁶. Transition is about the move from the indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity⁷. Traditional ways of living may now give way to rationalised controls, and personality and local status, with the charisma they carry, no longer are paramount.

Some writers take a before-and-after look at settlements and sectors of life within the pervasive ambit of progressive change. Firstly, A Feldman (1960), W Moore (1960, 1965), N J Smelser (1964, 1966), and M Levy (1967) for example, assess what is as compared with what was⁸. Secondly, they identify industrialisation as the main cause of change in the indigenous ways of living. M J Levy (1967) describes it as the "universal social solvent" which permeates through the social fabric⁹. Taking the Durkheimian analogy of organic growth, the theorists see society as composed of interdependent parts where change in some affects the whole. Close upon the concept of industrialisation is the concept of modernisation - the more industrialisation, the more modernisation. But modernisation has not a uniform effect throughout the economic, political and social sectors of life, as demonstrated by several neo-evolutionists.

N J Smelser (1966) describes the association transformations¹⁰; and W F Ogburn (1922) says that people often do hold onto their customary ways of life¹¹. He adds that kinship networks, churches, and schools often are resistant to change. Although an evolutionist, he was well aware of the fixity, the persistence and resistance which may characterise certain sectors of society¹². He goes so far as to say:

"The persistence of culture at times appears so strong that it seems as though culture actually resists change" ¹³. He makes the point that the cultural vestiges that survive the advent of modernity fulfil certain needs, functions, or desires. He calls these "cultural utilities" ¹⁴.

Thus it is that culture once established tends to persist because it has utility. Ogburn regards technology as a form of culture, which he terms "material culture" in contradistinction to "non-material culture" which are customs, beliefs, philosophies and laws ¹⁵. The technological innovations do not bring about immediate changes according to Ogburn, who states that non-material culture lags behind material culture. Change may be a progressive phenomenon, but culture does persist in older forms. The new must provide superior utility before the old gives way.

The concept of lag as set out by Ogburn would appear to have important implications as stressed by Appelbaum, R P. (1970), although completely missing, as is Ogburn, from A. Smith's (1976) analysis of the literature on social change ¹⁶. According to Ogburn, cultural differentiation takes place within a society which is being industrialised, because older utilities persist, or psychologically because there is no time for adjustment in the rapidity of change in a technological society. This forms the basis for Alvin Toffler's (1970) assessment based on Ogburn ¹⁷.

Ogburn lists at least nine barriers to cultural change in certain levels of living, or in certain areas, atypical of changes elsewhere. These deserve specific mention as they will be most relevant to the discussion of community, and to the findings of my research in Dunoon and district.

Firstly, there is geographic isolation. The St. Kilda story by Tom Steel (1975) is a case in point. "Modernisation lag" created disparities, especially in social terms, between the mainland of Scotland and the remote island ¹⁸.

Secondly, climate or the absence of natural resources. Where there is a lack of local resources and conditions for the establishment of industrialisation,

industries seldom move in .Also, such resources refer to much more than industries, for example, eating habits are greatly determined by local food resources. (Once again, life on St.Kilda provides example where the island dietary habits were centred on fulmars .)Whatever might be said about Western culture, or the national trends, when it comes to assessing what persists locally in a sector or settlement, the cultural forms are determined, according to Ogburn, by their correlation to other parts of culture ¹⁹ .

Thirdly, there is the power of a particular economic class who resist change because their vested interests might be threatened. "Those who derive exceptional benefit from rent, interest and profits resist changes that endanger, or affect adversely these sources of income".²⁰ According to Ogburn, power, which is closely correlated with money and property, accounts for lags.

Fourthly, traditional hostility inherent in the particular mores resists the new order. The A.P. Cohen (1978) account of a Shetland community's resistance to the ways of the "Sooth man" - to which I will return later - illustrates the point made by Ogburn ²¹ .

Fifthly, there is fear of the unknown attached to the new, especially when hazards accompany it, or any risks. This may be extended to such areas as fear of accidents associated with some forms of work, and even to unionisation, where breaks in work are feared, which has been brought out in the Scottish oil studies, as we shall later see.

Sixthly, there is the force of habit with the attendant conservatism it engenders, especially where innovations are rarer, as is brought out in peripheral areas .by community studies, which I will refer to later.

Seventhly, there is social pressure through fear of ostracism or punishment, but also because of a preference for security in orderliness, definiteness. The predictable brings with it a certain order and insulation against the unknown.

Eighthly, there is nostalgia for the past with the tendency to glorify and forget the unpleasant, when presented with the choice of the new. Ogburn takes up the sigh of the "good old days", adding that it is accompanied by "selective forgetting"²¹.

Lastly, there is anxiety because of uncertainty attached to the unknown. Superior utility is the deciding factor.

Although Ogburn enumerates the above barriers to change, he is well aware of the attraction of adventure and of innovation, well aware that overall the new takes over progressively in the dialectic of change, but he appreciates that adaptation is not uniform everywhere. This fits in with the phenomenon of segmental living referred to by Durkheim²², and of "involutions" referred to by Geertz creating counter-trends²³. This fits in with M.J. Levy's observation that there are segments of modern living which are "relatively non-modernised"²⁴. So that according to Sahlins M.D and Service E R. (1960), also Stewart J H (1959), social evolution is accompanied by cultural differentiation.

Eisenstadt S.N. (1964), in his analysis within the neo-evolutionist approach, sees elites mediating the process, often controlling it from the centre. The modernising elites institutionalise the new values and schemes with their goals through organisations²⁵. The elites, however, are encapsulated within the process of modernisation itself, thrown up, as it were, by the upheaval of changing developments²⁶.

Without entering further into the evolutionist approach, discussed at length by T. Parsons (1960, 1966), R.A. Nisbet (1967, 1969, 1970, 1972), R.P. Appelbaum (1970), and A.D. Smith (1976), amongst others²⁷, and leaving aside the systemic approach (which stands astride the evolutionist and diffusionist approaches) till later, a review of the diffusionist perspective on social change will follow.

Whatever the views of diffusionists, they all agree that change occurs mainly outside the unit under study, that it is exogenous, that chance, not a dialectic inherent in the historical process, is a dominant factor. Innovations are diffused by such phenomena as unpredictable ethnic and population movements. Empirically the approach is often centred on micro events, identifying collision and culture clashes, creating disruption, discontinuity and rupture. Events linked with ideas are denominators of change. History is viewed in a non-serial form, often as a sequence of disjointed episodes in an absurd world²⁸.

Movements of people generated interests in diffused ideas and innovations, in such studies as those of W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki (1927), R.E. Park (1951, 1960)²⁹. Contact, conflict, and competition characterise the influx of people as they fight for space, creating the immigration problems of the new world. E. Rogers (1962), following G. Tarde (1903), emphasises that communicability is the crucial factor, as innovators invade the fabric of life³⁰. If the outsiders do not fit in with existing beliefs and mores, life is disturbed by the "marginal" people³¹.

Mass movements, such as nationalism and communism, invade life. These are inspired, as E. Kedourie (1960) points out, by the ideas of the intellectuals who are the prophets of the secular age³². Mass Movements with their invasion of ideas and emotions erupt, with what Trevor-Roper (1961) describes as "powerful ideas"³³, within sectors of society, which challenge older attitudes and beliefs.

Mass media also invade the life of man, disseminating ideas, creating "psychic mobility"³⁴. D. Lerner (1958) and K.W. Deutsch (1966) examine the interpersonal and collective diffusion of ideas through such media³⁵. Physical and social mobility, according to them, make modern man more receptive to information. The psychic mobility extend man's horizon, making him more receptive and open, but he may at the same time be indoctrinated by the elites using the media to diffuse an ideology.

The exogenous nature of change, whether due to movements of population, mass movements, or whatever extraneous event(s), is the significant factor, as defended by R Nisbet (1972). He cites A R Radcliffe-Brown (1957), reminding the followers of the eminent structural-functionalist that he distinguished between two forms of change: 1. change within the structural-form (readjustment), and 2. change of the structural-form (change of type)³⁶. Change within is embedded in all social structures. He observes that systematic writers often confuse the two. He says that changes in type "do not emerge genetically in cumulative growthlike, and sequential fashion from a long line of smaller changes within the system"³⁷, and adds that major social changes are "closely related to impacts and forces from outside"³⁸. Thus he commends the Weberian approach which dealt with the problems of change which he saw as pre-eminently historical and event-oriented: event, time, circumstance and place are the important variables. He rejects Marx's analysis, which he regards as essentially immanentist³⁹.

Without entering fully into the Marx/Weber debate on their views about change⁴⁰, one must have reservations about Nisbet's simplistic dismissal, and this for certain reasons associated with a critique of the endogenous and exogenous approaches. Firstly, no single theory can hope to embrace and encompass the immense varieties of change over time. Secondly, although their starting points are diverse, both Marx and Weber provide us with insights into the phenomenon of change over time. Thirdly, both are historically oriented, and concerned with situational impact in a world of events. Without falling into the temptation of fusing their views, it may be said that Marx's endogenous emphasis when dealing with Western development did not rule out a diffusionist theory of non-Western capitalism, as D Smith (1976) expertly shows⁴¹.

However, before establishing an eclectic basis for an approach to this study, the shortcomings of the endogenous and exogenous approaches do need to provide limits, and the advantages in each reviewed, so as to provide appropriate conceptualisation.

The endogenous may be criticised for the obvious teleological bias. And apart from Ogburn's allowances for the environmental factors, and those of the Chicago School, change is often viewed in an environmental vacuum, whereas environment is linked with cultural changes. Secondly, the clear cut-off points in the evolving process are determined by an imposition of a deterministic blueprint rather than by an analysis of historical events. Thirdly, there is a tendency, as shown in Parson's rendering of Weber's rationalisation process, to reformulate and extend the analysis that was confined to one epoch to that of civilisation in its entirety⁴². Fourthly, theorists often begin by asserting and adopting the endogenous, yet lapse into the exogenous, so that authors like Eisenstadt (1973) become enmeshed in contradiction⁴³. Lastly, the categories are too broad.

The neo-evolutionist approach with its emphasis upon the endogenous process of change has much to comment its emphasis upon inherent change that accompanies alteration in size, scale and frequency. Secondly, it accounts for differentiations and anomalies, as well as the lags and culture clashes in the context of modernity.

The exogenous approach may be criticised for the emphasis on crisis to the detriment of changes within. Reading Nisbet, one gets the impression that change is only change when it brings about complete alteration of type. Secondly, change as created by outside forces may overlook the inherent qualities of the groups, strata, and elites, whose response to crisis may be one of initiative. Thirdly, the diffusion theorists do not provide criteria for the determination of the 'significant' event. Fourthly, the approach does not allow for the two-way process - the invaded acting upon the invaders is not developed. Fifthly, intercommunication with its endogenous effects are overlooked. Lastly, the analysis of impact as a dynamic process is not developed.

The diffusionist approach, however, has also got much to comment it. The main factor is its emphasis upon the chance and unpredictableness of life. Secondly, it assesses the possible causal linkages between events, or at least associational relationships between what is happening outside with what is happening inside the organisation or the settlement.

D. Smith (1976) suggests an 'interplay' and transunit⁴⁴ model which conserves aspects of the endogenous and exogenous nature of change should be adopted⁴⁵. My study takes up his suggestion, but will incorporate it into a locality situation. As shall be seen, many sociologists of community pay lip service to the concept of change, but as M. Stacey has observed in her propositions, the sociologist ought to be sensitive to change outside, and connection of parts within settlements to parts outside. The concepts of time and change are central to her approach and also the concepts of transition and persistence⁴⁶.

Taking the analogy of flow and growth, my study will identify the developments that have come about locally, mediated by the local people which demonstrate 'interplay' and cumulative changes over time, created by the character of the residents, but the persistencies and "cultural utilities" will also be identified.

Taking the analogy of discontinuity and intrusion, I will also assess the outside events which, taken together, or separately, appeared to have brought about intrusions, to which people either adjusted, or resisted with consequent localised social changes. Thus, the short-term will be viewed within the long-term and the backdrop of modernisation. In this I will be searching for the "conjunctures" suggested by Braudel F. (1969)⁴⁷. The French historical approach takes the ensemble, or constellation of events, around a period of change, and attempts to see the pressures at that time from outside. Locally, there are the enduring constraining and limiting indigenous institutions, or structures. How they fare under the crises will be critical, especially when considering the invasion of the American military and the navvies later in this research.

Remembering the differential rates and the lags that may appear, it will be necessary to assess the asynchronous modifications or inertias at the economic, political, cultural and ecological levels. The effect upon the invaders will also be analysed within an interplay and transunit analysis. But, first the concept of impact will require some prior discussion before linking the conceptualisation around social change with that of community.

As already observed, the concept of impact is often overlooked in the examination of social change. I have yet to find a sociology study which has "impact" in its index. Even Alvin Toffler's (1970) mammoth book Future Shock which attempts to present an overview of what happens to people today overwhelmed by hyper-change, does not really analyse impact, but rather the effects, which is another matter, as we shall see. His chief failing is that he does not really assess continuity and persistence, although he draws upon Ogburn throughout his book. Why should continuity and persistence be important to a concept of impact?

Obviously, what was, is altered by what change impact has brought about; I am not concerned with a before/after emphasis; it has its place, but rather with the dynamics of impact as a first stage of analysis, so often entirely missing from the studies on invasionism. This analysis argues that the element of surprise and momentum be first assessed, which requires that one does not preoccupy oneself so much with Toffler's repeated reference to stimulus overload or Cohen's (1978) "cultural accounting;⁴⁸ important though they be. To some extent the "in the wake of disaster" studies, such as that of Kai Erikson (1979), are helpful because the reaction of people is logged and gut reactions noted; but such events as the Buffalo Creek and Aberfan disasters are extreme, impact is not confined to disaster.

There are case studies of settlements under impact, such as that of⁵⁰ W.F. Cottrell (1959) of Caliente, and T. Steel's (1975) St. Kilda study, but although they alert us to a surprise element, do not attempt to assess it. Initially, an examination of the term "impact" and the conceptualisation in social psychology will create a starting-point for further elaboration and inventiveness.

The Oxford Dictionary refers to the act of impinging, or collision in the context of momentum. It cites Coleridge's (1817) "impression 'ad extra' ", a perception occasioned by an impact.⁵¹ Webster's Dictionary is fuller on impact⁵¹. Impact is referred to as collision, impingement; striking against; onset; the power of impressing; the force of impression; a clash, shock, bump, bolt, percussion. Impact now commonly suggests the driving

impetus or momentum, in or as if in a collision, or the dynamic force in impressing
 or compelling change " ⁵² .

Three things suggest themselves: 1. substantively, impact refers to the instance of percussion/momentum in exogenous terms -it has outside origin(s); 2. psychologically , it refers to the impression and perceptions created and has inside repercussions; and 3.in real terms, spin-offs and/or outcomes are the sum of the percussion of both inside and outside forces. It is the second point which requires more observations. Certain people will know what is happening, others will not, some impressions will be created from outside for those under impact, and others will be differentially created by those under impact. The impact will result in a three-way percussion reaction : those who know what is happening will react passively or actively; those who are not aware of what is happening will not react, but attempt to continue as before. Lastly, those who think they know what is happening, will react passively or actively. So that the interplay is mediated by perception, or the lack of it. Lags will therefore abound, wherein some changes will proceed for some and not for others, and some people will bring about changes at one level (eg. the political) and not at another (eg. the economic). But, as indicated already, when citing the nine barriers to change listed by Ogburn, barriers to the impact having an effect will also be dependent upon indigenous local factors in addition to levels of awareness . Indeed, these levels of awareness, or the lack of them, will be largely determined by them .

The ecology, the local power structure, the mores, habits and locally determined fears and pressures, are in brief Ogburn's counter pressures which will require to be explored when analysing the process of impact. G.A. Hillery Jnr. (1968) describes the whole process of change and its impact as characterised by "structural freewheeling ", which adds to the analogy of lag - the social change of some structures will be stepped up, but others will remain static. ⁵²

Given the above considerations, the element of surprise, which I have already raised, will require to be seen within the dynamics of impact.

In this study, the element of surprise (almost totally absent from community studies) is the central factor. This will now be elaborated within the episode of impact. It is described as an episode because it has a beginning, a middle, and an end. Firstly, there is the instance of impact or percussion, which is accompanied by initial surprise. It is customary to regard impact as a crisis which is unwelcome because it is a departure from optimum conditions, whereas the initial unexpected event may be the harbinger of boom not doom. People may be surprised therefore by joy, or by tragedy. Indeed, the one event may bring joy to some and misery to others. There are not enough "in the wake of prosperity" studies to extend our knowledge of collective euphoric impact, and counterbalance the "in the wake of disaster" studies. What is important at the initial stage of impact is the immediate jolt accompanied by welcome or unwelcome surprise.

Secondly, there is a period of spin-offs, when a former routine is disrupted locally, or shattered, or at least challenged. Once again, this could be for the better for some, or for the worse for others. Moreover, what began as a pleasant experience may now appear to be anything but, or 'vice versa'. This is the period of realisation when decisions have to be made before a new routine is adopted. Seldom does impact come in single events, because it is often part of a constellation of events - hence the episodic nature of impact. The spin-offs are accompanied by secondary surprise, which as has been already suggested may mark a change in reaction.

Thirdly, there there is the period, following upon the spin-offs, when routinisation has been resumed, either at a new level, or as a return to the old - perhaps a more entrenched return to the older ways of acting. This return, however, has not marked the end of the episode, because repercussions from the initial and secondary percussions will emerge spasmodically. These will diminish in time, but may escalate again to the point of re-activating the whole pleasant or unpleasant experience. In addition, throughout this period of resumed routines, when a new pace of life, or a return to the old, has taken place, some lags may create an uneven reaction, especially where some people, or some sectors of the

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local structure of life will be suffering from delayed shock or reaction.

It is during this third phase that tertiary surprise occurs. With the rise and fall of reaction, with the delayed action for some and not for others, with the wish to settle down to either a new order or an old, or older one, there will be the "not again" or the "in luck again" response, depending upon who are the beneficiaries or not. In addition, there are the problems of adjustment to the return, whether innovatory or otherwise, when the unforeseen takes place.

It would be simple if things only happened one at a time. Settlements and organizations undergo impact cumulatively in a frenetic world noted for transience⁵³. One impact will be experienced on top of another. We must not jump to conclusions and surmise that because there is cumulative impact there is cumulative local change. That must be empirically explored each time. Ittelson, W.H.

(1973), Glass D.C. and Singer J.E. (1972), and Cox T (1978), all demonstrate from a strictly psychological viewpoint and a mass of research that repeated stimulation creates response decrement⁵⁴. From a sociological point of view, unless there is a change of the local structure of life, rather than within it, people may well be cocooned in their own routinised ways. Which is backed by

R.W. Kates (1970): "Where people do not experience anything they accept the situation"⁵⁵. The relevance of this will be seen later. It cannot be concluded that because people's routine living has not altered that they have adapted; perhaps they were unaware of what the realities were in the first place. This is why

Glass G.C. and Singer J.E. (1972), quoting Harris (1943), observe that often adaptation is synonymous with habituation⁵⁶. In addition, as we have seen, people may not adapt, when they are aware of the realities, they may simply keep to their well-tryed "cultural utilities".

We are now in a position to draw up a general pattern with regard to Impact and surprise as shown in Diagram I.

POSSIBLE
"CONJUNCTURE"
OF EXTERNAL
HAPPENINGS

EVENTS

INITIAL RUPTURE INTRUSION IMPACT

LOCAL
WAY OF
LIFE

PHASE
TWO

PRIMARY
SURPRISE

ECOLOGICAL
ECONOMIC
POLITICAL
CULTURAL
ELEMENTS
UNEVENLY
AFFECTED

SPIN-OFFS

LESS
STRESSED

SECONDARY
SURPRISE

PHASE
THREE

PERCUSSIONS
LESSENERD

SUCCESSION OF MINOR PERCUSSIONS

TERTIARY
SURPRISE

ADAPTATIONS
OR
ADJUSTMENTS
OR
SAME AS
BEFORE
ROUTINES

ROUTINISATION

EQUILIBRIUM MAY BE RESTORED THROUGH ADAPTING PROCESSES
SOME POSSIBLE EFFECTS IN THE AFTERMATH

CHANGES WITHIN:

- Injury
- Mortality
- Morbidity
- Psychological
- Damage
- Natural
- Material
- Reputational
- Disruption
- Political/economic

POSSIBLE
CHANGE
WITHIN
SETTLEMENT

CHANGE OF
(TYPE)
SOCIAL
STRUCTURE

Having discussed -- social change and impact : will the perspective adopted be a systemic one ? In their writings, the neo-evolutionists and Ogburn take the view that society is made up of systems with inter-related sub-systems after the model of an organism. The stability of the same is maintained, in spite of change, by a homeostatic process of adaptive upgrading, so that stability and continuity is made possible in spite of changes. This process explains returns to normality, but the process does not always take place. It is unfortunate, because some institutions simply break down. So that this study accepts equilibrating processes, but rejects a universal application of them in society. I will now consider the concept of community .

Community is an omnibus word to which many meanings have been attached; a matter discussed at length by Stacey M. (1969), Minar D.W. and Greer S. (1969), Hillery G.A. jnr (1955 , 1963) , Konig R. (1968), Salaman G. (1974), Nisbet R. (1973) , MacIver R.M. (1945), Martindale D. (1964), Parsons T. (1951, 1961), Poplin E. (1972), and Gasfield J.R. (1975), to mention only a few of the sources . Sorokin, P.A. (1947) and others wish to drop the term .

More disconcerting still, as M. Stacey (1969) fully demonstrates, there is considerable disagreement, not only about the term, but about the concept it is supposed to describe . This study will follow Stacey's significant lead, by not using the term community..

Conceptualisation regarding localised institutions, structures and processes under exogenous change agents, will be considered when I take account of the recent Scottish studies. They are of the same time band ; they are contemporaneous with the Dunoon and district study, and in the peripheral sea strips ; equally under the impact of the same oil boom , which as we shall see, also involved Dunoon and district.

But, my study also includes an assessment of the impact of the Pqlaris Submarine Base on the locality, so that some military

sociological factors must be reviewed, as will be done in the next chapter .

We are concerned in this one to examine impact substantively, irrespective of origin. Later, the research will demonstrate the qualitative differences between civil and military impact episodes.

This being a locality study, one must be clear as to what localities comprise . What is under impact sociologically within the confines of the areal focus ,or geographic boundaries selected for study ? J.R.Gusfield (1975) has alerted us to the ideological,existential,systemic, and utopian biases that have become entwined around the concept of community ⁶⁰ . Although one may discard the term and the concept of community,the substantive areas of debate remain. Systems,configurations,enclaves,worlds of meaning etc.create complexity.

Taking the systemic orientation and conceptualisation,which is the most influential and most generally adopted in locality studies, one is faced with a variety of systemic renderings beginning with the functionalists like Radcliffe-Brown A.(1935),and Malinowski B.(1922,1936, 1944,1948 , 1952), who ⁶¹ stressed that activities must demonstrate their functional contribution to the maintenance and needs of the social structure after the model of organic activity maintaining organic structure. The problem with it was that ,whereas an organism ceasesto continue once crucial functions die off, social systems do endure , although essential activities do not . They change in type, but survive. Merton R.K.(1957) reformulated the approach. Activities may have no social organic function and may even be "dysfunctional" in one partial structure whilst they may be functional in another ⁶² . A more dynamic concept of a social system began now to emerge which took into account the disruption or clash of view ⁶³ between local orientations such as Merton was able to show in Rovere .

More dynamic images and approaches were incorporated into the conceptualisation of the social system and eclectic studies began to appear, as for ⁶⁴ example,the Rex and Moore (1967) Sparkbrook "race, community and conflict"study . To the conceptualisation of Merton,with modifications, Rex and Moore added the ideas of Weber and Mannheim on the variant points of view of people, amplified by Myrdal's concepts on the"circle of relevance" determined by the interests and ideals

of individuals and groups, within which is another circle "of significance" where valuations are held by substantial groups of people or by small groups with substantial social power"⁶⁵. Here one has a more existential assessment, less systemic, yet not antithetical to the concept of belief systems circulating within the local social system, which will also be taken up in the impact study of Dunoon and district.

The problem is that the words "system" and "function" are like proverbial red rags to so many sociologists. In fact, any allusion or usage of the terms usher in protests of teleological bias, static bias, and ahistorical bias, views which Sztompka P. (1974) reviews, as the dominant criticisms of systemic thinking.⁶⁶ But, there are so many eclectic formulations, making use of the concept of system, especially those of a more processual emphasis, where the criticisms do not apply. Margaret Stacey 'et al.' (1975) define a social system as "a set of interrelated social institutions, such as familial, religious, juridical etc., incorporating the belief systems of each."⁶⁷ It involves the notions of structure, process and time. This definition forms the contextual starting-point of my locality study, and is applied to Dunoon District

It must also be said, just as the term "community" has caused confusion both etymologically and conceptually, so too the term "system". In fact, systemic writers have generally to start off their studies by stating what variants of systems thinking they exclude. Indeed, as authors such as Sztompka (1974) have demonstrated, there are at least five conceptual systems models, with a total of at least 13 general assumptions and 17 particular assumptions, sometimes included or excluded.⁶⁸ I have already stated that there is mismatch between many criticisms of system approaches and the actual particular eclectic analyses, and this especially so with regard to countless locality studies. Hillery G.A. jnr. (1955) is often cited as having listed at least 94 diverse definitions of community,⁶⁹ what is overlooked is the fact that variant systemic ideas have made their way into the definitions and help create the lack of agreement and confusion.

In addition, it is clear that the essence of a systemic approach is its stress on context, a question well discussed by Ernest Gellner (1970),⁷⁰ but the price paid for this significant contribution is that it is less well suited to account for constructing analyses of the subjective ways in which events are seen.

However, the contextual provides the backdrop to the study of settlements, or localities, which, as we shall see, was central to R.L. Warren's (1956) vertical axis of coordination and communication between the locality and institutions in the wider world beyond its confines.⁷¹ For impact studies the import of this approach is obvious, as it was to J. Bensman and A.J. Vidich (1958),⁷² and which prompted Stacey to say at the end of her appraisal of the concept of community: "In any locality study some of the social processes we shall want to consider will take us outside the locality"⁷³. But what of the cognitive maps people build up about the social context of their immediate world and of the world beyond? This area of discussion and analysis has been inspired by the existential phenomenologist rather than the systemic thinkers who are more concerned with structure than form, more with externalities rather than internalities⁷⁴, so that their contextual foci may reify.

To avoid the danger of reification, when relating the part to the whole in a functional frame of reference, to which Weber refers explicitly,⁷⁵ and to put existential man into the scene⁷⁶, one requires to adopt an eclectic approach. The basic concepts ought to cover the contextual world, which is larger than individuals or groups, yet also allow for the perceptions of people within it. In this, one has to be slow to use terms which have taken on too many sociological meanings over time, or have become laden with debate and confusion. Concepts must provide anchorage which implies that one uses terms that have a sharp precise edge. In this case, I have to choose terms which allow for both a structural and contextual connotation, and, at the same time, allow for the variables of intended meanings behind actions and reactions⁷⁷. Concepts as heuristic tools should account for the internal world of the actor's mind and the external parameters of action. We require words that provide counterparts to objective and subjective, external and internal, but which also carry connotations of environmental or reactive meanings, which at the same time do not rule out eclectic bridging. It is basic to this thesis that these new terms be established, allowing for flexibility in eclectic terms. The study will

provide the empirical anchorage for the use of the terms I am about to propose.

In selecting the terms to be used, I will begin with the environment and all externalities in relation to the residents. Geographers, social psychologists,⁷⁸ and sociologists from Park R.E. and Burgess E.W. (1921) down to Suttles G.D. (1974)⁷⁹, were particularly aware of the importance of environment for residents. However, there are problems in determining where that environment begins and ends. Obviously, the locality and environment are not the same thing - locality being a designatory term for a physical setting, and its environment being a qualitative terms consisting of the natural characteristics, together with the man-made built-up environment. Here there is some considerable confusion, because geographers include a human landscape, consisting of sources of ideas, goods and services⁸⁰; and in environmental studies, local history is included as a qualitative factor⁸¹. Lastly, meteorologists and ecologists include the weather cycle or cycle or hazards, threat and change, whether physical in terms of terrain, or atmospheric in terms of the weather⁸². Social psychologists distinguish broadly between the physical and the man-made environment⁸³. In an impact study, conceptualisation of environment must be more precise.

The above bundle of factors require to be sorted out and carefully defined to add up to an external life setting. Tom Burns (1970) speaks of the problems created for the sociologists when they are faced with substantive areas of study that are already defined by other disciplines⁸⁴. As an explanatory science of social phenomena, there are necessarily many overlaps with other sciences and disciplines, where the sociologist may well take over perspectives, integrate knowledge, or may question ideas. In the instance under discussion, it is clear that the varied foci of other disciplines require in sociological terms to be separated out in relation to impinging external factors for local residents. The environment is basic to any impact study; as we have already seen, it is also a significant mediatory factor in the Ogburn approach to change. In the light of these remarks, externalities will be defined.

Adoption of terms for sociological heuristic purposes demands that, although we may add considerably to their usual connotations, we must also respect their primary denotation. In the search for terms, I choose to make use of the suffix "scape", which in 'bar-formation' is used with land and sea, so that one has seascape and landscape. This term, which is associated with settings, could be highly useful in designating some externalities in sociology. As we shall see, I am not introducing terms for terms sake. "Scape" (see Oxford Dictionary, 1961) is related to the Dutch word "schap" meaning creation, constitution or condition. It also includes as a connotation the meaning of the Latin "cappa" - cape or cloak. This latter is one possible derivation of the word. Here is conveyed the ideas of an outer world in which man finds himself and which envelopes him. With these factors in mind, I propose that the immediate physical context of man's life be termed his "local-scape" and the outside context the "outscape". The emphasis on context, here encapsulated, conserves the inside/outside, endogeneous/exogenous systemic emphasis, but qualitatively, as we shall see, allows for a more existential dimension in an eclectic reformulation of systemic ideas.

The "local-scape" within this impact study will refer to the man-made and natural environment as physical externalities. The "local-scape" has therefore certain boundaries and landmarks, also a shape and morphology. The boundaries will not always be clear: these will be defined by its residents, dependent upon the folk images as described by Suttles (1974)⁸⁵. Suttles states that territory "depends on a mental template of its structure and the way some natural and man-made features of the environment help determine that structure"⁸⁶.

The "outscape" is the beyond, but as MacIver (1928) observed, there are social worlds beyond the local scene "circling us round, grade beyond grade."⁸⁷. So we may refer to "nearer and wider outscapes", according to the degree in remoteness in communication terms, rather than in mileage. Historical, economic, political, military, and cultural links, determine the diffusion of ideas, and mobility of people, which as we have seen, are highly relevant to the conceptualisation of change. Instead of speaking of units in the context of change in transunit and interplay terms, the substantive thinking of change is transposed into transcape

and interscape interaction.

Taking up the factor of distance in communication in transscape terms, it is proposed, for the purpose of this impact study, that there are "nearer and wider outscapes", whose boundaries, unlike those of the "local-scape" will necessarily be vague, because they are more distant; usually not observable from the local-scape; often not directly accessible from it; usually less experienced by the people of the "local-scape". This point is crucial to an impact study, because it is the hidden agenda and decision-making in the beyond, in the unknown, that perplexes people, which this study confirms, as shall be demonstrated. Also, an "outscape", which is more distant than others in mileage terms, may be regarded as nearer, because of the increased communication, thus presenting a more dynamic internal/external systems assessment. The more impact, therefore, a place in the outscape exercises upon the local-scape, the more it moves into a position of nearer and nearer influence. As it draws closer in its influence, people within the local-scape get to know more about it, and its man-made and physical boundaries take on more meaningful forms. Whether people resent, or welcome its outside influence, knowledge of this place has locally become more intense. If outsiders from its confines come into the local-scape, that knowledge will grow, taking on various biases, as reported quotations from interviews in the Dunoon area will show.

The particular physical and man-made structures such as roads, buildings etc. of the "local-scape" create certain effects. Ecology is the study of such effects, which shows that the man-made and the natural may constitute hazards or threat, liberation or progress. I propose that there is an "ecological-scape" which is the emergent inhibiting or liberating factors of the environment which create the quality of a setting for living.

The quality of life is not only determined ecologically, but also by the impress of the past on the present. Local custom, traditional codes, galas or pageants, Highland Games, certain buildings and local landmarks, are part of an endogenous historical local growth which imparts a local transgenerational quality of life, which these local phenomena or monuments express still.

This transgenerational quality is an enveloping factor kept in being, not only by buildings and other localised factors, but also by the written and spoken word. It is identified in this study as the "historical-scape".

We cannot deal with impact from outside upon a locality, unless change in the economic, political, and cultural spheres are assessed. Anthony Smith (1976) describes these as "regions of change" . N.J Smelser (1964) speaks of these as structural processes . The differential impact is dealt with in the economic, the political and the cultural context by sociologists, both exogenist and endogenist theoreticians, so that it will be essential to identify these diverse "scapes" . Taking Ogburn's concept of lag, there will be lag in some and not in others within a particular impact. Which are affected and how, will be important to any assessment of the overall change in local conditions.

The economic, the political, and the cultural are viewed in this impact study as "scapes", because they constitute enveloping factors. Concepts of structure, of region, of system, have been used for them which have been appropriate in other studies, but here I am concerned with the impact on people, and so the enveloping factor is important to the study. It may well be that the invasion from outside intensifies the envelopment of one which runs ahead (freewheeling) that of the others. These "scapes" are described briefly as follows :

The "economic-scape" is the prevailing resource allocation in the form of goods and services affecting people's life-style or standard of living.

The "political-scape" is the institutionalised distribution of power and control in public affairs as exemplified in party politics, the military, elitist groups, administration, and formal or informal organisations.

The "cultural-scape" is the routinized social pattern of living in the form of customary behaviour and rituals within a social calendar, whose conventions are mediated by local tradition and local institutions: familial, religious etc.

It might be objected that some of these "scapes" might very well have gone by the name of spheres, realms, regions, sectors, structures, processes, or systems. None of these terms 'per se' denote envelopment as scape primarily does, hence the proposed usage in a study which wishes to lay particular stress upon conditioning and intruding variables upon the life of people in settlements.

checking the exogenous source of impact, and the effects on major "scapes" locally. Meanwhile, there may have been endogenous processes at work locally, where changes in the "scapes" had already been taking place - the two processes cannot be confused. Otherwise, one might be concluding that "such and such" took place because of the events from outside, when, in fact, they were due to a process that was already in being; this, as we shall see, is highly relevant to the Dunoon and district impact study. We will often be moving back and forward between the "local-scape" and the "outscape", now dealing with macro events, then dealing with micro events, in an attempt to find possible "conjunctures", and this because I agree with D. Smith (1976) that one cannot view the short-term apart from the long-range processual or trend-like events. Seldom are we entitled to view particular phenomena in their own right. ⁹¹ But, how do we take account of residents' views of phenomena of change?

How does one dovetail the subjective with the objective, the internal with the external, in a study which clearly sets out to take both the perceptions and reactions of people, and the externalities both endogenous and exogenous which may create change in people or settlements? The element of surprise, already detailed as crucial to an impact study, requires that the perceptions of people be accounted for, as does the delineation of the local-scape. It so happens that Peter and Briditte Berger (1976) allude to the fact that poets may have much to say that is highly relevant concerning the effect of externalities on people ⁹² "alongside the sea", "atop high mountains". One of the most insightful poets who examined the interplay between setting and feeling, between the scene and perception, was Gerard Manley Hopkins whose poetry conveyed the concreteness of settings, and at the same time captured the specific individual experience. He called this process "inscape" which contains both the outside and inside of experience based upon the ("haecceitas") particularity or thisness of both the world ⁹³ experienced and the experience itself.

As a sociologist, I am not concerned with the process of perception or cognition 'per se' (this pertains to Psychology), but rather with their social ramifications in a collective or group setting. Thus, I am not attempting in this study to explore the "inscape" of people as such, but rather to take

account the social processes in which perceptions were both shared and formed with regard to the navy and navy invasions . Any converging perceptual assessments will matter in the analysis about the military and industrial impacts. The individual perceptions do not remain a closed book, people may share views with neighbours, and there is a consequent intra-subjective experience, in which the purely individual and particular becomes the plural and the shared social opinion. At that stage the inscape of the solitary becomes a "social inscape" experience, wherein people share and add to each others perceptions and levels of awareness. So this is not an "inscape" study, focussed on a singular psychological experience, rather it is a "social inscape" study, which is focussed on a plural experience involving the sedimentation of views, created particularly by acculturation processes institutionally, and through locality networks of communication. The singular becomes the plural, not through the 'fiat' of the aggregate tallied by the computer, but through meetings in shop doorways, or in groups at tables over a "pinta", where impressions are shared and views jell . . . Clearly, the communication and frank talk is dependent upon long-standing social interrelationships wherein reality is socially constructed institutionally. Circles of relevance impinge upon perceptions as groups interact.

So far in this chapter, the concepts of change, impact and community have been discussed, followed by interrelating the conceptualisations, suggesting an eclectic approach, incorporating the systemic orientation and a more existential approach. To avoid possible misinterpretations, and an identification with classical functionalist systems thinking, new terms have been suggested, incorporating some new ideas on the element of surprise within the impact episode, and denoting the local externalities, as well as those beyond its confines to make an inside/outside or endogenous/exogenous model work. In addition, the perception of people locally required to be incorporated into the discussion of concepts and possible new terms, because a study of surprise required it, and the avoidance of reification necessitated it.

But, how does the discussion so far fit in with the Scottish oil impact studies? Although it is difficult to assess the contemporaneous work of colleagues, one cannot overlook the influential work of Moore R (1978), Taylor D (1975),

Broady, M (1975); Varwell, A (1973, 1979); Hunt, D (1977); Greico, M (1978); Holmes, J (1974); Cohen, A P (1978); Jackson, A (1979); McFarlane, G (1979); Sutherland, S (1974); Wills, J (1978); Vallee, F G (1979); Ennew, M (1979); and Shapiro, D (1978), to mention only some of the prolific and ever expanding research in the settlements and areas hit by the oil boom in Scotland in the seventies⁹⁴. A list of studies at the end of the Report to the North Sea Oil Panel (31 May, 1977) provides a bibliography on current work.

Many of the studies are concerned with invasion and intrusions, so that clearly there are grounds for expecting useful comparison. Social change has been a main focus in them, but although it was recognised that there was differential impact⁹⁵, the main sector of that focus was the economic, within a debate over the relevance of the development/underdevelopment approach of Gunder Frank. However, the most common impact cited in the studies appeared to be the "imposition of short and long-term uncertainty", and, as the Report to the North Sea Oil Panel makes clear, this uncertainty underlined in the studies was about: what had been happening, what was currently happening, and what was going to happen⁹⁶. This main outcome of the studies confirms me more in my pursuit of an assessment of episodes within an impact framework. The need to assess "conjunctures" and the source, mode, and effect of change, will create a framework for organising the analysis that might otherwise be too diffuse.

The hidden agenda of unseen elites is a second area that has been well developed, especially by Moore, R (1978)⁹⁷. Much of the study is reminiscent of Walter Lippmann's unseen world, out there, where real decisions are made affecting the seen world of daily life.⁹⁸ This outside domain that creates the exogenous sources of change, in fact is shown to be incompetent, when it comes to planning. Moore shows that there is lack of understanding in far-away centres. There the better interest of Scotland is overlooked.

"Making it up as we go along is cited by Moore⁹⁹ as an outcome of that drive to

exploit, coupled with crass ignorance of local factors. This will be brought out also in my research.

The inauthentic nature of the politics involved is well discussed by Rodger, J J (1978) after the Moss Moran Controversy¹⁰⁰. This analysis brings together much of the distorted communication and the contradiction behind the public participation ploy (an inauthentic activity) in which consultation and open debate about regional planning are maintained, but in reality are structurally negated. The inauthenticity of political and elitist intervention is also a featured sphere for discussion and exposure in my research into and analysis of the transcape decisions concerning the USN Polaris Base at Holy Loch, and the Concrete Gravity Structure complex at Ardyne.

The economic factor is much discussed in the studies of oil boom impact. The Latin American development/underdevelopment approach of Gunder Frank has been utilised. However, Moore points out the Third-World link with European capitals is not quite the same thing as was happening in Scotland in the seventies. The exploited nature of Scottish economies as a poor partner to England is shown as a feature of peripheral areas in the UK, where Moore, R (1978), and Carter, I (1974, 1976) show that historically Scotland has been used for the extraction of primary resources and that the relative desolation which accompanied it is a product of social and economic relations¹⁰¹. The incomer-owned trans-national corporations (TNCs) have moved in, under the argument that the pressure of the national interest calls for development at the cost of traditional local developments¹⁰². The 'finite future' (oil will soon run out) takes precedence over all. Tourism is affected. The studies show that the TNCs have needed the localities more than they needed the TNCs¹⁰³.

The Report of the North Sea Oil Panel draws upon the studies to show that where outside developments takes over there is decreasing proportion of local ownership and control. House, J D (1978) shows there is uncertainty with regard to the infinite future when oil goes - a dynamic underdevelopment threatens the locality¹⁰⁴ (as in the case of so many gold rush settlements the world over). My study in Dunoon shows that the economic impact had common features

with the North-East studies, showing that peripheral exploitation and economic uncertainty lurked in the settlements, where tourism was affected by the finite schemes of both militarists and industrialists. In addition, the findings of Grieco M. (1976) that the TNCs guarantee that locals will be the main employees of the

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incoming industry is not all borne out by events. This was also a characteristic in the Dunoon and district study. The plight of men who had left local work places for the "Ardyne fleshpots", only to be out of work, and out of favour, when Ardyne closed down as a gravity structural complex, is also a feature which the

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Report of the North Sea Oil Panel discusses

Lastly, the cultural impact with its accent on formalistic and legalistic processes, as strangers move into the area, is brought out in the Scottish oil studies. However, this is a topic which one finds less well discussed than the others. The Way of Life Seminars at Edinburgh University (1979) have attempted to redress the lack of focus upon the impact on the local way of life. Cohen A P (1978), moreover, does enter into the cultural clash at the interesting level of

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"cultural accounting". People become more conscious of their values and traditions when outsiders threaten them, as they did in Shetland when the "oily men" came. The psychological slant taken by Cohen is one which enters into the personal dynamics in an area of study that tends to become too reified. It also is an example (in my terms) of "social inscape". He takes into account the impact "before the first

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lay-barge and helicopter appeared". He speaks of "that moment" and "that instant" in which the "sceptre of radical and possibly cataclysmic change was presented", and of "historical junctures" when people became conscious of impending doom;

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all of which my approach emphasizes. Here we have a hint at an episode of change when he adds: "It is the beginning (though the most important phase) of the process which will continue into the future"

Impact on a way of life (which Cohen appears to belittle in the case Shetland) is an invidious process, where lags will show themselves within the pattern of life. McFarlane G. (1977) shows that in Shetland incomers were

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preferred, when it came to rentals, to locals. Implicit in this, is a great deal

of cultural upheaval. As the St.Kilda story showed, when it comes to the chance "to turn
 a penny", people often change their ways, creating local sub-groupings .

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Adrian Varwell(1979), in the Working Papers 4 and 7 of the Way of Life Seminars

at Edinburgh University) reviews the concept of identity as a social process , and suggests that the concept of identity is the key to an understanding of the way of
 life . The personal, corporate, ethnic, and continuity identity themes in the lit-

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erature, are cited by Varwell. The emphasis on the shared communal experience at these

levels is highly significant in the Scottish situation of invasion. What is lacking,

however, is the discussion of the identity of the incomers. One must take account of

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the "rhetoric of struggle" in Suttles's terms (1974). The Scottish studies take little

or no account of the defended territory concepts and the central factor of

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DISTANCING , which is the display of unaggressive signals or actions, signalling

submission or superiority. Suttles rightly points out that identity carries with it

outward signs : They are offensive /defensive muted actions indicating: "Watch your

step"; "Just so much and no more " etc.... They invest the locals with a certain

identity as the established ones, but the outsiders have also their distancing mechanisms.

If it is accepted by the writings of Cohen and Varwell that identity is established

with "reference to others", then one has to ask how ? And, as overlooked by recent

Scottish studies, invasion is essentially the clash of identities - outsiders who

invade areas do have identities also. This is a matter that is of importance to my

study, as I will now briefly explain.

Suttles G.D. (1972) speaks of the "contrived identity " , which is the

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ready-made, manufactured identity created by advertising men and other developers . The

foisted identity campaign works! People outside the area create local identities for the

purpose of attracting people there (as was the case in St.Kilda), or for the purpose

of foisting the superiority of the firm, the military etc. moving in . The oil men carry

before them the identity manufactured in the press, the T.V. documentary, etc...,

as do the naval men of the submarines. The situation is not simply one of locals

having an overall stereotype of the outsider - that is just too naive - but rather

a complex impact situation where there are competing identities. In addition to the

fact that contrived identities do rub off onto the people involved (see Suttles)

there is the inevitable clash between the "homegrown identities" and the outsider identities each about the other. In an impact study, this area of analysis is important, as I will later show. In my terms the "social inscape" of each social group runs along lines which seldom meet.

Flowing from the question of identity and tied up with it, as well discussed by Gusfield, J R (1975), is the Weberian concept of the "dual ethic"¹¹⁷. Apart from adopting one identity for self, and another for others, beyond the circle, the group etc., there is the adopting of an ethic for dealings within the group and for others outside it. As we shall see, the impact of outsiders creates dual performances - "I'd do this to an American, but never to a local" etc... In addition, the dual-ethic may cut both ways in that the outsiders will also experience the "consciousness of kind" as military colleagues or workmates, so that there will be one way of acting towards military neighbours, and another towards locals.

In analysing the clash of identities, one may go further with the analysis by considering the "master identity" (Suttles-1974), which however is not considered as such in the recent Scottish studies¹¹⁹. Suttles, G D (1974) points out that people may identify themselves in sectorial terms eg as West Siders, or Hyde Parkers. Taking Gerhard Lenski's conceptual treatment of "crystallisation" Suttles speaks of experience crystallising into a wider localistic identity, which may embrace heterogeneous groupings¹²⁰.

As will be discussed, locals in the Dunoon district see themselves as Cowal folk, and so adopt a "master identity", but have other settlement identities besides. Thus, the Cowal folk have subsidiary identities built up by their experience of life in Sandbank, Kirn, etc., along the Cowal shores. Since within the area, there is the one town, people divide between those in and out of town, but amongst those who are out-of-towners, there is a broad local crystallisation of identity amongst people "by Holy Loch (beyond the West Bay) and those "by Toward" (beyond the East Bay), as we will see, but in the context of being Cowal folk.

no an impact study, this research will be concerned with effects upon people:
1. in the township of Dunoon, 2. in the settlements in and around the Holy Loch
area beyond the East Bay, and 3. in the settlements in and around Toward beyond
the West Bay. But, the "master identity" of being Cowal folk will be taken into
account.

What of the mechanisms which conserve and keep alive the local identities?
Janowitz, M (1952) has shown that the urban press may act as a custodian, fostering
sectorial and area loyalties, and integrity¹²⁰. The neighbourhoods, settlements
and homesteads of East Cowal have their local newspaper, which helps, as shall be
seen, to cultivate the identity of the Cowal folk, with Dunoon their local capital,
and the historic area of Dunoon and Kilmunside. But, I say "helps" because as
Judith Ennew observes, in her contribution to the Way of Life Seminars (May 1979),
citing F Barth (Ethnic Groups and Boundaries): the identified are sensitive to the
views of the identifiers, eg of tourists, of travel agents, and of national
opinion¹²¹, to which one may add the popular press and the channels of Television.
The sensitivity of the locality to outside criticism will be cited in the present
study. Good and bad images circulate, and often the local loyalties are increased
with the phenomenon of accentuated identity (see A P Cohen, Nov. 1978: "Oil and
the Cultural Account")¹²², or an insecurity of identity follows (see J Ennew:
"Self Image and Identity in the Hebrides" May 1979)¹²³. In the present study,
the national press coverage of events, concerning the USN Polaris Base at Holy
Loch, and the Ardyne Gravity Structure complex, will be cited, and the
reactions of the people to them in the locality will be discussed later.
The role of the local press as a buffer to the impact from outside will feature
throughout the study.

Having reviewed the literature with the concepts of change, impact and
community as special foci, and suggested using new terms to evade misunderstanding
over the nature of the systematic content in the study, I will set out in general
the substantive areas for discussion and the methodology to be followed.

The framework and outlay of the analysis is constructed around the source
of impact, the mode of impact and the effect of impact. This framework has been
suggested by the exogenous/endogenous interplay and transunit model of D Smith
(1976), as discussed. The focus of impact will be Dunoon and its
locality under invasion, intrusion and take-over, but as argued by

the systemic emphasis on contextual approach, and also by the exogenous/endogenous social change model adopted, it will be set within the larger world. So, a macro/micro interplay study will link the locality with the world beyond, and events locally with events transnationally and intranationally.

To facilitate the unravelling of the complexities and evade misunderstandings, as explained, I have selected "scape" terms (we already speak of the social landscape). The immediate physical context of the resident's life is described as the "local-scape" in contradistinction to the "outscape". Modernisation changes affecting both the outscape and local-scape will be taken into account, so that endogenous growth will be identified and possible local lags at economic, political, and cultural levels. Interplays between the "local-scape" and the "outscape" will be assessed.

So, in discussing the source of impact, the linkage between the unseen world beyond the "local-scape" horizon will transpose terms, as internal and external system, into a terminology that is more in keeping with the settings of the townscape, the landscape, and the seascape, yet conserving systemic ideas.

In identifying the mode of impact, I will attempt to use the episode of impact in an attempt to detect a processual pattern, and so prepare the ground for the study of effects in scape terms, but also embrace mediating factors such as detailed by Ogburn's nine barriers to change.

The effects of the three impacts will be compared. Firstly, the way they link between the local-scape and the outscape. Secondly, the way both invasions of the military, and of the navy workforce are affected by the local scene. Thirdly, the way in which the inclusion of Cowal in Glasgow's Strathclyde Region affected the master identity of Cowal folk will be shown. The three-way analysis will therefore contain

aspects of the processes and impact of militarisation, industrialisation, and bureaucratisation upon a locality. The inauthentic nature of the hidden agendas, and the discontinuities created locally will be linked with circles of significance in the outscape.

The endogenous emphasis upon the long-term growth, within the limitations of the criticisms and qualifications already detailed, will distinguish between social changes that take place independently of the exogenous impacts and those that are dependent upon them.

The study of impact will involve identifying any possible long-term changes, or significant change of social structures locally. It is a complex task, because the impact episodes in time overlapped although they began at different times. The Ardyne intrusion followed the invasion of the Americans a decade later. The Ardyne initial impact came at a time when the USN Polaris Base had been well established. The period of tertiary surprises had followed a routine which incorporated, for some locals at any rate, interaction with USN personnel. Later, when the Ardyne events had run into a period of 'spin-offs' and subsequent routinization the new regionalisation scheme hit the locality with its initial impact. The identification of those who welcomed and those who resisted the changes will be problematic, because of the uneven episodes of impact and overlaps. An analysis, based upon the study of the three impacts as to their origin, mode and effects, will attempt to present the episodes of change longitudinally.

In a study, where both the exogenous and endogenous sources, modes, and effects of impact are analysed in macro terms, the particular impact upon the social inscape will not be overlooked, such as people's reaction and perceptions during the episode of change. In particular, I will also examine, on the one hand, the cultural utilities which endure in spite of

the exogenous inroads, and on the other, the uneven disjunction, and even at times, rupture of the pattern of life. In addition, there is the uncertainty which haunts people under impact, and possibly their dual ethical behaviour which will need to be explored against a backdrop of conflict between the military and civilian world, wherein identities are radically opposed, and between the industrial and tourist interests wherein economies clash. There is also the hazard of having a nuclear armament store of ballistic missiles by Cowal's once peaceful shores. There is also the demise of a local political and administrative set-up with regionalization and the passing of the provost, the Town Council and the loss of status to the Burgh. The concluding section on the effects of these impacts upon the ecological, the economic, the political and cultured scapes will cover changes to the way of life and people's social inscape of these effects in the locality.

The methodology involved in carrying out this study is later described in detail. I will indicate in general the methods adopted. I am well aware in this that there are many divergent views attached to so many methods, tried out in so many studies. J. Bensman et al (1971) goes so far as to say: "No one has yet been able to present a formal methodology for the optimum or proper method for the scientific study of the community".¹²³ My approach can hardly hope to establish one, but it is hoped that it will extend our knowledge of impact.

With regard to the source of impact, in an attempt to study events I utilized the historical sources at the Mitchell library to establish long-term trends in the West of Scotland, and to see the Cowal shores in both the context of Glasgow's development and that of the area as a whole. I used the local press to trace the changes within Dunoon and district over time. In addition to these, I used the national press over the years to document the popular ideas or sensationalised news about the area of East Cowal. The chronicle of events and possible 'conjunctures' had to be assessed regarding the three main impacts.

A study of the military organization and its ideology was mainly documentary. Observation and conversation, locally, helped to fill out more details.

With regard to the mode of impact, I attempted to detect the processual pattern, through the letters to the press, through my observations while staying in the area, through eavesdropping.

With regard to the effects of impact, I interviewed 655 local people in the area, and 148 visitors on ferries between Dunoon and "the other side". Also, graffiti in toilets were studied to explore some less inhibited local reactions to outsiders and also those of outsiders to the locals.

I did not confine my residence to the locality. Instead, I resided both in Glasgow and Dunoon. The travelling to and fro, helped me to see the Cowal shores in relation to the metropolis, which, as we shall see, was inextricably linked with the fortunes and development of Dunoon and district. I was also following the routes taken by millions over the past 150 years, or so, from the urban sprawl to the rural settlements of Cowal. The experience of living in the metropolis, and in the satellite peripheral district of the region, confirmed me that an inside/outside perspective of what happened to the East Cowal shores was advantageous.

Taking into consideration the discussion of this chapter, I will present a synthesis in the concluding pages of this thesis, based upon the accumulated data. The synthesis will put together the findings based upon my analysis. The data will be selected in accordance with the ideas discussed in this chapter. Six components will be considered as recurrent elements within surprise intrusions upon localities from outside.

1. The intrusion of the outscape in the local-scape.
2. The episode of change which accompanied each impact.
3. The temporal dimension and lags during the conjuncture of events.
4. The dimension of the familiar.
5. The dimension of social inscape.
6. The subjective dimension.

The synthesis will present and consider the findings in relation to the above six components in the concluding pages.

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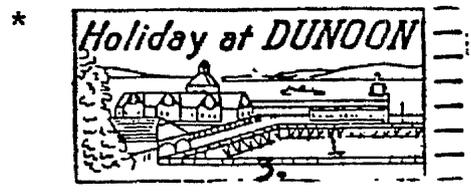
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PART TWO
THE CONTEXT

- CHAPTER 3. The Civilian Scene:
Invasions, Concentrations
and Segregations: Pre '61.
- CHAPTER 4. The Military Scene:
Some Divergent Factors.



THE CIVILIAN SCENE: INVASIONS, CONCENTRATIONS, & SEGREGATIONS PRE '61

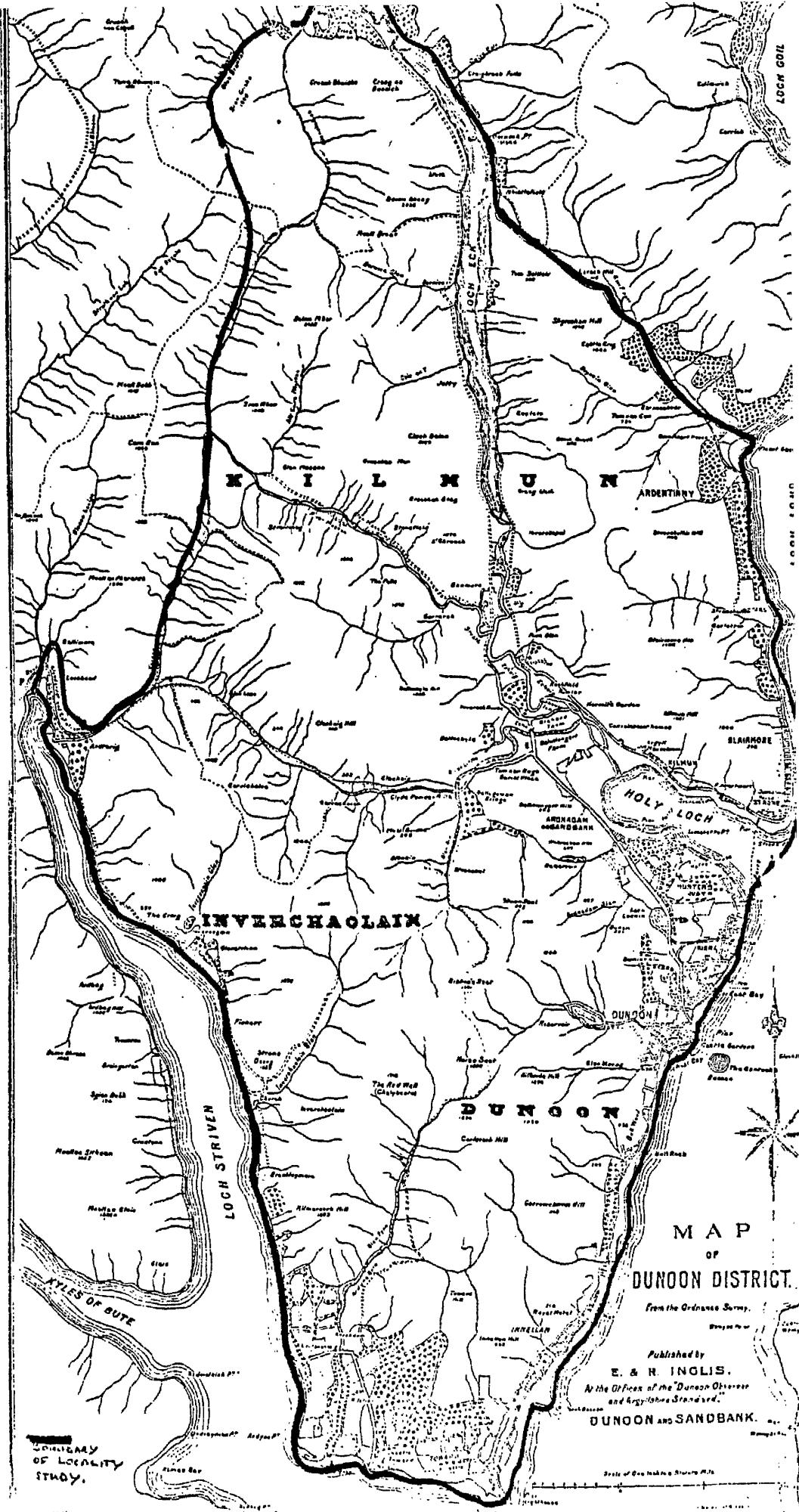
"We must break through the walls of the contemporary action, and go back into the past. In addition to a descriptive and contemporary analysis and the combination of various statistical inventories taken at various moments of time such as are provided regularly by the population censuses, we need some insight into the actual process of these occurrences which have formed the specific traits of our community"

Konig, R., (1968)¹

In 1883 the founder and first editor of the local newspaper, which is now the Dunoon Observer & Argyllshire Standard, wrote and published a small booklet entitled "Handy Guide to Dunoon" which introduced the reader to the town of Dunoon and its immediate environment of East Cowal.² Later his son, the second editor, drew a map of Dunoon District which also included the settlements of East Cowal. That map hangs now in the office of the first editor's great-grandson in John Street, Dunoon, and the booklet continues to be published. For three generations the family editors of the local newspaper have written about life in the Dunoon district, always associating the shore settlements with their capital, Dunoon. The map is shown in photostat as Map 1. It was eventually adopted in this research, providing a "meaningful causal unit", following Sorokin, P. (1949)³, so as to establish the ecological confines of my study. Systemic theorists look for a meaningful "whole", but the holistic approach cannot be anything but arbitrary if it is not "causally" justified: the danger is that the "whole" may be imposed.

It is necessary from the outset to establish the "local-scape" which may be anything from a homestead in a pastoral wild surround to a built-up urban sprawl. If one is searching for "social inscape" with its communal sharing and consensus, or its communal disruption and conflict, one must establish the local field of activity. This requires

*Dunoon Slogan Postmark



MAP 1: MAP OF DUNOON DISTRICT
SHOWING BOUNDARY OF LOCALITY STUDY

an identification of common space necessary for contending parties, or a "common share of life and existence".⁴ Once that space is defined and causally justified, the genesis of life may be historically delineated within it. MAP 1 delineates the "local-scape" under focus.

As hinted at already, the villages and the small Burgh set within an ecologically semi-remote area constitute a natural integral scape whose natural boundaries are the waterscapes to the west, the East and the South, then running from the end of Loch Striven along the three glens of Tarsan, Garrachra and Branter to the river Driep where it flows from the old bridge into Loch Eck, then coming south running alongside the banks of Loch Eck to Whistlefield, over the hill to Ardentinny by Loch Long. So much for the "ecological -scape", what of its economic configuration?

The villages and the small Burgh share a common "economic-scape" as each is dependent upon the same ferry point for the transit of most essential goods from the Metropolis, Glasgow and the "other side". As can be seen from the Introduction, the main local resource and work centre is Dunoon for each of the settlements, whilst both Dunoon and the villages depend, for much of the male employment upon the work provided in the local countryside e.g. in the pine woods, the local sawmill and scattered farms. However, the settlements, one way or another, are caught up in the tourist trade centred on Dunoon.

The villages and the Burgh share a common "political -scape" as each share the same power-play within the same political zone and constituency. The public administration is more or less concerned with the same localised needs and issues to be found within the same locality which consists of the historic parish of Dunoon and Kilmun, with Inverchaolain the ancient burying place. These constitute an area that has been an ongoing Christian unit for centuries. Dunoon and Kilmun claim to be one of the oldest parishes in the country, as Dunlop, T. (1885) states, Dunoon and Kilmun are "said to be one of the most ancient in

Scotland".⁵ It is an historical fact that the parish of Dunoon and Kilmun has regulated the life of the local people for centuries "quoad sacra quoad civilia".

The villages and small Burgh share a common "cultural-scape" whose "particularity" has endured for more than a century. Firstly, Cowal maintained a Scottish identity, an ancient tradition for hospitality, centred around music and dance, proud of its historical lore which has always found a major place in the local brochures for tourists, and often in the local newspaper. The highlight of the year is the Cowal Highland Gathering, which attracts four times the population of the Burgh to the playing of the bagpipes by a thousand pipers, the prowess of caber throwers and the nimble steps of hundreds of Highland dancers over two days of Highland festivities, presided over traditionally by the clan chiefs. The locality is essentially, "Scottish".

Secondly, the Scottish Presbyterian Church reinforces ties within and between settlements. Religious belief appears to matter in an area that has been less exposed to the inroads of secularism. Indeed, when Dunoon was Glasgow's prime resort, people blocked the exits at the pier to prevent holiday-makers on Sundays from entering the town. They called them "the Sabbath breakers"⁶. After a hundred years of holiday-making, Dunoonites are much more tolerant, but it indicates that there has always been a "lag" between Cowal and "the other side" in sacred as well as in secular terms.

Thirdly, sporting events, and clubs draw people together across the the Cowal settlements. Shinty, a sport peculiar to Bute and Argyll, bowling, and golf, attract villagers and Dunoonites to share as spectators or participants.

Many other pastimes link villagers with Dunoonites, as can simply be shown, albeit in a cursory fashion, by the list of some of the main local clubs and organised meetings, whose very titles designate their embrace of the area, rather than just the Burgh. These are mainly the following:

Cowal Horticultural Society	Cowal Choral Society
Cowal Badminton Association	Cowal Tennis Association
Cowal District Bridge League	Cowal Golf Club
Cowal Camera Club	Cowal Round Table
Cowal Panto Group	Cowal Floral Art Club

Cowal Music Club	Cowal Angling Club
Cowal Amateur Football Club	Cowal Athletic Football Club
Dunoon Argyll Curling Club	Dunoon Town & County Club
Dunoon & District Angling Club	Dunoon Argyll Whist Drives
Dunoon & District Gun Club	Dunoon Rural Institute
Dunoon & District Young Farmers' Club	
Dunoon & District Canine Club	

The list is far from being exhaustive, identifying only those clubs which by title are professedly catering for the whole district, but it numbers the major part of the clubs and social groups locally. Certainly, these listed social groups justify the claim of many local residents with whom I had contact in the district, who over and over again emphasised the very full social life they were living during the winter season. In an area such as this one is reminded of Durkheim's distinction between "material density" (ratio of people to the surface) and "moral density" (intensity of communication).⁶ Although there is a low density of population by urban standards, there are indications of a high density of participation and shared experience.

As pointed out in the last chapter, "time" locally has its own particularity. Changes are built up over time, and certain local structural patterns of living emanate within the process of time. The life programme cannot be understood in isolation from the past. Marx (1852) states: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."⁷

Traditions and life-cycle emerge as time rolls by, and local "power-scapes" establish the limits of living. Sociologists have been well aware of the importance of history when searching for reasons why people act the way they do, especially within their study of settlements. Out of the web of time the strands of local features appear, a matter

which requires demonstration as one traces the local history of Dunoon and its locality. The "historical-'scape" gives to a settlement or locality a certain "particularity"-in a sense the present is contained in the envelope of the past.

Following Konig, R. (1968) and the observations of the last chapter, the history of the locality will be outlined within the framework of succession, concentration and segregation.⁹ At the same time, one looks for continuities, as suggested by Stein, R.M. (1960).¹⁰

"Dunoon" may be derived from the word "Dun-nan-acidhean" meaning "place resorted to by strangers or guests".¹¹ From the earliest of days going back to the seventh century, outsiders came into the area, usually at first for pillage.¹² But, more important, the location of Dunoon afforded a stepping-stone for travellers to and from the Western Highlands. The First Statistical Account of Scotland (1791) states that Dunoon was an important ferry inlet for Argyllshire, especially before the new road was built by Loch Lomond up to Inveraray¹³. Thereafter, the size of the population did tend, for a while, to go down, as Dunoon's ferry facility was used less. Nonetheless, travellers, especially farmers or drovers constantly passed to and from the West Highlands by the ferry across the Firth. Indeed, we know from well-established local sources and a collection of maps at Castle House, Dunoon, that the only road through the village of Dunoon led to the ferry, a thoroughfare where strangers met and were welcomed by the locals of Dunoon.¹⁴

Dunoon was a well known centre for smuggling, and for the illegal distilling of whisky.¹⁵ Factors which, as shall be seen, are curiously repeated today when considering the peddling of drugs in the area since the US Navy Base was created.

In 1755, there were 1,757 people in the district.¹⁶ Judging from the 1791 statistical account, they were a resilient people, anxious at all costs to develop further the ferry service and the link with the opposite side of the Firth.¹⁷ Apparently, there were frequent attempts

to build a pier or quay near the castle.¹⁸ Today, the pier jutting out into the waters of the Firth, facing the "other side", stands for the linkage of the town and district with strangers and guests. But, what of the ruined castle of Dunoon above the pier?

The castle was probably founded in the sixth century and, if we are to believe narrators such as MacKay, was the seat of foreign outside invaders who successively took over the castle and area.¹⁹ The New Statistical Account (1845) makes reference to a turbulent ancient local history centred around Dunoon.²⁰

Further along the Cowal shores stands the ruin of Toward Castle. It was once the seat of the Lamonts, from which they ruled Cowal. However, according to historical accounts the Campbells, from Loch Awe, took over the castle at Dunoon, and gradually had control of the district.²¹ The castles therefore represent dual local clan loyalties and, as is well known, clan loyalties persist today with a continuing sensitivity to past history. The Campbells supported the Crown, and so represented locally "outside" loyalties, and the centralised control of the wilder West. Hitherto Cowal clung to its relative independence, a trend which repeats itself, again in curious continuity, but with a certain local ambivalence down to the division of opinion with regard to Strathclyde regionalisation, as shall be seen. In spite of much local feeling, Cowal became known as "King's Cowal" - the thorn in the side of an Argyll that had always been set against control from the centre or south, and proud of its Dalriadic origins. The Lamonts represented independence, and the Campbells dependence.

The stay of the Campbells cannot be said to have been a happy one. It ended abruptly in 1646 after one of their atrocities. Taking the cream of the Lamont Clan, numbering thirty six "special gentlemen" in boats from the Lamont castle at Toward, the Campbells hung them or put them to the sword, burying many alive below Dunoon castle.²² To this day a plaque marks the spot of this burial, and the Lamonts continue

to pay homage. No plaque marks the spot where the Campbells lodged on the hill. They left the town almost immediately after the atrocity.²³ But, they remained the leading family in Argyll, ruling the whole area, in spite of their deeds, because of their support of the crown and the imposition of the English language. Today, people locally can still recall the ostracisation of Campbell families as late as the 1930s, and at the local Highland gathering one may still hear "boos" for the Campbell band as it appears in competition. There is certainly a local cult in support of the Lamont clan. Dunoon was never proud of its "royal" constables on the hill, and has always played down that Campbell connection.

Returning to the "outside" interference by the monarchy, one may cite MacKay (1845) who states: "The extension of the power and rights of the Scottish monarchy evidently operated as a disturbing force on the more ancient order of things in this district", adding that this brought with it the concomitants of conquest and colonisation by outsiders, and "the dislodging of local inhabitants".²⁴ Once again, one is witnessing invasion and outside interference in the area.

In 1791, when The First Statistical Account of Scotland was written, the local historian wrote "incoming people are very much low-country tenants" , and added that English was the common language of the locals, although "Gaelic is still the natural tongue with them".²⁵ In addition, he noted that the incoming shepherds were wealthy South-landers, and that one Teviotdale shepherd owned 1000 local sheep.²⁶ Moreover, of the 14 proprietors, only three were resident.²⁷ It is clear that for lengthy periods Dunoon District was infiltrated from the outside and under a cosmopolitan influence. This must be set against a background of English domination and interference, especially after the Jacobite movement.

Dunoon District was to be subject to successive takeovers both in terms of power and culture. English influence made early cultural

inroads into the Cowal strip, when the rest of Argyll was Gaelic. It is significant that the Burgh of Dunoon is the only one in Argyll that has an English motto: "Forward". Certainly, the influence of the more populated lands and the appeal of a new life-style and opportunity across the Firth have been a continuing feature in the story of the town. In the 1791 account, the Dunoon narrator writes: "Our neighbourhood to Greenock leads our young people to be expensive in their attire, and to imitate such as affect the manners and dress of those who rank higher than themselves".²⁸ For the young "forward" meant looking towards the south for progress, even for their livelihood, and many left the district. Cowal has been described as facing North-West, but looking over its shoulder of hills and shores to the more "developed" South. The God-fearing writer of 1791 claims that the prolonged conviviality at nights and local merrymaking were caused by the "near neighbourhood of a much frequented seaport town" - namely Greenock across the waters.²⁹

Today, the social and economic interplay between both sides of the Firth is still a salient feature, as we shall see, but creating certain local ambivalences. This was later accentuated with the "metropolis-satellite" polarisation, especially with Glasgow, as the connection between the district and the economic centre of the West of Scotland increased, only to be finally heightened in the Strathclyde complex when Argyll was to be annexed to Glasgow administratively in 1975.

The complex network of control stretches from the very edges of the periphery to the centre, where power is lodged. More and more, the centre has influence, politically, economically and culturally, and as shall be seen, also militarily, as the interdependence of the satellite-metropolis extends yet further to more and more complex macro-metropolises as shown elsewhere by the writings of Gunder Frank (1967, 1971).^{30.}

Progressive changes were sweeping through Scotland emanating from the cities, which not only grew in size, but created new

towns by industrial expansion and modernity. The story of the Clydeside coincides with developments everywhere. Change took place across scapes with interplay principally between the economic-scape in the outscape, affecting small towns in the peripheral localities and indeed creating new ones, so that Glasgow affected the spatial distribution of localities in the West of Scotland. In the upsurge of the Scottish cotton industry as described by Hamilton, H. (1932), followed by the metal industries which opened up the Clyde valley, the whole Clyde estuary became a centre of activity.³¹ Towns like Dunoon were affected by the macro situation because they became residential watering places for the more affluent Glasgow businessmen, and resorts to which the labouring masses went later in steamships at the summer weekends.

It is evident that the spatial distribution of Dunoon and district is meaningful only within the social and cultural variables that are associated with the expansion of Glasgow. In addition, sociologists such as Shevky, E. & Bell, W. (1955), Berry, B.J. & Rees, P.H. (1969), have rightly stated that a settlement is a product of its time, and can only be understood in terms of the society into which it comes into being.³²

Although Dunoon developed within its own historical-scape in conjunction with Kilmun and Strone. By the banks of the Holy Loch together with Sandbank, Glasgow's influence was always there. Kilmun was further developed by Napier of Glasgow, who built much of the present settlement. Some older locals will tell you in Kilmun, with some pride, that David Napier, the famous Glasgow engineer, sailed the first iron steamer in the world on nearby Loch Eck. This was in 1820. ~~K~~ilmun has been linked with Dunoon by reason of the fact that both Dunoon and Kilmun have been for many years one single parish. The mutual contact of both places with Glasgow merchants is also significant. The geographic location of Cowal, with its more isolated position appears to bring the small settlements of Kilmun, Strone, Blairmore and Ardentinny, as well as Sandbank, Hunters Quay, Kirn,

Innellan and Toward, together into a natural unit, but the simultaneous development of the settlements during the Glasgow industrial breakthrough enables one to see the area even more as a meaningful causal unit. Lindsay, M. (1958) describes the invasion of the entrepreneurs into the area.

"By the middle of the century, mansions and 'marine villas' were sprouting round the fringes of every accessible loch and open stretch of the Clyde. Tea, tobacco, soap, coal, iron and steel, ships and railway engines, these were the things that lined the pockets of Glasgow's captains of commerce. Self-made men, most of them, they had little in the way of taste. They wanted the appearance of grandeur and their architects gave it to them, in neo-baronial turretings and mock gothic gambols."³³

A casual walk today through Dunoon, and the settlements that lie to the NE and SW of the Burgh will throw light upon these remarks.

According to Patterson, J.S. (1972): "By 1864 the 'coasting season' was a recognised feature of life in the West of Scotland".³⁴ For the towns of the estuary this meant a cycle of life in which successive holiday-makers invaded the locality each year, regularly, according to the holiday periods set out by each city and town of the industrial belt. Already, in 1845, the narrator of the chapter on Dunoon and Kilmun in *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* could describe a scene of rapid and seasonal changes of population in an area developing to meet the demands of leisure-seekers: "While building and other improvements proceed actively, numerous families of tradesmen from the towns on the Clyde, and labourers, reside for a year or two, and again removed. Families also sometimes reside during the summer months in villas or houses, either their own property, or occupied for the time. The residence of such is made to suit convenience and taste; and

transfers in such kinds of house property are of frequent occurrence; and altogether, there may be said to be an irregular and varying condition of the population as to actual amount Perhaps in no parish in Scotland is the population more variable, comparing one year with another".³⁵

But the merchants went and the poorer classes moved in, not so much to enjoy what was left, but to be given the new delights, thought up and devised by incoming Glasgow and Renfrewshire shopkeepers and hoteliers, who were the grandparents of many of today's locals. In the 1930s Lindsay describes the trip to Dunoon, when the "Eagle" steamer tied up at Dunoon, and "the day trippers spilled over the pier and dispersed among the town's crowded narrow streets in search of fish-and-chip shops, junk stores and other transferred delights of Glasgow".³⁶ Needless to say, Dunoon "pubs" were a feature, most of them lining the main street, and the lower roads. Drunken behaviour aboard the steamers, especially at weekends has continued to be a topic of interest locally. In the 1860s and 1870s the Glasgow Herald published regular accounts of drunken excursionists "doon the watter".³⁷ Every ship (even today) carried a licence to sell spirits at any time of day, and the profits have encouraged the stewards to turn a blind eye to behaviour that might otherwise be reprehensible ashore.³⁸ For the Glaswegian who had little to cheer him in life, drink was his escape - in 1868 there were 1,780 pubs in Glasgow alone.³⁹ When he got to the ship at the Broomielaw of Glasgow he could drink "all the way" down to the Firth and back.⁴⁰

Significant change of the locality had taken place in the wake of the industrial development that was sweeping through Britain, proceeding from faraway centres to peripheries like Cowal. The needs of the strangers had always had a profound effect on local modes of hospitality.

We have here clear evidence of the "dual ethic" in Dunoon.

In spite of its presbyterianism the town complied with outside demands

with regard to the need for drinking places in particular. The stranger's stay was finite, and presented the opportunity "to turn a penny".

Dunoon had quite a name as a drinking place back to the days of the early ferry, and enjoyed an enduring reputation for the distilling of whisky.⁴¹ When the population of Dunoon and Kilmun parish stood at 2,853 in 1845, there were three good local inns for drinking, and in addition, as the "Account" observes: "There are not fewer than 18 places besides, within the united parish, licensed for the sale of spiritous liquors. In the year 1841 the amount of spirits imported to the united parish for consumption in these places, amounted to 2,958 gallons".⁴² Certainly, down to the present, the Dunoon pubs and local inns have attracted a large trade. There is no indication, however, that the residents of the town enjoyed a reputation for heavy drinking. The summer spell could hardly have given the thrifty population much time for it and the greater "redundancy of roles" in the winter, to use Frankenberg's concept⁴³ would make overt heavy drinking less acceptable, except when the big seasonal festivals came along, or the traditional event.

Throughout the "Accounts" one gets the impression that Cowal was a law-abiding area, as was Argyll, where family life appeared to have mattered. Indeed, for the whole of Argyll in 1958 there were only 11 serious crimes in all. The number of persons classified as "juvenile offenders" was 70 (under 17 years of age). There were, in all, 28 cases of theft, 25 road accident offences, 19 miscellaneous offences, amongst youth, and 1,226 offences or crimes were proceeded against.⁴⁴ By 1968 standards these indices are indicative of pervasive controls. We will see the huge change post-1961.

But, Dunoon strove to cater for the strangers by every means to attract more visitors . . . First of all, the town made use of Burns' love for a local Dunoon girl, erecting a statue to her in 1896, the "Bonnie Mary of Argyll", which stands in front of the ruined castle. She stands with bronze eyes focused on the Ayrshire coast where she was said to have "exchange^d bibles with Robert Burns over running water, and married in the 'Scottish style'".⁴⁵ Glasgow people have come by their thousands to visit the hill, not to see the castle ruin, but to see the statue, and be photographed standing by "Bonnie Mary of Argyll", or to search for Auchamore Farm, the spot where she was born. Love has also echoed in song about Dunoon and District by Sir Harry Lauder, the renowned Scot, who lived in the Dunoon District for years, and whose best songs were about love by the "bonnie banks o' Clyde"; and William Cameron wrote a poem about the romantic air at Dunoon's Morag Fairy Glen, a spot for lovers along the West Bay:

"There's music in the wild cascade,
There's love among the trees,
There's beauty in ilk bank an' brae
An' balm upon the breeze;
Then meet me, love, by a' unseen
Beside yon mossy den;
O, meet me, love at dewey eve,
In Morag's Fairy Glen."⁴⁶

The town has also striven to attract people with sporting events. As far back as the middle of the last century Dunoon staged a British boxing championship between John Gondie of Scotland and Ned Langlands of England - with bare knuckles - to which thousands of people journeyed from all over Britain.⁴⁷ But it was the Cowal Highland Games, founded in 1894, which became the outstanding event of the year "recognised as an athletic event of international standing".⁴⁸ Highland Games were introduced as part of the vogue of "Balmorality": "The couthy simulation of old customs that have long since lost their meaning, for the sake of gratifying sentimentality".⁴⁹

Lindsay, M. (1939) wrote a poem about the Highland Games at Dunoon, which does convey much of the nationalism and the atmosphere of the grand occasion, when pipe bands from every part of the world and each clan muster, their clan support following them through the town from the pier to the park for competition. When 30,000 visitors cram the small streets, festooned with tartan banners and clan shields, outnumbering the locals by three to one:

"There's tartan tammies and muckle blads
 tae show the garb o' the clans;
 there's thistl't lassies and kiltit lads
 wi the emblems of fitba fans.
 The fuss and the jostle, the rankringan din,
 the stow and the heat o the day
 are sudently naethin for aa are kin
 when the thoosand pipers play.
 As the skirlin soun drifts up tae the hills
 and spreids owre the skinklan sea,
 there's nae ae hert but gaes faster and fills
 wi whit Scotland jince culd be.
 Yet aford the echo has cooled i the bluid
 they're wavean their gew-gaws again.
 And Scotland's back tae her dotit mood
 o snicheran, sneet hauf-men!" 50

We see here the drifting sight-seers with their football scarves waving them to the Scottish emblems, who for a brief spell under the sway of the playing of the thousand pipers, feel victorious over the English, only to return to the reality of Scotland's dependence upon England.

Still on the subject of sport, the area has long been renowned for its yacht racing, since the days of Sir Thomas Lipton. The Clyde Yacht Club has had its headquarters at the Royal Marine Hotel, Hunters Quay, for years and from here the Clyde Fortnight over the years launched some of the biggest British events, especially the six-metre yacht race for the coveted Seawanhaka Cup - a race which has attracted the best yachtsmen in the world. Nearby is the well-known Robertson Yard at Sandbank, where a small number of local craftsmen have built some of the world's best yachts to represent Britain in international races. Local pride in local achievements cements local ties, giving the "social inscape" yet another "particularity".

Dunoon was never to have the reputation for the extrovert Blackpool-like attractions, but it did have its summer shows at the theatre, called "the Cosy Corner", on the front, where the best of Scotland's comic turns amused the holiday-makers for years. The character of the seaside shows will have much to do with the story of recent changes in Dunoon, as shall be seen.

It must not be imagined that the district of Cowal, and the town of Dunoon, in particular, could cater for the cycle of incomers without help from "the other side". We have already seen how labourers from outside, and their families, stayed for two years at a time whilst helping to build the new Dunoon. Smith, G.C. (1961) in the latest Statistical Account, notes: "At the beginning of the century it was usual to recruit hotel staffs with employees who came only for the season from outside the area, generally from Glasgow. So too with the touring coaches and cabs: horses and drivers were brought down from Glasgow." ⁵¹ According to the same account "at the height of the season the population is trebled."⁵² To cater for these it was usual to recruit staff from Greenock or Glasgow. The summer season was, therefore, characterised by "cosmopolitanism" both with regard to local tourism and service. This also continued through the off-season when contact with "the other side" was maintained during the winter, because of the traffic of skilled labour to service machinery, heating systems, etc., or to prepare business premises for the oncoming season.

There can be no doubt whatever that tourism was the major means of livelihood for the people of Dunoon and the local settlements up to 1961. The Burghal area contained, by that time, no less than seven licensed hotels 130 private hotels and boarding houses and a large number of flats or apartments.⁵³ The hotels and boarding houses could account for 3,000 holiday-makers. The crowded summer months and the quiet winter spell created a contrast in patterns of living and in life-style. Dunoon and district lacked large-scale industry, so that migration of the young has been inevitable throughout the years, whereas businessmen, the hoteliers, landlords and shopkeepers of one kind or another, could financially survive a bleak winter.

In addition, and more important, each day a growing number of local people commuted to the towns on "the other side" where they had managed to obtain employment. We have no idea of the number who travelled over by ferry to these jobs each day, except that Smith, C.G. (1961) merely notes: "Apart from the building trades, there is little opportunity for learning a trade; some manage to secure an apprenticeship in Greenock, and travel daily, but others, less fortunate, have to go farther afield."⁵⁴

A marginal number of local people did find employment in the agricultural and forestry belts. In 1961 there were 34,533 acres in cultivation or farm use, and afforestation enterprises utilised 11,110 acres.⁵⁵ But the major part of the agricultural usage of land was for grazing, no less than 31,766 acres, so that the need for manpower was minimal.

Influx, however, cannot be associated solely with the increase in visitors during the season. There have been other forms of invasion. After the resort was well established at the turn of the century and the rhythm of life routinized, older people began to come to Dunoon for retirement in ever greater numbers. At the same time, as we have already seen, the young people began to leave the town and area to seek work on

"the other side". According to the Returns of the Registrar General for Scotland, the Dunoon birthrate showed a "crude rate of natural decrease" except in the two immediate periods following the two World Wars, as can be seen from the returns of the R.G., and yet the population was rising, so that we can only account for this increase in population by the influx of outsiders, and these were mainly the aged. In fact, the Census of 1961 pointed out that Dunoon Burgh had by that time the lowest percentage of young amongst the Burghs of Argyll, a County with a low proportion of youth, and that the Burgh of Dunoon had at the same time, the highest proportion of elderly of 65+ - in a County noted for its high percentage of aged people.⁵⁶ And the narrator of The Third Statistical Account (1961) points out: "Many old people retire to Dunoon, in spite of the shortage of houses, and but for this influx the remarkable growth of population would not have occurred, for many who are born within the parish have to leave it to seek employment."⁵⁷

The data supplied by the Registrar General covering the period (1911-1961) indicates how Dunoon compares with the County and National Rates of Births and Deaths.⁵⁸ The death-rates show that Dunoon on the whole has had a consistently higher rate than the National and County Rates, and inversely a lower birthrate than the National and County levels.

What of the movement of population during the war years? Significantly, there has been a naval infiltration during the two world wars, when RN vessels anchored in the Holy Loch, and convoy vessels off the Firth within the estuary in general. It is interesting that the Second Statistical Account (1845), mentions that the Holy Loch was an ancient anchorage for foreign ships.⁵⁹ In the second world war, submarines were moored to a mother ship almost at the same anchorage as that of the present USN tender-ship. Ironically, since the time of St. Kentigen, the Loch has been called "an Loch Seanta", which means, according to MacKay (1845) "the charmed loch".⁶⁰

Also in the second world war, Dunoon District, like most more remote urban-rural areas, had its share of evacuees. As regards these latter, Smith, G.C. (1961), writes: "Some of the families that came as evacuees have remained to make their homes".⁶² But these families were not considerable. The unusual influx, however, in the war years must be noted, in that although evacuees did move to remote spots throughout Britain, Dunoon had both a military and a civil influx. For three to four years naval personnel were based in the town, not only by reason of the naval vessels off-shore, but also because of the maintenance of the barrier-boom stretching from Dunoon to the Cloch opposite. The writer of the 1961 "account" notes that the influx of evacuees, plus the wives of servicemen in Dunoon "gave hotel-keepers a busy time".⁶³ By all accounts, it was a prosperous period for the Burgh and the area.

In concluding it must be emphasised that Dunoon ceased to be an important ferry-port and stop-off for strangers as better roads were provided in the West of Scotland. In addition, under the impact of modernisation Glasgow played an important role in shaping the town and its district. The town and area were committed to catering for strangers, not as travellers but as "weekenders" or holiday-makers. The local population was largely urban, thrifty and cosmopolitan. Successive invasions from the "outscape" brought the local people closer to the industrial West. The rural area surrounding Dunoon was populated by urbanites. Indeed, whatever the geographical remoteness from Glasgow the locality was tied up with the industrial world "on the other side" upon which it depended for prosperity and general economic development.

So much for the frequent invasions and successions in the locality, I will now deal with the concentrations that followed them.

The first concentrations are easily identified; firstly, came the concentration of the wealthy, who established the industrialisation of the West of Scotland; secondly, successive concentrations of mainly middle-class urbanites, who were thrifty and enterprising small businessmen.

In 1822 James Ewing, an ex-Provost of Glasgow, most influential in the Merchants' House of Glasgow and the Glasgow Bank, and founder of the Glasgow Savings Bank, set up his marine villa near the old Dunoon Castle. Writing about Ewing, Reverend MacKay (1866), in eulogy writes: "We need scarcely inform tourists or travellers frequenting the Firth of Clyde that Dunoon has since grown up to be now a very extensive and populous place indeed, having grown beyond the dimensions of a mere village....and whatever extension it has already arrived at, or whatever may yet be its extent and size, it is all undoubtedly traceable to Mr Ewing's good taste and discernment, in having selected it as his summer residence. He may well be styled the founder of Dunoon. The visitors whom he drew to the place soon began to follow the example he had set them; and villa after villa, and house after house began to rise."⁶⁴

The merchants of Glasgow whose city boasted "the tallest chimney-stacks in the world" siezed the opportunities afforded by steamship travel, not only in developing markets abroad, but also in setting up residence for themselves along the picturesque Clydeside estuary. It became the social thing, and the culturally appropriate step for the wealthy Glaswegians to have a castle-like dwelling or marine villa by the waters of the Firth. The Glaswegian social and cultural connection is thus central to the story of new Dunoon.

Indeed, the present line of boarding houses and hotels in Dunoon, running parallel to the water's edge, were for the most part the summer residences of Glasgow merchants.⁶⁵ But this was made possible by the expansion of Glasgow's merchant class, together with the timely development of steamships, rather than the "good taste" of

Ewing. Nonetheless, the influence of the merchant banker cannot be underestimated, because of his personal links with the business and banking elite of the city. The significant thing to note, from the point of view of the origin of the new township, is that Dunoon was described in 1866 as "virtually a suburb or amenity of Glasgow".⁶⁶ An interesting footnote to the development of Dunoon and district is that another Glasgow merchant and friend of Ewing, Mr. Kirkham Finlay, set up his castle at Toward ten years after, in 1832, so that the two traditionally opposed clan sectors of Cowal associated with two old antagonistic castles, around which families polarised in fixed animosity, became linked through the mutual friendship of two Glasgow merchants. Although thereafter, family clan divisions in part remained locally, they never asserted themselves quite so fiercely as before.

The concentration of the wealthy Glasgow merchants along the shore roads of Cowal, brought to the "clachan" cottages and thatched farmsteads, a dramatic change of life-style, as carriages and pairs carried the wealthiest men of Scotland to their castles by the sea. Lindsay, M. (1958) says of these "patriarchal masters": "they created a convention - taken up by middle-class and by the proletariat in their turn, to go 'doon the watter'."⁶⁷

It is significant that Ewing's own bank, the "Savings Bank" of Glasgow was set up in Dunoon as early as 1839 and that Kirkham Finlay of Castle Toward, together with James Hunter of Hafton, made possible the extension of the Dunoon Kirk⁶⁸ and both Douglas of Glenfinart and Kirkham Finlay provided school house and educational facilities locally.⁶⁹ This typical "upper-crust" prowess and Victorian patronage of church and schoolroom, cannot be underestimated, and local loyalties of a predominantly middle-class population is still fostered.

It is clear that shopkeepers, publicans, hoteliers, landlords, and proprietors of one form or another, made up the more prosperous locals. Most of the 25 Provosts and Town Councillors pre-1961 were small businessmen. They were the "better-offs", made-up of incomers, for the most part, from Paisley, Greenock and Glasgow. Smith G.C. (1961) describes the town as made up of "dozens of small shops".⁷⁰ These followed in the wake of the big landowners. In 1845 when there were only 13 proprietors in the parish of Dunoon and Kilmun,⁷¹ there were no less than 12 mansions with extensive parks, and a total of just under 400 local houses in the whole area, many of which were owned by the wealthy merchants.⁷² From a reading of the "Accounts" (1791, 1845, 1961) one gets the impression, confirmed by the analysis of the available evaluation rolls, that after a top-heavy upper-class occupancy, a self-employed comfortable class began to grow apace with the development of the local tourist and catering trade, typical of any watering place, but that initial influx of merchant princes left its mark upon the area, not only ecologically, but in terms of local influence. Status mattered, and prestige went hand-in-hand with material prosperity.

As the holiday resort grew, so too did the exodus of the working-classes, because they could not survive without emigration, and the influx of a resilient self-employed, thrifty class, imbued with the then popular sentiments of "self-help" soon dominated the place with middle-class values and conservatism. The decrease of the rural life noted in the 1845 "Account" went on apace, as did the exodus of the "farm hands".

The local small businessmen and caterers have been fiercely competitive, however, and individualistic from the very beginning. We have seen how the new Dunoon came to be, and the invasion of resourceful vendors and caterers from the more developed and "Gesellschaft-like"⁷³ urban areas on "the other side": these came with a certain contractual approach to life, built up by an urban industrialist society.

In a situation where there are ratepayers who are absent for a major part of the year, as was the case in Dunoon and area over the years as shown by an examination of the Evaluation Rolls,⁷⁴ "Public-regarding attitudes are less common amongst absentee landlords." "Private-regarding" attitudes tend to prevail, to use a distinction suggested by Wilson, J.Q. (1963).⁷⁵ The common good in this circumstance may be so easily lost sight of. The significance of these remarks with regard to the USN personnel will later be made clearer .

Clearly the private-regarding interests of the landlords, were not in the interests of the younger married people seeking local property. Property stood empty for nine months, only available for visitors. The strangers were preferred to the locals. The Council house provision was inadequate for years, certainly till the mid-sixties. Smith G.C. (1961) states that accommodation was poor for the working class. There were fewer Council houses built in Dunoon than in the smaller towns of Campbeltown and Oban. Dunoon, the biggest Argyll Burgh had a poor record compared with some of the smaller Burghs.⁷⁶

The ideas of Glasgow University's Adam Smith concerning the free market economy dominated Scottish thought, and the Protestant ethic of work involved individualistic efforts: each man was to give an account of his stewardship before God: the individual, not society, was called to judgement! Those were the days when Samuel Smiles's book on "Self-Help" was read avidly by the self-employed, and was instrumental in creating their value system. The new bourgeoisie were individualists in Dunoon District, as the court proceedings showed.

However, the individualism in the district was very marked from the beginning of the Victorian settlement, litigations locally were heated and prolonged. The editor of the Dunoon Observer & Argyllshire Standard, describes the new gentlemen in the second half of the nineteenth century as a "litigious people",⁷⁷ and a local lawyer, Mr. A. McLean, has done some considerable study of the various fierce court room battles over the rights of locals to property.⁷⁸ A main contention seems to have been between the alleged "rights" of the established locals to lanes, cart roads, etc., and certain common land, and that of the incoming property speculators. The significant fact which emerges is that the incomers' take-over of certain properties which were said to be communal was resisted.

Today, the protest of the local people, in conflict with the competition of incomers and of intruding interests will be made evident, as it certainly was pre-1961. In both the country area around the Burgh of Dunoon and in the town or local settlements of Cowal, locals were restricted by reason of the landed property rights of the few, who held a great deal of the green strip, and by reason of the growing "burgess" hold on capital within the urban area; the older locals were caught between. Conflicts accordingly arose. If we take a simple earlier example from the local history, we can show how interests did clash from the beginning of the new Dunoon over "rights" of individuals and those of the people. After Ewing took over his property on the

"front", which today is called "Castle Gardens", he proceeded, in 1834, to build a high wall around his "bit". This included the old Castle property. The locals were outraged and people today will still tell you about it, after approximately 140 years. The Dunoonites claimed that the castle property was common land, and from the exodus of the Campbells had been freely used by the locals. Not daunted by the high-handed incomer, the local women patiently and obstinately came by night and took away whole sections of Ewing's wall, which barred their way to the Castle hill. It ended in a court case at Inveraray in which proceedings were taken against some of the women, but in the end local feeling won the day, and the castle property has remained open ever since to the people.

A Dunoon poet, Duncan MacLean (1835) wrote a poem concerning the incident which describes the communal spontaneous action:

AULD WIVES' BATTLE OF CASTLE HILL

"We sing of the castle Dunoon,
 The hill gemm'd with daisies so bright,
 Where our mothers we know in days long ago
 Fought proudly for freedom and right.
 The beautiful hill we now own
 By the landlord was walled all around,
 Till our mothers with skill assailed the old hill
 And levelled the wall to the ground."⁷⁹

This "communal act" indicates that there was some corporate feeling about collective rights or claims locally. After 1868 when Dunoon became a Burgh, actions by the council were sometimes successfully reversed by the locals. For example, in 1880 it was suggested that a public park be opened; a plebiscite was taken, in the outcry that went up, and the proposal was rejected by 424 votes to 170.⁸⁰ In the days of railway expansion it was proposed that a railway line should come round via Lochgilphead, with stations planned at intervals from Strachur onwards, passing Loch Eck, and halting at Sandbank, before terminating at Dunoon.⁸¹ This was resisted by individuals as well as public bodies, and given up.

Another two examples will show how the concentrated population that had been built up in more recent times was able to organise protest against innovation or interference from outside. It was suggested in 1921 that electricity be introduced, but "the ratepayers rejected the proposal" and it was not until 1929 that electricity was supplied.⁸²

Later, when nationalisation of the British Railways caused a cut-back in shipping, and several Clyde-piers were to be closed, public protests in Dunoon and district were added to the objections. These "proved effective in curbing the official zeal for excessive centralisation."⁸³

So much for the successive invasions and the particular concentration of population and controls within the locality, which established certain social characteristics. But what of segregation? Was there any? The people were largely cosmopolitan in those days and most could not claim to be real "natives". Hard-line established resistance to strangers appears to have been minimal in a locality known for its hospitality. Only the old clan divisions appear to have created local bias as hinted at already, and although an individualism was apparent, segregation did not seem to throw groups into limbo.

We have seen how the area was characterised by conservatism, tempered by a certain tolerance for "outsiders". Needless to say, Presbyterianism had exercised a dominant local socialisation influence from the beginning, which at all times propagated the strict way of life, associated as it has been with the inculcation of values of sobriety and self-control in the Calvinist tradition, and as propagated by John Knox. Only the openness and tolerance, already alluded to, as modifying features, altered the Presbyterian mode of living in Cowal. The service function of the locality as a tourist and holiday centre had altered the salient features of strict Presbyterianism. We will later see the impact suffered by the locality when the religious fabric of life locally was threatened by the more liberal views of the American incomers.

The local Catholic children have always attended the ancient Protestant Dunoon Grammar School since the first influx of Irish labourers, together with a mixture of Catholics from the Isles, and the Lowlands, during the immigration when Dunoon had almost doubled its population between 1831 and 1931.⁸⁴ Whilst on "the other side" both Catholic and Protestant schools have created a notorious partition between religions; in a country where religious barriers have been second only to the North of Ireland, a place like Dunoon has stood out singularly, creating tolerance and acceptance.

At the same time, the fact that the Catholic people in the mid-1920s were able to secure an excellent plot of land for their church at the East Bay opening into the promenade, shows how open were the locals to "outsiders".

There were ten presbyterian charges in the Dunoon/Kilmun parish District by 1961: three in Dunoon, two in Innellan, two in Kirn, one in Sandbank, one in Kilmun and one in Strone and Ardentenny, showing a total of 4,272 officially committed members altogether.⁸⁵ To the West linked with Inverchaolain was the Presbyterian kirk at Toward. The Dunoon kirk is the High Kirk. For selection visitors could choose from a Free Church service, a typical Presbyterian, or Baptist, or Scottish Episcopalian, or "Congregation of Christian Brethren" church service, or attend the meetings of the Jehovah Witnesses, or Mass at the Catholic Church.⁸⁶ English visitors were not fully provided for, but the same has been true of the church service provision in most small English seaside towns regarding places of worship for Scots.

In Dunoon according to the 1961 Census, which assesses the situation as it was when the USN Base was first established, the Ratio of Residents born outside Scotland in Dunoon per 1,000 of the population was 80. This compares with 70 in Argyll and 66 in the small Burghs. Cowal was largest with 105.

From the fact that Cowal's ratio was over 1 in 10, and considering that many local families had themselves originated from outside Dunoon District a generation before, it could be said that localism: may have been less marked in the area as a whole than they might have been, had the area been without a history of cosmopolitanism. Smith, G.C. (1961) remarks: "Neither representation on public bodies, nor office-holding in the local societies, nor even personal association is confined to the 'natives': the grouping is rather according to taste and interest rather than according to length of residence". 87

Important to the religious scene is the fact that the various local churches were accustomed to worship with many strangers coming and going throughout the summer months, a situation that could have weakened the communal parochial spirit which might have existed in certain congregations, since it could possibly have disrupted the continuity and stability of corporate worship. On the other hand, the knowledge that others from outside in random numbers actually shared the same belief might have had a consolidating effect - and the more heterogeneous the origins of the visitors, the more assuring it

would be. One could say, perhaps that the Cowal religious congregations have been accustomed by reason of the cycle of summer and winter swings of population to experience "mechanical solidarity" as a parish or fellowship in the quiet periods, and "organic solidarity" in the busier season, which helped to create an openness in spite of the area's remoteness. A consequent degree of pliancy and a flexibility have characterised the worshippers, on the whole, and a greater ability to adapt.

The geographic character of Dunoon and district would appear to create for the local people a certain tendency towards closure, with infrequent boats connecting the locality with "the other side" during the winter months - there were less boats in the winter season pre-1961 than there are today. Contact with "the other side" by road has always been arduous and lengthy and possible only for car owners. Networks have tended to be "territorially based" therefore, in Barnes' terms, but with the incoming workers and the summer crowds the people's sense of tolerance and adaptation appear to have been considerable. Educationally, the very experience of schooling in Dunoon has been instrumental in creating tolerance and knitting together the villages around the shore, as shall now be shown.

Dunoon Grammar School has enjoyed an educational reputation throughout Argyll, with pupils coming from all parts of the Western Highlands for their secondary education. The day school has had an unusually widespread appeal and wider intake, because in many parts of the West there are no secondary schools, so that children and young adults in the periphery have to come in and take up residence in a hostel in Dunoon to attend the Grammar School for their secondary education.⁸⁹ So it is that the local pupils are able to mix with others whose values and outlook are quite different, which has further widened the open outlook the locals have been noted for throughout the past. In addition, all the secondary pupils from the shore settlements merge with the Burgh youngsters at the Grammar School - the rival schools are on "the other side".

But what about the electorate within the "political-scape"? Since 1707 Argyll has had an MP, but between 1707 and 1831 there was a very small number of electors, in all 43 in the whole of Argyllshire in 1790, which increased to 107 electors by 1831.⁹⁰ MacDonald, C.M. (1961) comments: "The members were practically always landed proprietors, and of a total of twelve members before 1832, ten bore the name of Campbell."⁹¹ Earlier the Liberals held sway, latterly the Conservatives. Out of the fifteen MPs before 1961, eleven were Conservative. The area of Cowal was thus noted for its Tory loyalties, as was to be expected in an area largely made up of small businessmen and white-collar workers. According to the various issues of the Dunoon Observer & Argyllshire Standard, over the past 100 years and more, local interest in politics seems to have been intense. The "affairs of State" used to be hotly debated before crowds at the Pier, especially prior to world war one, by two old "worthies", Postman Livingstone, a white-bearded, swarthy local, and William Galloway ("British Wull").⁹²

The public debates at the pier, or opposite in the Castle Gardens, were both political and religious. The Church of Scotland ministers became thoroughly involved in the issues of Parliament. It is also important to realise that the people of Cowal appeared to have been greatly interested in wider politics, than folk in most urban-rural areas in the remoter parts of Scotland.⁹³ The reason for this was the fact that many families originated, or came from the "other side" and some indeed from farther afield, and so were less parochially minded.

One may now be in a position to present some assessment of trends and salient characteristics prior to 1961, utilising the above data, and strengthening the analysis with relevant material from established sources.

It is evidence that Dunoon and district have undergone successive changes, through almost continual population invasion from the earliest days, and that the town itself has indeed been a "town of strangers". The invasion from the days of "new" Dunoon at the time of the industrial revolution has been linked with the prosperity of Glasgow, and the linkage between the town described by contemporary accounts as a "suburb" of Glasgow has indicated the macro/micro dependence. This was in part economic, and in part social and cultural. As Shevky, E., and Bell, W., (1955), have stressed, a locality cannot be understood except in terms of the time into which it comes into being.⁹⁴ From the time of an ancient Dalriadic origin to the time of the Glasgow connection, Dunoon and area have experienced population shifts; "cosmopolitanism", "outsiders", and "newcomers" wave after wave, with their "non-traditionalist" ways and novel life-style created a more open society with the intrusion of outsiders. However, there is a discernable and stable cycle established both by the seasons, and the tourist trade, which is characterized by a dual programme of life.

In the long winter season there has been a certain sameness in the life-programme when "local-time" has slowed down into that associated with a semi-urban settlement, and when the rural district has adopted the tempo of any other Scottish country scene. Life then is more "mechanical", more traditional, more particularist, more parochial, in fine, more of a "Gemeinschaft" nature.

However, the short summer season quickens the tempo when the town and district swell to three times their population size, when other "scapes" invade the quiet streets, when other demands create a more heterogeneous randomised galaxy of tasks in the quest to please the strangers, when life becomes more contractual with the pursuit of money, when life becomes more "organic" with the more "Gesellschaft" nature of life. The interdependence tends now to be functional, rather than personal, and the instrumental outweighs the usual motives for living.

Dunoon has developed during the coming and going of strangers, a sense of communal hospitality over the years, where a hard core of hoteliers and caterers have built up a local traditional expertise, and centred their "life-world" around the seasonal cycle. I analyzed all the Dunoon holiday brochures from 1928 onwards down to 1975, and discovered that three-quarters of the advertised amenities repeated the same family names throughout. As is usual with small businesses, one may expect that the same family employees have been associated throughout the years with the same local hoteliers, shopkeepers, publicans, and bakers, in welcoming the strangers.

The wish to satisfy these needs may dominate Town Council meetings and various business and catering associations. The big plan has often gone amiss because these outside demands were often misconstrued, often magnified. For example, there was the "white-elephant" project of creating a bathing lido on the West Bay in 1937; more in keeping with the warm riveria than with wet mild Dunoon. It was later turned into a clay factory. Then, there was the "pleasure-land" to be built on the "front" which if it had been implemented in 1949 would have cost ten times the rateable value of the Burgh.⁹⁶ One reason for these schemes could be that the town and district are living in the "inscape of a yesterday" when Dunoon

drew the urban and especially Glasgow crowds during the upsurge of the industrial revolution and the ensuing hey-days.

As will now be apparent, one cannot take models of the folk village as put forward by anthropologists and sociologists such as Redfield (1930, 1934, 1941), Embree, J.F., (1939), Loomis, C.P., and Beegle, J.A., (1950), or Hillely, G., (1958, 1968)⁹⁷, and slot Dunoon, or even its local satellite villages, into the neat parameters and continua of the typological approach. This is so because Dunoon and district present one with a locality that has had a "particularity", a specific "social inscape", which evade the typologies of the above writers and researchers. The settlement cannot easily be placed in the continuum of the VILL in "Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft" terms. The evidence which we have, indicates that Dunoon, in particular pre-1961, went through an annual season changeover with different "stresses"; a set-up which we may term as a "social inscape" characterised by "cyclical solidarity". This has affected the township and district territorially, economically, psychologically, religiously, and especially in psychosocial ways, as the area, year by year, has mobilised itself by a season decrease/increase in the division of labour in a summer/winter contrasting life-programme.

One cannot at this distance in time demonstrate in any water-tight fashion that there was a causal correlation between the "cyclical" change-over of solidarity, and the ecological, socio-economic, and psychosocial factors, but as demonstrated, there would appear to be suggestive evidence that the age-old meeting with strangers in a cyclical coming and going of "outsiders", had a long-term effect upon the social interaction in Dunoon and the surrounding area. The outcome for the locals, like its history of contact with strangers, appears to have consisted mainly in producing and "outgoing" populace, whose very livelihood depended upon it, and whose acceptance of strangers demanded a certain high degree of tolerance, in spite of

the conservatism that was produced in the remoter ecological unit of Cowal.

Certainly, the invasion, succession and concentration of people who had in the main come from "the other side", appear to have had a long-term effect upon the local life-programme. From the beginning, the people had had to interact in an almost "new town" situation, yet the place was ancient, and had its core of "established" families. What was it that enabled the varied influx of people to weld into the settlements described in general by the "accounts" as highly integrated? The joint effort of catering for the "outsider", either for a livelihood, or in the shared experience of close-living in a small township and remote spot where a limited ferry service and a wide estuary cut people off from the mainland, may in part explain the local solidarity which appears to have emerged over the years, in spite of the invasion of successive aged retired people. One must not overlook the fact that the retired incomers remained a minority.

At the same time, there is no doubt that there existed pre-1961 a marginal lower-class population tending, however, to decrease because of the lack of lower-class occupations. That lower-class minority was less preoccupied with the rentier and catering services within the "economic-scape", because obviously they had no hold upon capital. The local segregation was essentially a class division between them and those self-made folk who lived for the most part in the older houses of the departed Glasgow prince merchants and shared their conservatism.

The absentee landlords, the wealthy yacht owners, and the "upper crust" descendants of the grandees who first set up house in the area, no doubt, established "class" barriers to local assimilation and fostered a "private regarding" attitude, as they zoomed in for a few summery weeks to enjoy part of the "coasting season" in mansions behind the high stone walls and shrubs of the Marine Parade, and the Bullwood. There is also no doubt that the absentee landlords were

a block to much local development, and in the housing sector put seasonal gain before all else. These landlords, as shall be seen, were to prove a central force in the totally new situation of an American influx, and the McAlpine navy concentration in the locality more recently. The significant factor is that they were to intimately affect the fortunes of the place and the quality of life in the town and area, creating horizontal repercussions for the Burghers; their "manifest" indifference was to prove to have "latent" consequences for the Burgh, as will be demonstrated.

This description of the township and area pre-1961 has largely centered upon the "outscape" influence on the population as exerted from "the other side", in a district that has had from the very beginning a rather marginal ecological and social existence. This has caused the local people to be apprehensive about events and feelings towards them outside the area and to justify their services. And so "communal action" appears over the years to have been hooked to the survival and prosperity of the township and area as a "Puller of Visitors". So, one witnesses schemes and efforts of the locals to increase the number of holiday-makers. For example, in 1960 the local paper was much concerned about the Old Age Pensioners Holiday Scheme, at a time when the number of visitors to the town was dropping. Throughout the years, the statement of a spokesman for the "Dunoon Development Association" was repeated in similar terms over and over again: "We want them to go home and tell their children and grandchildren that Dunoon is 'the' place to spend a holiday"⁹⁸. But, the autumn issues in 1960 of the local paper were pessimistic about the town's future as a resort, so too was the THIRD STATISTICAL ACCCOUNT (1961). The signs were ominous when the Glaswegians and Lowland Scots, who once made their way to the area during the "Fair", flew out to distant holiday spots. The pier passenger intake had dropped from 501,783 in 1959 (between June and September) to 455,211 in 1960⁹⁹.

in a downward spiral . The oft repeated phrase by the "Glaswegian Maws and Paws": "Err fra ferr" ("Here for the Fair") had already lost its significance in 1961 for the Costa Clyde. But, the people of Dunoon and district have never lost their sense of enterprise; proud of the beauty of the locality, adamant that they are second to none for their hospitality, inventive in staging the big event like the famous Cowal Games and the regattas. They would not accept in 1961, nor since, the shift of the holiday makers to other places. The sad fact was that besides tourism, the Dunoon District could offer little apart from a quiet place to which to retire.

And the Editor of the THIRD STATISTICAL ACCOUNT (1961), wrote at Dunoon on the eve of the secret Polaris talks between Macmillan and Eisenhower:-

"It is hardly likely that there will be a 'rush' to Argyll from neighbouring industrial areas in search for sites for new towns or in the hope of finding relief from the danger of nuclear annihilation"¹⁰⁰ .

Little did he realise that very soon after these words were written that people would be seriously discussing a 'rush' from the locality of Eastern Cowal to escape the dangers of nuclear annihilation, and that for the first time in history some of the locals would look with fear upon the Holy Loch. But, not all the locals would share those fears, because for some the USN wanting accommodation and hospitality, would be as welcome as the Glasgow trippers in the Victorian summer of industrial Clydeside. The historical turn of events, however, will make little sociological sense unless one sets the locality within the wider "outscape" of the USA, and the "military-scape", as well as the nearer "outscape" of London and its "political-scape".

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THE MILITARY SCENE, SOME DIVERGENT FACTORS

"The military institution sets the style and quite rigorously dominates all other community institutions. The military organization is the primary referent for community, group, and individual existence. The other institutions whilst not supplanted are ancillary."

Wolf, C. (1969)¹

The USN Base at Holy Loch is part of the "local-scape", whether the local residents wish to reject or ignore its existence. As I will later show, the Base affects the political, economic, and cultural "scapes" within the district, precisely because it is part of human landscape. As controlled from the outscape, the organizational problems and macro/micro linkage require sociological analysis, if one is to assess the civil-military relations, and identify the reasons for conflicts, as well as harmony, between certain sectors of civilian life, and those of the military in the local-scape.

Access to military information is always problematic, and usually results in studies being partial and inconclusive. I approached the USN authorities in 1973, when I first intended to take up the study, through an influential friend in the States, but I failed to get information from the Navy Department regarding the constitution of the Polaris Base, its lines of command, and civil-military programme. Apparently, there had been no socio-behavioural assessment of life at the Base, as the Navy Department explained in a letter to me.²

When I asked to see the Commander at Base, I was passed on to the Community Relations Adviser at the Sandbank Naval Centre. And when I asked questions about the organization of the Base, or about discipline, I was told the data was classified. I began to understand why in all the 15 years of the USN sojourn in Scotland there had been no sociological study carried out of the impact of the Base on the local population, although there had been extensive T.V. and journalistic

In the circumstances, without access to the necessary data, and screened off from the inner world at the Base, I decided to draw upon the literature of military sociologists, and assess in broad outline the "military-scape" at Holy Loch by establishing its organizational characteristics, and its civil-military relations within a macro/micro framework. Once the salient factors were established, I would be better able to understand the genesis of events which brought about the establishment of the Base at Holy Loch, and the imposition of its alien "military-scape" upon the civilian landscape, as well as basic factors crucial for an analysis of the impact, and the resultant "social instresses".

The military organization is a composite of "militarism" and the "military way" - terms used by Alfred Vagts (1959), which will require some explanation. Vagts defines them as follows: "The 'military way' is marked by a primary concentration of men and material on winning specific objectives of power with the utmost efficiency ... Militarism, on the other hand, presents a vast array of customs, interests, prestige, actions and thought associated with armies and wars, and yet transcending true military purposes"³. He observes that "civilianism" is the opposite of "militarism" with regard to values and characteristic forms of behaviour⁴. The military biography is built up on a socialisation process for its potential leaders which is essentially marked by "militarism".

In the growing rationalisation of the military, "militarism" presents an anomaly and a vestigial remnant of the feudal military days with the accent upon ritual and symbolism. As shall be shown, "civilianism" increases as technology takes over many combat functions, but "militarism" upholds the ancient traditions of the Navy, creating conflict both within the service and in the civil-military sphere.

It must be noted that the military are secondarily members of society; whereas other professions are primarily members of society, and secondarily members of their organisation, with the exception of the monastic system.

This latter is significant in that there are similarities between the parochialism and isolationism of religious members in total institutions and of military personnel. Feld; M. D. (1971) says that one cannot deny that the military are a more or less alien body, unwilling and ill-equipped to play the social game as others play it⁵.

It is significant that the Navy has been under Admirals whose training has been "typically" within the Annapolis Naval Academy, and whose experience has been that of "combat training" rather than "management training" and personnel skills. It is precisely the Academy trained and the "combat" experts who are "par excellence" the militarists, and it is these who set the tone. It is usual to have an Academy trained Commander at Base on Holy Loch, as I will show from the notices of the CHANGE OF COMMAND in the local newspaper. Feld, M. D. (1971), draws attention to the "intransitive nature" of the military, i.e. the refusal of the militarists to act outside the traditions and values of the organisation⁶. Typically these are the Academy trained officers.

The Annapolis Naval Academy, provides an elitist 8% annual proportion of the naval officers⁷. These men have been trained for an initial four years in isolation, and according to the strictest naval traditions. They are the foremost protagonists of the "militarism". These are the men who reach the top of the naval command and usually captain the depot ship, or the submarines. These are the men who stay longest in the navy. Segal, D. R. and Segal, M. W. (1971), show that whatever the increase in non-Academy officers with extra qualifications added to their rank, it has not had an impact on the proportion of Academy trained officers of Flag Rank from Rear Admiral upwards⁸. The aims of the Academy are threefold: intellectual, spiritual and physical, which are dedicated to fostering the traditions of the past 150 years of naval history. The Academy does not accept the university idea of free enquiry, in that it is set upon indoctrination as well as education.

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Indeed, since the student revolts of the sixties, the Academy has become even more suspicious of the university's open approaches. Partridge, P.H. (1969), cites this latter point⁹.

Paramount to military "instress" is the goal of combat readiness. Everything comes second to this, and it remains the pre-occupation of combat echelons and technical experts alike. As Lang, K. (1972), indicates, "Combat readiness remains the critical measure of organisational effectiveness, and military authority structures, managerial practices, work organisation, and other internal arrangements, continue to incorporate this rationale"¹⁰. Huntington, S. P. (1957), discusses the distinct expertise of the profession of arms, its management of violence, its corporate identity, unique customs, traditions, codes, lore, clubs, associations, dress, cult, and insignia; all of which set the military apart in an insulated world, often bound round with closures of secrecy and characterised by private zones¹¹. This profession of arms requires some discussion, as it will help to explain US behaviour on shore, and attitudes of naval personnel to the civil sector in civil-military relations.

Abrahamsson, B. (1972), defines a profession as "an occupation whose members profess a high degree of specialised theoretical knowledge, plus certain methods and devices for the application of this knowledge in their daily practice, and who are expected to carry out their tasks with due attention to certain ethical rules, and are held together by a high degree of corporateness stemming from the common training and collective attachment to certain doctrines and methods"¹². This definition cannot be applied equally throughout the ranks of the US Navy. It applies more directly to the commissioned officers, and less to the enlisted men, but it would appear to apply particularly to the USN officers at Holy Loch.

There are three main elements in military professionalisation which particularise the "military-scape": (a) theory, (b) a specific

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ethic, and (c) corporateness¹³. These factors determine much of the on-shore interaction and attitudes of the USN personnel.

Military professional theory is a set of doctrines regarded as fundamental to the function and practice of military prowess, such as doctrines of strategy, tactics and logistics. The theory is the basis for professional autonomy, and the claim to exclusive specialism - whatever the knowledge of outsiders, their understanding is "lay"; and "exclusiveness" is generated within the military enclave.

Ethical rules inculcated in the socialisation of the military and fostered at Base and on ship establish a mode of behaviour that is peculiar to the profession. Willensky, H. L. (1964), observes that the "professions have norms which dictate not only that the practitioner do technically competent, high quality work, but that he adhere to a service ideal - devotion to the client's interest"¹⁴. In this instance the State is both client and superior. There is necessarily an unease, therefore, in the services rendered, because unlike the client relationship in other professions, the client in this instance is also the patron who dictates the inputs so well as the outputs, so there must be a peculiarly ambivalent military attitude towards the State, which aggravates yet more the opposition of the more militarist to "civilianism", so, in general, there is an unease with civil authorities whether at home or abroad.

Adopting Etzioni's concepts of "coercive compliance", "utilitarian compliance", and "normative compliance",¹⁵ the US Navy remains in the last analysis a "coercive-alienative structure", whatever the loyalties and normative compliance of high-minded personnel. Moskos, C. C. (1970), demonstrates that the command coercive structure ties down the personnel, whatever their culture¹⁶. There will be reasons to come back to this coercive structure, when one researchers into the behaviour of men on shore and the sanctions

utilised for disorderly behaviour. Certainly, the coercive system is geared more to the injunctions of officers and navy regulations, whilst on duty within the field of operations, or within the Base itself, rather than with behaviour on shore. At the same time, the senior command is obliged to create happy relationships with the local authorities, so that there be no complaints to HQ. When studying the sailors "hitting the town" the disparities between types of discipline and permissiveness will be identified. There is one ethic at the Base, and another ashore.

The corporateness of the military profession stems from the long period of formal training and the isolation of much of it; and in the case of the Navy, there are the long periods at sea cut off from civil society. This is especially applicable to Polaris crews who are submerged under water for two months at a stretch. These factors make it possible for an almost closed set of values to emerge constituting a "social inscape"; generating a restricted orientation. Van Doorn, J. (1965), states that the military is separated from civil society socially as well as geographically - this is certainly truer of the Navy¹⁷. Separate club rooms and exclusive facilities at Ardnadam tend to reinforce the restricted mentality.

The naval reward system reinforces an officer-enlisted caste system. It could be said that De Tocqueville's remark that Americans approach the military life with democratic expectations of justice and fairness, but that the military institution soon shatters them¹⁸. Stouffer, S. A. "et al." (1949), cite some personal comments which they judge are fairly typical of enlisted men at the bottom of the caste structure: "All we ask is to be treated like Americans once again. No 'out of bounds', no different mess rations and no treating us like children. Why must the enlisted men be confined to camp as though they were in a concentration camp, when

officers can go where they damn well please. The officers go to town; the officers get the few available women; there are several social affairs given from time to time for officers, but nothing for the enlisted men unless it be an exciting bingo party ... The officers are getting American whisky and we are not ... What's the matter with us enlisted men, are we dogs?"¹⁹. The marked differences in consumer privileges, and access to women, are related to a caste system, which are even more marked in overseas bases than at home in the USA.

Moskos, C. C. (1970), states that although there are disparities in salaries, and obviously a widening gap between the enlisted ranks and those of the officers, "one would be hard pressed to name large-scale industrial enterprises where the salary differences between line employees and top management approach such a low ratio"²⁰. It is the "extras" that constitute the differential in the reward system, and it is the caste-like privileges that mark off the enlisted from the officers, and aggravate the enlisted.

The seamen are usually bachelors. Much of the difference in life-style is centred on the familial status of the men. There are no married couples on the vessels. Naval personnel resident ashore have considerably more freedom from routine. ... The significant fact is that most of the married are either officers, or NCOs and these form a minority. The bachelor sailors remain within the daily curriculum and have "pass" protocol and navy chores. Usually the married do not make "reveille", but report two hours later. There are greater pressures upon the single, and the married without their wives, not only because of possible loneliness, but because they are subject to more discipline.

Being married, however, does not put an enlisted man on a level with the officers, with regard to the privileges that often go with marriage. Lower ranking enlisted men will have to make

their own arrangements for accommodation locally, whereas quarters are usually available for officers and NCO's. The wife of an NCO or officer is transported free at government expense together with all their belongings to the local overseas base, but a seaman pays for transportation of his wife and belongings²¹. This often means that in effect seamen have to be separated from their wives: between 15-20% of married enlisted men are therefore forced to be wifeless overseas²².

Feld, M. D. (1971), speaks of the exclusive character of the military, and adds that it is essentially a caste system wherein differentials in privilege and status are extensive²³. He then observes that the self-perpetuation of the military caste system increases the remoteness of the military from the values of the civil sector. The sharp distinction between officers and enlisted men is central to our understanding of what happens at a US base, and affects the particular relationship and liaison between locals and navy personnel. One cannot even begin to appreciate the impact of the US presence at Holy Loch, unless one assesses the composition of the personnel, which in the case of the FBM system is particularly complex, and in navy terms unusual, as we shall see. One simply cannot categorise the Polaris Base as a single entity. It is composed of heterogeneous staff, "particular" and complex. A complete study of the officer and enlisted men composition has been carried out elsewhere by Sociologists, but chiefly by Moskos, C. C. (1970), and the NORC (National Opinion Research Centre, Chicago University)²⁴. From these sources one may sum up the situation as follows: officers are typically graduate married men in their early thirties with a higher class background, whereas the enlisted men are typically single high-school products in their early twenties with a lower class background. But, this refers to the military as a whole; in the

case of the FBM system, certain significant differences must be drawn. The enlisted men of the submarines are highly trained and technologically top-grade personnel, whose status in the Navy is higher than that of the personnel in the same rank elsewhere in the Fleets, and in addition their educational background is of higher standard, and their social background is less working-class than that of other enlisted men, like those aboard the depot ship which is really a glorified floating factory where extensive repairs are the main task. This latter observation matters, in that the men of the submarines (SSBN) are to be distinguished from the men of the depot ship at Base and other ancillary servicemen. As shall be shown, the distinction between submarine crews and depot ship personnel, and other vessel crews, presents its own organisation tensions which can break out on shore, which might explain why the enlisted SSBN crews live apart on the YFMB Barge after a tour at sea, and have longer spells back in the States.

The educational background of the personnel matters, since it is tied to the peculiar character of the cultural values and motivations and commitment of the personnel involved. Carrison, D. J. (1968), gives a more or less comprehensive set of programmes for those aspiring to be enlisted men, and those who wish to have access to officer levels²⁵. The many major pathways give some indication of the complex nature of the educational background of the men in the Navy and the varied socialisation processes. But, the men of the FBM system receive extra training in computerisation and the manipulation of the most advanced equipment of the Navy, in addition to the twenty listed by Carrison (1968).

But, this is not to say that the gap between the officers of the SSBN submarines and the crews has narrowed, because the officers have also had additional training. In any case, according to the situation drawn up by the DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (1968): "Selected

Manpower Statistics", 72.3% of all officers have college degrees compared with only 1.3% of enlisted men²⁶. Moskos, C. C. (1970), states that a college degree is a virtual requirement for officers, whilst a high school diploma is the 'model' educational requirement for enlisted men²⁷. If this is true of the armed forces as a whole, it is truer of the FBM system officers, who are essentially in the vanguard of military technology.

The significance of difference in educational training within the Navy is consequential, because it differentiates officer from officer, even of the same rank, and affects the commitment to the profession of arms, and the attitudes of personnel towards the civilian connections locally, as well as the social contacts made with civilians living in the locality.

As has been seen, the men in navy bases and on ships will not all be socialised within the military in the same manner. The military mind will not be shared to the same degree, and, as has been seen, the men of SSBN submarines will be of a different ilk from the men of service ships, or from the Fleet at large. It has also been indicated that the men in authority, the "top brass", will be chiefly Academy graduates, it is these high-ranking officers who will make the difference in the policy at the Base with regard to civil-military relations: in 1975 the Academy trained were 1 in 6²⁸.

A common characteristic of the "military_scape" is conservatism. This forms a corner stone of S.P. Huntington's (1957) theory of civil-military relations²⁹, and is an oft repeated theme in A. Vagt's (1959) historical account of militarism³⁰, which is also a central element of M. Janowitz's (1960) discussion of the identity and ideology of American military leaders³¹.

At the Base there will be the more militarist officers, and the less high-bound technicians, and the more democratic-minded newer junior officers. But, the combat and highly professional militarists

will either be in complete charge, or the top command will have to render an account to the militarists who are in overall control of command and operations. Length of service will usually instil the more militarist and conservative values in the personnel, and develop a closed mind, as demonstrated by Rokeach, M. (1960), Adorno, T. W. (1950), Eckhardt, W. (1969), and Roghmann, K. (1966)³². Only 15% approx. of university trained officers stay on for a second turn in the military³³. As already stated, the Academy graduates ~~mainly~~ command the submarines and vessels at the Base, and constitute the disciplinarians and organisers. "Militarism" dominates "civilianism" at Base.

Thomas, J. P. (1971), identified 4 projections amongst the military: (a) "The institutional projection" - i.e. the wish to give one's life to the military, which can be applied to the Academy graduates, the combatants and the NCOs at a naval base; (b) the "individual projections" - i.e. the wish to acquire professional expertise, and identification with professional civil norms rather than with militarism, which can be applied in the main to university graduates, and others, whose training has been civil for the most part; (c) the "community projection" - i.e. the wish to enjoy the corporateness of a unit or the collegiality of an expert group, which can be applied to technical enclaves and submarine teams; and lastly, (d) "without projection", i.e. the short-term utilitarianism of certain "drifters" who take refuge in the navy for the adventure, or because it is the best of many evils in a situation of unemployment etc. ...³⁴. One can expect this latter group to be found amongst the enlisted men of the depot ship and supply vessels.

Moskos, C. C. (1970), has studied the culture of the "enlisted men" of the military and identified an "officer culture" and an "enlisted culture"³⁵.

De Fleur, M. (1964), in a study of occupation stereotypes as reflected upon TV screens found that the enlisted ranked last amongst all occupational types in the USA³⁶. In some respects, the situation is one in which the seamen are as serfs in a near-feudal system, wherein they do all the most menial tasks. Also, the studies of Hodge, R. W., Siegal, P. and Rossi, P. (1964), indicate that in the USA the enlisted career is below that of other skilled occupations³⁷. Indeed, Lang, K. (1972), goes on so far as to state that the enlisted career is one of the last refuges for a genuinely lower-class culture³⁸. I have already shown how different is the educational and socio-economic backgrounds of the enlisted men from that of the officers. One can expect the frustration of the seamen to break out on shore in a situation of gross difference on duty, especially amongst younger men.

With regard to the class situation in the military, Moskos, C. C. (1970), says: "Such an enforced levelling of classes has not parallel in any other existing institution in American Society. This is the elemental fact underlying the enlisted culture"³⁹. The connection between the caste-system aggressiveness and the prevalence of onshore drug habits will be seen later.

Richardson, S. A. (1956), points out that variations in organisations can be expected to proceed from variations in the cultural background of members⁴⁰. The socio-economic composition of the Navy reproduces the US stratified system, a factor which Moskos, C. C. (1970), bears out with regard to the military in general⁴¹, as it also does with regard to the racial problems. In turn, these problems and the alien American culture invade the "local-scape". From the wider "outscape" the American military bring with them the peculiar military problems which are further complicated overseas, such for example the US negro question. As shall be shown, the riots in Dunoon cannot be understood except in this context. The navy has a sad history of segregation.

Prior to President Truman's 1948 go-ahead for racial integration in the US Services, blacks were only allowed as stewards in the messman's branch. Moskos, C. C. (1970), says: "Even in the integrated Navy of today ... black sailors are still over-proportionately concentrated in the messman's branch",⁴² and he presents statistical data to demonstrate the low status and ranking of navy blacks in the Services. Blacks have been under-represented in the top enlisted ranks, and in the commissioned grades they have recently had a minimal 0.7% representation. However, there is usually an over-representation of blacks at junior NCO level, whose tasks make them most unpopular, often creating on-shore white backlash.

The black NCOs are mainly placed between white senior NCOs and white junior seamen. In this situation they have a vulnerable and marginal role, so much so that Moskos, C. C. (1970), observes that they are either accused by the white seamen as too strict, or by the senior NCOs as "chicken"⁴³.

Moskos, C. C. (1970), points out that since 1971 there has been an easing of requirements for entry into the Navy, so that Commanders have been haunted by the possibility that they may show greater loyalty to separatist groups than to the military⁴⁴. Traditionally hardened attitudes in the South have predominated over the years in the USA, and traditionally the South has provided a disproportionate number of USN personnel. The service men may still carry their formal social prejudices, which may very well be latent when on duty, but break out once ashore off the "liberty boats". Moskos comments: "The general pattern of day-to-day relationships off the job is usually one of mutual exclusivism"⁴⁵. So, whatever the SECRETARY OF THE NAVY INSTRUCTION, official doc. 5350.6 might say about integration, the US racial attitudes remain largely what they were when the men entered the Service - a hierarchic "fiat" from above is hardly able to change

socialised stances and practices. The "black salute" is seen locally.

In addition to the racial problem, which as shall be shown, affects life locally in the Dunoon District, there is the overseas American chauvanism. Moskos refers to it, as did so many commentators over the years⁴⁶. The personnel carry with them the values of the USA "outscape" which naturally for them presents the superior life. Material standards are in contrast, and the latent ideology carries with it the outside bias of a well-nourished incomer whose "bravado" and arrogance have merited the old-tag: "over-paid, over-sexed, over-here". "Social inscapes" back home are carried into the new situation where outlook clashes, and so trouble is bound to occur.

The US Base on Holy Loch is well aware of the dangers. As one steps from the depot ship gangway a huge notice hangs above the planks that lead onto the "liberty boat" moored alongside: "You are about to represent your country in Scotland. Do so with pride, dignity and honour": above the words are the crossed pennants of Britain and the USA. Dealing with the clash of social orientations and the cultural disparities that proceed from various "scapes", is the US Civil Affairs Department⁴⁷. Havron, M. D. (1971), comments: "Inflation brings other problems in tow. With the influx of a large military force, people in society normally low on the social ladder - the cab driver, the pimp, the prostitute, the bartender - suddenly acquire wealth and affluence. This is resented"⁴⁸. More about the actual local impact later.

So much for the racial and socio-economic problems which must complicate the life-programme once a military base is set up near a foreign population. But besides these, there is the larger macrocosm in the nearer and wider "outscape", which often affects the local microcosm, and may also alter the whole outlook of the local people, as "scapes" from afar intrude and even block perceptions.

It must be stressed that the Base is located within the small "ecological-scape" of Dunoon District, and at the same time is located within the "military-scape" of a gigantic nation whose political, economic and cultural "scape" are alien to the area, whatever the pact and understanding between the UK and the States.

Having ranged over the characteristics of the monolithic structure of the context of civil-military relations, one ought to take account of the wider naval organisation before examining what is happening at the Polaris Base and in "boom-town".

Karl Von Clausewitz, in his most influential book ON WAR, emphasises that one cannot appreciate the military venture, unless one sees it in terms of its relation to society as a whole, its political goals and its economy⁴⁹: after all, the military is maintained by the "political-scape" upon which the militarists lean for finance and manpower in competition with other sectors of the national economy. With this in mind, Marx and Engels in ANTI-DUHRING, write: "Nothing is more dependent on economic pre-conditions than precisely the Army and the Navy."⁵⁰ Bobrow, D. B. (1971), takes the interdependence of the military with the civil sector, and cites four central processes upon which the military depends for its inputs, its continuing legitimation, and its enduring support: (a) office holding controls, (b) regulatory controls, (c) resource allocations, and (d) steering according to goals of strategy⁵¹.

Mills, C. W. (1956), develops the theme of control through office holding, wherein elites dominate and dictate the socio-economic inputs of the military within a circle of influential industrialists and veterans in the civil sector⁵². Applying this to the US Navy, one must also take into account the civilian dominated DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, and the tight office control of the predominant civilian bureaucrats in the DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY itself.

The central American political and military agreement is that American nuclear supremacy must be paramount. In addition, it must be seen to be "absolute". Public support for an effective deterrence must be in accord with the political and military involvement in the Polaris and Poseidon ventures of the FBM system in the US Navy. Western eyes are fixed upon the effectiveness of the system, and naval personnel are quick to push the argument for greater and greater development, and in addition, USN political interest, especially in Congress is intense. Throughout the years the Holy Loch venture has been spotlighted politically. The personnel "play" to the Congressional gallery.

The role of Congress is important, as can be seen from the powers invested in it by the Constitutions... According to Article 1, Section 8, which lays down a broad brief regarding the military involvement of Congress. The Congress has power to "raise and support armies" through taxation, and to "provide and maintain a navy", also, "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and navy forces" ⁵³. The forces vie with each other to win over the favour of Congress. Congress, in fact, influences the size of the fleets, and shore establishments, and determines many aspects of naval personnel structures. Section 412 of PUBLIC LAW, 86-149, lays down that armed services must obtain Congressional permission to procure new ships, aircraft, missiles and commence development funds; similarly, Congress determines the nature and composition of personnel through TITLE 10, US AND OFFICER GRADE LIMITATION ACT. Congress determines the rules for promotion, and moreover, the percentage of officers by rank, and the number of flag officers in the US Navy ⁵⁴.

The controlling influence and "watchdog" role regarding Polaris on the part of the US political machine cannot be underestimated, nor can the pressures exerted upon the members of Congress by their electorate. And Congressmen have a daily workload of naval "cases"

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to take up with the DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE or the various echelons of the Navy. Every seaman can have recourse to his Congressman. Base Commanders are over-sensitive to issues which may go over their heads to Washington. The Navy therefore attempts to give the impression all is well at Base and to maintain a cordial liaison with Congressmen. Sometimes special select committees are organised by Congress to investigate and supervise the activities of military operations or agencies and a political war may ensue.

In addition, through the National Security Act of 1947, "official" direct access to Congress by the armed forces was closed. Contact with Congress is through the DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE. By 1954 the US armed forces had both a legislative and a liaison office under immediate direction of each departmental secretary⁵⁵. Thus it is that interface roles which are crucial to the Navy are civil. Only the Secretary of Defense in the DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE has cabinet rank, whilst the "Secretary of the Navy" remains outside the inner political circle. This official plays his part in Polaris, as shall be seen.

The "Secretary of the Navy" stands at the boundary between politics and the military, and must always be a civilian. The enormous organisation which he administers can be seen from Figure 1. He is appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. He usually has a background in management, and an experience in public service. Under him and most influential within the structure of the Navy is the OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS (OLA). This office (see Figure 1) both assists and advises the "Secretary of the Navy" in legislative affairs and congressional relations. The staff of OLA is made up of 28 military personnel, but are outnumbered by civilians, who must number 34. The office supervises the presentation of statements, and reports answers that go back and forwards between the Navy and the DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE and Congress. It also monitors proceedings on Capitol Hill on the floor of both the Senate and the House of

Representatives, as well as in the Committee Hearings. Its members know first what is afoot, and have informal access to Congressmen. Here in effect is the voice and ear of the Navy, although the "Secretary of the Navy" is the formal head. the relationship between him and the members of OLA is crucial to the steering process.

Below the Secretary is the "Commandant of the Marine Corps" and the "Chief of Naval Operations" (CNO). The CNO is the senior military officer, who is also a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). He is in charge of naval operations, but subject to the "Secretary of Defense" as regards these. In addition, he is charged with informing the "Secretary of the Navy" of the actions of the JCS. Like the "Secretary of the Navy" he is outside the political arena, but is precariously situated at the boundaries and intimately involved in decisions of strategy. This involvement is somewhat minimised when one considers the power of the Senate, the overall rule of the "Secretary of Defense", and the fact that he makes decisions jointly with the other members of the JCS. In addition, there is the "Navy Material Command" (NMC) organising the "Systems Command" having responsibility for the majority of logistic support, having under its cognisance three-quarters of the Navy shore facilities^{5 6}. This command is more immediately the concern of the Navy civilian economic experts. being related to the material matters on a day-to-day basis. So the US Navy is split, in effect, into an "Operation Command" and a "Systems Command". There is also in the organization as a whole the cleft between Naval Operations and Marine Corps (see Figure 1).

The "Commandant of the Marine Corps" need not concern one too much, because at the Polaris Base. the Marines are usually under a 100 in strength. Organisationally, they are set apart with a function of guarding and monitoring the top secrecy operations at Base. One can see how off-duty problems with the Marines could present local complications, however, as to whom the public should have recourse,

and where accountability lies.

From this overview of the US Navy, it is clear the civilian political and economic "scapes" intrude. The CNO, in fact, does not have absolute authority over naval personnel. The "civilianism" of the Secretary of the Navy badgers the "top brass". In effect the civil administration constitutes an "outscape" which may interfere with the military programme. Polaris senior officers are wary of officialdom.

As will now be evident from what has been said so far, there are communications concerned with inward and outward affairs. Meantime, the public stand on the sidelines ready to affect decisions one way or another, now informed, and at other times misled. The politicians play their roles, fearful that they may not win public support, or that they may lose the opportunity to redress, or reform abuses, and breakdowns of military organisation. Some within the military will be more inward looking, whilst others will be more outward looking, Kahn writes: "These differing orientations are built-in sources of conflict", and adds, "whether units of the same organisations with similar functions engage in hostile rivalry of a kind of good-natured intramural competition depends more upon managerial policy than on structure. The potentiality for conflict, however, is always present among such units"⁵⁷. Both managerial policy and its effective execution must satisfy the polity, and the influentials.

Congressmen make official trips to Bases and Fleets and the Navy handles 55-60 such trips annually⁵⁸. Carrison, D. J. (1968) observes, "All of the armed forces chafe under restrictions imposed on their conduct and resort to diverse and sometimes ingenious ways of establishing informal means of access and influence A combination of post-war developments has forced the services to give more and more attention to the cultivation of congressional and public support"⁵⁹. So, every two years the Navy Department briefs the new Congressmen, and sets up pressures through task forces, made up of civilian experts

and naval specialists. But, these are of little avail without the influence of veterans in positions of authority within the civilian sector, and the propaganda of the NAVY LEAGUE. The League serves as a link between the Navy Department, the people and the politicians, setting up programmes in which people can bring pressure to bear upon their Congressmen for naval aims and programmes. Though the Navy is not supposed to be involved politically, the League is overtly politically committed. But, the organisation is not a passive agent for the Navy, because it may be at variance with certain naval projects, so that the US Navy has the task of convincing the League of the viability of certain projects like Polaris. Indeed, mismanagement and misbehaviour of personnel at US bases can weaken the League's support for the venture overseas. The League reacts to US events in Cowal.

It is clear that there is a multiple variable complexity in the management of naval affairs. Rommetveit, R. (1954), developed the concept of role expectations as "sent" and as "received", so that there are "role senders" and "role receivers" within a role set⁶⁰. There can be an obvious conflict of expectations within an organisation and across boundaries between the DEPARTMENTS OF DEFENSE, JCS, OLA, the CNO, the Material Command, the "Secretary of the Navy", the NAVY LEAGUE, the US public, the Congressmen, and people of an overseas boomtown.

It is in this interplay of political, economic and military "scapes", that one must assess the Naval Base at Holy Loch. The economic interdependence requires more comment. It must be noted that being a consumer rather than a producer of goods, the military is wholly dependent upon the society at large for its manpower, many educational inputs, and for its expensive equipment.

The local Base at Holy Loch is tied up with the complex US industrial agencies. It is economically crucial, therefore that the Base uphold a happy relationship with the people of the host country, and a prestigious image abroad. The military industrial ties are

considerable - over 20,000 US contractors and government agencies are engaged in work upon the FBM system⁶¹, whose investment has been guaranteed into the mid-80's. In addition, the US Polaris Base had then only two other overseas Bases: in Guam, and Rota in Spain. Missile submarines are not welcome in almost all overseas ports, and have therefore to hold on to the Holy Loch anchorage at all costs. The Polaris investment involves seven leading US Shipyards. The NATIONAL SECURITY INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION (NSIA) has been very much involved in the submarine industry - in 1967 there were no less than 900 members in its committee from 170 separate industrial organisations⁶². A gigantic civil investment demands that the system be continued, especially at the bases such as Holy Loch where the nuclear submarine is also loaded with the most sophisticated weaponry manufactured at the highest costs with the highest investment. The Holy Loch Base is therefore an industrial investment project which must be justified.

However, the "militarism" and the "civilianism" are uneasily allied to each other in a divergent-convergent civil-military relationship, involving overlaps both civil and military in the political and economic "scapes". There is obvious ambivalence on the part of both the military and the civil sector, with regard to the FBM system's dependence-independence in the delicate intermeshing of civil-military relations. For the Base upon Holy Loch these matters are central to the organisation's future and to the on-shore behaviour of the personnel. It comes as no surprise that "the" best performance is required of the men of Polaris who are the top-most seamen of the US Navy - too much is at stake for it to be otherwise, both in economic and in nuclear terms. Periodic visits of the Secretary monitor performance.

The strictest monitoring of events at Base safeguard the continuance of the American presence. The Base cannot be seen in isolation from the American civil support systems in the universities and in industry, and, as has been seen, these stand at the boundaries

of the war system where semi-military experts (often part-time) and civil liaison personnel, carry the features of "civilianism" into the Base "scape", extending the influence of the Department of the Navy from outside. . . . At the same time, the Navy's dependence upon civil competence and service technical "know-how" are indispensable to the Base's continuance and efficiency, as can be appreciated from the regular influx of US civil technicians at the Base who come and go locally. Polaris is located within a commercial world of supply and demand, wherein tenders and contracts with civilian agencies and industries are an essential part of the civil-military relations. The constant struggle to race ahead of the Russian inertial guidance systems and surpass their submarine "throw-weight" necessitates a close monitoring of the performance of men and naval equipment with both expert and manual servicing demanding "cosmopolitan" inroads into the locality.

At the same time, there is the omnipresent watchdog of American public opinion, whose money is channelled into the nuclear scheme, as well as the opinion of the people within the host country, who happen to be sharply divided about a nuclear build-up within their own shores. The US must justify its colossal expenditure to the people back home, and its deterrent system of ballistics to both the USA and to the people of host country, as well as the NATO countries. Janowitz, M, (1971), writes: "Rationality in the military profession means that it must, in the contemporary sense, accept the notion that a successful officer can be one who does not fight, but contributes to deterrence and the resolution of international conflict. It is truly unique to perform tasks that one hopes never to perform"⁶³. The rationality of the system requires considerable defence, and especially so during a period of widespread inflation. Lang, K, (1972), stresses that popular support is always fraught with some ambivalence regarding military ventures⁶⁴. Is the expense worthwhile when it is

never likely to be utilised, and when its final pay-off in an emergency may be dubious? And is it sensible, when cut-backs in public expenditure have been withdrawn from medical and social ventures at home? Thus it is that at Base the personnel are sensitive to the balance of opinion now shaken by a CND upsurge and more local protest in Scotland. Wright, Q. A. (1965), stresses that a military venture requires balance between the military situation, the legal, the psychological, and the sociological ⁶⁵. The fact is, as William James once said, preparation for military confrontation is itself war, whatever the argument that no shots are fired, and the deterrence is "peaceful". The military, legal, psychological, and sociological repercussions and involvement of the local people and of the USA civil support systems cannot be overlooked, and make the presence of a deterrent overseas submarine base problematic.

The "social inscape" of the personnel at Base within the political, economic and cultural "scapes" both in the USA and in overseas bases create conflicting orientations. In the main, one can say that there is a middle-range increase of management experts and technological naval personnel within the Polaris system, so that the "flask" structure of the navy is yet more extended by this mid-bulge, creating more and more horizontal lines of communication, and a bigger break-up of the pyramidal command structures. But, at the same time, as has been noted, it is subject to combat and militarist supervision, yet not absolutely, since civil bureaucrats intrude.

Concern in Washington, the enclaves of NATO, and amongst naval industrialists, is sensitive to any pejorative remarks in the national press of the host country and more particularly to any on-shore misbehaviour, because the presence of the Polaris anchorage is crucial to the US anti-Russian build-up in Western waters, and to the defence of Europe. Thus the local civil-military relations are nervously handled by the command at Base, and USN charities increase locally to win support.

The local image of the US seaman, and their reputation for "do-goodery", or the US naval sense of justice when locals have been outraged, or their property damaged, are to be seen in the light of the macro political arena. The civil bureaucrats of the DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, and in the DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY, are ready to step in when the local command is not laying enough stress upon liaison with local authorities and the influentials, so that the usual responsibility of the commander "apropos" of on-shore discipline is particularly burdensome, and more so than in the usual overseas situation, the Commander and Captains must socialise locally. The SNP, and the CND movement, now alive and resurrected, are ready to make use of the slightest local unrest and civil military friction to sensationalise the weaknesses of the US militarism, and expose the US imperialist intent, as are the host country journalists. Thus it is that Washington, NATO and the government of the host country, with the London-based US Headquarters in their varying patron-client relationships, crowd in upon the Base "top brass", making the surveillance of the micro factors of the civil-military relations in a small township, where roles are transparent, most problematic. So that the macro linkages make the micro elements particularly irksome for top officers to handle.

Moreover, the economic interests of the military-industrial complex, alert the US power elite to mismanagement of the civil-military relations, and commercial agencies will exert pressures upon Congressmen behind the scenes. The Base hangs in a military-industrial balance.

The "military ways" if the US Navy also serve to deepen the civil-military divergencies. It is difficult to sort out whether the objectives are to serve the public and to protect the nations, or to further in-service efficiency and the status of the Navy in competition with the other armed forces. The diverse "military orientations that impinge upon the "life-world" at Base are summed up in Table 1.

TABLE 1

THE VARIANT FROM THE TOP DECK OF THE NAVY DEPARTMENT TO BOTTOM PERSONNEL AT THE POLARIS BASE:

LEVELS:		ORIENTATION	VALUES	INSTRUMENTALISM
Institutional echelons		Bureaucratic and mainly civil	Public service	civil-military affairs
MANAGERIAL ECHELONS	Institutional managers	bureaucratic and mainly civil	military administrative service	civil-military affairs
	Technical managers	"expressive" and partly military.	socio-human relations	member interaction
Technical echelons		scientific and partly military	technological	technical effectiveness
Combat echelons		mainly militaristic	warfare	strategic effectiveness

As can be seen from this table, the upper echelons are more concerned with "civil - scapes", the lower ones with the "military - scapes". The public is lost somewhere between.

As has been indicated already, NCOs and Academy graduates at Base, will favour "militarism", creating a greater civil-military divergence; whereas university graduates, whether managerial experts, or technicians, or administrators, will incline to more civilian involvement, being more receptive to socio-economic civilian orientations because of their largely civilian training.

In an attempt to draw together the features of the "military-scape", one could profitably make use of the ideas of Segal, D. R. and Segal, M. W. (1971)⁶⁶. The Segals suggest three models of organisation: the "pre-bureaucratic", the "bureaucratic" and the "post-bureaucratic". In the monolithic organisation bureaucratic procedures are mainly vestiges of an older military ethos now surviving in the "militarism" of the Flag Officers and combat personnel and operational staff. Bureaucratic procedures embody "military ways", as implemented by institutional managers such as civil naval department administrators. Post-bureaucratic procedures are in evidence within the "civilianism" as propagated by the newer technical managers and experts. The relevance of these strands of activity will now be shown.

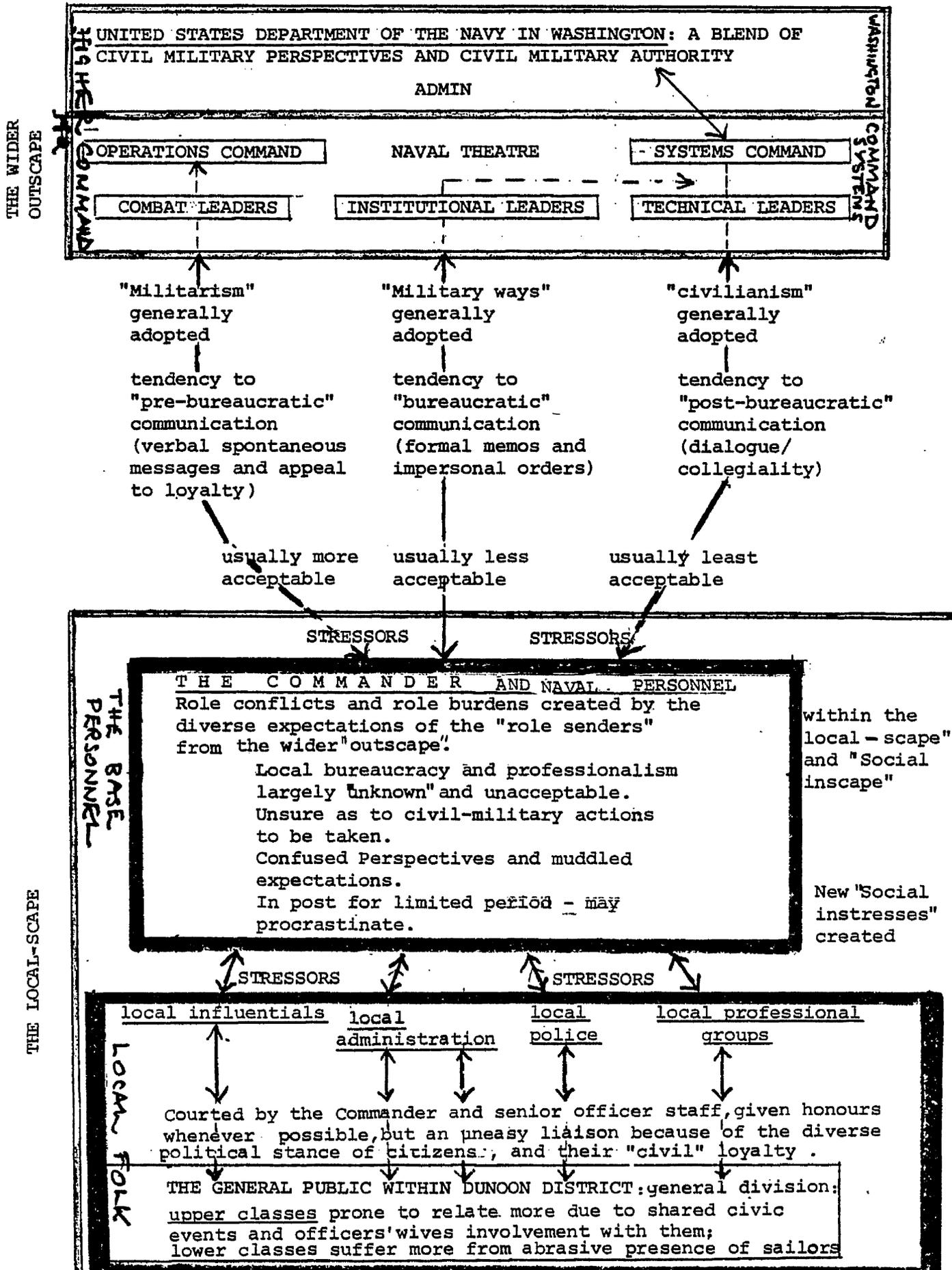
Figure 2 presents the conflicting salient influences impinging upon the personnel at Base, and as shall be explained, upon the Commander, in particular, which should provide some clues as to what is happening locally. The lines of influence become "stressors" at Base Level, creating a problem for the Commander who stands between the military "outscape" and the local "social inscape". He is, however, above all a man from the wider "outscape" who probably favours pre-bureaucratic controls by reason of his Academy background and combat training. Because of the conflict of principles and values between the civil and military "scapes" and because of the unease with which "militarism", "military ways", and "civilianism" coexist within the "military-scape" itself, the Commander cannot possibly be "direct" in his dealings, especially when he has to satisfy elites of the "outscape" in the last resort, whatever the costs to others. His dealings have to be "oblique".^{*} Whether they be devious or diplomatic will depend upon whose point of view is being considered.

Sutton, D. (1971), presents three key factors accounting for the field behaviour inconsistencies of Commanders⁶⁷. These are:

* "Oblique" is used in this thesis as a term to denote the intervention of persons, usually devious and unpredictable. It contrasts with the predictable and vertical dealings within authority structures.

FIGURE 2

THE SALIENT MILITARY INFLUENCES IMPINGING UPON THE "SOCIAL INSCAPE" OF LOCAL FOLK IN THE DUNOON DISTRICT.



- (a) personal preferences of local base Commanders;
- (b) the degree of "capture" by the local population of the Commander; and
- (c) the degree to which there are problems of internal communication between Commanders and their superiors.

As in any large organisation there are centrifugal tendencies operating to serve or divert the management from carrying out exactly the directives of official policy, which in this case is that of the Department of Defense in Washington. Taking each of the three factors put forward by Sutton in turn will throw some light on the organisation at Base, especially by linking the Commander's role in the maintenance of the interdependent organisational parts and satisfaction of organisational needs with the expectations and demands of the people within the "scapes" involved.

Firstly, with regard to the personal preferences of the Commander himself. The Commander is primarily responsible for translating the broad pronouncements coming from top level echelons into tangible accomplishment at base. This factor is central. There is evidence that some Commanders often express impatience with the demands of the upper echelon. Sutton writes that as professional men of arms certain Commanders question "whether it is wise for the military to be asked to wrestle with internal social problems, diverting its energies from its primary mission of combat readiness"⁶⁸. So that when Navy Department officials press for programmes to ensure off-base discipline some Commanders tend to be slow to take action.

Most base Commanders complain of being overburdened with added extra regulations to the already imponderable mass of rules to be enforced. They avoid making reports to the Department of Defense, or contacting the Secretary of the Navy, often preferring to deal on a personal basis with the incidents at base themselves. And, if there are no written reports of off-base or on-base misbehaviour they know

that officials will conclude that there have been "none"; informal reprimand is common. Also, the studies of Hammond, P. Y. (1958, 1961, 1968), describe how the naval personnel resent the intervention of the civilian Naval and Defense personnel in military affairs⁶⁹. The best alternative is to handle the problems within the overseas base itself, no matter how burdened the Commanders may be.

With regard to the racial problems the overseas Commander is largely thrown back upon his own resources. In the USA the Base Commander can utilise the "Command-Community Relations Committee" which includes representatives of both the base and the local community. Such committees provide him with an organisational framework for the discussion of racial problems as they arise and to make it possible for him to work in harmony with those who have influence locally and sympathy for his problems. The overseas Commander lacks these supports. Navy Instructions No. 5350.6 also provides the base Commander with guidelines, but these apply more to the situation in the States and not to an overseas base. A document "Military Personnel Stationed Overseas and Participation in the National Guard" (1964) caters for the situation outside the USA, but in practice the Commander has to face the overseas problem of racial antagonism locally according to his own judgement and insights. On the other hand, the men know their rights according to the United States Commission on Civil Rights: "The Negro in the Armed Forces" (1963), and are quick to claim that they are being discriminated against and that the Commander has not played his proper role on their behalf⁷⁰. Every junior seaman can approach his Congressman, but the process is rather formidable and in an overseas base the Commander may hide behind the local attitudes as a veil for his own indifference or "laissez-fair" policy.

From an examination of the Annual Opportunity Reports from 1963-1967 there have been only a few reported attempts by Commanders

to reduce discrimination off-Base. If this has been so in the USA, where there are more controls over the community-base approach to the racial issues that can arise off-base, then one may wonder how many overseas Commanders do take action to lessen the problems that negroes may have to face. In any case, the Commanders may conclude that at base the disproportionately small number of blacks safeguards the base from serious racial troubles, and may assume that this provides a most effective brake on any possible organisational racial upheaval.

The Commander has to secure the good-will of the host country. Everything comes second to the military mission itself, so that at all costs he must secure the strategic post so important to the Department of Defense. This could be at the price of penalising the negro scapegoat, or of cutting down on the intake of blacks to satisfy the local people or to avoid more trouble. Pragmatism matters to the military man, and ultimately the military objective is paramount, whatever people's rights, and whatever the contribution of social scientists. Mills, C.W. (1956), writes: "The military mind indicates the sharing of a common outlook, the basis of which is the metaphysical definition of reality as essentially military reality, Even within the military realm, this mind distrusts 'theorists', if only because they tend to be different"⁷¹. And Swomley, Jnr, J.M.(1964), points to the military preference for swiftness of action and impatience with democratic discussion and compromise⁷².

A characteristic within any organisation is "to pass the buck"; in fact, the problems tend to be passed on to the Commander till they pile up at his door. His wish in the last analysis is to settle problems at base. So, he tends to keep problems within his local organisational branch, where problems are solved or dampened. His initiative is the deciding factor and often it is his "charism" which decides whether the social organisation runs smoothly, not the formal bureaucratic machinery.

Also, the Commander has a way of "taking problems outside the organisation" by channelling the ones he wishes to shelve into the offices of the chaplains, the psychiatrists, the psychologists, the doctors, etc. ... There the men will meet with a professional expertise, which if it cannot solve the problems, will at any rate mystify them, or rationalise the situation, enabling the personnel to live with them after a fashion. In effect, the problems cease to be treated in the public zone, and are shunted into the confidential files that are eventually destined "for the fire".

The second consideration is the possibility that the Commander's activities may be skewed by the fact that he is "captive" within the local upper-class. Pressures are brought to bear on Commanders by local power-elite groups. There is an endless round of suppers and banquets, not to mention the local civil events, which the Commander is expected to attend. These may have the effect of neutralising his mind and outlook. When I was in Dunoon he lived in a mansion, "Ardbeg House" like one of the old grandees. Sutton says that the base commander has to struggle to free himself from undue influence from outside⁷³. He could act against the better interests of the majority of the locals, siding with elitist groups. He is in charge at the Polaris Base for 20 months or so, but the local power-elite are there all the time. They can make things difficult for him in the eyes of the host country's ruling bodies and government, which may jeopardise his position at Base, and be reported "back home".

Commanders also depend on local dignitaries for letters of commendation as they face the proximity of retirement from the military. So, they may simply adopt the views of the important hard-core of families locally, however unjust or distorted their views might be. Places may be put "out-of-bounds", and discipline ashore made more severe, with shorter shore-leaves, because of this. It must be stressed that the Commander stands at the margins, with the duty of pleasing a

civilian sector and its complex configuration on the one hand, and the complex tiers of echelons of the military and the whole galaxy of naval administrators and politicians within Congress and the Department of Defense, on the other. The Polaris Base Commander at Holy Loch is in an especially delicate role with NATO breathing down his neck, and local political parties ready to bring complaints before Parliament, or the local governing body, which are monitored by USA HQ.

It may happen that the Commander becomes so involved in the milieu at "boomtown" that he neglects some organisational issues at a base. Sutton writes: "Often the harmonious base-community relationship can be taken as a symbol of successful management ⁷⁴".

Sutton quotes a retired base Commander: "I do not believe you get the backing of superiors if trouble develops, They want you to push to programme but not to create any ill-will. If trouble does develop you change the base commander". It is the Senate Armed Services Committee which decided ultimately on his removal or promotion, not merely the CNO, so that the civil contacts are often "the" important ties, and at all costs the Commander will strive to preserve political harmony ⁷⁵. When the interests of a base do not match those of the local "power-scape" the Commander may be seen to adopt the "civilianism" of the local power elite, and come into opposition with the "military ways" and "militarism" of his naval colleagues. Indeed, living ashore, he may become estranged from the combat captains, and in their eyes become identified with the institutional bureaucrats, losing his "connective tissue" as a leader at base. The situation is confusing, but the position is short-lived.

Thirdly, the Commander may have internal communication problems. The Department of Defense does sometimes issue conflicting inept directives to bases. For example, at the very time the Department was stressing integration at US bases it did not establish controls. The Army Times, (September 4, 1963) disclosed: "Defense

has said that actions of local Commanders on the integration front will not be made a part of efficiency reports" and this at a time when integration was pushed by Congress and the Department of Defense ⁷⁶. Inconsistent "Defense directives" are on record, says Sutton ⁷⁷.

There are instances where friendly relations are given priority locally, and the Commander has informally supported racial discrimination to conserve these links. Weak cues from HQ put responsibilities and decisions squarely upon his shoulders. The Judge Advocate is sometimes called in to interpret the naval directives, and his interpretation may be adopted, but if it is enforced it is the Commander's responsibility. The advocate in any case always adds "in my opinion" to his interpretations. Legal confusions multiply.

The communications system is often overloaded at a base, and messages come in from various echelons with differing orientations. The difficulty of interpretation is one thing, the difficulty of adopting many "sent roles" is yet another. Role ambiguities emerge when the communications are confused, or opposed to naval practice. In this context the rapidity of organisational change at base is a crucial factor, as also the "instress" changes.

The configuration of the FBM base changes continually as submarines come and go, bringing with it repercussions for the American families ashore and Polaris personnel at the ship and dock. The span of the Commander's cognition contracts and expands, or may even snap at a time of too great a change. Predictable precision in organising the interdependent parts is made possible by the messages the Commander receives regarding the incoming vessels, but he cannot be sure of the timing of supplies to meet the ever changing needs of Polaris, both in material terms and in personnel. Homans, G. (1946), Berkman, P.L. (1946), Zurcher, L.A. Jnr. (1965), and Little, R.W. (1964), have demonstrated in their studies, much of which was participant observational, that the coming and going of ships, or

personnel, bring about structural changes which demand adaptation and a modification to leadership style to suit the different needs of the personnel⁷⁸. "Consideration" is one dimension which will need to be evidenced in the attitude of his command towards the incoming SSBN crews, but, at the same time, the Commander may be attempting to establish a tightening of shore discipline to placate the local authorities or the host country's government. Add to this, the fact that the joy and jubilation on returning from a submerged stint rubs off on to other crews and personnel. There is need not only to balance the needs of general order with the needs of returning crews, but an "initiating structure" must be carefully planned so as to weld the incoming personnel with the shore and ship personnel.

It is this constant change which obstructs the easy management of affairs for the Polaris Commander. Supply ships carry crews whose loyalties are not those of the more permanent FBM personnel, nor are they so socialised that their behaviour ashore would measure up to the discipline of Polaris personnel. To the Commander these men are largely an unknown quantity, as also to the locals.

But, what of the Community Relations Adviser at Holy Loch, is this position not the answer to the problem of civil-military relations, and to the problem of fusion between FBM personnel and the local residents?

To assist him in his management of the local civil-military relations is the Community Relations Adviser, a British Ministry of Defence appointment, always a female whose remit is: "to give guidance and advice to American Forces personnel and their families stationed in the area and to establish Scottish-American contacts with local organisations and private individuals, and provide information on local and national activities of interest to the American personnel" (Job Description taken from the advert for the post in the Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard 20th Oct., 1973). She is

immediately answerable to the Commander, but her employer is the British Ministry of Defence, which appointed her after interview in London. It might appear at first that the appointment of such a person might indicate that the USN Base would be able to effectively liaise with the civil authorities and influential organisations in the locality, and that the Commander had in her a specialist and UK adviser. However, the woman appointed at that time was an outsider. The locals respected her, but saw her as a temporary worker. She was also appointed in the "outscape" by a Ministry selection panel wholly divorced from the Scottish scene. She was not a military person, and so could not be wholly identified with the military. Being immediately answerable to the Commander, there is also a danger that unpopular Staff decisions could be traced back to her. On the other hand, being neither identified by USN personnel with the military, nor the local people, she could become a gossip centre, where USN personnel could speak of problems either on duty, or on leave. Either way, she is in a vulnerable position. In this situation the Community Relations Officer tends to "escape" and become involved in organising travel packages and personnel excursions to Scottish beauty spots, or historic places. When I eventually called to see the Community Relations Officer I found her walls covered with many travel posters, and her desk strewn with tourist brochures. But, what of the other civil personnel?

Normally, an overseas base has a certain civil-military composition which enables the locals to become more involved with the USN personnel, but in the case of the Base at Holy Loch there is only a marginal local profile at Base. The full civil support and service complement in 1975 were as follows:

Support workers "on the other side" in stores and provision units
200 (non-locals)

Clerical Workers in locality, assisting USN personnel
9 (mostly locals)

Unskilled civilians attached to: Commissionary PX Store, Snack Bars
16 (locals)

Unskilled civilians attached to: Bowling Alley, Hobby Shop, Gymn
7 (locals)

The figures are estimates, but the totals do serve to show that there are not many locals involved at Base with the USN personnel.

The PX (Department stores with US goods) and the Commissary on shore, the new separate housing estates for USN families, together with the Enlisted Men's Club, the Petty Officers' Club and the Commissioned Officers' Club, and the facilities at Ardnadam, constitute a "Little America" within the locality, where military and alien status and caste, organise life and create social stresses which were totally foreign to the "local-scape" of Dunoon District before the Base was established.

Certainly there emerges from the available facts a monolithic "military - scape" wherein "militarism" and "military ways" impose structures in the "life-world" and programme of living in a locality, even on those who are not in uniform. Devious, unpredictable and elusive machinations with alien objectives, totally divorced from "civilianism", assert themselves, whereby "oblique" deliberations foist devastating weaponry on people and their peaceful settlements, offering the local "power-scape" the lure of money. The Naval Department fosters the non-image and the low profile of the Navy in civilian clothes, with no flags in sight, few military cars, and fairy lights on the grey bows and stern of naval vessels.

"Assimilation" is the battle-cry of the civil echelons at Washington; so in Dunoon the errands of the naval wives at Homes for the Elderly and for deprived children attempt to humanise the whole exercise of military imperialism. The backdrop of the wider "outscape" woven across and between political, economic and cultural "scapes" encompasses much of the "local - scape", whether at the Base or in

boomtown and locality.

Having reviewed the "outreaches" of the US Navy, it is clear that the Polaris Base on Holy Loch is caught between the "militarism" of its combat leaders who are usually Academy trained, and control the caste-system, on the one hand, and the "civilianism" of Administrators and university trained personnel, on the other. The militarists are usually in control. Their veterans and their political contacts in Congress, and in political pressure groups, can manipulate the State and boost a military project such as Polaris. The inauthentic politics and machinations associated with Polaris will later be made evident.



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PART THREE

THE SOURCE AND MODE OF IMPACT

- CHAPTER 5. The Military Invasion
- CHAPTER 6. The Industrial Intrusion
- CHAPTER 7. The Bureaucratic Take-over.

THE MILITARY INVASION: SOME DIVERGENT FACTORS

"So long as a society is relatively stable and unchanging, the problems it presents to us tend to be routine and predictable. Organizations in such an environment can be relatively permanent. But when change is accelerated, more and more novel first-time problems arise, and traditional forms of organizations prove inadequate to the new conditions."

Alvin Toffler (1970)¹

The US Polaris Base was established in the midst of diplomatic and political intrigue. The decision took people by surprise, even in government places. It was a decision made without previous government discussion, arrived at in the "outscape", contrary to general expectation, at a time when military experts on this side of the Atlantic were discussing the Skybolt air-to-surface nuclear missile, when politicians were caught up in the argument of a possible entry into the Common Market, and when there was growing criticisms of the NATO commitment. The SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (1970), described the process of events from the announcement in 1960 till the subsequent NATO meeting in Athens, when MacNamara stressed that the USN Base in Britain "would remain under the control of the American Administration".² The 1960 decision and the subsequent arrangements reached "in camera" by Macmillan and the President were "oblique", sudden, and "out of the blue". It was to prove an even greater shock for the people of Dunoon District when they heard that the disputed Base was to be set down on "the Charmed Loch". When Mr. Emrys Hughes asked the Prime Minister on the 27th October 1960 in the Commons, what conversations he had had with President Eisenhower about the establishment of a Polaris Submarine

Base in Scotland, he simply replied: "My conversations with President Eisenhower were confidential"³. The Commons had to wait till the Queen's speech on the 1st of November before the location and the whole package could be openly discussed in the Commons. A militarist President had already secured the US Navy Base on Holy Loch.

The "initial surprise" for the Dunoon locals came with the simple finalised statement of the Queen's Speech (1960): "The anchorage will be provided in Holy Loch in the Clyde, and the depot ship should be established there during February of next year, the floating dock will follow later", and to soften the blow the statement added: "stringent safety precautions will be adopted to prevent any risk to health or safety in normal conditions"⁴. If anything these last words only served to underline the fears of the people. It is ironical that Dunoon District was noted for plebiscites, which were held to debate so many minor changes suggested for the locality and Burgh, yet here when there was a question of major change with the whole area becoming a "hazard environment"⁵, the decision was a "fait accompli".

The plebiscites of Dunoon were cited by Jack House (1968): "Having studied the archives of, first the Police Commissioners, and then the Town Council of Dunoon, I have become conscious of the fact that Dunoon is an extremely individual place. Nothing is ever accepted at its face value in Dunoon. It has to be argued about, denigrated, debated, contradicted and taken to the vote - not just the vote of the Town Council, but the vote of the whole community. I do not know any town which has held so many plebiscites of the population"⁶. In the face of decisions made beyond the Cowal horizon in the nearer and wider "outscape", that local protest and debate were apparently smothered in confusion at first, then protest asserted

itself, as shall be demonstrated, but without total backing. But, firstly, what of the macro discussions and outcome?

The rumours and the half-truths were around in the months which followed the Queen's Speech. When Mr. Shinwell, MP for Easington, complained in the Commons to the Prime Minister on the 3rd November that he was not telling "the whole truth"⁷; in this he echoed the fears of the people, within and outside the Dunoon District, that Britain would have no control over the weaponry. Mrs. Hart, MP, also complained that there were various versions of the truth regarding control of the weapons; one from the Prime Minister, one from the Foreign Secretary, and another from Washington⁸. Essentially, the problem was that there had been no open discussion, and the conspiracy of the secrecy had shrouded the real conditions. Mr. Ellis Smith, MP on the 3rd November complained in the Commons: "The Prime Minister's speech was made without any warning ... Parliament knew nothing about it before it was made"⁹. And Mr. Hale, MP, referred to "announcements made in Washington on which we cannot ask questions"¹⁰. Instead of the Base being discussed at length in the House following these questions, London rents were brought up for extensive debate¹¹.

This is a classic case of the "oblique" taking the people by surprise, and in the time-lag between announcement and fulfilment, or implementation, of the decision, to allow the issue to be surrounded with complexity, so that objections lose themselves in following side-issues that are thrown up either deliberately, or indeliberately. So, control of the weaponry, the possible contamination of milk in the area close to the Base, the creation of a monitoring team and its brief, and most important of all: whether, in fact, it was technically "a base" which was to be established, or simply a "staging post", were discussed.

The Minister of Defence stated on the 8th February 1961 in the

Commons: "A great many people are creating a misleading impression by saying that this is a base. What it is is a few buoys in a sea loch to which a depot ship will moor, and nothing could be more mobile than that"¹². Such remarks served to cushion the facts that missiles were stacked aboard, whether technically the loch was used as a base or a "staging-post". Words were piling up to hide the ugly realities.

Then, there was the rumour that Polaris was not coming after all. So much so that Mrs. Castle asked in the Commons on the 2nd March 1961, what approaches the Prime Minister had had from the President of the USA for the cancellation of the Base¹³. Then, there was the emphasis upon the commercial benefits to the boom-town of Dunoon, as, for example, the statements of this in the Commons by Orr-Ewing, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, on the 8th of March 1961¹⁴. The whole pattern of twists and turns, that drew the public along and away from the real intent and plan in higher places in "zig-zag" fashion, displayed all the elements of mystification, rationalisation, and baits for the more materialistic through promise of the dollar. The sad summing up of how the days following the announcement had managed to create a mass of obscure leads was made by an MP in 1963: "We were told that it was not a base but a depot, and that it was not a danger to the West of Scotland because the real base was in America"¹⁵. One can hardly credit that the Civil Lord of the Admiralty stated, at the height of the debate in the Commons: "I do not think that Glasgow would be affected one jot or tittle by a submarine base staging-post thirty miles away"¹⁶. And yet the same MP had stated that the Base was set up in the West to be near populations for facilities.

The opinion of the Scottish people in the West was reflected in the "anti-neuk" marches and by constant flow of letters to the press protesting over the Anglo-American decision. It is significant that, on the date of the official debate on the 16th December 1960, in

the Commons, with regard to the creation of the Base on Holy Loch, neither the Secretary of State for Scotland, nor one of his joint Under-Secretaries were present¹⁷. As Tories, they could hardly oppose Macmillan's line of action, nor as representatives of the Scottish people could they openly and clearly support the Macmillan-Eisenhower decision. The New York Times stated in December 1960: "Bases abroad, such as the Holy Loch, become more trouble than they are worth, when the local population is antagonistic. We might well re-consider the scheme, and leave the Holy Loch to its memories of bells and bell ringing and the murmur of ancient prayers"¹⁸. The Scottish antagonism had been noted; but the statement only served to make those British readers who were issued with reports of the New York view, imagine that after all the Base might just be cancelled.

The news of the establishment of the Base broke into the local newspaper after the Queen's Speech on the issue of the 5th November with the headline HOLY LOCH TO HOUSE POLARIS BASE. It noted: "This statement was made in the House of Commons on Tuesday. The US Depot Ship Proteus, (18,500 tons) will anchor in the Loch in February next year and a floating dock will follow later ... under an agreement no more than three submarines at a time will be lying in the Loch. The US plans to base 1,500 men on Proteus, and at least 400 of them are expected to bring families. No special housing will be built for them. Instead there is a plan to rent accommodation on both sides of the Firth of Clyde"¹⁹. Already the holiday character of the Cowal Strip was threatened, but the Provost (Miss McPhail) and the Town Clerk emphasised "that the Dunoon area landladies and hoteliers could cope with accommodating the US personnel and their families without their having to go elsewhere"²⁰. It became clear that the "boom" to an ailing holiday area mattered to the controlling local authorities, whose influentials were mainly local business people. Only 14 years later in the first year of my initial enquiries

were special dwellings built according to the requirements of the USN.

Already the marchers were being organised from outside Dunoon District, already the anti-Polaris song had been phrased and composed, which was to echo the local dollar lure through the streets of Dunoon, as outsiders marched through to sit before the old Ardnadam pier in protest:

1. "The Provost o'Dunoon
She wants her half a'croon (repeated three times),
But we dinnae want Polaris
2. "The Yanks they say
Are ge'en subs away (repeated three times),
But, we dinnae want Polaris
3. "It's suicide tae keep 'er on the Clyde
Tae keep 'er on the Clyde (repeated three times),
But, we dinnae want Polaris". ²¹

There were two letters sent into the press at John Street, Dunoon, the first of many others to come concerning the USN Base. These reflected the unease amongst the people with regard to the stress that had been placed locally by some on the "boom" the Base would bring. The first from Kilmun stated:

"I hear earnest people around me say that the base will be a good thing, but I suspect that behind these solemn eyes there works a greedy mind which can already picture the roll of dollars the Monster will have in each hand" ²². The other letter came from Strone; significantly both letters came from the shores of the Loch. It stated:

"All who love the Clyde coast should support strongly any public leaders who oppose the establishment of a Polaris Base in the Holy Loch. Call a public meeting now. Don't let another week elapse without a petition against the violation of our rights to citizens. Let no hotelier or shopkeeper be lulled into thinking that trade will benefit. Shops will be unable to compete against the American Supermarkets which will

To The Prime Minister
House of Commons.

People of the village of Sandbank —
Holy Loch, herewith protest vigorously
against the setting up of a Polar
Submarine base in any part of Britain
and call on the Government to urge
the U.S.A. to stop the manufacture of
this deadly weapon.

Saturation point in deterrents has
long been passed, and the magnitude of
destructive power in the continuing arms
race is creating a state of
uncontrollable tension among the nations.

November 1960.

Facsimile with over 300 Signatures attached, as forwarded
to the Prime Minister.

DUPON OBSERVE.

ILLUSTRATION 1: MESSAGE TO THE
PRIME MINISTER JUST AFTER THE
ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE BASE (NOV. 1960)

mushroom overnight. If Polaris comes, boarding houses can close their doors permanently. Visitors will shun the entire Clyde area ... In a very short space of time, the Clyde coast will be a deserted fortress. Wake up, Cowal, and into battle" ²³

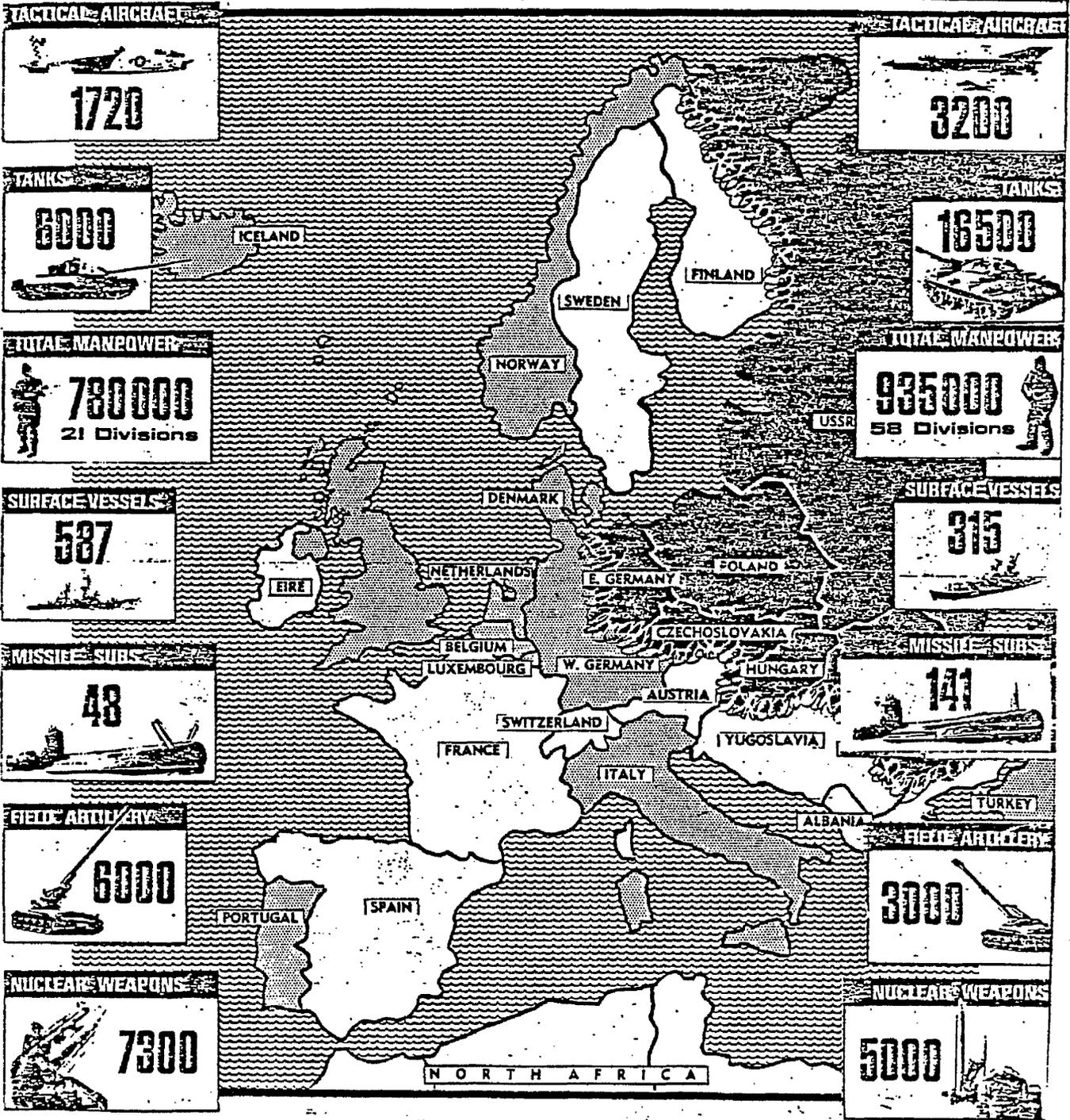
The "economic- scape" appeared to come first in the consideration of the locals because of the marked character of the Dunoon District as a tourist centre, and especially because it was the immediate financial benefit which attracted the people, especially in Dunoon... where there has always been a greater concentration of caterers, hoteliers and landlords. Letters to the local press from the 5th November till well into 1961 were to stress the local greed. It is interesting that protest locally was organised from Sandbank, where at Mr. Thomas's shop people were asked to sign the letter to the Prime Minister which read as follows:

"People of the village of Sandbank, Holy Loch, herewith protest vigorously against the setting up of a Polaris Submarine Base in any part of Britain, and call on the government to stop the manufacture of this deadly new weapon. Saturation point has long been passed, and the magnitude of destructive power in the continuing arms race is creating a state of uncontrollable tension amongst the nations"-²⁴. No such letter or protest

was arranged by Dunoon Burgh. There the war years "boom" consequent upon the British Holy Loch Submarine Base and other incoming military personnel was well remembered. One local observed at the time: "It would appear that quite a number who applauded the decision have nostalgic memories of the booming war years, when they certainly never had it so good" ²⁵. In the Burgh, the retired were disturbed, the working-class were apprehensive, and the "better-off" caterers and small business people were preparing for a bonanza. The uneven impact for each group varied according to perception, and there was enough

rumour about a three year stay of the USN to make it possible to soften the blow with regard to the impact on the "ecological- scape" for those who put money first, and enough also about the ecological dangers to harden the opposition of the protesters. "Divide and conquer" is the old adage, and locally, as we will see more particularly later, there was divided opinion with regard to the USN presence. The impact of a novel dramatic event had widened the class and occupational differences. Uneven impacts were a necessary consequence.

The routine of life had been shaken, and "scapes" altered, once the depot ship anchored. From "outscape" a whole unknown world of new aliens moved in (1,500), and more than doubled the number of those residing in the district who were born outside the locality; there were 734 "aliens" in Duncon and Cowal on the eve of the USN invasion. The main "scapes" affected were: (a) ecological - the area became a hazard environment; (b) political - the area became a USN talking-point in Congress, and a major Party concern in the House of Commons; (c) economic - the area became an overseas USN "boom" centre with a foreign and superior currency altering the relative importance of the area "vis-à-vis" surrounding settlements in Scotland, and the relative importance of occupational groups, now catering in the main for a mainly bachelor "cosmopolitan" military population; (d) cultural - the area was invaded by a military culture of a foreign "scape", whose values, norms, and life-style, were from the wider "outscape" - the "beyond". In addition, a totally new phenomenon was created in the immediate environment by the Polaris Base - a "military-scape" had been set up, which was itself unusual, with particular organisational and cultural configurations which had never before been experienced in Europe, still less in Britain, or in little Cowal. These "particular" characteristics amounted to a massive invasion of the "life-world" locally, placing the semi-remote Cowal shores upon the strategic map of the Russian-American confrontation.



NATO countries (indicated by a grid pattern on the map)

Countries in the Warsaw Pact (indicated by a stippled pattern on the map)

FRANCE is politically but not militarily integrated to NATO.

GREENLAND is included in NATO as a strategic reconnaissance base, but used only by the U.S. and Denmark.

DAILY RECORD, Friday, January 30, 1976

Graphic by **LORRIE BROWN**

Research by **JOHN CLARKE**

MAP DIAGRAM I: THE NATO MILITARY OUTSCAPE (1976) FROM WHICH OUTERSTRESSES MAY INVADE THE LOCAL-SCAPE

Before the USN Base was established the local protest signatures were collected by Mrs. Margaret Robertson of Ardnadam, Sandbank, who has continued to date with her periodic letters to the press and occasional letter to the Prime Minister about the Nuclear Loch Monster. The locals have named her "Aunty Polaris" (a play upon "anti-polaris"). Her house, LOCH VIEW, stands over the Loch gazing into the grey bows of the depot ship. From the beginning protesters that gathered round her were mostly Sandbankers. The Dunoonites did not provide any anti-Polaris personality, nor did they organise anti-USN protests, being a divided people with regard to the advent of the USN. As pointed out already, too many people in the Burgh stood to gain by the incomers, especially when one considers an ailing summer trade.

The "initial surprise" over the establishment of the USN Base, with its "oblique" intimation, was welcomed by those who were disposed to detect and also to accept any beneficial economic upturn, whatever the social drawbacks of the new prospects. Accordingly, locals in the Burgh were moving their focus from the "summer takings" to those of an all-the-year-round business boom. They became more involved at once with the prospect of the USN coming. Those who did not wish to be surprised by such an event, however lucrative to some, because of their abhorrence for nuclear warfare, and for the ecological desecration of their quiet Loch waters and semi-rural environment, were set against the "cash register" argument cited in the local press of the 24th December 1960. The full realisation of what was about to happen to the area opened up choices of leaving the area, or fighting the decision of Macmillan. However, some were prone to believe that protests throughout the UK would change everything.

Glasgow, always linked with Dunoon in the past, took up the issue. By 47 votes to 28 the Glasgow Corporation on Thursday 8th, December 1960, had voted to support the local people against the Government.²⁶ Meanwhile in Rothesay, Dunoon's old seaside rival, there appeared an advert describing the new local dahlia: POLARIS BASE.²⁷ Someone had cashed in at once. To return to more serious aspects, significantly the meeting of the Dunoon Town Council on 13th December did not take any action over Polaris. A motion at the meeting that "a great number of townspeople were genuinely perturbed by the possible hazards to health, especially to children" was not carried.²⁸ At the same time, disturbed Sandbankers were busy washing anti-Polaris slogans off their walls, and before long thousands of demonstrators from all over Britain marched through the quiet winter streets singing their "anti-neuk" songs. On Christmas-eve loud speakers around the shores of the Loch boomed with the message of a missionary clergyman, speaking to hundreds of youths at the Scottish Youth Peace Campaign March: "We are going to march and march till the Polaris Base Proposal is cancelled, even as John the Baptist on the banks of the Jordan called on the people of Israel to repent, to do away with this crime against mankind."²⁹

It is interesting that the spokesman was a stranger, that most marchers were strangers, and that even the banks of the Loch and Cowal shore had been appropriated by outsiders: "On the banks of our own Clyde". The fact was that what had happened locally had repercussions nationally and internationally, and the Scots taken up with the implication for all the nation identified the terrain as essentially a threatened Scottish domain, whilst from across the borders others would identify it as essentially a UK preserve.

Indeed, the locals who had felt uneasy about the establishment of the Base might have had every justification for feeling that such a nationwide protest that at first asserted itself would surely have some effect upon the powers at Westminster.

Once Proteus anchored in the Loch on the 3rd March 1961, the marchers increased and the protests grew louder. There was hope even then that it might be possible to send the ship back. The marches were to continue till May, 1963; and fines were to total more than £2,542 for the demonstrations at the gates of the USN pier at Ardnadam.³⁰ Month by month, strangers by the thousands crowded the ferries, waving their banners and shouting their political slogans, but soon they were to dwindle in numbers. By Christmas 1963 even the stragglers stayed away. The local residents were left alone, to cope with social stresses at ecological, political, economic and cultural levels, whilst the protesters returned to their own "life-world", on "the other side". The initial shock had been cushioned by outside support. But once the streets were empty of marchers, the locals stood in isolation face-to-face with the needs of the naval strangers from an alien "scape", and the particular social stresses caused by an overseas base.

The sociologist requires a diary of events so that he may decipher process, and in my case, so that I might assess the various lags arising from change. Throughout I had no local comprehensive written record to go by, covering this period, apart from the local newspaper. Janowitz, M. (1952), Konig, R. (1968), Long, N.E. (1958), and Pareto, V. (1963 print - TREATISE ON GENERAL SOCIOLOGY), are some of the writers who have assessed the importance of analysing local events.³¹ Long, N.E. (1958), emphasises the relevance

of the local newspaper by stating that it is:

" firstly, a prime mover in setting the territorial agenda; and
secondly, a vehicle for influence, there being a tendency to
equate accomplishment with publicity".³²

The local press might therefore provide a window upon past events, and present some pointers to the local "power-scape" and its ambit of influence. To illustrate the relevance of the Dunoon paper in the context of local social perceptions and the community grapevine, the Dunoon provost at the time of celebration of the paper's centenary in 1971, stated at the centenary banquet: "A well known Dunoon man, who was noted for his wit, once said that Dunoon folk knew all the news before the paper came out, but they bought it anyway to see if the editor got the story the way they heard it. Such is life in a small town. The Dunoon Observer has become part of the community".³³ With regard to the presentation of events, the Dunoon newspaper was unusual in that it had no banner headlines, and presented no journalist commentary from a particular political angle. It attempted to appeal to all, presenting a chronicle of local events.

The wide local readership within the locality is shown by the 7,500 local circulation; indeed my 6% random sample (to be dealt with in a later chapter) indicated that almost all persons interviewed read the weekly local press. Ownership and editorship in the hands of the same local family for over a hundred years is a singular phenomenon, and the editor's policy of NEWS NOT VIEWS, as already stated, together with a century-old continuity of that policy are rare. The full compendium of local

letters go some of the way to establishing whether they are more than an individualised exercise, especially when letters continue to discuss the same issue, and originate from different quarters of the locality. In addition, any letters which come from a recognised popular figure, or leader in the locality, most probably stand for more than his individual opinion.

There is a "safety valve" section for letters.

All letters are printed, although once in a while the editor has closed the correspondence, giving a week's notice. The letters to the local press were to prove of importance to my study, which involved examining 2207 letters.

When Pareto stated in his TREATISE ON GENERAL SOCIOLOGY that the newspaper chooses the material best suited to please the reader³⁴, he indicated that readership is dependent upon the newspaper's confirmation of existing beliefs. When events or letters to the editor run counter to an area of local sensitivity they may evoke a reaction which prompts certain readers to respond in the columns. The difficulty is whether to conclude that the letter is highly individual, or representative of shared feelings and ideas within the locality.

At the time of the initial surprise statement of Macmillan and a telegram which passed on the decision locally to the Town Council, many letters concerning the USN Base were sent to the small press office of the editor, Mr. Inglis, in John Street, Dunoon, from outside as well as inside the locality. From 5th November 1960 till 25th March 1961 came the first 75 letters. For the first time in the local press since its establishment in March 1871, a Westminster

decision had taken up the major part of the correspondence, and was to be continued, albeit at a lower level, for months to come. Macro factors of policy, nuclear arms debate, and micro elements associated with the impact of a naval garrison upon the local people, were brought up in a 100 letters out of a total sum of 154 letters between 5th November 1960 and 6th January 1962. The number of letters may form a measure of the extent of the impact upon local opinion .

But, in the first months no one would ever have imagined that the Base would ever have anything but a major place in local debate. Indeed, the locality was in the news, both in the UK "dailies" and abroad, as well as on the lips of major politicians and militarists in those first months.

The full compendium of the letters written concerning matters related to the USN Base, or associated with it, is contained in Appendix 2. There were letters which contained macro issues only, some contained both macro and micro issues and others dealt solely with micro issues, associated with the USN Base.* These were distributed as follows:

1. Macro issues only	:	114	
2. Micro & macro issues	:	15	
3. Micro issues only	:	191	<u>total: 320</u>

The 15 letters containing both micro and macro issues were written in the first 30 months of the period. From May 1963 the letters were concerned with either macro or micro issues. Letters were grouped around a topic or event, and at times there was a mixture of letters covering diverse subjects associated with the Base. The groupings and distribution of the letters is set out in general in Appendix 2 (the 15 letters containing macro and micro issues create an overlap).

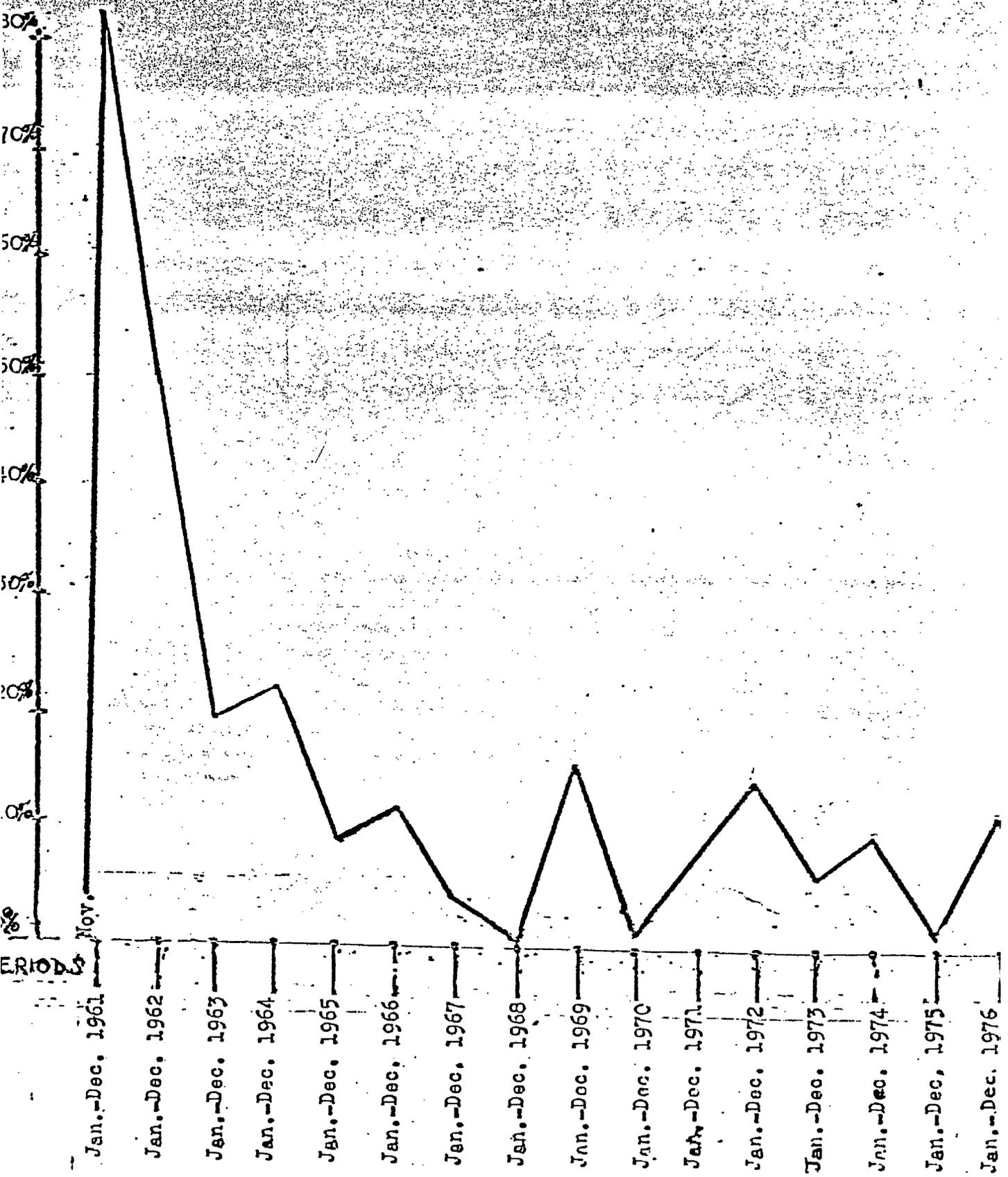
* For a definition of macro and micro issues see p.515, Appendices.

The overall percentage of the 320 letters which raised issues concerning the USN Base and/or related matters constituted 14.5% of the 2,207 letters. Graph 1 presents the volume of letters over time, and Graph 2 contrasts the number and flow of letters dealing with macro and micro issues concerning or associated with the USN Base.

But, why the threefold division of letters ? The first group of letters came immediately before and after the anchorage of Proteus. There were no letters regarding the USN Base between the March the twenty-fifth, 1961, and the twelfth of August that same year. The first letters were written in reaction to the initial news and/or the anchorage of Proteus, with emphasis upon the wider international "political-scape" beyond the locality and the UK., and so represent reaction to "initial surprises" in the letters. The second group of letters were still largely concerned with the issues which tied the "local-scape" with the wider "outscape" beyond the UK, and the "outscape" within the UK across the Firth, but, letters began to deal with spin-off micro episodes of a secondary nature. The third grouping of letters was more difficult to establish, but it appeared from the more intense comment about USN personnel behaviour within the locality, and the bigger increase of letters raising micro issues from March 2nd, 1963, that a watershed had been reached when the letters containing macro issues fell away sharply and the micro letters went on increasing. By the end of 1962, the annual number of letters containing micro issues had risen to 14 for the year, and were to rise to 40 for the next year, 1963. On the other hand, the letters containing macro issues had fallen to 8 for the year 1962, and to 3 for the year 1963.

The first batch of letters expressed initial surprise. Some were concerned over the question of legitimacy regarding the establishment of the Base. A letter in the Dunoon paper on December 3rd before the Proteus arrived, caught some of the local initial

GRAPH I : VOLUME OF USN-SLANTED LETTERS TO THE LOCAL PRESS



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apprehension: "During the past week or two I have been at pains to take a representative cross-section of local opinion and I am struck with the steadily increasing apprehension and dismay about this project ... Resentment against the high-handedness of the government in saying nothing until they could present a FAIT ACCOMPLI is widespread. The story of the Base is being leaked a little at a time"³⁵. There were many who had felt let down not only by the Government at Westminster but by the Town Council. The letter stated: "The unctuous and self-deceptive attitude of the Dunoon Council in the matter of the Polaris Base leaves one aghast"³⁶. The town, noted historically for its plebiscites, was now taken by surprise, and its Cowal members, prone to put the prosperity of the people in terms of money first, welcomed the USN Base. The situation demands some analysis.

The Council put the "economic-scape" first, but its decision in favour of the Base had run counter to the priority many put on the "ecological-scape". A decision may threaten one "scape" and yet at the same time strongly strengthen another. A shift in the local social stresses results when this occurs, causing division, with some people set against the decision and others in support. Within the maze of events the locals were confused, and mostly by reason of the conflict over the benefit of money 'vis a vis' the ecological threats and dangers.

At this point, it is interesting to note that before the Polaris decision was officially announced, a United States vessel unexpectedly anchored off Dunoon and its personnel crowded the town on a shopping spree. The town made a lot of money, and with the memory of the event still fresh, local influentials were ready when Polaris was announced to welcome a repeat on a longer term basis. The fact is that no USN vessel had ever anchored off-shore, as this one had outside the war. A local summed it up in 1963 when recalling the events that led up to the Base: "An American ship arrived off

Dunoon, anchored and landed several hundred sailors. Their coming was undoubtedly a 'feeler' to test the reactions of the locals..... Dunoon went quite mad. Shops were open until midnight to cater for the visitors..... a roaring trade was done. Indeed, banks reported a huge increase in dollar deposits....Not long afterwards intimation was received that an American Base was really to be created on the Clyde. Many people in Dunoon thought it to be a good idea."³⁷

Clearly, the letters forming the first grouping represent reaction to initial surprise, and show that the diverse response was decided upon mainly by "economics", in the case of those in favour, and by fears, in the case of those opposed. We will examine the sentiments of the first letters written in response to the announcement of the arrival of the Proteus. These are set out in broad terms in Appendix 2.

It will be clear from the data presented that the small settlements around the lochside were more critical of the USN Base and of the arguments in favour of its establishment. Whatever the strength of macro implications and principles associated with the nuclear submarine Polaris Base, nearness, as one might expect, to the vessels seemed to outweigh everything else for many of the locals. Had there been a large percentage of the people in the Burgh, and West of it, critical of the Base on macro grounds, and few nearer the Base against it, the analysis would have pointed to the overall cogency of macro factors. It must be noted that 1,940 constituted the population of the settlements along the eastern shores, which lay either near or beside the Loch, whereas the Burgh numbered 9,718; and yet the criticism in the letters of the eastern settlements was greater than that of the Burgh.

At the same time, there was by no means a complete rejection of the arguments in favour of the Base: 13.3 % of the letters that brought up macro issues supported the establishment of the Base.

With reference to the micro issues, it is interesting that seven of the first letters criticised the local stress on money. One of the letters made a few pointed observations after the Lady Provost welcomed the Proteus: "How surprised I was to hear our Lady Provost and the laymen and all the other councillors referred to who favour this Polaris Base, especially when some of our Christian ministers (real Christians) had us pray for peace. The same men were against the coming of bishops, and the opening of shops on Sunday the last time an American vessel was here. Not so the people who had businesses, who did not forget to charge them high prices for what they got, also supplying them with drink to such an extent they were staggering all over the place. Money comes first with those people. They don't consider people who come here for a quiet life and who are likely to clear out".³⁸ The argument about money had been raised before the Proteus arrived. One letter stated: "It would appear that quite a number who applaud the decision have nostalgic memories of the war years, when they certainly never had it so good, and in order to recapture a measure of prosperity are prepared to stifle all normal scruples and with true ostrich escapism really believe that tragedy cannot overtake us".³⁹

Once the Proteus was anchored, the real impact of the invasion was felt as people faced the changed environment on the Lochside. 300 ratepayers of Sandbank could not accept it, and signed the petition against Polaris, bewildered as they were by the invasion of their quiet locality. It was stated that there were three radiation hazards: 1. gamma radiation from the hull; 2. release of cloud containing radioactive iodine; and 3. radio-active liquid in the loch.⁴⁰ The statement might have exaggerated the situation, but readers of the press were made more aware of possible dangers. Naturally, it was Sandbankers, and the Kilmun and Strone residents, who were most troubled. But meanwhile the taxi trade was booming in the town, as it had never

done before. Indeed, it went so well that an advert later appeared in the press on April 15th, offering Glasgow taxis for sale in Dunoon⁴¹, and several local people with cars, turned almost overnight into "pirate taximen".

The second series of letters between 12th August 1961 and Feb 23rd, 1963, were written when the local residents witnessed and experienced the first effects of the USN Base upon their locality. It was a period when "secondary surprises" began to emerge. As suggested already, there were rumours and there were hopes that the national protest in the "outscape" from north to south would have its effect. For the supporters of the Base it was a time of unease since they were not sure whether the bonanza would last, and for the protesters there was the concern that the Base would stay after all, probably for three years. But, for both the supporters and objectors there was a further economic reality - the locality was getting a bad name, and a nationwide reputation as a centre of radiation danger. Ecological, political, economic and cultural, which were mainly affected, were as follows:

1. Ecologically, there was the radiation danger and the noise nuisance of the depot ship, and the establishment in the district of a nuclear outpost of the USA, which now stood in the frontline of the Russian and American armament confrontation.
2. Politically, the local residents were divided by reason of the Westminster decision, with the SNP argument officially declaring that the Base had to close down, and the Tory support loyally behind their Party and Macmillan.
3. Economically, the holiday and tourist centre was in the process of gigantic change, as priority had to be given by local holiday premises to an all-the-year-round demand of naval personnel and their dependents. Rooms were to be let to the USN personnel, once reserved for the holiday makers.
4. Culturally, the cycle of life was disrupted by the O.P.R., and the winter/summer season was also affected by the steady USN demands on local services, creating some intrusion into the quiet winter recess and social leisure. The other cultural inroads were to appear later.

During the period of "secondary surprises", as shown in Appendix 2, the more pronounced opposition was expressed in the letters of the residents east of the Burgh. Even less support was expressed than had been during the initial period (see Appendix 2). Some neutrality, however, was evident. In the Burgh more protest was expressed as micro issues were raised, which although proportionately less than the protests expressed in the East, nonetheless showed a greater increase upon the negative remarks made about the USN presence in the initial period. As we shall see, the Burgh was having its share of military intrusion and breaches of the peace by personnel. At the same time, the USN incomers were becoming more defensive and were writing to the press, joining in with the general debate. In addition, the people of the West of Scotland still voiced their protests in letters to the local press on macro grounds. In the "outscape" of the rest of the UK interest appeared to drop as the issue of the Base receded. This certainly was not so locally.

Under initial impact, the Scottish seaside town and its ancillary resorts for tourists were undergoing change, and the tempo of life was shattered, especially when the marchers came in those first months. Earlier, I had visited the town long before I had ever thought of undertaking the study, in the month of August 1962. I saw the effects upon the summer trade as the district became a demonstration venue and battleground for the CND and the protesters who came from far and wide. In addition, local caterers were not able to employ girls after 5.30 pm because their female staff had been walking out with the sailors, hanging up their aprons after being enticed out by USN customers. Male waiters, and male staff were needed to fill in. The first surprising signs of the cultural changes had their impact. To return to the letters from August 12, 1961, when the correspondence regarding the Americans began to appear concerning the Base in the Dornoch Observer once again. The letters

seemed to be taking a different "line", with more discussion on the right to protest, and the beginnings of a correspondence upon the micro effects locally of the USN Base. These are set out in Appendix 2. We notice, once more, how letters from settlements to the east of the Burgh continued to be more critical of the USN personnel, and that letters from people "on the other side", from within the west of Scotland, were still putting forward macro arguments. These were either against the USN presence on political grounds and/or against a nuclear missile presence on pacifist grounds, or that Scotland should not be exposed to nuclear radiation, or set up as a major Russian Target. The macro issues represented national debate in the nearer outspace, and international discussion in the wider outspace, which invaded the locality through the national press and the media of television, and publications and posters of the CND movement. However, the impact was not to immediately alter the "particularity" of life in the private round-of-life programme - this became possible as contact increased, and as the USN Polaris Base continued to anchor itself in Scottish culture. At first, questions of principle are normally raised in global terms. When "secondary surprises" create new impact at a more personal level, micro objections emerge when the spin-offs from the initial impact begin to make themselves felt in the locality.

The data of Appendix 2 . indicate, in general, how the macro issues discussed began to taper off at the spin-off stage, and micro issues began to take up people's attention.

Throughout the summer '61 the Dunoon Sheriff Court had been dealing with demonstrators; both the press, and public, were taken up with the trials. The attention of the public was diverted for a time from the US Base. A local resident from the Burgh in support of the USN establishment was quoted in the Glasgow Observer as saying: "One has only to see the beatnicks in the anti-Polaris demonstrations to realise that the quality of the opposition is not very high" 42

The interest in the "outscape" was still evident, but letters on the macro aspects of the Base and politics associated with it, that autumn, were less reactive, and were decreasing. The settlements of the eastern shore were still critical, but there were those who saw the point in having a deterrent policy.

The USN personnel had been quick to create social contact with the local influentials. The Captain had addressed the Dunoon Rotary Club on the question of Polaris just over a month after arrival. Within the year, in September 1961, the Commander had gifted a trophy for the Cowal Holy Loch Sailing Club; ever after the Polaris Regatta was to be a Clyde feature. However, as we shall see, when considering the misbehaviour of the sailors ashore, their personnel were beginning to drift into the Sheriff Court as well as the demonstrators. Focus, of course, was upon the demonstrators at first, because they came in hundreds to obstruct access to the USN pier.

There were three micro issues raised in the letters which more or less covered the main areas of concern locally: the noise of the vessel, especially at night; the unrest caused by the marchers; and the misbehaviour of the USN personnel which was giving the Burgh in particular a bad name (See Appendix 2, 3: Table 2). "Secondary surprises" were associated with these to a large degree. No one had suspected that the depot ship in reality would be a floating factory. On the ship, even the dropped spanner on deck echoed in the narrow fiordlike loch when there was no wind. Voices over the tannoy, and the

sound of the motors of the small Liberty boats taking men back after being ashore, all added to the noise which kept so many awake around the lochside; and, as we shall see later, continues to this day. The noise levels of the ship were to become of greater importance than the radiation levels of waters in the Loch. In addition, the men returned to the ship for midnight (in the USN fleets this goes by the name of "Cinderella Liberty") or even later. For the locals, who were accustomed to retire earlier than most urbanites, the unrest caused by the motors, and the voices, was most disturbing, and as we shall see from the 5% sample interviews, troubled many over the years, causing some local residents to move out.

Ashore, disturbances had forced the Captain by September to introduce a curfew. The local press of September 9th reported: "With some exceptions - married men whose wives are resident in the district and ratings on special duties - sailors on the American ship Proteus are now under an 11 o'clock curfew, imposed by their Commander Laning. The curfew follows several incidents in town in recent weeks". 43

That autumn, the Costa Clyde reeled under the impact of hurricane Debbie; the district was to reel under new shock as the incomers began to make more inroads into the texture of life in the locality. "Secondary surprises" come one upon the other, and are usually connected one with the other. One thing sets another thing going. For example, the ecological change creates a political reaction, as does the economic change, and the economic change also creates cultural strains, either on those who are the new rich, or on those who are the old rich. Status roles established by ascription over time in a tightly knit network of relationships, or in the local "power - scape", now become threatened, and may even fall apart.

Before proceeding with the direction of change in the locality under the USN impact, it will be necessary to take stock of the complex nature of the new situation in the context of the relevant "scapes".

The USN invasion was making inroads into the economy, and upsetting the local politics at Town Council level, as it had Westminster politics, as we have already seen, but the local culture was quite another matter. The "historical- scape" was such that the district had behind it a routine way of life and a character wholly Scottish and essentially presbyterian. That the people were tolerant and outgoing, with pride in their hospitality had also been shown, and what they had to offer was a Scottish welcome and the culture of a centre associated with satisfying the wants of sightseers and travellers, as they made contact each season with a cosmopolitan world of strangers, either passing through, or staying for a few weeks or days. They returned, however, when the season was over, into the ways of life of a Cowal semi-rural environment.

That which may be absorbed may cause stress, because it is new, and may overload stimulation, but that which cannot be absorbed because it is seen as a threat, or contrary to the local "mores", creates more overt stress, and more collective opposition to the incomers. This was the case with regard to a series of local shock experiences, which we may still regard as "secondary surprises", because they were spin-offs from the American invasion, after the "initial surprise" of the USN advent, and before the lapse of time had created any routinisation or institutionalisation of the USN presence. To review these "secondary surprises" we will return to the letters written to the Dunoon Observer.

The letters began to complain about the "mores" of the USN crews - they were "misbehaving" in public with local girls, causing local scandal. A Dunoon man went so far as to criticise the sailors in the Glasgow Evening Times in January 1962: "Since the arrival of the American Sailors at Dunoon it is only out of politeness that the community has suffered in silence the embarrassment caused by some American sailors keeping their secret passion anything but secret. Any Scottish girl and boy behaving as these sailors do would be

thrown out of railway stations and other public places by the scruff of their necks". Another Dunoonite observed: "We in Dunoon don't like it, the summer visitors don't like it, and Dunoon with no major industry of any kind depends entirely upon the summer visitors for their livelihood".⁴⁴ In February a local American dependent hit back at the criticism of the USN personnel: "It is a bit disgusting that these 'nice' girls don't have more respect for themselves, their parents and their country"⁴⁵.

At this stage, it will be worthwhile taking note that the illegitimacy rate for 1962 for Dunoon Burgh jumped from 6.3% of births in 1961 to 15.3% (cited locally in Dec. '63: see chronicle presented in Appendix 2). The illegitimates in Dunoon went from 6 in 1961 to 24 in 1962. It was the second highest rate in Scotland of all counties, . Cities, large and small burghs, and landward areas.

To return to the micro issues of the second grouping of letters, one notes that "secondary surprises" continued to crop up especially in April 1962. The macro issues concerning the legitimacy of the Base had lessened, but micro issues about the dating habits of the USN took up more local attention. Surprise was registered that the USN personnel were dating girls who were under 16 years of age. Indeed, the Sunday Mail of 1st April 1962, in banner headlines stated: "Don't Date our Girls Call to Proteus"⁴⁶. The article reported that a deputation would approach the Captain, composed of local magistrates, which would state: "Stop your men from dating schoolgirls under the age of 16". The ship's spokesman replied to the local protest: "Our men are expected to behave like gentlemen, but whom they date is a matter of personal preference"⁴⁷. An irate father had complained about the sailor who would court a schoolgirl under 16 as someone beyond control, stating: "anything the Captain would say to this

type of man would be as ineffective as singing hymns to a tiger"⁴⁸.

By May, the USN personnel were fairly bewildered by the reaction they apparently had caused. Especially when they read the letter of a local: "Disgruntled Americans would do well to remember that Scottish upbringing and education differs substantially from their own and that such a document as the Kinsey Report is unlikely to make us feel that their methods produce results we would like to see in this country"⁴⁹

"Surprise" is welcome or unwelcome; the criticisms against the USN were certainly good news for the angry local residents who had seen their protests ignored. But, something more serious than the dating habits of the USN personnel was raised. A young girl wrote in the issue of 16th June stating that "there are brothels in Dunoon"⁵⁰. The letter was largely ignored. Perhaps it was regarded as incredible - certainly no one took up the allegation. It was to be the harbinger of a big local shock a year later.

At this stage the Cuban crisis had blown up, and the American image had received a Western face-lift. In addition, the USN personnel had been involved in local charities and became sponsors of projects for the aged and the children's home at Dunclutha. Their local image was improving and photographs of their welfare activities improved their standing

By 12th December 1962 all hope of those local residents who refused to accept Polaris in their locality was destroyed. By 177 votes to 34 the House of Commons had blocked a proposed bill to terminate the agreement with the US government for the siting of the Polaris Submarine Base. The local press of 15th. December almost sadly reported the deal that had made the Polaris a fixture on the Loch: "It had become known this week that there were secret understandings in the agreement by which the Americans had been given Holy Loch as a Base ... Britain was going to be offered a submarine equipped with Polaris missiles"

104
What of macro issues? They had ceased to be a major local topic especially after 1963.

Of the letters containing macro references associated with the Base after March 2nd. '63 there were 22 letters (see Appendix 2.2. Table 3). All but one of these came from the pens of just four local residents .

The persons consisted of Mrs. Robertson at Sandbank, an ex-councillor at Dunoon, a CND member living by the waters of Loch Striven, and an inland resident, a man known locally for his anti-American viewpoint. The four persons resided in four diverse areas: Mrs. Robertson by the Lochside, the ex-councillor in the Burgh, the CND member at the other end of the district, and the rural resident in the midst of homesteads away from the shores. They were not exactly spokesmen for these areas, but being located where they were, their words would have had some added interest to their neighbours and others close by, perhaps keeping comment alive for approval or disapproval of the USN Base in their area.

They most probably helped to focus attention upon the macro issues, when for so many the issue of the USN presence, politically, seemed dead. The waning number of letters on the subject may also indicate this.

The letters of the four individuals cited, reflected to some extent, the views of four types of people in the area. Mrs. Robertson is a true native of the shores around Holy Loch. Her family was known from the earliest days of the new Clyde watering places of the last century for yacht building; the Robertson's yards still produce seacraft. Sandbankers may not share her moral standpoint with regard to nuclear disarmament, but her repeated complaints about the growing confrontation between Russian and the USA were noted by the many who now had sleepless nights because of the noisy vessels in the Loch, and could not see the point of the Base on Holy Loch.

The ex-councillor, who has died since the research was begun, had been provost twice, had considerable business expertise, and a

large local following within the Burgh and also within Innellan where he had been a councillor. His views concerning the validity of the Base, given the Russian threat, represented the majority-view concerning its legitimacy. He was a close friend of more than one Commander. His business acumen and enthusiasm for local prosperity prompted him to look upon the pecuniary assets of having the Americans in the locality. The exchange of dollars into £200,000 each month aboard the depot ship indicates, no matter what a conservative sum one puts to the expenditure locally, that the money has been a shot in the arm for the local landlords and some shopkeepers⁵¹, and the ex-councillors' followers knew it.

On the other hand, the views of the CND member are those of a popular professional educator, who came into the area after the establishment of the Base, and reflected the opinions probably of some graduates and quiet professionals who would never dare write to the press, either because of local professional status, or because they could not see the need to. The pacifism of the CND member and the close link he has maintained throughout his stay in the locality with the chairman of the Scottish CND at Glasgow kept the bigger issues of the Base before the local public. Neither he, nor Mrs. Robertson, ever indulged in criticism of the USN personnel, nor cited their misbehaviour ashore. The fourth person within his rural setting did not do so either, although at times he indulged in strong emotive language, with reference to American imperialism. But we must return to the pattern of events as reflected in the letters with regard to the microcosm.

After a locality reels under the initial impact and the spin-off, familiarization sets in when new routines are adopted, or older ones modified. Particularity takes on a new dimension, as the new is established within the "local-scape". But, then comes a period of "tertiary surprises".

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80p PER HEAD

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Polaris Submarines and Dry Dock

LOCAL SIGHT-SEEING TRIPS TO ADJOINING
LOCHS FOR PARTIES.

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Printed by E. & R. Inglis, John Street, Dumoon.

(1975 POSTER - TRIPS TO SHIPS OF USN BASE BEGAN IN JULY '83)



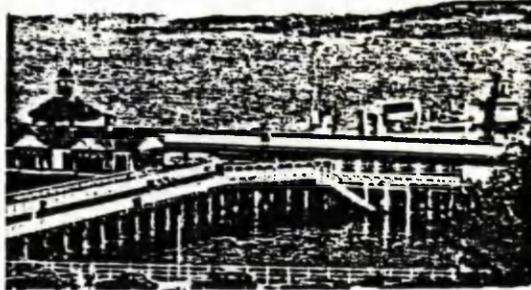
ILLUSTRATION 1

POST CARD : Places and pastimes of interest to holiday-makers and tourists in the FIRTH OF CLYDE (printer not given : registered PT36163).

DENNIS PRODUCTIONS, SCARBOROUGH

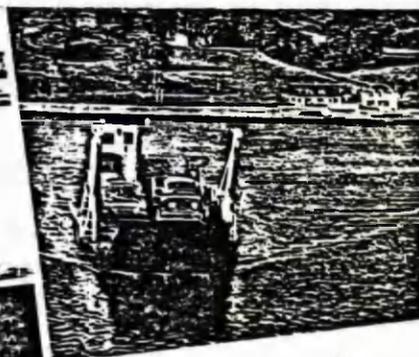


DUNOON



Holy Loch with Polaroid Depot Ship and Submarine

D.0835



GREETINGS FROM
DUNOON



The locality was drifting into a new routine, when the second ship the US Hunley arrived on 9th January 1963, the Holy Loch was being associated with Polaris. There had been television and radio reports, national coverage in the press, and the vessels had even become part of the local sight-seeing trips for motor boats and motors (see the advertisement, unchanged since 1963 - ADVERT I). A major part of the Dunoon Burgh population, in any case, had hospitably received the USN personnel, and already the number of weddings with local girls grew apace. The retiring Registrar told me in April '75 that at least half of the annual weddings of local girls over the years since 1963 were with USN personnel. Local families were beginning to claim marital links with the incomers. I will review this situation in a later chapter.

It would appear that by March 1963, the Base was part of the Firth, and a local focal point, but did that mean that a certain acceptance, even amongst the anti-Polaris citizens, had come about? The Base was later to appear upon post cards as a local attraction (see post card illustration 2). But there was one old holiday post card giving the old pre-regionalization boundaries and certainly pre-Polaris, Faßlane, which appeared round about the time of which we are speaking. This post card (see post card illustration 1) gives us clues as to the incorporation of the Base into the holiday landscape around this time. Many spots associated with sight-seeing are shown including shipbuilding on the upper reaches of the Clyde and Polaris. Either one accepts that the card sees the US Base as a tourist spot, or as part of the topography like the ship yards of Clydeside. Either way, the Base appeared to be a West of Scotland feature.

Appendix 2, presents the data and sentiments over the period of "tertiary surprises". (See also graph 2 for the 'rise and fall' of the letters in the period). The letters expressed more support in the Burgh for the USN presence than was expressed in letters from around the Holy Loch. "Outscape" interest was less in evidence, (12.6 % of the USN related letters in the period)

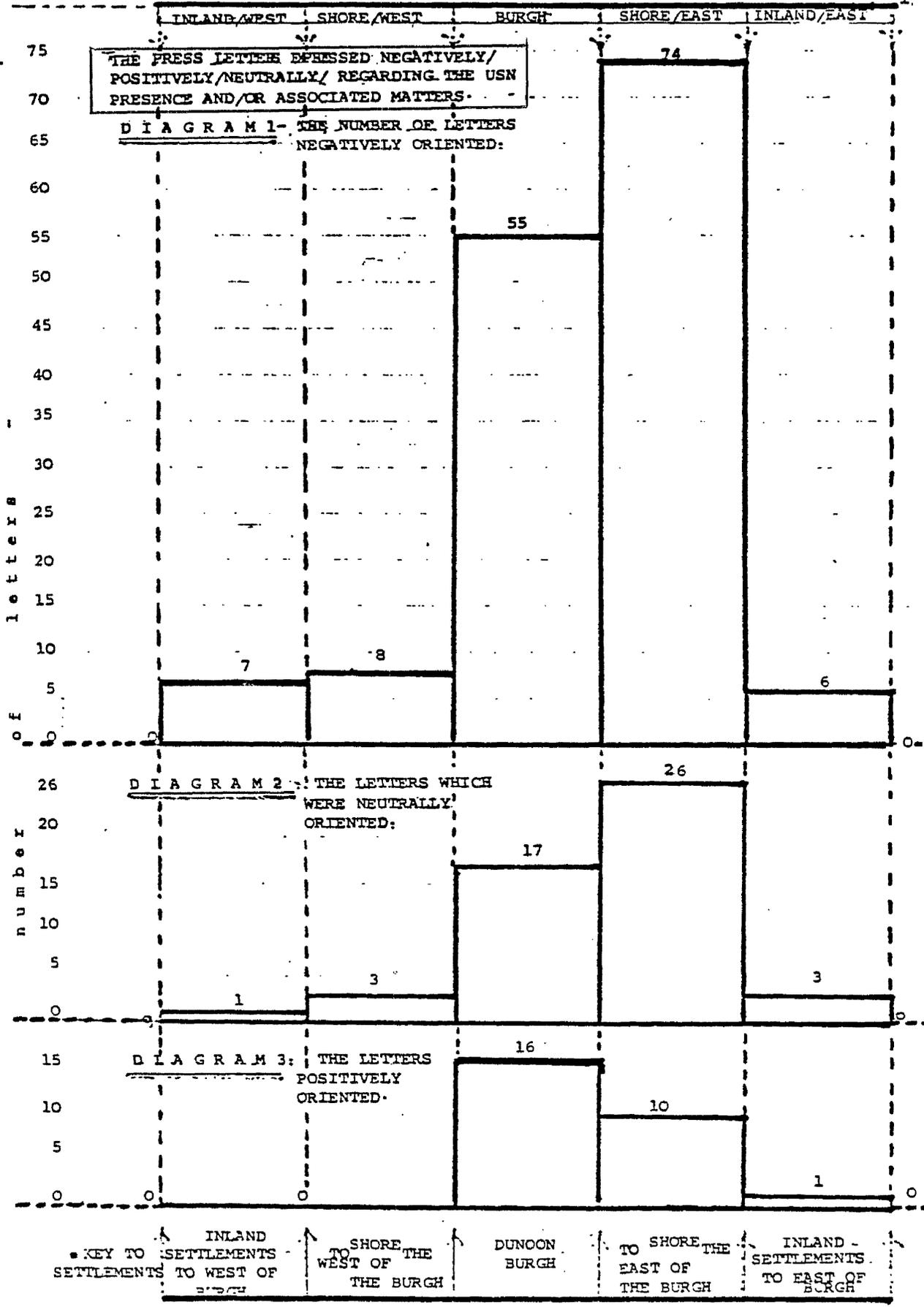
In March 1963, the YMCA was opened locally for the USN personnel, and around the same time the local casino was opened. The advertisement for the latter ran as follows: "Opening shortly, Dunoon's exclusive casino THE MONACO CLUB: 'roulette,' 'chemin de fer. Limited membership".⁵² The versatility of the local businessmen was still evident, but there were those who now began to feel uneasy about business in town and tourism in general, who had at first welcomed the money the USN base would bring. Which takes us back to the letters, and to the question of "surprise".

If we return to the diagrammatic presentation of SURPRISE AND OUTCOME in Chapter 2, we note that it was proposed that "tertiary surprise" follows in a situation where there has been a routinisation process after the initial impact and the spin-offs. At the stage of "secondary surprise" the changes locally did not necessarily bring about modification in people's lives, as certain theorists would have us believe, a point that will have relevance for the consideration of "tertiary surprise", as we shall see. Some will remain within the "inscape of yesterday", living as if the change had never taken place. In the case of the locality, the vessels are out of sight for most people, and, as shall be later demonstrated, from the 6% random sample interview, many have no contact whatsoever with the USN personnel, and do not even see them, still less notice them. By way of illustrating "escape into yesterday", there were, for example, 2 old ladies who told me in 1975 that they loved Dunoon, especially the West Bay, "where there are many rowing boats and motor boats and holiday-makers packing the shores; when I visited the Bay, I saw one lone child picking stones ("chuckies"), and only two boats, in mid-August! An aged population will live in "that yesterday", and items that still remain upon the human

landscape surviving from the past may evoke the atmosphere of another age. Marcel Proust in Le Temps Retrouve has dealt with this precise point.⁵³ The systemic approach takes little cognisance of the human elements, and the psychosocial dynamics of such a situation. When the stage of "tertiary surprise" is reached there will have been various reactions, or non-reactions, to the outcome of the new presence in the locality, but one feature will be apparent - there will come a stage where a certain routine is established in the round of life. In that routinisation process some will have modified their perspectives on life locally, and even made adaptation in their behaviour that has been the outcome of the new situation, and of the spin-offs, but others will not. People do carry on sometimes, as before, as we shall see later.

Graph 2 (p. 173) indicates in general the rise and fall of surprise. These we will deal with when considering the effects upon the area. Enough has been said to illustrate the source and mode of changes/surprise caused by the military invasion; the details of the events and the effects following upon routinisation will be dealt with in the next section.

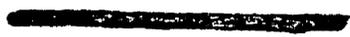
The USN debate, and the aggravations the USN presence caused, did not constitute all the pressures affecting people's way of life locally over the years. I was also very aware that other matters were of concern. After all, local civilian letters concerning the USN presence, one way or another, were proportionately 10.1 % of the total 2,270 letters sent over the 15 years or so. The 230 letters from local residents were approx. one in ten. The proportion of these local letters which were critical of the USN Base and/or the personnel was, however, 66.5 % (153 letters). Add to this, the fact that the letters continued to come, especially regarding micro-issues, at fairly regular intervals, with the exception of spells in 1967, 1969, 1972, and 1974 (the year of the General Elections).



Macro issues established in the "outscape", and divulged in the press dominated at first. The Westminster debate of M.P.s swamped the local discussions. But in general it was the area around the loch that was to react most, once the national debate subsided.

Taking into account the tables and the data of Appendix 2, one is able to appreciate the concern over the years, as expressed in the letters to the editor, and note how the local residents to the North East wrote more about the aggravation caused by the USN Base, or disfavouredly of matters which they associated with the Base. There was, however, some measure of support for the USN personnel, or matters related to the Base. The letters which contained neutral comments in both the Burgh and the East settlements, constituted 22.2 % of the 193 letters written within the Burgh and the North Eastern settlements concerning the USN presence. Taking the data of the Tables (DIAGRAMS 1 - 3 present a cross-sectional view of the quality of letters as sent from the locality), one notices that although the population of the settlements to the North East of the Burgh was well below a third of the Burgh population, there were more letters which registered disapproval or complaints "furth" of the Burgh around, or near the Holy Loch. The South West shore, running out to Toward, was less adversely affected by the USN presence, which we will take up later.

But there was more happening in the locality as will be shown, with another invasion from outside, and with the debate over Strathclyde and the annexation of Cowal with the Glasgow administration.



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43. "Ibid", September 9th, 1961, see NEMESIS OVERTAKES THEM.
44. See Dunoon Observer, January 20th 1962 for reference the EVENING TIMES.
45. "Ibid", January 27th 1962.

46. See Dunoon Observer of April 7th, 1962.
 47. "Ibid".
 48. "Ibid", April 14th, 1962.
 49. "Ibid", May 5th, 1962.
 50. "Ibid", June 16th, 1962.
 51. The sum was confirmed by USN personnel and Community Relations Adviser of US Naval Activities at Sandbank in 1975 and by officers at a luncheon aboard Canopus when I brought up the subject of how much money was spent ashore.
 52. "Ibid", March 2nd, 1963.
 53. See UN AMOUR DE SWANN and DU COTE DE CHEZ SWANN.
-

THE INDUSTRIAL INTRUSION

"The term 'development' has always implied a process of economic and social change for the better. Few analysts have stopped to ask themselves if these changes could be for the worse, or if changes could be better for some sectors of society and worse for other sectors."

D.L. Johnson (1972) ¹

The conjuncture of events between 1960 and 1976 which intruded exogenously upon Dunoon District not only involved a military invasion but an industrial intrusion. During the period of tertiary surprise when the USN made inroads into the local scene, oil had become the macro-issue throughout the UK, and indeed throughout the transnational scapes. In the outscape there was the economic crisis of early seventies with the bid for North Sea oil in a rush for sources of energy. Oil dominated both press and government debate. Just as the macro-militarization process in the outscape had dominated the polemic of the day in the "anti-neuk" days of the sixties, so did the quest for oil in the seventies. There were socio-economic reverberations along remote shores and in peripheral areas of Scotland as on-shore activities were developed to back off-shore oil exploration. Dunoon District was caught up in this swell of change which swept in from the outscape threatening to alter the scape of life yet more in the locality.

The small town in mass society is ever open to alien intrusions. Vidich A.J. and Bensman, J. (1958), when studying Springdale as a small town in mass society, were able to analyse events in the wider context. ²

They described their study as "an attempt to explore the foundations of social life in a community which lacks the power to control the institutions that regulate and determine its existence It is in this sense that the community is viewed as a stage on which major issues and problems typical of the society are played out".³

The Scottish "economic-scape" in which the locality is set could be described in Cockroft's (1972) terms as that "socio-sphere" in which all or most of the means of production and distribution are privately owned and operated for profit, where there is the accumulation of capital and the progressive reinvestment of capital, with a corresponding development of labour control, salaried classes and regularly paid functionaries, all of whom inter-relate within a relatively open, competitive market economy".⁴

The market is dominated by powers in the nearer and wider "outscape" within a world where there is an increasing polarisation of economic centres into metropolises and satellites. Most of what happens in the outscape is out of range of locals in peripheries. Lippman, W. (1922) distinguishes between the "seen" and "unseen" world in which life is enacted.⁵ The machinations within the "outscares" are usually "unseen" from the locality in the periphery of human power. To anticipate events "out there" and be prepared is often impossible.

Life locally is not purely determined by the immediate, the felt and the seen, but also by the remote controls in the "unseen" corridors of power, because the immediate "scape" is itself encapsulated within the pervasive macrocosm. It will be clear, once substantiation is made, that localities can do little to reverse the decisions which bind them within "scapes". Such decisions create consequences in the local-scape.

Arensberg, C.M. & Kimball, S.T. (1967-68) write: "Urbanisation, industrialisation and bureaucratisation should be viewed as consequences, not as process".⁶

These encroaching phenomena have impinged on the local scene which is affected by the metropolis.

The Scottish economy has come more and more under the influence of London in the 'outscape' and of the American macrometropolises in the wider "outscape". Scott, J.P. & Hughes, M.D. (1973, 1974) have demonstrated, with Johnson, T. et al. (1971) that financially and industrially Scotland is controlled by the outside economies of England and America.⁷ Table 1 demonstrates the extent of the satellite state of the Scottish industrial scene:

Table 1: FOREIGN OWNERSHIP IN SCOTTISH MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY (1966)

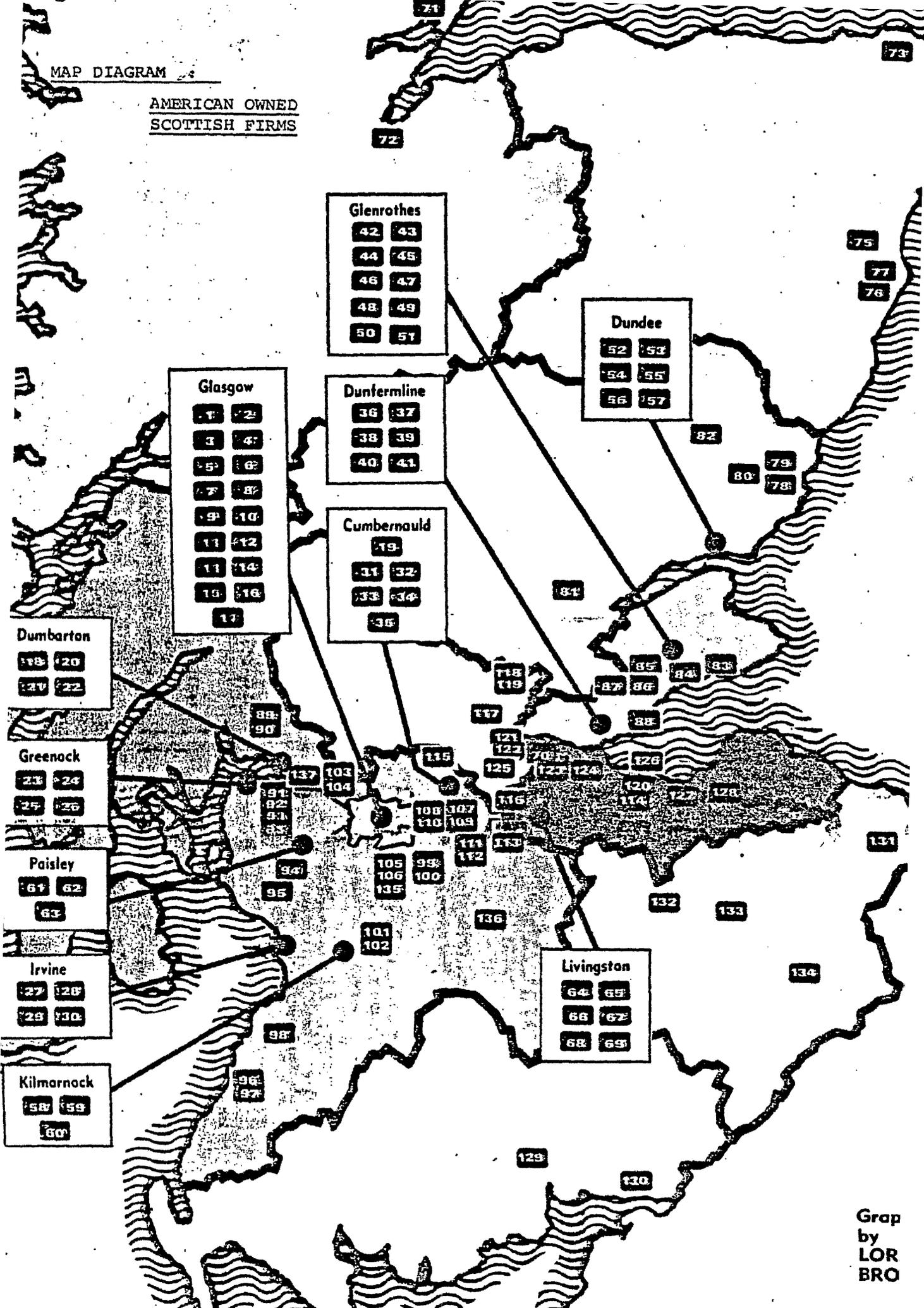
SOURCE	No of firms	Turnover £m	Investment £m	Employment (,000's)
North America	85	247	162	61
England	140	219	119	38
Europe	3	7	7	3
TOTALS	228	473	288	102

SOURCE: The Structure & Growth of the Scottish Economy - Johnson et al (1971)

The impression that Scotland has become a pawn, a plaything, and a plundered economy, has grown over the years, and in part explains the emergence of the SNP. One simply has to look at Map Diagram 3, which is taken from the Scottish Daily Record (1976) (the most popular newspaper with the biggest daily circulation and very much the ordinary man's paper) to see how widespread has become the impression that Scots do not control their economy, which soon creates the feeling that neither do they control their destinies, nor their affairs. The newspaper bore the headline "The United States of Scotland" and the journalist made the following points on the front page: "Just over 40 years ago, almost every Scot worked for a Scottish firm. Today only one in five Scots work for a Scottish owned firm. More than 100,000 work for American companies. One in every three Scottish engineers is

MAP DIAGRAM

AMERICAN OWNED
SCOTTISH FIRMS



Map
by
LOR
BRO

NAME	LOCATION	PRODUCTS	W/FORCE
1. AIR PRODUCTS	Glasgow	Industrial Gas	51-100
2 ALUMINIUM FOILS	Glasgow	Aluminium Foil	301-400
3 CATERPILLAR	Glasgow	Tractors	2001-3000
4 CHEMTRON	Glasgow	Steel Fittings	101-200
5 D-MAC	Glasgow	Electrical Equipment	51-100
6 DASA INTERNATIONAL	Glasgow	Phone Equipment	11-50
7 DEVRO	Glasgow	Sausage Casings	301-400
8 GOODYEAR TYRES	Glasgow	Tyres	751-1000
9 HARSHAW CHEMICALS	Glasgow	General Chemicals	101-200
10 HOOVER	Glasgow	Domestic Products	5000 +
11 ITT CONTROLS	Glasgow	Thermostats, Valves	101-200
12 WALTER KIDDIE	Glasgow	Fire Protection Equipment	11-50
13 PERSONNA	Glasgow	Razor Blades	401-500
14 PHILLIPS DRILL	Glasgow	Drills	51-100
15 PROCTOR DALGLISH	Glasgow	Eng. Machinery	201-300
16 STRATOFLEX	Glasgow	Flexible Hose	51-100
17 UNIVERSAL CONTAINER	Glasgow	Whisky Casks	101-200
18 BURROUGHS MACHINES	Dumbarton	Adding, Cash Machines	3001-4000
19 SCOTTISH MANUFACTURING	Cumbernauld	Computers	3001-4000
20 DIAMOND POWER	Dumbarton	Boiler Equipment	301-400
21 GENERAL TIME	Dumbarton	Clocks, Watches	751-1000
22 POLAROID	Dumbarton	Photo Products	301-400
23 IBM	Greenock	Computers	1001-2000
24 JOY MANUFACTURING	Greenock	Mining	301-400
25 H D LEE	Greenock	Denim, Corduroy	101-200
26 NATIONAL SEMI-CONDUCTOR	Greenock	Electrical Equip.	301-400
27 FLOW LABS	Irvine	Tissues, Cultures	11-50
28 HYSTER	Irvine	Handling Equip.	751-1000
29 KEX INDUSTRIAL	Irvine	Sponge, Scourers	51-100
30 WILSON SPORTING	Irvine	Golf Goods	201-300
31 AVERY LABEL SYSTEMS	Cumbernauld	Adhesive Labels	101-200
32 BURROUGHS MACHINES	Cumbernauld	Calculators	(see 18)
33 FISHBURN INKS	Cumbernauld	Printing Inks	11-50
34 THE PAGAN	Cumbernauld	Bras, Foundations	501-750
35 ACF (GB)	Cumbernauld	Pumps, Valves	51-100
36 BURNS (TRIMPOT)	Dunfermline	Electrical Equip.	201-300
37 W L GORE ASSOCIATES	Dunfermline	Micro Wire	11-50
38 HILLENDE ENVIRON.	Dunfermline	Car Components	1-10
39 OCLI OPTICAL	Dunfermline	Infra-Red Filters	51-100
40 TRANE	Dunfermline	Electical Equip.	101-200
41 FMC CORP	Dunfermline	Industrial Plant	1-10
42 ALLART JEWELLERY	Glenrothes	Jewellery	51-100
43 BECKMAN INDUSTRIES	Glenrothes	Scientific Instruments	401-500
44 BECKMAN R.I.I.C	Glenrothes	Measuring Equip.	101-200
45 BRAND REX	Glenrothes	Electrical Equip.	51-100
46 BURROUGHS	Glenrothes	Computing Machines	(see 18)
47 CESSNA FLUID POWER	Glenrothes	Hydraulic Equip.	501-750
48 GENERAL INSTRUMENTS	Glenrothes	Micro Circuits	201-300
49 SANDUSKY	Glenrothes	Castings	101-200
50 TOKHEIM CORPORATION	Glenrothes	Petrol Pumps	11-50
51 HUGHES MICRO	Glenrothes	Micro Circuits	501-750
52 DAYCO RUBBER	Dundee	Rubber, Synthetics	301-400
53 HOLO-KROME	Dundee	Socket, Screws	201-300
54 LEVI STRAUSS	Dundee	Jeans	101-200

NAME	LOCATION	PRODUCTS	W/FORCE	
55	NCR MANUFACTURING	Dundee	Socket Screws	201-300
56	TIMEX	Dundee	Watches, Cameras	5000 +
57	VEEDOR ROOT	Dundee	Rev. Counters	401-500
58	GLENFIELD, KENNEDY	Kilmarnock	Engineering Machinery	1001-2000
59	MASSEY FERGUSON	Kilmarnock	Harvesters, Hitches	1001-2000
60	MONSANTO TEXTILES	Kilmarnock	Nylon Yarn	1001-2000
61	CPC (UNITED KINGDOM)	Paisley	Starch, Corn-flower	1001-2000
62	CHRYSLER	Paisley	Cars	5000 +
63	STIMUR	Paisley	Road Signs	101-200
64	CAMERON IRON	Livingston	Valves, Forgings	751-1000
65	EATON CORPORATION	Livingston	Yale Locks	201-300
66	PREMIX FIBRE-GLAS	Livingston	Resins, Plastics	11-50
67	RANCO MOTORS	Livingston	Electric Motors	101-200
68	SPERRY UNIVAC	Livingston	Punch Card Mach.	51-100
69	EUROLABELS	Livingston	Special Papers	51-100
70	BORG-WARNER CHEMS.	Grangemouth	Plastic Materials	301-400
71	BROWN-ROOT WIMPEY	Nigg	Oil Rigs/Pipes	751-1000
72	McDERMOTT	Inverness	Oil Rigs	751-1000
73	CONSOLIDATED PNEUMATIC	Fraserburgh	Machine Tools	1001-2000
74	CLEVELAND TWIST DRILL	Peterhead	Twist Drills	751-1000
75	WEATHERFORD OIL TOOL	Dyce	Oilfield Tools	1-10
76	STANDARD PAINT	Aberdeen	Paint	11-50
77	JOHN M HENDERSON	Aberdeen	Handling Equip.	201-300
78	GIDDINGS, LEWIS/FRASER	Arbroath	Textile Machin.	751-1000
79	GIDDINGS, LEWIS/FRASER	Arbroath	Electrical Equip.	(see 78)
80	HALIBURTON MANUF.	Arbroath	Industrial Plant	101-200
81	NATIONAL STANDARD	Perth	Aluminium Rods	51-100
82	THIokol CHEMICALS	Forfar	Tapes and Yarn	51-100
83	HENRY BALFOUR	Leven	Engineering Design	751-1000
84	TAYLOR-STILES	Methil	Textile Machinery	11-50
85	ACTIVON GLASS	Kinglassie	Glass	11-50
86	ANDREW ANTENNA SYSTEMS	Lochgelly	Aerial Systems	51-100
87	TAYLOR INSTRUMENTS	Lochgelly	Switchgear	101-200
88	BUTLER BUILDING (UK)	Kirkcaldy	Steel Buildings	101-200
89	BARTON DISTILLING	Alexandria	Distilling Equip.	101-200
90	BRITISH SILK DYEING	Alexandria	Dyeing	501-750
91	AMP OF GT. BRITAIN	Port Glasgow	Electrical Equip.	401-500
92	PLAYTEX	Port Glasgow	Bras, Girdles	1001-2000
93	SANGAMO WESTON	Port Glasgow	Meters	501-750
94	CHEMTEC	Beith	Petro-Chemical Plant	11-50
95	DOUGLAS FIREBRICK	Dalry	Firebricks	101-200
96	GORDOS CORPORATION	Girvan	Switchgear	51-100
97	HULL INTERNATIONAL	Girvan	Vacuum Machinery	11-50
98	INTERNATIONAL PACK	Maybole	Presentation Boxes	101-200
99	FABRI-TEK COMPUTER	Blantyre	Computers	101-200
100	SIMPLICITY PATTERNS	Blantyre	Patterns	501-750
101	FAMCO AUTO.LINK	Newmilns	Sausage Linking	11-50
102	VESUVIUS CRUCIBLE	Newmilns	Bricks	201-300
103	MARATHON	Clydebank	Oil Rigs	1001-2000
104	SINGERS	Clydebank	Sewing Machines	5000 +
105	MOTOROLA	E Kilbride	Car Radios	201-300
106	STANDARD TELEPHONE	E Kilbride	Phone Equipment	1001-2000
107	INVER HOUSE	Airdrie	Whiskey Blenders	501-750
108	MINE SAFETY	Coatbridge	Lamps	501-750
109	MOFFAT MALTING	Airdrie	Brewing	51-100

NAME	LOCATION	PRODUCTS	W/FORCE
110 W M MORRISON	Coatbridge	Paper, Wire Cloth	51-100
111 GEBERAL MOTORS	Motherwell	Heavy Vehicles	1001-2000
112 HONEYWELL	Motherwell	Computers	3001-4000
113 CUMMINS ENGINES	Shotts	Diesel Engines	1001-2000
114 DYNAMCO	Broxburn	Voltameters	101-200
115 GILBERT PLASTICS	Kilsyth	Table Lamps	11-50
116 LEVI STRAUSS	Whitburn	Jeans	401-500
117 H K PORTER	Stirling	Hose, Rubber	101-200
118 U G CLOSURES	Bridge of Allan	Metal Caps	751-1000
119 U G GLASS	Bridge of Allan	Bottles	1001-2000
120 UNIROYAL	Newbridge	Rubber Goods	3001-4000
121 BAKELITE XYLONITE	Grangemouth	Synthetic Fibres	301-400
122 BLUEBELL APPAREL	Falkirk	Work/Play Clothes	501-750
123 SIGNETICS	Linlithgow	Electrical Equip.	101-200
124 CONTINEX INTERNATIONAL	Bo'ness	Carbon Black	11-50
125 DANIEL INDUSTRIES	Larbert	Meter Systems	11-50
126 HEWLETT PACKARD	S Queens-Ferry	Electronic Products	751-1000
127 ETHICON	Edinburgh	Surgical Products	1001-2000
128 WEBER MARKING	Macmerry	Stationers	11-50
129 CARNATION FOODS	Dumfries	Evaporated Milk	201-300
130 DIVERSEY	Annan	Dairy Equip.	11-50
131 C H DEXTER DIVISION	Chirnside	Paper	101-200
132 FIDELTONE	Peebles	Record Stylus	101-200
133 SPRAGUE ELECTRIC	Galashiels	Electrical Equip.	101-200
134 L S STARRETT	Jedburgh	Precision Saws	301-400
135 SUNBEAM ELECTRIC	E Kilbride	Household Equip.	301-400
136 GRAY TOOL	Douglas	Oil Rig Drills	11-50
137 EXQUISITE FORM	Yoker	Bras, Girdles	301-400

is employed by an American firm... Only five American firms were here in 1939.... The big question many people now ask... 'Do we rely too much on decisions made on the other side of the Atlantic?'"⁸ The oil boom also served to increase the impression of outside interference. There were the American speculators and the investment of the dollar in Scottish oil resources, and also in their wake came European and other investors. In addition, the English press was clearly stressing that there was no such thing as "Scottish oil" - it was a United Kingdom resource. The SNP were now advertising "Oil for the Scots" in press advertisements and on roadside hoardings. In the midst of this was the nationwide concern, whether SNP, Tory, Socialist or other, that oil revenues would solve the British inflationary problem.

The promise of a solution to British inflation and its run-down economy, was uppermost in the UK, but the foreign involvement was so alarming that the International Management and Engineering Group of Great Britain (IMEG) said that Britain would only obtain between 25-30% of the oil ~~Market~~ unless the foreign competition was cut back by more UK offshore activities. By the time McAlpine had secured Ardyne for the building of concrete North Sea structures, Britain had missed out badly. The Department of Energy's Offshore Supplies Office (OSO) complained that the biggest cut of the returns would not be coming to Britain. The race for rig contracts had to be pushed. About the time that McAlpine had secured Ardyne in the rush for orders to oust the Norwegian rig builders, only £74m out of a total of £481m invested in service industries was from the UK.⁹ The Secretary of State for Scotland was anxious to back ventures so much, that by 1976 there were empty platform yards. They had been secured in almost a wild blind stampede for sites, and in the economic hysteria went rough-shod over locality and settlement.

The stress was upon the national good and the need to beat inflation. G. Salaman (1974) states that "the public interest is defined by the groups with the power to define it."¹⁰ It is the privilege of power to define its own interests as the common good. On balance, the locality came second to the national need, and so the people of the urban areas looked with impatience upon those who complained that the coastline or the lochs were ruined and the scenic beauty ravaged. Thus it was that the people 'on the other side' opposite Cowal, could hardly share in the protest of Toward Civic Trust. The Firth divided people because it divided interests.

The "allocative controllers" who are according to R.E. Pahl and J.T. Winkler (1974) those who have day-to-day control of capital,¹¹ were all in the outscapes. Aliens with money in mind, they hardly had the best interests of the localities at heart, or even that of the nation. The Scottish American Investment Trust and the American Trust Company were the major financiers of the Pict Petroleum exploration of oil in Scotland as also the Edward Bates Group, most of whose companies are registered in London. One third of the British investment trusts are traditionally committed to N. America.¹² The controlling holdings in the capital of investment companies are more often held by English Insurance Companies. Indeed, Scotland has been realistically described as an "Internal Colony"¹³. In the seventies the upsurge of the SNP movement made much of these factors and won a growing support for its stress on separation. Whatever the weaknesses of economic independence there was no doubt in the seventies that economic control from outside bewildered and angered the Scots.

Scott and Hughes speak of "financial elite" who operate from banks, insurance companies and investment trust companies which taken together constitute a power-scape. They state "the financial elite constitutes the core of Scotland's interum Bourgeoisie : its numbers are in effective control of local capital, but are tied by links of multiple dependency to English and American 'metropolitan capitol'. Such is the nature of Scotland's satellite economy. This is the macro economic-scape in which the Ardyne venture has to be set.

There were myths abroad in the seventies which clouded the reality. A.M. Barnett (1978), a former energy correspondent of the Glasgow Herald, shows how big business was successful in using the national press to present a picture to Scots of the Labour Government as a barrier to exploration. He stated at the time:- "During the period the constant quoted refrain from the North Sea operators is that they can only serve Britain's interests in getting the oil ashore if the government water down their taxation and nationalisation plans", and adds, "It is now a matter of record that the government did in fact dilute all the policies laid out in the July '74 White Paper". As McBarnet observed: "Big business was allowed a soft ride".¹⁵

The White Paper had been inspired by State participation in Commercial North Sea oil discoveries in an "oil-for-the-people" policy which played upon public concern over fuel shortage. Inflation was seen as principally due to oil prices fixed abroad, so that the argument of self-sufficiency in oil appeared to be the solution to inflation. The Government was scapegoated by financial elites. McBarnet shows that "news management" at the press office took place after information has already been pre-packaged by the oil companies, so that "the press investigates nothing".¹⁶ The press presented a picture of Britain's prosperity being put in jeopardy by irresponsible Labour ministers. It paid, as McBarnet, states, "Hints of little or no tax in the North Sea are just beginning to surface now", adding that "the oil companies hide behind commercial oil confidentiality and won't comment".¹⁷

The possibility of East Cowal being involved in the oil drive (the rush for black gold) came in September 1972 with a totally unexpected intimation in a

letter to the Editor reporting: "that the American firm which took over John Brown's shipyard in Clydebank have had a survey made of Ardyne Point opposite Rothesay Bay with a view to constructing a yard for the manufacture of oil rig legs..... A Dunoon Town Councillor has been quoted as welcoming the project..... I would ask authority to 'take tent' before this small county of ours is laid waste by wildcaters and speculators who care not what desolation they leave behind so long as they make a fast buck".

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In fact, McAlpine had already made preliminary plans for the area with a view to securing a site for the construction of concrete gravity structures for the North Sea oil complex. No one locally had been aware of the moves behind the scenes, they were taken up with rumour and local concern with regard to the matters mentioned above, and at that stage were not aware that McAlpine surveyors had been on the shore mapping out a possible site, and that confidential offers were made to local farmers by the company.

Sir Robert McAlpine & Sons Limited identified a 90 acre site at Ardyne for their project, early in 1972. The local press did not notify the public until November 1972, simply because of the secrecy surrounding the venture. Rumour of another interest in the area was allowed to be spread, whilst behind the local talk real plans were launched. On 4 November the local press stated: "Concrete rigs at Toward: Plans for the construction of reinforced concrete offshore platforms and submerged tanks, on a site at Ardyne Point, Toward, are in an advanced stage, announce civil engineering and building contractors, Sir Robert McAlpine & Sons Ltd. The work will be carried out to the designs of Sea Tank Company of Paris, France..... The choice of site follows months of investigations."

19

It follows that the County had been approached, that the whole scheme was carefully timed, whilst local residents were not only kept in the dark, but through rumour of American plans believed other schemes were afoot.

The initial impact created surprise, but somewhat low key. We shall see why.

Later, in the month of December, McAlpine discussed plans at a three day conference in the Excelsior Hotel, Glasgow Airport, in conjunction with Sea Tank Company.²⁰ The local report stated: "subject to planning approval McAlpine intend commencing production on the first concrete drilling platform at Ardyne Point, Toward, early in 1973, employing a peak workforce of 400 men in an area where unemployment is at a 'distressingly high level'".²¹ These last words must be kept in mind when discussing the actual outcome of events. Those plans with regard to the creation of the site were implemented by March 1973, when the Secretary of State for Scotland gave the go-ahead, without any local debate²² and gangs of workers had already been making preparations.

In the conjunction of events and impact from outscapes the cumulative effects had caused less apparent shock. Appendix 3 gives some idea of the local debate as from 1972, 16th September. The noise level, and the complaints over labour, one way or another, cropped up, but the percentage of letters between 16th September and the end of February, '76 mentioning Ardyne was as low as 3.5%, and those mentioning McAlpine - 2.5%. What about the surprises and effects locally? Were there in fact "initial surprises", "secondary surprises" and "tertiary surprises", when there appeared to be little indication of public concern in the letters to the local press.

Firstly, it can be seen from the calendar in Appendix 8 that almost no discussion about the platform site at Ardyne went on between November '72 and November '73. In March the County Council gave the "go-ahead" for the work.²³ Why was local debate less extensive and less intense?

There were a few distractions arising from certain conjunctures ;

1. From 1972 onwards the withdrawal of ferries on Firth routes and cut-backs on others disturbed the people, especially in the North East and South West of the locality;
2. After much uncertainty it was finally decided in Feb. '73 that Cowal was to be annexed administratively with "the other side" in the new Regionalization scheme;
3. There was the dramatic event in Oct. '73 of the naval Riot (to be dealt with under USN effects in the next section);
4. There were the two general elections in 1974.

All four became local issues of great concern.

It was against these that the clandestine low-profile bid of McAlpine's to secure the shore for the Ardyne venture has to be set. McBarnett (1974) observes in the Scottish Journal of Sociology Vol 3, No 1: "the fact is that every construction company which set up platform construction sites on the Scottish coast persistently breached specific planning conditions and undertakings". In addition, there was also a bid for an oil platform construction site at Ardentinny which we will discuss later, which diverted people's attention away from events at Ardyne.

Also, one must always bear in mind that the nation looked to oil as its hope for the future in the effort to redress the imbalance of payments. Here the electoral and nationwide emphasis upon the national need by the politicians, and the technocrat, backed by the mass media, made local objections against Ardyne more difficult to support. No Party committed itself with regard to Ardyne during the elections. If one looks at Table 1, Appendix 3 one notes that in the initial period only one macro-issue came up in the readers' letters to the editor of the Dunoon Observer. Any possibility of holding back the Ardyne venture was over when work began on the first big concrete gravity structure at Ardyne in January, 1974, when the Secretary of State for Scotland expressed particular pleasure over the commencement on the £25m. project at Ardyne.²⁴

The fact that Ardyne lay at the other end of the locality, that most people were resident in and around the Burgh, that the County Council had authority over the area around Toward, and not the Burgh Town Council, may in part explain the apparent ease with which the firm McAlpine achieved its ends. The prospect of big money for the local male population was another possible explanation, in an area where males had usually to leave the area and seek employment 'on the other side'. The money lure was to meet with problems, as shall be seen. The strange fact is that piles of steel were collected at the mouth of Ardyne Burn before Argyll County Council had given permission formally for the McAlpine proposals to be implemented.²⁵ Photographs of these large piles appeared in the local paper on 3rd November, 1973. At this particular time the town and locality were taken up with the USN riots that had taken place in October in the Burgh, so that proceedings and the influx of workers had hardly raised an eyebrow. It was not until 10th November that any sign of local concern appeared.

A letter, signed "Fugitive from Pollution" stated in the local newspaper, "Make no mistake the oil men and those who follow them are hammering at the door, and unless local people band together to repel the invaders we shall find ourselves in an industrial commune".²⁶ Shortly after, the Chairman of the Highlands & Islands Development Board stated: "Without change decay is what you get. The wish to keep things exactly as they are forever, and to preserve the 'status quo' that is the death wish".²⁷ The people of Toward and the area round Ardyne could hardly appreciate the argument: they wanted to preserve their area.

The local people had other things on their minds. The Town Council were meeting on Tuesday evenings to look at the changes that reorganisation would bring, at exactly the same time as the Toward people were beginning to organise their local protest over outside interference with their environment. But not against McAlpine. McAlpine's site was already

On 14th November 1973 a protest meeting at Toward Hall stated:
"This public meeting of 90 residents of Toward and surrounding district all with a common interest in the preservation of Toward area affirms its strong objections to any further industrial development at Ardyne Point and resolves that objection be lodged with the County Council of Argyll and the Secretary of State for Scotland against the proposed development by Peter Lynd and Co. Limited".²⁸ Yet another development was planned for the area. The second scheme took attention away from the McAlpine plans, which had gone through without opposition, due, apparently, to the preoccupation of local residents with the issue of Strathclyde, which appeared to be more immediately important to them. In any case, what could 90 residents do unless backed by others in the locality and from outside? The lure of work, and the oil scramble in the 'outscape' were hardly to come second to the protest of the locals. And, in any case, we have seen how plans were quickly backed by the Secretary of State in the name of the national interest. The implications of the McAlpine complex at Ardyne, however, were not made known to the public, and came in small intermittent 'gobbets' of information over the months preceding the scooping out of the basins offshore.

On 5th January, 1974, locals read in their newspaper that the first concrete platform was about to be built at Ardyne, weighing about 275,000 tons and standing 544 feet above the sea bed - the pillars would each be about the size of London's Post Office Tower. Neither the noise, nor the added socio-economic problems caused by the influx of workers, could be fully appreciated at Ardyne and Toward till the scheme was fully operational. But, would not the employment of local youths outweigh these?

In the beginning, many Cowal men welcomed the prospect of a peak labour force of 400. This had been mentioned by McAlpine. In January, McAlpine stated that they "will require more men than can be found in Cowal. The extra contingent will be ferried in, mainly from Bute".²⁹ The workforce from 'the other side' was not mentioned locally. The locals were beginning to appreciate the implications of the Ardyne project when considering the ecological changes taking place.

There had been no mention of the fact that earth from the sea basins would need to be piled up ashore, creating a totally new hill from the excavation. This man-made hill was to alter the 'scape' of life for the locals in an area where shore-land suitable for farming was scarce. The Toward Civic Trust, set up to defend the rights of local people, was also concerned with the effects upon the local tourist industry.

The Toward Civic Trust recorded: "Cowal enjoys the support and loyalty of a very large section of the English Midlands population. When these visitors see the towers, which are similar to, but much larger than the power station cooling towers which dominate the Midlands scene, then these same visitors will turn around and seek more pastoral surroundings, even if it means going back home".³⁰ The locals, however, were to be completely surprised by a turn of events which was totally unexpected, which, like the McAlpine initial plan, was to have been settled and sealed before they had time to turn their minds from one set of events and examine ongoing happenings locally.

The locals had been busy keeping Lind & Company out. McAlpine's interests were expected to have been finalised and fully declared, and the lease of land for McAlpine was known and its boundaries located. Locals were against Lind's plans because they declared that construction work should go so far and no further. Suddenly, when locals were preoccupied with the creation of Strathclyde, a new fait accompli arose - McAlpine had secured a lease for the whole area comprising lands that Lind had wished to take over. In other words, the frontier of shore industry had been extended beyond the limits assumed to have been acceptable to McAlpine. Big money had been offered in rental. Once the news was out, a local beneficiary of the incoming complex was reported to have declared, with regard to the spoiled shoreline: "Blow the scenery, I'd be mad to say no to the money they're offering". Clearly, in the midst of the fight against Lind, other schemers were able to secure their interests. Indeed, the paper reported "The news came as a surprise to Mr. Thomas Jaeger, Chairman of Peter Lind".³¹

More and more lorries were trundling along the road from Dunoon to Toward, and Glaswegian navvies spilled into the town of Dunoon and Innellan village. Advertisements for worker accommodation began to appear, such as: "Houses/Flats (for sale or rent) and Homely Lodgings for construction staff and workmen employed at Ardyne Point - all replies will be considered."³² A 'cosmopolitan' workforce was clearly coming into the area on a relatively big scale. For the first time in local history, the area was attracting a large, labouring class population whose task was industrial output.

Having extended the lease, McAlpine extended the project. This marked the period of secondary surprise. More were to follow.

McAlpine declared that jobs could number 1000 by the end of 1974.³³ It was stated in the local press, on 16 March, that objections to the extension of the Ardyne complex were to be sent to the Clerk of the Argyll County Council, Lochgilphead, by 29th March. People locally were talking about "the rape of Ardyne in the national interest".³⁴ Observations at this time in the area were reflected, to a large extent, in the press where locals complained that "three miles of unspoiled coastline from Port Lamont to Toward Quay would be under 'their' complete and ruthless control.....20-30 acres of valuable farmland would be despoiled.....fleets of mammoth lorries, trucks, transporters, excavators and juggernauts would be a danger to travellers and would damage the road....life as they had known it and the future as they had planned it would be ended for those whose homes lie on the very fringe of this malign scheme....with the Polaris Base in the Holy Loch, the NATO Base in Loch Striven and the two oil rig platforms under construction at Ardyne Point.....this small area has done for this country and for its allies more than any community of comparable size in the UK....Sir Robert McAlpine & Sons Limited have only one interest: self-interest. If your readers believe, as I do, that the wording of their application for planning permission was a deliberate attempt to mask intentions...they will be as angry as I am and they will write to the County Clerk."³⁵

The people were perplexed. Originally, McAlpine had obtained permission to build one basin; that was soon extended to three. A letter from a well-informed local, to the Secretary of State, set out the situation as follows:

"This venture was accepted by the people after being given assurances by Messrs McAlpine's lawyers and chief engineer that there would only be one basin or dock required for their purposes and that the amenities of the district would be preserved. This information they gave us when another group, Messrs Peter Lind & Company Ltd, applied for permission to work on similar lines adjacent to them. We were answered by McAlpine, this was totally .

unnecessary as the number of rigs required would possibly not exceed 10, and the period of use would be something in the region of 8-10 years. However, without notice McAlpine have leased or purchased quite a considerable amount of land and have proceeded without planning permission, to commence digging out a second dock, and are in process of continuing this venture to a possible third dock. You will no doubt be aware that during your last period of office...a court case showed that it could be possible to manipulate or bend planning regulations in Scotland, if the firm doing the work should be sufficiently large."³⁶

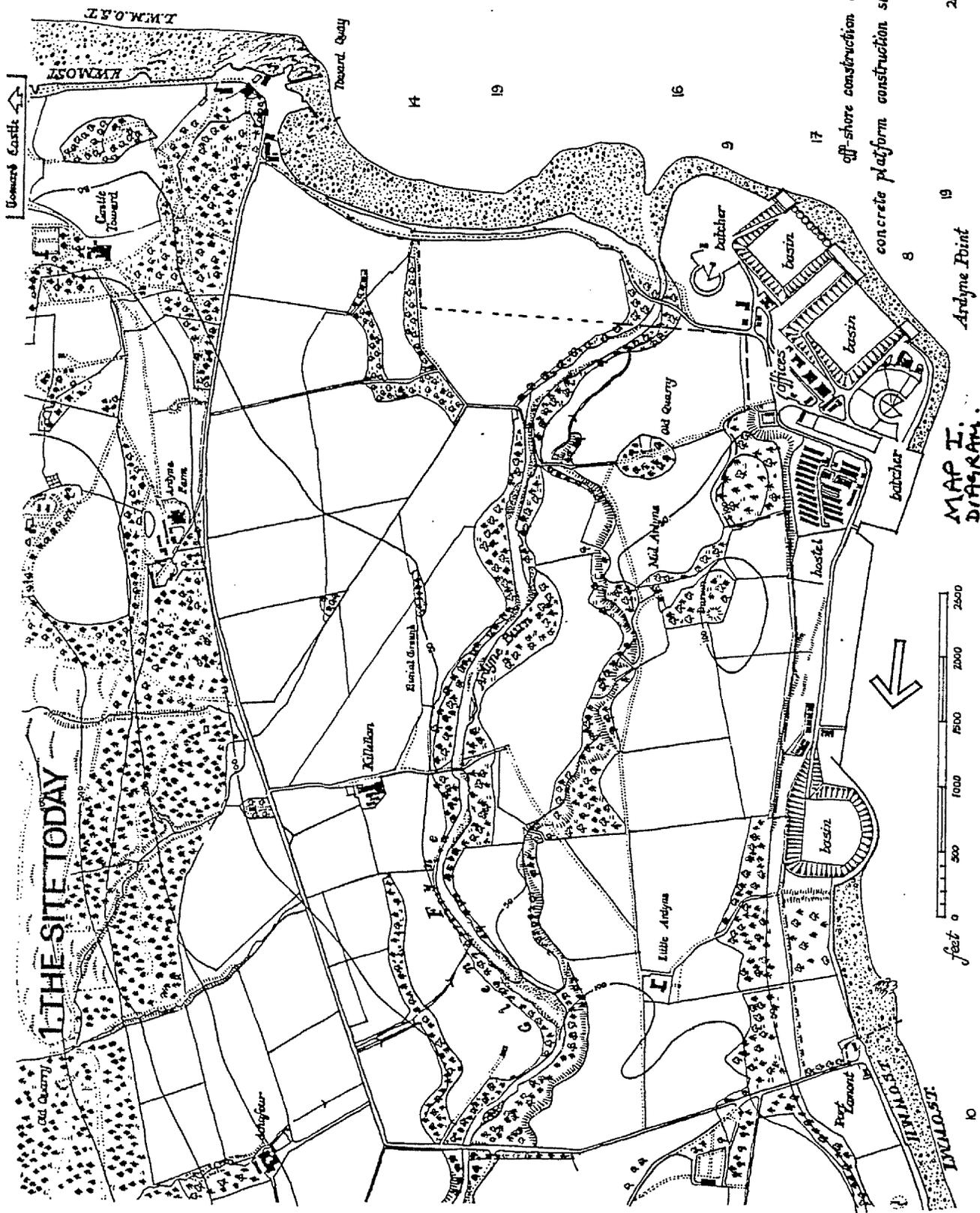
It was announced in the Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard of 6th April that the County was to appoint an Enforcement Officer for the Ardyne project, the report making the observation:

"The County Council has obviously realised that McAlpine has no intention of working within their planning consent."³⁷ The Clyde Estuary

Amenity Council, chaired by Professor Rankin, inspected the site at Ardyne to receive guarantees on the possible noise levels, transport by sea rather than by road, and the screening of the area, on 19 April.

The final layout of the complex is shown in Map Diagram I. On 28 April, Iain MacCormick, MP (SNP) officially visited the site and received the assurance of McAlpine personnel that the "Company would give priority to local labour, once the initial stages of the operation were over, and the construction of the oil platforms begun";³⁸ Words which were later to be cast up by irate locals against the MP.

Shortly after, people at the other end in Ardentiny received a letter through their letter boxes, containing notice of another possible construction site. The original notice from yet another Company shows how the exercise was conducted in cold print with the minimum of consideration or explanation for the people (see P.217) . The people living by the Loch told me at their homes, how, on receiving the notice, they immediately feared that their Bay would be destroyed and their homes pulled down. Fortunately for the people, there existed in Ardentiny a well-organised "Preservation Society" who mustered support throughout the locality (see circular I). In addition, a local farmer received plans



1. THE SITE TODAY

MAP I:
DIAGRAM.

feet 0 500 1000 1500 2000 2500



Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1972

(Notice for service on individuals)

Notice under Section 24 of application for planning permission.

(a) Insert address or location of proposed development

Proposed development at (a) Finart Bay, Loch Long,
Argyll.

TAKE NOTICE that application is being made to
ARGYLL COUNTY COUNCIL by (b) Balfour Beatty Construction
(Scotland) Ltd for an oil production platform complex.

(c) Insert description and address or location of proposed development

If you wish to make representations to the above-mentioned local planning authority about the application you should do so by writing within 21 days of the date of service of this notice to the County Clerk at:-

County Offices, Lochailphead

Signed *Smith Gore* (Smiths Gore)

Address 10 Melville Street

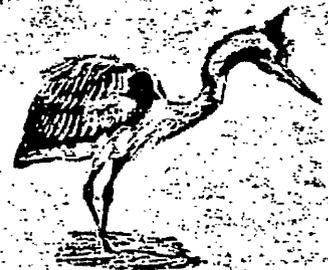
Edinburgh EH3 7PA

*On behalf of Balfour Beatty Construction (Scotland) Ltd

Date 21st May 1974

*Delete where inappropriate.

ARDENTINNY



PRESERVATION SOCIETY

Members of Committee : - Mrs.M.Murton. Secy.
Mrs.J.Sugden. Treas.
Dr.J.Thewlis.
Dr.J.Docherty.
Mr.Neil Craig.
Mr.B.Marshall.

OLD MANSE, ARDENTINNY, DUNOCH, ARGYLL PA23 6TR

18th May 1974.

PROPOSED PLANS FOR PERMISSION TO BUILD OIL RIG PLATFORMS
IN GLENFINART BAY

Urgent help is sought from you to assist us to fight this proposal

The plans submitted by Balfour Beattie & Co. to the Argyll County Council extend North from the Church, embrace the whole area seaward of the Main Road, through the Swedish and Council Houses and Caravan Park to the Point on the North Side of Sandy Beach - thus taking in all of Glenfinart Bay.

The obvious objections have been raised again and again regarding the two Oil Rigs already being established in Argyll.

Should this vicious destruction of our Countryside be so complete that no one particular place be left unspoilt !

It must be controlled at some point.

And now - in Ardentinnny - we feel that this point has been reached.

Some definite and positive stand must now be taken.

A Public Meeting will be held as soon as possible. In the meantime any reasonable objection must be added to ours - in writing to the Argyll County Council in Lochgilphead.

A recent quotation from Sir John Betjeman :-

The developers have already got far too much of our coastline.
Let us save what is left for the good of our souls.

JACK MOSER.
Chairman.

CIRCULAR I.

from another construction firm for building oil drilling rigs in the area. It must be remembered, in the scramble for sites, that the County Council was about to pass away forever with the introduction of the new Argyll and Bute Council, whose members were already chosen, and the administration was unsteady whilst under national pressure for oil inputs.

A letter of complaint in the local press despaired: "It seems incredible to me that a whole village and community can be destroyed, just as if people were of no consequence."³⁹ The Cowal Action Group was formed, which was also backed by the local M.P. In fact, the Ardentinny projects fell through, but the withdrawals were not solely explained by the local "SaveArdentinny" rallying-cry. The Colport British Navy presence opposite Ardentinny was too near for security's sake - missiles stored in the caverns, and off-shore weapon trials on the loch had greater priority than the scheme.

Back at the other end of the locality, where McAlpine was firmly established, local protest was mounting, encouraged by the apparent success at Ardentinny, and the protest was taken up in the Burgh.

Certainly, within five months, there was more local unrest over Ardyne. Locals wanted work, but only Labourers from "the other side" and from south of the border, even abroad, were securing jobs at Ardyne, but there appeared to be little for the locals. The (SNP) M.P. secured "a pledge" on a visit to Ardyne "that the company would give priority to local labour, once the initial stages of the operation were over".⁴⁰ He was later to revert his petition, as noted already, because the local employers were losing their employees. When I first settled into the area, I was told that buses had had to be taken off the road because there were not enough drivers - many were driving the lorries at Ardyne.

The third basin at Ardyne was given the go-ahead in August '74 by the Secretary of State, who could over-rule the findings of public enquiries, which made the whole exercise of the local protest movement futile. The Ardentinnny success had given the locals at Toward new heart, but there were other reasons for the decisions taken at Ardentinnny in favour of the local protesters, as we have seen.

Local hotels and guest houses were said to have been sold to McAlpine to provide accommodation for the employees. Rumours, ill-founded and preposterous, were inevitable. Competition with the demands of the USN personnel and the summer visitors necessitated purchase where otherwise rental would have been possible. The offer of a high price won the day in several instances. The USN could not purchase property, although they could offer high rentals. The prospect of quick money for accommodation in an area that was steadily ceasing to be a holiday attraction appeared to be paramount for many. Rumour was rife not long after I settled in the locality of the summer of 1974.

Casual workers were moving into the hotels and guest houses in June 1974. Visitors were complaining that the navvies were sharing their holiday accommodation. In addition, local men were leaving their work and taking short-term employment at Ardyne; their weekly wages shot up from £25 to £150. For the first time in the history of the locality the employers were complaining that local labour was scarce and that men and women who had been loyal employees over the years were leaving to follow the money at Ardyne.⁴¹ One local resident described the industrialisation of the area as "this industrial octopus spreading its tentacles and ruining amenities and the environment that are so dear to the people".⁴² The MP's assurance that local workers would have priority, were now regarded as unfortunate, and pressure was brought to bear upon him to have McAlpine guarantee that the labour-force would only come from outside the locality.

By the autumn of 1974 the new routine work schedules and the consequent modifications of employment patterns had not yet been firmly established. The effects of this period will be considered in the next section. What is worthwhile identifying is the fact that only one local press letter dealt with a macro issue in the Ardyne debate in contradistinction to the many on macro factors written at the time of the USA Polaris invasion.

The conjuncture of events created a veritable maze. Direction in a maze is difficult. There may be development, but little progress forward, as one is lost in the midst of complex events and bewildering changes. In the locality there had been the American naval invasion with the subsequent twists and turns into which people were led. The familiar and customary way of life had been modified. Then came the unexpected intrusion of the industrialist. In the earlier stages of the military invasion the initial shock and subsequent surprises were hitting the locals in all directions, but from one source at the Holy Loch Base. McAlpine's venture in the South-West created an additional source of new threats and a sequence of impacts beginning with "initial surprise" which cut across the impacts coming in another direction from the North-East. Pressures from two ends of the locality closed in upon the settlements.

Ardyne was no longer an outlying area where a few farmers lived by the shores, but an industrial centre with national and international contacts, an international work-force serving an international market, and involved in international contracts for concrete structures that dwarfed the settlements, the town, and the hills of Cowal. Giant shadows were cast across the "local-scape" as new social uncertainties suddenly appeared upon the human landscape. And at the other end of the locality, the USN Base with the noisy motors, the crates of missiles, and the foreign personnel serving distant masters on an international military mission in the "outscape" continued to disturb.

Thus it was that more remote places like Toward became isolated in the effort to stand by the preservation of loch and coast-line. Strangers from the nearer and wider "outscape" appeared to be a threat to many residents. Strangers had always been welcome to the ferry-point and locality, but now many locals looked upon them as "wreckers"⁴³. In addition, there was a growing sense locally of remote control. Jimmy Reid, a West of Scotlan defender of people's rights in Clydeside, described the predicament of such manipulation when speaking on alienation in an address at Glasgow University in 1972:

"Alienation is the cry of men who feel themselves to be victims of blind economic forces beyond their control, the frustration of ordinary people excluded from the processes of decision-making. Many have not rationalised it. They may not even understand it, or may not be able to articulate it, but they feel it. It therefore conditions and colours their social attitudes."⁴⁴

The feelings of the local people when Ardyne was created were not solely concerned with the fact that decisions had been made from afar, but that nobody cared south of the Firth. The locals, knowing the predicament of the nation, told me in Cowal over and over again that they did not blame the outsiders 'on the other side' for putting oil first, but why Ardyne? Iain MacCormick, MP, was accused of changing his hat from developer to conservationist when it suited him.⁴⁵ And local spokesmen spotted the lack of a well-thought out policy with regard to selection of sites for platforms in the midst of the rush for locations. "When are we to have government policy that states what areas should or should not be developed? At present the whole set-up in Scotland gives the impression of unco-ordinated, uninformed bungling" said a Cowal preservationist.⁴⁶ Another spokesman explained the local situation: "This was a tourist area and although the people wanted oil they did not want to lose something they already had."

At the same time criticism was levelled at the SNP MP, MacCormick . Many regarded him as a big-mouthed critic of foreign plunder, who at the same time had no real policy for its control.⁴⁷ He was losing favour .

The local Tory groups were in favour of oil expansion as the nation was at large, but they were in two minds about Ardyne. The official Party line had been that Argyll was "a living County" and that "...sadly many young people must leave Argyll for work. The opportunity given by oil-related development to keep them here and attract others in must be taken".⁴⁸ But the Tory shopkeepers and businessmen saw their employees drifting away from them and finding bigger wages at Ardyne. They were losing the support of families whose members they had employed over the years. Money came first. Echoes of the remark of the Lynd (1937) sociological study of life in Middleton, USA could be heard in Dunoon: "People know money but they don't know you"; they rang through the threatened structures of life in Cowal. The business people had themselves put money first when the USA Base was set up, and had alienated many local residents because of it - Cowal might be militarised, but if it brought money it was acceptable. Now Cowal might be industrialised, but how could it be acceptable, if it affected their trade or commerce. They blamed the SNP Member of Parliament for promising that locals would now have employment, that they would not need to leave Cowal after all. In addition, they felt cheated by the official Tory 'line' at the time of the 1974 election, quoted above. Only the bar owners were utterly satisfied - more mouths meant more beers and whiskies, especially in the case of the thirsty Ardyners, a matter we shall return to when considering the cultural effects created by the new labouring class influx.

The local SNP groups were echoing the sentiments of Iain MacCormick, MP, that they were not "prepared to sit back and watch Scotland's oil revenues being squandered to finance the massive debts which the London Government is piling up".⁵⁰ Most of the local SNP

followers appeared to be against the Irish men in McAlpine's labour force . The foreigners who had jobs at Ardyne and McAlpine's French connection riled them. They stood by their MP, stating that he had gone personally to the Ardyne complex to ask if the local labour force could be cut back because of the long term bad effects upon local businesses and trades. Oil-related industry was welcome to the locality, but the influx of 'outsiders' was viewed with increasing misgivings.

Divisions, political and economic, opened up locally, when the complex was set up, as wage differentials set one man against another, as Parties argued for and against the project, and interpreted issues that had been debated in the 'outscape' by London politicians and USA oil kings. The Ardyne complex brought the Scottish debate over oil and its control, nearer home. The decline in orders at platform sites throughout the country caused unease, especially for the workers at Ardyne. Had the locality been cheated into believing that the cost to them socially of having a platform site in their locality was outweighed by the need for such platforms? Indeed, basins throughout the country were soon to stand empty, so where was the justification for so many sites? The planners had bungled the operation, and they had been lured on by dreams of "bigger money".

What of the men who came into the locality? They were a heterogeneous bunch of people who on the whole were adventurers without local loyalties. People felt that they had altered the housing and tourist facilities, and had dragged the reputation of the locality as a beauty spot and tourist area down. Their "brushes" with the local residents, and the aggravations caused, will be clarified and discussed when considering the contrasting difference of impact, and the occasional similarities of behaviour between the men from Ardyne and the men from Polaris. The misgivings and feelings of the local residents mentioned in passing, alone, will be fully presented when studying the workers "in town", and analysing the information given by local residents within the stratified 6% sample.

Division from "the other side", division from the English "outscape", division over the intrusions of foreign economies, were one thing, but division within the locality over the oil issues and the Ardyne implications was another. Not only had the ecological and economic "scapes" been affected by the new complex, but also the political and cultural scapes, as we shall see. The diverse repercussions will be discussed later, but some observations will be made here on the political.

The question of Ardyne further split the SNP and Tory members of families, once united around the Tory banner. Political division alienated for the first time since the Burgh began. The oil question aggravated the political wrangling within kinship groups. In addition, the incoming labouring classes increased the socialist arguments and gave new heart to a minority Labour Party following. Further fragmentations took place.

The minority Labour groups generally were backing Ardyne and the decision of the Secretary of State, which guaranteed Ardyne for McAlpine. It brought the local males the opportunity for work. Their grouse was that, after the first months of local employment at Ardyne, McAlpine had been contacted by the local Tory employers and pressurised into stopping the employment of local labour because it robbed business people of workers. Local residents in the working-class sectors of the Ardenslate and Valrose Terrace schemes were annoyed that 'so-and-so' got a job at Ardyne and was earning £150 a week, when they were being turned away. Irish labourers - "bloody foreigners" - were now getting the chance to make 'big money'. An area noted for its tolerance now regarded the incomers as a threat. But, the Labour following was able to make capital of the Tory business men who had attempted to block work opportunities at Ardyne to preserve their own interests. We shall later look more closely at the economic-scape under pressure from McAlpine's Ardyne venture.

The observations of this chapter have delineated the way in which the Ardyne complex was set up, and how industrialisation intruded upon rural Toward. After the "initial surprise" and shock there were those who welcomed the establishment of the platform builders because it was in the interests of the nation. There was also the possibility of employment for the locals. This at first mattered most, as against the ravage of the ecology. Others did not welcome the Secretary of State's go-ahead, because the industrialisation envisaged did not fit in with the "scape of things" locally, and the social costs were reckoned to be too great, whatever the argument that oil exploration and platform building had priority over all things.

"Secondary surprises" flowed in succession amongst which was the announcement that the Ardyne platform complex was to be bigger than at first stated. Many people locally had not had direct dealings with industrialists. They were not familiar with their mode of operation. In the interplay between government and industrialists in pursuit of their interests the locals were dismayed and at all times unsure of outcomes for the locality as fears were being expressed that Cowal would "go industrial".

The inauthentic nature of the interplay deserves more comment. Taylor, D. (1975), Broady, M. (1975), Varwell, A. (1973) and Rodger, J.J. (1978)⁵¹, all show in their Scottish studies how inauthentic were the dealings of the politicians in the Scottish oil drama of the seventies. Etzioni, A. (1968) states that "the inauthentic provides the appearance of responsiveness⁵² while the underlying condition is alienating". By alienation he here means that people are excluded from controlling and determining their quality of life. J. Habermas (1974) speaking of the "public sphere" states that it is now "adulterated and degenerated"⁵³. The press with investments in the North Sea exploration clouded over the issues adding to the lack of authenticity⁵⁴.

Whatever the protestations of the multi-national industrialists, in the last analysis they are intent upon self-interest. This self-interest was such that industrialists in the name of the national interest secured not only Ardyne, but other shore sites bringing about a redundancy before some of the platform builders had secured an order, creating a national disgrace with wastage of millions of pounds in the scramble for local sites.

Once the local terrain is more or less secured by the private deal — although not yet legally secured—the industrialist may secure his ends through manipulating the politicians. It is here the argument is pitched at national need - the "outscape" has priority over the "local -scape", the locality must sacrifice its end for the sake of the national ends. But, the unmasked question is - which locality ought to be made to sacrifice its localised ends? That is why the locals at Dunoon were asking: Why us? When the argument for a local plant or site is posed, and planning permission asked for, the vertical formal administrative "outreach" is adopted, but the industrialists have means of masking their case, as was especially so during the national rush for oil in the urgent days of fighting inflation during the early seventies. Also the vertical can so easily become the "oblique", as the grasping competing firms press their arguments. But, there is a predictability in the arguments of the industrialist in this situation - the need to create local employment is one predictable, the need to compete with foreign industry is another; the good the plant will be for the local economy is another. The locals may know exactly what arguments will be brought up, so why in the end is a project secured, such as at Ardyne? Because the politicians, and administrators have been convinced by the industrialists argument, and once that has happened, the notice to invite local objections is presented at low-key within narrow time limits.

However, the initial impact and response of the people in the local-scäpe was not quite so dramatic as it was at the time of the USN invasion in the early sixties. Between November 1972 and my departure from Cowal in 1976 there had been only 12 letters in the local press which explicitly mentioned the McAlpine intrusion out of a total of 490 letters written within a period of 3 years and 4 months. This represents approximately only one letter out of every 41.

When the first concrete platform was successfully completed and tugged out to sea in March 1975, the end of "secondary surprises" had taken place. The "tertiary surprise" period in the episode of local changes now took place when the daily cycle of life in Cowal appeared to have settled down to the new routines, however uneasy because of the impact and effects upon the "cultural-scäpe" in particular, due to the navy invasion, as will be further discussed in the last section. The number of employees at Ardyne had not reached its maximum till March '75.

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THE BUREAUCRATIC TAKE-OVER

"The democratic form in the real meaning of the word is necessarily a despotism, because it establishes an executive for the 'all', which is not really the all, and it decides concerning and sometimes against, the one who has not participated in the decision"

Immanuel Kant ¹

The local authority of Argyll, pre-1975, was quite unique.

Macdonald, C.M. (1961) writes: "Argyll is unique among Scottish County Councils in that it has no recognised headquarters for the accommodation of all the chief officials. This is due partly to geographical and partly to historical considerations, which have prevented any one of the Argyll Burghs from having distinct pre-eminence over the others"². Meetings appear to have been held in different places "as the council may decide"; indeed, in winter they were often held in Glasgow! ³

The old suspicions of Cowal in Argyll die hard, and the old local ambivalence for Campbell's Inveraray remained, although Inveraray remained the prime Burgh. But Dunoon District happened to be of importance economically, having both the highest rateable value and the highest gross valuation. In addition, Dunoon, a capital, had the biggest Burgh population in all Argyll. Dunoon had a County pre-eminence educationally, and was more accessible to the lowland centres of business and finance than the other Argyllshire Burghs. Nonetheless, the administration of the County was not centred in Dunoon, neither in any other Burgh, but apportioned as follows: Lochgilphead located the County Clerk, the Chief Constable and the County Engineer; in Oban were the Medical Officer and the Chief Sanitary Inspector; in Campbelltown were located the County Assessor and the County Treasurer; and in Dunoon were the Director of Education, the County Architect and the County Librarian. Over the years, Dunoon battled to have the removal of the offices of the Clerk and County Treasurer from Lochgilphead and Campbelltown, respectively, to Dunoon. ⁴

Regionalisation brought about Dunoon's diminished administrative control of the locality's affairs in May 1975. The role of Dunoon in Argyllshire has always been a central political issue, and important to those who have either seen Dunoon as the more forward looking Burgh, or who wished to snatch the reins of power in the area.

If we look at the population figures for the Argyllshire Burghs between 1881 - 1951 we will notice why more power was claimed by Dunoon, and why the status quo found it increasingly difficult to stand by the greater county status of historic Inveraray, or of Lochgilphead in S. Argyll. Inveraray was once a town of 1,233, and is the seat of the Campbell ducal palace; the population figures show how change affected the situation:

TABLE 2: POPULATION OF THE ARGYLLSHIRE BURGHS (1881, 1911, 1931, 1951)

	1881	1911	1931	1951
Inveraray population	870	533	455	503
Campbelltown "	7,693	7,625	6,309	7,172
Oban "	4,046	5,557	5,759	6,226
Lochgilphead "	1,489	921	974	1,229
Tobermory "	1,200	988	772	693
Dunoon "	4,692	6,859	8,780	9,940

(SOURCE: Censi (HMSO))

Pre-1975, the Dunoon Town Council decided upon public spending in a burgh which maintained the central services and amenities for the whole of Cowal. Although the County Council had immediate responsibility for the outlying settlements of Kilmunside and beyond the Bullwood to Toward, it was the Burgh of Dunoon which mattered, because of their dependence upon the main Post Office there, the six Dunoon banks, the main Cowal Police Station, the Cowal Fire Station, the Board of Management for the Cowal Hospitals, the chief Cowal businesses and shops, the tourist and transport offices, and in addition, three of the five Cowal Hospitals were located in the Burgh of

Dunoon . The only two ambulances servicing the area did so from Dunoon, and most of the G.P.s had their surgeries in the Burgh. The main services revolved around Dunoon , and as already demonstrated a great deal else.

Economically, politically and culturally, Dunoon exerted control of the area, but the town and environs , as we have already seen, were largely off-shoots of modernisation on "the other side" . The local political-scape, however, was dominated by independents, usually without party tickets, in a locality noted for its Town Council, known as the "Local Parliament"⁵. Over the years, the provosts, as we have seen, developed the tourism that had made Dunoon "the gem of the Costa Clyde". Politically, the status of the men and women of the Council Chambers at Ewing's Castle House, Dunoon, had only been challenged by the ambitions of local authority personnel at Lochgilphead. The American invasion had only served to enhance its position. Meetings with the top brass of the Washington Naval Department, awards, plaques, commemorative epitaphs, and handshakes with the foremost Americans, accustomed to ambassadorial treatment had come to pay their respects to the Town Council.

In being non-industrial, Dunoon District's paths did not cross those of "the other side". It was less constrained than other burghs, because its businesses were largely localised . Their futures were not directly dependent upon board-room decisions in the outscapes . Development in the area was centred upon the Town Council and its committees. As long as the town and area catered for strangers by providing bed, board, and refreshment, there was no disjunction between the goals of the people , the Council, and surrounding urban areas. With the McAlpine industrial intrusion there was strain, because the locally determined tourist goals clashed with the nationally determined industrial goals. But, more about that in Part 3 . Here, one must emphasise the importance of the local controls, vested mainly in the Dunoon Town Council. It was this control, together with the status of the Burgh of Dunoon which was threatened by the new Regionalisation scheme implemented in May 1975.

The bureaucratic invasion and eventual take-over of local administration on the part of Lochgilhead in District terms, and of Glasgow in Region terms, was the result of the technocrat's belief in ongoing centralisation. Roszak, T (1970) describes technocracy as: "the social form in which an industrial society reaches the peak of its organisational integration. It is the ideal men usually have in mind when they speak of modernizing, up-dating, rationalising, planning. Drawing upon such unquestionable imperatives as the demand for efficiency, for large-scale co-ordination of men and resources, and ever more impressive manifestations of collective human power". 6

In the face of the unquestionable imperatives, the local councillors and people had little hope of changing the minds, or heart, of the faceless ones in the outscapes, where decisions are made behind locked doors. As Harloe, M (1975) demonstrates, planners and bureaucrats believe in the enlightened minority taking over, with minimal participation, acting quickly and secretly, with a prior lack of publicity as to actual and precise intent⁷. At the same time, the criticism that the local council decisions were made behind doors with narrow interests at heart in the terms as described by K Hudson's (1967) "Councilocracy"⁸, must also be borne in mind. However, there is no doubt that the Town Council of Dunoon had the economic survival of the area at heart, whereas the technocrats had only their grand plan at heart, whatever the cost to localities. In any case, Dunoon was known for its open debates at crowded ratepayer and various association meetings, where the faces of councillors were known. The plebiscites noted by House, as cited earlier, show how usually pluralism had some chance to operate on many occasions. In addition, people could protest in the local press.

The mode of change, as took place during the process of reorganisation, is traced back to the Report of the Royal Commission of 1969 on regionalism. Wheatley's Report (as popularly called after its chairman) came as a shock to a local burgh, which had imagined that the 'status quo' was without end. When the members of the Town Council were asked on the 14th October to discuss the possibility that the shores of East Cowal would be taken over by administrative centres on "the other side", they were asked in a sense to sign the death warrant of their own Town Council. The demise of the smaller councils was part of the scheme of centralisation. And in face of the horrendous possibility that established modes of decision-making and of dealing with local complaints would soon be radically altered in peripheries by industrial centres, the local councillors

were only given till the 22nd October to discuss the report and then pass on their views through a representative. To crown the situation, only 3 copies were sent to the council chambers. Within four days a special meeting was called of local people who deliberated that "the people of Argylland particularly those of Cowal should be given the opportunity of direct discussion regarding their own future"⁹. When it had been a question of discussing the American invasion or Ardyne intrusion, the debate was over a finite arrangement, here there was a question of a permanent settlement of their affairs.

The impact was felt diveresely and created from the start an uneven reaction. We have already seen how some Cowal folk had a dual perspective. They enjoyed the master identity of being Cowal people, but many had originated from outside, especially many retired urbanites from "the other side". There was a marked ambivalence in their "social inscape" as they accounted for their identity in the face of change. It had been cited in the local press in an issue of the 11 October 1969, that "the Cowal shores look across the waters to the rest of the Clyde estuary rather than to the rest of Argyll". The locality was in effect a colony. Those who were natives of the old township and real Cowal stock were set against the possibility of any merger with industrial areas, as also were the locals who had resided in the area for over thirty years, or who were at least second generation. But, the opposition to amalgamation with "the other side" was not shared by all of them. Even the newcomers were divided - some for a merger, others against it. The "cultural account" made under the impact of invasion, as already touched upon in the case of Shetland, was a far cry from the situation in Cowal.

Here the "account" was economic and political. Meetings from Innellan to Ardentenny discussed the proposal of Dunoon and area being administered from the industrial mainland. The local press described their division. Ironically, it was ex-provost Wyatt, a Londoner originally (or must we say once a Londoner always a Londoner?), was one of the most powerful supporters of Cowal remaining with the rest of Argyll¹⁰. The Provost, Judge Harper, stated with feeling at the Dunoon

tepayers Association : "The proposals of the Wheatley Report are a direct
gation of our democratic way of life. These proposals will ultimately place
solute power in the hands of a few. No central or regional government can have the
nowledge and time to deal with the detailed problems of every group of people in
e county " . He questioned whether the proposed community councils which had
ly an advisory capacity could act as a watchdog. When asked where a copy of the
port could be had, he was sorry to say that it cost £2 a copy, but that the
possibility of a reference copy in the local library would shortly be taken up by
e library committee . He added : "I am just as interested that the public should
ow all the facts. I might well be the last provost of Dunoon " ¹¹

Predictably , only two members of the Town Council meeting on the 18th.Nov.
are in any way favourably disposed towards the report. Representatives from Troon,
obthesay, Largs, Millport, Campbeltown, Ardrossan and Dunoon, met at Dunoon on the 15th.
ecember, 1969, to express their dissatisfaction with the proposals for tourism :
rban centres could not manage the affairs of the seaside towns ¹² . Dismay and
ncertainty hung over the Clyde and the coastal regions.

In the waiting game, played out by a bureaucracy that created the lull over
ong periods of secret deliberations - only to act swiftly when details had become
im in people's minds - nothing appeared to be happening well into 1970. The impact
ust not be dramatised, the shock must be allowed to subside, so that the bureaucrat
ay deflate the mounting tension which could be unleashed against the scheme. On
ay 10th., 1970, the Presbyterian preacher at the kirking of the Town Council
spoke of the impending changes : "Everything today tends towards bigness, and
bigness for its own sake is a threat..We must the more perseveringly strive to
find democratic ways of living for little men " ¹³

Under impact, immediate reaction within a state of urgency creates a more
united front. When the collectivity is faced with innovation which takes place
over a protracted period, lags develop, as people begin to interpret diversely.
Some read more than others into the proposals. Taking psychological account is an
inscape process largely determined by one's interests - culturally, economically,
and politically. So, it was that intrigue and division began to appear in

the Town Council chambers, so much so that ex-provost Wyatt described it as "Ali-baba's cave" ¹⁴. And still no word came from the technocrats beyond the Firth till February, 1971. In the meantime, the people were discussing the proposed new housing in the area for the USN personnel, the possible dangers of the nuclear base, and the parking of American cars in the narrow Sandbank roads. The overlap of impacts had also confused the people.

On the 16th. Feb., 1971, the government in a white paper accepted the two-tier system of Regions and Districts to be implemented in 1975. Shetland and Orkney would be virtually all-purpose authorities. The shock came with the announcement that most of Argyll including Cowal would be transferred from the Highland Region to the West Region centred on Glasgow ¹⁵. Dunoon and area would be administered by Greenock, its District centre, across the water. The Dunoon Town Council would cease to exist as from May '75. Judge Harper commented: "I can foresee many difficulties in this set-up. Who will, for example organise Dunoon's summer entertainment during the holiday period, and take on snap decisions on many matters which crop up during the season? Local government will be much further away from the people and will I think generate frustration on many local issues" ¹⁶.

The initial, but protracted phase of impact now began to make itself felt with the officially declared legislative intent of the government. But, before implementation in May '75 the initial impact lost much of its momentum as older routines continued and as nothing appeared to happen. In the four years between, many uncertainties and fears and divisions were to arise spasmodically.

The first source of division and conflict (bureaucrats do believe in the old adage - divide and conquer), was the statement in the White Paper: "the boundaries illustrated may be altered slightly after consultation with local authorities and other interested parties" ¹⁷. Nothing could be more sensitive between authorities than boundaries, and what did "slightly" mean on the map both geographic and social? The general structure and number of Regions and Districts were not open to adjustment, however ¹⁸. When Michael Noble, the Tory MP came to

the Queens Hall, Dunoon to meet the public and discuss the White Paper, divided views became apparent¹⁹. Some people sided with Harper and Wyatt in opposition to any merger with the other side, others sided with a prominent councillor, Mr Thomson, (destined to be Dunoon's last provost) in favour. Ironically, it was the year that Dunoon celebrated its first centenary as a burgh.

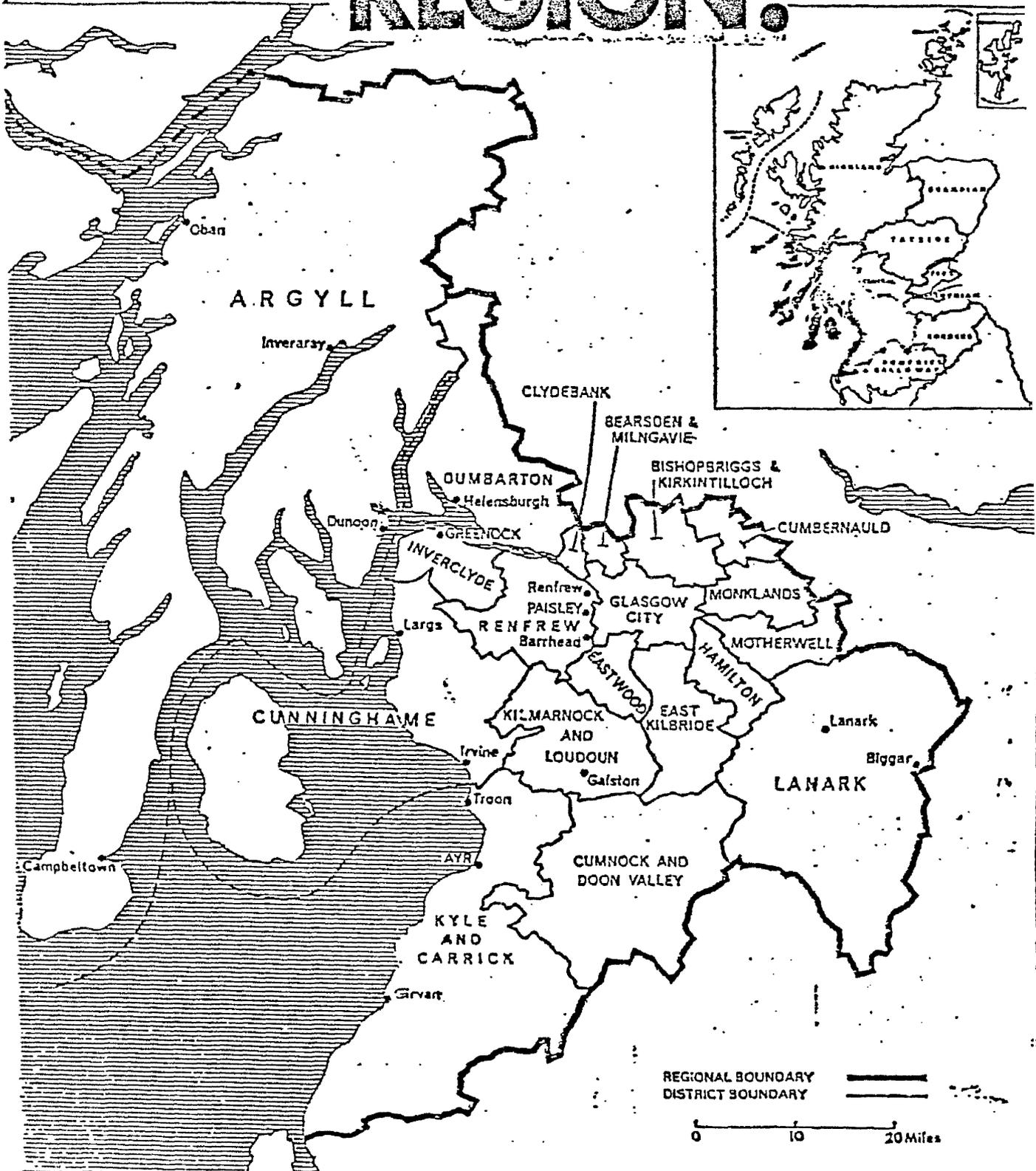
The 9000 free copies of the Centenary Issue of the Dunoon local newspaper underlined the pathos that year. In it people read of the illustrious provosts, of the efforts of Wyatt to secure a worthy chain of office for the elected leader of the Town Council, and of the improvements that the Council had brought locally. Side by side with the tabloid sheets of the centenary story, they read about the proposed demise of the same Town Council. It did not make sense to many of the locals.

However, there were economic considerations that weighed heavily for many when "taking account" of impending changes. There was more money on "the other side", and the destiny of the town depended upon linkage with the industrial areas. About 400 locals worked on the other side, and many tradesmen and firms serviced the local businesses from "the other side". But, the romance of Argyll swayed others. It was a question of an economic account in conflict with a cultural account. Some counted out the budget in their minds; whilst others took account of the Argyll heritage: however utopian, it was there as a barrier to the proposed change. Native nostalgia for the Argyll domain and its highland lore asserted itself. A local poet wrote in support of that romantic Argyll:

"Argyll, Argyll, a ken ye well
There's few that ken ye better.
Free clachan heids tae antlered ha!,
Or biggins' mang the heather,
Agree, agree tae girt Argyll,
Avoiding pliskys after,
As the road and trend in years tae come,
Is now across Clyde's water". 20

The area was non industrial, peninsular, conservative and disproportionately retired, with a largely middle class population. Politically and culturally, the people of Cowal appeared in recent years to have been united and tolerant. But, in 1971 the Town Council was split; the people divided over the issue of being linked with Argyll or Greenock in Inverclyde. They were united in their dread of a Labour dominated Glasgow Regional Council, but they knew that they could not back out of the Region. It

STRATHCLYDE REGION.



was the prospect of an altered Dunoon District which threw up latent differences.

In the main, the most significant difference was between the settlements to the NE and SW of Dunoon, and the people of the Burgh. In the villages, the people were reported as dominantly opposed to being cut off from the rest of Argyll. They were less tied to the commercialism of the Burgh. When making my own rounds, I heard people say over and over again that they did not want libraries, amenities and expensive lighting, they had left all those things behind them, and wanted their Cowal seclusion for which they had worked over the years. Others, who had not enjoyed the urban delights, only wanted the sameness they had enjoyed for years. Thus it was that the meetings reported in the local newspaper in the villages were totally committed to their fusion with Argyll. Councillor Hinge at Sandbank, and Wyatt at Innellan, denounced the betrayal of Argyll. Many repeated Wyatt's description of the White Paper's proposal as a "mutilation of Cowal".

It would appear that the latent feelings which divided the Burgh and the contrasting attitude of the villages with the Burgh's ambivalence, revealed a crisis of identity that must surely be the problem facing most migrants. Many only react when their assumed newfound identity is threatened.

But, why were there only 10 letters to the Dunoon Observer about the issue between October '69 and May '75? The American invasion had had a diverse modal pattern, as our analysis of the episode of change associated with the USN presence shows. There were several reasons for the different mode of impact in the case of regionalisation:

1. The American impact was dramatic, nationally and internationally sensationalised by the media, accompanied by mass protests and marches. The regional scheme was news, but designedly undramatic, the reporting was serialised rather than sensationalised in the media from time to time;
2. the American impact was associated with the growing confrontation in the outspace between East and West, and with the threat of nuclear hazards. The regional scheme was not associated with life and death;

3. the American invasion was swift and speedily organized; the regional scheme took years of protracted deliberations (and silences) before it was implemented.
4. the American invasion was simpler to comment upon; the regional scheme was complex and required concentrated reading; in addition the White Paper was a lengthy document that presumed one had knowledge of the Wheatley Report, and copies locally were few and far between;
5. the American invasion was an exogenous scheme planned and finally implemented by alien militarists in the wider outscāpe directly involving the locality in the ballistic build-up of the USA and so implicating the locality and the West of Scotland, whereas the regional scheme was endogenous to the process of modernisation in which technocrats within the nearer outscāpe devised a plan which equally affected many peripheral scāpes in Scotland and had also done so in England and Wales so the locality was not a special case ;
6. lastly, the American and McAlpine ventures overlapped with the regional programme, so that overstimulation and overloads had blunted the protests of the people in which one detected a sense of fatalism throughout the area.

In Dunoon the commercial and economic possibilities through linkage with the major cities on "the other side" began to win yet more advocates. John Thomson, a popular baillie, was quoted in the Dunoon Observer as saying : Dunoon's future lies across the water where the money is and not in the hinterland of Argyll". He added that the Argyll administrators had been "socking the Burgh for years", and that there was a spurious argument put forward that that there was no community of interest with Greenock, but "the fact that 400 commuters travel across the water every day gives the lie to that" ²¹ . It was becoming more and more apparent that the political battle between Lochgilphead and local people was a significant and growing factor in the debate. Already the administrators in Lochgilphead had discussed the possibility of buying Kilmory Castle as the District's HQ. The new provost JM. Dickson was well aware of the increased status the new regional scheme would bring to Lochgilphead if Dunoon and area did not accept the incorporation into Inverclyde. Meantime, Argyll County Council declared that it would not let Cowal go - its place historically, they

claimed was with Argyll.

By May 13th, 1972, the division between members of the Dunoon Town Council had become more marked²². In the chambers, the provost stated that he had been asked to sign a petition to keep Cowal with Argyll, "which I refused to do", and added : "For the avoidance of doubt, Dunoon Town Council's position is that they would have preferred to be a District authority on their own with Cowal, Rothesay, and the Island of Bute". He then made a statement which repeated the economic link "the other side": "There is no community of interest with the rest of Argyll, where the people of Dunoon don't have any business connections, nor can they travel there by public transport. Experience has also shown that the Argyll authorities are unsympathetic to the people of Dunoon and in recent years development has been frustrated"²³ Dunoon had been the thorn in the side of the Campbell domain, and history repeated itself, because Cowal was situated between two worlds at the interface, or seam, between the industrial West and the Highlands and Islands.

Meanwhile, the villages collected 3,600 signatures to support a protest against merging with Inverclyde, which was to be sent to the Secretary for Scotland²⁴. Judge Harper, heartened by the move, stated in the midst of local controversy in Dunoon that a large West of Scotland block could not possibly fulfil the criteria accepted by the Wheatley Report and also the White Paper that:

1. local Government services should be provided over areas with genuine communities with interests and allegiances in common;
2. that an authority should be community based unless its area corresponds with the genuine community, people will not think of it as their authority;
3. that it should be possible for elected members to keep in effective touch with their constituents on matters for which they are responsible;
4. that the government is part of a system of local democracy, not just a body supplying service over a certain area²⁵.

Harper's approach to the question was that shared by those who put the master identity of Cowal first, and was culturally opposed to any link with "the other side". At this very time, however, industrialists were offering money to local farmers for the acquisition of likely sites for rig building.

Moreover, the burgh was taken up with the complaints concerning American children crowding local schools, which we will consider in the next part of this study. And May, 1975, seemed a long way off.

Little discussion took place till the Kilmun Community Association on the 1st. November, 1972, supported their other Cowal villagers by their opposition to any transfer of power to industrially dominated areas with all the latent possibilities of political influences and the consequent loss of present individuality, first-hand knowledge and non-part political administration by local Town and County Councils. The political fears were clearly underlined. There was rural antagonism for the metropolitan take-over. Dunoon, a semi-creation of Glasgow, as we have seen, was not as set against the link with the city. As people inspected the situation, many took account of the benefits coming from interplay between the local economic-scapes and that of the more prosperous metropolis and conurbation.

On the eve of the discussion of regionalisation in Parliament, in January '73, there were three groupings, each led by a local influential. Firstly, there was Judge Harper who supported a merger between Cowal, Bute and Rothesay. He had become convinced that tourism united these localities. Secondly, provost Dickson was for a merger with "the other side". Thirdly, Wyatt and Hinge, respected in the villages supported a continuance within Argyll, cut off from "the other side". Apart from the rural and town cleavage, it is difficult to identify any more salient demarcations between the people within the locality of Dunoon and district than those within the Burgh and those "furth" (outside) the Burgh in the country areas, which for the most part hugged the Cowal shores by lochs and Firth. Rural folk around Kilmun by Holy Loch were historically and parochially diverse from those around Toward and Innellan by the Firth and Loch Striven, but most of the residents at either end of the locality in these areas were retired middle-class people, whose proud Victorian homes and life-style were the same, their only difference being in living in either end of the locality. As it was to prove, ecologically it was a significant difference, because to the north-east of the Burgh was the Holy Loch and to the south-east the Ardyne gravity structure basins.

The Tory MP, Michael Noble secured a compromise approved by Parliament that Cowal, Rothesay, and Bute should merge with Argyll as a District²⁷. The Regional Offices would therefore be on "the other side", so that the Burgh people who wanted to be merged with the industrial West were in part satisfied; the District Officers would be in Argyll, which in part satisfied the more rural residents of Cowal. But, where would the District HQ be? The question that was to prove to be central to the period immediate to the May handover in 1975 united the Burgh and the people in settlements to the North East and South West.

Firstly, it was a matter of convenience that Dunoon should be the local HQ. Lochgilphead was over the hills and far away. The usual routine journeys to the town over rents, or educational queries, or complaints, meant a great deal for older people especially. The utilities that had existed over the years claimed support for the Burgh as the District HQ., quite apart from the historical reasons both of castle and parish and ferry point.

Secondly, and more importantly (from the point of view of merging the people together around the town of Dunoon) the industrialists were surveying the shores and bays of Cowal for prospective rig complexes, or basins, in the two years prior to the May 1975 Regional scheme. By a conjuncture of events, both Toward and Ardentinnny people, at both ends of the girdle of villages along the Cowal shores, called upon the Dunoonites to support their local preservation societies, and the people of their old capital rallied to their aid. The Dunoon halls and the church meetings were utilised as were professional men, such as lawyers from the town, and elders from the churches, to support the resistance of the villagers to the industrial takeovers. There was an atmosphere of seige in those three years. In addition, the SNP revival had given Cowal a sense of proprietorship. The shores were theirs: why should alien people from the outscapes exploit their land?

The new set-up of Argyll and Bute was contrived. Its one asset was that it brought together waning seaside resorts which shared the same economic problems. The ramifications of having these often rival units within the same economic

regional unit did not then dawn on many. They were distracted by the 1973 American riot in Dunoon.

By the time the Argyll Joint Advisory Committee, set up to enable transition to take place from the former County offices to the District ones, suspicion over the ambitions of Lochgilphead were renewed. My neighbours and contacts put it forcibly: "Who wants to travel to the ends of the earth to complain about litter on the shores?"; "Why should we come second to the small-fry at Lochgilphead?"; "Can any Lochgilphead office boy know our business?"; "you'd need a sackful of copper to get in touch with Kilmory Castle - it's the back of nowhere".

In this protracted period of pre-implementation, cumulative surprises had piled up within short spans of time, with longer in-between periods, when the time lags created surmise and local divisions. But, none of these mitigated the over-all fact of being engulfed into Strathclyde with its 1½ million people. The Lochgilphead debate locally, only underlined the need the people had for some localised controls. They had lost the larger issue of centralised controls in macro administrative management of their affairs, they wanted some local say. But, the local press cited the Town Council's moans that administrators were "hell bent on getting everything possible for Lochgilphead. There was real fear that Dunoon and Rothesay would be shut out completely"²⁸. Then in February 1974, Chas Black, a local ex-provost, an influential, an old incomer who built upon Dunoon both as an administration and as a town of caterers - himself a leading businessman and elder of the church, died. Two other notables were to follow in the immediate period before reorganisation: Wyatt (twice provost) and Miss McPhail, the ex-provost who had welcomed the USS Proteus. Their absence was to weaken the case against Lochgilphead.

In terms of scapes, Lochgilphead had nothing in common with Dunoon District apart from the struggle to gain control of the local political-scape over the years. As demonstrated at the beginning of this chapter, the issue of control in Cowal had been an open one over the years because of the peculiar arrangements for Argyll.

When the SNP electorate had secured Argyll once again in 1974 for the nationalists, the possibility of altering the regional scheme was revived. The nationalist movement captured the imagination of the Scots with its accent on "oil for Scotland"; "hands off our land" etc. which came as a clarion call to exploited Scots, who wanted freedom to decide their own affairs, and to shake off the outsiders. The new MP had stated: "The SNP believes in local government. We are totally opposed to the concept of putting Argyll into the monster Strathclyde Region"²⁹. His words did not revive hopes. Many braced themselves for the inevitable, whilst others welcomed the innovation, but few could accept that Lochgilphead should become the District HQ.

Distraction, that buffer to many a bureaucratic ploy, intervened. The campaign of Glasgow's new appointees to sell the name of Strathclyde, was put into full swing as adverts and handouts boosted the new set-up. The "contrived identity" of the Strathclyde citizen had to have priority over the homegrown identities. What had been sown and cultivated within the past had to give way to the new. Mini-kilted girls went out from Glasgow City Chambers in a planned campaign to spread the word through the brochure and the adverts that "we are one" to all parts of the West of Scotland³⁰.

What the change in May 1975 would mean in concrete terms, began to register forcibly with the Dunoon business people, when the Dunoon Development Association no longer met, and the town and villages faced a new season without the old advisors and supportive committees.

Already in the Spring of 1974 there were reliable rumours that Kilmory Castle had already been bought, and the Advisory Committee were accused of "jumping the gun" in The Town Chambers. Bailie Thomson, the Town's representative at the Committee had stated with reference to the machinations of the Committee: "they have by reason of secret meetings made sure that there is little likelihood of the new headquarters being located anywhere in Argyll other than Lochgilphead"³¹.

The month before the election of the new Strathclyde officials the Dunoon Hospital Board met for the last time. In the new Health Board not a single Dunoon

person was appointed. A letter went to the Secretary of State complaining that although Dunoon "had the most important hospital in the county, they had no say"³².

The political-scape had also been shaken, when in the Regional and District Elections of April 1974, party politics entered into the local elections for the first time. In the past candidates had remained independent. Now, they were seeking to win on party tickets. A woman summed up the situation in a letter to the local press: "The introduction of party politics seems a retrograde move, when so many local interests are at present being threatened by powerful pressure from outside"³³. As it turned out people were chosen for services rendered locally over the years, those with well-known independent faces³⁴.

The last provost, Thomson, was instated in a mood of local despond. In him were merged local loyalty and pride in the achievements of Cowal over the years. The people had to face the fact that their local Town Council was virtually at an end. Uncertainly bewildered many.

Regional change had to be faced. At his kirkin' the Presbyterian Minister said from his pulpit to the assembled last Town Council: "We have to accept the fact of change. It is not the first time in the history of Dunoon that change has had to be faced. Usually in the past it was accompanied by violence and even bloodshed .. Arguments in the past of how Scotland ought to be governed were not settled by the ballot box or Advisory Committees. The ruins of Dunoon Castle remind us of that. This time change has gone through fairly peaceably with nothing more than an occasional raising of the blood pressure and a certain amount of resentment and frustration .. A large proportion of the developments which have made Dunoon what it is were carried out by the Town Councils. You and your predecessors have developed the town in such a way as to make it an attractive place to live in and for people to retire to. You have played your part in fostering tourism so that it is a holiday resort for six months of the year. There are two kinds of change: the kind of change that has happened or must happen; such change has to be accepted. Also, the kind of change we make for ourselves. Remoteness would not make things impossible, only more difficult"³⁵.

The dramatic references to the ruins of the castle may have reflected in some way how people were feeling, especially the influentials and the councillors and bailies who saw their council's status in ruins. But, there was always the possibility that Dunoon might yet be the District HQ. Unfortunately, that hope was soon to be destroyed.

The final decision was passed at Inveraray in August '74 that Lochgilphead was to be the District HQ. The manner in which this took place underlines the pathos of the events and the bitterness with which the news was received in the Dunoon locality. Firstly, Lochgilphead was recommended in the preliminary report in preference to Dunoon by 58.4 points to 58.1. The 0.3 difference was decided upon the greater availability of accommodation for administrative personnel at Lochgilphead. The irony of the situation was that the American and McAlpine invasions had ultimately swerved the decision on the most marginal grounds in Lochgilphead's favour. The economic-scape in the matter of the Council's support of the American presence over the years, and latterly of the industrial project at Ardyne, had militated against the claims of Dunoon and area in the bid for political controls in the political-scape. The actual voting was also a dramatic event. The gathered members voted 12-12 on the matter. The Chairman, himself from Oban, cast in favour of Lochgilphead. Few people to this day have forgotten the episode in Dunoon³⁶.

Attention turned to Glasgow. The M.P. MacCormick was concerned that rural Argyll and the tourist settlements would lose out badly, because of the Labour clique in the city. He stated: "They were almost on the point of creating a virtual dictatorship. We have only five councillors for Argyll. The decision will be taken by this Glasgow clique"³⁷. Clearly, the exogenous changes created 'ad extra', and the clash of events in a complex conjuncture of happenings, had made the life of the inhabitants bewildering. The electorate in Cowal, whether SNP or Tory, were afraid that the Labour Party in Glasgow would impose their criteria upon proceedings at the committees when discussing Cowal affairs, and so affect decision making.

The SNP MPs. in the last four months before May '75 created greater uncertainty, because they called for the postponement of regionalisation in view of the proposed creation of the General Assembly. The matter was raised in the House of Commons ³⁸. Thurso had written to the Dunoon Town Council to support their Council's petition for a postponement. Judge Harper commented in the chambers of the Council at Dunoon : "We have been forced into this regionalisation at too great a speed" ³⁹. But, the petition was to no avail. Undaunted, the SNP at a December constituency meeting of Argyll people met to decide upon an all-purpose authority as in the Western Isles "composed of those elected to the Regional and District Councils" ⁴⁰. During initial impact, when protraction takes place, the uncertainties and fears escalate, and precipitate actions are engendered in a bid to change the situation. Not all would have agreed with the Presbyterian Minister's assumption that the regional scheme was absolutely inevitable. As long as there was time, some people felt there was hope.

Shortly before the regional implementation, the people were clearly ⁴¹ bombarded by the news of impending changes or possibilities. Their energies were directed in one direction and then in another. In the bewilderment and the taxing of their efforts, first of one group, and then another, as realisation lagged for some and "freewheeled" for others. The Town Councillors and the influentials had their opportunity to ventilate their feelings at meetings and committees, the local people had their avenues at certain public gatherings such as those of the SNP constituency meeting, but also the local press's "safety valve" column. Both the county and regional intrusions upon the people had hardly raised much of a response in the local press. Alvin Toffler (1970) describes the condition of people under

constant change as one of "overpowering apathy"⁴². Reading the details of the conjuncture of happenings, one gets the impression that discussions between the local ex-provosts Harper and Dickson and provost Thomson in particular, together with that of the Town Council members and the core of business people in the Burgh, in addition to the shore councillors, went on almost feverishly. But, the people were more and more bewildered, as information piled up, and as contrary rumours spread: "Strathclyde is for sure" and "perhaps it will not happen after all".

At the same time, there were those who had wanted a change, as I found in conversations locally at that time, but at no time in the pre-1975 change-over, did an official meeting, nor organised group, nor letter to the press, nor list of signatures in support, indicate that locals mustered to endorse the Strathclyde scheme. Those who wanted a change had had personal axes to grind with the Town Councillors. The centenary celebrations had helped to establish and foster legends of great things done in days or yore by councillors wise and true. Against the Strathclyde scheme, there had been meetings, protests, petitions and some letters to the press. All of these had been low keyed and sporadic, as explained, but they reflected more opposition than support in the locality for reorganisation.

An important distinction must be made with regard to the impact of regionalisation in contrast to that of the Base and the Ardyne complex: it had immediate domestic implications for the residents, whereas the invasions of military and industrial organisations were less related to the domestic scene. The effects will be reviewed in the next part of this study. In addition, it appeared to people that the future of the Base was in question because of new naval technology, and that of Ardyne was highly problematic because of the lack of orders coming to the rig builders of the UK. That of the regional scheme once implemented would appear to be permanent. They could bear with finite costs, if they had to be borne, at the economic, political, and cultural levels, but an infinite state of outside control affecting their rates, town and country planning, public amenities, tourism etc.... into the distant future, that was another matter. Misinformation

and uninformed created more bewilderment. In addition, pressure was exerted upon the people from the "outscape", whose general orientation was alien to that of the local people.

Outscape influentials stressed the primacy of national needs. National security, the defence of the free world, had been raised, on the one hand, to outweigh any costs to the people of Cowal in ecological, or economic, or cultural terms, in support of the Polaris Base. National solvency, future prosperity, and fuller employment, had been raised, on the other hand, to outweigh any costs to the people of Cowal in ecological, economic, or cultural terms, in support of the McAlpine venture. National efficiency, greater co-ordination and rationalisation had been stressed in support of the Regions. In the case of militarisation and industrialisation, the local Town Council had supported the national need, but in the case of the regionalisation scheme they saw that the cost would be the extinction of their "local parliament".

In April, 1975, the Town Council organised its last event - a dinner and dance to mark the demise of the Town Council. I remember well the deep misery of many guests known to me, especially of the late editor of the Dunoon Observer. "It is like going to your own funeral", he said sadly. Certainly, the drama of the events were pointedly highlighted that August night when the guests made their exit along the old promenade beneath the floodlit facades of the Castle walls and the Castle Hill House. Both were local symbols to the residents of old Dunoon on the one hand, and of Ewing's new Dunoon, on the other. But, there was more in the scene that met the eye. Ewing, the Glaswegian, had attempted to take over Castle Hill with his high wall built around it, but the local women had foiled his scheme. Now in the larger domain of local administrative control, Glasgow was taking over, and the locals could do little about it. For some, as we have seen, that was not a problem, because to quote

have already seen how linked Dunoon had been with Glasgow over time. In terms of the historical-scape, the conjuncture of events had brought about the development of old Dunoon and its transformation into a seaside resort particularly for Glaswegians. It was the designation of Lochgilphead, as the District HQ in the new Region, which shook the people more, given the old competition for county control over the years. Dunoon had lost out badly.

At a farewell dinner in Glenmorag Hotel in March 1975, 8 weeks before regionalization, the local guests sadly reflected upon the passing of the old regime. On the 8th April the last meeting of the Town Council took place. For 107 years 33 Provosts had led the Council who developed the pattern of tourism and local affairs. The break in familiar patterns in May 1975, with the implementation of the Regional scheme, was devastating. We shall later see, when looking at its effects, how the people felt about it all.

Once the Region was created, the "spin-offs" and "secondary surprises" followed. The rates were to rise. These were made in the name of the greater good of the 1½ million people of the Region. Peripheral areas were to carry greater costs. The locals told me over and over again, at that time, that they were "subsidising Glasgow". People locally complained of the huge increase in salaries for administrators at Glasgow. These were a scandal to the people of the Regions at a time of national sacrifice. The emphasis on sacrifice amongst the bureaucrats sounded rather hollow. Moreover the local residents of Dunoon had always enjoyed a face-to-face relationship with their Councillors. Now a faceless bureaucracy took over both at Glasgow on "the other side", and in Lochgilphead, which to locals was "the Back of beyond". One local resident on the morning of the demise of the Town Council remarked wryly to me: "'Forward' was our motto. Distrust must now replace it."

Meanwhile, the American Polaris submarine was being replaced by Poseidon, and McAlpine had extended his hold on the Loch Striven shores at Ardyne,

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Quoted by R.Michels(1959):Political Parties. N.Y.: Dover Publications .
2. Third Statistical Account. "op.cit".p.60 .
3. "Ibid" .
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5. See centenary issue of the Dunoon Observer and Srgyllshire Standard.
6. Roszak,T.(1970): Man Made Futures. Hutchinson Educational.p.71.
7. Harloe,M.(1975): Swindon: A Town in Transition. Hienemann. p.233.
8. Hudson,K.(1967): An Awkward Size for a Town:Newton Abbot. David Charles.
9. See Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard.1st.Nov..'69.
10. "Ibid". See issues of Oct.-May'69.
11. "Ibid".8th.Dec.'69.
12. "Ibid".17th.Jan.' 70.
13. "Ibid".16th.May'70.
14. "Ibid".
15. "Ibid".20th.Feb.'71.
16. "Ibid".
17. "Ibid".
18. "Ibid".
19. "Ibid".13th.March'71.
20. "Ibid".April 24th.'71.
21. "Ibid".April 29th.'72.
22. "Ibid".May 13th.'72.
23. "Ibid".
24. "Ibid".26th.Aug.'72.
25. "Ibid".16th.Sept.'72.

26. Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard. 11th. Nov. '72.
27. "Ibid". March 3rd. '73.
28. "Ibid". Feb. 16th. '74.
29. "Ibid". March 9th. '74. SNP win with a majority of 3,388 over the Tories.
30. "Ibid". March 16th. '74.
31. "Ibid". March 30th. '74.
32. "Ibid". April 6th. '74.
33. "Ibid". April 27th. '74.
34. "Ibid". 11th. May '74.
35. "Ibid". 18th. May '74.
36. "Ibid". Aug. 31st. '74.
37. "Ibid". Nov. 16th. '74.
38. "Ibid". Nov. 23rd. '74.
39. "Ibid".
40. "Ibid". Dec. 21st. '74.
41. The Town Council was in disarray . The Dunoon Observer reported on the 18th. Jan. '75 that it was split over the issue of whether or not the Cowal area should be in with the Inverclyde District of Strathclyde rather than with Lochgilphead in the District of Argyll and Bute. A Mr. Cullen put forward a motion : "That this Council , in the interests of Dunoon and Cowal make the strongest representations to the Local Government Boundary Commission for Scotland to have Dunoon and Cowal reinstated in the Inverclyde District of Strathclyde ". Mr. Cullen made the points that (1) no member of Dunoon had been appointed a convener; (2) more workers travel daily from Renfrewshire to work at Ardyne than there are locals employed there, and if they were in the Inverclyde District, he was sure the authority there would build houses here for these workers. Judge Harper, however, stated "that it could not be said that Dunoon had a community of interest with Greenock. Their main interest was tourism and Greenock's was the opposite to that". He moved that Dunoon and Cowal be joined with Rothesay and Bute as a separate District and that the Boundary Commission be informed of their wishes. His motion was carried, but in the end Cowal was tied with Argyll and Bute under Lochgilphead.

42. Toffler, A. (1970): Future Shock. Pan Books.

Toffler bases much of his analysis of modern society under stress through change, upon the overload of information, which is a feature of modernity. The complexities of reorganization, added to the impacts of the Polaris Base and the McAlpine project, created such an overload of change, which brought with it the new dimensions of life and new means of coping with life locally. Stress was inevitable, and as we have seen, lags developed in a situation of uneven change. Toffler also states that much of modern stress is due to such lags, citing Ogburn.

PART FOUR

THE EFFECTS OF IMPACT.

<u>CHAPTER 8 :</u>	<u>Effects Upon the Ecological-Scape</u>
<u>CHAPTER 9 :</u>	<u>Effects Upon the Economic-Scape</u>
<u>CHAPTER 10 :</u>	<u>Effects Upon the Political-Scape</u>
<u>CHAPTER 11 :</u>	<u>Effects Upon the Cultural-Scape</u>
<u>CHAPTER 12 :</u>	<u>Conclusion</u>

In Parts I -III the focus has been on the setting and the respective impacts, in Part IV the complex overlay of these impacts is examined and the diverse effects identified. This demands organizing the chapters by sections under sub-headings to deal with the diverse effects upon the various scapes to reduce the complexities.

EFFECTS UPON THE ECOLOGICAL-SCAPE .

"Bonnie old Dunoon by the hills and sea ,
 There are lots of bens and fairy glens,
 And all of them are free.
 There are lots of walks for private talks,
 And gorgeous scenery
 In bonnie old Dunoon on the C-L-Y-D-E " Local seaside song.

INTRODUCTION :

Before discussing the possible effects on the area of the USN invasion, the McAlpine intrusion, and the establishment of Strathclyde, some observations upon the modes of investigation are called for at the outset. They were briefly referred to at the end of chapter two.

Firstly, I reviewed the local press, which provided me with a framework of events and local feedback contemporaneous with them . Secondly, I took into account the national press, which provided me with some assessment of the way the wider world viewed the local scene, especially important to a tourist area whose reputation and image are sensitive to outside publicity . Thirdly, I set up three interview programmes which now require further comment, although fully presented in the appendices.

I was acutely aware of the fact that I was not only a lone researcher, but that as a visitor and observer I was bound to have a very limited field of contact within a short period of seventeen months, however intensive my programme . In an attempt to broaden my enquiries, I interviewed 803 persons as follows. In the first programme, during the autumn of '74, I spoke with 130 locals to identify the election issues . In the second programme, during the summer season of '75, I spoke with 148 visitors to explore the impressions they had of the locality as a tourist area. In the third programme, during the autumn and winter of 1975-'76, I spoke with 525 local residents at home to evaluate their overall view of life locally under the impact of outside intrusions . All contacts were chosen at random (see Appendices 1, 8 and 9). Random streets, random ferries, and random addresses, took me into venues and recesses within the breadth and length of the locality, where I am certain I would not otherwise have gone. In this and the next three chapters I will be drawing upon these interviews, together with the coverage of the local and national press, wherever relevant.

I did the interviewing myself, arguing that in this way I would become
re immersed in the "local-scape", and have first-hand knowledge "at face" of the
residents dispersed over a wide area, as described in the Appendices.

Also, walking from one location to another, standing at bus stops with
the local residents, and sharing the inconveniences associated with "run-down"
services, are experiences which extend the researcher's knowledge, and are part
of the "surrender" spoken of by Kurt H. Wolff (1971), who stresses that the researcher
ought to be aware of the "pertinence of everything" so as to be in touch with
the sum total of life locally. As I walked from door to door along narrow
streets, I also experienced what it was to live with cadillacs and large
trucks swerving round corners in many settlements where there were then no
electric lights on the streets. It was from my visits into the homes of the local
residents that I was also able to have some access to their views and feelings with
regard to their "ecological-scape". But, we must first recall what is meant
by the ecological-scape.

THE ECOLOGICAL-SCAPE :

As stated earlier, the ecological-scape is the emergent inhibiting or
operating factors of the environment which create the quality of a setting for
living. The factors of the environment are both the natural features of
the landscape or the man-made. These may constitute hazards or threat, liberation
or progress. These factors within the particular definition of ecological-scape
refer directly to the material dimensions within time and space and not to
the social and economic factors, or the adjuncts of culture, or tradition. R.G.
Baker (1970) refers to "nesting assemblies" as an ecological arrangement².
The surrounding (or "circumjacent" as Baker puts it) physical dimensions of
hills, sea, and woods, constitute the ecological arrangement or environs
within which the settlements of Cowal nestle. The quality of the setting, firstly
in terms of associated features, and secondly in terms of "nesting assemblies" need
further explanation.

The quality of a setting refers to the features which affect the
senses and have become familiar features, and to which the senses have become
accustomed. The ecological-scape is affected when any of these features are
altered. Such as new sights, smells, noises, tastes and even a new tactile
world, all of which may happen when there are outside inroads into the area.

the researcher ought to take account of these features. They ought not to be overlooked in impact studies because they often help to determine whether people are inhibited or liberated, go or come, become depressed or elated. In terms even of organizations and associations they may help explain why they move out, on, or into the area. The point I wish to make is that noise, smell etc. as natural or man-made features of the relevant scape help to establish the particular ecological-scape of a locality or settlement. They are measurable as objective features "out there". They are also variously "inscaped" by people, so that the effects are uneven. In terms of routinization, people may become habituated to the features over time, although at first they reacted negatively to them.

The quality of a setting is also determined by the "nesting arrangement" of both the natural and man-made material structure of the setting. The removal or intrusion of any significant item on the landscape alters the setting, and accordingly affect the quality. Obviously rural settings have become urban because of extensive building, and clearly the character of the setting changes radically when nature itself alters the contour of the locality through major shifts ecologically, as when the terrain turns into desert. But, the quality of a setting may also change less dramatically through several alterations which in themselves add up to very little change, but when taken together affect movement and types of activity within the environs. In a sense the ecological-scape creates limits which contain activities, and in part affect the way of living, like walls, doors, windows, furniture and paraphernalia do activities within a home. As geographers and architects would put it, there is an "areal association", or functional relationship, between human activity and the natural, or man-made environment, which is not merely a topographical correlation³. The introduction of electric street lighting, for example, alters the quality of night-life.

In more recent times the advent of technology and dramatic advances in science have brought into the landscape not only qualitative changes which enhance activities, but also new hazards. On the man

they are registered as topographical features such as "spaghetti junctions", chemical factories, nuclear stations or military installations. In addition, their real presence is mediated by man's perception creating a psychological presence. Thus it is that the ecological-scape may change firstly through the actual material intrusion, and secondly through a resultant psychological impression. The grounds of the latter may be real or imagined. It is here that there is uneven reaction. Some welcome the change, others fear it.

In terms of hazard, however, there is the element of threat, which lurks in man-made environments, where there is build-up of chemical forces, or of radiation, which are not sensed as noise and smells are. These have real presence, which often do not have a psychological one.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTOR :

Before proceeding with the discussion of the possible changes in the ecological-scape, it will be necessary to introduce the concept of the "cognitive map". If we are talking about the impact material change brings to the way the people see their locality, we are referring to what psychologists describe as alterations in "spatial cognition". R.M. Downs (1968), D. Stea and R.M. Downs (1970), F.N. Shemyakin (1940, 1962), S. Milgram (1976) and R.G. Baker (1970) have discussed and commented upon spatial cognition, a feature of which is cognitive mapping. Large-scale environments are perceived by people

as a figurative delineation in their mind with regard to the extent of an area and its salient features. We will later see how it mattered to me that people had variant boundaries in their mind as to the confines of the locality, and I will shortly explain the methods I used to explore them.

Suffice it here to state that the ecological-scape I was considering was to be studied within the confines as delineated in chapter three. It is essential that there be preliminary talk between researcher and respondent with regard to the confines so as to identify which features must be included in the research programme. If there is no agreement as to what does constitute the settlement or locality, then the researcher must make it clear to the respondent that he is dealing with specific confines and wishes to talk about features within them. This will be further elucidated shortly.

I will now draw upon the interviews firstly in the 525 homes visited, and secondly on the summer ferries.

THE INTERVIEWS WITH THE 525 LOCAL RESIDENTS :

With regard to the 525 interviews, taking account of the above, I had to be sure, when I referred to Dunoon and its locality, that boundaries and confines were clearly understood. The researcher has to take care, when he is speaking about life within a certain rural area, or urban neighbourhood, or sector, that what he regards as "such and such" matches what the local resident takes it to be, otherwise they may both be speaking about different places, although they may use the same place names or labels. There are people well within many cities, who, for example, would regard themselves as outside the city; one cannot assume that because they in fact reside inside the boundary, they regard themselves as living within the city. The limitations set up by people, cognitively and locally, must surely be determined in advance of any questioning of local residents. When, then, the researcher of life in a settlement speaks of the views the locals have of the place, his findings would be highly questionable if based upon the assumption that when he and the locals discussed the place, they were talking about the same place. They might not have been, and therefore the findings, may, in fact, represent views about a different kind of place. Gerald D. Suttles (1972) has fully presented the problems elsewhere.⁵ Could I be sure when the interviewee and I spoke of "Dunoon and its locality" that we were really speaking about the same area? From the start, I ruled out using the term DUNOON DISTRICT, although I have used it in this study, because at that time the locals were using the word "district" with reference to the regional divisions, and I did not wish to confuse them, so I decided to speak of the "locality" instead. But, what of its limits and size? How could I rule out discrepancy in our definition of the locality?

I presented the interviewees the larger map of the West of Scotland (J. Bartholemew & Son Ltd., 1971). I stuck small stickers upon it, each with a

number. Next I placed these numbered stickers around the confines of the map itself, the coastlines, and by the settlements. Then, I scattered other numbered stickers at random to disguise the contours selected by the placement of the first set of stickers. The plan was to ask the interviewees (see questions Appendix 9.3.) to trace out the confines of the locality by passing their finger from sticker to sticker. It was possible that some might simply include the whole of the West of Scotland, hence the stickers around the confines of the whole map. I decided upon this procedure after my pilot run earlier.

When I had carried out pilot interviews during the summer of 1975, I had discovered that there were confusing moments when it became clear that we were not agreed as to what constituted Dunoon and its locality. I simulated my interviewing with ten people in the Burgh and all of them raised the difficulty. The problem was that I had not used a map in the interviews. It then struck me that many studies are misleading, because they have not first established the cognitive maps of the locals. Most studies of localities are at pains to establish the "areal" boundaries, but seldom have the research workers been at pains to rule out possible cross-talk. People could be speaking of a different area, although using the same place-name. Hence my usage of the map.

In addition, it is difficult to know when one place ends and another begins in terms of East, West, North and South. Appendix 9.2. discusses the mode of determining the inclusion/exclusion of streets and settlements.

Table I presents the cognitive maps delineated by the interviewees according to their sector of residence. There were four maps worth noting, which are set out in maps I to 4. It is clear that almost 50% of the people generally agreed as to what constituted Dunoon and its locality. In each of the three sectors they represented the majority. Their cognitive map tallied almost exactly with that of Inglis's (see page 69). It was significant that these people were either born in the locality, or had resided there for more than twenty years. There were 120 who had such a diversified conception of the limits of the area of Dunoon and its locality that no consensus emerged except that 54 confined their map to the Cowal side of the Firth, whereas the other 66 went back and forth across the firth. All of them originated from the outscape.

TABLE 1: THE RESIDENTS' COGNITIVE MAPS : NUMBER AND % GROUPED BY SECTOR

INTERVIEWEE SECTOR OF RESIDENCE	THE COGNITIVE MAPS OF DUNOON AND ITS LOCALITY INCLUSIONS										TOTAL %
	NE SECTOR & SW SECTOR PLUS BURGH N	BURGH PLUS INNELL- AN N	SW SECTOR PLUS BURGH N	NE SECTOR PLUS BURGH N	BURGH ONLY N	"OTHER BOUND- ARIES" N	UNSURE N	TOTAL %			
N 97	37	5	12	16	0	26	1	18.5			
NE SECTOR	38.1	5.2	12.4	16.5	0.0	26.8	1.0				
N 68	21	0	20	6	2	15	4	13.0			
Sw SECTOR	30.9	0.0	29.4	8.8	2.9	22.1	5.9				
N360	201	65	0	4	2	79	9	68.5			
BURGH SECTOR	55.8	18.1	0.0	1.1	0.6	21.9	2.5				
N 525	259	70	32	26	4	120	14	100.0			
TOTALS	49.3	13.3	6.1	5.0	0.8	22.9	2.7				

Source: 6% sample - computer SPSS, Appendix 9.5

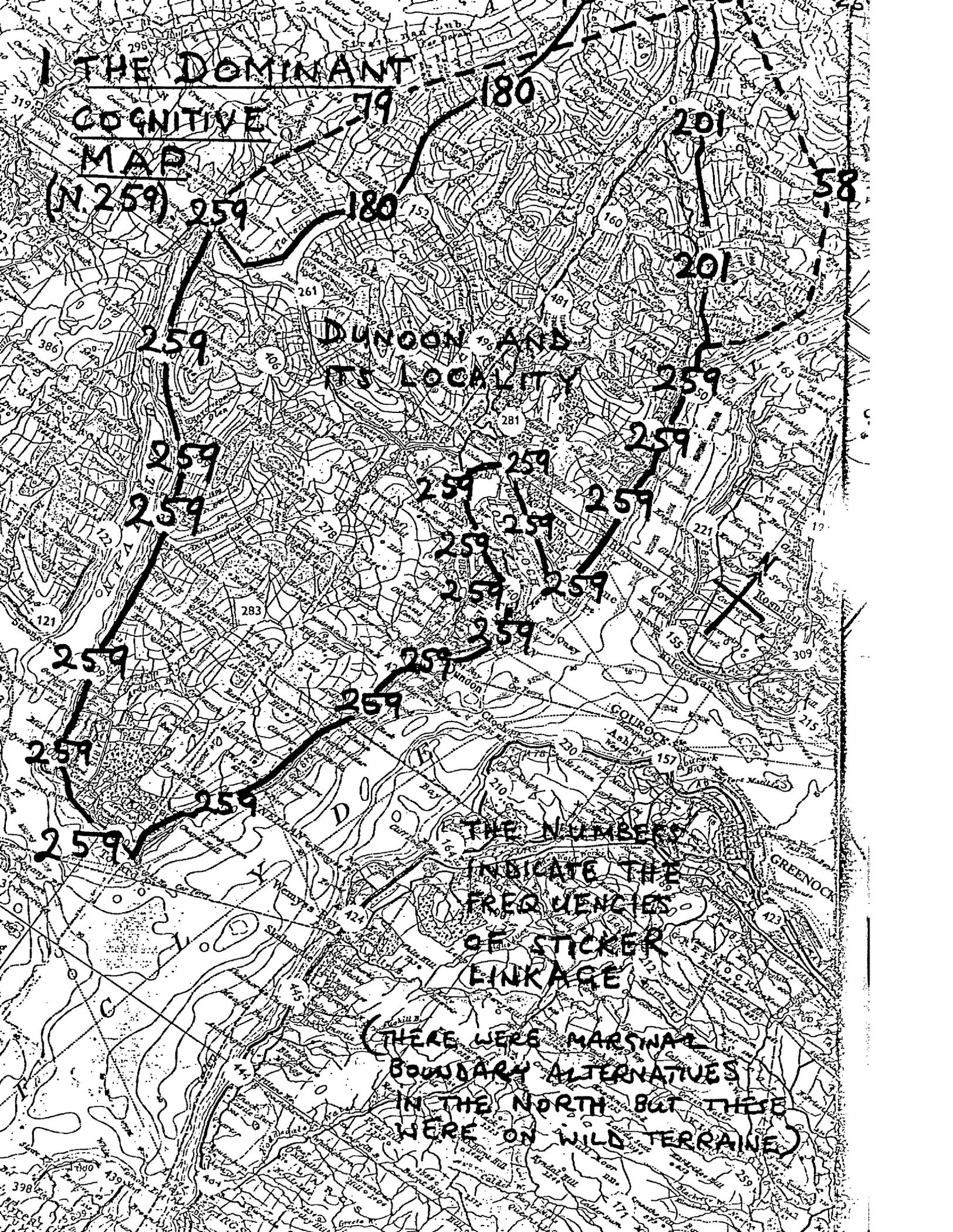
THE DOMINANT
COGNITIVE
MAP

(N. 259)

DUNOON AND
ITS LOCALITY

THE NUMBERS
INDICATE THE
FREQUENCIES
OF STICKER
LINKAGE

(THERE WERE MARSHAL
BOUNDARY ALTERNATIVES
IN THE NORTH BUT THESE
WERE ON WILD TERRAINE)



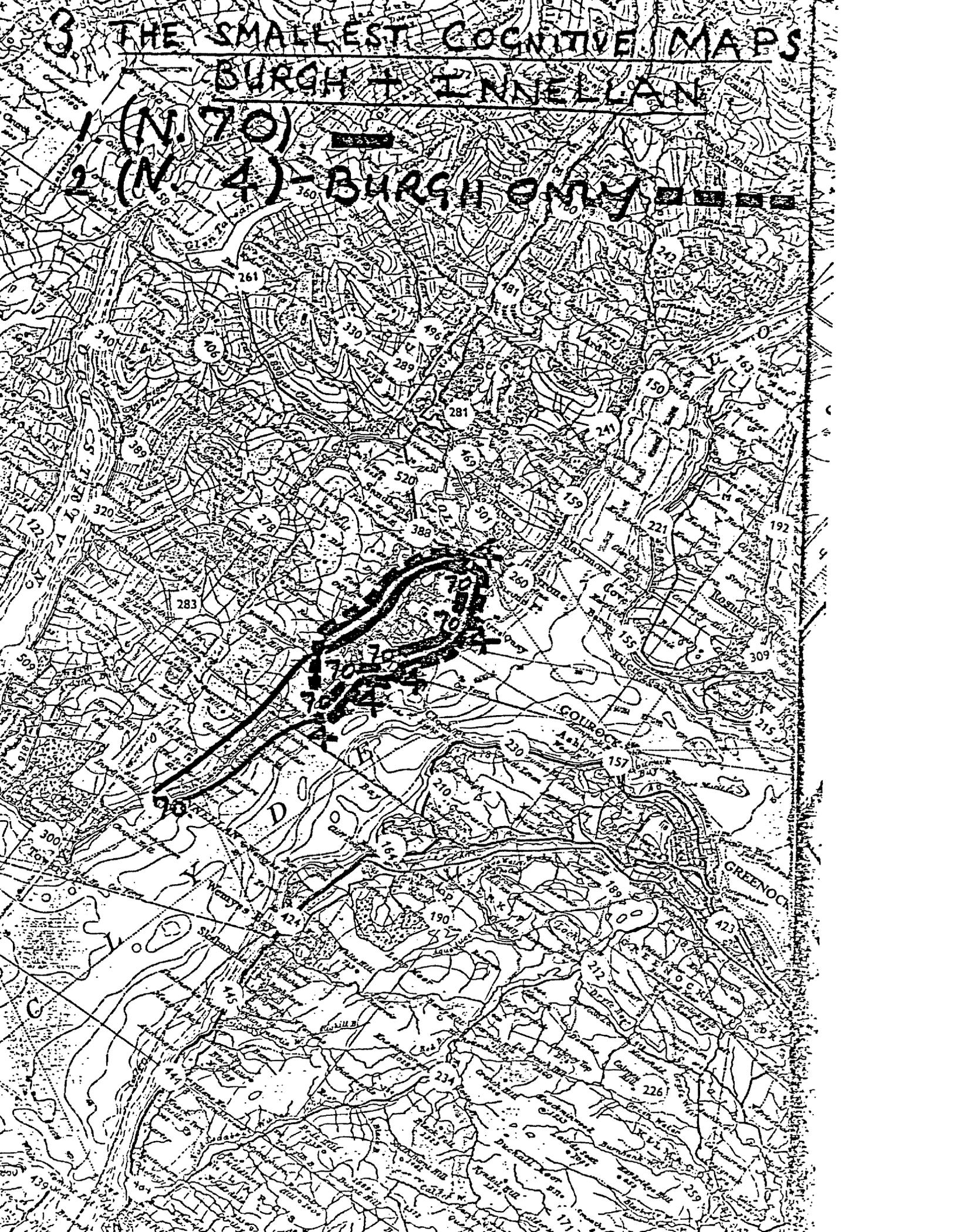
SECTOR LINKED WITH
BURGH (N 32)

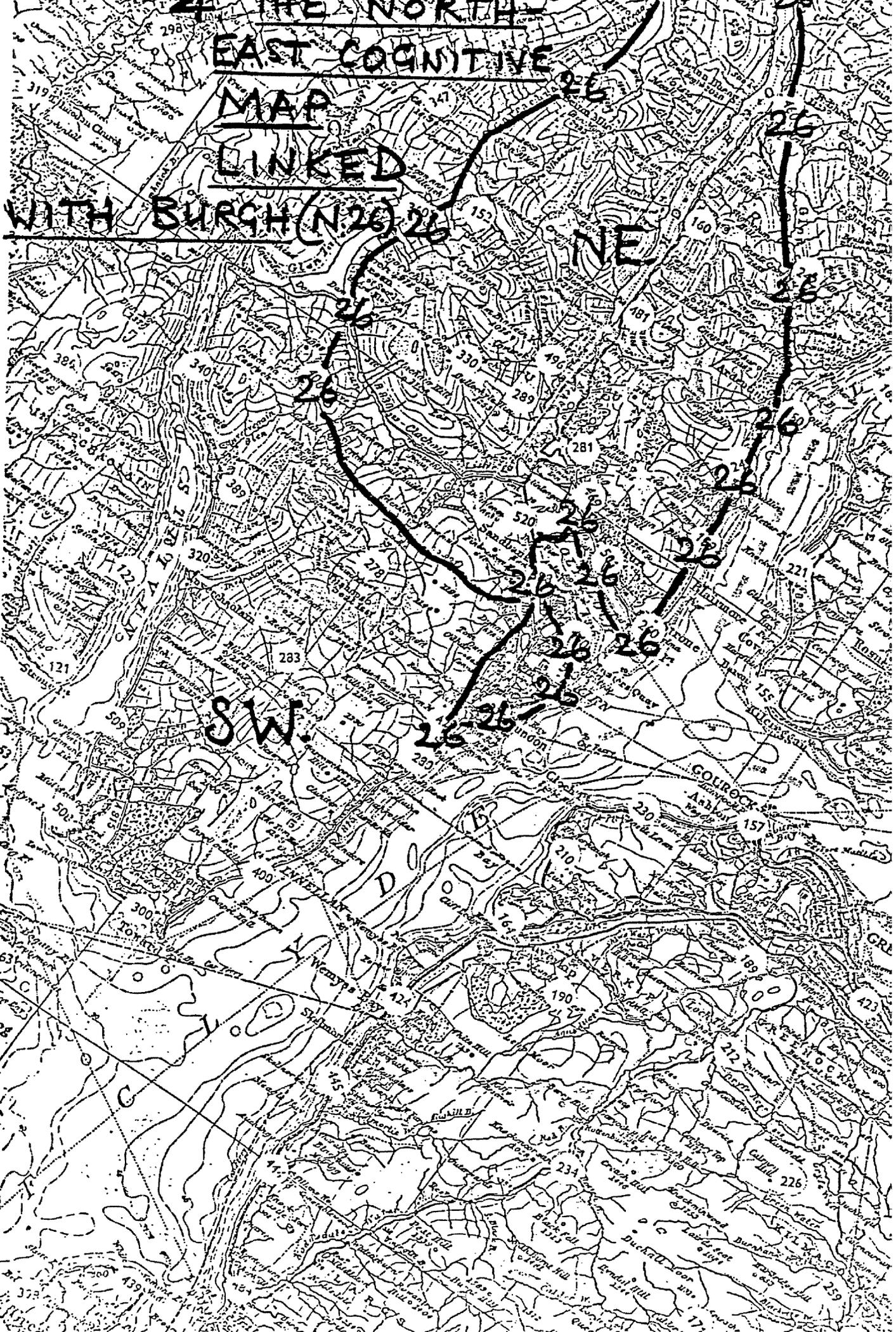


3 THE SMALLEST COGNITIVE MAPS

BURGH + INNELLAN

- 1 (N. 70) —————
- 2 (N. 4) - BURGH ONLY —————





EAST COGNITIVE

MAP LINKED

WITH BURGH (N.20) 26

SW.

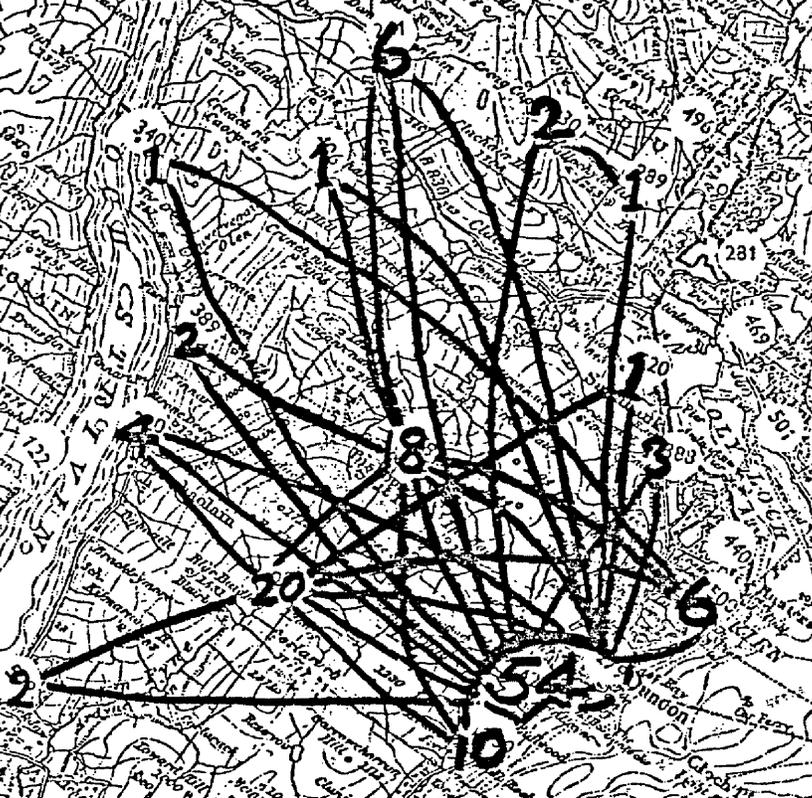
COLLECTOR

ARCH

D O

THE OTHER BOUNDARIES IN 120
 (1) GIVEN BY 54 PEOPLE
 ALL OF THEM ORIGINATED FROM
 OUTSIDE THE LOCALITY

THE 54
 COGNITIVE
 BOUNDARIES
 AROUND DUNDOON



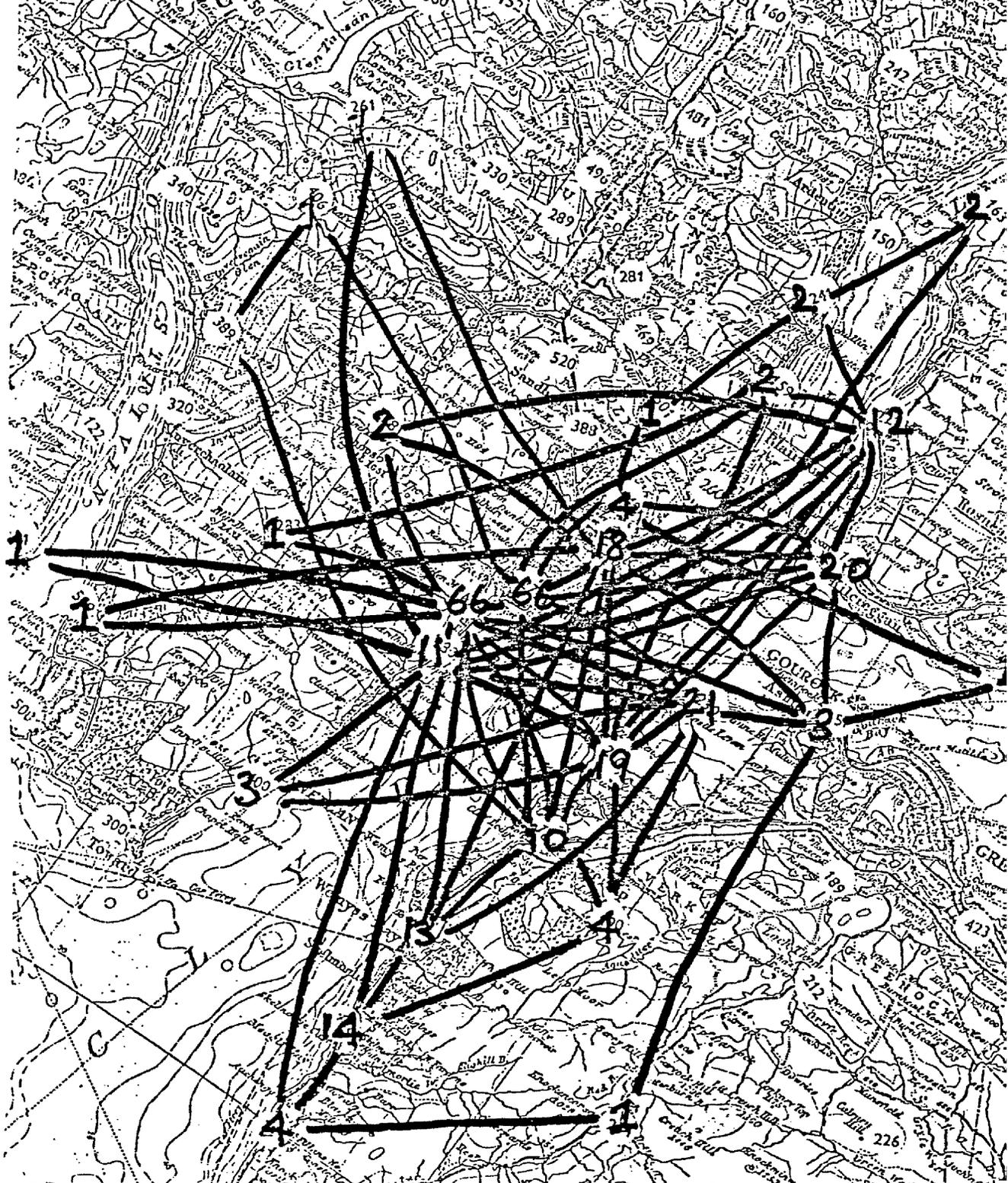
ORIGIN OF THE 120 (54/MAPS, 66/MAP 6)
 WHO SELECTED "OTHER BOUNDARIES"

RESIDENCE & DISTRIBUTION OF THE 120	% OF SUM TOTAL FROM THE OUTSCAPE	ORIGIN					
		THE 54 (MAPS)			THE 66 (MAP 6)		
		NEARER	WIDER	TOTAL	NEARER	WIDER	TOTAL
N.E.C. 26	36.1	16	2	18	7	1	8
S.W. 15	31.9	5	3	8	7	0	7
BURGH 79	37.4	25	3	28	50	1	51
TOTALS 120	36.4	46	8	54	64	2	66

SOURCE: 6% SAMPLE / SEE APPENDIX 9 -

6 THE OTHER BOUNDARIES

(ii) GIVEN BY 66 PEOPLE LINKING LOCALITY WITH "OTHER SIDES"
(SEE MAP 5 FOR DETAILS REGR. ORIG)



THE 66 BOUNDAR WITH A SALIENT

The cognitive maps were to prove invaluable to me in assessing the extent of the impact locally in ecological terms. Firstly, I had to be careful in my interpretation of what people had had to say about the events within the locality. Clearly, from Table 1, only 259 were speaking about the same ecological-^{*}scape as that which I had in mind. For this I had devised a method of sorting out the areas referred to. As may be seen from the questions asked in the Appendix 9.3), I made it clear at the outset, after having identified their assessment of the contour of the locality, that I was interested in discovering their impressions about life within specific boundaries. I did so in the following manner.

Firstly, taking into account that there might very well be some confusion over their delineation of the area (Dunoon and its locality), I had arranged that their boundaries should first be established. Secondly, I then made it clear that my study was about life within a specific area. I said to the interviewees, still holding the open map before them: "My study is about this area here on the map". I traced it with my finger, showing the difference between my boundaries and theirs, saying: "The research covers this part of Cowal. For convenience, I will be talking you about life in this area - so when I speak about the 'locality' this (I traced it again with my finger) will be the part of Cowal I will be referring to". When questions were asked about the locality and the limits of the ecological-landscape, I reminded them of the area I was referring to, pointing again to the map. In locality studies one must make doubly sure that throughout the interview the area researched is 'de facto' the one to which the interviewees address themselves. At no time can the convergence of view with regard to the confines be assumed. Early then, although they had a definition of the area in mind which did not always agree with the Inglis boundaries, my questions were about life within the Inglis confines, which happened to agree (as responses proved) with the dominant cognitive map amongst my 525 contacts throughout the area.

*There were some slight deviations in the northern boundaries.

I also made a point of asking people about their settlement, the rest of the locality, and the locality in general. These questions were concerned with attraction towards, and change within the settlement, the rest of the locality, and the locality in general. Each time I traced the ecological limits on the map referring to these "areal" parts of the locality, or to the whole of the locality. If I was to discover the effects of impacts related to the invasion of the USN personnel, the Ardyne labour force, or of the regional scheme, then it had to be zoned. But, there was another reason why I had subdivided their ecological-scape into settlement, rest of locality, and locality as a whole (in general).

The subdivided questions were first established on the premise that people sort out the world around them into the immediate, the less immediate, and their sum. They "inscape" their world into familiar territory which is their abiding milieu, then into the environs, and lastly into the total territory. So, in the Cowal area there was the village or small town (under 10,000), with which the people were in immediate and familiar touch, then there was the less familiar. The extent of the horizons were clearly problematic. This parcelling of one's ecological-scape into inner and outer worlds, I term the mechanism of partialization. Common and shared experiences within the territories or shared impacts from those outside, and effects shared by local residents create a sedimentation of experience.⁶ Thus, the experience does not remain with the individual: it becomes a communal one. Local sets of consciousness may thus emerge from these plural experiences.

One must therefore take account of the partialization which takes place when one totals impressions given by interviewees, or takes account of their inscape of events that are taking place within the locality in general, or in the surrounding area, but within the locality, or lastly within one's own immediate locale. The import of these remarks will become clearer later.

Dealing with the "ecological-scape" enough has been said in the study so far to indicate that whatever the blight the incomers brought to the shores of Cowal, its scenic beauty and rural character, in the main, still survived. The interviews show that people did not on the whole regard the USN and McAlpine presence as completely devastating, or that they had ruined the environment. As the Presbyterian Minister on the hill had said, "the background of hills and sea" had endured, and the familiar contours remained, except to some extent at the Holy Loch and at Ardyne. The data from the interviews present an impressive agreement about the attractiveness of the locality in general, with regard to the settlement of residence, and the environs around the settlement within the locality.

The liberating features of the Cowal landscape in terms of scenic beauty survived. To the eyes of the beholders the salient contours remained. Almost 96% of the interviewees found their settlement attractive; approximately 92% found the environs and the locality in general attractive. There was no evidence that the Polaris Base or the Ardyne complex had altered the pride and appreciation of the locals in the seascape and landscape of Cowal. In the interviews, particular attractions associated with the ecological-scape were identified and noted in my jotter. Approximately 81% in the South West, 89% in the North East, and 90% in the Burgh, mentioned the beauty of the scenery. There was no significant difference between the responses of the residents in the three sectors. Over three hundred mentioned the healthy sea air, and over two hundred the excursions into the hilly country. Over and over again the people stressed that Cowal was a place of beauty.

Was there any evidence that the USN Base, or the McAlpine complex, had made the ecological-scape less attractive, or had badly altered it? I will examine what evidence there was that came my way, and the reports and account of the local residents, each in turn.

The ancient reputation of the place and the nostalgia that apparently so many had for their Clyde haunts, particularly in Cowal, was always a factor behind conversations and replies to my questions. There is an old West of Scotland song which puts it all so quaintly :

"Dae ye mind o' lang lang syne
When the simmer days were fine,
And the sun shone brighter than
It's ever done since syne ". In the good old days even the sun

shone more brightly. "The inscape of yesterday" often intrudes upon the present scape ; indeed, it may for older people invade reality, transposing it into the past. But, there were many who recognised the ugly reality .

Someone, who feared that reality, had scrawled on the back of a toilet door at Hunters Quay :

"Don't you understand
What I'm trying to say ?
Can't you feel the fear
That I'm feelin today ?
If the button is pushed
There's no runnin away
There'll be no one to save
With the world in a grave.
Take a look around you boy....
Look and you'll believe we're on
The eve of destruction ". When people around the Clyde spoke of

the locality it was always in terms of the weather; and if in the '70s it was worse than it used to be, it was because something had happened to the sunshine, but the presence of the ballistic submarines meant on the face of things very little to the seascape and the shore settlements. I did take a good long look around me, after reading through those lines .

In real terms, the landscape and seascape had both been altered by the military. But, to most of the young people the grey bows of the ships and the black towers of the submarines had been identified with the Holy Loch. Even to many visitors the Base had become part of the scene. At night, the fairy lights dangled from the masts of the ship and dry dock, as they did from the posts along the old seaside promenades. During the day, the yachts and speed boats ran alongside, and two fishing boats sailed to and fro on the waters.

To the older generation there was the memory of the British Osprey RN Base during World War II. As already mentioned, the submarine base had been located

in exactly the same position on the loch. The editor of the Dunoon paper, aware of the association between the base then and the USN Base, was quoted in the press at the time of the celebration of the first decade after Proteus had anchored : "The oldsters remember the dark days of the last war when the same loch gave shelter to the depot ship HMS Forth and units of the submarine fleets of the allies. Dunoon and district offered hospitality to thousands who were based in the area"⁷ . The "inscape of yesterday" constantly intruded upon the Cowal scene, as did the old photographs of the town and the environs in the local press. We will see how the oldsters associated the RN Base with the USN Base.

Whilst in 1971 the streets of Yokosuka, Japan, were crowded with thousands, protesting against the docking of US nuclear submarines (also at Saseho, and at Kyoto city), many people had become as accustomed to the sight of the black fins of the ballistic fleet as they had the black fins of the Firth of Clyde porpoises. The people had never been fired by the rhetoric of CND politicians, philosophers, religious leaders and young protesters. Many locals, in the sixties, stood at the pier in groups with placards, "Go home weirdies", in their hands. The followers of Mrs. Robertson were a minority. Later, when the fish still swam, and the birds still flew over the lochside, when shell-fish and seaweed were still washed up on the shores, people forgot about the hazards of radiation.

Not until December, 1970, was there any new outcry against nuclear hazards since the last criticisms in June, 1965. In December, there was a fire near the missile-store aboard the depot ship. The national press triggered off some local concern, but it soon died away. If one examines the rise and fall of letters as shown on page 173, it is clear that danger to local life or blight on the local scenic beauty did not figure significantly. There had been no deaths of civilians, and no outward signs of threat. R.W. Kates (1976) points out in his study of environmental hazards, that when the sound of a falling tree is not registered by the sensory system, there is no fear of that falling tree. He shows from recent research that even where hazard is established, few flee from it and few adjust to the effects, especially when the hazard is not perceived. He states: "To experience events does not imply experiencing consequences"⁸.

Noise was one consequence, which people had experienced over the years around Holy Loch, so I therefore had expected that the local residents would have brought up the question of the noise at Holy Loch. They did not do so during the actual interviews. I had given them the opportunity to raise the matter when speaking about any possible dislikes they may have had with reference to life in their settlement, the surrounding area and in the locality in general. However, when I was making my rounds by the lochside one morning, an older lady who had been one of my interviewees two days before, called me over to her. She said, "There was something I didn't mention to you the other day - it's about the noise out there". She then complained at length about it and added: "Do you know that at night my pillow actually throbs under my head with the tremors from that blessed ship". Again, Margaret Robertson whom I had talked with before the interviews had begun, had cited the stress caused locally to many of the older people in particular. I wondered why the noise factor had not been raised in my interviews. I did not ask a direct question with regard to points of complaint; had I done so, I could have prompted and biased responses, but why had open-ended questions not received a mention of the noise factor at Holy Loch?

In addition, there had been four letters to the local press about the noise from the Base between December '75 and the end of January '76. The USS Holland arrived on Nov. 7th. to replace the USS Canopus at Holy Loch. Two huge depot ships, not one, lay in the loch. As cited in Appendix 2 (which gives a chronicle of events in addition to the letters sent to the press), the Sandbank Ratepayers met to complain about the noise from the Holland engines in December. Taking into account the conjuncture of events, I interviewed the people of the lochside and of Sandbank in Sept.-Oct. '75. Local and national concern in the press about the USN drug abuse was at its height then; concern over Strathclyde's hold on the locality was intense; and the influx of navies triggered off more and more local protests, as we will discuss later. So, I was not in the area at the height of the debate on noise; instead, some other issues were debated. When impacts overlap, as they did during my time in the locality, issues and diverse effects

take their turn, and their toll, as new circumstances arise. There had been local complaints regarding noise at Holy Loch in the press during the month of August '75, and the US senior staff had promised to take special measures. This, in addition to the overlay of other matters, help to explain why the people of the North-East were not raising the issue of noise in Sept.-Oct. '75. As pointed out already, I did not rely solely upon interviews to assess what was happening in Cowal. Press articles and letters to the Dunoon Observer and remarks that came my way in the round of life locally helped to flesh out the general picture.

Apart from the interviews, there was no doubt that the noise from the depot ships and dry dock had been a major stressor for people around the lochside. Over the years, residents brought the matter up time and again at the Sandbank Ratepayer meetings. The peace of the local-scape had been shattered, especially at nights. There is evidence that people have moved house by the loch to seek other spots. This may be shown by the fact that in my interviews with people in their residences, more and more of them had come in since the US invasion. As I moved towards the village of Ardentinny, it became apparent that there was a higher turnover of residents alongside the shores of Holy Loch.

There was some evidence for this. Firstly, with regard to those who were born outside the locality, those in the South-West, who had moved into the sector since the advent of the USN personnel, were approximately 10% of the residents; in the Burgh they were approximately 33%; and in the North-East approximately 49% of the interviewees. So that as one moved from the South northwards the turnover of outsiders increased. Secondly, the highest proportion of residents born in the locality was within the Burgh (approx. 41% out of the 360); the next was in the South-West (approx. 31% out of a total of 68); and the smallest in the North-East (approx. 25% out of 97). There had been indications, from informal chats I had had with locals, that many had moved because of the noise, as there were in the local press in letters from "the tired", and

TABLE 2.: RESPONSES TO THE HOLY LOCH PRESS ARTICLE OF JACK HOUSE: FREQUENCY OF DIVERSE VIEWS

(N= number of persons who used the identified phrase at least once in their responses)

SECTORS OF THOSE RESIDENTS EXPRESSING VIEWS	THE NOTED RESPONSES LABELLED BY REPEATED PHRASES												MIXED RESPONSE						
	POSITIVE REGD. USN PRESENCE						NEGATIVE REGD. USN PRESENCE												
	"THERE'S NOTHING SINISTER ABOUT THE LOCH"			"JACK HOUSE IS ANTI-POLARIS"			"YOU NEVER NOTICE THE AMERICANS"			"IT'S WORRYING"				"PUT THE BASE ON THE THAMES"			"GET THE YANKS OUT"		
	N	% of persons mentioning	% of persons mentioning	N	% of persons mentioning	% of persons mentioning	N	% of persons mentioning	% of persons mentioning	N	% of persons mentioning	% of persons mentioning		N	% of persons mentioning	% of persons mentioning	N	% of persons mentioning	
97 PEOPLE IN NE SECTOR	33	34.0	6	6.2	27	27.8	23	23.7	1	1.0	13	13.4	0	0.0					
68 PEOPLE IN SW SECTOR	0	0.0	1	1.5	61	89.7	1	1.5	0	0.0	6	8.8	0	0.0					
359 PEOPLE IN BURGH	16	4.5	18	5.0	176	49.0	83	23.1	15	4.2	72	20.1	0	0.0					
TOTAL - 524 PERSONS	49	9.47	25	4.8	264	50.4	107	20.4	16	3.1	91	17.4	0	0.0					

Source: Based on 6% sample. See Appendix 9.5 , Computer Programme.

I had also given the residents the opportunity to raise the question of noise, and any other ecological stressor, when I showed them the newspaper cutting headed "Holy Loch has a Sinister Air" (See Appendix 9.3). None of the aged agreed with the sentiments taken from the Evening Times, dated the 24th August, 1974.

With regard to the views of the people, it is clear from Table 2 that people in the South-West who were furthest away from the Holy Loch were least aware of the American presence and none of the interviewees accepted that the Holy Loch had a sinister air. Approximately 23% of the interviewees, in each of the Burgh and North-East sectors, said that the Polaris Base was "worrying". In the North-East, 34% denied that there was anything sinister about the Holy Loch. Almost all of these interviewees lived by the Lochside.

Taking the above data in conjunction with the previous factors, there was no indication that the people were then concerned about the dangers of radiation, or that fish were dying off in the lochside, or that they might be victims of a gigantic nuclear holocaust. One Sandbank woman, who was not one of my interviewees, explained to me almost on my last day in the locality - "If anything does happen to the people of Cowal they'll be lucky, because they'll all go up to the pearly gates together". However, approximately 20% of the interviewees found the Polaris presence "worrying"; almost all were in the Burgh and in the North-East. The strong response that "there's nothing sinister about the loch" of 34% around the loch, could possibly be taken the other way, if taken as over-reaction around the lochside, but there was no evidence of it being such.

The "military-scape" loomed up at me when I visited the lochside, but there was sufficient evidence to show that it was encapsulated over time into the "local-scape", even into the tourist attractions offered to the visitors, as we have already demonstrated, as initial surprises subsided, and local residents managed to cope at the tertiary surprise level, when routinization had settled into the cycle of life.

The American presence did alter the seascape, but not altogether, as may be seen from the photographs on page 188. In any case, the grey ships would one day pull out, and the loch would remain as it had been for centuries. Just as the ships of World War II had come and gone, the people felt that their loch would endure and be as familiar as it was to the clansmen in the days of the Campbell regime.

The American presence was less obtrusive than it might have been. No US flags or military emblems dominated the landscape. The military attempt to maintain a low profile by insisting that personnel wear civilian clothes ashore. Seldom did one see a naval uniform in public. Only the American cadillacs and military trucks altered the roadscape.

In the first impact the ecological-scape is first affected by a military presence. But, the impact is neutralised once the base becomes a landmark or anchorage. Familiarisation with the environmental concrete presence comes long before the routinisation period sets in. Objectively, one may say that the geography of the host locality is altered by the USN Base, that its traditional peaceful scape is confronted by the symbolism of war and of foreign nationalism. The vessels and no-entry military zones that alter the morphology locally may appear to create exogenous change, but they are soon part of the contours of the ecological-scape. But, what did the visitors feel

Having dealt with what the 525 local residents said regarding the effects of the USN impact upon the locality, what did the 525 local residents have to say with regard to that of the McAlpine workforce at Ardyne I had expected that under the question with regard to "dislikes" (Appendix 9.3) protest concerning the industrialization at the south-west end of the locality might have been raised. There was none. I had provided ample opportunities at other times for the matter to arise, when the presence of the Ardyners was raised; but again, nobody during the interviews actually decried the churned-up shores, and the scooped-out basins. They were less visible to most residents, the majority living north-east of Ardyne.

Although a million cubic feet of earth had been moved in 7 months to form a hill by the shore, it appeared that McAlpine's landscaping had been successful.

In contrast, some people in the south west area were very critical about the tall concrete Inverkip Tower which stood incongruously in a rural setting on "the other side" across the Firth almost opposite Innellan. When I was in conversation with people, they sometimes raised their eyes to the concrete mass, which dominated the rural scape (intruding also upon the seascape) and made some such remark as: "That damned monstrosity. What do you think about that?" An Innellan woman said: "If Harry Lauder had wakened up one morning to see that he'd have changed the words of his song 'Keep right on to the end of the road' to 'take me to the end of the road 'cause a' cannie bear it ony mair'". (Harry Lauder had once lived along the same shore-line). The visual presence of an industrial obtrusive object on the "nearer outscape" had intruded upon the rural environs, and looked menacing as it straddled the fields "on the other side". For some it probably had been a matter for greater concern that the havoc caused by the bulldozers at the Ardyne shore, which was for most "out of sight". The above asides ("obiter dicta") regarding the tower numbered 4 in the Innellan settlement, but were located in the conversation at differing junctures and not in answer to any of my questions - just floating statements arising during the general conversation, but, as is obvious, they were highly pertinent.

The Toward Civic Trust made up of local residents and some people from the rest of Cowal, had raised the question of noise¹⁰. Here again, the noise stressor was not cited in the local interviews. Most of the homes visited were situated alongside the busy and perilous roadway, and yet no one mentioned the noise, nor in addition the dust and dangers. Was it possible that people had become conditioned to the noise after 12-16 months of it? There was, however, a factor, which might explain the absence of criticisms of the noise, the dust and the highway dangers.

McAlpine had commenced the reconstruction of the road from Dunoon to Ardyne. There were pavements in the plans, where before there had been none. There were new alignments, where before there had been perilous bends, which although they added to the scenic charm of the sea road, nonetheless had proved to be hazardous to motorists in the past. In a sense, the new scheme, and the work already begun, when I came to visit the local residents in the winter of 1975-'76 had neutralised the disfunctions and the hazards caused by the Ardyne vehicles. The fact is that locals had for years complained to the Argyll authorities that their road was about the shoddiest in the West of Scotland. Many people along the seafront had praised McAlpine for the scheme. Like the landscaping at Ardyne, the project had meant that whatever the costs to McAlpine to remedy damages, local negative impacts had been outweighed by the roadworks, and also by the car park McAlpine provided and the yachting club premises at Toward. Just as the cost of advertising pays off, so too had the costly efforts to create a good image for the McAlpine complex. There had been also the rumour of a marina to be built by McAlpine when the basins were no longer required at Ardyne Point.

THE INTERVIEWS WITH THE 148 SUMMER VISITORS:

In interviewing 148 visitors to the locality, during the summer season of 1975, I was enabled to have some insight with regard to the degree to which the USN Base had become part of the local contours to the outsiders. Before dealing with the actual responses, however, a few comments on the actual mode of the interview programme will now be appropriate, and help in turn to assess what value there was in subsequent observations made, based upon the responses of the people I talked with on the ferries.

In interviewing 148 visitors to the locality, during the summer season 1975, I was enabled to have some insight with regard to the degree to which the USN Base had become part of the local contours to the outsiders. Before dealing with the actual responses, however, a few comments on the actual mode of the interview programme will now be appropriate.

There were possibly many ways in which I could have organized my interviews of strangers, visiting the locality in "the summer season" of 1975 (the locals regard the period between May and September as "the summer season"), but it struck me that immediate impressions aboard a ship, just after it pulls out from the pier, would provide a more immediate indication of the consciousness of the traveller, with regard to what he has just experienced ashore, either on a day's visit as tripper, or on holiday, or whilst passing through as tourist, or on a journey. So, I decided upon restricting interviews to the ships sailing from Dunoon on the major Gourock run. There were 148 days between the 3rd May-27th. Sept. inclusively, a period covered by the "summer ferry time-table". I randomized the boat departure times, allowing for the weekday, Saturday, and Sunday programmes and additional boats, as set out in Appendix 18.1. This meant that selection was determined by randomization, and not by my own convenience, but there remained the problem of where to interview aboard two ferries. I devised one method for both vessels.

The same method was applicable, because the two ferry boats were fortunately twin vessels. They were the Jupiter and the Juno. The only accommodation difference was that the Jupiter had an extra bench at the back of the lower saloon (see Appendix 8.2). This meant that I could uniformly map out specific zones on each of the vessels and number them, and then randomize the sector where I would interview, including the car deck. These sectors are drawn in Appendix 8.2. No matter which boat time was randomized, I was well prepared for the interview site. I took the person immediately to the right within the top end of the randomized sector, and if the person happened to be a local resident, I moved on to the next individual to the left (see Appendix 8.2). If there were no people in the sector, I had always a substitution list with an alternative. With regard to the car deck, I interviewed the first person in the car most to

the right of the sector; however, only the driver was selected for interview. Usually there are no passengers seated throughout the journey in the parked deck cars of the ship. One had to act quickly due to the fact that the journey was 15 - 20 minutes long, and apart from one occasion on the car deck I never had to use my substitution list .

The short "snappy" interview questions are set out in Appendix 8.3. The encounters were confined to people who were 17 years of age and over, and, as stated already, only to visitors. These were divided into day-trippers, tourists, holiday-makers, travellers passing through, work-commuters and "others". (I added an alternative "non-category" for those who were not sure to what category they belonged.) I traced out the area which I wished to cover on a map held open. The central question simply stated: "What do you think about this locality from the point of view of a visitor?", tracing it out on a map . I noted :

- (1) the positive and negative remarks about Dunoon and the locality as a whole;
- (2) whether interviewees indicated that they regarded the town and/or locality on the whole as "a holiday town"/"holiday area" respectively; and
- (3) whether the USN/Ardyne platform/personnel had ill effects upon the town and/or the locality in general.

At the end of the conversation, I asked whether they had visited the Holy Loch and/or Ardyne Point (see Appendix 8.3).

That summer the visitors were crowding the ferries, and it was difficult to accept that they were holidaying within Europe's top missile naval strike-zone. As our brightly coloured funnel blared its carefree way from the pier to the strains of Scottish music, under the slopes of wooded hills, it was bizarre to realise that across the loch stockpiles were being prepared for the destruction of cities, and if necessary for that of nations. However, the holiday boats were packed . According to the Traffic Manager of Caledonian MacBraynes, of the ferry boat transport group, whom I contacted after September 27th, 625,632

passengers and 82,473 cars had made the journey between Dunoon and Gourock pier during the 148 days. However, it would appear, as will be shown from my interviews, that many of the people had mixed feelings about the locality.

It appeared to me that many saw the grey vessels on the Loch as the ferry crossed the mouth of the Holy Loch, or saw the tower and fins of the Poseidon "subs", and the naval vans and cadillacs ashore, yet they did not seem to perceive them. Their "inscape" of Dunoon District was perhaps that of yesterday, of an "historical-scape" of the old ferry Clyde cruises, with Bonnie old Dunoon a peaceful refuge from the dust and grime of Glasgow and the industrial settlements "on the other side". The Cowal shores appeared to have been as inviting as of old to many of these people, as the remarks of a letter to the Dunoon Observer, 26th July, 1975, bear out. The writer, living in Paisley, described how he had returned to Dunoon fifty years after he had left it as a boy. Apart from the fact that he did not mention the USN presence, he found Dunoon, "more beautiful than ever, with all the houses freshly painted and tidy streets and gardens. There must be more paint used on Dunoon houses than anywhere else on earth....'Lonely I wandered through scenes of my childhood, To call back in memory the happy days of yore' ".⁹ The poetry quote he added, gives one a clue to the writer's frame of mind as he walked along the Dunoon promenades. That frame cut out the ugly parts of the landscape. But, to return to the actual interviews.....

In general, the adverts, the blurbs, and the hand-outs were still drawing holiday people, and so were the house-agent features in the Glasgow Evening News. Over and over again the features stressed: "Living Where the Air is Fresher"; or "Your Mid-Summer Dream Home Come True"; or "The Coast To Retire To", and such like. The holiday people and the day-trippers may not have been coming in large numbers, nor may the retired have chosen to stay on Clydeside to the same degree as before World War II, but they were still coming. The ecological-scape did not appear to pose a threat to them.

Based upon the data as set out in Appendix 8.4 visitors still seemed to come mainly from the West of Scotland "on the other side", as may be seen from the following table.

TABLE 3: RESIDENCE OF VISITORS FROM THE "OUTSCAPE" INTERVIEWED ABOARD THE FERRIES :

WHERE FROM	PERMANENT RESIDENCE	N VISITORS	PROPORTION %
"NEARER OUTSCAPE"	<u>WEST OF SCOTLAND</u>		
	GLASGOW	30	20.3
	Rest of W. Scotland	61	41.2
	<u>REST OF SCOTLAND</u>	17	11.5
	<u>REST OF U.K.</u>	34	23.0
"WIDER OUTSCAPE"	<u>ABROAD</u>		
	Outside of U.K.	6	4.0
T O T A L S		148	100.0

Based upon responses: see Appendix 8.4.

Dunoon District apparently has mainly remained a West of Scotland attraction, in spite of the USN and ^{Mc}Alpine impacts, but it may have lost some of its holiday appeal, as indicated possibly by the type of visitors in the interviews. As may be seen from the data (Appendix 8.6), the greater number of the W. Scotland interviewees were from the lower R.G. classes, more often they were females; and 99% of the interviewees who came for pleasure were over 30 years of age. In fact, all but 5% (approx.) of the non-commuters were over 40 years of age, and of these 72% (approx.) were day-trippers. Over and over again, the Glaswegian and Renfrewshire trippers explained that they were down for a "breezer". They were sailing on the route and visiting the old shores made popular by their West of Scotland forebears. Many stated that they liked to recall the old days on the paddle steamers on the same waters bound for the same Cowal haunts of their childhood. Clearly, there was a generation gap between them and the young ones coming for Ardyne work and little else.

I had asked the visitors to the locality in the summer of 1975 whether they had visited the Holy Loch or Ardyne. I wanted to assess if visiting the sites, or the vicinity immediate to them, had made any difference to their views about the locality's ecological-scape. Fourteen out of 58, who visited the Holy Loch, cited some ill effect(s) of USN personnel upon the area. Proportionately, they constituted 87% of the total number who stated that the USA personnel had a bad influence locally. However, 44 others had seen the Loch, and did not bring up the USN ill effect(s) upon the locality. The Ardyne coastline had been visited by some 22 people, but 15 of these were working at Ardyne. Six of the remaining seven did not mention any ill effect(s) of the Ardyne personnel, or of the Ardyne complex upon the locality. The interesting fact is that nobody on the ferries had mentioned adverse results of either the Polaris Base, or the complex at Ardyne, upon the ecology.

When I was in Glasgow, I heard some speak of the Clyde in hallowed terms, but some had also referred to the dirty shores of the Firth of Clyde, which some had taken up as due to the USN presence. There had been letters to the press about the debris around Holy Loch left by the sailors, even dumped by the US ships, and the odd rusty car lying on the shores with US number plates. Others had blamed the new shore industry of McAlpine's platform site at Ardyne. Perhaps Jack House had heard the complaints, because in early March '76, shortly after I had left, he wrote in the Evening Times about the 'love he had for the area under the title : 'Dirty: but it's still the dear old Clyde to me "11. Loyalty to the old haunts and nostalgia for the "bonnie banks o' Clyde" still drew people there, in spite of complaints about dirty shores.

With regard to the new Region, it was evident that its impact had meant less of a threat 'prima facie' to the ecological-scape. However, the people had fears that the Glasgow planners might think up some scheme for their locality which might make it more urbanized.

Strathclyde was to be responsible for : roads, transport, sewerage, industry and tourism. The people began to complain about the rubbish on the roadways, the neglected Burgh streets in particular, and above all, the time it took for complaints to get through to Glasgow. Strathclyde councillors could not be expected to have the same pride in the roadways, the townscape, the scenery and the holiday attractions afforded by the waterways and the quaint villages of Cowal, as the local councillors who once sat in the Castle Chambers of Dunoon, or the councillors who lived by the lochs and the hills. There were regional councillors within the District boundaries, and some of them had been the local councillors under the old regime, but they were now in a different political-scape, as will be further explained later in another chapter.

Strathclyde Region had 7,650 miles of public roads, and the main ones were not in Cowal. In fact, when the Dunoonites wanted to make alterations on the A83 signposts so that travellers might take the road to Dunoon, the authorities refused to do so, stating that Dunoon was a "terminal destination rather than a "primary one"¹². This only served to emphasise the peripheral status of Dunoon and district, with regard to the central priorities of the urbanised outscape of Clydeside and Dunbartonshire.

By way of reinforcing the fears and uncertainties over the possible neglect of the "ecological-scape" of Cowal by far-away officialdom in Glasgow, the local residents in the first winter and spring of 1975-'76 had a major complaint against the Strathclyde management. The main street of Dunoon needed to be resurfaced. No road is more important to the residents. It is lined with the main shops; it carries the main traffic; it is lined with the main entertainment spots and the most popular town public houses. It is associated with the long line of local businessmen, who brought prosperity. Fate had it that the Strathclyde Roads Department bungled the job. No sooner was it covered in asphalt, than it began to peel off. Over and over again, the roadmen came in, and huddles of locals stood over them sniggering at their inept results. It was fatal for the image of the new region, because the roadside was the centre of life, as we have seen. Each day people gathered

to confirm their views, which tended to be negative and hostile towards Strathclyde.

By way of recapitulation, the effects on the ecological-scape by the outside intrusions upon the locality of militarization, industrialization, and regionalization, require to be summed up, and some conclusions drawn .

CONCLUSION :

Firstly, with regard to the American intrusion, there was no doubt that the quality of the setting in Cowal had changed with inhibiting effects. At least 20.0% had found the presence of the Base at Holy Loch "worrying" in both the Burgh and around the Holy Loch. This inhibiting effect of the USN presence, however, did not extend to the South-West where only one person agreed that it was "worrying". Nearness to the site appeared to matter. But, at the same time, 300 had mentioned the "healthy sea air". Whatever the long-term implications of radiation at the Holy Loch, there were no indications of widespread fears locally. The fact was that there had been no casualties amongst the local population, and no reports of USN concern over leakages or hazards. Noise did aggravate local people, as indicated by letters to the Dunoon Observer. There was probably a move out from the vicinity of the Holy Loch on the part of some who could not stand the noise. There was no evidence that the sight of the ships and submarines had been considered ugly by the residents or the visitors, on any large scale. In fact, there were Post Cards, which had incorporated the Base into the local attractions, and trips to the vessels did attract the visitors.

With regard to the "nesting assembly" locally of environmental features, it must be said that the landscape and seascape remained much the same in the Holy Loch area. American buildings were not too obtrusive on the landscape. The ships and submarines were obviously mobile and not fixtures, and hope still remained that they would one day sail out for good, and leave the Holy Loch as it had been before. Communication and access to, and on the loch, had not been significantly altered. People could not enter certain shore reserves, but these were few, and many did row their small boats up the prows of the vessels almost daily. It must also be said that in the Burgh and in the South-West,

the ships were out of sight for the bulk of the population. The Cowal people still saw the familiar contours of the landscape and seascape, and their villages, and the Burgh still nestled within bays and hills, as they had done for centuries. Whether people spoke of their own particular settlement, their environs, or the locality in general, at least 90% of them found them "attractive".

Ogburn explains that the superior utility has pre-eminence. Local usage of the land and the sea was almost entirely unchanged. As we have seen even the vessels on Holy Loch were utilised as part of the holiday attraction. In a sense, the ships had become part of the man-made tourist environment.

Ogburn spoke of "selective forgetting" (see p.27, Chapter 1). Here older perceptions persisted, in which the "oldsters" regarded the area as it had been in "the old days". Around the lochside, many associated the USN Base with the wartime base. "It brings me back to my young days in the war, when the submarines were here to fight the Germans". "One often feels that it's 1940 all over again" : such like remarks underlined the association between the US naval presence and that of the naval invasion of the Second World War. Whether conscious or otherwise, the older people around the Holy Loch, tended to forget the threat of nuclear radiation, or of a ballistic confrontation in which Dunoon and area would be frontline targets, and to remember instead the entirely different set-up of the last war. But, these people were relatively few. We could describe them as living in the "inscape of yesterday".

With regard to the visitors on the ferries, there was no great concern about the USN Base. It was true, however, that 14 out of the 58 who had visited the Holy Loch complained about the ships and the submarines in terms of their ugliness, which contrasted with the apparent lack of this amongst the residents. The fact was that visitors still came to the Cowal shores; and that summer they appeared to come in thousands, whatever the views of some regarding the ugliness of the vessels at Holy Loch.

Secondly with regard to the McAlpine intrusion at Ardyne, more than three quarters of the local population did not have sight of the platform

complex, tucked away at the other end of the locality as it was. Neither the 148 visitors, nor the 525 residents, interviewed, complained about the ugliness of the complex. There was more concern about the Inverkip Tower standing on "the other side" like a hideous reminder of what industrialists might do to the rural contours of the West of Scotland.

As in the case of the USN presence, there had been complaints in the press about the noise caused by the intrusion. These were voiced especially by the Toward Civic Trust, but not by any of my interviewees.

The "nesting arrangement" of the locality with regard to the hills, lochside, and general landscape, remained (as in the case of the USN presence), very much as it had done for centuries. There was an additional hill, which was created by McAlpine, and built up by the removed seabed to make way for the basins. This hill, however, was near the shore at Ardyne, where it not only helped to block out the Ardyne platform site, but also was superbly landscaped by McAlpine, and if anything added to the scenic beauty. The shores were ruined, however, and access to that end of the locality was affected, but given the marginal number of people, who used to frequent the area, the effects were minimal.

So, local effects were largely felt in ecological terms at both ends of the locality. As we have seen, there were natural and material localised changes at Holy Loch and Loch Striven, but the reputational damage to the "ecological-scape" did not match these changes. The press had been negative and often defamatory, but the visitors still kept coming, as they continue to do. To the West of Scotland population, the trip "doon the watter" and the "auld places" to take the "wanes", still triggers off memories, for the older generations in particular, of crowded holiday ferries and packed promenades. Neither visits of the tourists to the USN Base, or Ardyne, appeared to alter the overall perception of the locality as a scenic attraction. It appeared that many incomers, who had taken up residence after the USN Base was established, excluded the base from the locality as they did Ardyne, most of whom also explained that they would be glad to see the closure of the base and the McAlpine complex, to which I shall return later. Was it that they had come into the area in the hope that soon the

base and the Ardyne complex would close down ? They have now seen the McAlpine plant fold up; and the possibility of the USN submarines moving out, draws nearer as the weaponry becomes more and more obsolete.

The local residents have become more conditioned by the Holy Loch presence. Many have not known the loch without its American Base. The old folks homes, the children's homes, and the local hostels, and the continuing popularity of the locality as a restful place to retire to, all point to the continued reputation of the locality as peaceful and attractive. Man-made dangers may lurk in the waters, but the circles of relevance in the area help explain why for the aged and middle-aged, the past has significance in the present, which I have described as the prevalence of the "inscape of yesterday". For the younger generation, the relevant factor was the future promise of a marina at Ardyne, and the exit of the USN vessels; which I may describe as the prevalence of the "inscape of tomorrow".

It appeared that the "ecological-scape" was, in the long-term, more threatened by the Strathclyde administration. The roads, sewerage, and industrialisation, locally, were in the hands of city officials, and the urban control of life locally was to be long-term, if not infinite; whereas the Ardyne and USN intrusions were finite. In the name of the common good, the people had seen their locality invaded by the military, by the oil men; what would Strathclyde demand of their ecological-scape in the name of its 2½ million people? If they built the hideous Inverkip concrete tower in beautiful Ayrshire "on the other side" in the name of the common good, what had Strathclyde in mind for the Cowal shores?

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EFFECTS UPON THE ECONOMIC-SCAPE

"Social change is not synonymous with development, much less with progress. The latter is merely a sub-class of the former. Development is a growth in complexity, progress is development plus an improvement ... We may have development without progress".

S Finer (1972) (1)

INTRODUCTION:

The "economic-scape" is the prevailing resource allocation in the form of goods, services, and the means of production, affecting standards of living and life-style. I will now consider how the allocation of local services were affected by the impacts of the Polaris Base, the McAlpine concrete platform complex at Ardyne, and the establishment of Strathclyde.

At the outset, it must be noted that whereas the impact upon the "ecological-scape" was first felt immediately after the arrival of the US ship, the impact upon the economic-scape was first felt immediately before arrival. I have alluded to the uneven reactions and changes with their consequent lags: the economic impact came first in time in relation to the US invasion. It must be noted that the impact upon the economic-scape of the Ardyne venture did not occur before the arrival of McAlpine's lorries, nor did it occur before the establishment of Strathclyde,

In the case of the Ardyne intrusion, people were not given advance notice. Neither the local Dunoon councillors, nor the local business people. The strategy here was total surprise, whereas in the case of the USN advent the strategy was to dangle the economic million-dollar carrot before the local business people, after the shock news that the base was to be established. In the case of regionalisation, the strategy was to create uncertainties and regional division with regard to specific boundaries, and then to lay down the new areal limits. Whereas the USN impact affected the private economy and public services, the McAlpine impact affected that of the private economy, as we shall show. The effects of the regional scheme were primarily in the public sector. In addition, the people of the area had had experience over the years of invasion, and were able to anticipate the needs of some strangers. In the case of the military, they had relevant experience during two World Wars. The economic ramifications of

Strathclyde could not be anticipated to the same extent; indeed for many the repercussion in economic terms could not be anticipated at all. I will now consider the effects of the USN, the McAlpine invasions, and the Strathclyde reorganisation, upon the economic-scape of the locality. When doing so, the considerations must be set against the backdrops presented in Chapters 1-7.

We have already considered the waning attraction of Cowal for holiday-makers before the advent of the USN personnel. The local press cited the dramatic drop in pier dues in the late fifties². There had been jibes of "Costa Geriatrica" with regard to the incoming aged, not only because of the attraction for retirement, but also because of the "Old Age Pensioner Holiday Scheme"³. One cannot attribute the rundown of the area as a holiday spot simply to the recent invasions. In endogenous terms, modernisation had brought with it increased centralisation of holiday and leisure centres in the nearer and wider outscapes. Ironically, just as the new technology of the last century attracted and brought people by the thousands to the Cowal shores from the nearer outscape in the new steam boats, so too the new technology of this century attracted and brought people away from the Cowal shores to the wider outscapes in the new jets.

Also, the conjuncture of events in the "outscape" had brought change to the Cowal shores, through the intrusion of incomers and alien elements. These marked the polarisation of military power, as American influence expanded from its centres to the peripheral frontiers of the NATO shield. But, one cannot overlook the expansion, at the same time, of the American economy in those same regions. We have already assessed that development, when considering the origin of the economic impact. Here we are considering the effects of impact, and note that, whereas the economic effects of US business expansion had a more immediate effect in the industrial West of Scotland "on the other side", the military presence with its economic US impact had a more immediate effect in Cowal. We shall shortly see how.

I will consider the impacts upon the economic-scape by assessing effects upon the goods, services and tourism of the locality, on the part of the three intrusions.

As we have seen, the local business people had speculated on the eve of the USN invasion. The immediate effect was that an area, which had a marked summer and winter economic cycle, now catered for outsiders all the year round. Except for the food shops, and a handful of local tradesmen, most business people, hoteliers, landladies and landlords, previously faced a long winter of ever increasing costs in preparation for a summer of ever decreasing profits. But, there were diseconomies, which the local residents had not anticipated, occasioned by the USN presence.

About the time of the routinisation of the local way of life, after the primary and secondary surprises had given place to a more settled and adaptive period, a local resident set up the Monaco Club in March '63. This was an Americanised gambling club. It stood incongruously astride the old shops of Argyll Street, and in the shadow of the Presbyterian church of St. John. Behind its private doors, huge sums of money were said to be lost and won. But, there were also stories of bouncing cheques and extended credit that were never paid by officers as well as ratings of the US Base. The venture did not last long.

Many businessmen, who had enlarged their premises, and speculated upon the needs of American sailors and officers together with their dependents, began to show signs of frustration with their customers, because of unpaid bills. The situation became extreme, when USN personnel left debts behind, when the Proteus sailed out of the Holy Loch that March. The press reported the official statement of the president of the Dunoon Traders' Association: "We are angry and disillusioned at the way the Americans have treated us. We welcomed them to our town, and extended credit to them, because we knew that was the way they worked. The new arrivals on the relief ship Huntley are the ones who will suffer. It's a case of once bitten, twice shy". The article then went on to report that the spokesman from the American Naval Building, London, stated in the face of the criticisms: "We cannot force a man to pay his debts, but he would be well advised"⁴. The big business people had been the main supporters of the US Base prior to its establishment,

now, both shopkeepers and their local customers began to share criticisms of the USN customers. The fact was that they saw new trends taking place locally.

Firstly, the Americans had set up their own stores. It upset people that luxuries at a different cost from local and UK prices were made available exclusively for the incomers at discount prices. The customers locally felt cheated by the situation and many shopkeepers saw their speculation and dreams vanish into the chill air of the local Cowl economy. A letter to the local press made the point in March '63: "American goods are available at dirt-cheap prices to our country's detriment as they pay no import duty or purchase tax. But, now to beat it all we are going to build them bowling alleys and recreation rooms. If we are going to share the dangers (as a frontline town), then let us merit the same facilities that they enjoy".⁵ The local PX stores were taboo to locals, whilst other local amenities were available to the incomers.

Secondly, the USN personnel and their dependents were increasingly spending their money on "the other side," where the bigger stores offered a wider range of luxury items and a cheaper "wine and spirits" list.

The Base was self-supporting in everything, except in providing housing, schooling, and hospital treatment. As we have seen, the locals took the greatest exception to the fact that Americans could outbid them for local rentals, and at the same time crowd their schools and occupy their hospital beds. Demands upon public and community services escalated.

Firstly, with regard to housing, the Americans had large subsidies to assist them in the renting of accommodation. This pushed up the local rents. The young married couples felt the impact more than others, although they constituted a small minority in a largely ageing population.

The unoccupied dwellings to which we referred in Chapter 3 and identified when examining the "historical-scape", were taken up by the senior staff and officers of the Polaris Base and also by those sailors who were fortunate enough to arrange it. There were 88 empty lodgings going for private rental on the eve of the USN advent (see Table 1),

Table 1: DWELLINGS IN DUNOON DISTRICT (1958-59)

Sector	INHABITED				EMPTY				UNINHABITABLE			
	C/H	P/R	O/O	F.C.	C/H	P/R	O/O	F.C.	C/H	P/R	O/O	F.C.
Inland	0	19	28	56	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
East of Dunoon Burgh	119	252	378	45	0	34	4	0	0	7	2	0
West of Dunoon Burgh	52	118	371	20	0	23	0	3	1	3	0	1
Dunoon Burgh	385	1110	1092	0	0	31	0	1	1	5	0	0
TOTALS	556	1499	2069	121	0	88	6	8	2	16	2	1

KEY :- C/H=Council House; P/R= Private rented; O/O=Owner occupied;
F.C.=Forestry Commission.

- Period 1958-59 chosen because the period was the most immediate to the coming of the American Naval personnel, and yet was a time when the possibility of the Base was not discussed.

SOURCE: Evaluation Rolls: estimates based on analyses of data at Register House, Edinbrugh.

Table 2: OUTSIDE OWNERSHIP OF DUNOON DISTRICT DWELLINGS:
(1958-59, 1961-62, 1971-72)

Year	In Burgh		"Furth" of Burgh	
	No of houses owned by outsiders	% owned by Glaswegians	No of houses owned by outsiders	% owned by Glaswegians
1958-1959	375	74.40	299	51.84
1961-1962	406	77.09	233	54.51
1971-1972	402	53.73	240	57.08

SOURCE: Calculations above were assessed at Register House, Edinburgh, from Evaluation Rolls, 1958-59/1961/62, 1971-72.

Table 3: EMPTY HOUSES IN DUNOON DISTRICT: (1958-59, 1961-62, 1971-

Year	In Burgh	"Furth" of Burgh	TOTALS	Population	
				Of Burgh	Of district
1958- 1959	32	70	102	8,811	Not known - Population
1961- 1962	28	42	70	9,215	of Cowal as a whole
1971- 1972	82	31	113	9,718	only given

SOURCE: As above

p.298) ,and many of them (as shown in Table 2) were owned by outsiders,who preferred an all-the-year-round guaranteed payment to a possible holiday rental. Houses that had stood empty, were now bringing in money, and whatever the arguments against Polaris, outside landlords were more easily able to cast objections aside. In any case, some local landlords and landladies were not prepared to bring politics into economics.

Almost from my first week in the locality I had been told that the two naval US housing schemes had not lessened the tensions caused by the demand upon housing locally. The reason for this was that McAlpine's men had moved into the area, and although not so numerous, the flats and houses, made available by the personnel,who moved from them into the naval quarters, were as quickly occupied by other incomers. As we shall see, the difference with the civil engineers and technicians, who came with the oil development at Ardyne, was that McAlpine was buying property, whereas the Americans almost always rented it. The area has been notorious for absentee landlords; McAlpine's property needs added the biggest outside property owner to their number.

In addition, the houses built for the Americans were less attractive than most local houses. The officers "had an eye" for the shore mansions, as their wives had for their Victorian character.

The housing question was not, however, raised much in my street interviews during the second election campaign of 1974. There were 2 males and two females only, who brought up the question of housing in association with the American presence in negative terms out of a total of 130 interviews. Although the interviews were exploratory, it was of note that they were younger people: the two males were out of a total of 12 under 20 years of age, and the two females were out of a total of 26 under 32 years of age (see Appendix 8.4). It appeared that the housing pressures affected the younger ones more.

With regard to schooling, the impact of the American presence was considerable. When in 1967, a dramatic rise in the rates was announced, the local people laid the blame at the door of the strained educational resources under pressure from the disproportionate intake of American naval children. The chairman of the SNP wrote caustically to the Dunoon newspaper on the 28th September of that year: "When they can spend thousands of pounds on licensed clubs and bowling alleys, it is surprising they cannot consider spending some of it on building their own school and staffing it with their own teachers."⁶ Protests reached a highpoint in 1969, and on the 15th February 1969, ex-Provost Wyatt received a letter from the Director of Education in Argyll which attempted to calm unrest.

The letter stated that all USN personnel at the base, and wives plus their children, were to be added to the normal population of the county. What was more significant, US children under 15 years of age "were to be counted twice, as is the case with our own children". The letter stated further: "The effect of this considerable addition to Argyll's weighted population would in the Secretary of State's considered calculations make an addition to the County Education Grant that would be more than sufficient to meet the cost of educating American children in our schools"⁷. A letter published in the press encouraged a local resident to describe the Dunoon District as "playing Santa Claus to the Americans all the year round"⁸.

In the two years between 1969 and 1971, the people complained at local meetings that classes were fluctuating too much because of the rotation of US personnel at the base. On the 2nd February 1971 at a meeting of the Cowal District Education Subcommittee in the County Offices, the complaints of local parents were aired. It was reported that the fluctuation of classes was so bad that one primary class started with 28 pupils and ended with 42. The problem was greatest in the primary schools of Sandbank, Kirn, Innellan, and Dunoon⁹.

In addition, when in October, 1971, the question of the new houses for the USN personnel was widely discussed, the influx of extra children from "the other side" was raised as an immediate possibility. Once again, the local critics took the opportunity to raise the old complaint : "Americans have gone to the trouble," stated a letter to the press on the 23 .October, 1971"of organising themselves for housing and have a huge store in Queen Street, and a great complex at Ardnadam. Why was it that they could not also build their own school ?"

It took till the 23rd Sept ,1972,before the education authorities put forward any concrete plans to cater for the impact of the incoming numbers. Their problem , however, was difficult in the extreme because of the rotation of personnel at the Polaris Base . In addition, although the American naval authorities did pay an annual sum of money to the educational authorities, there was always the possibility that the Americans would pull out - in the first instance they were supposed to be a temporary installation . Could the county be expected to make alterations in the buildings,which would necessarily be long-term, for what appeared to be a short-term situation ? On September the 23rd ,1972, a meeting was called at the County Education Chambers, where the Director of Education stated that money was forthcoming for additional premises . So it was that it had taken 11 years for any rationalised provision to cope with the pressing problem to materialise . The reason for the promise was that local protest was growing louder .

The people were still complaining in the summer of 1974,when the local unrest was reported in the Evening Times of 11th. July. In fact, the matter was raised in the House of Commons. The cause of the disquiet was due to the fact that 114 local children, entering their final year at the Kirn primary school, had to be moved to the old Dunoon Grammar School buildings at the other end of the Burgh, because American children had made it impossible to cater for the numbers at the Kirn school. There appeared to be preferential treatment for the incomers and inconvenience caused for the local people.

The education authorities could cite the staff-pupil ratio to indicate that there was no cause for anxiety, but the exercise was misleading, just as the numbers given in the introduction to this study were misleading. Firstly, it was the ratio of a teacher to a particular age group which needed to be given, and ratios calculated by term. Some classes were overcrowded for some months, then others took their turn. Expansion and contraction confused the staff, now at one school, then another - particularly at the R.C. school of St. Muns in Dunoon, and the primary schools at Kirn and Innellan. Not until the year I had come to the area, was there any realistic building programme for the alleviation of the situation. A new school, able to take the extra swell of pupils, was built eventually at Sandbank and another at Dunoon.

The local provision may explain why there were few people who raised the school question in my interviews in the streets, in the Autumn of 1974, and in their homes in the Autumn/Winter of 1975-76. As we shall see in the chapter dealing with the impact upon the cultural-scape, they had other things on their mind.

In addition, the economic outlay for the Americans who used the local hospital must have been considerable, especially in the maternity unit, which was another example of welfare costs demanded by the USN invasion. In the eyes of many locals, the naval personnel were the scroungers from overseas. The situation was not improved by the fact that the Americans had the best dental clinic in the locality. It was built ashore exclusively for the naval personnel and their dependents. Once again, the local residents were puzzled; if they could make provision for their teeth by extra premises; why not for their other medical needs - did they have to crowd local hospital beds? If the local residents could not have free dental treatment at the US clinic, which was reckoned to be the most modern in the country, why should the Americans be received into their local cottage hospital? Many appeared to agree that the locality had played Santa Claus to the incomers.

The Americans have often repeated over the years that they pay for their hospitalisation, but the local residents have pointed out that the inconveniences caused have not been assessed, nor could ever be costed in monetary terms. The introduction of private patients elsewhere in the UK to local hospitals of the N H S give proof of the disturbances caused by special patients : the Americans in Cowal were in effect private patients . Locals complained to the press of the crowded maternity unit . There were suspicions of priorities given to the patients of the three US medics aboard the ship, and of the dollar speaking louder than human need . Given the fact that the Dunoon hospital was not built for the incomers , but for the local residents, and that the OPR (outsiders' proportion ratio) of young US married mothers in particular, put additional strains upon the hospital resources, one could well appreciate the reason why some Dunoonites had complained . When I made my own enquiries locally, I found few who brought up the subject . However, all six of the nurses interviewed (4 in my street interviews and 2 in my household visits) were amongst the more critical people with regard to the USN incomers.

Certainly, the contraction of trade between the locals and military, but at the same time the continued , if not expanded , usage of public services at local cost , especially with regards to education, made a mockery of the claim in the sixties that the Americans would bring prosperity to Cowal . The locals have rightly complained over the years that they have not the slightest idea how much the American naval authorities have paid for the provision of schooling and hospitalisation . They have pointed out that , whatever the financial input, their services have not dramatically improved . If anything, they remained inferior to those of people on "the other side" . Indeed, when Strathclyde was pressing its case, the Glasgow technocrats loudly proclaimed that they would improve the local services of a locality that had been cut off in the periphery from the larger resources of West Scotland. What concerned the local residents was the fact that the money given for the educational and hospital amenities went to the County chest, and not into the local money box.

There was a hollow ring in the claim that Dunoon was a naval boom town. The irony was that, as the Americans became more and more entrenched into the "local-scape", they became more and more economically self-sufficient in consumables, whilst they continued to enjoy the more expensive commodities of the UK's welfare state. There were locals, however, who imagined that the Americans had brought local prosperity. Some of them thought so, because they had been amongst the few who had profitted as individuals, but most had simply been deluded. The image of the American "big-spender" had been abroad since the first announcement of the Polaris Base, which was further reinforced by the media of the UK till the US recession in the seventies.

Some conception of the varying local views on the effect of the USN impact on the "economic-scape" may be had from my eavesdropping during the first weeks of my stay in Dunoon. A local woman stated one evening to a group of local friends: "I've no baby sitter here, unless I pay big money. There used to be a time when the local churches got volunteers together, and charity came first. Now, it's how many pence you can get for so many hours with the American children". As a parent, she could not compete against the incomers. Where locally a service had generally been given for nothing, the incomers had introduced bids.

On that same occasion, however, a local man had commented that he did not agree the Polaris Base had been bad for the town. The personnel brought benefits for all. Because of them the Burgh had a bigger public purse, which it could tap for so many improvements. He reckoned the place was dying as a seaside town; to which a companion added: "We certainly couldn't do without the Americans here, that's for sure". Another commented: "You can see the change in our buildings: they are modernised, better equipped, and the whole standard of life has gone up locally". Frankly, I had not noticed the changes, except for a very few buildings. Other than the above conversation, I had not overhead any other praiseworthy remarks with regard to the USN impact upon the "economic-scape" locally.

Still less had the USN presence a beneficial effect upon the employment rate locally. The US Polaris Base is run and serviced by its own ancillary staff. The "BCs" do all the tradesmen's jobs, and US civil engineers, who come for regular spells of servicing-work, are deployed aboard ships and submarines. Only a local handful of typists and warehousemen are employed at the Polaris Base. So, the impact of the American naval presence on employment in Cowal has always been negligible.

There was no doubt that the naval "economic-scape" stretched out from the US "outscape" onto the "local-scape", making demands upon the peripheral local "economic-scape" which offset any contribution made to the local economy. Enough has been said to indicate that the public sector had been plundered from outside. The gain made by some was often made by absent landlords on "the other side", or even in the wider outscape; they traditionally have rented accommodation for incomers, building up some capital against the day of their own retirement to the coasts of the Firth of Clyde. The profit made by some local residents by way of the sale of goods, of alcohol, or rented accommodation, must be weighed against the expensive medical and educational provisions made available to the incomers. Whatever the American payment for these, the local services remained stressed over the years, and local clients were inconvenienced.

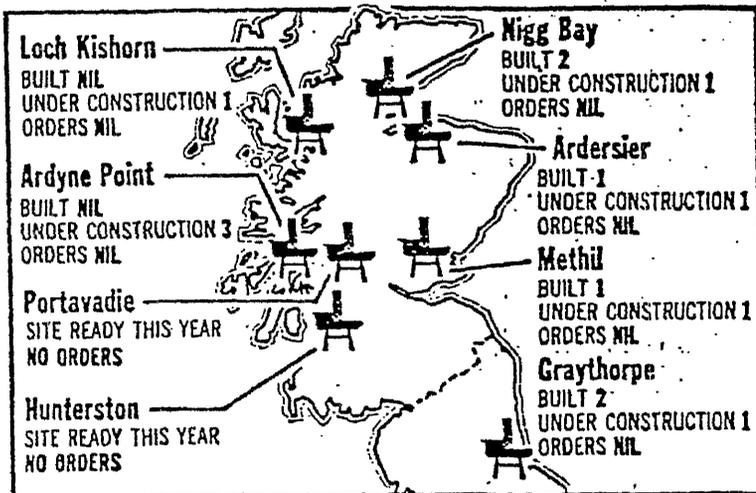
THE McALPINE EFFECTS UPON LOCAL GOODS AND SERVICES:

Taking up where we left off in Part 3, Scotland was "passing into a new industrial era", with eleven out of the thirteen British orders going to Scottish platform sites¹². But by August '75 gloom had descended. Orders were dropping, and by March 1976, it was clear that oil-rig builders in the UK had no orders at any site. Map Diagram 1 presents their plight on the seventh of March '76¹³. The predicament was described as the 'quickest

* The BCs were the building corps, who, although in a form of uniform, were in fact glorified tradesmen.

boom-bust cycle in economic history.¹⁴ The prospect for the workers at Ardyne had suddenly become gloomy. There was little possibility of orders coming in after the first avalanche. McAlpine might continue with other ventures at Ardyne, but would the work force be maintained at the same level? Who would go? The insecurity was heightened by a statement made by the deputy convenor for Rig Developments North Sea: "The oil companies know that they are eventually going to need platforms. They are holding off until the last possible moment when the yards are desperate for work. It's a big game of chess and we are the pawns".¹⁵ Others felt, however, that the oil platforms would soon be dated.

MAP DIAGRAM 1: THE PLIGHT OF THE UK OIL-RIG BUILDERS (MARCH, 1976)



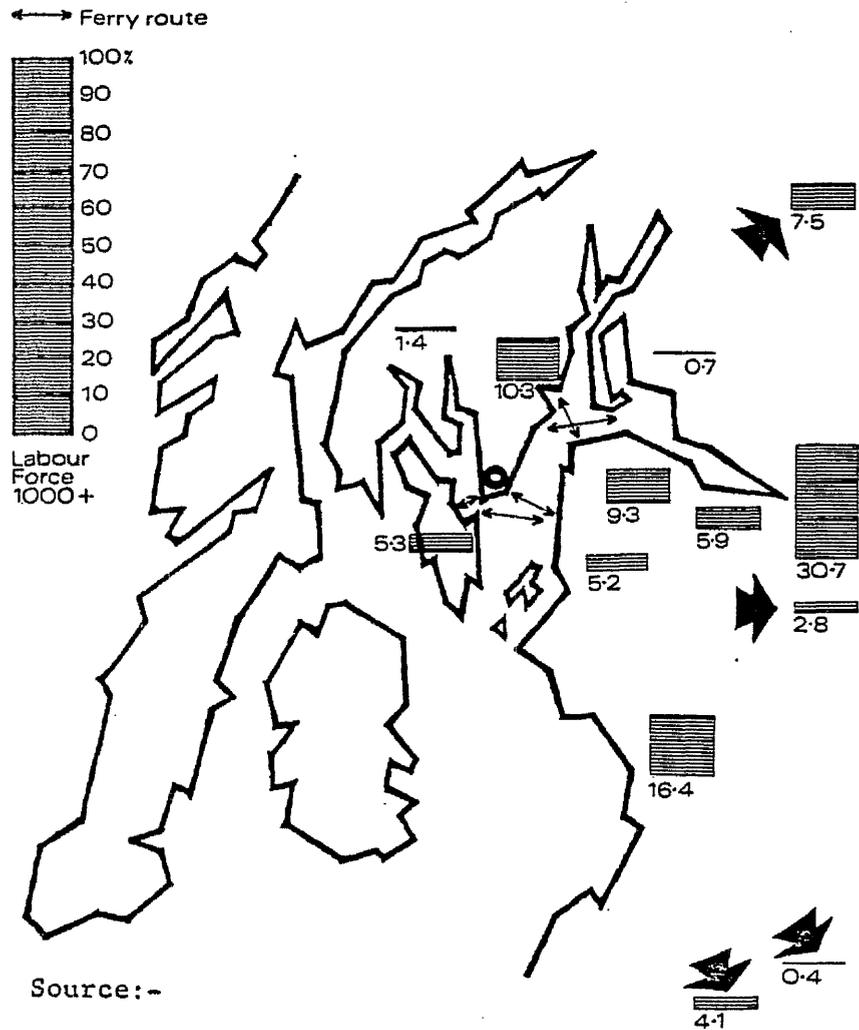
SOURCE: Glasgow Observer,
7th March 1976.
John Fryer & George Rosie.

In addition, technological uncertainties surrounded the older designs and there was even the possibility, as noted above, that platforms would soon not be necessary.¹⁶ Local workers and residents were reading in their evening paper in January of the shadow cast by the change of circumstances regarding the offshore service industry, and the "sudden squall of problems that's blown up down the Clyde".¹⁷ Would the 'graving yards' of the concrete complex at Ardyne stand empty, veritable graveyards of local dreams and bright futures? The uncertainty, for the moment, only served to spur those employed at Ardyne to work harder, somehow they felt sure that more work would come. "I'm not worried", said one man at the site, to a local journalist "something will turn up, we'll be here for a long time".¹⁸

Whereas the American intrusion had had virtually no impact upon the employment rate locally, the Ardyne complex, as we saw in passing, had some considerable impact on local employment. We have already assessed in the mode of impact how that impact involved the local employers. At first, they lost many of their best and senior staff to the "flesh-pots" at Ardyne. The drift away had alarmed the shopkeepers and hoteliers of an already ailing holiday and tourist trade - they were losing their "old hands" at the start of the project.

One bitter local man interviewed at his home in Dunoon, summed it up: "I know a lad who gets around £60 a week at McAlpine's for setting tables in the canteen. All he does is put out forks and knives, as the men come in from their shifts, and here I am with a miserable weekly wage of £28 for labouring". Others pointed out that the "boom" for some had been a question of "doom" for others - such as the dwindling number of bus drivers, so that some buses could no longer run. Drivers were lured to McAlpine's continuously, as were mechanics from the local garages. There was a danger that petrol prices, etc., might have to increase locally, if the garage owners were to pay bigger wages to keep their men from going off to Ardyne. It appeared that the USN Base had not had as damaging an effect on the local transport, and the labour supply. It was true that Clyde ferries were bringing in the bulk of McAlpine labour straight from the "other side", transporting hundreds of men to the jetty at Ardyne, without affecting the main supply of labour in Dunoon and area, but, nonetheless, there was sufficient transfer to McAlpine of men, and of some women, in the area to disconcert local businessmen and disrupt domestic services. The "economic-scape" may create diverse social pressures for various strata within a settlement, but with inverse effects for residents. Moreover, the drain of tradesmen to the McAlpine Camp affected the local maintenance supply. There was a working-class emphasis on the blessings that McAlpine was bringing in the form of work opportunities, yet there was also the local jealousy of some, and the criticism of dwindling transport service employees.

MAP DIAGRAM 2: ORIGIN OF McALPINE LABOUR FORCE



"Origins of McAlpine's Labour Force", North Sea Oil Project, Internal Working Paper 16, G.A.Mackay and others, Department of Political Economy, King's College, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, November, 1974; unpublished)

As is clear from the above presentation of the origin of the work-force, no intimation was given that labour would be brought in from outside the UK. In addition, the project at Ardyne claimed at the start that it would provide local employment in a locality where Cowal youth had had to cross the Firth, and often the English border, to find a job. The above map was published by Inland Waterways in collaboration with McAlpine, when in fact the locals were being turned away from jobs at Ardyne Point.

I have already cited the uncertainty that suddenly descended upon the rig and oil platform industries. The men at Ardyne who gave up their local jobs had done so by giving up their local work ties, often in businesses where their fathers had worked for almost a lifetime. With the uncertainty of Ardyne's future their lives hung in the balance. They could hardly return to their former employers who had been put out financially by their exodus. This meant that for many there was the prospect of leaving the area after the last orders at McAlpine's, and this for the most part would affect those who were amongst those who had had the best prospects in the past in remaining in the area. Indeed, some were leaving the work before they had a replacement at their former place of work, which I will now discuss.

By November, 1975, there were signs that some local men were giving up their work at Ardyne. Some did so, because they could neither stand the pace of work, nor the living conditions. Others were involved in industrial unrest at the site. They had had no previous experience of striking or confrontation with management. There were some, who became involved, who found themselves on the way back to Dunoon "written off" and ashamed. In the locality the status of the employed has always been a matter of some importance, where the established have had access to the stable jobs. So, some were caught up in a canteen dispute at the camp¹⁹. Strikes were common, which the locals had read about as taking place on "the other side", now it had become a local event. In May, 1975, 155 men had been laid off²⁰, and by October there was a strike, and by November 2nd., 1975, 200 steel-fixers were laid off²¹. The attraction of working at Ardyne for "big money" had turned into a hazard. The local youth were not equipped to deal with the situation.

Those who did manage to hold onto their jobs at the basins, earned large wages. Soon the economic gaps between neighbours began to divide residents, especially on the Council estates. The uneven effects created lags between those who could afford the new and latest luxuries, and those who were left behind. In their frustration they saw incomers, on the one hand, enjoying the benefits of work at Ardyne, and on the other hand, their neighbours also, who perhaps in the older economic-scape had been less fortunate than themselves.

The local residents were also very disturbed because of the loss of tradesmen to the basins at Loch Striven. Some had had to phone for plumbers from Renfrewshire and joiners from Paisley. Worse still, there were cut-backs in the bus services due to the exodus of drivers to the McAlpine venture. They were driving navvies in Gorman's green buses, or trucks for McAlpine or sub-contractors. The aged began to feel the effects first. Those with cars were the middle-aged or the young; the aged, who represented about a third of the outlying population, had depended absolutely upon the buses. How were they to afford the rising taxi fares, which were catering for the affluent McAlpine workers and the "well stacked" Americans? The local social workers were considerably disturbed, as were many residents. We have already seen how dangerous the roads were, even for those who lived nearer the town and its amenities.

The impact of the Ardyne venture, therefore, appeared to have affected the people more than did that of the USN invasion. It was not merely a question of having grown accustomed to the American presence over the past fifteen years, rather it was a question of having to suffer from a totally different impact. Doubtless, there was the newness of the Ardyne impact, but there was also the diverse nature of the consequences which would remain after the initial impact, or secondary phase. The episode of change affected the round of life more immediately. Employment, domestic services, public transport, and lastly house prices were all affected, when McAlpine's men began to crowd the locality.

The house prices went up, due to the increased demand made by the needs of a large contractor. There were also the management and senior technicians, who sought the better houses. The local people, especially the young, were now caught between the demand for rentals by military personnel and for house purchase by industrial personnel - both consumer groups from the "outscape." They were caught between two fires.

With regard to the purchase of property, it must be noted that whereas the Americans had rented property, and seldom, if ever bought property, the McAlpine management was buying it. The camp at Ardyne only housed 300-350 men at that time, so that the only realistic alternative was to seek accommodation for the many others locally. Many were transported from the other side, but it paid McAlpine to buy property to cut out the expenses involved in transportation. A boat was already chartered for the men. Small boarding houses and a few hotels were bought and used as dormitories. The alternative was to rent accommodation. Any assessment of the impact of the McAlpine workforce upon the economic-landscape must be linked with that of the American impact upon the local housing market. The Americans had acquired the most suitable accommodation over the years, and although they rented more houses to the North East and in the Burgh, many had done so also in Innellan, which was a favourite spot for many officers. McAlpine had little choice, but to purchase. The local residents were bewildered because they saw their holiday resources cut back, yet again, as holiday rooms and some boarding houses became dormitories for navvies. Rumour was rife, when I was in Dunoon. Hotels, large and small were reputed to have changed hands, often without foundation.

Before passing on to consider the effects upon the local tourism in particular, it must be said that there were benefits in economic terms in having the incomers in Cowal. Firstly, there was a cash inflow, particularly for landlords and landladies, for the publicans, for some shopkeepers, and especially the taxi drivers. Secondly, there was the new widened Toward road, and the yachting club premises, together with the new car park at Loch Striven, all made possible by the work of the McAlpine workforce. The benefits in cash terms came chiefly for the few, and as the study indicates, at considerable costs for the majority of local residents.

With regard to the effect upon tourism, I will make use of my interviews upon the ferries in the summer of 1975, which I have also commented upon in the last Chapter. Some responses to my questions put to the 525 local residents will also be cited, and lastly I will draw upon some eavesdropping during the elections.

USN AND McALPINE EFFECTS ON LOCAL TOURISM :

Most of the visitors on the boats came from the West of Scotland "on the other side". The pattern was like the "old days", with some additional English from south of the border. Appendix 8 presents the data regarding the distribution and characteristics. As can be seen from the data collected, the greater number of the travellers interviewed were between 20 and 59 years of age, with only two retired. Significantly, the "holiday makers" constituted 26.5% of the total; although it must be noted that most of the travellers were touring Scotland. In fact, the area had been said to have become a "bed and breakfast" locality. There was an almost daily turnover of guests in many of the premises offering facilities. Tables 4 to 5 will give some idea of the effort the locality was still exerting in catering for the visitors and prove that, whatever the drawbacks in having Polaris at Holy Loch and the platform complex at Ardyne, the locality still clung to its tourist industry, undaunted by the bad publicity and the competition of the travel agents' attractive packages advertised in the "outscape". Hotels were having shorter-term guests than in the old days pre-1961, but apparently many were still doing a brisk trade.

As can be seen from the data in Table 5, the area to the north-east of the Burgh was plying its tourist trade; significantly, the caravans were out of ear-shot of the USN Base. If one breaks down the number of rooms into types, as made available through the tourist office at the pier in the summer of 1975, one can better appreciate the official number of guests the locality could cater for that summer (Tables 6 and 7).

Dunoon and its locality could therefore cater for at least 2,559 in its hotels and other bed and breakfast accommodation. The number is impressive, but one must take into account the catering situation in 1961 as presented in Chapter 3. There were then 137 hotels and boarding houses advertised in the Burgh of Dunoon. In 1975 they had dramatically dropped to 49 (See Table 4). Just over 64% of the hotels

TABLE 4: ACCOMMODATION AVAILABLE (1975) WITHIN DUNNOON DISTRICT.

TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION	TO SW. OF BURGH		BURGH OF DUNNOON		TO NE. OF BURGH		TOTALS	
	No. of Units	No. of Rooms	No. of Units	No. of Rooms	No. of Units	No. of Rooms	Units	Rooms
HOTEL OR GUEST HOUSE	3	50	49	1048	8	47	60	1145
BED & BREAKFAST PREMISES	3	8	33	94	9	26	45	128
TOTALS	6	58	82	1142	17	73	105	1273

TABLE 5: SELF CATERING PREMISES AND CARAVANS FOR HIRE (1975) WITHIN DUNNOON DISTRICT.

TYPE	TO SW. OF BURGH	BURGH OF DUNNOON	TO NE. OF BURGH	TOTALS
SELF-CATERING PREMISES	2	21	1	24
CARAVANS	0	0	48	48

SOURCE: Dunoon Tourist Information Office (1975) regarding Tables 6 & 7.

TABLE 6: TYPE OF ROOMS AND APPROXIMATE NUMBERS WHO COULD BE CATERED FOR IN HOTELS AND GUEST HOUSES.

LOCATION OF HOTELS AND GUEST HOUSES	TYPE OF ROOMS AVAILABLE			SUM TOTAL OF ROOMS	APPROX. NUMBER OF PLACES FOR GUESTS
	Single	Double	Twin Family		
BURGH SOUTH-WEST	182	328	360	1048	2092
NORTH-EAST	11	12	17	50	99
	7	18	12	47	97
TOTALS	200	358	389	1145	2288

NOTE: TABLES 6 and 7 ALLOW FOR THREE PEOPLE TO A FAMILY BEDROOM.

TABLE 7: TYPE OF ROOMS AND APPROXIMATE NUMBERS WHO COULD BE CATERED FOR IN BED AND BREAKFAST ACCOMMODATION.

LOCATION OF ACCOMMODATION	TYPE OF ROOMS AVAILABLE			SUM TOTAL OF ROOMS	APPROX. NUMBER OF GUESTS CATERED FOR
	Single	Double	Twin Family		
BURGH SOUTH-WEST	7	43	24	94	201
NORTH-EAST	0	3	2	8	17
	3	12	7	26	53
TOTALS	10	58	33	128	271

SOURCE: Dunoon Tourist Information Office (1975) regarding Tables 6 & 7.

and boarding houses had closed down since the heydays. More significantly, as already described in Chapter 3, Dunoon Burgh had 1,162 rooms (1960) set aside for holiday makers, these had dropped to a much lower level, judging by the 94 bed and breakfast rooms advertised in the Burgh, and the 21 flats or premises set aside for self-catering (See Tables 4 and 5 . We are not including the rooms available outside the official register. Reports to me indicated that these were almost negligible. One cannot conclude that the USN presence in particular, together with the Ardyne worker influx, had been solely responsible for the drop in board and holiday provision. We have seen already, how the local "economic-scape" had been affected by the waning UK home resorts, in the wake of the holiday packages abroad. However, as we have seen from the letters to the press, there were places in the West of Scotland which had drawn more visitors through imaginative diversification. The naval and navy presence in Dunoon District had not helped, as we shall see later.

I have digressed from the boat interviews to place the summer tourism in the context of holiday accommodation, to show that although local attractions appeared to be waning, the area was still struggling to preserve its former status as "gem of the Costa Clyde", although the hard facts were that it was more a day tripper's haunt, or even a stopping-point on the trek South and North to places that apparently had a greater appeal. The ships and missiles on the Loch alone could not explain the "rundown" of the tourist industry, but there was enough evidence to show that many people on a visit to the Cowal strip had criticism to make about the USN and Ardyne navy presence, as may be seen from Table 8.

Table 8 compares the responses with regard to the ill effects locally of the Ardyne platform personnel and the USN personnel. Although these criticisms were not about facilities and amenities , but rather about social factors , it was clear that people interlinked the social tone of the locality with its tourist and holiday image, hence the citation of their criticisms here.

TABLE 8: THE NUMBER OF TIMES THE ILL EFFECTS OF THE INCOMERS WERE MENTIONED BY THE INTERVIEWEES ABOARD THE FERRIES WITH REGARD TO DUNOON AND/OR THE LOCALITY

GROUPS CITED BY THE INTERVIEWEES (N 148)	RESPONSES REGARDING THE ILL EFFECTS OF THE INCOMERS REGARDING :			TOTAL RESPONSES
	Dunoon	locality	both Dunoon and locality	
McAlpine navvies	60	1	16	77
USN personnel	12	14	6	32
McAlpine navvies and USN personnel	15	1	2	18
TOTALS	87	16	24	127

Source 6% sample. See Appendix 8.

Note : there were 113 making the above responses ,and 35 non-responses.

113 { 99 made single statements regarding the incomers.
14 made more complex statements as follows:

1 stated that McAlpine navvies had bad effects on Dunoon and locality, and that the USN personnel had bad effects upon the locality.

8 stated that McAlpine navvies had bad effects upon Dunoon, and USN upon locality,

5 stated that McAlpine and USN personnel had bad effects on Dunoon, and that USN personnel had bad effects upon the locality .

From the above data it is evident that the travellers were more conscious of the ill effects of the incomers upon Dunoon than upon the locality in general. They had more to say about the ill effects of the Ardyne personnel than that of the USN incomers. The travellers who criticised the Ardyne personnel were more than twice as many as the people who criticised the USN incomers, which was significant, but only with regard to Dunoon. It is also clear that the people from the "other side" were significantly more critical of the Ardyne personnel's ill effects upon Dunoon than they were of the USN personnel's .

Most of the travellers from outside the West of Scotland mentioned the drunken navvies roaming the streets and hanging about the hotel and public house doorways. The people from the West of Scotland were less shocked by the heavy drinking, given the history of drink aboard the ferries over the years, and the higher incidence of drink in the West of Scotland than in most parts of the UK. The data cannot be broken down into smaller groupings e.g.

interviewees from the rest of Scotland, rest of the UK, and from abroad, because the representations are too small overall to merit any statistical observations of any significance.

The interviews had to be well timed. My pilot studies carried out over seven runs by way of assessing the timing and the questions to be asked, earlier in the month of March, had convinced me that I had to use display cards with regard to age, marital status and employment. The journey took about 20 minutes, so that once the ferry was past the Cloch Lighthouse nearing the Gourock pier on the other side, I had to round off the main questions. This meant that I sometimes ran the risk of cutting short interesting conversations regarding the visitors' assessment of life on the Cowal side of the Firth.

Of interest is the fact that nobody of the 148 people, chosen at random on 148 different trips from Dunoon to Gourock, mentioned the ill effects of the Base, or the Ardyne complex as such upon the locality. It was the ill effects of the incoming strangers that they always alluded to. However, I did find that many (over 20% of those who brought up the ill effects of the Ardyne personnel) mentioned the large number of lorries, McAlpine vans, and the Gorman buses in the area, especially the town, which outnumbered the local touring buses according to most, and according to some, even outnumbered the holiday traffic. In contrast, only about 5% mentioned the American cadillacs and the USN trucks.

Nobody cited the good effects, that they thought had been brought about by the incomers in the locality, or in the town of Dunoon. I had little doubt that summer that, although people continued to come to the locality, many had been shocked by the changed aspect of the Cowal strip. However, as we shall see shortly, one must also note the praises of Cowal.

* Gorman's buses came from the 'other side'. They were conspicuous green buses.

The overt criticisms of the incomers may have been influenced by the bad publicity they were having that summer in the national and regional press over the summer period. The Ardyne navy presence had triggered off both a national newspaper interest in the locality and the old grouses about the USN presence. CND was also active, and had been revived lately by the emergence of the Poseidon missile, so that leaflets, and the Glasgow and Dumbartonshire "demos", were underlining the old ambivalences, or even animosity, with regard to the American Base.

Given the bad publicity, it is not surprising that praise for the USN incomers amounted to only two remarks. One person praised the Ardyne work-force, and another commended both the USN personnel and Ardyne workers. Had the interviews been longer, perhaps there might have been more qualification of prior criticism. Appendix 8.6, presents the criticisms as grouped by the interviewees, and their social characteristics. Appendix 8.7 groups them by residence in the "outscape".

44 of the 148 visitors mentioned, one way or another, that Dunoon was not a holiday town. They did so in so many words, such as:

"This town is deadly for visitors; I can't understand why they advertise it for holidaymakers";

"I'm not coming to Dunoon again. It's no place for a holiday";

"A pub town, and a 'B and B' stop on the road north; Dunoon is nothing else".

41 of these also mentioned some ill effect(s) of the American and Ardyne incomers upon the town. There appeared to be some association between those effects and their summing up of the town, but there are too many hidden factors to push the data more, given the partial nature of the interview, cramped as it was between the limits of a strict time schedule. The exploration into the consciousness of the visitors had, however, probed areas of deep concern with regard to the incomers, and their image of the town and district. Only ten had mentioned that the locality was not a holiday area, in so many words, and of these 7 also cited

Younger people from the more immediate "outscape" appeared to be more critical of the town and area. 37.4% who regarded Dunoon as not being a holiday town were from the "other side" (10 from Glasgow; 24 from the "rest of the West"). Perhaps industrialisation at Ardyne, coupled with the trend in holidays abroad, had had some effect upon their judgment. Significantly, the older over-fifties constituted the minority amongst the critics - 11.8%. However, they did have criticisms to make about the Ardyners, but much less to say about the USN presence. Was it that the Americans did not obtrude as the elderly visitors ambled through the old haunts of the area; unlike the navvies' rowdy behaviour, especially around the main streets? It must also be remembered that, during World War II, the older generation had seen the grey ships on the waters of the Holy Loch and a submarine tender. The ship had been in exactly the same anchorage, so that the sight of the vessels, added to the old blinding nostalgia, had probably taken the edge off their awareness of what was happening.

Before passing on to the interviews in the homes of local residents, it must be noted, using the data of Appendix B,5, Tables 1 - 5, that the visitors had more positive than negative things to say about the town and area. Especial praise was given to the warmth of the locals, and the helpfulness of the shopkeepers and their assistants. Whatever the criticisms, there were enthusiastic English people who had seen little to compare with the scenic beauty anywhere in Scotland. The USN vessels anchored in the loch, and Ardyne complex just around the Point at Toward, were not noticed in the township, when one walked along the promenades of Dunoon on the shore road. It could be imagined that one was still in the "scape" of the thirties; much of the townscape was the same, and the ships of the USN, and the McAlpine concrete pillars were out of sight for the majority of people whose view of them was blocked out by hills or the uneven coastline.

It is worth noting that the criticisms made of the town were often coupled with those of the locality.

In conclusion, the boat interviews had revealed that the Ardyne personnel, in the opinion of the majority of visitors, had a bad effect upon Dunoon in particular; significantly fewer people were agreed about the bad effect of the USN on the town. However the "gem of the Clyde" still sparkled for many strangers. They still continued to cross by the ancient route to tour and make holiday, in spite of the grey lines of warfare ships, and the scarred coastline at Ardyne. However, more than a quarter of the visitors interviewed, no longer regarded Dunoon as a holiday town, especially the younger people from the immediate "scape" of the "other side". The older ones, like the many who still seek retirement there, had a different view, although the abrasive effects of the navvies in the main sector of Dunoon had obviously blunted their enthusiasm for the town, at any rate throughout that summer.

With regard to the ill effects of the USN and Ardyne intruders upon the locality in general, there was broad agreement with regard to the ill effect of each, but the proportion who referred to the ill effects upon the locality in general were significantly less than the proportion who referred to the ill effects upon the town. The visitors, therefore, were more aware of the adverse impact of the incomers upon the town. For the residents things were more complex, as we shall see.

How did the residents assess the effects on tourism? Their perceptions and reactions with regard to it were explored mainly through discussion centred upon a provocative article in the Evening Times headed "Anyone who comes here for holidays now is mad". (See Appendix 9.3.). I now present the views of the residents, expressed in the winter of 1975-'76 regarding the damaged image of Dunoon as a holiday town, discussed in the above press article. Table 9 presents the responses.

TABLE 9: RESPONSES TO THE CRITICAL PRESS ARTICLE ON DUNOON'S STATUS AS A HOLIDAY TOWN ("ANYONE WHO COMES HERE FOR HOLIDAYS NOW IS MAD")

SECTORS OF RESIDENCE OF INTERVIEWEES	GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE ARTICLE		QUALIFIED AGREEMENT WITH THE ARTICLE		TOTAL DISAGREEMENT WITH THE ARTICLE		NO RESPONSE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
IN NE SECTOR (N 97)	7	7.2	51	52.6	39	40.2	0	0.0
IN SW SECTOR (N 68)	9	13.2	30	44.1	29	42.7	0	0.0
IN THE BURGH : (N 360)	46	12.8	85	23.6	225	62.5	4	1.1
TOTALS (N 525)	62	11.8	166	31.6	293	55.8	4	0.8

Based upon data Appendix 9.5: 6% sample .

One is struck by the number of people at that time, who either agreed with the article, or had a qualified agreement with the main contention that it would be madness for anyone to holiday at Dunoon. The 228 (43.4%) of the sample indicated that there was probably a large percentage of people who were uneasy about what Dunoon had to offer visitors. Given their later observations regarding the type of workers roaming the streets, who were giving the locality a bad name because of drunken behaviour, they felt that the image of the place was badly affected. It is also noticeable that outside Dunoon the residents from the settlements both to the north-east and the south-west, were more critical of Dunoon. Dunoonites were proud of their town, so that it was not surprising that 62.5% of the Dunoon residents interviewed, totally disagreed with the sentiments of the article.

Dissatisfaction was chiefly based upon the impact of the navvies. During my eavesdropping in the Autumn of 1974, I had overheard people speak on seven occasions about the navvies' effect upon the local holiday trade. People spoke of workers in their dirty togs and heavy muddy boots coming into carpetted halls of once select guest houses. There were also remarks about the purchase of local hotels and boarding houses by McAlpine. "It'll destroy the place: who'll want to come here now", said someone. Another added: "It's no good complaining, the place went over to 'bed and breakfast' long ago". In the overheard conversations during my early stay in the town of Dunoon, I was aware of the concern the local residents had about the impact of the navvies upon the holiday and tourist trade. They appreciated that the locality was already going down as a seaside strip, but they appeared to believe that the navvies would quicken its demise as an attraction. But, concern stretched beyond the Burgh into the entire locality.

For the people of the locality, Cowal had a sense of place which was distinctly summed up as "the gateway to the Highlands". The trucks, the navvies and the rising concrete legs of the platforms were seen by many of those interviewed as the threat of an expanding industrial take-over. Such fear was ill-founded as it turned out, but when the landscape and the traditions of

ny locality are altered in any way by industrialists, local rumour often turns the most exaggerated forebodings into threatening realities. In my interviews with the 525 local residents, 216 people criticised the Ardyne newcomers - we will have more to say about them in the eleventh chapter - but of these were 50 who expressed fears that the locality would become an industrial extension of "the other side". They represented 23.2% of those who criticised the Ardyne workers; perhaps they represented quite a large proportion of those locally who were uneasy about the inroads of the navvies into their locality.

I shall now assess the impact of the new regional scheme upon the locality, and in conclusion outline the salient effects of the USN, the Alpine personnel intrusions, and the Strathclyde Region, upon Dunoon and District in comparative terms.

THE IMPACT OF STRATHCLYDE ON LOCAL SERVICES AND TOURISM :

The District of Argyll and Bute, it must be noted, is the largest area of all the new districts of Scotland within the largest Region in Scotland. The enormous size of the Region, with its bulk of the Scottish population within its boundaries, simply engulfed the small domain of Cowal and its handful of councillors. The area of Dunoon and its surrounding locality became a very small sub-unit of the mammoth economic unit of Strathclyde. The master identity of the locals had been mainly that of "the people of Cowal". Argyll had been linked with the Highlands and Islands in economic terms, however subsidised by the monies of the Renfrew and Glasgow visitors. With regionalisation, new economies were created and a totally new system. The familiar economic-scape was shattered, whilst the sheer magnitude of the Regional economic unit bewildered and confused the residents.

The size of the new economic unit cannot be overlooked. For example, the budget in education had to maintain the largest educational authority in the UK and the largest Social Work Department in Europe. Suddenly, the small locality of Cowal found itself swallowed up by the Region, and people were beginning to wonder if their local needs might ever be on the list of priorities at HQ. With only a few hundred school children out of the 530,000, the local protest over either the American impact upon the size and composition of classes, or the need build more schools, constituted in the words of a local resident : "but a faint squeek in the regional chambers, where the size of the electorate makes the loudest protest". There had been some rumours of change before the axe fell in '69

Sensing the difficulties in 1968 at the Centenary Celebration Dinner in November, the guests and their Provost found that their festivities over the history of their Town Council and Burgh had been somewhat eclipsed by the rumour regarding changes. Provost Harper stood up to make his speech before an imposing cake upon which were 27 pictures of the provosts to date. All of them had managed Dunoon's economic affairs and tourism from Castle Chambers. He, and a few others who had been hearing reports, feared that Scotland like England would lose its local controls, so, he attacked central controls. After complaining about increasing bureaucratisation, he added, "to add salt to the wound inflicted on local authorities, the Royal Commission on the Reorganisation of Local Government has been formed. According to the evidence submitted, reorganisation means that small burgh like Dunoon would cease to exist and instead large regional authorities would be formed which would make the control of central government complete. There are still men and women in this town and county with ideas and vision. It is these men and women who are being frustrated and demoralised by a faceless bureaucracy. Is it not more democratic and sensible that a community should decide what it wants, or does not want, instead of waiting for the decision of some departmental official, who has probably never heard of the place? This ladies and gentlemen is the stage we have reached in hundred years of Dunoon's history " 22 :

Willie Inglis, editor of the Dunoon paper, stood up at the dinner to pledge his loyalty to Dunoon and all it stood for. His family had supported tourism in the local newspaper for over a hundred years. His words only helped to emphasize the sadness of the occasion, when in fact they had come to celebrate, because his words were those of a man who mourned the passing of the old. He ended his tribute to the past with the words of the Dunoon poet, Duncan MacLean :

" Can I forget the place that gave me birth,
The shrine of sacred memories that I love,
The fairest, rarest, dearest spot on earth,
That lifts my soul with thanks to God above,
Can I forget? Not till times sun shall set, 23
And rise no more for me, can I forget Dunoon "

From the 1969 Report, as some locals told me, till implementation in May '75, local people feared for the services of a proud burgh, to be run in the future by those who controlled finances in the Glasgow City Chambers. Foreboding bedevilled many during that period. The conjuncture of the centenary of the Burgh of Dunoon and of the Town Council, when loyalties to the town and its locality were intensified, and of the formation of the Royal Commission to discuss the reorganisation of local government, sharpened feelings.

Most people were not really aware of the possible changes till Oct. '69, when the Heatley Report came out. From Oct. '69, people wondered what was happening in private discussion. But, over the years some lost interest in between committee meetings, till the last twelve months before implementation in May '75. What were the rates to be? Statements published at the time stated that "rates should be known by the end of June '75". The change of authority meant that there could be dramatic changes in the rates, and there were rumours that they were to be considerable.

The rumours were soon to be confirmed. Argyll and Bute had the fifth highest costs of all the 19 Districts within Strathclyde according to HQ calculations, so huge inroads were made into people's incomes in the name of rates of expenditure on tourism, leisure, recreation, libraries, housing, cleansing, planning, and "other expenses". People were shocked by the increased rates.

What had now to be taken into account was the fact that costs covered a vaster area, so that the more populated Cowal area would have to carry the major load of the costs for improvements in localities on Bute, in the Western Isles, dictated by Glasgow planners, as was to be the case, for example, in the creation of a large sports complex at Lochgilphead, costing £200,000, later in 1978²⁴.

Although Strathclyde declared its budget sums in round figures for the District, it departed from the previous practice in the County statements of entering into detail. For Argyll, the new scheme meant that over three years, the older rate would rise by scale to a 30% increase. The scale at first would be around 17-18% in Dunoon, for example, and then rise dramatically till the District was within a far higher rateable bracket. People told me over and over again that they were subsidising Glasgow. With the growing criticism came the local surprise at the enormous salaries advertised in the press for the new Strathclyde. A letter to the Dunoon Observer commented : "For the majority of the Argyll ratepayers, the present and future position is alarming. The present greatly increased demand is only the very solid end of a very frightening wedge that will reveal itself in full horror inside a year or two".²⁵

A local resident retorted in the Dunoon newspaper : "Some years ago, I remember a paper given by Captain Hay of Hayfield at a conference, warning of the danger of the paid official taking over from the elected representative. How far sighted that gentleman has proved to be. My observations may be parochial, but Dunoon is an area of which I have some knowledge. I do not like what I see today as 'so called' reformed local government."²⁶ The new set-up had meant that the increased payments from local residents had gone into budgets for improvements and upkeep elsewhere in the biggest District in Scotland. "Never have I seen Dunoon", said one of the town's most respected residents, Anne Melville, "in such a filthy, neglected state! Choked gullies, unswept streets, unemptied litter bins at the height of the holiday season."²⁷

As I walked along the promenades in the summer before my departure, I was confronted by a local resident who had chatted with me from time to time since I had approached him in the streets during the interviews I had in the electioneering days of 1974. "Hey there, see those lights dangling above your head," he cried, "those fairy holiday lights have been strung up along this promenade for years, but under Strathclyde there's a difference. You see they go on for the season when the Glasgow 'bohyos' tell us, and they are turned off for the winter when they, not the locals, decide". According to my enquiries later, the maintenance of the lights was by the authority of the District, but the lighting time was by order of the Region. It would appear to be a small matter, but to local people such details characterise and symbolise the new dependencies and loss of local autonomy with no economic benefits attached. The most significant change was that the area was ultimately dependent in economic terms upon the authority invested in the Director of leisure and recreation in the McIver/McKenzie House in Glasgow. The lack of administrative controls after May '75, when the new regional scheme was implemented, will be elaborated in the next chapter, when the political-scape will be dealt with. We must now enquire as to whether there were any economic benefits.

There were publicised benefits for the people in local economic terms. Firstly, it was reported that a more generous loan system for first-time house buyers; Secondly, it was stated that the Region would build 44 Council houses in the 1980s within the area. Thirdly, that more money would be put into publicising the locality as a tourist area. With regard to the housing it was rightly objected by the local residents that the houses would have been on the planning boards, whether there had been a Strathclyde or not. With regard to the loans, as we have already seen, house purchase was then out of the question for most non-owners because of the Ardyne impact, and the premium set on renting houses by the impact of the USN presence. The housing market was prohibitive; the loans would have had to be considerable to outbid the McAlpine purchases, or in bidding against the landlords who wanted to cash in on the USN demand for local rentals.

Tourist publicity was promised to the locality by Strathclyde. It was part and parcel of the new benefit package produced to woo supporters. During my visits to the 525 residents, one man observed; "The Glasgow powers that be are not going to put money into publicising the tourist attractions of a small strip of land like Cowal. Like all press statements about what they are going to do for the public, the big planners promise us a birthday cake, and in the end give us a wee sweetie".

An immediate benefit to the locality, however, when I was in the locality, on the part of the new administration was the allocation of an additional six policemen and four wardens. The people needed to augment their small police force stretched to almost breaking-point by the influx of so many workers. In addition, the traffic congestion and the new huge trucks which often jammed road locally had called for much stricter road controls.

Examining the impacts on the economic-scape by the USN, McAlpine, and Strathclyde intrusions, there are some points of converging interest.

CONCLUSION:

In conclusion, effects in each case were mediated by the diverse expectations of the local residents. In the case of the USN invasion, the locality expected that the locality would become a boom area; in effect, a handful of shopkeepers may have gained economically and some landlords. There were the diseconomies : unpaid debts, luxuries at different costs and exclusively available at Base, an increasing amount of purchasing on "the other side", inroads into the public services by outsiders, the rise in rates to cover the additional expenses because of the train upon them, and the bad press that must have impaired the image of the locality as a tourist area. The result of having a contracting local trade exchange between locals and USN incomers, together with the expansion of the USN usage of public amenities: in particular that of the schools and the hospital service, had created disfunctions. The effect was one of "let-down" in the "economic-scape". And what hurt local young married couples most, was the virtual impossibility of having decent accommodation at a reasonable rent.

The Ardyne impact also created expectations locally of economic gain, but here these were associated with more employment and higher wages for an area that had not gained in employment terms through the advent of the USN personnel. The "let-down" here affected the local lower socio-economic groups more dramatically. Lags were also created between those who managed to hold onto their highly paid jobs, and their neighbours, who either could not get a job, or had lost their job at Ardyne. In addition, like the USN invasion, the housing market had been affected to the profit of the few and the diseconomies of the many. The holiday image of the area in particular had been impaired in the press by the publicity given to the brawls and drunkenness (as we shall further show in Chapter 11).

The Strathclyde story is one of lengthy debate in government, in committees and in the press, for years before the implementation in 1975. Here the locality as we have seen was divided, largely between town and country. Division was engendered by the discussion at first of boundaries. The promise of big monies for economic change was exploded at first by the rise in rates. For the burghers the demise of the Town Council which had managed their local economy to a large extent for over a hundred years, and the remote access to a confusing number of offices and officers scattered across the largest authority in Scotland was bewildering. For the villagers, it had meant from the start that the urban controls, which they had either escaped, or had always been pleased to have been free of, was now an imposition. Those in the Town who did support the new organisational reforms, were "let-down" as they saw the real implications of having to negotiate at distance. The geographic lags are lessened by technology, but communication is not purely a question of technology, but also of access. The access was bureaucratised on a mammoth scale. Whereas the local economy was once linked with a budget allocated for under 30,000 people, the new unit to which the locality was attached catered for 2,378,214.

Each of the three intrusions epitomise the ravages in peripheral economies carried out in the name of economy and rationalisation. Each of the three impacts are examples of "let-down" and "rundown", resulting from faraway schemes which purport to be for the national or international good. Million dollar carrots, revenues from schemes, or economic benefits from reorganization, are dangled before those who put money first. The locals who grasp the proffered prize and enable the intrusions to come about by collusion are often "let-down" by the unanticipated diseconomies and disfunctions.

When it came to assessing (the 525 interviews with residents) how people then felt about change in the area, the responses showed that the majority considered that there had been "little change for the better in general conditions" over the past twenty years (pre-'75/'76).²⁷ This opinion was significant: whether they spoke of the change in their settlement of residence, elsewhere in the locality, or of the locality as a whole, and was so, whether the interviewees resided in the Burgh, or in the North-East, or South-West. At no time did the majority opinion fall below 64.6% (change in the Burgh), and ranged between that and 75.6% (change in the locality as a whole). In their account of a shift in conditions, there was clearly no dramatic evidence that the locality was enjoying an economic boom. We have also seen how there were uneven reactions to the impacts over the years, with some living in the past, unaware of the reality of a naval, industrial and new administrative economic impact. With regard to the rest, most appeared to live in the present scape, with varying reactions, but many appeared to have been caught up with their routines, with no evidence, as I shall show in the next chapter, of a communal effort to change the outcome of events as they ran rough shod over them.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER NINE

1. Giner, S. (1972): Sociology. London: Martin Robertson . p.266.
2. Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard. See issues of the autumn '60.
3. "Ibid". April 16th. '60.
4. "Ibid". March 30th. '63.
5. "Ibid". March 9th. '63.
6. "Ibid". Sept. 28th. '67.
7. "Ibid". Feb. 15th. '69.
8. "Ibid". March 8th. '69.
9. "Ibid". Feb. 6th. '71.
10. "Ibid". Sept. 23rd. '72.
11. "Ibid". July 20th. '74.
The Scottish Under-Secretary simply replied to the SNP Argyll M.P.:
"There is no evidence to justify the complaints" But, the fact was that 114 children, some entering their final year in the primary school at Kirn had had to move out to make room for new US arrivals . They were moved to accomodation in Dunoon at inconvenience to the parents.
12. See Evening Times. 21st. Jan. '75. p.5.
13. Fryer, J. and Rosie, G. (1976, March 7th.) presented map in Glasgow Herald on the plight of rig builders in the U.K. which accompanied an article on the subject.
14. "Ibid".
15. "Ibid".
16. The 'single buoy mooring' had been devised. It basically consisted of a floating pipe to which a discharging tanker could be moored. There was a huge programme of alternative methods put forward, which have since been dropped . The costs of building concrete gravity structures were regarded as extreme. All sorts of inventions received attention in an attempt to cut out such enormous expenditure for platform building.

17. Rosemary Long (19th Jan. '76) in an article on Ardyne in the Evening Times.
The journalist lived locally.
18. "Ibid".
19. See Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard. March 1st '75.
20. "Ibid". May 25th '75.
21. "Ibid". Nov. 2nd '75.
22. "Ibid" Nov. 30th '68.
23. "Ibid".
24. "Ibid". Aug. 26th. '78.
25. "Ibid". Sept. 11th '75.
26. "Ibid". Jan.24th. '76.
27. In economic terms the locality had not made any significant progress.
There were no new public buildings, apart from the indoor swimming pool on the East Bay, since the Americans arrived. If anything, according to many local people, things had deteriorated. One of the biggest complaints was the condition of the roads. A local wrote a poem in the Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard to express his dissatisfaction on the 8th Feb. '75. It ran as follows:

ODE TO ROADS IN DUNOON

You may travel east, you may travel west,

But, there is a town to beat the rest,

With roads to make McAdam swoon.

Where is this place? It is Dunoon.

Who made these ditches and numerous holes?

Gas? Electricity? Hydro-Boards or Moles?

From Gourock to Skye, Glasgow to Troon,

You won't find roads like those in Dunoon .

There are so many ditches, trenches and holes,

That drivers are asking, ' Why pay the tolls ?'

And they would be all over the moon,

If something was done about the roads in Dunoon .

Don't get me wrong, I'm no moaner,

And wouldn't like to be labelled a 'groaner';

But, I'm sure that my end will come soon,

If something isn't done about the roads in Dunoon.

M.T.S. (Dunoon).

Those who supported the move to Strathclyde alluded to the state of the roads under the older regime, and hoped that somehow things would be better under Glasgow and Lochgilphead.

"Politics is about policy first and foremost; and policy is a matter of either the desire for change or the desire to protect something against change. But it need not be ... the policy of some party or set of ministers or mass movement; it may be the policy of a small group in or out of the government ... Politics is about disagreement or conflict; and political activity is that which is intended to bring about or resist change, in the face of possible resistance."

J.D.B. Miller (1962)

Politics is essentially concerned with the conflict of interests both at macro and micro levels. At macro levels, this operates not only on a larger scale, but is also managed and administered by interest groups from within metropolises and capitals where major controls of supplies of money or material resources are centred. In micro terms, this operates not only on a smaller scale, but is also managed and administered by interest groups from within institutions, organizations, groups, whether formal or informal, whose sphere of interest and power are localized, and in terms of dependence are often satellite to the major centres of power.

The "political-scape" constitutes the political universe in which conflicts are played out. As described earlier, it is the institutionalized distribution of power and control in public affairs as exemplified in party politics, the military, elitist groups, administration, formal or informal organizations. Clearly, there are political-scapes at macro and micro levels. From the point of view of the local scene, the important point to make is that the vital political game is played out beyond the locality in the "outscape". There is little hope of influencing that domain of controlling power, or of altering decisions. Indeed, the real centres of power in relation to areas, which are peripheral, are often far removed in the "wider outscape". Small may be beautiful, but in terms of politics, small is usually weak. In between, there is the world of the "nearer outscape", which makes it more difficult for locals to see beyond, because affairs there often get in the way.

The situation ,however, is complicated by the fact that there are diverse views and ideologies at both macro and micro levels . In terms of party politics there may be support for a localized issue over which the particular party involved may wish to take sides with locals against an intruding macro power. The local issues may then be of national, or even international interest, but it will not be the locals who will in the end decide upon the outcome. This will be decided upon in the "wider outscape" by the major parties. As we shall see in this chapter, advocacy may be used only for a time when it suits the politicians, and then conveniently dropped. In terms of major economic multinational, or national groups, the situation is similar, and as this record shows is a question of local exploitation, but veiled in the guise of the national interest. I have described most actions of major powers as "oblique" in contradistinction to direct and open dealings.

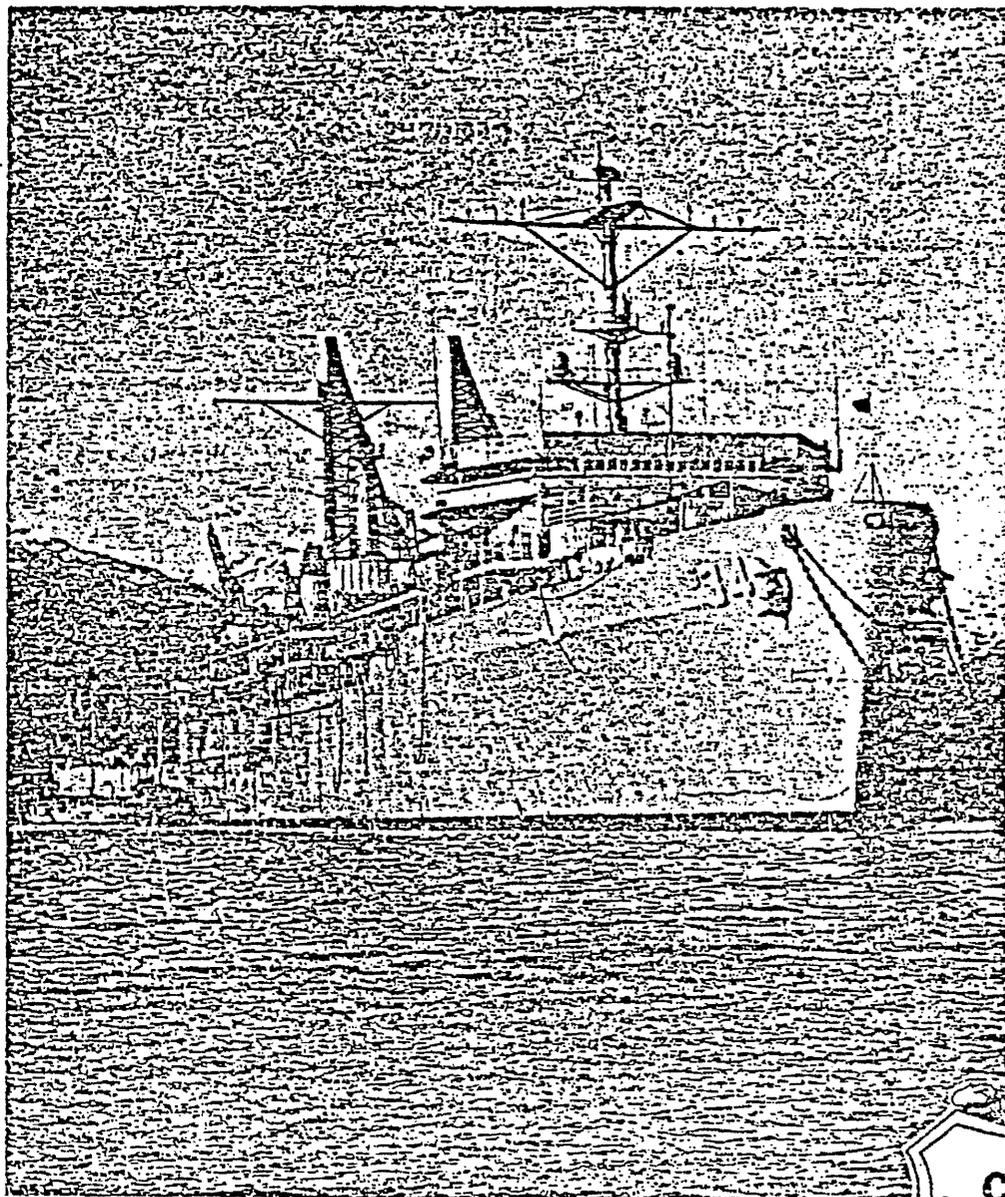
In this chapter I will attempt to explore the complex political effects flowing from the military, industrial and bureaucratic intervention, and intrusions within Cowl from centres of power in the "wider outscape". I will necessarily have to move backwards and forwards within the political-scape at macro and micro levels. Where there is greater diversity, there is often greater political conflict. In this study we will see that with each new impact there was a change in the local political spectrum, and with each a further weakening of the local people's hold upon events, even within their own local-scape. As we will also see, it is not a question of local people working together to defend their rights, but often a divided people politically. : one time more united, at another less so, depending upon their views at that time within the conjuncture of events. To tap these views, I will draw upon the responses of the electorate in '74, and those of the 525 interviewees in the autumn and winter 1975-'76, and in addition, I will cite some toilet graffiti as collected between Feb. '75 and Feb. '76. All of these provided me with some local political soundings.

Beginning with the USN intrusion, keeping in mind the mode of impact upon the locality, one is struck by the silence which followed the first protests. Scanning the research data and the narrative of this study, one realises that the anti-Polaris campaign, which was probably the largest political movement to sweep through Scotland since the depression of the thirties, had long since lost its political "tour de force", as macro issues receded after the first months of demonstration. Michael Foot's remarks in Dunoon in the early months of the CND marches of the sixties now sound hollow - "Although we have had setbacks, this demonstration and the other demonstrations of the campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and those who support it are a sign that we are not going to be moved; that this campaign is going to go on".²

The campaign was betrayed by its once articulate "outscape" political spokesmen. Ironically, the arms build-up since then has grown in the locality. Polaris is now Poseidon, deterrence is no longer respectable, as "second-strike" weaponry is regarded as a virtual admission of defeat. The "military ways" of Washington through oblique dealings established not a Polaris Base as such, but a Poseidon Base, whose destructive capacity far outweighs that of Polaris with multi-warheads devised to shatter with maximum . . . annihilation, and not merely the "quid pro quo" of a nation prepared to return a "first-strike" blow with a sobering second. The term "Polaris" has been conserved (notice the Polaris label on the Canopus Shield p. 339), but is a cover-up for Poseidon.

The 1964 Labour government scarcely raised the nuclear issue, although many of the leading personalities had been active in denouncing

WELCOME ABOARD



USS CANOPUS AS34

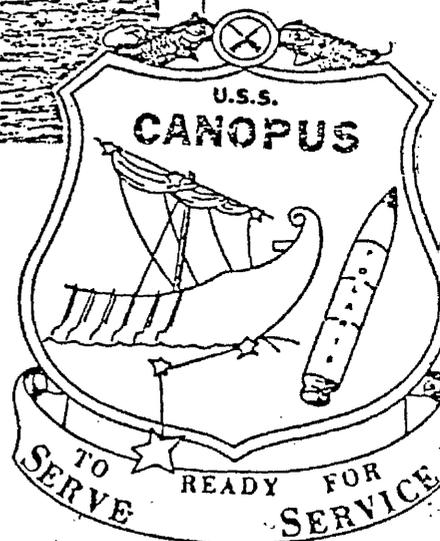


ILLUSTRATION 1: FRONTESPIECE TO HANDOUT
GIVEN TO VISITORS BOARDING THE CANOPUS ON
HOLY LOCH (1975), (including Canopus shield).

the Holy Loch Base. Michael Foot, Tony Greenwood, Judith Hart, Richard Crossman, and Barbara Castle, had all joined in the earlier CND protests. Later, however, in office they were less courageous, when their party extended the American presence at Holy Loch.

The local people have had grounds to be cynical about the Labour Party's stance over Polaris. Reading the Labour Party statements, it is evident that out of office and government, party members are loud in their condemnation of Polaris, but once in government the matter is dropped. This was so once again in 1973. Firstly, Ron Hayward, the Labour Party's General Secretary, at the launching of the Labour Party's foreign policy document in the summer of 1973, stated explicitly that the next Labour government would issue the Americans with an invitation to leave.³ Secondly, Healey, former Defence Minister said: "We will open negotiations to secure the withdrawal of the Polaris Base. We will seek to persuade the USA that there is no case for Polaris submarines to have British bases".⁴ The ULMS/1 ballistic submarine had been created in the USA, and there was no real need for the continued presence of the US submarines on Holy Loch because the long range potential of the new type did not require an overseas base. In J. Habermas's (1974) terms their statements have proved to be "inauthentic".⁵

A local schoolteacher, a Mr. Smith, continually raised the issue locally of Poseidon in the early seventies, and strove to create a local CND pressure group, but to little avail. One man explained to me, "Mr. Smith, and Mrs. Robertson before him, have tried to get the locals to see what a monster Polaris is, and how we must all get the country talking again about it, but the Labour Party's a big, useless lot. They let CND down in the end, so what's the use. We're only a few Labour folk here, and our loyalty is sorely tried". As we have seen, the locality was largely Tory over the years; the few Labour followers required a strong lead from outside, and spokesmen whom they could politically trust.

I sounded out the electorate in Dunoon streets in autumn '74, interviewing 130 persons at random, as explained in Appendix 1. Before I did so, I contacted party spokesmen locally. They told me that no one was raising the Polaris issue or anything to do with Americans.

In my interviews during the electioneering campaign in the autumn of 1974 it was clear that the Polaris issue was not dead locally, but it was no longer a vital macro political issue. Instead, the voters were more preoccupied with UK economic issues such as inflation and price controls, with national Scottish issues such as a "greater say for Scotland" and independence (see Appendix 1). Of the 25 who mentioned the American presence or related factors, none raised the old issue of the ballistic arms race. In the exploratory interviews I had attempted to assess whether there was any indication that local residents felt that the American presence still constituted an issue during election times. It was clear that it did with approximately 19% of the interviewees, but for what reason? None of the 25 regarded the USN presence as a national issue, instead they raised it, or related factors, as a local aggravation.

Yet what was the reality? The American presence in "killer" terms still was significant in the arms race between East and West. If anything, Poseidon had worsened the relations between them, and presented a more threatening situation than in the early sixties; but the CND marchers came only in tens in the seventies.

How can one explain all the apparent indifference, or apathy, or misconceptions of people? During the period of "tertiary surprises", after a new level of routinization sets in, new micro and macro factors may also preoccupy with the conjuncture of new events, or overlap of impacts such as happened in Cowal during the seventies. Former macro issues, still unresolved, either become distorted, or in the passage of time become dim, even forgotten; or from the start may not register as issues for some, due to the lag of perception, either because of age, or misconceptions based upon extraneous factors. Whilst I was interviewing the people in the streets of the Burgh of Dunoon, John Kay of Glasgow wrote in the Morning Star (26th. Sept.) : "The fight is to remove the American Polaris Base from Holy Loch and the whole nuclear complex from the West of Scotland". It was hardly likely that any locals had read his column, but more particularly, there was little evidence that many Cowal

people would have regarded the removal as a political issue to fight for, as Mr. Kay did in his article, although as we shall see later, many local residents would be pleased with the eventual closure of the Holy Loch Base. A matter which we will discuss later.

Local people had lost faith in the pronouncements of the Labour spokesmen, or were committed over the years to taking an anti-socialist middle-class stance. Also, the SNP Manifesto had called for the removal of the USN presence in Scotland, but here too the issue was swept under the carpet in the electioneering days of '74.

The SNP Manifesto explicitly stated:

"The SNP does not want Scotland to have nuclear weapons or bases in Scottish territorial waters. Existing nuclear bases were sited in Scotland without the consent of the Scottish people, and these are clear examples of how London makes use of Scotland for installations thought to be dangerous."⁶

And the SNP were powerful locally, having in February captured the Tory seat for the first time in an area that had been a Conservative stronghold backed for years by influential shopkeepers.

On Friday 4th. Oct. '74, a national upsurge of the SNP was cited by the Nat-Opinion Research Council, which was supported by the fact that there was an increased support for the SNP from 21% in February to an historic 28% in October;⁷ would the swing and the Manifesto's declaration reveal the latent feelings of the people around Holy Loch about the American presence and the ballistic missiles stacked in the hills of the region? When I checked the local SNP handouts there was certainly no mention of nuclear bases, nor did the American presence find even a passing reference in any political SNP speeches.

The fact was that the majority of local people, represented by their pro-Polaris councillors, had been led from the start to support Polaris, and, as we have seen, to help the town especially to survive financially. The minority, who had protested at the start had been isolated. The SNP wanted the majority to

so in spite of the SNP Manifesto, the local SNP workers and their candidate made no issue of the Base throughout the campaign. Propaganda does work, and the coals were there to fan, but votes, not principles mattered above all.

As S. Lukes (1975) indicates, much of what goes on in politics is empty ritual: "systematically distorted communication" emphasises the inauthentic nature of much that passes for open dialogue.⁸ The CND efforts locally, during the disclosure of the Poseidon missile installation aboard US ballistic submarines, proved to be futile CND protests.

The national parties debated numerous other issues. But, gross deceit had taken place in American politico-military circles. The new "first-strike" weaponry had been installed on Holy Loch in 1971, without the knowledge of the members of the House of Commons.⁹ The Pentagon had stated that the deployment of the Poseidon weaponry would be indefinitely postponed, yet locals knew that the James Madison was being loaded with Poseidon missiles by the depot ship Canopus, as reported in the Dunoon Observer of the 22nd. May '71.

The macro/micro interactions between Washington and Holy Loch, not only cut across the local-scape, but apparently cut out British politicians. Macro politics involved US personnel at Holy Loch with Congressmen, as discussed earlier. The Holy Loch Base may have been overseas, but their mind at base was "back home" - the Base was an extension of the USA, a "little America". On one of the toilet doors at the Dunoon pier someone had scrawled the words in large letters: "Dunoon - the 54th. State of America . Yankee Rule !"

Most important of all, the local people never had an anti-Polaris lead from their local leaders in the Town Council. The Americans, in terms of the local political-scape, enjoyed the protection of provosts and councillors, whose pro-American stand had been an enduring factor, except in the case of one or two typicals within the Town Council. The Base was a financial asset for most of them. American naval authorities had maintained a high level contact with the members of the Council over the years. This was cultivated formally through higher

communication and shared symbolic ceremonial in both American and British national commemorations, special suppers and banquets. Informally, the officers' wives, often wearing their Annapolis gold rings (their husbands enjoyed high status as Annapolis graduates), organized select social evenings for the families of Town Council members and other local influentials. There were also musical evenings at the Commander's mansion by Holy Loch, to which the local leaders were invited.

The American presence, therefore, did not alter the political scene. It tended to consolidate the 'status quo' and build upon it. Leadership remained intact. It was strengthened from the point of view of added status, because officials of the highest order, from the Secretary of the US Navy down, called to meet the Town Council on special visits, and there was contact with Congressmen from time to time.

In out-scope terms, the governments, whether Labour or Tory, did not appear to want to see an end to the American presence, whatever the protestations of the Labour Party before regaining office. CND was suffering from a national apathy over the old issues of nuclear disarmament, and repeated let-downs by Labour spokesmen over the years. In terms of national policies, there appeared to have been a *laissez-faire* attitude towards what went on at the Base. Was it that Britain wished at all costs to hold onto its own submarine Polaris system, which was in fact a totally American installation? The presence on Holy Loch was secure, as long as the UK required the American ballistic system aboard its submarines.

In local-scope terms, the Town Council (that local parliament) and the majority of influentials supported the USN presence politically. Whether voting for the Tory or SNP candidate, the majority of the electorate, following upon the local lead of influentials, and upon the emphasis upon other issues of national importance at that time, did not appear to regard the USN presence as a major election issue. Judging from my exploratory interviews in autumn '74, there were indications, however, that

presence on the grounds
being a local nuisance and such-like social factors. Tables 3 and 4 of
appendix 1 shows that there were indications that amongst local issues the
SN presence aroused considerable critical comment in the street interviews.
people wanted the personnel to go, and a growing number because of the blacks,
which had political undertones. There were many, as we shall see, who wanted the
base to close. In spite of the SNP spokesman, I felt that one had only to
scratch the surface locally to find latent anti-USN feelings in Cowal.

What of the effects created by the McAlpine project at Ardyne upon the
political-scape? Under the impact of the rush for oil, we have already seen how the
oil builders strove to secure sites in a disrational fashion. The SNP MP for the
area, Iain MacCormick, was busy protecting the interests of his electorate against
these inroads, especially during 1974-'75. He saw the UK's quest for a solution to
inflation through oil development as another example of England's intrusion in
Scottish local affairs. He accused the Scottish Office of being the "English Office"
and the government of interfering with local planning applications instead of
leaving decisions to local authorities. The problem was that the MP and his
electorate were blocked by a conspiracy of secrecy at both Ardyne and the
Scottish Office. McBarnett (1978) has elaborated upon this elsewhere, where he shows
that onshore development plants and rig building sites kept people out, and any
information jealously to themselves. I myself found it easier to have access to
the decks of the USS Canopus and the Base installations than I did the Ardyne
complex. Information was not available either. McBarnett points out that the
oil development chief "made it a point of principle never to allow access except
under very special supervision, or for official press facility trips which gave
very little idea". We have already seen the mode of impact associated with
Ardyne and the element of surprise.

The locals had heard of the venture in the Dunoon Observer of the 4th.
Nov. '72, which was shock enough, but in the issue of the 9th. Dec. '72, they were
to learn that a forum had been arranged to discuss plans for Ardyne at the
Scelsior Hotel, Glasgow Airport in the first week of December. Planning and
debate seemed to be denied the locals from the start. Discussions of importance
were staged "on the other side" by the airport to suit national and international
influentials.

The Ardyne project had coincided with the national concern of the Scots, led by the SNP, to secure oil for Scotland. Oil had become a burning political issue, and because of Ardyne, the local people of Cowal were caught up in the national debate more intensely than they might otherwise have been. The SNP electorate wanted the oil industry and its shore industries to be clearly geared towards the interests of the Scottish people, and not for American or English exploiters. The institutionalized distribution of power and control in macro terms were beyond the confines of Scotland in the "wider outscape" mainly of the United States, and in the "nearer outscape" of England. The political mood that pervaded the area at that time was highlighted for me during the autumn election of 1974, when the SNP staged a huge local "motorcade" on the last Saturday afternoon before the electorate went to the polls.

Forty-seven cars moved through the locality, beginning in Argyll Street. They were led by a breakdown van, carrying aloft a battered and rusty blue Tory car with its party stickers. It hung from a small crane, like a man on the gallows. The streets echoed with the strains of "A Scottish Soldier", and as the cars followed, bedecked with SNP streamers; the whole spectacle resembled a victory parade. In the middle of the long line of cars was a large float with three large dummies of the Labour, Tory and Liberal leaders, sitting upon three drums of "Scottish Oil". Underneath was a large banner: "Look - they're stealing our oil". Meantime, a long line of Tory cars came up a side-street to Argyll Street, hooting their horns and shouting out abuse. I was handed a small leaflet: "Work for Scots at Ardyne", which went on to state: "It's our country, our oil, and our industry". It was not an SNP handout, but it reflected the agitation which, as we have seen, created local cross-currents in the midst of which the SNP M.P. was caught out.

We have seen how the work situation at Ardyne divided local people; the SNP Party did so likewise, as an older lady was to explain to me during the above spectacle. "There's bitterness in the place now, you know, and it's caused a lot of people to blame the SNP for it." She

3.
explained that it used to be a question of voting for "your class." If you came from the housing schemes, you were Labour, and if from the private houses, you were Conservative. Families long united politically had now split, and in a small place party loyalties were hard to conceal.

I have stated earlier that where there is greater diversity, there is often greater likelihood of conflict. There was greater complexity and diversity locally, because of the Ardyne impact, than there was with the USN Base. The question of Ardyne was linked with the answers people were looking for, in terms of local industry and employment and the involvement of the locality in the national Scottish industrial revival, promised then for all areas fortunate enough to be caught up in the drive for oil. But, for others, the Ardyne venture was destined to be short-lived; what then? And there was also the linkage between employment at Ardyne and the Ulster question, which was not immediately apparent to outsiders. I will later explain.

The electorate was divided on Ardyne, whether of the upper or lower classes. We have already touched upon this in the preceding chapter. The Town Council was not as united on the question of Ardyne, as it was with regard to the American connection at Holy Loch. The hesitant were enabled to make up their minds by the timely publication of a booklet: "Ardyne Tomorrow". It was free, for the public at large, and well timed. What did it have to say? Why was it politically significant? Why did it help to end local conflicts?

When the first concrete gravity structure platform was successfully floated out into the Clyde in March 1975, Inland & Water-side Planners published, by request of McAlpine & Sons, the booklet "Ardyne Tomorrow" in which a pledge was given that the area would be restored after the completion of the required rigs. It also set out alternative plans for local discussion. It was timed to prove how concerned the construction engineers were for the ecology and social quality of life locally, utilising the expertise of staff from the universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Birmingham, the Clyde Estuary Amenity Committee, the Clyde Port Authority, Clyde Yacht Clubs

Department, Scottish Marine Biological Association, Scottish National Trust, Shellfish Association and Toward Civic Trust, among others. Why ?

14

A million cubic feet of earth had been moved in seven months . Fishermen were also afraid that the herring fishing in Loch Fyne might be damaged irretrievably¹⁵ and the local people, as has been shown, were concerned about socio-economic repercussions in Cowal, so the booklet came as a welcome discussion document. The document declared itself to be independent, and set out to present an outline for a working party, to be distributed to administrators, local influentials and placed in public places such as the library in Castle Gardens, Dunoon.

Was the exercise primarily launched to show the influentials and local administrators that McAlpine was truly pledged to restoring the Ardyne shore, after they had completed their task? It placed the onus of choice between schemes for the future of Ardyne after the closure, with the people of the locality. There were certain statements however, throughout the document that might be worthwhile noting, and underlining. These, as we shall now see, were tantamount to statements of intent almost like public declarations, and many took notice, when they picked up the brochure at the local library and public meeting places.

The "Foreword" opens as follows: "Sir Robert McAlpine & Sons are pledged to the restoration of their oil platform construction site at Ardyne at the conclusion of their leases and planning permissions. This would probably conclude their active involvement in this beautiful corner of Argyll".¹⁶ With regard to the question of the timescale, it states: "Other assumptions may prove equally wrong. It is assumed that Ardyne's place in the North Sea oil story is to last perhaps ten years. Platform building technology moves fast. Shortly, techniques for building in shallower water could mean that sites in shallower coastal areas could also play their part. Equally sub-marine oil-well heads may become developed to a stage when platforms will no longer be required.

the discovery of oil on the Western continental shelf could make 'ocean
oil' a more relevant term and then western looking bases, Ardyne among
them, could also have more relevance, not just as construction sites,
but as day to day service bases. However lasting, the West Coast's
place in oil development is a reality." 17*

The document was a political ploy in that it gave first the impres-
sion that once platforms were no longer necessary, the place would be a "day
to day service base". The impression given at meetings and in press releases
was that once the rigs were completed, there would be other projects
at Ardyne, so that the drastic impact at Ardyne would have been justified.
Officials got the impression that whatever the developments, Ardyne's involvement
was secure. Today the site is a derelict and abandoned spot. By 1977, the place
had slowly wound down. The statement that it could be years before the
complex went back to non-industrialised usage, has not come true. In
fact, the 'futures' made the whole document, for those who cared to study it,
rather nebulous. One effect of the Ardyne venture was to expose the public to
sophisticated overtures, and dubious public relations exercises. They had had
no experience in dealing with giant contractors such as McAlpine and Sons,
except in terms of local short-term contractual work.

To illustrate this, the document stated: "In local terms, the fact that
farmers Mitchell and Young have temporarily lost 90 acres of their farms and reduced
their livestock by some 470 sheep is perhaps the only change of economic significance,
and that marginal." 18. To state that the only economic effect was that of a reduct-
ion in the sheep population and a 90 acreage was ludicrous, as is evident from the
discussion of the last chapter. It would have taken only a fleeting visit to the
area to have discovered that the tourist industry had been badly effected by the
invasion of the navvies, as will be further elucidated in the next chapter when the
cultural effects will be considered in social terms particularly.

What the document did not do was take account of the USN presence. It ignored it completely. In fact, a flight over the area is described without any reference to the vessels at Holy Loch. The conjuncture of events, emphasised in this thesis, has argued that the impact of one intrusion cannot be isolated from the overlap of others.

McAlpine was well served by the publication of "Ardyne Tomorrow", because it allayed local concern about both present and future matters. Firstly, with regard to the current employment situation, it gave the impression that the incoming work force numbered a little over a thousand, whereas the number was far in excess of a thousand. It was impossible to get a precise statement from management. As already stated, secrecy shrouds the work-details of firms, especially so at that time, when firms vied with each other for orders, sites and manpower in the rush for a stake in the shore development associated with the North Sea explorations for oil.

Secondly, with regard to the future, local residents had been concerned that the contractors might leave behind them a wasted shoreline. But after the publication people were stating locally that McAlpine would build a marina on the Ardyne site. (This sailing centre scheme was the second option of six in the document.) Certainly, the McAlpine sponsorship of the study and published document had succeeded in pushing aside the old mistrusts created by the planning schemes, when Ardyne had been secured amidst "oblique" dealings, all above the law, but misleading nonetheless as the "outscape" strove to manipulate local resources to the benefit of the outside concern. The rumours about a marina, and the golden future for Ardyne, once the platform programme closed down, were then locally in circulation and a bright "future-scape" was then predicted.

The document referred to its dealings with Argyll County Council and its commitments to the Council, but the County Council was shortly to pass away with the new regionalisation that came into force exactly

four weeks after the publication of the document. There is enough legal ambiguity here alone to make one wonder exactly what rulings or commitments now hold; enough ambiguity had existed before - when the County Council was in control.

The outside patronage of the Ardyne oil-related complex, and the remote control of the workforce introduced into the locality a giant enterprise from the "outscape" with international interests, whose future plans had, of necessity, to be dictated by events and "power-scapes" outside the "local-scape". The nationwide crisis over inflation, and the widespread belief that oil was the answer, made it impossible for the handful of people around Ardyne and the rural population within the vicinity to devise a strategy which would attract widespread support for their protests over the intrusion.

In local political terms, it was the SNP M.P. who became the vital go-between. The Town Council and the shore councillors had always boasted that they had no party ticket, now it was the SNP man, dedicated to his party-line who caught the limelight, and although sometimes he suffered for it, he was "the" local advocate. The site was local, but because it was linked with a large workforce and with the national issues surrounding the rush for oil, it needed someone with a foot in Argyll and in the House of Commons. Ardyne, at that time, involved the M.P. more directly than did the USN Polaris Base.

The Ardyne invasion by the men of McAlpine, like that of the USN personnel, had linked the locality with the major extraneous events in the outscape. In the case of the navy invasion, there was a link with the Ulster problem which added to the political conflicts locally, as we will now see.

But, firstly, what was the link? Locally, there had been a marked upsurge of anti-Irish feeling due to the IRA bombings in the UK, and the recent establishment of an Orange Lodge in Dunoon. The area welcomed incomers of whatever religion or background: there were signs in the seventies that certain incomers had introduced prejudices from the "other side" where the North of Ireland ties over the years had been notably staunch between the Orange Lodges and the North of Ireland Protestants. The Ardyne workers were mainly Irish, and became known as the "paddies". There were other foreign workers, but they were fewer.

The West of Scotland has had a strong Irish connection with divided loyalties between the Catholic and Protestant cause in Ulster. The incoming Irish labourers from the Republic had made up the bulk of the men who built the railways in the last century. The Irish who settled in the upsurge of the industrial revolution, constituted a Catholic minority population in and around Glasgow. Their confrontation with the established Protestant population has been characterised and also reinforced by the rivalry between the Rangers and Celtic football clubs. It is necessary to point this out, because it has ramifications with regard to what was happening in Cowal during the Ardyne intrusion. We have seen how in Dunoon and district there has been a notable degree of tolerance between Protestants and Catholics. The lag created by the Firth, between Cowal tolerance, and intolerance on "the other side", in part explains the contrast, as well as the traditional open welcome, Dunoon has fostered over the years at the ferry point between north and south. This tolerance was to be severely tried by the advent of the Orange Lodge to Dunoon in the early seventies from "the other side", with Orange parades in the month of June through Dunoon and a growing animosity for southern Irishmen in the wake of bombings in Ulster and in the UK. Locals also began to be aware of the fact that even the colour associated with the Republican or Celtic Club of green was enough to rouse feelings. The Ardyne invasion was characterised by its Irish navvies, the green work-helmets and rainwear, the green vans and buses. There were rumours of IRA involvement locally.

One rumour was that collections were made at the Sunday service in Ardyne camp for the IRA cause. I managed to accompany the RC priest to the camp one Sunday to see for myself what was going on. There were 75 men at the Mass. They happened to be a devout and impressive set of men who did put rolled notes onto the plate during the service, but the money was for charity in Cowal. Afterwards, I spoke with the men. They followed the McAlpine work programme throughout the world and formed the hard core of McAlpine's famous work corps. There was no foundation for the rumours in Cowal. Nefarious connection with the warring sides in the North of Ireland, however, did exist, but it was to be a local resident's involvement, which will be worthwhile alluding to.

Whilst I was in the locality, the anti-Irish element, amongst a hard core of locals, was deeply rooted after approximately five years of Orange Lodge campaigning. Although the Lodge did not itself become associated with gun-running, a local man with Orange Lodge connections was convicted in court of conspiring to rob the Ardyne wage van at gun-point. The money he was to have taken was to have been for the protestant cause in Ulster. The trial at Glasgow was particularly embarrassing for the local population, because the man was from one of the most respectable business families of Dunoon. There was national coverage in the press, and the family left the locality.

There is no doubt that change over the years in endogenous terms had moved in the direction of greater tolerance and openness, as has been shown in the assessment of the "historical-scapes" in an earlier chapter, but the McAlpine navy invasion in conjunction with the events in Ulster, and the intrusion from outside of a group of Orange Lodge campaigners, created exogenous change in the opposite direction.

In the autumn of 1974, when I interviewed electors on the streets, 21 people brought up the question of Ardyne, 13 of these said that employment at Ardyne was an issue; only one of them referred to the paddies getting the work there. The exploratory interviews gave no clear indication that people felt locals were being rejected and Irish navvies preferred (see Appendix 1 for details). One of the reasons perhaps for the lack of comment regarding the Irish element figuring so negligibly as it did, was that McAlpine had given a guarantee in May that year that locals would be given an opportunity to be taken on at Ardyne. Nonetheless, as the leaflet I received indicated, there were some still concerned about the work.

There was certainly considerable political crossfire in the toilet graffiti between Feb. '75 and Feb. '76. I will deal with these now. They indicated that there were new distributions of power between political grassroot groups locally. New battles were being waged between the youths of the area.

I had decided to take note of the toilet graffiti, with a view to assessing uninhibited feelings expressed locally with regard to the incomers. As it turned out, the findings threw some light upon these within the political context. I checked the Burgh male toilets early each Monday morning throughout the twelve months from the last day in Feb. '75 to the first day of Feb. '76 inclusively. The toilets within the Burgh were well distributed: three in the town centre, three to the south-west of the pier, four to the north-west (one closed down after my research began), and one at the pier. Outside the Burgh, I regularly checked toilet graffiti in the main toilets at Toward, Ardentinny, and Sandbank. The check on the female toilets was carried out by three women. Whereas the male graffiti did refer to the incomers, out of the 53 graffiti in the Burgh ladies' toilets, and 11 "furth" of the Burgh, there were no references to the incomers. As shall be stated later in the next chapter, the women had strong views with regard to them, but they did not express their feelings on toilet walls as some males did. The helpers summed up the nature of the graffiti as "just the usual graffiti". Table 1 presents the references made in the male toilets. As shall be later demonstrated, these had strong political undertones.

Clearly, the graffiti were largely concerned with the usual vulgarities, etc. However, within the Burgh, statements related to the Ardyne workers and related matters were scrawled on walls approximately six times a month on average, whereas those concerning the USN personnel and related matters were written about three times monthly inside the 10 Burgh male toilets. The three toilets visited "furth" of the Burgh, in sharp contrast, seldom had graffiti which referred to the incomers. The Burgh graffiti proved to be of significance in a political context.

Whereas only one reference to the USN presence locally had a political flavour, all but three of the 77 graffiti (all 3 in the Burgh) did have political connotations. The term "IRA" figured in statements in 38 out of the remaining 74 graffiti. "King Billy Rules" featured in 14; "Republican" in 9; and the other 13 statements represented a combination of terms mentioning either "Papes", or "the Boyne" in contexts such as : "Ulster is British - Keep the Papes out".

TABLE 1: PUBLIC MALE TOILET GRAFFITI RELATED TO THE INCOMERS, LOCALS AND OTHER MATTERS (FEB. 1975-FEB. '76) IN THE BURGH AND "FURTH" OF THE BURGH

MALE TOILET GRAFFITI REGARDING :	in the Burgh		"furth" of Burgh		TOTALS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
USN PERSONNEL & ASSOCIATED MATTERS	37	13.5	5	11.6	42	13.2
ARDYNE PERSONNEL & ASSOCIATED MATTERS	75	27.3	2	4.7	77	24.3
LOCALS & ASSOCIATED MATTERS	41	14.9	0	0.0	41	12.9
OTHER PEOPLE & ASSOCIATED MATTERS	122	44.3	36	83.7	158	49.6
TOTALS	275	86.5	43	13.5	318	100.0

See Appendix 7.

It must be said that more than half of the statements with a political flavour were written on the walls of the toilet by Kirk Brae in the centre of the town nearest the bus-stand for Ardyne buses. One noticed there were both gibes against the Irish and also against the locals side by side. In fact, 30 out of the 41 statements regarding the locals and associated matters were scrawled upon the walls of the Kirk Brae toilet. It would therefore appear that given the position of the toilet, the anti-local remarks came probably from the Irish Ardyne workers, whose remarks were countered by local men also working at Ardyne. One heard horrific stories of the fights between the "Irish papas" and the "orange lads" after work. But, in the other toilets the anti-Irish remarks with political allusions etc. were not countered by anti-local remarks to the same extent. It could be that the 17 graffiti against the Irish at the Hunters Quay toilet to the north-east of Dunoon were the work of

local men who were not working at Ardyne, as also perhaps the graffiti in the other toilets apart from the pier at Dunoon. This would fit in with the growing frustration locally amongst the men, in particular, over their inability to secure employment at Ardyne. Given the conjuncture of the Ulster and UK bombings associated with the IRA, and the influx of Irish navvies and the upsurge of an Orange Lodge group local (who incidentally had won favour with one of the local councillors), the anti-Irish male grievance expressed itself politically.

What of the possible confrontation between the Irish and the Americans? As shall be demonstrated in the next chapter, the Americans and the navvies hardly ever met, frequenting different haunts as they did, so the political confrontation could hardly arise, except on occasion.

OUTSCAPE DECISIONS AND LOCAL HELPLESSNESS :

Summing up the effects of the McAlpine venture upon the political-scape, firstly in outscape terms, the macro-events of the UK's national drive for oil, together with the Scottish debate as to whose oil, divided the electorate. However, the SNP followers watched helplessly, as decisions were made across the border, to explore Scottish waters and to set up sites for platform and rig building on Scottish shores, while Tory followers quoted the national need, and saw the whole North Sea programme as an Anglo-Scottish effort. The McAlpine venture took everyone by surprise when announced in the tabloid columns of the Dunoon Observer of Nov. 4th. '72. The area was a tourist centre, committed to attracting holiday-makers, already strained by the USN presence. A local hearing was called for. In the first week of December, McAlpine staged the main forum for discussion and declaration of intent, not in the locality, but on "the other side".

Contacts were made in the outscape, where the power lay. An immediate effect was that the Town Council felt left out of the whole affair, negotiations having been made almost exclusively with the Argyll County Council. This had not happened with the USN invasion. The local capital had been brought in from the start, not so in the case of McAlpine's venture. The contractors kept strictly

to the procedure laid down by the government which gave industrialists maximum leeway in the rush for sites to procure planning permission. Throughout the early months of planning and bartering, the Town Council had no profile, and throughout the years of production at Ardyne up to the demise of the Council in 1975, it was the SNP M.P. who took upon himself the central local role .

It might be argued that the Town Council was not to be involved, because Ardyne was outside the Burgh; so too was Holy Loch, yet the USN personnel and US government at that time respected the political standing of the Town Council (that local parliament). Power had been centred locally in the old capital of Cowal, both with regard to the administration of tourism, and in terms of business and local commerce. When McAlpine moved into Ardyne, the contractor may have become a Cowal industrialist, but the centre to which the firm paid its respects lay in the outscape, not at Castle Chambers, Dunoon. The Town Council was to fold up in May '75, the McAlpine intrusion added to its weakening role as a Cowal institution.

In local-scape terms, the Ardyne venture had a divisive effect politically. Unintended consequences consisted mainly of splitting the SNP followers into those who were fortunate to work at Ardyne from those who were turned away . Their M.P. had secured jobs for them at Ardyne, and then later blocked them . There were locals who told me that he did this to satisfy "Tory" shopkeepers and businessmen. There was sense of 'let down", which for some turned into political disillusionment. For others, the Ardyne venture had helped bring into the locality anti-Irish feelings which had political undertones. In this instance the conflict of interests both political and religious in Ulster were dragged into the local political arena of Cowal, and antagonisms created between groups at lower class levels.

By way of summing up the way in which the local residents "inscaped" the impact of Strathclyde, and the associated changes that accompanied the change involved, it must be noted that from 1968 people were divided over the whole question of reorganization.

As already indicated in Part 3, the people were split over the reform of local government, which also dissipated the efforts of the anti-reform groups. The split was mainly in the Burgh, outside it the villagers were opposed to the regional changes. This division of town and country, of villager and burgher, and of burgher with burgher, meant that regionalisation had opened up rifts across an area once noted for its cohesiveness, which had been centred upon the effort across the locality to cater for the stranger and to build up a tourist and holiday trade second to few. And the holiday trade was waning. Perhaps the people around Holy Loch were losing their trust in the townspeople because they had seen how they had put the prospect of making money out of the American invasion before the inconveniences caused to the villagers around the Polaris Base. At the other end, the people living by Ardyne and Toward, had also seen how the burghers had welcomed the prospect of more employment for the locals, chiefly in the Burgh, at the expense of the inconveniences caused to the villagers. Money had divided, once again the old axiom of the Middleton (1929) studies applies here: "People know money, but they don't know you", or to quote the old Latin tag: "Pecunia non olet" (money does not smell).

We have also seen how the Town Council was divided over the issue of Strathclyde. Obviously, none of the Council had wanted the demise of the Town Council, but given the decision of government nothing could be done, it was the old issue of whether Cowal should be linked with "the other side", or with the Highlands, that split the members.

For many, especially the SNP and Tory electorate, being in Strathclyde had the effect of altering the political profile of the locality. The Labour Party was strong in Glasgow, and given that ultimate authority in regional terms lay with Glasgow, fears grew that the Labour elite there might interfere in Cowal.

MacCormick voiced his concern soon after the election in the Daily Express, on the 9th. Nov. '74, as follows : "Half the people of Scotland are in danger of coming under the dictatorship of the Labour leaders of Glasgow Corporation". Locally, the people of the villages were openly talking about "the mutilation of Cowal" and the Labour party's hand in "the carve-up". Most people in the Burgh also mourned the demise of the Town Council and the ending of the long line of provosts. The regalia and the chain of office were now museum pieces, which added inury to injury by their eventual removal to Lochgilphead, which takes one to the old confrontation between the administration there and that of Dunoon.

In an earlier chapter, the battle of Dunoon Burgh over the years to secure all County Council offices at Dunoon has already been referred to, also the power struggle between the officials at Lochgilphead and the Dunoon Town Council. Earlier, when the new reorganization scheme was first discussed, Lochgilphead appeared not to feature. In fact, if one takes a look at the official map of the Strathclyde region (see page 10) Lochgilphead was not sited, but Dunoon was. We have seen how the town lost out to Lochgilphead by the narrowest of margins. The effect was one that left the Burghers annoyed and embarrassed at the same time. The removal of the regalia of the provost's office to Lochgilphead, referred to above, rounded off the humiliation for old Dunoon. More was to follow for the area.

When the change-over to Strathclyde was not only in debate, but being prepared for by the authorities, it was suggested that in the future Argyll be known WEST STRATHCLYDE. That was in the spring of '75. The Dunoon Observer printed a letter from an angered reader which epitomised the mood and the protest about the change created. The issue of the 15th. Feb. cited his objection : "Are we in Argyll now to become West Strathclyders ?.. Will his Grace the Duke have to change his address to West Strathclyde instead of Inveraray, Argyll ?". The decision met with the full onslaught of the entire county, which may be demonstrated by the fact that over 6000 signatures were collected in Cowal. By April the suggestion had had to be dropped and "Argyll" remained

It would appear that for the Burgh the change-over was considered on the whole to have been destructive. Many took it as adding yet again to the waning image of the old Burgh, whose motto "Forward" looked rather ludicrous in the circumstances. For many the Council Chambers at the old castle house had been the political arena where local grouses and indeed ideas could be tabled and immediately reported in the local press. Strathclyde ruined all of this. But, there were some who saw the passing of the Town Council as a blessing, because for them it epitomised the ending of local privilege, which will shortly be discussed, when I review the responses of the local residents to my questions during my stay in the locality. Before I do so, the question of creating local community councils will have to be considered, because it is linked with the fragmentation caused by the creation of Strathclyde.

The authorities had hoped that the Community Councils would attract the electorate, because they were designed to be the mouthpiece of the local electorate. Strathclyde adverts described them under the banner headlines : "Community Councils: The Part You Can Play". The setting up of these proved to be problematic. Firstly, they were to be established within Districts by a scheme to be drawn up by the District Council to be submitted to the Secretary of State for Scotland, not later than May 16th '76¹⁹. Without entering into the exact nature of these Councils, suffice it to say that when I left the area in February '76, the fragmentation over inclusion or exclusion from Strathclyde had blocked communal discussion. Secondly, choice divided; it was possible under a hundred people of a small village could form a community Council, or take the form of a larger one on a "locality" basis: so Dunoconites wanted a council to serve the locality, but villagers wanted their own council.

Division, already created by the regional debate, which formed a wedge between Burgh and rural inland and shore areas, was then greatly complicated by the local assumptions that the villagers could establish village Councils; or agree to a larger locality Council. All this debate took place before the "Draft Scheme For The Establishment of Community Councils" was sent to the locality by the Argyll and Bute District Council in which areas were identified with the polling districts.

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That draft scheme suggested therefore no less than 45 Community Councils in the new District, which people considered a huge joke. Some went it alone, because, after all, the Councils would only be advisory: for example, a Community Association was set up in Hunters Quay on the 9th July 1975, on totally different lines from the Draft Scheme. The result was that political confusion followed.

Taking the points made in the chapter concerning concepts of change, impact and community, it is clear that the community councils opened up problems of identity for the people of the locality. Overall, there was the "master identity" of Cowal people, but within it a more and more specific set of identities, either of settlement or locational (e.g. "By Holy Loch", "By Toward"). What the draft scheme (as set out by the new officials) did, was to give the public notice that it was proposing to have set up areas by electoral boundaries as community units from which people could be elected. Notoriously, electoral boundaries do not coincide with those of meaningful communities.

Having commented upon the conjuncture of events and the divisions caused by Strathclyde, I will draw upon my interviews with the local people so as to assess their reaction, which will further our understanding of some of the political effects, and the import of Strathclyde in their eyes at that time.

Before reorganization in the autumn of '74 when I interviewed people in the streets of the Burgh, 19 out of the 130 chosen at random, had explicitly stated in answer to an open-ended question that they wanted removal of the locality from Strathclyde. When it came to my interviews after reorganisation, going from one home to another, I found that all but 7 of the 525 interviewed had read the supplement on reorganization attached to the Dunoon Observer just before the implementation, so that interest was great. Opposition was impressive with (336) 64% of the people, selected randomly for interview, actually stating that they were opposed to reorganization. There were in contrast 109 (20.8%) who agreed with it, and also 80 (15.2%) who did not indicate what they felt. Appendix 9 presents the full data. We may be able to further our understanding of what was happening by taking a closer look at the people who were opposed to Strathclyde.

TABLE 2: THE RESPONSES OF THE 525 INTERVIEWEES REGARDING STRATHCLYDE IN RURAL AREAS AS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE BURGH:

RESPONSE	RURAL RESIDENTS		BURGH RESIDENTS		TOTAL RESIDENTS	
Opposed to Strathclyde	102	61.8 %	234	65.0 %	336	64.0 %
Not opposed to Strathclyde	28	17.0 %	81	22.5 %	109	20.8 %
No response	35	21.2 %	45	12.5 %	80	15.2 %
TOTALS	165	100.0 %	360	100.0 %	525	100.0 %

Based upon data, 6% sample. Appendix 9.

As one might have expected, only 28 out of 165 (17.0%) in the rural area showed any leanings towards supporting Strathclyde. Here too the number (35) who preferred to keep silent was highest. I detected in their "no comment", or gesture, that many of them were not at all impressed by Strathclyde, but this was only based upon impressions at the time. With regard to the 109 who did not express opposition to Strathclyde and spoke in terms of agreement, all were Tories by political preference. 78 of them had only been in the locality under 10 years, with only three who had resided there for more than 20 years. They were less inclined to listen to MacCormick's repeated attacks on the scheme.

Where linkage with "the other side" was strongest, agreement, with regionalisation was greatest, with only three out of the 109 who had been in the locality for more than 20 years. The lack of any in support of the SNP indicated that they were less ready to listen to McCormick's repeated attacks upon the new scheme, and the SNP could in fact have either hardened them in their views, or thrown them into the pro-regionalization camp if they had had no express view.

What was of interest was the fact that sixty-one had referred in their conversation to the ending of local privilege, in one form or another. About half (30) of these spoke in terms of "the face that did not fit" when it came to

having a

a hearing in the old days of the Town Council. R Taylor (1977), a community worker in Cowal wrote of the "Ach Him; A' Kent his Father"*syndrome²⁰. With it went the stigmatisation of certain families and the glorification of others. It was evident that more than half of those who were opposed to the continuance of the older set-up had felt that a good effect of the regional reorganisation was the thwarting of parochial privilege. Before concluding, I will refer to another type of response and a very different form of enquiry.

Political opinion is often expressed in story-telling and often with the aim of exposing the stupidity of government or of those in authority, at other times to conserve group prejudice against another group. This is often the best weapon to use, outside of formal polemical confrontations. The newspaper cartoon serves as an example of a similar political tool. Often the story says more about the political situation than learned commentaries. Sometimes the stories are mere fabrication, and at others built upon fact, and sometimes true accounts, but whatever their source or veracity, they constitute a political cement, bringing people together. Three stories, out of the many then exchanged, struck me as worth quoting to the interviewees to serve as an indicator of local cynicism and to establish the informal network of communication. The first story (which I will shortly repeat) was used particularly to check out the political cynicism, which I knew from informal conversation was quite widespread with regard to Strathclyde at that time.

The story was about a Kilmun roadsweeper, to whom a letter was sent, just after reorganisation from Glasgow bureaucrats. The letter specified that he was to go personally at the start of his working day to his local District HQ. to be informed there of his daily duties. The District HQ happened to be Lochgilphead. For those not familiar with the public services and the distances in Argyll, such a journey would have meant a whole day's hourney - he would have had to travel into Dunoon, take a ferry to Gourock, catch a train to Glasgow, and then go by bus to Lochgilphead (which buses were very infrequent). 163 (31.1%) had heard the story or similar version; the story about the USN marriage (see Appendix 9) or similar version was heard by 78 (14.9%); and that about the Ardyne navy (see Appendix 9)

*."O h, Him: I knew his Father".

or similar version was heard by 66 people (12.6%). Diagram 1 indicates where the versions were heard and the interviewees' place of residence.

The diagram shows that the stories were transmitted in Dunoon centre, which was not only the Banking, Post Office, and administration centre, but also the main gossip centre of the entire locality. The links that the story-telling created across the locality did indicate the extent of interest. In the case of McAlpine and Polaris stories, there was clearly less ground for stating that gossip about the Americans and the navvies was widespread. The stories were not chosen to assess numerically and comparatively the extent of the talk, but rather to have some insight into the informal network and type of stories that were making the rounds at that time. I could not be sure that I had utilised the more popular stories then in vogue locally.

What relevance has the story-telling to the political impact of Strathclyde, which I am at present discussing? The political sphere at micro level is played out within informal settings. Often debate and political influence are most effective in neighbourhood haunts, where political expression finds a way of saying things in the idiom of a particular group, or class, or settlement, etc.. Just as in the case of the toilet graffiti, so too here I took the opportunity to sample the local cynicism and the political undertones through the above enquiry. It demonstrated that Dunoon was operating as the informal centre for conserving biases, passing on information (as the locals would say "the latest"), and strengthening shared convictions about Strathclyde. The above story showed how stupid the Glasgow regime was to many, and also how ignorant the bureaucrats were of local factors over there on "the other side". The story had another effect, in this instance, namely that of cementing Burgh and rural people. Burgh contacts were talking with the people "furth" of Dunoon about their shared antipathy. They did so on Argyll street, which road we have already seen was an embarrassment to Strathclyde. Unlike the USN and Ardyne impacts, Strathclyde was affecting every single household, because of the increased rates, which has a way of uniting people. Putting together the sharing of the anti-Strathclyde anecdote and the common grudge, it would be reasonable to assume that one unintended positive effect of Strathclyde was to bring people more together, where hitherto the

issue of Strathclyde had been divisive before, and during, the first months after implementation. During the spin-off period, people were more united against Strathclyde.

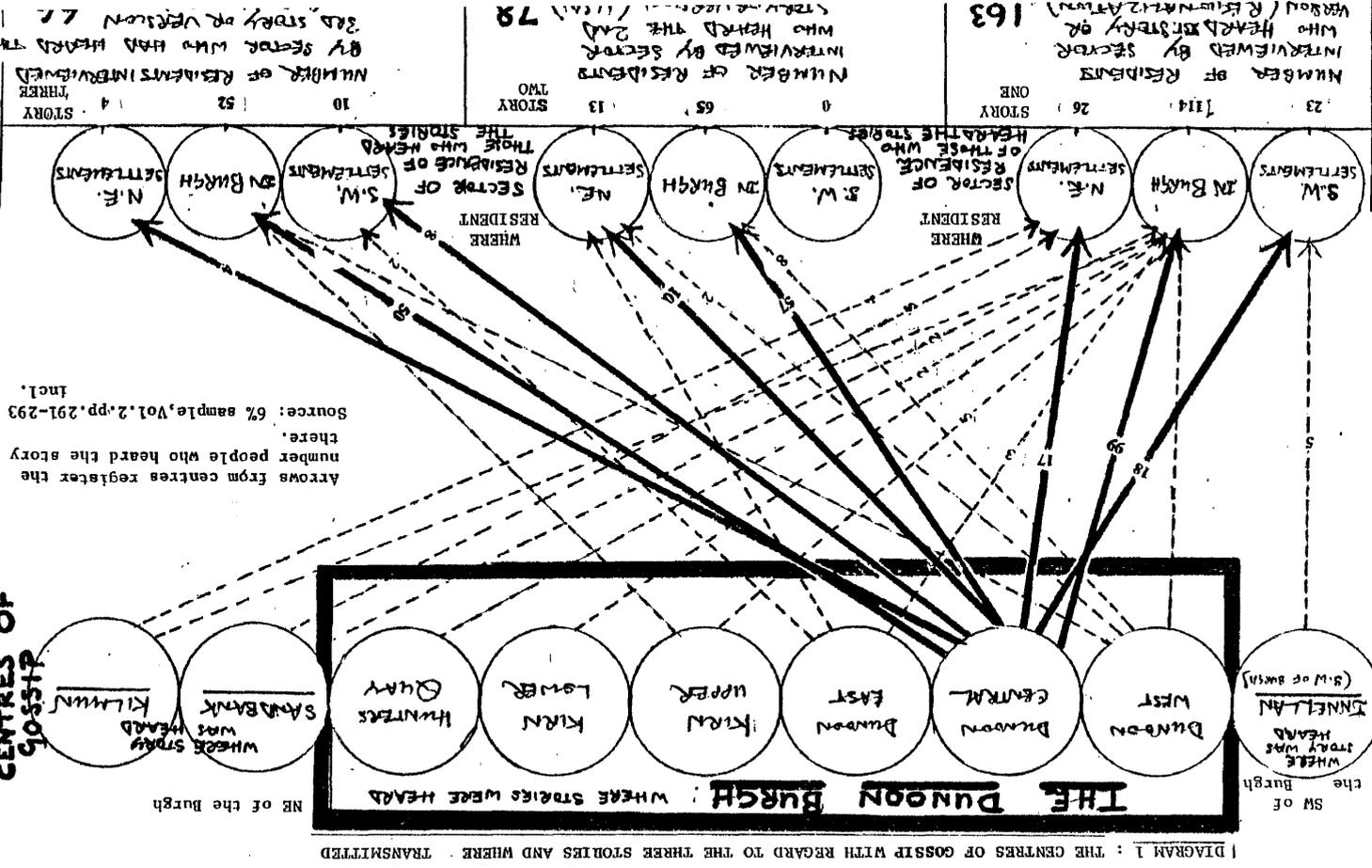
Summing up the impact of Strathclyde upon the political-scapes, it would appear that neither the effects of the USN presence, nor that of the McAlpine complex, had affected the political-scapes, as did the new regional scheme of Strathclyde. In contrast, USN presence had actually strengthened the Dunoon Town Council's position by giving it added status; while the Ardyne venture weakened it, the Strathclyde scheme destroyed it altogether. There is no doubt from the reading of the history of Dunoon and of Cowal, that the Town Council was the central local institution, with the greatest political influence at micro level. Ex-provosts and ex-councillors and Bailies, because of their attachment to the Council and offices within it, had also enjoyed local political prestige because of it. Three of the greatest influentials: Mr. Black, Mr. Wyatt, and Miss McPhail, were ex-provosts whom the USN senior staff had carefully courted over the years because of their status in the locality. Strathclyde did away with the institution which had been their vehicle of power.

In addition, the County Council was gone. With it, ended old feuds aged between Dunoon and County, but now, the political battle at micro level was re-aligned. The locality would have to face Lochgilphead, and the shore councillors present the local view. Lochgilphead through reorganization had become the District centre, so that Dunoon and Cowal had lost their bid for greater self-determination. The locality was at first weakened by inner divisions caused in part by the Strathclyde debate. And the Community Councils at that time created, rather than healed, divisions, because of the confusion over boundaries. Opposition to Strathclyde after implementation was uppermost, both in the rural and Burgh areas. There was evidence of cynicism against the Glasgow bureaucrats.

In outscapes terms, there was the possibility that the Labour

CENTRES OF GOSSIP

Arrows from centres register the number of people who heard the story there.
Source: 6% sample, Vol. 2, pp. 291-293 Incl.



always been welcome in Cowal, but innovations that would alter the institutionalised way of life, especially the government of matters strictly local, had always been resisted, as already noted, by plebiscites. This conservatism matches Ogburn's fourth, fifth and sixth points, cited in my earlier review, when referring to the resistance in peripheral areas to change. It appeared to me from my interviews that the central factor was the question of "superior utility", as Ogburn phrased it. "What's in it for Cowal?" was the constant refrain. But there was no acceptable leader to draw the people together. Within 12 months (by May '75), the ex-provosts, Black, McPhail and Wyatt had died. Wyatt had a strong following amongst both the business people in the Burgh and the people at large in the South-West, especially more populated Innellan. Black was popular not only with the business people, but with most locals, as was also Miss McPhail. They were friends. She had convinced the township and many local people that the USN Base would be good for the locality, when the rest of the UK had stressed otherwise. Each of them was opposed to Lochgilphead and Glasgow's intrusion in local Cowal affairs, and all three might have managed to pull the fragmented population of Cowal together whilst under so many pressures. It was not to be. Some have said that these three could not have faced the passing away of the Town Council, nor the removal of the provost's robes, which they had worn with distinction, to Lochgilphead. As it happened, their followers could no longer look to the provost's chambers in Castle House for a lead in the void the dead had left behind - the doors were locked, as plans were being discussed to turn the empty rooms into a museum or library. MacCormick, often so much to the fore in working for the electorate, could not fill the void left by the Town Council and the three most influential leaders. His SNP followers might have hoped so, but the large number of Tory voters could not. The local electorate was split between Tory and SNP loyalties at that time. MacCormick, moreover, was an Oban man and a local leader was called for.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER TEN

1. Miller, J. D. B. (1962): The Nature of Politics. Pelican. p.14.
2. As reported by B. Wilson in the Glasgow Herald on the occasion of the annual CND protest rally in 1977.
3. See the Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard June 2nd. '73 for a local citation of the Foreign Policy Document of the Labour Party.
4. "Ibid".
5. Habermas, J. (1974): "The Public Sphere" as already referred to in Chapter 6.
6. SNP MANIFESTO (Aug. '74): Scotland's Future. Edinburgh: SNP Manor House.
7. Scotsman. Oct. 4th. '74.
8. Lukes, S. (1975): "political Ritual of Social Integration" in Sociology, Vol. 9, No. 2.
9. Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard. May 22nd. '71.

In this issue it was stated, "Despite reports from the Pentagon last month that deployment of Poseidon missiles might be indefinitely postponed.....

a U.S. naval spokesman confirmed last Sunday that the U.S.S. James Madison was being loaded with Poseidon missiles from the depot ship Canopus. He added that the agreement of the British government for their deployment from the Holy Loch, not expected until late summer, had been recently given. The James Madison is the first of the 31 submarines out of the American fleet of 41 to be converted to carry the larger weapon". Locals knew of the deployment of the missile when the Pentagon protested it would postpone deployment. A local man told me that people at Sandbank and Kilmun spoke of some new missile when no one knew in the UK of the existence of Poseidon.

Concern locally increased over the presence of Poseidon. There had been a fire aboard the Canopus on Dec. 5th. '70, when the local residents became acutely concerned because the fire was within 90ft.

of the main Polaris and Poseidon missile store as reported in the local press on Jan. 2nd. '71. The concern created a revival amongst the followers of Mrs. Robertson at Sandbank and Mr. Smith (C.N.D.) at Inverchaolin. One of the biggest demonstrations followed in March and the B.B.C. team for the programme "24 hours" spent several days working on a programme concerned with the Polaris Base, which had been "dead news" for some years.

10. See all issues of the Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard in the month of January '71.

11. "Ibid". 30th. Nov. '74.

12. McBarnet, A. (1978), "opus cit.", p. 45.

13. Drummon, M. and Bryer, R. 'et al.', (1975): Ardyne Tomorrow: An Outline For Discussion. Southampton: Inland and Waterside Planners.

14. Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard. 10th. Aug. '75.

15. "Ibid".

16. Drummon, M. and Bryer, R. 'et al.' (1975), as above, p. 6.

17. "Ibid". p. 17.

18. "Ibid". p. 19.

19. See "Community Councils: Some Alternatives for Community Council Schemes in Scotland" (HMSO); also, see terms of section 51(1) of the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1973.

As advertised in the local press Community Councils in Argyll and Bute (see for example issue of April 5th. '75, Dunoon Observer) : "The main role of Community Councils will be to ascertain, co-ordinate, and express to Strathclyde Region and Argyll and Bute District Councils and other public bodies the views of the community about matters for which those authorities and bodies are responsible".

The remit was therefore enormous, but the actual power of the Councils

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were minimal because they simply had powers to express public opinion. Their remit was enormous because they had to express it at District and at regional HQ levels within tight schedules in which committees at both levels, besides those of other public bodies might clash or come too close together on the calendar of events.

They also had to raise their own funds subsidised by the new authorities. They were also caught in the double-bind situation of having the role "of organising action within the community", so whenever such action involved them in confrontation over an authority issue, they the authorities with regard to the amounts of money given to subsidise their funds.

There was also the problem of identifying boundaries, whether of :
the "neighbourhood type" of between 2,000-15,000 persons in urban settings, or
of between "under a hundred people to several thousand"
in rural settings; or of :
the "locality type" of "several neighbourhoods", ranging in size in urban
districts from about 10,000 to about 50,000 ", while
in "mainly rural districts " varying "from about
5,000 to (in a few cases) over 25,000".

In the Cowal area there was endless confusion in the process of determining the Community Councils following upon such vague guidelines with regard to dispersed settlements in particular. Draft schemes were supposed to be in at Chgilphead by the 10th. Feb. '76. They were delayed due to endless local debate over what was the "neighbourhood".

Taylor, R. (1976): "Ach Him A Kent His Faither" in Scottish J. of Youth and Community Work, Vol. 4, No. 1. Edinburgh: Board for Information on Youth and Community Service ".

EFFECTS UPON THE CULTURAL-SCAPE.

"It is expectations about one's life evaluations of present and future, which guarantee or bedevil any social system. Where the mentalities of a people diverge from the social predicament surrounding them, tensions and frustrations erupt".

H. Brody (1973) ¹

INTRODUCTION:

I am focussing in this chapter upon the effects on the "cultural-scape".

The "cultural-scape" has earlier been described as routine patterns of living, consisting of customary behaviour, and rituals within a social calendar. The routines are mediated by conventions, traditions and customs, giving rise to expectations. The cultural-scape is essentially observable "ad extra", but is also associated with the mentalities of people, hence the expectations.

The expectations will be dependent upon people's roles and social circumstances. These vary according to their social characteristics and life experience. So, not everyone will share the same routine patterns. In everyday living people will become accustomed to each others mode of behaviour, and however unacceptable it may be to some of them, it will be part of the "social construction" of life in which they find themselves². The cultural-scape is socially constructed over time within established local patterns of behaviour, and the smaller the locality or settlement, the more aware people will usually be of alteration to the routines. Some social scientists with David Schneider restrict "culture" to the mentality of people, but I accept Richard Feinberg's (1979) objection to this³, and lay the stress upon the established order of behaviour, or the well tried "utilities" which have been conserved by vested interests. Over time the particularity of life and its familiar patterns give rise to expectations regarding norms and also any familiar deviance from the norms. The overall quality of life is the outcome of habit and expectation.

I agree with H. Brody (1973) when he observes in his Inishkillane study that maintenance of culture under pressures is crucially dependent upon "consciousness"⁴, which is also in keeping with A.P. Cohen's ideas referred to in Chapter Two. At the same time, I agree with W.F. Ogburn (1922) that "Culture once in existence persists because it has utility. Forces that produce changes are the discovery of new cultural elements that have superior utility, in which case the old utilities tend to be replaced by the new. The slowness of culture to change lies in the difficulties of creating and adopting new ideas"⁵.

When lags occur, as we have already pointed out, there will be a clash of expectations. Some stay with the old, some accept the new. Such preferences when shared within the groups or collections of people, are transferred from being individual cognitive acts to take on a social and collective importance. Consciousness is established within customary and familiar shared activities wherein shared perceptions and values are crucial, but which also have proved over time to have utility. People will be slow to alter the old utilities. The families, groups, institutions, and milieus, to which they belong will act as a brake.

H. Brody (1973) shows that self-criticism and comparisons that are mainly social, financial and sexual, play a part in determining whether people change their behaviour under the impact of contact with people, who have another way of life to theirs⁶. The traditional ethic, as it is determined locally by educational and religious institutions and other societal views and taboos, which have jelled over time, provides the inner controls, keeping people back from discarding older social, financial, and sexual utilities. However, comparisons will be made through the impact of new ideas and ways of acting. The new may be adopted because of its superior utility, but it may also be a problem by reason of its superior utility, because although at hand, it may be out of reach of frustrated and demoralized locals. When strangers come into an area comparisons are made between the life-style of the locals and that of outsiders.

The cultural-scape is the outcome of traditional and customary practices based upon the test of time as to utilities. When people arrive from the outscape, they bring with them, their own habits and orientations, so that maps of life may differ and expectations clash. The give-and-take, the gains made by each in the form of the preferred way of acting, demand a two-way study, taking account of both the outsiders and the locals. I will attempt in this chapter to explain the difference in expectations between the incomers and the locals. The working conditions of the men at the Base and at the camp at Ardyne will also help us understand the clash of expectations.

Some introductory remarks about the reaction of people in an area under impact will help also to identify some of the possible diverse effects at psychosocial levels.

Older people may often live in the past, judge, and act by the past, not always because they wish to be difficult, but because they may be simply out of touch, or slow to keep up with events. We have also seen that the new often does not affect people in the same way, so that there is uneven impact throughout areas under impact - socially, financially, sexually, etc., depending upon the type and mode of impact. This is where the mode of impact must be borne in mind within the particular episode of change.

Some will be confused, being less conscious about what is happening. Even with regard to those who are conscious of events and changes, there is the confusion that follows cultural shock. There is the passing from the state of initial impact to that of spin-offs, and the period of gradual adaptation, broken by unexpected events and experiences. The comparisons and self-criticism Brody refers to have to be seen against this backdrop in this present study.

Firstly, with regard to the USN invasion, we must emphasise that we are

dealing with an incoming culture. The US Navy, however, is not only foreign, but is also, in terms of US culture, a culture within a culture. We have already spoken of the "military ways" and the "militarism" that characterize the US navy in Chapter Four.

The USN Base confronts the peaceful shores and its tourist industry with the symbolism of war and of foreign nationalism, both of which tend to throw up sceptres of the unknown, the mysterious and uncertain. Such a situation inhibits interaction between the USN personnel and many of the local people. In addition, there is the question of clashes in interest, or wants. Sometimes there is a convergence of interests, sometimes a divergence of views, but usually confrontation of values and interests.

The comments in the above paragraph will require further explanation.

the case of the military strangers from the "wider outscape", a culture-clash with civilians in the "local-scape" is almost inevitable, essentially because the highly specialised and segregated socialisation of the military personnel in accordance with "military ways" fostering a "militarism" which sets the maines apart, which we have elaborated already in the chapter on the military. Firstly, the sharing of values and interest within the group-exercises establish what I have referred to earlier as a "social inscape", which is, in particular, sedimentation of shared views. At certain levels, or in certain situations, I shall show in this present chapter, the "social inscape" of intruders, or outsiders, may tie in with that of some local groups; so in Myrdal's terms "a circle of relevance" may bring otherwise alien groupings together with locals. Where there is a convergence there will be views, values, interests and perceptions, which will have greater or less significance in accordance with situations. When either the incomers or the locals, answer a need in each other serving a purpose highly desirable to each of them, then a "cultural affinity" will result, bringing them together. However, there is open conflict between local residents and the incomers, creating antagonistic competition for utilities.

The military culture is itself two cultures, as Moskos (1970) points out, and as we have already stressed in the earlier chapter on the military with special reference to the United States Navy. Firstly, there is the officer culture, and secondly that of the enlisted men of the lower echelons. We will see in this chapter how each in turn affected the cultural-scape.

We will now return to the narrative of events so as to assess the impact of the USN invasion within the episode of change, and take up from 1963, when the locality settled down to a more routine way of life after the very first jolts, and the resultant spin-offs, already considered. The year was one of petty confrontations between incomers and locals.

In June 1963, the following poem which appeared in the Dunoon Observer summed up much of the argumentation between local residents and the USN incomers.

THE AMERICAN-BRITISH VIEW.

"Sir to the editor.

What fun it must be to write letters
Which later appear in the press,
And in them give vent to your feelings,
Finding faults upon which to lay stress.

What fun when the weather is ghastly,
And it keeps all the tourists away,
To forget that it is due to the weather
And instead blame the old USA.

What fun when you can't get a taxi,
Because there are none in the ranks
To say, 'Well we all know who's guilty,
Of course it's the fault of the Yanks'.

What fun to invite new arrivals
To drink just one final Scotch more,
Knowing well that its strength will affect them
Then their antics to naively deplore.

What fun to maintain that we're cousins,
And our customs are therefore the same,
And then when you find out that they're different
To say 'Well of course they're to blame'.

What fun to be sent here on duty,
And not shut your mouth like a clam,
But rather inform all and sundry
On the merits of Uld Uncle Sam.

What fun to give way to your feelings,
And belittle the things that you see,
And although you may only drink coffee,
Say frankly you cannot stand tea.

What run to maintain that the nation
To which you so proudly belong
Is bound to be right in all matters
While all others are bound to be wrong.

Yes, it's fun my friends to be naughty,
And express your own personal views
By writing an unsigned epistle,
And disrupt good relations anew.

But remember that those in the squadron
Were sent here by higher command,
And merit the kind of a welcome
That kindness of heart should demand.

Although they aren't here by your asking,
And you on Polaris aren't sold,
Remember they're here for one reason
A sailor must go where he's told.

And neither must it be forgotten
By those who are guest on our shore,
That we live this way 'cos we like it,
And criticisms rightly deplore.

And so let us bury the hatchet,
But let us by all means have fun,
So why don't you pick on the English
As many for ages have done.

P.S. What fun just once more to be beastly,
Like those others who've all done the same,
By asking the editor not to give you
Any clue to this Sassenach's name." 8

The letter, however, dealt with peripheral matters, and not with the local unrest over what many people regarded as sexual exploitation⁹ of Cowal girls by US sailors. Although locally women had had a lesser place in cultural terms within a male dominated society¹⁰, nonetheless the sailors' sex attitudes and American permissiveness, added to their "dollie" image of girls, and their US brand of male chauvinism (projected in their "hello baby" attitude towards girls) troubled many local parents, especially the Presbyterians.

Male military overt sexual permissiveness is a universal phenomenon. US military sexuality, and its more accentuated virility cult, are well described by N. Mailer (1969) in Why are We in Vietnam?¹¹ and in naval terms in the novels of D. Ponicsan (1974), Cinderella Liberty¹². In these novels is summed up the irresponsible young military man's attitude towards foreign women, in particular. The young seamen had little respect for the Puritan concept of Woman as conserved by Presbyterianism.¹³

The diverse heterosexual habits of the incomers, especially the "dating" of younger girls, greatly affected the behaviour of some local girls, causing friction between families and the USN personnel.¹⁵

Some local girls did welcome the easier attitudes of the incomers towards sex - although it was often true to say that there were a great many girls who came over on the ferries from "the other side" to date USN sailors, to which we will return later.¹⁶ An irate American woman living in Dunoon had said at the height of the local criticism of American permissiveness with local girls in the Dunoon Observer's "Safety Valve" column on April 28th. '62:

"Your lassies look quite capable, mature, and willing to me". There was evidence, however unwelcome to local parents, that some girls were delighted with the easier attitude towards earlier courtships, and the less inhibited behaviour of the men from the Polaris Base.¹⁷

It would be wrong to suppose that the American personnel had no standing morally in the locality. There were those who were for and against them, often biases misrepresented the true state of affairs. And at all events many were impressed with the married officers' moral behaviour.

The officers were usually married, and by all accounts fitted in with the local norms regarding marital stability and faithfulness. The good American family man image, so important to the American scene from the President down, sharply contrasted with the permissiveness of the sailors in the eyes of the local people. Also intriguing to locals, was the greater freedom and more relaxed role of married American women in the locality. We will return to this later, because it too had important effects locally. The point to make here is that the married officers impressed the married Presbyterian population, whereas the behaviour and attitudes of the enlisted men shocked them. But, as we shall soon see, the more liberal attitude of the officers with regard to the permissiveness of the sailors angered or puzzled many. One local put it to me, "Because they speak like us, and because we drink their Coke and eat their burgers, we take it that they are like us, but they are a whole Atlantic apart". We must return to the discussion of the sailors' behaviour.

RE-ENLISTMENTS



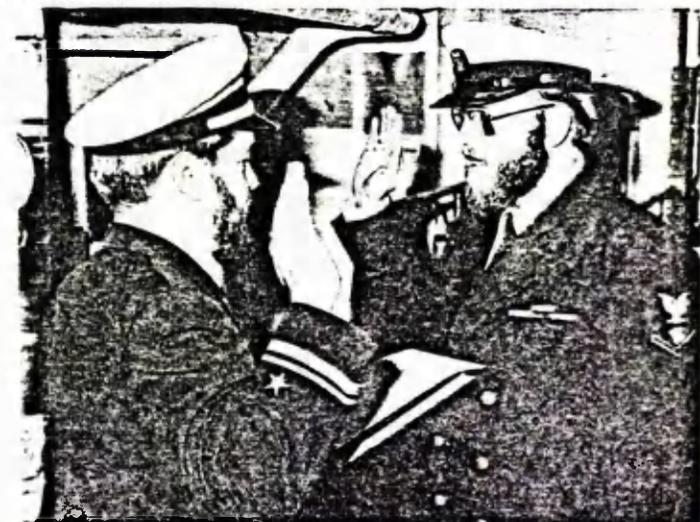
VASQUEZ



CPL FERGUSON



HITE



PN3 PRUITT



LEAHY



ENFN SHRUBSOLE

ES TAKEN FROM THE POLARIS MAGAZINE, SUMMER '75, SHOWING IMPORTANCE GIVEN TO THE AMERICAN FAMILY IMAGE AT THE BASE

We have already seen in chapter 5 how local people witnessed new local forms of sexual permissiveness in Cowal. Many had been shocked by the behaviour of the sailors. The sexual impact was marked: firstly, the illegitimacy rate for 1962 had jumped from 6.3% (1961) to 15.3% per live births - the second highest rate in Scotland for all counties, cities, large and small burghs and landward areas. Secondly, it had been announced in the summer of 1963 that VD clinic was shortly to open at the Dunoon Cottage Hospital. Thirdly, after a police raid in August '63 a Dunoon "call-girl" facility, consisting of at least 22 girls, had been exposed. What grieved local people was the fact that the USN senior officers did not appear to be concerned with the effects caused by the escapades of their men ashore.

The Minister of the High Kirk in Dunoon preached about this, making a point that exposed the military's apparent lack of concern. The Minister's words were cited in the local press on the 26th October '63: "We know that the roots of the trouble do not lie with the community at all. It springs from certain American sailors and some disreputable women whom they have attracted into the town. It also seems to be that the American authorities have been extremely lax. I cannot imagine that they would tolerate the kind of behaviour this town has suffered in an American town of the same size... And if we may judge from the press, their spokesmen have been evasive and even impudent when the matter has been drawn to their attention. There have been those who have gone all out to make money and have had no worries about the moral implications. There are rubber-spined people in this town like any other".¹⁹ All the USN Commander could say was "There are in Dunoon no indoor bowling alleys, no swimming pool, and no gym available, where the men can work off their youthful energies; so where do they go?"²⁰

The Captain was one of the Annapolis trained commanders.²¹ The Annapolis trained officers were well trained in "militarism", but not so in "civilianism". They appeared to have been primarily concerned with military matters, and less sensitive to the situation than those trained within less militarist institutions.

In March 1964, in the House of Commons, the South Ayrshire MP asked the Prime Minister: "When the Prime Minister was discussing the question of Polaris submarines with President Johnson, did he raise the question whether the American government should make some financial contribution to the mothers of illegitimate children left behind by these Polaris submarine sailors? Is he aware that the illegitimate birthrate and VD figures in this area show a considerable increase, and if he doubts that will he get disguised as an American sailor and go to Dunoon on a Saturday night and find out for himself?" The Prime Minister replied: "I did not discuss any of these by-products of the Nassau agreement"²².

With regard to Dunoon District, it was not the experiences the men had with prostitutes, which generated trouble for the seamen in town and built up ill-feeling towards them, so much as the female contact of personnel, especially of black American seamen at the Base. According to my Burgh and local investigations, there were only 2 spots in town where a sailor could contact a prostitute. Most brothels were on "the other side". After the "call-girl" scandal, almost all the prostitutes left the town. As we shall see, sexual escapades take place more frequently on "the other side".

The USN personnel who wanted a more glamorous "date" of an impersonal nature, could always phone up the "Gold Star Agency", Glasgow, where the usual escorts were provided. To the USN personnel the price attached to "a date"

(as they described it) was like the price attached to a commodity. However, many of the men managed to associate with girls in Glasgow without much trouble, "and buck free" as one sailor crudely put it to me.

My principal source of information regarding Glasgow came from taxi drivers. After explaining that I was carrying out a study of the USN personnel in Scotland at Glasgow "Unie" (university), I was passed on from one Glasgow taxi-driver to another who knew what was happening. The picture that emerged was what one might expect of overseas servicemen. There were flats for "sexy parties" known to the sailors, to which they were introduced by their naval sponsors. Information amongst the men included "the lowdown on where to get laid" as one talkative sailor explained, who became my fellow traveller, when I made a series of daily visits from Glasgow to Dunoon over a period of four months. He explained that there were parties in Dunoon, but the party finished before, or at, dawn; in Glasgow the party continued for a few days "as a bumper sex spree". Most of the flats used were rented by USN personnel. Of course, there were the usual brothels, but the men also set up their own "cellulose-type lairs cultivating 'girlie joints'", as one taxi-driver explained. Unlike the navvies, as we shall see, who wander off for sexual adventures, the USN personnel tended to seek sexual enjoyment in a group where cannabis was often shared. There was one problem, however; the winter weather on the Firth could make the journey to the other side "impossible".

When the winter weather makes crossing difficult the men "are reduced to playing 'kissy-bear' and 'huggy-face' to funky music in a pub basement in Dunoon", explained one of my American contacts. It was in the winter that trouble often broke out between local lads and the USN personnel over the the local girls available.

Although there was exploitation of local girls and literally "a traffic" in girls on "the other side", many Americans did marry local Scottish girls. This effect is more easily documented and more convincingly demonstrated because of available statistics. Table 1 shows that each year on average in the 13 years between 1961-'73, 39.9 girls married USN personnel in Dunoon in comparison with the overall average of 52.3 girls in the same period.

In 1965, 47 out of 93 non-US brides were married to USN personnel in Dunoon, i.e. more than half. Generally girls married locally are presumed to be local, given the regulations regarding local residence, but sometimes outsiders can arrange matters so as to marry outside their own place of residence. It is possible that not all these 415 girls in Table 1 were locals, and given the fact that there do not seem to have been fewer non-USN marriages over the period generally, it is possible that an extra supply of girls from outside might have come in. However, commenting upon the figures, the local retiring registrar told me that most of the girls marrying USN sailors in Dunoon, were in fact local girls. We may assume that most of the 415 were locals. The registrar had been employed as registrar for 25 years.

The numbers are impressive because the USN personnel are in the area on 18 months to 2 years. From what I have seen, heard, and read in the Dunoon press, male youths in the locality had been put out by the large number of local girls marrying the strangers in preference to them.

Although this is not a situation like that in Inishkillane, in which Brody (1973) found that most girls wanted to marry the stranger to move out from the more remote backwoods to the brighter life, there were some who sought to move out to the States, as eventually at least 415 local girls did. One local cynic had his opinion: "It's all them Tony Curtis and Frank Sinatra sailor films that give the lassies their urge to find a sailor". It was rather unfair, both on the Americans and upon the local girls, but there may well have been the wish to get away from the semi-rural world of Cowal to the brighter lights of what to many were the dream cities, apartments and luxuries of a world produced by Hollywood.

TABLE: 1: MALE USN PERSONNEL MARRIAGES WITH NON-USN FEMALES & US WOMEN
IN DUNOON COMPARED WITH OTHER MARRIAGES IN DUNOON(1961-'73):

YEAR	MARRIAGES OF USN PERSONNEL TO NON-USN WOMEN	MARRIAGES OF USN PERSONNEL TO US WOMEN *	OTHER LOCAL MARRIAGES	TOTAL NUMBER OF REGISTERED MARRIAGES
1961	9	0	52	61
1962	36	0	50	86
1963	31	6	39	76
1964	34	2	41	77
1965	47	3	46	96
1966	44	1	53	98
1967	35	5	49	89
1968	22	5	53	80
1969	23	4	60	87
1970	36	2	73	111
1971	42	10	50	102
1972	33	4	61	98
1973	23	6	53	82
TOTALS	415	48	680	1143

Source: Statistics as from General Branch(RG Office
Scotland).Ladywell House,Edin.

* The number of USN personnel marrying US women over the period every year, except 1971 was minimal. Most of them were the outcome of long-term courtships begun before arrival, or with the daughters of USN married personnel.

Given the fact that there were at least a thousand unmarried young seamen in the locality when I was there (which was more or less the number over the years), there was considerably more competition for the local girls than there might otherwise have been. The male youths were concerned.

The situation was further complicated by the stresses within the USN organization. There was an increase in black naval personnel at Holy Loch in the seventies. They attracted attention and certainly were popular with some local girls. White and black seamen began to clash. Some local white males joined in the fighting in a situation which led to a major USN riot.

On Saturday night, 13th October, 1973, the main streets of Dunoon echoed with the sound of crashing glass as twenty-two shop windows were shattered by black Polaris sailors; and fighting, and shouting from a local stabbed youth, awakened people in residence on Argyll Street. Six ratings, three of them black, appeared in private at Dunoon Sherriff Court on the following Monday - according to the Daily Telegraph of Tuesday 16th October. By 7th November, the number of sailors connected with the rioting had risen to 10, seven of them were black²⁴. There had been an uneasy calm in the area between some of the local youth and the black American sailors²⁵. The irony was that the shopkeepers who had been the main supporters of the USN Base from the beginning, were the victims of the confrontation. The shattered premises of almost every single main shop in town shocked the public. The incident was reported, amongst other international newspapers, in the Florida daily newspaper, in the Daily Cincinnati, and in the Buenos Aires Herald²⁶. Concern within the Navy Department must have been great, with the international news, and the poor image of the Base which had been created abroad.

The Commander sent his apology to the provost, which appeared on 20th October in the local press. Four days later, the Secretary of the Navy, Washington, arrived to see the Base Commander and to apologise to the Town Council.

At the same time as the above events, the Base advertised for a Community Relations Adviser, and one had the distinct impression that the Navy Department wished to show how unhappy it had been with the local outrage. The Captain was more than embarrassed by the whole episode. But what exactly had happened that weekend?

HUNT IN P THAT START RACE RIO

The Daily Telegraph, Tuesday, October

Black Power inquiry after l ratings charg

By T. J. CAMPBELL

SAILORS CHARGED WITH

Ten American sailors petitioned in private before Hon. M'Lean at Dunoon Sheriff Wednesday in connection with the riot in Dunoon on 13th October. They were James E. Mowbray, Floyce C. Wings, Beverley, Louis J. Alcorn, Terrence Robertson, Anthony and Stark D. Nelson, and "Canopus." With the exception they were all blacks.

The charge was that they were part of a riotous mob of persons, conducted in a riotous and tumultuous manner in Bert's Tav Street, Dunoon, assaulting D. M'Coil in attempt who had been taken Brian Bermingham, Dunoon, by kicking the stomach, and Sanderson Drive, Dunoon.

Dear Sir,—Is it not time that Dunoon had a say in the American Base stays on our town? Following the recent disturbance the general feeling among the working class is "get them out of here." The Provost and Councils are going around with their heads in clouds if they have failed to stop the trouble, now that we even hate have crept in. We wish to walk our streets in safety at week-end so Dunoon Town Council set

ST remark made to a Dunoon pub... minutes a fu... with billia... thrown ab... not last d... retold when young... Dur... Court. They charges breach of disorderly assault. Fiscal wart... nilton I...

Registered as a Newspaper.

ROBBING AND RIOTING AT DUNOON

an sailors appeared in Dunoon Sheriff Court on Monday before Hon. Sheriff M'Lean — charged with robbing a Dunoon on Saturday night. Two white and four coloured men — Gordon S. Walls, John Louis, a Gordon S. Walls, Robert Quinn, Gordon Mosley, Robert Quinn, Sisco, and Robert Lee Brandon. Messrs. (of Messrs. Sisco, and Robert Lee Brandon, there, solicitor) appeared for all. Disselhoff) appeared for all. No plea or declaration was given. However, and the Hon. Sheriff fixed a date for the accused to appear. Each and released the accused on bail that they would be held in custody on the ship until the Court. It is believed that the charges include assaulting a Police Officer, assaulting a youth by stabbing, and assaulting a girl of 13 years by striking. Over twenty shop windows in the streets of Dunoon were broken, and available for the night of shops in Dunoon on Saturday night to board the worst hit was the flight of shops in Bree, where only one — that of Dominick, hairdresser — escaped the looting of the mob.

U.S. PAYS FOR HOLY LOCH RIOTING

NOT A CHRISTIAN ACT. To the Editor: Sir,—I may not be a resident of Dunoon, but I have spent many happy holidays in the town. I am disgusted about the rioting against the people who turned on them and to those who have turned on them and raised this havoc. Dunoon, on the whole, is a Christian act. Should this be the case in America I wonder how the locals of Dunoon would have fared. It is a suspicion, though it is a hope that...

American Navy has compensated...

DUNOON—LOVE OF MY LIFE

To the Editor. Sir,—I was shocked to read in the "Daily Cincinnati" last week a very small article concerning my home town. However, the article did not go into details. It just stated that fifty U.S. sailors rammed through Dunoon wrecked and beat up the...

THE SAFETY VALVE

THE RECENT LOCAL RUMPUS.

To the Editor. Sir,—It is really regrettable that the uneasy calm that existed hitherto between a section of our community and some of our Service Americans erupted into violence on 13th inst.

No matter what provocation started the rumpus the resultant orgy of extensive damage is inexcusable.

I know Captain A. Kelln intimately and I am certain he will not hesitate to deal very suitably with any of his trouble makers, nor will we; we must not encourage hooliganism here. There are 1,300 Americans stationed in our midst, most of them well-behaved and law-abiding, and it would, therefore, be unfair to paint them all with the brush as the troublesome ones.

This is not the first time Dunoon to contend with broken windows. Our older residents will doubtless remember that some of our Navy men stationed during the second World War also in the same stupid pastime; one sufferer being the late Provost, M'Farlane. One cannot blame the "Hawks" for issuing highly reports of any such affairs, but it is not unreasonable to expect them to refrain from "over-

Echo of Riot.

Mr. Bradley said a number of people had been asking him about the recent riot, who pays for damage, and what is being done to avoid a recurrence, and he had been unable to answer. Could he have any information?

Provost Dickson said that so far as the question of damage was concerned, that had been taken care of by the "Canopus." Until the case had been decided in Court, however, no one could do anything. It was wrong to make statements that were only hearsay.

Mr. M'Leod said he agreed that relations with the Americans had been good, but a thing like this once in a lifetime was enough and he wanted an assurance that there would be no recurrence.

Provost Dickson said there had been 80,000 men here throughout the years the Americans had been with them, and only 30 men were involved in this.

Baillie Thomson said he was on holiday at the time and was disgusted when he read about it in the Press. He felt sorry for Captain Kelln, who was also on holiday then, as he had done so much to promote the relations between the two communities. However, they could do

There were local male convictions also, and there were white as well as black naval personnel involved. They all had a part in an episode that has been interpreted in different ways by the press and local residents. The organisational implications, however, must first be made clear, and reference made to our earlier analysis of what has been happening to black sailors in the United States Navy. What took place on the night of the thirteenth makes little sense beyond the details of their convictions, unless one takes into account the organisational unease over racial integration in the US Navy. The racial disquiet within the organisation affected the "local-scape".

For some time the locals noticed that blacks were on the increase, as noted already. The blacks were attracting the local girls - they were regarded as the best dancers, and they gained a local reputation for being more generous in their relationships with the girls. The black seamen attracted most females. At the Base the white sailors were put out.

On the dance-floor at the Seamen's Club, Ardnadam, especially at "discos", or boy-girl events, Polaris black seamen were in confrontation with the white personnel over girl partners. The Black sailors then decided to avoid Ardnadam Seamen's Club and went instead to a local tavern in Dunoon for a quieter scene. Here the local white males reacted badly to them; they taunted them. A local spokesman reported to the Daily Telegraph, that "there had been a gradual build-up of tension between local youths and unattached men, and the more affluent, often bizarrely dressed American Navy men. In the summer when there are holiday-makers and day-trippers from Glasgow there seems enough company to go round, but when the town is thrown on its own resources there is more competition for what female companionship is around. The locals don't like to be beaten by a Yank and they seem to take it more badly if he happens to be coloured".²⁷ The girls drifted from the Ardnadam premises to follow the blacks for drinks and a more relaxed dance session.

As we have seen, racial integration in the US Navy has a sad history, and the Base, according to locals, was caught up in racial conflict where "Black Power" was quoted, and unease expressed by the personnel. However, the racial issues were more or less contained within the naval organisation, but outside the Base there were less controls. Moskos, C.C. (1970), writes: "The most overt source of racial unrest take place in community centres in dancing situations".²⁸ A well known commentary on American "mores" of servicemen "Project Clear", indicates that almost three-quarters of the large sample strongly objected to negro servicemen dancing with white girls.²⁹ These statements are highly relevant to racial issues in the naval boomtown of Dunoon.

Moskos, C.C. (1970), significantly refers to the worry of commanders that black servicemen may show greater loyalty to their own black community than to the service, but at the same time the black movement has remained removed from those white radical groups who attack military organisations.³⁰

The white personnel at the Base realised what had happened and followed the local girls into Dunoon on Friday 12th October. There were white locals ready to join forces with the white US personnel. At the tavern there was more than one explosive situation between the white and black American seamen. One version is that at the end of a session the white personnel, abetted by local lads, blocked the bar from the black sailors; another, quoted in the court and press, states that an insulting remark in the toilet of a local lad to a black rating had sparked off a fight.³¹ Seven local lads were later convicted of brawling. The black sailors apparently got the worst of it that Friday night. The next night, a group of Polaris black seamen shouting Black Power slogans and giving the black salute, took their revenge, as they saw it, upon the white town of which the main street shops were eminently symbolic.

Eight letters were written following the incident, and old complaints and unresolved grievances were revitalised. But the locals were not that critical of the outrage because they realised that seven local males, at least, had had a hand in the situation. What was not so well appreciated was the racial unrest at Base which had been smouldering for some time. The black salute was given later in the court, and bewildered local people. Amongst the white personnel involved, the salute meant more than the isolated shore incident. The US authorities stepped in and people noticed that the number of black sailors at the Base dropped, once the episode was well and truly over.

A local resident confided to me sometime after: "When I saw the state of the main street next morning, after the riot, I wondered, what next?". There is a sense in which the unpredictable pervades the story of the civil-military relationship.

The next big shock for the people came with the news that (soft) drug addiction in the locality was the worst in Britain. The statement was made in 1974 by the local drug squad to the various Church guilds, in a series of lectures to alert the parents in the locality to the drug threat for their youngsters.

In the USA the smoking of cannabis is tolerated in certain States, and is socially approved in certain regions. US seamen were receiving the cannabis from home, but strangers from "the other side" of the Firth were also involved. Local people were uneasy and named the Canopus the "USS Cannabis". Whilst I was living within the locality it was claimed that at least 200 men were found to be in possession of drugs within a year³², but not all of these, by any means, were brought to the Sheriff Court, as may be seen from the statistics, gathered by myself, in Table 4, Appendix 5. Most of the cases of illegal possession were confined to USN personnel. Many of them were dealt with at the ship, and not in the local courts. At that time, when a drug squad search discovered a group of Americans in possession of cannabis, or LSD, they were handed over to the USN authorities, so that many cases were not reported locally. The extent of the traffic and the involvement of the



The Canopus... drug offenders' base ship

SCANDAL OF THE

'U.S.S. CANNABIS

By GRAHAM MacLEAN

DEPOT ship at one of Britain's major submarine bases has been nicknamed "cannabis" because of the amount of marijuana stored on it.

Nuclear base sailors on cannabis and LSD

behind the ship. A spokesman said yesterday that the ship carried...

U.S. Sailors On Drugs Charge

NINE American Navy men attached to Submarine Squadron 14 at Holy Loch, the U.S. Polaris submarine base, have appeared before their commanding officer on a disciplinary charge in connection with drugs. All have been removed from the ship.

POLARIS SAILORS SMOKED POT ON SUB AT SEA

Scandal of the Drug Dur

HOLY LOCH POT PROBE

US Navy sails into action after drugs 'epidemic' shock

BY CHARLES BEATON

TOP BRASS in the US Navy are to investigate alarming claims that pot-smoking has reached epidemic proportions in the Holy Loch.

The probe comes after a startling claim that more than half the crew of the Polaris base ship USS Holland smoke cannabis.

It was made by sailor Keith Schmitt.

He had just given evidence at a trial in Dunoon—the 44th drugs case to come before the court THIS YEAR. Most involved seamen.

The bearded 19-year-old fireman from the Holland said after the trial on Thursday: "The Holland is rotten with hash. At least 75 per cent of sailors are smoking it. It's easy to get. The guys pick it up when they go ashore in Dunoon."

Schmitt and shipmate, Dan Warth, 23, local witnesses.

Stalw And Schmitt admit to Irighener Stalw cou

INSIDE YOUR SPARKLING WEEKEND

ROYAL

Turn to Page 1

locals caused some concern. But, it later became clear that submariners at sea were also given to drug abuse, with 12 men guilty of smoking marijuana aboard. They were crew members of the Casimir Dulaski, a ballistic missile submarine.³³ The press stated that the drug traffic was an internal affair. Table 4 Appendix 5 shows that civilians were involved. Just after I moved out of the town, a USN fireman aboard the U.S.S. Holland stated that "hash" was locally available: "It's easy to get. The guys pick it up when ashore in Dunoon".³⁴ The situation was grave because seamen on patrol were involved, and locals were implicated ashore. Local parents had their youth to worry about, but all citizens were concerned about the possible danger of a nuclear accident. Drugs were said to be "pushed" at the small gardens on Argyll Street where the toilets are. They called them "the perfumed gardens".

In addition, there was a growing concern about the increase of crime and breaches of the peace locally due to the Americans. The data indicates that 20.9% of the 1,196 reported non-motoring offences in the local press between the first USN crime of May 1961 and those of February 1976, were crimes of USN personnel. Appendix 5 does not include the minor convictions in other courts, for example at the Police Court at Dunoon. The motoring offences of the USN personnel were 28.9% of the 3,230 local convictions. I worked out these statistics by checking all the weekly issues of the local press which reported the proceedings at the Sherrif Court. I did so after having confirmed with the editor that all Sheriff Court convictions were reported in the Dunoon Observer. However, USN statistics do not represent all the drug offences, already referred to, which were handled by the US authorities, and which did not appear to involve locals or UK subjects.

In the period there were only 3 officer USN non-motoring offences. Their behaviour was impressively exemplary. The offences were mainly those of the seamen.

The local resident proportion of motoring offences was 41.5% of the 3,230 total for the period May 1961 - end of February 1976. The USN proportion was 28.9%. The proportion of the local residents share of the 1,196 non-motoring crimes was 49.3% and that of the USN personnel was 20.9%. The margin of difference with regard to the motoring offences was 12.6% and that of the non-motoring was 28.4%. It must be noted that the USN enlisted population in the period was approximately 60.8% of the USN personnel and adult dependents. The figures show that the claim at Base that most USN crimes are motoring offences is entirely wrong, and supports the opinion and research of Moskos that the military may boast of discipline, but that on shore that discipline is clearly doubtful. The militarists live in their enclave where discipline is coercively maintained within a caste officer/seamen system, once that caste system is non-operable in a civilian milieu, the whole disciplinary system weakens. There is dependency ashore, but it is not characterised by the same discipline as at Base, and often collapses in the pubs and streets of Cowal.

To explain, in part, the USN outbreaks ashore, one must consider the nature of life at the Polaris Base. Firstly, on the ship at Holy Loch and the Dry Dock: the vessels are, in effect, floating factories where there is endless drudgery, especially in the winter season on the grey waters. Here the sameness of tasks make life a long tedious experience. The tedium therefore is akin to that of most factories, with the difference that the discipline is highly coercive aboard, and accordingly makes life even more difficult. In a world of "affirm and conform" there are many contradictions: the coercive structure does not extend at the same level into the off-duty time.³⁵

Amongst the men, "Rest and Recuperation" is termed the "I and I" (intercourse and intoxication) or "L and L" (liquor and love). As we have seen, whatever is said by the officials, the sanctions are less severe on "hitting the town" than is made out. Added to this is a warning lecture from time to time about VD. The sailors must attend regular scheduled lectures on information and character guidance which are given by the chaplain.

Moskos, C.C. (1970), makes the observation about this round of mandatory lectures that "conspicuously absent throughout the entire briefing is a spokesman of the host country".³⁶

In all overseas bases there is an official round of mandatory lectures in which the sailors are admonished to respect local customs, to behave as ambassadors of the USA and to steer clear of trouble. An official booklet to which I will refer later, issued by the "US Naval Activities/UK Detachment," covers all aspects of life, but only a mention almost in passing of "drinking and driving". The law is not a topic covered, although legal assistance is mentioned.

We saw in the chapter on the military invasion how in general, the lay personnel had a calculative compliance, the junior enlisted men a coercive-alienative compliance, the university trained officers a utilitarian-coercive compliance, the technical personnel managers a utilitarian-coercive compliance, and the Academy graduate officers and NCOs a normative compliance.³⁷ These forms of compliance indicate that those who are in control of the organization at a USN base have a sense of discipline founded upon military values - the most senior officers and captains are usually Annapolis graduates, whose rigid militarist views have already been stressed. Tough NCOs enforce the commands of seniors in truly military style: "Do what you're bloody well told and ask no questions". Discipline for the greater number of the enlisted who constitute the majority of the incomers is strictly enforced at Base.

In addition to the above distinctions with regard to the discipline of the men and their orientation, there is a difference between the orientation and values of the submariners and the ship personnel. (The former are named by the latter - "the bubbleheads", and the latter by the former "the seaskimmers") The training, the military experience and cycle of duty, as we have already seen in an earlier chapter differ significantly. The submariners had been convicted in Dunoon of some of the first shore assaults. Nowadays they spend only a short period at Base, after a mission at sea, before returning to USA.

As also stated earlier, the black personnel of the United States Navy have not enjoyed the same status as their white counterparts, in spite of the American claim to black integration in the navy, and we shall see the effects locally, because of black and white confrontation within the navy. But apart from the characteristics of the personnel, there is an added factor to be taken into account, namely that of rotation.

Firstly, there is the continual renewal of the personnel because of their termination of posting overseas, so that every two years the Base is manned by new strangers. Getting to know them takes time, so that relationships tend to be shortlived. Secondly, there is the coming and going of submarines and supply ships with the consequent straining of organizational controls at the Base, where stress is worked out in town by fights between supply ship personnel and depot ship sailors, and also between "bubbleheads" and "seaskimmers". As an American sociologist, herself a wife to an American serviceman in an overseas base stated in the context of rotation: "Within this short period of duty goes the short-term perspective - 'why get interested. I'm leaving soon'".

38

In addition to the problems created by rotation are the dispriviledges. The married seaman has to manage abroad without his dependents, whilst the commissioned are able to do so because of privilege. Even the married Petty Officer (3rd. class) cannot share the privilege of officers in having their household goods transported free of charge from the USA. In addition, they have a "Temporary Lodging Allowance", which is not granted to the enlisted from Petty Officer (third class) downwards. Wives are transferred at the expense of the naval authorities under sponsorship, in the case of the commissioned, but not in the case of the enlisted (from the same cut-off point at P.O. level). These factors are also cited by Moskos (1970), who states that, because privileges are concentrated at the top end of the ranks, 15-20% of enlisted men do not have their wives with them abroad. As a result frustration is inevitable for many seamen.

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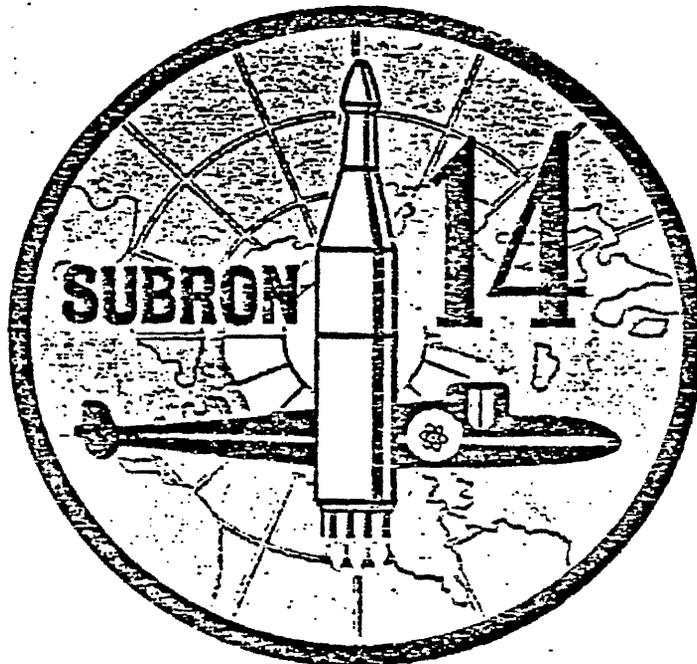
We must now turn to the intruding outsiders and see how their conceptions of life locally played its role in the impact of the military upon life in the "local-scape". Although enlisted crews and senior staff have rotated many times with complete change of staff over the years, since the Proteus sailed up the Firth, a sedimentation of collective views has been built up amongst the Americans, and so a particular "social inscape" of life created by "outscape" people, as I will now show.

Each American serviceman is given a sponsor before he arrives at Holy Loch. The sponsor is chosen for him at Holy Loch. In advance of the replacement's arrival, the sponsor writes to him and gives him introductory information suited to his rank (they share the same position within the military structure). He meets the newcomer at the airport and accompanies him to the locality, acting as his mentor in the first crucial months till he himself leaves. Thus it is that, although there is a high turnover of staff at Base, old stereo-types and perceptions tend to endure. This creates a particular "social inscape" of life locally, which is conserved at Base, and which contrasts with the way people see themselves locally.

Each replacement is also given a booklet about life locally on arrival, its contents and view tend to reinforce the naval stereotype of life locally. I was fortunate in being able to acquire one from a naval contact. They are strictly for naval consumption.

The booklet as such has no title, but on its cover (see Illustration I) there is a statement of welcome from the Commander and the US Naval Activities Personnel at Holy Loch. Four pages of the booklet are about the people of Scotland, the other 37 are about the Polaris Base itself. With regard to the Scottish people presented in the four pages, ^{they} deal with the clans, the kilt, the Gaelic, and the Church of Scotland, but clans play a marginal role; the kilt is mainly for special occasions; Gaelic is almost non-existent except in the Isles; and, as observed in this study, the Church of Scotland and the American worshippers infrequently come to pray and commune together. After the first four pages the booklet deals mainly with consumibles and military privilege. It is these which help us to appreciate and also to understand the

COMMANDER SUBMARINE SQUADRON
FOURTEEN



AND
U.S. NAVAL ACTIVITIES
UNITED KINGDOM
DETACHMENT HOLY LOCH

Welcomes You To Holy Loch, Scotland

ILLUSTRATION : TITLE PAGE OF USN BOOKLET GIVEN

TO PERSONNEL UPON ARRIVAL AT HOLY LOCH (1975)

invading military culture of a highly materialistic consumer society.

So much for the salient character and expectations of the incomers, but what was the reaction of the local residents? As cited in the Shetland studies in a previous Chapter, so in the wake of cultural invasion, the people held on to their cultural heritage and local identity. They became, in fact, more Cowal-minded. Moreover the very expectations of the incomers with regard to the locals and their stereotypes of Scottish Highland life, created in their turn a local renewed stress upon Scottish cultural commodities and Scottish fare instead of seaside candy floss and coloured sticks of rock. Also, the "old time" Scottish history with its ancient romance had served to reinforce traditional Americanised views of Scotland and to boost the sale locally of Scottish trivia in the way of souvenirs as well as the sale of tartan and Scottish music. The American Community Relations Advisor has also encouraged the personnel by travel brochures to visit the ancient Scottish centres. The Canopus, when I was in the town of Dunoon, published a monthly magazine called "The Helmsman", in which there were always two types of article - one about the personnel at Holy Loch, and the other about ancient Scottish lore and accounts of a visit to some fortification or other on ancient Scottish sites.

There is a sense in which the "particularity" of a culture becomes more accentuated, when a foreign group intrudes, which accentuates differences between the established and the outsiders. As we have already seen in discussing seminal ideas in an earlier chapter, cultural accounting takes place amongst many locals when faced with pressures and cultural erosion from "outscape" cultures. But, there is also the phenomenon of local entrepreneurs cashing in upon the scene, making capital on the local culture; others protest, and protect it, but they sell it. This prostitution of local-culture may itself work more quickly for its demise, commercialising it and sensationalising and misrepresenting its lore. One visitor told me that "Dunoon shops sell the biggest load of Highland junk West of Edinburgh". Worth citing here is the fact that one "scape" may processually affect another, as for example the enlargement of the "economic-scape" through such sales and the consequent dilution of former salient features in the "cultural-scape".

When people come from the outscape, they bring with them their values, habits, and the expectations that go with experience based upon another "cultural-escape". In this case, however, the local expectations and interpretations of US habits have been largely determined by films and novels, and within the Americanisation process. Obviously, the ideal and the real never correspond. The Americans in their turn have misconceptions and stereotypes of Scots. We have already commented on these but there is another problem: both may discard their ideal model and imagine that after all they are much the same. But, although they may speak much the same, and although they may have similar diets, and their magazines and books may be much the same, the experience of the incomers established outscape habits which endure, as for example, the more relaxed heterosexual behaviour within the local social calendar, although less dramatic, which came under the impact of the Americans. I will comment upon those which I judged to be of more importance to the social calendar and which appeared to be more sociologically significant, as I hope to show.

Firstly, with regard to the family life of people in Cowal, little can be said of its distinctiveness within the Scottish scene before 1960. As far as one could see, there was nothing dramatic about family and home in Cowal till the day when perhaps the grown sons had to leave Cowal for "the other side", there to find employment, which unfortunately was all too common. Father was very much the breadwinner. Mother was fortunate if she managed a seasonal job during the busier summer season. The children led uneventful lives, in what must have been a more sheltered life than most children on "the other side". When the Americans arrived, Cowal family life remained much as it was in some important ways. The grown sons still had to leave home. Father was still very much the breadwinner. With the growing holiday downtrend, mother would have been fortunate indeed to procure a seasonal job. For those with children, life was far more dramatic. For some parents, life was much more worrying. They had fears perhaps about their children regarding the threat of drugs, extra-marital sex, pregnancies, etc. But for other parents, life was more exciting. Their

children may have had American classmates, and their daughters perhaps had US boyfriends. Father and mother might have had an American sailor for a son-in-law and invitations to the United States for a christening and summer holiday. These were the possibilities, and it attracted some parents.

Married life and home-life remained much the same, however for most. Some did notice the participation of American naval husbands in family tasks. American husbands did share the chores of the home; they did wheel their babies in prams, or toddlers in push-chairs, down main streets in Dunoon or along the promenades - something rarely seen pre-1960, either in Cowal or on "the other side", from accounts I was given by older parents. Local parental styles did alter, and although there is no knowing whether this came about by the example of the incomers or not, the new American styles of parenthood did not go unnoticed. Officers' wives were also very active in the area and not housebound, as their Scottish counterparts tended to be. They believed in getting out and about, and had organized baby-sitting arrangements, where the parents helped each other so as to make it possible for them to be free some nights of the week. The local mothers seldom had free nights, if they had younger children or infants. They had a great deal to learn from their American counterparts.

In addition to the family, there was the prominence of the Presbyterian church. I will consider its role locally and that of the other religious groups and attempt to assess what impact the USN Base had on them. The Presbyterian ministers are not only religious notables, they were also guardians of family values. They ran social events and organized charities, using their parish centres as community centres. Around the minister were the elders. The influence of the Presbyterian church, in and through the elders, will become clearer when one identifies the occupations of the elders.

There were 113 leaders, either elders or deacons, in the Presbyterian Church at that time locally. Seventeen of them were retired. I will therefore present some details of their occupation either present or former in two groupings, as follows:

1. Occupations of the 96 lay church leaders who were currently employed;
2. Former occupations of the 17 lay church leaders who were retired.

1. The 96 church leaders' current occupation:

18 shopkeepers	1 deputy director of education
4 self-employed tradesmen	1 district councillor
4 teachers	1 farmer
3 doctors	1 garage proprietor
3 managers	1 headmaster
2 bank managers	1 hotelier
2 architects	1 lawyer
1 accountant	1 assistant postmaster
1 boat hirer	1 social worker
1 blacksmith	41 others, whose occupation was not given
1 boatbuilder	
1 builder	
1 customs and excise officer	
1 clerk of works/Glasgow University	
1 company director	
1 county librarian	
1 director of education	

2. The 17 church leaders' (currently retired) former occupation:

2 bank managers	1 house factor
2 doctors	1 police inspector
2 lawyers	1 dentist
1 teacher	1 railway official
1 headmaster	1 civil engineer
1 postmaster	1 town clerk
1 registrar	1 ex-Clerk to Argyll and Bute Executive Council.

It is clear from the above data that most of the church lay leaders were in positions of some influence, or were higher up the socio-economic scale. One suspects that the 41, whose occupations were not given, had probably less socio-economic standing, but there is enough evidence to support the view that elders were generally men of some status in the area. The ministers came and went, but they remained. They stood for the values of their church, knew their people, and led them in religious gatherings. As laymen they generally benefitted from the USN presence, but as churchmen they had little to gain from that presence. In fact, many had moral misgivings about what was going on, but when "business is business" a dual ethic takes over - the impact on morals may be damaging, but the impact upon financial returns may be rewarding. In addition, there was always the rationalization that Polaris and Poseidon were a deterrent in the cause of freedom against the atheistic communist forces of Russia, and whatever the deviancy ashore, the misdemeanours were those of a few irresponsible young seamen, whose bad behaviour was no worse than that of British servicemen abroad.

I visited each of the ministers of the Church of Scotland and all the vicars and priests of the locality in turn, and from my conversation with them was able to piece together certain facts and certain impressions relevant to the effect(s) of the USN invasion upon the church and parish life of religious groups in the locality.

What surprised me, was the minimal contact the Americans had with the Church of Scotland. There were relatively few marriages and baptisms. For example, three of the eight ministers had been in post for 6-7 years, and yet had only baptised between four and five US babies in their churches. There appeared to have been more USN marriages at the Dunoon kirk, where the minister told me he married on average two a year. They all agreed that there was not much church contact with the American naval personnel over the years at parish events.

The two remaining churches of the Baptists and the Catholics were to prove to be those most in contact with the USN personnel.

They were more significant, because the majority sect had manifestly little parochial contact with the Americans, whereas the two minority groups did, as shall be shown.

The American naval men were the major Baptist force. Most of the USN personnel, according to the ministers, have been Baptists; a fact stressed, as might be expected, by the young Baptist Minister.

The local Baptist church was almost entirely Americanised, with its accent upon participation at the services and in the running of parish events. The parish magazine IN TOUCH could have been an Ohio publication. About 50% of the parish creche children were USN infants. Almost a third of the congregation was American. The SOCIAL CONCERN group, and the mini-fellowship group had the closest links with the USN dependents. The Baptist pastor had much to do with the black seamen. He observed that they had wanted their own black service, but he had convinced them that the fellowship came first. For some time the pastor spoke in praise of Miss McPhail, who had recently died, and stressed that she had been a devout Baptist.

00 The R.C. priest whom I next visited had been in Dunoon five years. He and his curate, were most involved with the Polaris Base, and went to say Mass regularly aboard the Canopus. The parish priest commented, "The Americans have done us a power of good". There were 67 American pupils at the Catholic primary school in Dunoon. About one in seven USN personnel at that time were Catholics, but often there are about a third, explained the priest. There were only 1,200 Catholics in the locality, but these were considerably increased by the incoming Americans.

The involvement of the Americans in the life of the parish was considerable, said the priests. To demonstrate this, I was shown the parish registers. Between 1970-'75 there were no less than 118 US baptisms out of a total of 231. In the same period there were approximately 30 American weddings. The priests said that the Americans took part in socials as well as in church services. The parish priest summed up the beneficial effects of the Catholic naval injection of new life in the parish by saying, "As far as I'm concerned, the Americans are a breath of fresh air", adding, "Often about half the children in our school are American, and the teachers find the kids an example".

There remained the Scottish Episcopalian Church, the Apostolic Church, the Jehovah Witnesses, the Church of Christ, the Mormons, and the Salvation Army. The significant religious group amongst these were the Mormons, whose members sometimes increased fourfold when a new depot ship came in. In the Episcopal Church there had only been three USN marriages in fifteen years, and twelve Baptisms. These were more than there had been in Presbyterian churches, but it was dramatically less than what there had been in the RC parish of St. Muns. Contact with the Jehovah Witnesses, like that of the Mormons, was often considerable. Clearly, the minority religions were more affected by the Americans.

The observations of the clergy show that there was minimal contact with the majority religion of the Presbyterian Church, as also came across in my interviews with the residents in their homes, which we shall comment on later. However, the USN senior officers fostered formal links with all of the clergy.

Contact and religious involvement cannot be judged purely by marriages and baptisms, but they serve as a general indicator, and my talk with the clergy did show that an inverse state of affairs had been created by the American presence. The bigger cars and the more affluent used to be outside the kirks on Sundays, now they were outside the Baptist or R.C. churches; outside the smaller halls, citadels, and places of worship of the minority churches and fellowships. Sunday was different now, because a Scottish Sunday for the people of Cowal, was quiet, without servile work, and holy, even in 1976. But, for the Americans, Sunday was "odd-jobs" day, and the day for baseball or American football. The Presbyterian Sunday was much more strictly observed in Cowal than it was on "the other side", so the American Sunday did create a veritable culture-shock for many "Sunday observers".

The Americans were also outgoing and more talkative about their belief. Their T-shirts told the world they had a mission. One middle-aged local man complained to me, "I don't mind religion, but these American religious fanatics overdo it. They're Jesus Chrusters in jeans, with the holy message written, not in a book, but on the seat of their pants". The more reserved kirk-goer could not take to the new disciples, with their guitar sessions, clapping hands and extrovert witness. For many Presbyterians the Americans were an enigma, whom they tended to see as people of extremes in sacred, or secular terms: "Saints or sinners", said another puzzled informant.

The American impacts upon the world of leisure, in the form of entertainment and also sporting pastimes, call next for some comment.

One main impact made by the USN presence to the local "cultural-scape" was felt upon the stage, particularly in "show business". I contacted the principal entertainment agency in the West of Scotland, and professional artists through contacts, who had "played Dunoon" since the anchorage of Proteus in 1961.

The Clyde was known for its Scottish summer shows with the usual comedian in kilt and "tammie", with the repertoire of old Scottish songs which Lauder had made famous.

The points made by my stage contacts were as follows :

1. When other Clyde resorts maintained the Scottish traditional shows, Dunoon introduced more of the "big star acts". Dunoon was attracting the television personality, when other Clyde resorts had the usual comic Scottish programme. An accordian player stated in Glasgow: "I've played Dunoon since 1939, especially at the old Cosy Corner, then later at the Queens' Hall on the front, right up to 1972. The Americans had wanted changes - they couldn't understand the Glasgow jokes and cracks about the 'maws' and 'paws' and the 'wanes'; they wanted the sophisticated variety, a slick compere, and no lengthy jokes." The Glaswegians to this day, and Scots in general, much prefer Scottish traditional humour and the funny stage sketches, so there was a clash of "wants".
2. Top of the bill was always a comic, and remained so elsewhere in Scotland; less so in Dunoon. London as well as Glasgow provided ideas. A pianist now retired said: "The trend has since been adopted in the bigger city shows, but Dunoon had American families with money, prepared to have a show modelled on the Sinatra package, and only London was able to provide the more international talent". Some locals preferred the traditional.
3. American Country music began to invade the music scene, which was generally more welcome locally, because it was similar to the small group playing of Scottish country dancing. American styled cabaret nightclub sessions, however, posed problems for some. A promoter ~~devised~~, "The Scottish musical scene has been chiefly for Scottish dreamers with their nostalgia for Lauder, Harry Gordon, and Alec Findlay. In Scotland this may have set a pattern, but in Dunoon the Glenmorag Hotel cabarets have always been singularly americanised, and more up-dated than most Scottish floor shows. These, however, were for the younger set.

Although the above observations are of importance in showing how the USN presence affected the local entertainment, it did not in any way take from the strictly Scottish Jimmy Shand type of traditional music. There was no doubt that the intrusion of the American type of entertainment, which we have already referred to, had also upset many locals of the older generations who preferred the old "ceilidh" (Scottish dance session). In fact, although it pleased the local youths, as may be judged by the popular throngs, nonetheless, they too still liked the older forms of music; in other words, they wanted the best of both worlds. The same was true of the new humour. On "the other side", Billy Connolly, now of international repute, had kept alive the long protracted jokes with a West of Scotland twist to them. This approach was still more popular locally, but the Americans did introduce more diversification in the locality, as was demonstrated above, especially for the younger people. It must also be added, that the SNP had created a revival in Scottish lyrics, song and dance, which at that time was strong, due to the immense increase in the SNP following in 1974. This helped to minimise the American influence on the style and content of some local shows in the years 1974-'76.

With regard to sporting pastimes, an American influence was evident, as it was in the case of entertainment. The new American gymnasium at the Base became a centre for local events on the gym floor in which ball games were a feature, which hitherto had almost no existence, particularly basketball. Baseball was also played in the open field up at Black Park (see map p.5). Yachting received a boost through the introduction of the American Polaris Trophy and later the Poseidon Trophy, which although they were unashamed "tit-bits", to make the reality of missiles in the locality more palliative, nonetheless did attract yachtsmen and helped to keep the sea-sport alive in an area that had a long tradition in yachting. The Americans also supported and ran dinghy events. In addition, to this list of sports, either introduced or encouraged by the USN presence, there was the

enormous boost given locally to the indoor game of Pool. The Cowal Pool Championship would not have been, had it not been for this supportive influence. There was also the added interest given to the game of darts by the US Pet Officer Dart Club.

The enormous influence here did not, however, bring in sports which overshadowed local interest and support of Shinty, and above all football. In addition, it being an area where the population was disproportionately mature or elderly, the impact was not as significant as it might otherwise have been. As I saw it, the influence was perhaps greatest with regard to sport in the school yards and fields, where the American children were often in large numbers. But, here too the "fitba" madness was still supreme.

The influence, however, with regard to golf, played at Strone, Innell and particularly the Kirn course at the Cowal Golf Course, was not so marked. Golf like football is regarded in Cowal as strictly "our sport". The same was also true of bowls at the various local greens. The Americans may have given out the trophies, as they did at the Cowal Highland Gathering, in their gold braid uniforms, at the championships on the greens, and the golf links, but they were there for their status, not because the games owed anything to them. At the same time, it was the local influentials, especially in the Burgh who decided who came to preside, and at the games this was not always supported by the people. Likewise, over the years the Duke of Argyll presided over the Highland Games, but the majority, especially those who knew their local history would have preferred another, but he did have status as a "Duke"! So too the Commanders and Captains had rank, and it was good for the occasion to have dress uniforms on the platform.

We will return to the social implications of the above observations, when summing up the USN impact upon the cultural-landscape. What of the American impact upon local clubs and associations? Here the story is somewhat different, because the USN personnel and their dependents kept very much to themselves, except perhaps in the case of the YMCA where some locals

did mix, as we will now see.

The YMCA (known locally as the "Y") was set up to cater for the USN personnel and their dependents, occupying a central position, not far from Dunoon pier. Here there was some merging of locals with Americans. More sophisticated table games, and a new-style emphasis given to family entertainment, rather than events suited only for one particular age-group, were spin-offs from the sessions at the "Y". Films were laid on, which were suitable for the whole family. These were most welcome, when I was in Dunoon, because the old cinema in Argyll Street had closed down. A joint naval and local representative committee attempted to make the "Y" a joint effort where people from the Base could be entertained with people from the locality. It worked, but its contacts were limited.

In 1975, the Scottish-American Ladies Club was formed to extend the contact between Scots and Americans, but it had taken almost 14 years for such a joint club to be created, and the initiative came from a Scottish local woman. In addition, the club was only for women and consisted mainly of joint lunches. We have already noted in an earlier chapter the high density of local clubs in Cowal; Americans had their own at Ardnadam. Certainly, locals were invited to the USN events at the Base, and certainly they were often at discos and suppers at Sandbank; but these were big events, much like any staged dance session or show, of an impersonal nature, in contrast with the clubs and associations where locals engaged in joint pursuits. USN personnel did not generally participate in these. They were less free, because rotation at Base often meant anti-social hours and the young American wives tended to keep to their own circles for entertainment. For the young seamen, it was not their "scene", and we have seen how many spent more and more time in Glasgow and "the other side".

Did the Americans socialise in local drinking haunts? They tended to keep to the same bars and pubs, and more often at the one place at the top of Argyll Street. Over time, the drinks in these bars had changed to suit their tastes, and there were locals who had changed their "pintas" and "whisky tots" for the American "Harvey Wallbanger". However, these were relatively few. An

400

American visitor observed in the SUNDAY MAIL, July 6th 1975, that she had visited Cowal, and stated how the only place one could buy a "Harvey Wallbanger" in Scotland was Dunoon. She spoke of the Argyll Street pub and of the service there, first the barmaid: "The barmaid is from South Uist, but she can mix a 'Black Russian' with one hand, a 'Red Lion' with the other, and whistle Dixie at the same time"⁴¹. The drinking habits and tastes of the USA differ considerably from those in Scotland. An American journalist explains: "A lot of Scots I know think American drinks are silly, sissy stuff, on account of how they're all fruit juice and have funny names. Americans figure the Scots are dour and unimaginative because they tend to drink the same thing - beer or whisky - every time they have a drink. The truth is drinking is a very tradition-oriented sport"⁴². The American scene has its own leisure pursuits and its own diverse tastes; as the journalist explained: "We drink all those strange concoctions because the devil gave us prohibition instead of early closing"⁴³. Ingenuity during prohibition made its mark, and inventive drinks made at kitchen tables remained, but the Scots have their own traditional strong whisky (not sold at the Commissary at Dunoon). In a Dunoon pub one can buy the usual Scotch, but it is possible to order: the SIDECAR, THE SCREWDRIVER, GIN FIZZ, BLOODY MARY, TOM COLLINS, THE FUZZY JOHN, THE PINK LADY, and THE PINK SQUIRREL. One of the reasons why there has not been much pub fighting between USN personnel and locals is that the Scots go to their traditional "pub" without "fancy wancy" drinks on the shelves, whereas the Americans drink where their tastes are catered for.

I have narrated the events, related to the American invasion of Cowal in the context of impacts upon the cultural scape. Firstly, I dealt with the effects of the incomers upon boy-girl relationships and the heterosexual implications. Secondly, I dealt with the introduction of cannabis into the locality by the sailors of Canopus, and the incidence and fear of addiction spreading locally. Thirdly,

... local breaches of law and order
by the incomers. In an attempt to understand the reasons for these often
very negative impacts, I have commented upon the pressures endured by the
USN personnel, and the clash of their expectations with those of the people
of the locality. In the language of this thesis, having originated from
the "wider outscape" and indeed being socialised within the US Navy
(a culture within a culture), their map of life could hardly be expected to
match that of the civilians in a semi-remote part of Scotland. Some of the
implications were further elaborated by assessing the USN impact upon the
family and the local churches, upon recreational and leisure pursuits, and clubs
and drinking. Much of the routinised pattern of living and its ritual are
carried out within a social calendar greatly determined by family, church,
and leisure pursuits, hence the identification of some effects upon these.

THE McALPINE WORKERS' CULTURAL IMPACT :

Having surveyed the impact of the USN presence upon the "cultural-
scape" generally, I will now deal with the impact of the McAlpine workers.

We have already seen that at first there was a low key reaction to
the McAlpine intrusion, particularly because of the mode of impact. And when
impacts overlap the people tend to become more confused. But, there is also at
the same time an uneven reaction, depending upon the immediate relevance of the
impact. The people of Toward and its environs did react more immediately. The
American impact had less effects in the South-West.

There was also the 1974 year of two general elections, which pre-
occupied people. They distracted attention until Christmas '74 after the electo-
ral excitement had died away. Meantime, navvies and technicians were moving in,
and plans were well advanced to create one of the UK's largest platform complexes
at Ardyne Point. People had noticed them, and some felt uneasy.

Just as illegitimacy had jumped up dramatically, shortly after the
USN Base was established, so too the illegitimacy rate doubled soon after the
advent of the incoming workers at Ardyne. It jumped from 7.1% in 1972 to 14.4%
in 1973, the second highest figure since the 15.3% rate in 1962, according to
the Annual Report of the R.G (Scotland) for that year. Looking at the Reports.

106-119 (HMSO publications), the figures are significant; coming as they do in the conjuncture of events shortly after the two major impacts.

Just as the American navy had adversely affected the moral tone of Presbyterian Cowal, so too did the navy intrusion. A former provost of Dunoon stated at the height of the MacAlpine navy influx, "We have the oil men from Ardyne Point, and the vice girls are moving in. If there are the least signs of trouble or moral corruption, I will see that they are stamped out." The People in 1975, July 20th reported: "Until now American sailors from the nearby Holy Loch Polaris Base have been the top spenders in the Clyde resort of Dunoon. Now they're in Division Two. The real big league money men are those who work on the oil platform construction at Toward". "Irresponsibility and big money", said a local resident to me, "spell vice - big vice". A well-respected local councillor remarked, "It's no use hiding our heads in the sand. The vice-girls are coming back and we have heard reports of trouble with the taxis. When the American Base opened there was an invasion of vice girls, but they were not allowed to settle, and were eventually cleared out. Now they're creeping back in. The money brings prosperity to the town, but it has its drawbacks."

The "vice-girls" were not quite the same as the girls who were paid in dollars back in the sixties. Several Ardyne workers from whom I gathered information explained. "The boys are only interested in rookies". When I asked what a "rookie" was, they observed, "a rookie is a Third Division woman who is mature, eager and willing with no nonsense in her head." Kate Millet's term "brute virility" would best be applied to the attitude of some of the men.⁴⁷ They did not compete with the Americans who were interested in younger women ("jet-set glamour" as a seaman put it to me), their wants did not clash with those of the navvies. Most Ardyne navvies were mature married men interested only in the stray adventure: "a one-night stand m'boy", explained a navy. It was not the permissiveness of many of the incomers which brutalised their heterosexual relationships, rather it was their male arrogance and treatment of local women as so many objects - on a level with a pint of beer after working at Ardyne, or a steak after working at the submarine dry dock at Holy Loch.

The stories of the McAlpine navy escapades are legion in the period, especially after Christmas '74. The methods by which men managed to get women into their camp were often referred to me. The camp was a security location with the strictest supervision, similar to that of any military camp. But, women did enter in the boots of cars, and one on a truck. "It makes for better chat at the Dunoon bus stop", said an Innellan women, "We used to talk about the weather, or the goings on of Coronation Street". At least, there have been a more varied content in the usual round of talk and gossip, once the navvies came to Ardyne.

Just as the Americans had affected the frequency and type of deviancy and criminality locally, so too did the Ardyne workforce in its turn.

Appendix 5, Table 5, gives some idea of the effect of the Ardyne workers upon the Sherrif Court convictions. Unlike the USN personnel, the Ardyne incomers were not so easily distinguishable in the reports of the local press. Sometimes, those who were convicted were identified as residing at Ardyne Camp, less seldom as Ardyne workers. However, it was significant that in 1973 after the "go-ahead" for McAlpine was given, the local crime figure jumped up, as may be seen from Tables 1 and 2, Appendix 5. The convictions of local residents and of other Scots from "the other side" had risen appreciably. The highest annual total since 1961 had been 73 non-USN non-motoring offences in 1971. However, the total non-USN offences for the years 1973-75, were 112 (1973), 85 (1974) and 83 (1975). The USN personnel criminal statistic have never been lower than they were in 1973 and 1974 from the time of the USN arrival. The 608 motoring offences of the (non-USN) civilian population in the period 1973-75 was the highest total for any three-year period since 1961.

Table 3, Appendix 5, shows that the number of people "of no fixed abode", who were guilty of local convictions, also went up in that period. Previously there had been prostitutes coming into the town following the sailors, but in 1973-75, the followers of the incomers tended to be mixed groups of older women and "mates" of the navvies, hoping for jobs at the site, or for pound notes that might fall from the companions' more affluent table. These "mates"

wandered about the pier and the main streets. Often they waited at the public houses for their friends to return from Ardyne. In 1974, there were 11 male convictions of people of "no fixed abode", and in 1975 there were eight. In the previous years from 1961, there had never been more than six in any one year (see Table 3, Appendix 5). "Spungers, that's what they are", said an Ardyne worker, whom I met on the boat on a journey across the Firth.

The type of offences may be gathered from Table 5, Appendix 5, when there had been specific mention that the offenders were at Ardyne camp. Most of these are associated with heavy drinking.

What of drug possession? There did not appear to have been much of this amongst the navvies. "Ye might pit a few pills in wi' the booze to gee it a heeve, but we fellas are in fur the chasers" (chasers are pints of beer which are quickly consumed in between 'tots' of whisky).

There were fewer fights between American sailors and navvies, because they had different drinking haunts. The navvies drank nearer the pier, the USN personnel at the upper end of Argyll Street. American cocktails did not appeal to the taste of men brought up in the drinking habits of Clydesiders. There were pubs which catered for one or other, only a few publicans dared to cater for both, such as the Argyll Bar, and it had to close.

When I had lunch with the American officers in 1975 aboard the Canopus, the conversation turned almost immediately to the Ardyne navvies. One senior officer remarked, "the Ardyne worker has done the Americans here a power of good. The locals are now too annoyed about the navvies to concern themselves about us". Another officer added, "They're breaking up the joint, these heafy Irish guys. Why, they're closing down the Argyll Bar because of them". An officer said, "We've got our Shore Patrol to fix the flyers. The McAlpine outfit has no control over their guys in town, and gee they hit the town real hard."

People locally were certainly turning their attention away from the American presence, and complaining about the navvies sprawled in drunken stupor on pavements at noon, or making a nuisance of themselves on the ferries..

People had been writing to the Glasgow Herald about the rowdy, and often bawdy journeys between Dunoon and Gourock in the summer of 1975 and residents called the ferry the "booze ship". A perceptive journalist summed up the situation further:-

"The effect of Ardyne on Dunoon and its cluster of villages is felt in highly contradictory ways. Money pours in. Publicans are prospering. Landladies have never had it so good. But the cottages and flats that once housed holidaymakers have all been snapped up, first by Americans from the US Navy Base at Holy Loch, now by men from Newcastle and Leeds, and all parts of Ireland, lured by the big money of Ardyne". 49

A resident in the Burgh pointed to a row of houses and said to the journalist:-

"That little row of houses there used to be filled with holidaymakers in the summer, now we have a big crowd of American sailors on the one side and a whole gang of McAlpine workers on the other side. The singing and shouting sometimes goes on all night, and there's a procession of young women arriving at all hours. Anyone who comes here for holidays now is mad. Personally, I'd move out like a shot if I could afford it". 50

A Dunoon manageress of a pub was quoted by the journalist of an article entitled, "Jackpot and booze boom in Dunoon pubs" as saying, "They're great spenders the McAlpine boys. In fact, they're fools, and I've often told them so. They just drink away all their money". 51 The management from Ardyne had their bar, the Irishmen and the West of Scotland steel-fixers had theirs, as the workers and lower management sorted themselves out on a Thursday night after pay, and the drinking went on throughout the next two days. Often men with £150-£200 in their pockets in notes would be asking for a "sub" (payment in advance) at Ardyne on the Monday after drinking throughout the weekend.

There was also the heavy drinking in the streets, as men wielded bottles on the roadside. There was fighting at the Ardyne bus-stop. Men urinated in house doorways and even excreted in stairways of older buildings. A woman put it this way, "We used to protest about dogs messing our doorways and gates, but now it's so-called men". When the USN created a nuisance,

local residents could always complain to the USN authorities, but now only a few local policemen faced the formidable task of handling hundreds of men from Ardyne.

There were stories about the men, standing at the Bar, who placed a large bundle of £10 notes on the counter and simply said to the barmaids, as they ordered drink after drink: "Tell me when the stack's finished". The £10 note was locally known as "the McAlpine pound note". They wandered about the town in navy togs, often tired, weary and hopelessly drunk, after having "hit the town" following upon doing a "ghoster" (working through day and night without sleep), or after having worked at "a pour" for several weeks. A "pour" was exacting work, when the flow of concrete had to pour continuously under constant supervision without a break for days on end, on shifts working extra long hours so that each shift would overlap the other to secure the maximum supervision and continuity of work. Most people in town knew when there was a "pour", and as soon as it was over there was always a release of male exuberance in the local pubs with more fights and brawls, and dowdy females moving in. The "cultural-scape" was shaken.

Men were drinking on the ferries at 7 a.m. in the morning, as they returned to "the other side" after a night-shift at Ardyne: something that had never been seen before on Clyde ferries. A journalist wrote about her crossing over the Firth in June, 1975, describing a scene similar to that which I shared with others many times over two years. She noticed that the summer pleasure ship was "loaded to the gunnls with hefty chaps in working togs bound for the Ardyne oil rig development"; she then added: "a coffee cup goes flying over an old lady's tweedie lap. 'I used to like sailing across the Clyde', confided the woman later in the ladies, 'Now there's no pleasure in it at all. You get elbowed out of the way and the bad language is so embarrassing',"⁵²

BOOM TOWN

A SEASIDE town is in danger of becoming a "wild west" because of the oil boom it was c

Anyone who comes here for holidays now is mad

in the str... men clai... local youth... WAR betwe... own's taxi... nd... p... erators wh... owing in... AN INVASI... titutes in s... y pickings b... spending oil... st night Str... tional cou... Thomson... ost of D... ill said: "

says the woman from Dunoon

WAR
 NDING oil men are bringing a "war" to a boom town. The M.V. J... The... price... ash... erical sailors from the nearby... have been the top spenders... By... today people... And... the

Good Old Days... ne... visiting... would usually... rip out to the... as well... became a... ver centre... Loch seems... n... unholy... potential... look up... in... the... nd find

Holy Loch has sinister ai

ang Sa Harry Lander... you can take his route in reverse from Ardernay to lovely Loch Eck.

DUNOON PUBS HIT JACKPOT



al publicans are ng about these with a euphoric on their faces if thing to do with g beer fumes. a very simple for it Dunoon, and its ring villages, once es you went with and the weans air when left to an wet, windy all through the see experience biggest booze their history. And on all year le other holiday in their usual drums. the presence

Thanks to the well-heeled well-oiled rig worke

local licensed trade and, unlike the holiday-makers, they are there all year round, giving the pubs a big, steady revenue that is the envy of their fellow licensees across the Firth of Clyde.

before and since. The Ardyne development has certainly contributed a very useful extra income in what was once the close season." Mr Ingram Ardyne

found their own local level. Ted McNeill, genial

Significant it is significant that, over the Christmas and New Year holiday, when McAlpine's were closed for the best part of a fortnight, what would once have been publican's own

BOOM TOWN

People locally felt that their area was acquiring a bad name. They had established certain forms of acceptable behaviour within Cowal which had no place for daytime drunkenness. They had accepted certain modes of dress which were associated with holiday-making or tourism. The dirty togs and the dusty faces of hundreds of men moving through the streets of the old Victorian resort were incongruous. There was a certain glamour attached to the large gleaming American cars, which did not look out of place, as did the large juggernauts, cranes, and workers' buses. When cultural settings are disturbed by alien cultural forms which intrude upon the scene stresses are created. The "particularity" of life is affected and insecurity sets in. When an article headed "Dunoon Pubs Hit the Jackpot" appeared in the Evening Times, early in 1975, people feared that, what was once an accepted seaside town known to many as "the gem of the Costa Clyde", would become no more than a "beer town".

It was noticeable that when navvies were the worse for drink they would poke fun at Americans. Frequently in public places, especially at Dunoon pier, there was confrontation in the air, I quite often saw a group of seamen move quickly in the opposite direction from a group of navvies, and I saw sailors on the ferry move downstairs in a huddle, when they spotted the navvies in the bar upstairs. It was not surprising that a national newspaper stated that there was every possibility of a war between the men from Holy Loch and the men from Ardyne⁵³. People were cautious where they went when it got dark. "The old free and easy days are at an end", said one local mother.

The McAlpine men have a song, sung to the tune (more or less) of "The Dublin Fusiliers", which has been sung throughout the civil engineering world from Argentina to Alaska. It was chanted in the drinking haunts of the navvies in the Burgh. Its words convey much of the "cultural-scape" in which the men live and work, and conveys a great deal of their spirit.

It begins with a monologue:

"The crack was good in Cricklewood and you couldn't see the crown,
There were glasses flyin' and diddies crying - the boys were goin'
to town,
Oh, mother dear I'm over here, I'll ne'er will come back,
What keeps me 'er - the price o' beer, the biddies and the crack".

Then the verses:

1. "As down the glen came McAlpine's men
With their shovels slung behind 'em,
It wus in the pub that they drank their sup
And duffin a spike you'll find them.
They sweated blood and washed down mud wi' pints and quarts of
beer,
An' now we're on the road again,
We're McAlpine's Fusiliers.
2. "I remember the day that the bear O'Shea fell into a concrete
stair,
What horseface said when he saw 'im dead wasn't what the rich call
prayer,
'I'm a navvie short', was the one retort that fell unto mi' ear,
When the goin' is rough you must be tough
Wi' McAlpine's Fusiliers.
3. "I've worked till the sweat has got me bet wi' Russian, Czech,
and Pole,
Neath shudderin' jambs in the hydro dams, or neath the Thames in
a hole.
I've grafted hard and I've earned my card with many a ganger's fist
across mi' ear,
If you pride yer life, don't join by Christ,
Wi' McAlpine's Fusiliers." 54

The hard days and nights on the platform out in the basins in the face of strong winds that swept up Loch Striven, amidst conditions that warranted the large wage, made huge demands upon the men. There were also the long hours (often the double shift), and the need for release ashore, away from the basins and the lashing rain. Like the USN crews the McAlpine men were under strain. So, they "hit the town" and had a "fling". "Patsy of the War Rigs", "Spud was here", "King Billy O.K.", were some of the graffiti that registered their coming, at the bus-stop or toilet, but in the pubs they had left behind them their songs, their "cracks", and their "Ardyne pound notes". Many locals remember well the high atmosphere in those small Dunoon pubs with the "rookies" and the McAlpine Fusiliers "drinking hard" in the nights of 1975-1976.

It must be appreciated that the conditions for the navvies at Ardyne were demanding. Here the managers were fewer, the "gangers" many. The pressures of keeping to the strictest work schedule to prevent any slippage of the contract date for completion, made the "gangers" petty press gang men keeping their workers "hard at it", whatever the conditions in the stour and churned shores of Ardyne. When I asked for information one of the staff at Ardyne told me over the phone that "work not talk is the order of the day here. And don't send me a letter at the camp - the philistines will be sure to get hold of it!" It was clear that only as a worker on the inside could I really appreciate fully the conditions of the men, and come to understand them more. Difficulty of access ruled this out. Moreover, my other enquiries ruled out my employment there. As in the case of the military, I had to be satisfied with being on the outside, but so too were almost all residents, whose life I was primarily studying. With them, I had more or less to look into the camp, and their lives, from a distance.

It appeared to me that the navvies' lives were characterized by organizational independence, whereas those of USN men were characterized by organizational dependence. R. Ryall (1980), in his study of men working on four oil platforms, cites the close networks amongst the men and their supportive cliques⁵. It is the clique which makes it possible for the men to survive. Small groups move from one contractor to another and support each other, often following a "ganger" to the best paid job at the time. On the other hand, I would agree with A. J. M. Sykes (1969), to whom I shall refer later in more detail, that many men are loners. During my time in Cowal, I often came across Ardyne navvies walking, or drinking, or travelling alone. The military organization contrasts with the organizational independence of the workers, because men are tied to their mates and peers from their joint training on their ships, tending to be more group-minded ("sticking together" more). No similar bond united the multi-national workforce, although Scots and Irishmen made up the majority. They "owed the bosses nothing", as one man put it. They were men of varied experience from various trades, often with no training in common. Rig-building requires different skills in such sectors as hydro-

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mechanics, structural design and analysis, measurement and instrumentation services, project management services, selection and inspection of materials, steelwork preparation and assembly, protection against corrosion and marine fouling. It requires differing skilled and semi-skilled workers such as riggers, welders, engineers of a wide variety, electricians, carpenters, plumbers and general labourers. The office staff are, for the most part, in the city, where computing facilities are centralised for the workforces engaged at various transit camps. The amorphous nature of the whole complex, together with the increase and decrease of staff as the need arose, made the task of identifying any sociological organisational features almost impossible for an outside observer.

The lack of dependence, and the individualism that seemed to pervade the workforce was reinforced by the regular "firings" and "pay-offs" of large numbers of the men when work was slack, or often the weather stopped work altogether at certain stages of production. Sykes, A.J.M. (1969), in his study of Scottish navy sites detects a lack of loyalty and a drift between employers, stating that "to call a man by an employer's name: a Wimpey's man, a Costain's man, a Carmichael's man, etc, was regarded as an insult"⁵⁶. Sykes quotes Zweig (1951) who states, with regard to the casual labourer: "The casual labourer is really employed by his industry as such, not by an individual employer and has no loyalty to him, more often following the foremen"⁵⁷. The conditions of employment require only two hours' notice on either side, so that the situation is one which Zweig cites as giving the men a greater sense of freedom⁵⁸. Loyalties are minimal, and a man can disappear suddenly, leaving behind his debts and local damages.

The military organisation differs essentially in this basic characteristic of dependence. In addition, the socialisation of the USN

with its own military penal system, its own monitoring and supervisory police system, and its loyalty to ideals of "militarism", tended to oppress and dominate the enlisted, chiefly through the NCOs. Whereas the behaviour of the navvies outside of work was their own affair, that of the USN was constantly under officer scrutiny, although penalties did not match the indiscipline of off-duty conduct. The McAlpine dependency off-duty was minimal. Sykes sums up the attitude of the typical navvies "in conversation they often referred to the need to feel free, of hating to be tied down or of 'belonging', and of the feeling they own you".⁵⁹ The coercive nature of the military and the organisational captivity entailed by enlistment create fundamental differences between the navvies and the navy personnel, and, to a lesser degree between civil engineering and managerial staff at a camp such as Ardyne. The implications for people in Dunoon District will become evident when examining the cultural 'scenes' and social stresses created locally by both the USN Base and the Ardyne camp.

Sykes, A.J.M. (1974), observes: "The navvies' independence affects their social behaviour at work and their social status and relations with society. It would appear that this like-interest inhibits not only the growth of common interest groups, but even the development of social groups of any kind. Comparisons with other industries provide additional grounds for concluding that the nature of employment determines the pattern of interests and thereby many features of social relations at work and in the community." 60

His comprehensive studies have shown that navvies tend to keep separate, and that contrary to general opinion the Irishmen tend also to keep separate from each other, and that moreover there is a pattern of mutual avoidance even after work. "Townies" (men from the same townland) wanted to associate with strangers, seeking to cast off the close networks by which they were tied down back home. They simply wanted to be different away from the "old country", and often tended to go out with a totally alien group when they could be free and uninhibited.

In general with regard to the navvies, Sykes states that they often boast of their anti-social behaviour. They usually view locals with suspicion. Generally, they have a glamorous view of their heavy drinking, their gambling and their fighting. He states that they despise men who save money. They tend to openly flout the values of society. It would appear that many of these characteristics were to be found amongst the hundreds of navvies who worked in Cowal for McAlpine. There were other contractors involved at Ardyne Point, to whom were attached gangs of workers, these were in the minority, but their way of life and their work-style was very much that of the men working for McAlpine, indeed many of them had moved over from McAlpine to the sub-contractors, or had worked for McAlpine sometime in the past, as was explained by some of the navvies known to me. The contractors listed above did not make it easy for the locals to cope with the impact. One thing became very clear - the locals had no social contacts with the newcomers. Not one of the interviewees I contacted had had any conversation with any navvy. "Here today and gone tomorrow" was very much the spirit at the camp and amongst the navvies who crossed by ferry. Many of them went north to Aberdeen to seek bigger wages. These were referred to as the "Dunoon Mafia" by sociologists discussing the migrant oil workers at the March seminar of 1980 at Aberdeen University.

One effect of the McAlpine invasion was to bring Dunoon and its surrounding area closer to the problems of Northern Ireland. We have touched upon this already. A tolerant population was faced with the alien and warring elements of "Papists versus Prodiges". Bigotry in the "outscape" intruded upon the "local-scape" and the local Orange Lodge became more active. In my conversations during my stay in the locality, I came across people who "thanked God" that there was an Orange Lodge "to check the Republicans from taking over". There were only a few families who spoke in these terms, but there was a time when such conversation in Dunoon and its locality would have been unheard of. We have already dealt with the impact of the Ardyne workers in terms of political clashes, but the problem, as in the case of the Ulster question, is that one is never sure where religion ends and politics begins and vice versa.

One Ardyne navvy observed, "Dunoon is full of wasps". Rather puzzled, I asked him why he spoke of "wasps". He explained, "Surely you know that 'W' stands for 'white'; 'A' for Anglo-Saxon'; 'S' for 'stupid'; 'P' for 'Protestant'; He was as white as any local, but there it was - a statement which represented a bundle of prejudices, which some of the incomers brought with them. There were prejudices amongst the incomers and also amongst some locals, as the toilet graffiti helped to show, and my conversation with both incomers and local residents indicated. We will also see how negatively some of the local residents responded to the navy presence later in our analysis.

What of the impact upon family, church, recreational pursuits and clubs locally? These were considered in the case of the American impact.

Ardyne camp residents were largely without family, about 360, as stated in the first chapter. The majority of workers came by ferry, and only a few families were resident in the south-west while some were in upper Kirn within the Burgh. The family impact was therefore negligible in terms of influence. In terms of effects, however, the families of Cowal were shaken by the McAlpine presence.

Firstly, there were now hopes and expectations in the air - the young son might not have to leave Cowal after all. But, the hope that he, or his father, might obtain a job at Ardyne and bring home the biggest wages the locality had ever known, were often sadly frustrated. There were, however, other side-effects, which we have already considered. In this chapter, we are estimating how the pattern of customary behaviour was altered. Suffice it to say that homes became centres of new life with a more comfortable life-style, because of the good fortune of having procured a job at Ardyne; others, had the bad fortune of being "signed-off", and having lost their former jobs, felt alienated in a locality where neither the employers at Ardyne, nor the employers of the locality, could offer them any work. Homes, where there had been job refusals from the start at Ardyne, became centres of local frustration and local jealousies within housing

schemes, damaging working-class networks. "Them big-headed lot doing damn all for a fistful of money. They were once along wi' us at the Grammar school and in the queues at the exchange for the dole money, but now they're the big-timers", said an envious local. "I've got the biggest wage in my life," said one of the local Ardyne employed workers, "but I've also got one of the biggest headaches too - my neighbours just have not been the same since. It's jealousy, I suppose. That with my new car and my wife's regular hairdoos at the hairdresser's".

Obviously, there was no impact upon the courting habits of local girls, nor intermarriages, as there was with the USN impact. The majority of the USN incomers were resident bachelors; the majority of the Ardyne workers were married men, and most of the workers were daily commuters. At most only a few of them would have had local family links, and as we have seen, a growing number of local families had marriage ties with the USN incomers.

The local churches were hardly affected, with the exception of the R.C. parish. The priests said Mass at the camp every Sunday, and the resident incomers staying in the Burgh did increase the numbers appreciably at the R.C. church, but did not, however, join in parish activities as the Americans did. The husbands were far too busy at Ardyne, and their wives were more retiring and shy of local involvement. So, it could be said that, although there was a large number of Catholic labourers at the camp and in the locality, their influence on parish life was peripheral. It must be noted that the McAlpine management had provided a special on-site Catholic chapel, specially prepared with altar and a sanctuary, to provide on-site facilities for a large number of Catholic workers. The local minister of the Church of Scotland did attempt to contact men of Presbyterian conviction at the camp, and had to discontinue, due to lack of numbers.

In terms of creating religious conflicts, the influence of the navvies, as we have seen, was considerable. This created a situation that the locality had not known since the days, a hundred years before, when the

local Prebyterians blocked the exits to the pier in an attempt to prevent people from "the other side" coming ashore on the Lord's day. Perhaps the influx of Roman Catholic Irish or Glasgow navvies in green helmets, travelling in green buses from pier to Ardyne*, stirred the past in them, but as we have seen, it was more probably the presence of the Orange Lodge, rather than any eruption of latent opposition to the RC intruders which created an inflammatory situation.

Clubs were not affected, neither were sporting pastimes. The Ardyne impact, however did affect the men's drinking habits and haunts. There were men who not only avoided the pubs in Argyll Street, but drank more at an earlier hour before the buses came in from Ardyne. Others drank at home, or avoided central Dunoon and the Innellan area. For others, Saturday drinking was impossible because of the rows and the crowding in the pubs. When one navy put a stool through the huge mirror behind the bar in one of the best pubs at the foot of Ferry Brae, the word went out and some old faces disappeared. Some locals, however, liked the changed scene, because of the new influx of humour and pub songs, especially in the cold winter nights when once the pubs were quiet places; "with a few old bores coming out with the same old stories and the like", said a local man.

The McAlpine workers made up an organisation in which they were independents, migrant workers with only the big money in mind. They did not belong. Their reference groups were outside the locality. They also tended to keep to themselves. The organisation, like that of the USN, was from the outside. It was primarily bent upon its own goals. Like that of the military it was a garrison within a world of secrecy. The organisation was watertight, although its members were not dependent as the USN personnel were, they had their own mode of behaviour, which by no stretch of the imagination could possibly attract people of Cowal. As one man said to me, "Ardyne men could not care a tinker's damn about local people, they're not here to make friends or make an impression, they're here to make money". Their instrumental mentality and also their blatant individualism did not clash as much with the shared ideals and

* As stated already, green represented the Irish southerner and the R.C.s .

views of the local people, so much as their rough life-style. It was hardly likely that people locally would wish to identify with them, and the navvies knew it and made capital of it, calling the local residents "toffee-nosed", or "oldies", as several navvies put it to me on the ferries, when I was making my way with them to Glasgow. When it came to encounters with the navvies, the local people simply ignored them. The people of the locality were proud of their open hospitality, but it was traditionally lavished upon holiday people, tourists, travellers and day-trippers, but never for navvies, who threatened to alter their local mode of life within a rural setting. Any assimilation was not possible.

The responses and views of the local residents will further our understanding of the effects of the incomers upon the cultural-
scape. We will now take these into account.

THE RESPONSES AND ATTITUDE OF THE LOCAL RESIDENT INTERVIEWEES
TO THE CULTURAL IMPACTS OF THE USN AND McALPINE INCOMERS:

Appendix 9.3 lists the questions asked in the locality. I was anxious to identify any critics of the incomers, any who favoured them, and any who neither criticised them nor favoured them. Four groupings emerged, during the questionings which are listed below:

1. 191 critics of the American incomers. (They did not criticise the McAlpine incomers).
Of these 111 criticised the USN incomers more than once;
80 criticised the USN incomers only once.
2. 216 critics of the McAlpine incomers. (They did not criticise the USN incomers).
All of them criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once.
3. 76 critics of both the USN and McAlpine incomers.
All of them criticised both sets of incomers more than once.
4. 42 non-critics, who at no time criticised any of the incomers.

(see Appendix 9.5.2.).

These groupings are presented in Table 1. I will deal with each of them in turn.

TABLE I: THE THREE GROUPINGS OF THOSE WHO CRITICISED THE INCOMERS : THEIR SEX AND THEIR SECTOR OF RESIDENCE:

(N 525) SECTOR OF RESIDENCE	THE 191 WHO ONLY CRITICISED USN INCOMERS		THE 216 WHO ONLY CRITICISED THE McALPINE INCOMERS		THE 76 WHO CRITICISED BOTH THE USN AND McALPINE INCOMERS		THE 42 NON- CRITICS FREQ.		TOTALS			
	ONCE N	%	ONCE + N	%	ONCE N	%	ONCE + N	%	SUM- TOTALS	GRAND TOTAL		
Male (N 45)	11	24.5	1	2.2	0	0.0	23	51.1	0	0.0	45	97
Female (N 52)	5	9.6	16	30.8	0	0.0	11	21.1	2	3.8	52	
Male (N 28)	0	0.0	4	14.2	0	0.0	24	85.8	0	0.0	28	68
Female (N 40)	4	10.0	9	22.5	0	0.0	23	57.5	4	10.0	40	
Male (N 143)	19	13.3	7	4.9	0	0.0	105	73.5	2	1.4	143	360
Female (N 217)	41	18.8	74	34.1	0	0.0	30	13.8	34	15.7	217	
Male (N 216)	30	13.9	12	5.5	0	0.0	152	70.4	2	0.9	216	525
Female (N 309)	50	16.2	99	32.0	0	0.0	64	20.7	40	12.9	309	
TOTAL												

Source: 6% sample. See Appendix 9.5

As is clear from the data, with regard to those who criticised the incomers more than once, there were significantly more women than men who were critical of the USN incomers, and significantly more men than women who were critical of the McAlpine incomers. There was a margin of 26.5% in the case of the proportional difference in regarding the former and 49.7% regarding the latter. The difference was more marked in the case of the men with regard to the Ardyne incomers.

Firstly, with regard to the critics of the USN incomers, I will consider the two sub-groups which make up the 191 persons. The 80 only criticised the USN incomers once, whereas the 111 did so more often. The 80 were critical of the USN personnel's involvement in the riots of Oct. '73 (see question 17, Appendix 9.3). These persons were less negative. The sub group did not in any way and at any time indicate that the USN personnel were a bad influence on the locality, and at least 19 (23.8%) of these persons stated that the locals started the troubles which led to the riot. The 111, on the other hand, were more critical.

Of the 111, there were 99 women and 12 men (see Table 1). Of these 111, there were 36 persons who were most outspoken and more vehement about their dislike for Americans, 26 were women and 10 were men. The data shows that they were lower down the socio-economic scale, because 18 of the women and all of the men had occupations which would be categorised as R.G.IV-V (see Appendix 9 for notes on the socio-economic classification), and 25 of the women and 8 of the men lived in council houses. They were also amongst the youngest of the interviewees. All of the women and men were under 30. The data is in accordance with the view that military impacts have greater effect upon lower socio-economic groups than upon middle-class people.

Remembering the points made earlier regarding local marriages, the most emotionally loaded terms came from the men and women who were not married. Examples of their statements are as follows: "These American bums ought to get the hell out of Dunoon"; "Scum, I'd say they are - the bottom of the American barrel"; and, "Garbage is about the best name for these American louts". Perhaps the younger men were peeved over the number of girls marrying or dating American sailors.

We have seen how negative the effect of the enlisted was in relation to women. One nurse had said in 1974, when interviewed in the streets of the Burgh, "The young seamen think they are God's gift to women and presume that we are just waiting to be asked; but many of us have learned from those local girls who have been hurt. I keep well away from them."

Apart from the 36 discussed above, there were the remaining 75 persons, out of the total of 111 (who were critical of the USN incomers more than once.) The 75 were less disparaging in their remarks than the 36, and tended in addition to be older (73 being between 30-59 years of age). They were less distinguishable in terms of social classification.

What of the 216 who criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once? Firstly, there were 39 amongst them, who praised the American personnel in particular. All of them were women. All of these women were owner-occupiers, and more important than all else, they each had contact with the USN incomers. Whereas those who criticised the USN incomers tended to be SNP supporters (93 out of the 111 - 83.7%), all of the 39 were Tories. The 39 (7.4% of the 525) probably represented a small proportion of the local population who mixed with the incomers, perhaps sharing interests and time together

gregariously. 31 of them were married ; 7 were spinsters ; one was a widow. The significant fact was that of the 26 who had children, only two had children who were still at school. The women were also over 40 years of age, with the exception of two who were 30-39 years of age. Given the antipathy that existed amongst many local youth for the USN personnel, and the number of mothers with children at school who had complaints against the USN children in their schools, the composition of the women who had contact with the USN personnel was not surprising.

None of them were Presbyterian. They tended to be from different religious groups. We have seen how USN incomers mixed more with minority parishioners at local parish functions or services. Apart from 10, who were unsure regarding their religion, the others were adherents of eight different denominations. In contrast, all of the people who criticised the Americans were Presbyterians (there were 289 Presbyterians in the sample).

The 39 had contact with USN personnel. Table 2 presents the contacts. One had the impression, based upon the data , that many were family contacts. It is likely that they were free from racial prejudice. Remembering that there were probably about 80 blacks at Base at that time, 14 USN black contacts was larger proportionately than might have been expected in a 6% sample. All of them criticised the navvies in their conversation with me, which was usually in terms of the damage they had inflicted upon the image of the locality.

TABLE 2: CONTACTS MADE BY LOCAL RESIDENT INTERVIEWEES DURING CERTAIN PERIODS WITHIN THE THREE SECTORS

WITH REGARD TO USN WHITE AND BLACK PERSONNEL AND DEPENDENTS:

PERIODS OF CONTACT	NUMBER OF PERSONS MAKING CONTACT AND SECTOR OF RESIDENCE	NUMBER OF CONTACTS MADE WITH BLACKS						NUMBER OF CONTACTS MADE WITH WHITES						Sum TOTALS		
		AMERICAN NAVAL PERSONNEL			AMERICAN DEPENDENTS			AMERICAN NAVAL PERSONNEL			AMERICAN DEPENDENTS					
		Seamen	P.O.s	Officers	Total	Wives	Kids	Total	Seamen	P.O.s	Officers	Total	Wives		Kids	Total
Past week only	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	0	0	0	4
Past year only	3	5	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	4	4	12
Past week and past year	5	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	29	36	28	5	33	72
TOTALS	11	5	3	0	0	8	0	0	0	2	32	43	28	9	37	88
Past week only	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Past year only	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Past week and past year	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	11	11	4	15	26
TOTALS	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	12	11	4	15	27
Past week only	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	5	0	0	0	6
Past year only	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	5
Past week and past year	21	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	6	67	91	64	25	89	184
TOTALS	26	5	1	0	0	6	0	0	1	9	71	99	64	25	89	195
SUM TOTALS	39	10	4	0	0	14	0	0	1	11	115	154	103	38	141	310

I will comment further upon Table 2 before discussing those who criticised the Ardyne incomers. The data will be taken into account with the number who were corresponding with the USN families, who had left the area, and the number who had daughters married to USN personnel. The total picture which then emerges will throw some light upon the extent of the impact of the USN presence upon the families of Cowal.

At the outset, it must be said that the contact with the USN of these 39 women who had praise for them and criticism for the Ardyne incomers, represented only 7.4% of the residents interviewed. The suggestion is that there was relatively little contact with the USN incomers. Most USN kept to their own naval groups, and within the security of their own corporateness. Many expressly presented a low-key profile, and to most people they lived a separate existence. According to the garrison study of Charlotte Wolf (1969)⁶³, the American in the overseas base lives a segregated life. In my own study there were only 7.4% (39) who had USN contacts, as we have already seen. However, there were as many who were writing to Americans who had left the locality (39) but, none of them were at that time in contact locally with USN incomers, which suggested that with rotation there was also a rotation of selective contacts.

In their replies the 39 women indicated that they were in touch with at least 104 American households. They were mostly those of officers or P.O.s. As indicated by the data, most of the contacts (282 ; 90.9%) were made with the same persons during the past week and past year. The majority of contacts were with the officers and their families; contact with the enlisted was clearly less evident. Of the 39 women, 31 were wives, 26 of whom had offspring. As one might expect the highest proportion in contact with the USN incomers was in the north-east, and least in the south-west. Of the 39, 21 who had various religious affiliations which were non-Presbyterian, had stated in their conversation that their contacts with US families were mainly through parish or Christian fellowship ties.

None of the 39 were Presbyterian. They belonged to a wide variety of denominations (See Appendix 9). We have seen how the minority churches locally had more contact with the USN incomers on a parish basis. The Americans as we have also seen, hardly affected the club life of the locality, but there was a minority of Americans who were very involved with the parish life of the minority church groups. There was one particular Baptist woman in the south-west who had contact with eleven American families through her religious ties with the Baptist fellowship. The high proportion of blacks (considering the low number at Base in 1975-76), was due also to the contact made by two other Baptists and a R.C. They both spoke of their church links with them.

What of the rest of the 216 who criticised the Ardyne incomers? We will shortly assess their social characteristics, so as to extend our understanding of the implications for them in the context of the cultural-scape. Before doing so, there are others within the grouping about whom something must be said to round off our comments upon local USN contacts.

In addition to the 39 above, there were 51 persons who were also well disposed towards the USN incomers, and badly disposed towards the Ardyne incomers. Like the 39, they were within the 216 grouping. Firstly, there were 8 men and 3 women who had daughters married to USN incomes (see Appendices 9.5). They were critical of the Ardyne incomers, and in their conversations were making invidious comparisons between the USN and Ardyne strangers. The Americans they generally described as "civil" and the navvies as "uncouth", "rough", "not fitting in", or the like. Secondly, there were another 39 who had corresponded with the USN.

Of these 39, there were twenty-eight fathers and four mothers, who were corresponding with Americans, who had once been at Holy Loch. These were parents who highly respected the local Americans. We have seen that, in terms of marriage, there were indications that some women admired the American wives.

Of the 28 fathers , who were corresponding at that time with ex-Polaris Holy Loch families , 25 of them indicated that they were writing jointly with their wives - letters in other words from couples . In addition, there were letters from couples to single American personnel, who had once been their lodgers (in my sample there was only one household with a USN lodger - see question 6, Appendix 9.)

Therefore, amongst the 216 persons, who had criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once, there were 90 who had either had contact with the USN incomers currently at Holy Loch, or were writing to former contacts who had left the locality, or who had daughters married to USN personnel. The ties with the incomers was therefore evident amongst 17.1% of the interviewees . These represent probably that slice of the local population , upon whom the USN had had the greatest positive effects . The ties were familial, one way or another, and largely with the officers, suggesting that positive good effects were mainly those of the officer caste and their dependents .

Any possible cultural long-term impacts upon their way of life depended upon the degree of contact and long-term involvement. The suggestion is that cultural impacts in positive terms were confined to those who had personal ties. It would appear that any extension of the positive impact to the rest of the population was offset by the negative macro impacts, which we have reviewed in this chapter. The good relations were , in other words diluted by wider and more societal impacts, which as we have seen were negative, such as the growth of drug addiction . Good relations were largely confined to those of minority church people at cultural levels. The contact between senior officers and the influential families was at that time almost always of a diplomatic nature , or a public relations act. Only a handful of influentials were probably on familiar everyday terms with the outsiders . In addition, the ties being highly personal, were reserved for particular Americans, and as we have seen from the data, did not appear to have been extended to the other Americans.

What of the Ardyne intruders and their impact upon the 216, who criticised them more than once? As has been noted already, the men were more significant in this instance than they were in the case of the USN incomers. As will be seen from the details of Table 1, significantly more men than women criticised the Ardyne incomers.

We have seen how the men had been put out by the incoming navvies, in their drinking haunts, and by the abrasive effects they had upon the men in terms of religion. We saw earlier from the toilet graffiti that local men were expressing their protests on walls, although they were a minority. The large number of men in the sample, however, who were critical of the navvies, may very well indicate that many males locally were affected by the navvies at both the lower and higher socio-economic levels. In terms of the cultural-landscape, the customary behaviour and routines of life in Cowal remained basically the same, but the summer holiday mood did suffer severely, especially in Dunoon, so that the customary relaxed behaviour of the season was hardly observable in 1974-'76 on the promenades.

The men and women who criticised the Ardyne incomers were from higher socio-economic groupings than they were in the case of those who criticised the USN incomers. We have already seen that there was a growing antagonism for the Ardyne project amongst those who ran local businesses, who were joined for totally different reasons by those who were skilled and in secure employment. As we have seen, the latter wanted to be employed at Ardyne, the former had successfully blocked them once they saw the drain of skilled men moving out to Ardyne Point. In addition, there were many who had been pleased that they were enjoying life away from the heavy industries of "the other side", to settle in quiet Cowal, which was romantically called "the gateway to the Highlands". The trucks, the navvies and the rising concrete legs of the platforms were seen by many interviewees as the threat of an expanding industrial take-over. Such fear was ill-founded as it turned out, but when the landscape and the traditions of

any locality are altered in any way by industrialists, local rumour turns the most exaggerated forebodings into threatening realities. Fifty of the 216, who criticised the Ardyne incomers, expressed fears that the locality might become an industrial extension of "the other side".

What of the 76 who criticised both the USN and Ardyne incomers? Their number (14.5%) compared with that of the critics of only USN personnel (36.4%), or with the critics of only Ardyne incomers (41.1%), shows that the presence of both the USN and McAlpine incomers mattered less than the single aggravation felt by the two main groupings already referred to above. The 76 people were blander in their criticisms. The women were more heterogeneous than the men. I had noticed that those who were only critical of the USN tended to originate more from the "outscape" than those who criticised the Ardyne incomers. With the 76, origin from the "outscape" was less evident regarding both women and men. It appeared that the 76 tended to be incomers who had simply wanted peace and quiet. They expressed as much. 35.7% of the women, in contradistinction to the men, represented the drifting women in their middle years, who were single and crossed the Firth to find peace in accommodation that was left them by recently deceased relatives.

When it came to the 40 women, who did not criticise the incomers at any time during the interviews, I was struck by the fact that they tended to be older than those who did criticise the incomers, that they were often more isolated retired women and housewives in the Burgh. They were also primarily from the locality. They appeared to be oblivious of the recent incomers. I have already spoken of the anomaly of people in the midst of change, who are not aware of it.

When it came to determining the origin of the interviewees, I was struck by the number who originated from the "outscape". It seemed that many had been married into local families, and many others had been evacuees during the second World War. Dunoon and district was not only a place for strangers

in transit, or on tour, or on holiday, but appeared to be inhabited by numerous settlers from the "outscape". Many explained that they had come on holidays and fallen in love with the place, deciding to buy, rent for a time, and then settle down amongst the hills of Cowal. These people quickly identified with the area, and were more critical of the recent naval and navy incomers than the local natives, as the data demonstrates. Some of the people, when asked where they were born, refused to answer (see Appendices 9.5). I felt that they did not want to reveal their outside origin. Many giving it, would quickly add, "But, I've been here for years, I'm a local now". The natives tended to state with great pride that they were the "real locals").

What about the impact of the American children?

I had expected that the criticism of the American children would have been significant, but out of 455 responses, only 62 persons stated that they were more badly behaved than the local children (and only 2 that the Ardyne children were worse). In fact, the USN children were held in high regard: 51 said that they were better behaved than local children, and 340 as good as the local children in behaviour. In fact, when I was in the area, a 17 year-old American girl had been elected Grammar School Captain. I had also felt that the building of the larger Primary School at Sandbank to make more room for the bulge in US school pupils had defused the earlier heated debate over the overcrowding in the schools.

What of the views of the residents with regard to the possible
modus of the intruders? I gave the interviewees the opportunity to say how
they would react by giving them a list of the various USN and McAlpine incomers,
see Appendix 9.3). They could register their feelings from "upset" to "overjoyed".
In fact, most of the interviewees chose not to indicate their feelings. There was,
however, a large negative response to the possible exit of the Ardyne workers,
travelling to Dunoon and back on the Gourock ferries, and also a less dramatic
negative response regarding the USN wives. With regard to the possible exit of
the navvies travelling from Gourock, 37.1% (195) of the 525 interviewees were
either "glad" or "overjoyed". No one was "sad", but there were 153 who had
"mixed feelings". All of the 195 had criticised the Ardyne navvies during the
interviews. With regard to the possible exit of the American wives, there were
101, who said that they would be "glad", in contradistinction to 72, who said that
they would be "sad" (see Appendices 9.5).

What was important was the fact that the navvies aboard the Gourock
ferries and the American wives were cited for comment out of other groups on
the lists presented to the interviewees (the USN technicians who came and went
were also commented upon, but by a wholly indifferent response). We have seen
that there was considerable local concern about the tourist image of the locality.
The rough, tough navvies who crowded the ferries were a talking-point locally.
But, the 101 who said that they would be glad when the US wives moved out
present a surprisingly high negative comment from a locality in which the
wives had been involved in local charity and general welfare. One man may have
explained some of the local feelings, when he commented, "American ladies
get under ma skin; they're like a lot o' busy bodies interferin wi' oor
folk, tryin tae cut a figure, tryin tae get intae the local press fur do-goodery
and aw that. We dinnae need their US subs, and we dinnae need their candy
charity".

CONCLUSION :

In cultural terms, the American and Ardyne worker impacts had had a disruptive effect in their quest for "wine, women and song". The alien nature of the men from "nearer or wider outscapes" also entailed culture-clash as the wants, expectations, fears, prejudices, and habits of people in an outside "scape" were transferred to that of a foreign "local-scape", where life tended to be localistic, and limited by its own wants, expectations, fears, prejudices and habits. The male sexism of the incomers was an obtrusive negative factor in each case. The incoming American seamen had an effect upon the heterosexual behaviour of the local youth. Ardyne incomers did not. The high rate of illegitimacy, which also took place in the wake of the Ardyne intrusion, would have probably been related to the involvement of older outside women who came over to the local pubs and haunts of the navvies.

The increase in deviancy in the form of soft drugs, was one USN effect, not shared by the impact of the Ardyne workers. The overt drunken behaviour of navvies in the streets, morning and afternoon, was one particular effect of the navy presence that affected the tone of the place, in a way which the American invasion never did. The institutions of the family, of law and order, and of religion, had each in their turn come under the impact of alien patterns of behaviour and outscape values. All of which took place within an overlay of complex effects and surprises in a situation of increasing uncertainty. One wonders how the local way of life and the cultural-scape could survive the multiple impacts made upon them.

There is a sense in which the very nature of the USN and McAlpine organizations made the total obliteration of a local "cultural-scape" a virtual impossibility. Firstly, the Americans were highly dependent members of an organization which could not afford to be permeable. Its walls were those of a garrison. Its "cultural-scape" could truly be described as a "little America

cultural colony living its own life with its own goals within an alien "local-scape". Only the hedonistic wants of the younger enlisted men, in particular, drew the men out of their naval shell, often to plunder the locality. The dependents did live amongst the locals, but with little contact, and where it existed the families were off within two years, to yet another round of ephemeral relationships somewhere else on the globe. The American Naval Department also made doubly sure through its monitoring political and civilian machinery, to which I have made reference in an earlier chapter, that abrasive impacts were minimal. How badly at times it worked is obvious, but things were never allowed to get totally out of hand: the Holy Loch was vital.

Secondly, the McAlpine workers were migrant short-stay personnel, who were often daily commuters.* Their reference groups were on "the other side", and their time in the locality was largely spent in working, often on staggeringly demanding overtime programmes. For them, Dunoon and the villages were largely spots for a refreshing drink and very often a "pub crawl".

note: With regard to the effects of regionalization upon the "cultural-scape", there could hardly have been effects at that time, given the mode of impact. When I was leaving in 1976, the locality was chiefly adjusting to a new bureaucratic impact, rather than any cultural impact of Strathclyde.

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CONCLUSION.

"I always say to our people go and dig the truth out and it will be our truth because the truth is always partial and so are we".
Tony Garnett (1978)⁽¹⁾

After almost a year and a half of fieldwork within the confines of Cowal and after five years of study and research of the relevant literature in community studies, one asks the all-important question: what has come out of it all? I will attempt to answer this question in these concluding pages.

When speaking of what comes out of a study, one may distinguish between 1) the mode of analysis: 2) the actual findings, and 3) the emergent synthesis, which is dependent upon the analysis of findings. These three should be discernible in studies. Modes of analysis are either conceived during the research programme, or if devised beforehand are often modified by the study. Findings may be new discoveries or confirmatory evidence of other findings in similar studies or similar contexts. The synthesis presents these findings with a meaningful structure which throws light upon the original question(s) asked by the researcher and which sparked off the study. I will take each of the following therefore in turn: 1) the mode of analysis: 2) the findings, and 3) the synthesis. But, first the intent of the study must be stated.

This was an impact study, which took account of the source, mode and effects of outside intrusions and invasions upon local residents from outside the confines of a locality. In particular, the three impacts studied consisted of the USN invasion, the McAlpine intrusion, and the Strathclyde takeover. The period covered was between November 1960 and February 1976.

1. The Mode of Analysis :

Because the study dealt with impact from outside, there had to be an appreciation of the macrocosm beyond the locality. The locality had therefore to be studied in the context of the larger world beyond the Firth on the "other side". The mode of analysis had to deal with the local scene as a microcosm of life, set within the macrocosm of a world on the outside, over which the peripheral locality had little or no control.

Because the study dealt with a naval, an industrial and an administrative intrusion, the locality had to be set against the outside militarization, industrialization and bureaucratization processes.

Because the impacts had diverse sources beyond the locality, and specific modes of impact, and special effects peculiar to each (all of which converged upon the same area), the study was structured within an analysis divided into two main parts : 1) the source and mode of impact, and 2) the effects of impact,

Because the impacts were tied in with processes of change over time, a before, during, and after approach, had to be devised within a time sequence. This demanded an appreciation of the elements of surprise within the phases of initial shock, spin-offs, and routinization. Because the impacts overlapped, the time element had to be taken into account. The psychology of impact had to be taken into consideration and transcribed into sociological terms to fit the wider social implications of unexpected change(s).

The concept of "lag" and that of "cultural utility", as expounded by Ogburn, were also utilized to help explain the uneven effects. Time lags exist by reason of various barriers, but also because knowledge and awareness are mediated by people whose diverse social circumstances alter, or even block realization of what is happening at the time of impact. So, there is uneven impact. In addition, the impacts affect some rather than others. We speak of

reference groups - there may be some to whom the invaders are of no consequence or relevance. The wants of the invaders and intruders may clash with others. The "cultural utilities" here will be a vital deciding factor. Will the locals let go of their routines, their contacts, their values, and exchange them for others, or for those of the outsiders? Circles of relevance begin to emerge as choices are made, and mutual ends or means are shared, and other people excluded, or made to suffer in the process.

Because there was reaction following upon expectation, and uncertainty following upon distance from centres of decision, the mode of analysis took into consideration the subjective and perceptual world of the people. The shared views and shared consequences of those shared fears and joys, called for a set of concepts which would allow the researcher to account for the inside and outside world in which maps of life often do not tally, either with the dominant consensus, or with that of other groups, so the concepts of "social inscape" and "scape" were devised, accounting for the inside shared view of people (social inscape) as against the outside reality (scape). The concept of "social inscape" was adapted from Manley Hopkin's concept of "inscape", which because it was limited to the individual's assessment of reality, was taken with the appendage "social", as referring to the collective view people have of reality. When individual views are shared, they take on a collective dimension and a new social dimension.

Because impacts require an assessment of the source beyond, the concept of "outscape" was suggested, but because this world beyond has centres both nearer and farther off, the concepts of "nearer" and "Wider outscapes" were devised. There is usually greater uncertainty about what goes on in the wider sphere, hence the distinction. The analysis referred to the "local-scape", so as to distinguish the immediate scape from those beyond. An impact study of an outside world intruding upon a local scene must have some conceptualisation which allows for the boundaries of what is nearer and what is wider.

Because people are enveloped within a world of varying realities: **ecological**, economic, political, and cultural, the concepts of "ecological-scape", "economic-scape", "political-scape", and "cultural-scape", were devised. In local terms these make up the reality of life outside of man, and determine the outcomes for man living within any given local-scape.

Because people live within their own world very often of "make-believe", they may not take heed or notice of impacts, living within the past of future. For example, some are said to live within the "inscape of yesterday", whilst others live in the "inscape of tomorrow".

Analysis sifts out the data and separates the whole into its component parts. This study attempts to piece together the outside impact upon the various realities of life in terms of the "ecological-scape", the "economic-scape", the "political-scape", and the "cultural-scape", allowing one at the same time to take some cognisance of the perceptual factors involved, wherever relevant. In looking at the components of the study, it was necessary to explore the past by reading the local press, and particularly the Statistical Accounts, and also popular histories of the Clydeside. In looking at the present, the local press and other national newspapers, were read. Interviews and eavesdropping, as well as informal chats, helped to build up an ethnography of life locally.

The analysis had its limitations; firstly in terms of resources, I was on my own. Obviously, the study would have been better executed by a team of researchers, as such research projects usually are. On the other hand, I was able to make my study more individual by working alone.

At first, I had gone into the Burgh to study the impact of Polaris upon the local people, but once in the area, I decided to open up the study and consider the other two impacts of McAlpine's complex at Ardyne, and also that of Strathclyde, upon the locality as a whole. I did so, because the people were concerned about all three impacts.

But what were the findings?

2. The Findings:

The context was established as consisting of a peripheral area of Scotland, where the villages and the homesteads of the East Cowal shore, together with the Burgh of Dunoon, constituted a meaningful whole. The settlements were linked geographically by the configuration of land and lochs, and divided off from the industrial belt of West Scotland by the wide Firth. They were linked with the Burgh, historically, and also economically, politically, and culturally, as their local capital and service centre.

Because there was both a civilian and military zone in the locality of Dunoon District, the civilian scene and the military were explored, and found to be two worlds apart. The divergence was created mainly by "militarism" and "military ways". The former being the ritual and value systems which keep alive the otherness of an institution committed to either a show of force or victory in war. The latter is the dedicated pursuit of means to be effective in the spheres of violence and war, or balance of power. The civilian scene of East Cowal was found to be dominated by the pursuit of national status, and regional status, as a tourist zone, capitalising upon the scenic beauty and the peaceful shores. The tradition of hospitality was also engendered, as it had been for centuries, in an area in and through which strangers journeyed by the transit ferry point at Dunoon.

The findings, with regard to the triple impacts of the USN naval invasion of 1961, the McAlpine workers' intrusion of 1972, and the Strathclyde administrative take-over in 1975, upon this peaceful tourist area, were as follows, within the specific frames of analysis, already described:

2.1. The Source and Mode of Impact .

1.1. With regard to the American invasion;

The Base was created by decisions in the wider outscape, without public debate and characterized by deceit throughout the period : it was said not to be a base, but only an anchorage, and that it would be at Holy Loch for three years . Military considerations prevailed over civilian protests. In spite of national marches and demonstrations, decisions, made in far-away centres of power, penetrated the democratic shield of the nearer outscape to invade the local-scape of a peripheral area, whose protests can never hope to penetrate the military and political spheres of international influence and power. The microcosm is helpless in such a situation. There were three phases to the naval impact: (1) initial shock : Nov. 1960-March 61: this period extended from the first intimation of the establishment of the Polaris Base at Holy Loch until the day the USS Proteus arrived ; (2) the period of spin-offs, March '61-Feb '63: this period extended from the establishment of the Base until the end of the immediate repercussions when they levelled off; (3) the period of routinization and gradual adaptation, which commenced in March '63: it began, once the Base had become identified with the Holy Loch, and when a pattern of coexistence had begun, when I had left in Feb. '76 the period had not yet run its course, due to the recurring unease and uneven routines, and periodic unrest, or protests against the Base .

McAlpine's platform construction site at Ardyne was created

by intrigue in the nearer outscapes of the "other side", where discussions and transactions took place between McAlpine and local landowners. Negotiation was clandestine. Without planning, and in the spurious national interest, there was a mad rush for oil at sea and sites on land for platform and rig building. Ardyne was caught up in this rush, as was Ardentilly. Ardentilly was saved, but McAlpine procured a site, whilst people were discussing the bid of another firm for the shore sites at Ardyne.

2 The McAlpine intrusion took place during the USN tertiary period, when the area was experiencing spasmodic surprises under the USN impact, and also during the initial period of the Strathclyde impact, when the local administrative structure of the locality was in the balance. Three impacts were then in process, and the overlaps created overlays in impact and a build-up of stress and confusion. Some were for the changes in one, or other of the impacts, others against one or other.

3. There were 3 phases to the navy impact: (1) the initial shock of McAlpine's project, as happened between Nov. '72, when the local people first heard of the project, and March '74, when McAlpine managed to extend his site at Ardyne; (2) the period of spin-offs from March '74-March '75. The site could now cater for the building of six platforms at one time, and not for 400 workers, but for at least a thousand men. The scheme was then described as "the rape of Ardyne in the national interest" in the issue of the Dunoon Observer on March 23rd. '74; (3) the period of routinization, which began in March '75, when the workforce was at its maximum, and more or less established. In the initial period, McAlpine established the site; in the secondary, McAlpine extended the site; and in the third, McAlpine's workforce

ttled down to the winning of orders and in spite of set-backs to the steady production platforms. In addition, the people entered upon a period of uneasy coexistence with the Ardyne workforce and the industrial intrusion .

3. With regard to the Strathclyde impact:

1. From the time of the Report of the Royal Commission in 1969, concerning the reorganization of the bureaucratic structure of Scottish Administration, the locality had been under great uncertainty. When the White Paper came out in Feb. '71 there was consternation in the Town Council, because it had to accept disestablishment . The emphasis upon rule from the centre prevailed, and the locality was to come under the administration of Glasgow in Regional terms, and in District terms under Lochgilphead. It had taken years for the whole initial process to develop. Technocratic manipulation from the centre was so taken up with sweeping changes that it had considered changing the ancient name of "Argyll" to that of "West Strathclyde."

2. The mode of impact was conquest by division. The old dispute over community boundaries tended to confuse the public. The issue over belonging to Argyll or to "the other side", divided the members of the Town Council and the business people. Just as the prospect of increased economic gain had divided off the people with money in mind, from those who had values and principles in mind, with regard to the establishment of Polaris, so too here. Some saw the business and tourist links with "the other side" as all-important; others saw their link with the Highlands and Islands as what mattered. In addition, the old struggle between Dunoon and Lochgilphead for greater local controls in southern Argyllshire, was brought into the debate, so that yet a third group locally emerged.

This group wanted the locality to be paired with Bute and with Rothesay. In this situation, where there was so much division, but after the rise in rates and general criticisms of the way things were going,

people inside the Burgh, and those outside, appeared to be more united in their opposition to Strathclyde's administration.

3. There were two phases to the Strathclyde impact which took place before my departure in Feb. '76: (1) Initial shock; from the Wheatley Report, Oct:69, when administrative changes were to be established till finalised in May '75; (2) period of spin-offs from May '75, when rates rose phenomenally in the locality, when there was confusion over the number of boundaries, and types of community councils, and perplexity over the jurisdiction of the Region's centre and the District's centre. People did not know where they were, especially the aged, as they sought advice. Lochgiphead, the District HQ, was inaccessible to all without a car, and even for the car drivers it was miles away, and expensive and inconvenient to visit. People had to write, or phone - if they could afford it - when they had a District problem. As regards the eventual adaptation period, I was never there to see it happen. I left, when people were witnessing the spin-offs in the immediate period after implementation. The scheme had not yet established itself.

2.2 The Effects of Impact .

The effects of the impacts of the USN personnel upon the locality will be presented under the title : The USN Impact, that of the McAlpine workforce under the title : The McAlpine Impact; and that of the Strathclyde impact under the title: The Strathclyde Impact. They will be shown side-by-side in the following listed effects . The synthesis will follow these lists, and should be read in conjunction with them and the notes on the analysis. For details, one must refer back to the chapters concerned with the particular impact.

THE EFFECTS UPON THE ECOLOGICAL - SCAPE

2 2.1. The USN Impact

1. The "nesting assembly" associated with environmental features of the landscape and seascape remained much the same, and attempts were made to make the ships part of the tourist loch attractions.

The actual Polaris Base was out of sight for most of the people of the Burgh and the South-West as they went about their daily business. Access to the Holy Loch and sailing was not forbidden.

2 The quality of the setting was affected by the noise from the vessels.

The presence of the vessels did not alter people's views generally about the beauty of the locality.

With regard to the hazard of radiation there were no explicit fears, but at least 20% of the 525 interviewees had found the Base "worrying".

300 mentioned "the healthy sea air".

3. In the long-term there was hope that the ships and submarines would move out.

In the meantime, there were some who lived in the "inscape of yesterday" who did not appear to notice the Base. 42 persons did not mention the Base at any time, out of the 525 interviewed at their homes, and spoke as if the USN Base was non-existent. They contrasted with the others who appeared to be well aware of the presence of the USN Base.

2 2.2 The McAlpine Impact

1. The "nesting assembly" was altered by the creation of a new hill. It had an inhibiting effect for the local people because the familiar open aspect was altered. For others, the well landscaped hill did not spoil the local scene.

The McAlpine platform building site was out of sight for most people in the Burgh, the North-East, and also for Innellan people, and most other parts of the South-West. 3 miles of shore now out of bounds.

2 The quality of the setting was affected by the noise from the site and the roads leading to it from Dunoon along the shore. The presence of the site did not alter people's view generally about the beauty of the locality.

3. In the long-term there was hope that the site would close down, and that afterwards

McAlpine would build a marina in the area. There were some who were living in the "inscape of tomorrow" with dreams of a new Ardyne. There were others who lived in the past in the "inscape of yesterday", speaking as if there had been no influx of navvies, and apparently unconscious of their presence nor of the Ardyne complex.

2 2 3 The Strathclyde Impact

1. The "nesting assembly" no effects identified.

2. The quality of the setting was not altered in Dunoon District, except that the main road in Dunoon which the Strathclyde Roads Dept could not manage to resurface for months, remained an ugly sight - the tarmac laid was peeling off the surface onto shoes and car tyres.

3 In the long-term there were fears that Glasgow would alter the locality's environment, because roads and tourism would come under the administration of insensitive urban planners, and industrialisation take place in the environs. Inverkip Tower on "the other side" was an ever present ugly symbol of what the planners on the other side could do to the beautiful Firth of Clyde.

THE EFFECTS UPON THE ECONOMIC - SCAPE

2 2 1. The USN Impact

1. Goods in the form of Scottish souvenirs and mementos increased in the shops, as also tartan material. Increase in the sale of alcohol and spirits and petrol. So, shopkeepers etc, gained but some also suffered. American luxury goods were sold at discount prices, as also food at USN PX exclusive stores. Increased buying on "the other side" by USN personnel and dependents.
2. Services: public transport not used! Increase in taxis, probably sevenfold. Housing accommodation a high priority for married USN personnel in particular. Rents soared. Savings for some landlords, but higher rents for locals. Hospital services strained, especially maternity unit with increase of young families from the USA. Local patients did not suffer, but NHS subscribers were concerned about the free medicine for USN personnel and dependents. Locals cannot enter their PX stores, but, Americans could enter hospital. Education: USN used local schools. Rotation at base create. a disorganised school programme with uneven influx of pupils during year.
3. Employment: no impact except for a handful of employees Base self-supportive.

2 2 2 The McAlpine Impact

1. Goods: Increase in the sale of alcohol throughout the week. So, publicans gained. One pub closed, however, through damages. Petrol increase locally because the garage owners made up the leeway caused by loss of staff to Ardyne. Big wages for mechanics paid to keep them from going to Ardyne for better money.
2. Services: public transport not used, but affected by drivers leaving for better wages at Ardyne. Housing accommodation a high priority. Houses bought, rather than rented by McAlpine for McAlpine employees. Hotels bought also. House prices soared. Hospital services: none identified. Education: none identified.
3. Employment: Enormous impact. Disparity in wages between local unskilled at Ardyne and those employed locally. Skilled workers and mechanics, also bus drivers and local tradesmen,

2 2 3 The Strathclyde Impact

1. Goods: no effects identified.
2. Services: massive rise in the rates once Strathclyde created. Rates to rise by 30% in three years. Housing accommodation not immediately affected, because the old County Council building programme was to be conserved, expectations of higher rate of house building did not then materialise. House loans were made more available for some. Hospital services: none identified. Education: none identified. Amongst other services that of the local police force was best improved - 6 new policemen and 4 wardens were allocated to the area.
3. Employment: none identified

Old employers' ties severed, some laid off, unable to return to former bosses. Those turned away from Ardyne (after SNP MP had intervened on behalf of local employers) envious of those employed at Ardyne.

4 Tourism: 12.2% of the travellers on the ferries interviewed stated that USN personnel had ill effect upon Dunoon and/or locality, and 10.2% that both the USN and Ardyne workers had a bad effect upon Dunoon and/or locality. The majority of these stated that the worse effect of the USN was on Dunoon.

4 Tourism: 45.9% of the travellers on the ferries state that Ardyne personnel had ill effect upon Dunoon and/or locality. Many praised the warmth and the hospitality of the people. Most agreed that Ardyne workers had a worse effect upon Dunoon, in particular.

4 Tourism to be an outside responsibility within the Region. Many locals were sceptical about Glasgow's ability to publicise the attractions of the locality.

THE EFFECTS UPON THE POLITICAL-SCAPE

2.2.1. The USN Impact

1. As a political issue the issue of Polaris was dead during the autumn General Election of 1974. SNP Manifesto against retention of Polaris, but the campaigners did not quote this, there being a fear that they might alienate some of the local influentials who clearly had always supported the Base.

2. The "status quo" in terms of local controls and power was reinforced by the USN senior staff. The local Town Council members were courted by the Captains and Commander.

2.2.2 The McAlpine Impact

1. As a political issue the issue of oil was central at the autumn election of '74. Ardyne was caught up in the general debate. The SNP MP made much of the issue of England not planning realistically, and the rush of industrialists and engineers to create sites without regard for local need. Too many were created, so people suffered needlessly locally.

2. The "status quo" in terms of local controls and power was not reinforced by the Ardyne venture. The County Council was contacted, but it was soon to be disestablished, as also the Dunoon Town Council. The latter was by-passed, and Town Councillors were not consulted, and the SNP MP took on a central role in negotiations with management at Ardyne.

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2.2.3 The Strathclyde Impact

1. As a political issue the issue of regionalization was very much an SNP bugbear. The party wanted the National Assembly to become the central administration machinery in an independent Scotland. The local SNP MP made much of the issue, and many locals took sides leading to further political divisions between Tories and SNP electors.

2. The "status quo" in terms of local controls and power was altered dramatically. An elected Town Council -- "the local parliament" -- was completely destroyed after a century of rule locally. The County Council also went, but most locals had little time for the County Councillors at Lochgilphead. Lochgilphead, in fact, became the District HQ. Dunoon lost out badly.

3. Outscape political conflict was brought into the locality regarding the black American issue. It affected youth locally, but was a bigger problem for senior staff at the Base. It was to cause problems later on shore with the riot, although the riot had been triggered off by conflict over girls rather than by a political issues, but it was the latent feelings about black power which surfaced.

3. Outscape-political conflicts in Ulster were raised within the locality as issues amongst the navvies. Some locals were involved, probably because of the presence of the Orange Lodge. Local tolerance had been a feature; with Ardyme workers coming into the area, together with the establishment of the Lodge, friction arose and as graffiti showed, caused a great deal of hostility between groups.

3 Outscape political conflicts associated with the Labour and Tory confrontations in Glasgow had consequences locally, because the SNP and Tory electors feared that the Labour hold at that time on city politics might alter the scene locally, where local councillors tended not to be elected on any party ticket. Local elections took on a new dimension after Strathclyde, caught up as they were with the politics of the city of Glasgow and of other industrial cities of "the other side".

T H E E F F E C T S

2.2.1. The USN Impact

1. Customary behavioural patterns were affected. Younger girls under sixteen years of age dated sailors. Greater sexual permissiveness was commented upon in the press. The national press cited the local trend. The illegitimate rate in 1962 doubled. Over time the sailors found their way to "the other side", where they had access to prostitutes, which removed much of the stress locally. Deviancy in the form of drug addiction also increased locally. The Americans also added to the breaches of the peace and to careless driving in the area. Fighting over local girls, certainly conflict, between local men and USN personnel erupted into a major naval riot, which also had racial undertones.

U P O N T H E C U L T U R A L - S C A P E

2.2.2. The McAlpine Impact

1. Customary behavioural patterns had suffered hardly any impact, apart from the occasional fight with local or USN men. The illegitimate rate also rose dramatically but it appeared that the women involved were from "the other side", who accompanied the men together with a growing number of men of "no fixed abode". The navvies were responsible for breaches of the peace and for drunken behaviour.

2.2.3. The Strathclyde Impact

1. Customary behavioural patterns: none identified.

2. Effects upon family life varied between those who had an American son-in-law, or enjoyed contact with the USN personnel and dependents, or those who looked upon the USN personnel as a sexual threat to their daughters, and those who could not stand their sense of superiority. Americans emphasized the status of the family and believed in it as an institution. Locals did sometimes admire the stability of USN marriages. Wives locally were impressed with the US wives' greater freedom.

3. Effects upon religion was such that the US worshippers associated with the parishioners of the minority churches rather than with the Presbyterians. The Baptists and Roman Catholics had more contact than most. Of all the 90 who had either a daughter married to a USN partner, or who were corresponding with USN incomers who had left the area, or who had been currently in contact with American incomers locally, none were Presbyterians.

4. Effects on entertainment and sporting pastimes felt upon the stage, but this did not alter the Scot's preference for traditional Scottish humour and Scottish music and dance. The American influence on local sporting pastimes was more apparent. But, shinty, football and golf, were still very much the local preferences.

5. Effects on clubs and associations was less obvious. Only the YMCA and the Scottish-American Ladies Club appeared to be joint.

6. Effects on drinking habits was not widespread, because the Scots preferred their own drinks. Some

2. Effects upon family life were not dramatic in terms of influence, but some families had an altered pattern because the young sons did not have to leave Dunoon since Ardyne offered some of them employment. Jealousies between families followed upon the changed life-style of those where some had been employed at Ardyne. Longer hours and weekend work disturbed some families.

3. Effects upon religion with regard to parish involvement was almost non-existent. With regard to religious conflict, there was some evidence of abrasive encounters, as shown by the toilet graffiti.

4. Effects on entertainment and sporting pastimes; none identified.

5. Effects on clubs and associations; none identified.

6. Effects on drinking habits was evident amongst the men in Dunoon, who shifted their time and place of

2. Effects upon family life; none identified.

3. Effects upon religion; none identified.

4. Effects on entertainment and sporting pastimes; none identified.

5. Effects on clubs and associations; none identified.

6. Effects on drinking habits; none identified.

Effects upon the cultural-scape contd..
Luncheon pubs catered for the USN incomers. The Americans tended to keep to one in particular at the top of Argyll Street.

Approximately 26 % more women residents (interviewed in the 6% sample) than male residents criticised the USN personnel. They tended to be from lower socio-economic groupings. They were amongst the youngest and least married of the under 30s.

In contrast, 415 girls had married USN personnel between 1961-'73.

drinking to avoid confrontations with the Ardyne navvies. Some pubs, however, were happier because of the navvies, who helped to bring good cheer to them in the dull winter nights.

Approximately 49% more male residents (interviewed in the 6% sample) than women residents criticised the Ardyne workers. They were from both the lower and higher socio-economic groupings.

Although the issue of Strathclyde had caused divisions before and at first did implementation, people became more united as they became more disturbed by the changes which affected them more uniformly than did the impacts of the USN and McAlpine incomers

3. The Synthesis:

Putting together the component parts into a meaningful whole entails the fusion of separate elements of thought, as contained within the observations of the preceding chapters, and of the analytical notes and in particular of Chapter 2.

3.1. The first component - the intrusion of the outscape in the local-scape :

The three impacts exemplified the strategy of militarists, industrialists, and bureaucrats, whose tactics follow the same lines of action. They were all carried out in the name of the higher or common good. They all created local division, or ambivalence, with regard to their schemes. They all promised local benefits. They were all characterised by "a show" of democratic free discussion, or even open protest, but "de facto" negotiated by secrecy and "in camera". At the same time, they were all supremely autocratic acts, whose deliberations were of intrigue, and whose priorities were those of self-interest in the outscape, whatever the costs to the local-scape, which they exploited, regardless. Surprise and alacrity were the key to their success, but only after a pre-phase was created, in which the divisions could take place. Once people were divided over the issue(s) involved, the plans could be implemented. When the plans were devised and thought up in the wider outscape, as the Polaris invasion was, the scheme was bound to be more clandestine, more unpredictable, and fraught with greater uncertainties.

The conjuncture of events in the wider and nearer outscape created many changes affecting the familiar local life-pattern. What was determined in advance in the circles of power within the wider outscape, in particular, had more impact upon the familiar pattern of life in Cowal than the decisions and events within the local scape of Dunoon and its locality.

3.2. The second component - the episode of change which accompanied each

impact: Initial shock created confusion, and totally unpredictable periods in which what was really happening was eclipsed by the local concern with less significant implications. Once the spin-offs took place, the local

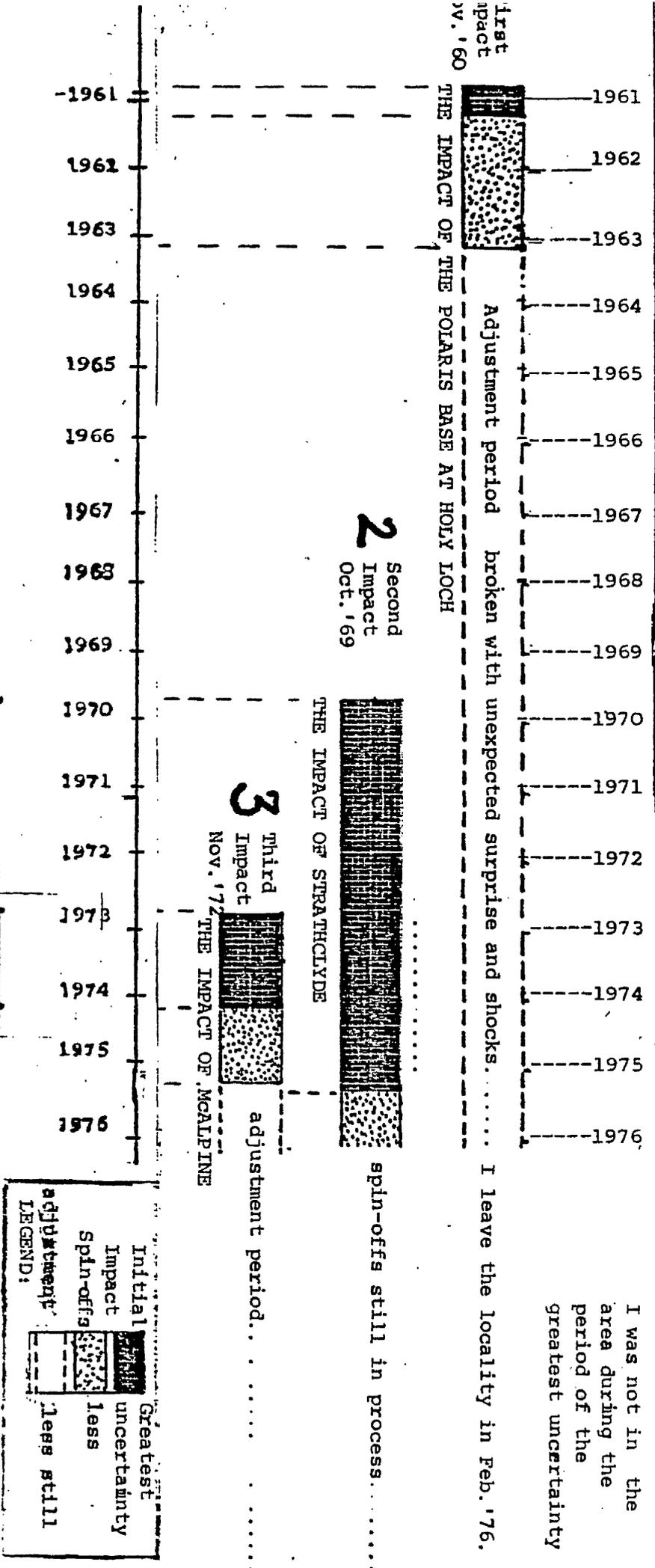
people would be preoccupied with the spin-offs, and overlook the long term effects, or the intent of the strategy in the first instance. There are some who gain and some who lose, as spin-offs affect people diversely. Divisions increase. For example, the Ardyne impact was welcomed by the local workers, and decried by many local employers who lost them to Ardyne.

3.3. The third component - the temporal dimension and the conjuncture of events and lags :

In Diagram I, each of the three phases of each of the three impacts are set out running in parallel lines. They are separately drawn in this way for clearer identification regarding the chronology. Over the period they created overlays. With their conjuncture, the people had to contend with all three at the same time, and in the same locality. It is evident that the period of the greatest uncertainty was between November 1972 and March 1974. As can be seen from the diagram, there were then three converging impacts, two of which were initial, and the third in the phase of uneasy adjustment. It was as though people were moving through a maze, and the further they went in the passage of time, the more uncertain they became. The unexpected conjuncture of events crowded in upon them disconcertingly in the period between November 1972 and March 1974.

In the period between November 1972 and March 1974 (incl.) the USN effects were still visible: there was unrest over the influx of US children into local schools; the US riots took place; and there was protest over the over-usage of the local hospital by USN incomers. The Ardyne incomers had begun to make their negative impact: the exodus of workers to Ardyne had begun, and public services were suffering, as buses were withdrawn for the lack of local drivers; as plumbers and joiners and mechanics left their jobs to seek the better wages at Ardyne. The Strathclyde implementation in May 1975 looked ominous at that time, as it hung for many like a sword of Damocles over the Town Council and the Dunoon provost.

DIAGRAM 1: THE OVERLAP OF IMPACT EPISODES AND THE LEVELS OF DISTURBED ROUTINES:



Between Nov. '72 and March '74 there was a conjuncture of two initial impacts, and a period of uneasy adjustment to the USN invasion.

If one compares the days of initial shock, when the Polaris Base was announced, and the national and international publicity given to the demonstrations at the Holy Loch in the early sixties, the period between November 1972 and March 1974 seems to register far less reaction. We know, however, that apart from the Sandbank people, the local residents did not join the demonstrators. The CND movement had not touched them, and led by the Town Council of Dunoon many local people appeared at first to welcome the USN. Some were more concerned about the invading "beatnicks" and the damage that they were doing to the tourist trade. The people of the local-scape appeared, throughout the USN intrusion, to have been able to detach themselves from the issues discussed on "the other side". Only when their personal lives were affected, did they collectively demonstrate concern. In the episode of change, consciousness is dulled, and when one impact after another takes place, it is difficult to adjust, as lags in awareness occur.

Returning to the temporal dimension, it was clear throughout my period in the locality, that there was hope that in time the USN submarines and vessels would pull out, and that the navvies would leave the locality for good. That hope anchored them in the turmoil, and many said so to me, often referring to the day when the submarines would sail out, and the navvies would move out.

3.4. The fourth component - the dimension of the familiar :

I referred early in the thesis to "particularity": There is first the familiar setting, and then the familiar local behaviour.

The familiar skyline and seascape in Cowal remained much the same for most local residents for most of the time, except for those around Holy Loch and around Ardyne. Familiar sounds and sights for many around these spots were affected by the impacts of the alien invasions.

However, the ecological-scape remained attractive to most of the people of Cowal, although some had moved out of the area around the Holy Loch. But, even in this situation, there were undoubtedly some who were moving in, particularly from "the other side". As stated already, there was the overall hope that the Base would one day close down.

The familiar features of the political-scape endured throughout the USN presence, and as we have seen was in fact reinforced. The Town Council had an influential role to play, meeting prominent American officials and politicians.

This contrasted with the Ardyne intrusion, where-throughout, the function of the Town Council was not reinforced, but rather the Town Council was a spectator of events at Ardyne, where it had no jurisdiction. Negotiations were carried out with the County Council and with the SNP MP. It was the SNP MP who had a prime role throughout. His election success coincided with the Ardyne job issue. He attempted to enhance his SNP standing locally, but it turned sour, when he had to stem the flow of local men to Ardyne, after having taken positive steps to encourage them to work there. What about the Strathclyde impact ?

As an MP, McCormick had to give priority, first to the SNP declared view that Strathclyde was an imposition and should be abolished. Most people at that time were supporters of the SNP MP. in Cowal, and many agreed that Strathclyde should be abolished. Strathclyde brought the Cowal people into the grander arena in which the Labour Party played a more dominant role and held sway over a large segment of the electorate, so that the situation altered the power-play for local councillors, who had to deal with Glasgow Labour Party committee members. Party politics also invaded the once party-free local elections. The greatest blow to the familiar local political features was the abolition of the Dunoon Town Council. Local political

status revolved around having a seat in the Council Chambers at Castle House.

It was ended in May '75, and the effect together with fears of Labour interference from Glasgow City Chambers upon local affairs, or of higher and higher rates, and lower and lower standards in local public services, crowded in upon the people when I left in Feb. '76. Familiar local faces no longer ruled their destinies. For some, this was welcomed, because "their" faces did not fit in with those of the Town Council, but most were saddened by the demise of their local Parliament.

With regard to the demise of the Argyll County Council, which had wider jurisdiction over Cowal, people now had less immediate access to the Director of Education, who used to preside at Dunoon. In addition, there had been a build-up of ill feeling between Cowal people and the Lochgilphead offices of the County Clerk. There had been hopes that Dunoon, not Lochgilphead would be the District HQ. The familiar war between Cowal people and the Lochgilphead officials, therefore, was stepped up after May '75. They now had to have more dealings with Lochgilphead than ever before, and it riled many.

The familiar features of the economic-scape changed because the town of Dunoon had become a naval garrison town. The winter and summer cycle was no longer so marked. The local tourist and holiday trade had been on the wane for years, but the bad USN publicity over the years had not helped to pull the area out of the deflated tourist economy. The advent of the navvies further aggravated the situation. Strathclyde's impact further disheartened local people, because they feared that their tourist goals would come very low down on the list of priorities in Glasgow. However, the people still hung onto their image of the locality as a Scottish prime resort, believing that the scenic beauty, which had endured and survived the ravages of the USN and McAlpine intrusions, would still attract peop

The familiar pattern of local services was also affected by the American invasion, for example, educational provision in local schools was altered. Locals paid their rates so that their children could have priority treatment. In fact, local children were moved out from a local school to make room for US children, a well remembered instance. Some complained that the lessons were altered to suit the American children, whose schooling commenced a year later in the States, so that the age-lag meant that teachers had difficulty in coping with more disparate age groups. However, some welcomed the presence of children from across the Atlantic, because they added to the classroom discussions and gave local education a new and broader dimension.

The familiar features of the cultural-scape were more dramatically affected by the USN invasion and the McAlpine intrusion in Dunoon and its locality.

Firstly, the male chavinism of some USN seamen, and the cultural-lag between the American incomers' heterosexual behaviour and that of the local youth in Cowal, created conflicts, but the more liberal behaviour was also welcomed by many of the young. The more permissive American attitude and behaviour was in marked contrast with the more conservative Presbyterian "mores" that dominated the local scene. At the same time, many girls married the American seamen in Dunoon, and there were indications that local youth marrying outsiders had existed for years, but never had the local girls married incomers from so far afield, and in such numbers. Inevitably, the local-scape was linked by marital outscape networks.

Nonetheless, there was a marked antagonism amongst some of the girls in the locality for the Americans; and most of the people who criticised the American personnel in my random 6% sample were women. It could be that they were more sensitive to the nuclear issues; perhaps, they were more offended by the USN male chauvinism; or jealous of their peers, who had married out of the locality into the brighter lights of the wider outscape across the Atlantic. The men in my sample had been less antagonistic, but 10 out of the 12 men under 30 years of age, were amongst the 36 persons whom I had found to be most vehement in their hatred for Americans. There was evidence that younger men sometimes despised USN seamen. Certainly, many had been put out by the sailors, who had often taken away their local girlfriends. Before the coming of the Americans there had been more choice of female company for the men, but less choice of local males for the girls, because many local men left the area.

Family life, religious life and practices, club life, music and dance, remained much the same. Their "utilities" endured, although there were some innovations, such as more Americanised forms of worship and entertainment.

With regard to the McAlpine navy intrusion, it was evident that the quiet familiar Cowal roads were altered by the drunken behaviour of the men, especially in Dunoon. People were afraid to walk in certain streets at night, and even in the vicinity of the pier at lunchtime. Familiar roads now became a threat to locals, and the men avoided the public houses frequented by the navvies, where they had once drunk their pints in peace over the years.

Religious antagonisms began to emerge, as Irish workers daubed "Up the Pope; to hell with King Billy" on walls. In Glasgow, where hostility existed between Catholics and Protestants, green stood for Catholic

loyalties, and blue for those of the Protestants. The green helmets of the Irish navvies, boarding green vans or green buses, now began to incense local youths, when once religious tolerance in school and at home were a marked feature of the locality.

What had once been essentially a peaceful locality, was now beset with more deviant behaviour, judging by the appearances in the Sheriff Courts of sailors, navvies and locals in breach of the peace, and of a growing number of youths convicted of drug abuse.

It is not therefore surprising that hundreds of locals criticised the incomers during my interviews in the locality. In addition, 63.8% of the women, in contrast with 19.9% of the men, said that they would be glad to see the possible closure of the Base, and 74.5% of the men in contrast with 25.5% of the women,* said that they would be glad to see the possible closure of the Ardyne complex. The women were more concerned with the USN presence, and the men with the Ardyne navvies. In my conversations, the men spoke of the jobs that were denied them at the Ardyne site, and of the lucky ones with the big wages. Most of the younger men, however, as we have seen, were very antagonistic towards the American incomers, in my 6% sample. They had appeared to resent the way the incoming sailors had attracted some of the local girls.

3.5 The fifth component - the social inscape :

I am here focussing upon the shared views of people which sediment, over time, as people share and discuss the same routines or the local round of life. It is therefore experiential, and is of a different order from sharing reported details about events beyond the local scape. It has two elements: experience

* See Appendix 9.5 for full data .

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of the phenomena, and also shared views about it. I have already defined the concept of "social inscape".

The reason why I interviewed so many of the residents, was to tap their experience and views. Local views may converge, and the shared experience of living through impacts begins to indicate common plight and stress, or shared benefits. It is only when people communicate their plight and stress with others in the same milieu that their singular experience takes on a plural social dimension.

In the period studied, Sandbankers had shared with each other the initial shock when Proteus sailed up the Holy Loch, and 300 of them protested. They shared their complaints about the noise ever since, in the local press, probably over fences, and almost certainly in Dunoon shopping centre, a matter to which I will return shortly.

In the period studied, the people, indicated in the Press through the "Safety Valve" of the Dunoon Observer, and through local meetings of parents, that they were dissatisfied with the treatment their children were having in the local schools, because of the American children overcrowding their primary classrooms. Collective action and protest were the outcome of shared views concerning shared experiences.

In the period studied, people shared their dissatisfaction across the local settlements about the drunks on the Dunoon pavements in the town centre, which came out of experiencing the walk through town. When I was in the town, in those days, or on the boat, people were raising the matter in conversation all round.

In the period studied, the protest sessions at Toward of local Ardyne and Inverchaolain people, indicated with some feeling that the proximity of McAlpine's complex upset them. Their feelings, however, were not so well supported by people from elsewhere, simply because people elsewhere were not going through the same experience, and many in fact stood to gain by the advent of job opportunities at Ardyne, whilst others spoke of the national need.

I have already cited the complaints people were making, under the last heading when I spoke of the way each of the scapes were affected. This present dimension deals with the shared views. Because people spoke of their views to me I could hardly conclude that they were sharing their views with others - perhaps they kept them to themselves. In addition, there remained the problem of discovering, with whom did they share their views?

The shared gossip in Dunoon, as indicated in the interviews, concerning the incomers and Strathclyde, did help to show that in "social inscape" terms, people were then sharing their antipathy for the new Region, and that whether they were sharing their views about the USN, or navy incomers, they did so to a very large extent in Dunoon centre.

In addition, we have seen how over 200 people shared the same cognitive map of the locality. There existed some consensus with regard to size and boundary.

.6. The sixth component has to do with the subjective dimension:

Although this is not a psychological study, and although I have already stated that I am not studying the singular inscape experience "per se", nonetheless I had to comment upon the people who were consciously or unconsciously escapist, or unaware of what was happening locally. They presented an anomaly locally.

People may choose to live in the past or the future, rather than in the present. In the terms of this study, the former live in the "inscape of yesterday", the latter in the "inscape of tomorrow".

There were people whom I met who did not appear to be aware of the USN, nor even the McAlpine navy presence. Some of them, in fact, did not seem to perceive the changed world all around them: they were still living with impressions of long ago, when Dunoon was the "gem of the Costa Clyde" and the promenades were thronged. Most of these were older people, but were not housebound. They talked as if the place had not changed from the old days, with never a mention of the incomers.

We saw how Ogburn spoke of "selective forgetting". There were clearly some who forgot the days of CND protest, or cut out the realities that were too threatening for them. Whether these were conscious or unconscious processes, I could not tell, but having talked with 803 local people in the interview situation, and lived locally, I had come across people who appeared to be cut off from the realities.

Others were living in the present, but because of the complex overlay of the three impacts, there were necessarily lags in people's perception and awareness of what was happening. There were lags between those for whom the impacts meant many things, and for whom there were felt effects which varied and contrasted by reason of the diverse social circumstances of each.

There were also those who were living for tomorrow, when the locality could be restored to its former status as "gem of the costa Clyde". They appeared to be living in hope, and spoke of Ardyne "tomorrow" with its marina, and of the locality as thronged with visitors, and not a US sailor in sight.

These 6 components make up the main elements of surprise intrusions .Firstly, external surprise events invade the local-scape which is subject to invasion from outscapes beyond its confines. Secondly, people within its limits come under initial shock, spin-offs, and uneasy adaptations. Thirdly, with the conjuncture of events, lags in awareness and reaction occur. Fourthly, uneven effects are created ecologically, economically, politically, and culturally, in the milieu to which people belong. Fifthly, the same or similar events are shared locally, creating plural social inscapes of life locally. Sixthly, some appear to be unaware of the events, living in the inscape of yesterday or of tomorrow, as they disengage themselves consciously, or unconsciously, from the present implications of living under impact.

ENDING:

The local history had been one of recurring invasions. In fact, when the locality in the last century became a leading Scottish resort, it was the invasion of Renfrewshire and Glasgow business people and hoteliers which made tourism a reality. The hospitality of the people to the incoming strangers, and their love of the landscape and the seascape, had made the locality's tourist trade a logical outcome. Their "cultural utilities" were not changed, but extended and perfected in the summer trade of making strangers welcome; and when the summer season ended, they could return to their close-knit Cowal networks.

The American incomers from the wider outscape and the workers from the nearer outscape were not a threat because they were strangers: the locals had long tradition in coping with strangers, but it was the threat they posed to that very tradition of welcoming strangers that upset many in East Cowal.

They were strangers who did not want to come to Cowal. Unlike summer visitors, they were either sent as part of their military duty, or they came for the work at Ardyne. The USN incomers were coerced into it, and the Ardyne came only for the big wages. And more important, the locality was forced and bulldozed into accepting the situation. We have seen how some wanted the USN and workers to come, and hoped for prosperity, but in the end many of them suffered greatly from "let down", as the area did from "run down".

It was the Strathclyde impact, however, which appeared to have worried many of the people more with regard to the unknown future. There was a growing sense of fatalism, when I was in the area, that was common to both the rural and the Burgh areas after implementation of Strathclyde. The incomers would leave, but what about the Region? Their local Parliament had gone, and Lochgilphead now lorded over Dunoon, which to many was like the unpopular rule of the Campbells from the castle hill. And Glasgow, from which many had come to spend their retirement in the rural beauty of Cowal, now loomed: ominously as a threatening bureaucracy on the horizon; as incongruous to the local scene as the Inverkip Tower was on the Firth representing the threat of the metropolis to the periphery of life, where people used to go to escape from the urban sprawl and impersonal administration.

When I left the locality I wondered what the long-term effects of Strathclyde would be in ecological, political, economic and cultural terms. The uncertainties loomed larger than they did with regard to the USN and Ardyne effects. As one local resident put it, "Dunoon people and the people who live in their pairts know that the yanks and the navvies will go. We're here for good, and when they've gone folk willnie know that they had ever bin here, but Strathclyde's a different kettle o'fish - it's here forever. What it'll dae tae all o' us a dinnae know, but a'm feert a tell ye".

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER TWELVE

- 1 Garnet, T (1978), as cited in the Radio Times (1978, 15th-21st April) UK p. 35 (Garnet - drama producer to "Law and Order", BBC Documentary).
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A P P E N D I C E S

A P P E N D I X 1.

FIRST SOUNDINGS IN THE LOCALITY DURING ELECTION CAMPAIGN
OCTOBER, 1974 (DATA SHEETS)

NOTE :

There are approximately 130 inhabited streets, lanes and terraces within the Burgh, so it was decided to interview one in each of these, which would mean contacting five people a day in the period, which was manageable, and at the same time it would spread the catchment net throughout the settlements of Dunoon, Kirn and Hunters Quay, all of which lay within the Burgh. Needless to say, visitors "furth" (outside) the Burgh would also be contacted, so that although the interviewing could not be wholly representative of the local population in Eastern Cowal, it might provide quite a wide coverage and was the best one could establish within the short time-span. It also served an exploratory purpose which could not be postponed because of the need to capture the peculiarly emotive nature of the election period.

- 1.1 Interview format during Election campaign, Autumn 1974 used between September, Monday 9th - October except Sundays.
- 1.2 List 1: the number of interviewees by sex and place of residence.
(a) females (b) males.
- 1.3 List 2: (a) 61 females: age groups and occupations
(b) female occupations in totals
(c) 69 males: age groups and occupations
(d) male occupations in totals
- 1.4 List 3: (a) the national and local issues raised by the 48 females resident in Dunoon Burgh.
(b) the national and local issues raised by the 13 females from outside of Dunoon Burgh in surrounding area.
(c) the national and local issues raised by the 52 males from Dunoon Burgh.
(d) the national and local issues raised by the 17 males "furth" of Dunoon Burgh.
- 1.5 Tables:
1. The issues put first by the 48 interviewees who only brought up national issues.
 2. The national issues put before local issues by the 66 interviewees: the times mentioned, times only one national issue, and the times put first when more than one national issue.
 3. The local issues raised by the 66 interviewees who brought up both national and local issues: the number of times mentioned in conjunction with national issues; times when one local issue only was mentioned.
 4. The local issues raised by those who only brought up local issues: the times mentioned, sole mention and the issue put first.
- 1.6 Mention of USN/Ardyne/Strathclyde Issues and/or related matters overheard during the eaves dropping period.

1.1 The Interview format during the election campaign of Autumn 1974
September 9th - October 8th except Sundays.

Introduction:

"Excuse me; sorry to trouble you. I am engaged in research at Glasgow University, making a study of the area here in Cowal. Here is my ID Card. I am not connected with any Party - I am only interested in what you feel about things during this election campaign. May I ask you some questions, please?"

If he/she consents: "I take it you have a vote?" If not, the interview is terminated.

If he/she has: "Are you a resident in one of these places, or areas?" (The interviewee is shown a card with the following place names: Ardentinny, Kilmun, Blairmore, Strone, Rashfield, Benmore, Glen Lean, Glen Masson, Port Lamont, Inverchaolain, Innellan, Bullwood, Toward, Sandbank, Ardnadam, Hunters Quay, Kirn, Dunoon). If not, the interview is terminated.

If so, ask: "What do you think ought to be discussed during this election campaign?"

If answered add: "What discussion would you say should be uppermost?"

Ask: "Are you presently employed?" If so "Part-time, full-time, or self-employed?"

"What is your present occupation?"

If not employed: "What is your usual occupation?" or (where relevant) "Are you retired?" if so "What was your usual occupation?"

Ask: "Are you married?" If not "Are you single/separated, widowed,/divorced?"
The interviewee is shown a card with age groups printed upon it in large letters (18/19-20/21-29/30-44/45-55/56-64/64+) and asked:
 "To which of these age-groups do you belong?"

Ending: "Thank you for your cooperation. What you have said will be useful for the research, but no one will have any idea who made the statements."

1.2 List 1:The number of interviewees by sex and place of residence:

(a)	Females (N=61)	(b)	Males (N=69)	Place	TOTAL
	48		52	Dunoon Burgh	100
	7		10	Sandbank	17
	2		4	Innellan	6
	1		0	Toward	1
	2		0	Strone	2
	1		2	Kilmun	3
	0		1	Benmore	1
	61		69	East Cowal	130

There were therefore 13 females/17 males interviewed who came from outside of the Burgh of Dunoon ("furth" of the Burgh) living in Eastern Cowal. These were interviewed for the most part in the central streets.

1.3 List 2(a) 61 females: age groups and occupations*

Age Group	Occupation	N	TOTAL
18	Shop assistants	2	3
	Student	1	
19-20	Housewives	4	9
	Shop assistant	1	
	Student	1	
	Nurse	1	
	Packer	1	
	Barmaid	1	
21-29	Nurses	3	15
	Housewives	3	
	Barmaids	2	
	Hotel maids	2	
	Shop assistants	2	
	Teacher	1	
	Canteen assistant	1	
	Landlady	1	
30-44	Housewives	7	10
	Pottery worker	1	
	Waitress	1	
	Hairdresser	1	
45-55	Housewife	1	4
	Saleswoman	1	
	Minister's wife	1	
	Shop assistant	1	
56-64	Housewives	7	8
	Retired teacher	1	
65+	Housewives	11	12
	Retired Nurse	1	
18-65+	TOTAL		61

* All F/T Employment

(b) Female occupations in totals:

Occupations	No.
Housewives	33
Shop assistants	6
Nurses	4
Barmaids	3
Students	2
Hotel maids	2
Packer	1
Landlady	1
Teacher	1
Retired Teacher	1
Retired Nurse	1

Cont.d

Female occupations in totals: (continued)

Occupation	No.
Minister's wife	1
Saleswoman	1
Hairdresser	1
Waitress	1
Pottery worker	1
Canteen assistant	1
<hr/>	
16 different occupations	61 women
<hr/>	
None self-employed	

Note:

The occupations were expressed as above by the interviewees. It will be noticed that the Minister's wife gave her role as her occupation.

(c) 69 males: age groups and occupations:*

Age groups	Occupations	No.	TOTALS	
18	Dental technician	1	4	
	Merchant navy seaman	1		
	Student	1		
	Technician	1		
19-20	Labourer	3	8	
	Electrician	2		
	TV engineer	1		
	Computer operator	1		
	Sawmill worker	1		
21-29	Painter and decorator	3	18	
	Electricians	3		
	Telephone engineers	2		
	Inland Revenue Officer	1		
	T V Engineer	1		
	Musician	1		
	Labourer	1		
	Shop-keeper	Self-employed		1
	Oil rig ganger	1		
	School teacher	1		
	Bricklayer	1		
	Joiner	1		
	Mechanic			
30-44	Merchant navy seamen	2	11	
	Painter and decorator	Self-employed		1
	Labourer			1
	Boatbuilder	Self-employed		1
	Residential Child Care Officer			1
	Hotelier	Self-employed		1
	Forestry worker			1
	Ship's Captain			1
	Shop-keeper	Self-employed		1
45-55	Labourer	2	6	
	Machine fitter	1		
	Gardener	1		
	Forestry worker	1		
56-64	Taximan	Self-employed	2	
	School janitor		1	
	Forestry worker		1	
	Shop-Keeper	Self-employed	1	
	Chef		1	
65+	Retired; Postman (1); Teachers (2); Joiner (1); Plumber (1); Salesman (1); Barman (1); Builder (2); Shopkeepers(2); Gardener (2); coachbuilder (1); yacht builder (1); clerk (1)		16	
18-65+	TOTAL		69	

* All F/T Employment

(d) Male occupations in Totals:

Occupations	No.
1. <u>Actively Employed:</u>	
(All F/T Employed)	
Labourers	7
Electricians	5
Painters & Decorators	4
Forestry Workers	3
Shopkeepers	3
Merchant Navy Seamen	3
T.V. Engineers	2
Taximen	2
Telephone Engineers	2
Bricklayers	1
Gardener	1
Machine Fitter	1
Musician	1
Ship's Captain	1
Inland Revenue	1
School Janitor	1
Computer Operator	1
Technician	1
Dental Technician	1
Ganger (Ardyne McAlpine Employee)	1
School Teacher	1
Joiner	1
Hotelier	1
Mechanic	1
Chef	1
Sawmill Worker	1
Boatbuilder	1
TOTAL	49
2. <u>Non-Employed</u>	
Student	1
Builder	2
Shopkeeper	2
Teacher	2
Gardener	2
Joiner	1
Plumber	1
Clerk	1
Salesman	1
Gardener	1
Coach Builder	1
Yacht Builder	1
Postman	1
TOTAL	17

1.4 List 3: National and local issues raised by interviewees in Burgh of Dunoon, who were resident in Eastern Cowal.

(a) National and local issues raised by the 48 females resident in Dunoon Burgh;

Age Group	Marital Status	Occupation*	National issues raised	Local issues raised
18	S	Student	Price control	None
	S	Shop Asst	Greater say for Scot.	None
19-20	M	Housewife	Inflation	None
	M	Housewife	Wage control	None
	S	Student	Price control	None
	S	Barmaid	None	None
	S	Student	Inflation	None
	M	Nurse	None	None
	M	Packer	Price control	(US blacks to go (Reduce fares on boats
	S	Shop Asst	Price control	US blacks out
21-29	M	Housewife	Leave EEC	(More local houses built (More entertainment
	M	Shop Asst	(Choice of right party (National Assembly	None
	M	Landlady	(Greater say for Scot (Choice of right party (Inflation	Development of area
	S	Nurse	(Inflation (Price controls	Reduce fares on ferries
	M	Teacher	(Inflation (Wage control	More local entertainment
	S	Nurse	(Inflation (Wage controls (Better terms for EEC	None
	S	Nurse	(Inflation (Unemployment (National Assembly	(Develop area (Out of Strathclyde
	S	Nurse	Inflation	(Removal of US sailors (Building of homes for US personnel and not for locals
	M	Housewife	(Greater say for Scot (Oil for Scotland	None
	S	Barmaid	None	None
	S	Hotel dom	Greater say	(Removal of US blacks (reduce fares

*All occupations full time, unless otherwise stated

(a) continued.....

Age Group	Marital Status	Occupation *	National issues raised	Local issues raised
30-44	M	Housewife	(Independence (Curb the Unions (Wage control (Price control	None
	M	Pottery worker	(Choice of right party (Greater say for Scot	None
	M	Housewife	Independence	None
	M	Hotel waitress	Price control	(Rent control (More entertainment
	M	Housewife	Inflation	None
45-55	S	Saleswoman	Inflation	None
	M	Shop Asst	Oil for Scotland	Develop the area
56-64	M	Housewife	Independence	(Develop the area (Removal of US blacks
	M	Housewife	None	None
	M	Housewife	Greater say for Scot	US personnel to go
	M	Housewife	(Curb Unions (Price control	Removal from Strathclyde
	M	Housewife	(Greater say for Scot (Oil for Scotland (Inflation	(Develop area (Removal from Strathclyde
	S	Housekeeper	Inflation Oil for Scotland Greater say for Scot	None
65+	M	Housewife	Inflation	None
	M	Housewife	Inflation	None
	M	Housewife	(Right choice of party (Social contract	None
	M	Housewife	(Party choice (Price control	None
	M	Housewife	Price control	None
	M	Housewife	Price control	None
	M	Housewife	None	None
	M	Housewife	(Inflation (Curb the Unions	Develop area
	M	Retired teacher	(Inflation (Greater say for Scot (Removal from EEC	None
	M	Housewife	Independence	Removal from Strathclyde

*All occupations full time, unless otherwise stated.

(b) National and local issues raised by 13 females from outside Dunoon Burgh (surrounding area):

Age Group	Marital Status	Occupation*	National issues raised	Local issues raised
18	S	Shop Asst	(Inflation (Curb unions (Price control	Subsidies & help for local farmers
21-29	M	Hotel maid	(Inflation (Price control	None
	M	Housewife	Inflation	Local housing scarcity Removal of McAlpines
	M	Canteen Asst	None	Develop the area
	S	Barmaid	Inflation	None
30-44	M	Housewife	Support for British farmers	Building of homes for US personnel & not for locals
	M	Housewife	Inflation	Reduce rates
	M	Housewife	(Choice of right Party (Wage control	Removal from Strathclyde
	M	Hairdresser	(Choice of right Party (Nationalisation	Removal of US personnel
45-55	M	Housewife	Inflation	None
	M	Housewife	None	None
65+	M	Housewife	Inflation	Reduce the rates
	S	Retired Nurse	(Price control (Curb the Unions	(Removal of US personnel (Removal of McAlpines

*All occupations full time, unless otherwise stated

(c) National and local issues raised by 52 males from Dunoon:

Age Group	Marital Status	Occupation*	National issues raised	Local issues raised
18	S	Student	(Inflation (Support the Social contract (Greater say for Scot	Jobs for locals at McAlpines
	S	Dental Technician	(Inflation (Independence (Nationalisation	None
	S	Skilled Technician	(Greater say for Scot (Nationalisation	Jobs for locals at McAlpines
	M	Merchant Navy	Greater say for Scot	None
19-20	S	Computer operator	(Nationalisation (Support Social contract	Jobs for locals at McAlpines
	S	Electrician	(Inflation (Oil for Scotland (Removal from EEC	(Removal of US personnel (More entertainment
	S	Labourer	(Inflation (National assembly (Removal from EEC	(Removal from Strathclyde (Removal of McAlpines
	M	Labourer	(Oil for Scotland (Greater say	(Jobs for locals at McAlpines (Homes for local people not US personnel
	S	Sawmill worker	Choice of right party	None
	S	Labourer	Removal from EEC	Removal of McAlpines
	M	TV Engineer	(Inflation (Independence (Oil for Scotland	Removal of US Personnel
	21-29	S	Labourer	(Independence (Inflation
M		Shop-Keeper*	(Inflation (Greater say	None
M		Mechanic	None	None
M		Electrician	(Oil for Scotland (National Assembly (Support social contract	(Jobs for locals at McAlpines Develop the area
M		Electrician	Inflation	Removal of US Personnel
S		Musician	(Nationalisation (Out of EEC	(More entertainment (Out of Strathclyde
M		TV engineer	(Nationalisation (National Assembly (Out of EEC	(More entertainment (Out of Strathclyde
S		Painter & Decorator	(National Assembly (Out of EEC	(US Blacks out (McAlpines out
S		Telephone engineer	Greater say for Scot	(Removal of US Personnel (Removal from Strathclyde
M		Inland Rev officer	(Wage control (Independence	More entertainment
M		School Teacher	(Support social Contract (National Assembly	(Local homes scarcity (McAlpines out

*all occupations full-time unless otherwise stated.

* self-employed

(c) continued.....

Age Group	Marital Status	Occupation*	National issues raised	Local issues raised
30-44	M	Painter and decorator*	Right Party choice	None
	M	Seaman	Greater say for Scot	(US personnel to go (US blacks to go ("Paddies" to go
	M	Painter & decorator	(Inflation (Independence	Removal from Strathclyde
	S	Boatbuilder*	(Inflation (Housing	None
	M	Res. Child Care Officer	Inflation	None
	S	Seaman	Greater say for Scot	None
	M	Factory wkr	None	(Local housing scarcity (Reduce the rates
	M	Ship's Captain	(Independence (Inflation	(Local housing scarcity (Development of area
45-55	S	Labourer	None	None
	S	Labourer	Independence	None
	S	Gardener	None	(Develop area (More entertainment
	M	Factory wkr	Choice of right party	None
	M	Bricklayer	(Inflation (Curb unions (Housing shortage	None
56-64	M	Shopkeeper ^x	(Inflation (More say for Scot	Removal from Strathclyde.
	M	Taximan ^x	(Support Soc. Contr (National Assembly	(Out of Strathclyde (Develop area (More entertainment
	M	Taximan ^x	Independence	Removal of US personnel
65+	M	Rtd Postman	(Inflation (More say for Scot (Price control	More entertainment
	M	Rtd Barman	None	None
	M	Rtd Builder	(United nation (Nationalisation (Housing shortage	(Cut boat fares (Cut freight charges on boats
	M	Rtd Joiner	(Inflation (Choice of Party	None
	S	Gardener	(Curb the Unions (Wage controls (National Assembly (Out of EEC	(Out of Strathclyde (Reduce the rates
	M	Rtd Teacher	(Independence (Curb the Unions (Price control (Wage control	(Out of Strathclyde (Reduce ferry fares
	M	Rtd Plumber	None	(Remove US Personnel (Reduce the rates
	M	Rtd Shopkpr	None	(Reduce the rates (Develop area

*all occupations full-time unless otherwise stated.

^xself-employed

(c) continued

Age Group	Marital Status	Occupation*	National issues raised	Local issues raised
65+	M	Rtd coachbldr	(More say for Scot (Inflation	(Cut boat fares (McAlpine jobs for locals
	M	Rtd Clerk	None	None
	M	Rtd Gardener	Inflation	Out of Strathclyde
	M	Rtd Salesman	(Inflation (Curb the Unions (National Assembly	Out of Strathclyde
	M	Shopkeeper	Nationalisation	Out of Strathclyde

*All occupations full time unless otherwise stated

(d) National and local issues raised by 17 males "Furth" of Dunoon Burgh

Age Group	Marital Status	Occupations*	National Issues raised	Local issues raised
19-20	S	Electrician	Inflation	(US personnel to go (Local rates reduced (Build homes for locals, not US
21-29	S	Ganger	(Oil for Scotland (More say for Scot	Jobs for locals at McAlpines
	S	Painter & decorator	Oil for Scotland	None
	S	Bricklayer	None	None
	S	Painter & decorator	More say for Scot	(US blacks to go (US personnel to go
	S	Joiner	Price control	US personnel to go
	S	Electrician	(Independence (Price control	(US personnel to go (More entertainment
30-44	S	Labourer	Inflation	None
	M	Hotelier ^x	(Independence (Oil for Scotland	None
	M	Shop keeper ^x	Inflation	None
45-55	S	Machine-fitter	Independence	(US personnel to go (Leave Strathclyde
56-64	M	Chef	(Independence (Nationalisation	None
	S	Factory wkr	More say for Scot	Leave Strathclyde
	M	School Janitor	Pensions	US should pay for children's education
	M	Rtd Teacher	None	None
	M	Rtd Yacht builder	(Coalition: united government (Restore capital punishment	(Reduce boat fares (Reduce freight charges on boats
	M	Rtd Builder	Inflation	(McAlpines to go (Develop the area (Jobs for locals at McAlpines

*All occupations are full time unless otherwise stated

^x self-employed

1.5 TABLES: THE ISSUES RAISED

TABLE 1

THE ISSUES PUT FIRST BY THE 48 INTERVIEWEES WHO ONLY BROUGHT UP NATIONAL ISSUES TIMES MENTIONED/SOLE MENTION/AND TIMES PUT FIRST

RESIDENTS IN THE BURGH OF DUNOON N.40									
ISSUES WHICH WERE RAISED	BY MALES N.14			BY FEMALES N.26			TOTALS		
	TIMES	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST	TIMES	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST	TIMES	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST
<u>I. CONCERNING SCOTTISH ISSUES</u>									
1 Independence	3	1	0	2	1	0	5	2	0
2 Greater say for Scotland	4	3	0	5	1	1	9	4	1
3 National Assembly	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
4 Oil for Scotland	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
TOTALS:	7	4	0	10	2	1	17	6	1
<u>II. OTHER ISSUES</u>									
1 Inflation	7	1	6	11	7	3	18	8	9
2 Price Control	0	0	0	8	3	4	8	3	4
3 Wage Control	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	0
4 Social Contract	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
5 Nationalisation	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
6 Housing Scarcity nationwide	2	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	0
7 Choice of Party	4	3	0	6	0	3	10	3	3
8 Curb Unions	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0
9 Removal from EEC	2	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	0
TOTALS:	17	4	6	34	11	10	51	15	16
SUM TOTALS	24	8	6	44	13	11	68	21	17
N.8: RESIDENTS "FURTH" OF THE BURGH OF DUNOON (5 Males, 3 Females)									
<u>I. CONCERNING SCOTTISH ISSUES</u>									
1 Independence	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
2 Oil for Scotland	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
TOTALS:	4	2	1	0	0	0	4	2	1
<u>II. OTHER ISSUES</u>									
1 Inflation	2	2	0	3	2	1	5	4	1

TABLE 1 (continued)

RESIDENTS "FURTH" OF THE BURGH N.8									
ISSUES WHICH WERE RAISED	BY MALES N. 5			BY FEMALES N. 3			TOTALS		
	TIMES	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST	TIMES	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST	TIMES	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST
2 Nationali- sation	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
3 Price Control	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
TOTALS:	3	2	0	4	2	1	7	4	1
SUM TOTALS:	7	4	1	4	2	1	11	6	2
ENTIRE TOTALS FOR 48 INTERVIEWEES	31	12	6	48	15	12	79	27	19

TABLE 2

THE NATIONAL ISSUES PUT BEFORE LOCAL ISSUES BY 66 INTERVIEWEES:
 THE TIMES MENTIONED, TIMES ONLY ONE NATIONAL ISSUE, AND THE TIMES
 PUT FIRST WHEN MORE THAN ONE NATIONAL ISSUE

NATIONAL ISSUES WHICH WERE RAISED	N.48 IN THE BURGH OF DUNOON								
	BY MALES N.30			BY FEMALES N.18			TOTALS		
	TIME	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST	TIMES	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST	TIMES	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST
<u>I SCOTTISH ISSUES</u>									
1 Independence	6	1	3	3	3	3	9	4	6
2 Greater say for Scotland	9	2	4	4	2	2	13	4	6
3 National Assembly	9	0	5	1	0	0	10	0	5
4 Oil for Scotland	5	0	1	3	1	1	8	1	2
TOTALS:	29	3	13	11	6	6	40	9	19
<u>II OTHER ISSUES</u>									
1 Unemployment	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
2 Inflation	12	2	12	9	0	9	2	2	21
3 Price Control	2	0	0	6	3	4	8	3	4
4 Wage Control	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
5 Social Contract	0	0	0	3	0	1	3	0	1
6 Nationalisation	6	1	2	0	0	0	6	1	2
7 National Housing	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
8 Need for national unity	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
9 Choice of right Party	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
10 Curb Unions	3	0	0	3	0	0	6	0	0
11 Removal from EEC	7	0	2	2	2	1	7	2	3
TOTALS:	35	3	17	25	5	15	60	8	32
SUM TOTALS:	64	6	30	36	11	21	100	17	51
N.18 "FURTH OF THE BURGH OF DUNOON: (N.10 males,8 females)									
<u>I SCOTTISH ISSUES</u>									
1 Independence	2	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	2
2 Greater say for Scotland	9	2	4	4	2	2	13	4	6
TOTALS:	11	3	6	4	2	2	15	5	8
<u>II OTHER ISSUES</u>									
1 Pensions	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
2 Inflation	2	2	2	4	3	4	6	5	6
3 Price Control	2	1	1	2	0	1	4	1	2

TABLE 2 (continued)

NATIONAL ISSUES WHICH WERE RAISED	N. 18 "FURTH" OF THE BURGH								
	BY MALES N. 10			BY FEMALES N. 8			TOTALS		
	TIME	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST	TIMES	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST	TIMES	SOLE MENTION	PUT FIRST
4 Wage Control	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
5 Nationali- sation	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
6 Support British Farmers	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
7 Capital Punishment	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
8 Choice of Right Party	0	0	0	2	1	2	2	1	2
9 Coalition	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
TOTALS:	7	4	5	11	5	8	18	9	13
SUM TOTALS:	18	7	11	15	7	10	33	14	21
ENTIRE TOTALS FOR 66 INTERVIEWEES	82	13	41	51	18	31	133	31	72

TABLE 3

THE LOCAL ISSUES RAISED BY THE 66 INTERVIEWEES WHO BROUGHT UP BOTH NATIONAL AND LOCAL ISSUES. THE NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED IN CONJUNCTION WITH NATIONAL ISSUES; TIMES WHEN ONE LOCAL ISSUE WAS MENTIONED

LOCAL ISSUES RAISED DURING THE STREET INTERVIEWS	N.48 IN THE BURGH OF DUNOON					
	BY MALES N.30		BY FEMALES N.18		TOTALS	
	TIMES MENTIONED WITH NATIONAL ISSUE(S)	ONLY LOCAL ISSUE MENT- IONED	TIMES MENTIONED WITH NATIONAL ISSUE(S)	ONLY LOCAL ISSUE MENT- IONED	TIMES MENTIONED WITH NATIONAL ISSUE(S)	ONLY LOCAL ISSUE MENT- IONED
<u>I LOCAL NEEDS .</u>						
<u>AND AMENITIES</u>						
1 Shortage of houses	2	0	0	0	2	0
2 Lower rates demanded	3	1	0	0	3	1
3 Lower rents demanded	0	0	1	0	1	0
4 Lower fares on ferries	3	0	3	1	6	1
5 Lower freight charges on ferries demanded	1	0	0	0	1	0
6 More enter- tainment locally needed	6	2	3	1	9	3
7 Redevelop- ment locally	3	0	7	2	10	2
TOTALS:	18	3	14	4	32	7
<u>II USN PRESENCE</u>						
1 Removal of USN personnel	6	3	2	1	8	4
2 USN Blacks to go	2	0	4	1	6	1
3 USN personnel get houses when locals do not	1	1	0	0	1	1
TOTALS:	9	4	6	2	15	6
<u>III McALPINE PRESENCE</u>						
1 Removal of Irish Labour	1	0	0	0	1	0
2 Removal of Ardyne complex	4	0	0	0	4	0
Jobs for locals at Ardyne	6	3	0	0	6	3
TOTALS:	11	3	0	0	11	3
<u>IV REMOVAL FROM STRATHCLYDE REGION"</u>						
SUM TOTALS:	50	15	25	8	75	23

TABLE 3 (continued)

LOCAL ISSUES RAISED DURING THE STREET INTERVIEWS	N.18 "FURTH" OF THE BURGH GE DUNOON					
	BY MALES N.10		BY FEMALES N.8		TOTALS	
	TIMES MENTIONED WITH NATIONAL ISSUE (S)	ONLY LOCAL ISSUE MENT- IONED	TIMES MENTIONED WITH NATIONAL ISSUE (S)	ONLY LOCAL ISSUE MENT- IONED	TIMES MENTIONED WITH NATIONAL ISSUE (S)	ONLY LOCAL ISSUE MENT- IONED
<u>I LOCAL NEEDS AND AMENITIES</u>						
1 Reduce the rates	1	0	2	2	3	2
2 Reduce freight charge on ferries	1	0	0	0	1	0
3 Reduce fares on ferries	1	0	0	0	1	0
4 More enter- tainment	1	0	0	0	1	0
5 Scarcity of housing	0	0	1	0	1	0
6 Subsidies for farmers	0	0	1	0	1	0
7 Re-development of area	2	0	0	0	2	0
TOTALS:	6	0	4	2	10	2
<u>II USN PRESENCE</u>						
1 Removal of USN personnel	5	1	2	1	7	2
2 USN Blacks to go	0	0	1	0	1	0
3 USN get houses and locals do not	1	0	1	1	2	1
4 USN to pay for education of children	1	1	0	0	1	1
TOTALS:	7	2	4	2	11	4
<u>III McALPINE PRESENCE</u>						
1 Removal of McAlpine complex	1	0	2	0	3	0
Jobs for locals at Ardyne	3	1	0	0	3	1
TOTALS:	4	1	2	0	6	1
<u>IV REMOVAL FROM STRATHCLYDE</u>						
REGION	2	1	1	1	3	2
SUM TOTALS:	19	4	11	5	30	9
GRAND TOTAL:	69	19	36	13	105	32

TABLE 4

THE LOCAL ISSUES RAISED BY THOSE WHO ONLY BROUGHT UP LOCAL ISSUES: THE TIMES MENTIONED, SOLE MENTION AND THE ISSUES PUT FIRST

ISSUES WHICH WERE RAISED	N.4 IN THE BURGH OF DUNOON									
	BY MALES N.4.				NIL FEMALES				TOTALS	
	MENTIONED	SOLE MENTION FIRST	PUT	MENTION FIRST	MENTIONED	SOLE MENTION FIRST	PUT	MENTION FIRST	MENTIONED	SOLE MENTION FIRST
I LOCAL NEEDS AND AMENITIES										
1 Develop the area	2	0	2	-	-	-	-	2	0	2
2 More entertainment	1	0	0	-	-	-	-	1	0	0
3 Reduce the rates	2	0	0	-	-	-	-	2	0	0
TOTAL:	5	0	2	-	-	-	-	5	0	2
II USN PERSONNEL										
1 Remove USN	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	1	0	1
SUM TOTAL:	6	0	3	-	-	-	-	6	0	3
	N.1. "FURTH" OF DUNOON BURGH (1 female only)									
I DEVELOP THE AREA	-	-	-	-	1	1	0	1	1	0
ENTIRE TOTALS:	6	0	3	1	1	1	0	7	1	3

1.6 MENTION OF USN/ARDYNE/STRATHCLYDE/ISSUES AND/OR RELATED MATTERS
OVERHEARD DURING THE EAVESDROPPING PERIOD: (Sundays - free)

IN THE 26 DAYS:		IDENTIFIED TOPICS OVERHEARD
September	9	Monday
	10	
	11	Navvies' drunken behaviour referred to.
	12	
	13	
	14	Navvies' drunken behaviour referred to.
	16	Monday
	17	Navvies' drunken behaviour referred to.
	18	"I know a lad who gets £60 a week at McAlpine's for setting tables in the canteen. He does nothing else, but put out forks and knives, and here am I with a miserable weekly wage of £28 for labouring.
	19	Navvies' drunken behaviour referred to.
	20	Navvies are now in the hotels.
	21	"Make no mistake; soon many of us will get jobs in the camp kitchens at Ardyne because they are better payers there, and it's all the year round, not just for a three-month summer period".
	23	Monday
	24	Navvies' drunken behaviour.
	25	
	26	Navvies "ruining the town - they're in the hotels now. It'll destroy the place. Who'll want to come here on holidays now".
	27	Navvies' drunken behaviour referred to.
	28	
	30	Monday
October	1	"The place is a ghost-town in my opinion. I've heard it said that the yanks are here in force and that the sailors have upset life in town. I wish to God they did, because it needs a good shake".
	2	
	3	
	4	Camp at Ardyne too small.
	5	"I've been a visitor here since 1960, and I've never seen the place so torn apart. It's quite a shock to me to find the Scots wanting to be independent, and everything in this town seems to show that many want it. I've been in Edinburgh for the last two days and the people there don't seem to be parading their nationalism as they do here".
		<u>At SNP cavalcade:</u>
		i. "We've got two Tory Parties in town now".
		ii. "Look at them apeing the Americans like a crowd of overgrown children".
		iii. "That's what they're all about, all show and no sense".

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October 7 Monday Two girls from Cumberland describe how they
are living in a McAlpine house.

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- i. "I can't get a baby-sitter here unless I pay big money. There used to be a time when the local churches got volunteers together and charity came first. Now, it's how many pence you can get for so many hours with the American children".
- ii. "The Polaris Base is good for the town. Sailors bring in the cash, and they help a lot within the community. The place is no longer a holiday resort really. It's dying off as a seaside resort because of the sunnier holidays abroad. Our girls have married the Americans, and they've fairly livened the church scene".
- iii. "The boom for some had been doom for others".
- iv. "We couldn't do without the Americans here, that's for sure; it would be a ghost town without them".
"You can see the change in our buildings, they are modernised better equipped, and the whole standard of life has gone up locally".

NOTE: All the statements were overheard in the Burgh.

In contrast with the interviews, the drunken behaviour of the Ardyners was coming up in the overheard conversations.

A P P E N D I X 2.

THE LETTERS TO THE EDITOR REGARDING
THE USN ISSUES:

- 2.1 SECTION 1. THE LETTERS IN GENERAL:
- 2.1.1. YEAR TABLES THE CALENDAR OF EVENTS AND THE CURRENT LETTERS SENT TO THE EDITOR OF THE DUNOON OBSERVER AND ARGYLLSHIRE STANDARD BETWEEN 5th NOV. - END OF FEB. 1976.
- 2.1.2. YEAR TABLES BREAKDOWN OF LETTERS CONTAINING MACRO AND MICRO LETTERS ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN BASE.
- 2.2 SECTION 2. THE MACRO ISSUES RAISED DURING THE PERIOD NOV. 5th - END OF FEB. 1976:
- 2.2.1. DEFINED AREA OF WEST OF SCOTLAND - MAP AND SOME OBSERVATIONS.
- 2.2.2. YEAR TABLES FIRST SERIES OF LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP MACRO ISSUES BETWEEN 5th NOV. 1960 MARCH 25th 1961.
- 2.2.3. YEAR TABLES SECOND SERIES OF LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP MACRO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN BASE BETWEEN THE 12th AUG. 1961 - 23rd Feb. 1963.
- 2.2.4. YEAR TABLES INFREQUENT LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP MACRO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN BASE BETWEEN MARCH 2nd 1963 - END OF FEB. 1976
- 2.3 SECTION 3. MICRO ISSUES RAISED DURING THE PERIOD NOV. 5th 1960 - END OF FEB 1976
- 2.3.1. YEAR TABLES THE FIRST SERIES OF EARLY LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP THE MICRO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN PRESENCE FROM 5th NOV. 1960 - MARCH 25th 1961.
- 2.3.2. YEAR TABLES SECOND SERIES OF LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP THE MICRO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN PRESENCE BETWEEN AUG. 12th 1961 - FEB. 23rd, 1963.
- 2.3.3. YEAR TABLES FURTHER LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP MICRO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN PRESENCE BETWEEN MARCH 2nd 1963 - END OF FEB. 1976

SECTION I: LETTERS IN GENERAL2.1.1. YEAR TABLESTHE CALENDAR OF EVENTS AND THE CURRENT LETTERS SENT TO
THE EDITOR OF THE DUNOON OBSERVER AND ARGYLLSHIRE STANDARD
BETWEEN 5th NOV - END OF FEB 1976

			CHRONICLE OF EVENTS	LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT				
1960	Nov	On Nov 1st. first announcement in London of establishment of the Base on Holy Loch Local press passes on the news to the local residents on Nov 5th.	18	21		
	Dec.	300 Sandbank ratepayers sign a petition to the PM protesting against Polaris. 3000 protesters at anti-Polaris rally in Glasgow. Scottish Youth Peace Campaign Protest at Holy Loch.	22	27		
1960	2 Months	TOTALS	40	48	83.3	
1961	Jan.	Sandbank Literary and Debating Society discuss Polaris.	21	27		
	Feb.	Polaris protest meeting at Strachur; London speaker. Glasgow Presbytery of Church of Scotland votes against Polaris.	11	14		
	March	Correspondence closed by editor on March 4th. PROTEUS ARRIVED ON 3rd March. Civic reception Dunoon on 10th. Highland dancing aboard Proteus.	5	12		
	April	Captain speaks to the Dunoon Rotary Club. Admiralty sends 20 additional Admiralty police to Holy Loch (cost £24,000). Glasgow taxis for sale advert in Dunoon press.	0	10		
	May	Glasgow District Trades Council Protest March.	0	4		
	June	43 demonstrators at the Sheriff Court Dunoon.	0	2		
	July	USN misbehaviour locally. Demonstrators before court.	0	3		
	August	Plans of another large anti-Polaris march.	3	8		
	Sept.	11 o'clock curfew for American sailors. 1000 marchers from Glasgow and area at Ardnadam.				

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1961	Sept. Cont.	Polaris Challenge Cup - USN trophy given.	9	17	
	Oct.	Committee of 100 offer to pay protesters fines. Captain's child is baptised at St. John's Church.	6	11	
	Nov.	USN sailors march with locals to the War Memorial.	4	10	
	Dec.	Misbehaviour of USN personnel grows. CND Scottish Youth plan vigil at Loch in protest.	2	4	
1961	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	61	122	50
1962	Jan.	Local USN misbehaviour cited in Glasgow press.	4 1 US Dep.	15	
	Feb.	More USN deviancy ashore.	4	10	
	March	Protest March on anniversary - 600, no arrests.	1	11	
	April	National and local publicity over USN dating of girls under 16.	3 1 US Dep.	7	
	May	Misbehaviour of USN in locality cited in the Commons.	2	11	
	June	Increase of local Dunoon constabulary. Anti-Polaris demonstration: 142 arrests. Another curfew on USN suggested - this time for single USN personnel.	1	12	
	July	Hotel and Boarding Houses only half-full during Glasgow Fair. Concern over USN misbehaviour again.	1 USN Base	8	
	August	Letter sent from Dunoon to President Kennedy by Sandbanker.	0	8	
	Sept.		0	9	
	Oct.	Alert following Cuban crisis - Proteus slips moorings.	1	3	
	Nov.	Change of command. Chaplain addresses Guild at Innellan. (New Captain - Annapolis Graduate)	1	2	

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD. USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1962	Dec.	Duke of Argyll present at farewell to ex-Commander. Call for termination of Polaris in the House of Commons.	1 USN Base	9	
1962	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	21	105	20
1963	Jan.	Marked increase on births and marriages in Dunoon announced. Pier dues dropping. HUNLEY ARRIVES on 9th. Proteus will go later.	4	12	
	Feb.	"Alcor" US supply ship brings 50 US cars.	0	12	
	March	YMCA and local Casino establishments open. USN off to the States leaving debts behind.	3 1 USN Base	5	
	April	Car show in Castle Gardens - Miss USA and Miss Scotland show people around.	2	13	
	May	Nearly 2000 march on Holy Loch; after lull in public protest.	2	12	
	June	VD Clinic to be opened at hospital.	1	13	
	July	Councillor proposes ban on all unmarried USN in Burgh	4	19	
	August	Bad summer trade. Polaris Regatta	5	20	
	Sept.		4 1 USN Dep.	20	
	Oct.	Notice of British Polaris Base at Gareloch. Drimard Hotel scandal: 22 call-girls involved	6 1 USN Base	21	
	Nov.	USN population mourn death of Kennedy.	5	12	
	Dec.	Reg. General Report (1962); Dunoon has second highest illegitimate rate in whole of Scotland of all small Burghs.	1	2	
1963	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	40	161	24.8

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1964	Jan.	Club and Gymnasium constructed at Ardnadam. First meeting to foster better relations at Naval HQ Greenock.	2	20	
	Feb.	Sandbakers complain about over-parking of USN	1	15	
	March	Dunoon illeg. rate raised in House of Commons. Wilson on TV: Holy Loch to become NATO Base.	4	18	
	April		0	16	
	May	Hospital Board unable to secure unpaid USN debts.	1 US Dep.	10	
	June		0	8	
	July	Change of Command - (new Captain Academy graduate)	3	14	
	August		1 1 USN Dep.	16	
	Sept.	Polaris trophy at Holy Loch Sailing Club event.	0	6	
	Oct.		0	13	
	Nov.		0	13	
	Dec.		1	7	
1964	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	14	156	8.9
1965	Jan.		0	9	
	Feb.		0	11	
	March	Parking problems at Ardnadam raised again.	1	13	
	April		2	10	
	May	USN Gymn used for amateur boxing tournament.	3	8	
	June	Clyde steamers passengers drop over past four years.	1	18	
	July		0	13	
	August		2	15	
	Sept.	Radiation tests in Holy Loch.	7	11	
	Oct.		1 US Base	17	
	Nov.	USN represented at Remembrance Day at memorial.	0	7	

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1965	Dec.	PEACE ON EARTH in lights on USN DRY DOCK.	1	13	
1965	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	18	145	12.4
1966	Jan.		0	20	
	Feb.	Ministry of Defence and Argyll MP concern over noise from USN vessels	2	14	
	March	Scottish-American basketball tournament US Gymn.	2	12	
	April		0	4	
	May		0	9	
	June		0	24	
	July	SIMON LAKE ARRIVES to relieve Hunley: 19th	0	12	
	August	Hunley goes 10th.	4	18	
	Sept.		0	5	
	Oct.	Woman killed in USN car accident 22nd.	0	20	
	Nov.	Change of command: ex-submariner	1	4	
	Dec.	Crowds at trial of PO whose car struck woman.	0	10	
1966	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	9	150	6
1967	Jan.	Campaign to sell Dunoon in England as resort.	0	12	
	Feb.		0	11	
	March	150th anniversary of old Kirk building. Simon Lake team plays in W.Scotland Basketball League.	0	11	
	April	Scottish Community Drama Festival at Dunoon.	0	9	
	May	Paul Jones, US styled restaurant opens 27th.	0	7	
	June		0	5	
	July		0	2	
	August	Leakage of American secrets: USN personnel trial.	1	7	
	Sept.		0	8	

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD. USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
	Oct.		0	3	
	Nov.	Savings Bank opened in main street.	0	2	
	Dec.	Monaco Casino converted into USN styled cocktail Bar	0	14	
1967	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	1	91	1.1
1968	Jan.	USN special housing proposed to cost £1½ millions.	6	15	
Cent.	Feb.	Top basketball teams at USN Gymnasium.	1 USN Base 7	19	
Year	March	Local discussion over the siting of a mobile snack hut at USN pier.	0	2	
of	April	Official opening of Dunoon Swimming Pool.	0	3	
Burgh	May	Kilmun Church vacant for 2 yrs. and Sandbank Church for 5 months: there had been resistance to amalgamation of both. Ex-Naval Submariner, now Minister takes over the two parishes from Kilmun. Centenary service commemorating the founding of the Burgh in old Dunoon Kirk.	0	13	
	June	Council protests to Scottish Junior Football Association for refusal to accept Dunoon Athletic as member.	0	11	
	July	Rates of Water Board rise for Dunoon because of population number, but USN do not pay rates at US Base establishments - local complaints.	0	12	
	August	Town re-enacts the episode of the Sabbath Breakers when Dunoonites resisted the landing of the Glasgow Sunday trippers on the Lord's Day.	1	14	
	Sept.	Town Council votes in favour of USN housing scheme within Burgh. Americans blamed for Burgh Rates rise.	1	17	
	Oct.	Town Council discusses the financial backing of the building of houses for USN personnel.	2	14	

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1968	Nov.	Scottish Development Dept. refuse permission for Town Council to finance the USN project. Old Dunoon Committee meets; 64 attended; all noted natives - provost not invited. The hurt provost was told: "You did not qualify" Centenary Buffet Dance/Dunoon forms new Orange Lodge.	2 1 USN Base	14	
	Dec.		0	4	
1968	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	21	138	15.22
1969	Jan.	Two local businessmen refused permission to instal one-armed bandits by Town Council.	1	12	
	Feb.	Scottish Development Assoc. states that Dunoon is a terminal destination, rather than a primary one. Invasion of starlings in Dunoon causes upsets. Protests over American disruption of education locally.	2	15	
	March	School question still discussed. USN over-parking at Ardnadam also brought up.	1	9	
	April	Overparking of USN discussed. Polaris Dart Trophy.	0	4	
	May	Objection over unsightly tower at telephone exchange.	0	9	
	June		0	2	
	July	No license for prize amusement machines in licensed premises in Dunoon. Matter discussed with Town Council in public: Rothesay had 27 licenses, Arbroath 34, Largs 17, Millport 6 and Dunoon nil. Permission refused.	0	7	
	Sept.	Survey on the "integration of industry and tourism on the Clyde": Herriot Watt College team move in. Amalgamation of St. Margaret's and St. Andrew's, Kirn raised. Local divisions.	0	14	

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD. USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1969	Oct.	Report of the Royal Commission on Local Govmnt. on reorganization; views of Town Council to be put before County Council on 23rd. (meeting held on 18th)	0	13	
	Nov.	Amalgamation of Argyll with West discussed locally. Main topic of Annual Meeting of Argyll Conservative Assoc.	0	16	
	Dec.		0	8	
1969	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	4	110	3.6
1970	Jan.	Raising of money for American housing scheme being carried out by the Anglo-American Housing Group. Money may come from West Germany. Report of the Royal Commission Local Govmnt. in Scotland does not appreciate the needs of tourism.	0	19	
	Feb.	350 visitors aboard the USN IRY DOCK: tea and coffee aboard	0	11	
	March		2	30	
	April		0	8	
	May	At "kirking of Town Council" minister makes reference to process of centralization: minimizes democracy. Boat cut-back complained of locally. English and Continental Property Co. Ltd. will be working on erection of rental guarantee houses in two local sites. Canopus arrives on 5th. Simon Lake goes on 24th.	0	14	
	June	Refinery might be built at Ardyne.	0	17	
	July	Argyll County Council oppose any plans for refinery.	0	13	
	August	Refinery may go to Campbeltown	1	14	
	Sept.		3	18	
	Oct.	Girl dies in Burgh at pills-party from overdose. Dunoon builder secures order for building USN houses - costs £1½ millions.	3	21	

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1970	Nov.	Fire aboard Canopus; three USN personnel dead. Concern over USN offspring disrupting classes in the locality. Meeting of Cowal District Education sub-Committee. Special provisions required.	4	17	
			2	US Base	
	Dec.	Annual Meeting of Sandbankers' Ratepayers Association; complaints about noise in early morning from USN club, and over-parking of USN personnel at Ardnadam.	5	26	
1970	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	20	208	9.6
1971	Jan.	Protest of ratepayers of Kilmun and Ardentinnny over steamer service withdrawal as from 5th. April '72 regarding the Kilmun and Blairmore steamers to "other side".	14	28	
	Feb.	Concern again over the USN children in local schools. White Paper on 16th Feb. on reorganization in Scotland; Argyll to be shifted from Highland region to Glasgow.	0	2	
	March	10th anniversary of Polaris. It is now Poseidon - a first-strike base. Motorcade of dissent organized by local CND member. Argyll MP faced with constituents at meeting; over regionalization division of opinion locally. Some state more progress if united with "other side"; other wish to remain with Highland region. American children accord. to Director of Education did not appear to keep back local children. Centenary issue of paper on 27th.	0	4	
	April	Argyll County Council meet and vote in favour of Dunoon and Cowal remaining with Argyll on this side of the Firth.	1	13	

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1971	May	Base confirm that they are using Poseidon already.	4	14	
	June	Orange Lodge Parade through the streets.	0	16	
	July		0	18	
	August	Ardnadam US Club closed down because of fight between USN coloured/blacks and white seamen. 120 pipe bands at Games.	1	19	
	Sept.	Sunday Times reports on drug addiction at Polaris Base. Polaris Regatta.	3	14	
	Oct.	Local discussion over US children again.	3	22	
	Nov.		0	13	
	Dec.	YMCA running programme for USN personnel: BRING A SCOTTISH FRIEND TO TEA	0	11	
1971	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	26	174	14.9
1972	Jan.		1	16	
	Feb.		1	5	
	March		1	16	
	April	Division of opinion over Dunoon being joined with "the other side". Minister at Kirm Church deplores overcrowding at Kirm school. Average class size is 35. Due to USN input. Orange Lodge parade through streets.	0	20	
	May	Low turnout for municipal election. Only 50 at Burgh Hall hear result. Division of opinion still over the annexation of Argyll with "other side".	1	14	
	June	USA Girl Guide and Brownie Company march with Scottish Company to the church.	1	11	
	July	Change of Command. New Commander Academy graduate.	1	13	

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1972	August	New Commander is one of the judges for Miss Dunoon and Cowal beauty competition. 3,600 signatures collected objecting to Cowal being joined with Greenock; request to remain in Argyll. Stated at Cowal District Education Sub-Committee that there is a real fear that US kids at Kirm school may outnumber the local children. US Commodore's Shield presented at Cowal Games.	1	8	
	Sept.	Speculation over possible oil rig building site at Toward. Dumping on Ardentinny foreshore deplored. Commander receives Meritorious Service medal. US kids still regarded as causing overcrowding. Complaints had been passed to Director of Education. Ardentinny Preservation Society formed. Concern over possible local caravan site.	0	15	
	Oct.		0	10	
	Nov.	Kilmun Community Assoc. concerned over transfer of power to industrial areas. McAlpine to build concrete rigs at Toward. Annual meeting of Sandbank ratepayers bring up USN overparking once more.	0	12	
	Dec.	3 Day Conference at Excelsior Hotel Glasgow on McAlpine project. Peak workforce of 400 men. Start on USN Burgh houses.	3	12	
1972	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	10	153	5.9
1973	Jan.	Commander at Base organizes tours for Grammar school pupils: invited to visit the ship on 4 consecutive Sundays	2	8	
	Feb.	Rumours in the National press that Polaris may close down and Poseidon subs be deployed by mother ship off Charleston,			

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD. USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD. USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1973	Feb. Cont.	South Carolina. Cowal Rothsay and Bute to be grouped with Argyll and not grouped with Greenock. So new District of Argyll and Bute created, although still within Glasgow Strathclyde Region.	3	17	
	March	Half-yearly Sandbank Ratepayers' meeting. Promise of Commander that Enlisted mens' Club will be sound-proofed. Road to be enlarged at Ardnadam pier. New school to get first priority. Secretary of State gives go- ahead for Ardyne complex.	0	6	
	April	Anti-Polaris two-day CND vigil at Holy Loch.	0	11	
	May	Only 15 boats for hire in West Bay where there were once 350. First Labour man now elected to the Town Council.	0	8	
	June	Plans to convert the East Bay into a modern marina discussed by Town Council. Orange Lodge Parade. Local Councilor with declared interest in Lodge. New Western Ferries from Hunters Quay proving popular.	0	13	
	July		0	12	
	August	Report of House of Commons Select Committee; Polaris may go by 1980.	0	5	
	Sept.	5 Choir members for over 50 years awarded with Church of Scotland Certificate for long service in Innellan.	0	2	
	Oct.	Mobbing and rioting in Dunoon streets. White, coloured, blacks of USN, and local men on rioting charges. USN Secretary's visit to Dunoon. Riots reported abroad.	2	11	
	Nov.	Protest meeting at Toward Hall against proposed Rig building site of Lynd and Co. Natural Gas comes to Dunoon.	4	17	

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS	TOTAL	% OF
			REGD	OF ALL	LETTERS
			USN	LETTERS	REGD.
			PRESENCE	SENT	USN

YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1973	Dec.	New regional elections to be in May 1974 and new structure fully operational in May 1975. Sandbank Ratepayers Association still complain about lack of USN cooperation, but Commander had managed to get USN authorities to pay for car park by the pier. US Navy men rescue stranded in rescue at Inverchaolain.	1	16	
			1 US Base		
1973	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	13	132	9.9

1974	Jan.	£25m contract for Ardyne - platform to weigh 275,000 tons. Work to start immediately. Lind presses with his scheme for site also at Ardyne. Concern of Toward Civic Trust about the ruined environment. Hundreds of men come over by ferry from Bute and Wemyss Bay to Ardyne. At first ferry comes to Innellan pier bought by McAlpine. Election preparations afoot.	0	7	0
	Feb.	New Commander once Military Staff Assistant for Submarine Warfare, Pentagon, Washington. Elections: SNP MP takes seat from Tories in Argyll. Death of Charlie Black an ex-provost, lay-preacher and highly respected local baker. McAlpine secures lease for whole area ousting Lind. Argyll Advisory Committee appears to favour Lochgilphead as new District HQ under Strathclyde.	0	14	0
	March	McAlpine proposes to extend the complex at Ardyne to include three basins. New ferry JUPITER in service, to be joined by sister ship JUNO soon. Scheme for another rig site at Portavadie Loch Fyne shore causing national comment. On Tuesday 19th Town Council opposed to Lochgilphead as the			

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD. USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1974	March Cont.	new District HQ. Rumours that Kilmory Castle is in process of purchase at Lochgilhead as possible HQ at Lochgilhead.	0	11	0
	April	Final meeting for Board of Management for Dunoon hospitals prior to the take-over. Dunoon will not have a member on the new health board. Announcement in the local press that an ENFORCEMENT OFFICER for Ardyne had been appointed to ensure that McAlpine keeps to the set limits agreed re. project. High Court, Glasgow passed sentence on the October rioters. Clyde Estuary Amenity Council inspect Ardyne. Noise and transport of material came up in discussion. Polaris Birthday Ball celebrates the 13th anniversary of establishment of Base. Addressed by the ex-lady provost who first welcomed them to Cowal.	0	19	0
	May	Oil Company rig builder gives pledge to give priority to local labour. Final ceremony of the kirking of the Council. Daily Express 8th that another rig builder has interests in the area.	1	9	0
	June	Oil rig project for Ardentinnny. Ardentinnny oil rig protest at Dunoon. Minister of State visits Ardyne.	1	15	
	July	Glasgow Evening Times of 11th cites local unease in Dunoon over US kids influx and crowded classes.	1	15	
	August	Planning permission given for a third oil rig basin at Ardyne. Final decision made on Lochgilhead as District HQ.	0	19	
	Sept.	Annual gathering of the Clan Lamont at Kirn - reference made			

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1974	Sept. cont.	in the press to the ARDYNE RAID when the Lamonts left the area after the pillage of their domain by Campbells (1545). Electioneering throughout UK. 2nd election in one year. 21st Derry Boys Parade through the streets of Dunoon.	0	14	
	Oct.	Labour returned. SNP hold onto their seat in Argyll. SNP have the second biggest % share of the votes in Scotland: 8.45% increase inside a year on Feb. vote. 200 steel fixers on unofficial strike at Ardyne.	0	9	0
	Nov.	USN Vice-Admiral pays courtesy call on provost. SNP MP accuses Glasgow Labour Councillors of forming a clique in Strathclyde. Some local influentials with the town to be joined with Greenock rather than with Lochgilphead. End of Ardyne strike. Appointment of Community Relations Adviser at USN Base.	0	13	0
	Dec.	Kilmory Castle (HQ at Lochgilphead) known locally as the modern TAJ MAHAL. Argyll Constituency Association of the SNP launch campaign to have Argyll removed from Strathclyde and made into an all purpose authority similar to that of the Western Isles. Miss McPhail ex-lady provost who welcomed the USN Base in 1961 is dead.	0	4	0
1974	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	3	149	2.0.

1975 Jan. The last provost "brings in the New Year" at the traditional spot at the foot of Ferry Brae/Press cites fact that three great local figures: Miss McPhail, Black, and Wyatt died in 1974 - on the eve of the new Strathclyde. Suggested at Town Council meeting that approaches be made to the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOUNDARY COMMISSION

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS			LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD. USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1975	Jan. Cont.	FOR SCOTLAND to have Dunoon and Cowal reinstated in the Inverclyde District and not with Argyll and Bute District.	0	12	0
	Feb	SNP MP objects to the change of address for ARGYLL: planned to be altered to "West Strathclyde." SNP MP brings up the bad state of the roads in Argyll due to oil rig work.	0	15	0
	March	First concrete gravity structure at Ardyne is safely flated. Issue of change of address comes up again: "ARGYLL" been in existence for 1,500 years! Glasgow wants to change it. Ex-Registrar retires after 49½ years in local service.	0	18	0
	April	Final meeting of the Council after 107 years.	0	10	0
	May	Change of address not implemented: Argyll to stay. Dunoon comes under Strathclyde Region.	0	11	0
	June		0	8	0
	July		0	9	0
	August	SNP MP at meeting states that SNP vowed to abolition of the Regions after General Assembly. Poseidon Golf Trophy created by USN. Upsurge of complaints about noise from USN BASE	9	22	0
	Sept.	Local and national concern about the drug abuse at USN Base. Local drug squad gives lectures on subject.	2	3	
	Oct.	Dunoon Community Council established in June is managing to voice local complaints at District HQ. Meetings held in Castle House former site for Town Council meetings.	2	12	
	Nov.	HOLLAND arrives on 7th Nov. "Scottish-American Ladies Club" have their first lunch at Commander's mansion Ardbeg.	2 US Base	9	
	Dec.	Sandbank Ratepayers' meeting: noise from the Holland engines			

		CHRONICLE OF EVENTS	LETTERS REGD USN PRESENCE	TOTAL OF ALL LETTERS SENT	% OF LETTERS REGD USN
YEAR	MONTH	EVENT			
1975	Dec. Cont.	mentioned and USN children effect on local education. Also Regional Councillor mentions that move outside Dunoon to have Argyll, Bute and Arran as a separate region is well supported. Burgh wishes not to back it. Argyll Street resurfaced, but had to be completely re-done: local residents blame Strathclyde Admin.	3	16	
1975	Jan-Dec.	TOTALS	18	145	12.4
1976	Jan.	Dunoon Community Council opposed to proposed move of library to Castle House.	1	12	
	Feb.	Local dissatisfaction over new Region: Hopes that Region may improve Innellan buse service.	0	8	
1976	Jan-Feb.	TOTALS	1	20	5
1960	Nov. 5th - end of Feb. 1976	SUM TOTALS	320	2207	14.5

Note: Before passing onto the macro and micro issues, the macro and Micro issues require to be defined for the purpose of this study.

By the macro issue is meant any matter that is of direct interest to the general public and discussed by the media as of import in the national or international scene.

By the micro issue is meant any matter that is not of direct interest to the general public nor discussed by the media as of import nationally or internationally, but rather is of direct local import and interest.

SECTION I continued

2.1.2.

YEAR TABLES BREAKDOWN OF THE 320 LETTERS SENT TO EDITOR OF DUNOON
OBSERVER CONTAINING MACRO + MICRO LETTERS ASSOCIATED
WITH USN BASE.

PERIOD WHEN LETTER PUBLISHED	ONLY MACRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	ONLY MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	BOTH MACRO AND MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP WHICH WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	TOTAL
1960 Nov-Dec.				
Nov.	13	0	5	18
Dec.	20	0	2	22
TOTALS:	33	0	7	40
1961				
Jan.	21	0	0	21
Feb.	10	0	1	11
Mar.	3	2	0	5
Apr.	0	0	0	0
May	0	0	0	0
June	0	0	0	0
July	0	0	0	0
Aug.	3	0	0	3
Sept.	7	0	2	9
Oct.	5	0	1	6
Nov.	3	1	0	4
Dec.	2	0	0	2
TOTALS	54	3	4	61
1962				
Jan.	2	3	0	5
Feb.	3	1	0	4
Mar.	1	0	0	1
Apr.	0	4	0	4
May	0	2	0	2
June	0	1	0	1
July	0	1	0	1
Aug.	0	0	0	0
Sept.	0	0	0	0
Oct.	0	1	0	1
Nov.	0	0	1	1
Dec.	1	0	0	1
TOTALS	7	13	1	21

PERIOD WHEN LETTER PUBLISHED	ONLY MACRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	ONLY MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	BOTH MACRO AND MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP WHICH WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	TOTAL	
1963	Jan.	0	3	1	4
	Feb.	0	0	0	0
	Mar.	0	3	1	4
	Apl.	0	1	1	2
	May	0	2	0	2
	June	0	1	0	1
	July	0	4	0	4
	Aug.	0	5	0	5
	Sept.	0	5	0	5
	Oct.	0	7	0	7
	Nov.	0	5	0	5
	Dec.	0	1	0	1
TOTALS		0	37	3	40
1964	Jan.	0	2	0	2
	Feb.	1	0	0	1
	Mar.	4	0	0	4
	Apl.	0	0	0	0
	May	0	1	0	1
	June	0	0	0	0
	July	0	3	0	3
	Aug.	0	2	0	2
	Sept.	0	0	0	0
	Oct.	0	0	0	0
	Nov.	0	0	0	0
	Dec.	0	1	0	1
TOTALS		5	9	0	14
1965	Jan.	0	0	0	0
	Feb.	0	0	0	0
	Mar.	0	1	0	1
	Apl.	0	2	0	2
	May	2	1	0	3
	June	0	1	0	1
	July	0	0	0	0
	Aug.	0	2	0	2

PERIOD WHEN LETTER PUBLISHED	ONLY MACRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	ONLY MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	BOTH MACRO AND MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP WHICH WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	TOTAL
1965				
Sept.	0	7	0	7
Cont.				
Oct.	0	1	0	1
Nov.	0	0	0	0
Dec.	0	1	0	1
TOTALS	2	16	0	18
1966				
Jan.	0	0	0	0
Feb.	0	2	0	2
Mar.	0	2	0	2
Apl.	0	0	0	0
May	0	0	0	0
June	0	0	0	0
July	0	0	0	0
Aug.	0	4	0	4
Sept.	0	0	0	0
Oct.	0	0	0	0
Nov.	0	1	0	1
Dec.	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	0	9	0	9
1967				
Jan.				
Feb.				
Mar.				
Apl.				
May				
June				
July				
Aug.	0	1	0	1
Sept.				
Oct.				
Nov.				
Dec.				
TOTALS	0	1	0	1

PERIOD WHEN LETTER PUBLISHED	ONLY MACRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	ONLY MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	BOTH MACRO AND MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP WHICH WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	TOTAL
1968				
Jan.	0	7	0	7
Feb.	0	7	0	7
Mar.	0	0	0	0
Apl.	0	0	0	0
May	0	0	0	0
June	0	0	0	0
July	0	0	0	0
Aug.	0	1	0	1
Sept.	0	1	0	1
Oct.	0	2	0	2
Nov.	0	3	0	3
Dec.	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	0	21	0	21
1969				
Jan.	1	0	0	1
Feb.	0	2	0	2
Mar.	0	1	0	1
Apl.				
May				
June				
July				
Aug.				
Sept.				
Oct.				
Nov.				
Dec.				
TOTALS	1	3	0	4
1970				
Jan.				
Feb.				
Mar.	0	2	0	2
Apl.				
May				
June				
July				

PERIOD WHEN LETTER PUBLISHED	ONLY MACRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	ONLY MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	BOTH MACRO AND MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP WHICH WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	TOTAL
1970				
Cont.				
Aug.	0	1	0	1
Sept.	0	3	0	3
Oct.	0	3	0	3
Nov.	0	6	0	6
Dec.	2	3	0	5
TOTALS	2	18	0	20
1971				
Jan.	0	14	0	14
Feb.	0	0	0	0
Mar.	0	0	0	0
Apl.	0	1	0	1
May	2	2	0	4
June				
July				
Aug.	1	0	0	1
Sept.	0	3	0	3
Oct.	3	0	0	3
Nov.				
Dec.				
TOTALS	6	20	0	26
1972				
Jan.	0	1	0	1
Feb.	0	1	0	1
Mar.	0	1	0	1
Apl.	0	0	0	0
May	0	1	0	1
June	0	1	0	1
July	0	1	0	1
Aug.	0	1	0	1
Sept.				
Oct.				
Nov.				
Dec.	0	3	0	3
TOTALS	0	10	0	10

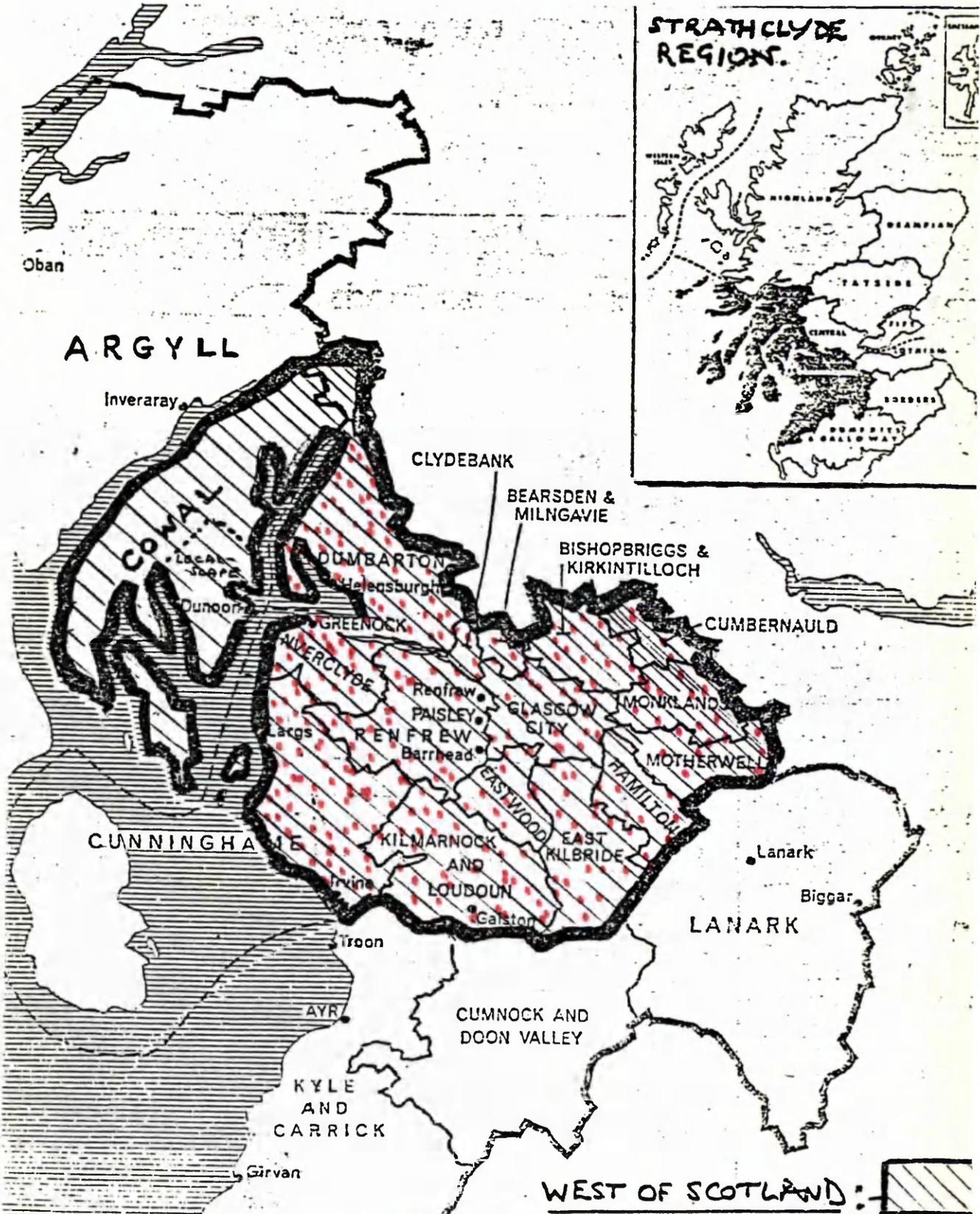
PERIOD WHEN LETTER PUBLISHED	ONLY MACRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	ONLY MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	BOTH MACRO AND MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP WHICH WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	TOTAL
1973				
Jan.	1	1	0	2
Feb.	1	2	0	3
Mar.				
Apl.				
May				
June				
July				
Aug.				
Sept.				
Oct.	0	2	0	2
Nov.	0	4	0	4
Dec.	0	2	0	2
TOTALS	2	11	0	13
1974				
Jan.				
Feb.				
Mar.				
Apl.				
May.	0	1	0	1
June	0	1	0	1
July	0	1	0	1
Aug.				
Sept.				
Oct.				
Nov.				
Dec.				
TOTALS	0	3	0	3
1975				
Jan.				
Feb.				
Mar.				
Apl.				
May				
June				
July				

PERIOD WHEN LETTER PUBLISHED	ONLY MACRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	ONLY MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP THAT WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	BOTH MACRO AND MICRO ISSUES BROUGHT UP WHICH WERE ASSOC'D WITH USN BASE	TOTAL
1975				
Aug.	0	9	0	9
Cont.				
Sept.	1	1	0	2
Oct.	1	1	0	2
Nov.	0	2	0	2
Dec.	0	3	0	3
TOTALS	2	16	0	18
1976				
Jan.	0	1	0	1
Feb.	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	0	1	0	1
SUM TOTALS	114	191	15	320

DEFINED AREA OF WEST OF SCOTLAND -
MAP & SOME OBSERVATIONS -

MAP 1. SHOWING THE RESEARCHER'S "AREAL"
LIMITS OF "THE WEST OF SCOTLAND"

Note: all letters from within the coloured area boundaries are designated as from "the other side" West of Scotland. The Strathclyde Region (admin area) is shown on the inset map.



"THE OTHER SIDE" SHADED IN RED

WEST OF SCOTLAND:

NORTH TO SOUTH: COWAL - GALSTON

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The "West of Scotland" is an area where settlements are grouped around the metropolis of Glasgow which possesses a quite distinct regional culture and industrial identity. Cairncross (1958), in THE GLASGOW REGION- Eds. Miller and Tivy (Edinburgh Constable) amply describes the area, but does not define its limits. For the purpose of research I have established the limits here in this Appendix, well aware that some may well wish to alter the boundaries.

The following tables will make divisions as organized around the locality so that one passes from East Cowal to the rest of Cowal, to the rest of Argyll and so forth into the wider "outscape."

Dunoon and Cowal are placed within the West of Scotland, so that when I speak of the "West of Scotland" I add "on the other side." (As we have seen the expression "on the other side" is a local one.)

2.2 SECTION 2. continued

2.2.2 YEAR TABLES

FIRST SERIES OF LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP MACRO ISSUES
ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN PRESENCE FROM THE 5th NOV. 1960-
MARCH 25th 1961 (Sum total of letters in the period 101)

ISSUES MENTIONED : Legitimacy of the Base, and/or the military and/or political justification for the Base on Holy Loch.

ORIGINS OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED			Total number of macro issues raised associated with USN presence
	pro-USN Base and associated issues	anti-USN Base and associated issues	in neutral terms	
DUNOON BURGH	3	10	4	17
SETTLEMENTS WEST OF THE BURGH	0	3	1	4
SETTLEMENTS EAST OF THE BURGH	5	21	3	29
INLAND/LOCALITY	0	0	0	0
REST OF COWAL	0	0	0	0
REST OF ARGYLL	0	0	0	0
WEST OF SCOTLAND "on the other side"	0	16	1	17
REST OF SCOTLAND	2	2	0	4
REST OF UK	0	4	0	4
BEYOND UK	0	0	0	0
USN BASE	0	0	0	0
US DEPENDENTS/ locality	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	10	56	9	75

No letters containing observations concerning the USN Base were sent to the editor between 25th March and August 11th. The editor had declared the correspondence closed in March. The USN Base, however, became the topic of letters in August. There were 19 letters written on other topics during this period.

2.2.3. YEAR TABLES

SECOND SERIES OF LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP MACRO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN PRESENCE FROM AUG. 12th 1961- FEB. 23rd 1963 (sum total of letters in the period 179)

ISSUES MENTIONED : USN arms race and/or danger of nuclear confrontation and/or the right to protest.

ORIGINS OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED			Total number of Times macro issues raised associated with USN presence
	pro-USN Base and associated issues	anti-USN Base and associated issues	in neutral terms	
DUNOON BURGH	1	1	1	3
SETTLEMENTS WEST OF THE BURGH	0	1	1	2
SETTLEMENTS EAST OF THE BURGH	0	6	5	11
INLAND/LOCALITY	0	0	0	0
REST OF COWAL	0	0	0	0
REST OF ARGYLL	0	1	0	1
WEST OF SCOTLAND "on the other side"	0	9	2	11
REST OF SCOTLAND	0	1	1	2
REST OF UK	0	1	0	1
BEYOND UK	0	0	0	0
USN BASE PERSONNEL	1	0	0	1
USN DEPENDENTS	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	2	20	10	32

2.2.4. YEAR TABLES

THIRD SERIES OF LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP THE MACRO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN BASE BETWEEN MARCH 2nd 1963-END OF FEB. 1976 (sum total of letters in the period 1908).

ISSUES MENTIONED	PERIOD	ORIGIN OF LETTER	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED			TOTAL TIMES RAISED
			pro-USN and associated issues	anti-USN and associated issues	in neutral terms	
Nuclear arms race	March '63	Settlement East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	April	Settlement East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
TOTALS FOR 1963			0	2	0	2

ISSUES MENTIONED	PERIOD	ORIGIN OF LETTER	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED ISSUES			TOTAL LETTERS
			PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
Danger of nuclear war	Feb. '64	Settlement East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	March '64	Settlement East of Burgh	0	0	3	3
		Burgh	0	1	0	1
TOTALS for 1964			0	2	3	5
USN Foreign Policy	May '65	Settlement East of Burgh	1	1	0	2
Criticism of the Labour Party for support of Polaris	Jan. '69	Settlement East of Burgh	0	0	1	1
The nuclear arms race	Dec. '70	Burgh	0	0	1	1
		Inland/West of Burgh	0	1	0	1
TOTALS for 1965-'70			1	2	2	5
Poseidon must be banned	May '71	Inland/East of Burgh	0	0	1	1
		Settlement East of Burgh	0	0	1	1
	Aug. '71	West of Scotland "on the other side"	0	1	0	1
US Foreign Policy	Oct. '71	Inland/East of Burgh	0	2	0	2
		Settlement East of Burgh	1	0	0	1
TOTALS for 1971			1	3	2	6
CND Protests over Poseidon	Jan. '73	Inland/East of Burgh	0	0	1	1
Base Obsolete	Feb. '73	Inland/East of Burgh	0	0	1	1
TOTALS for 1973			0	0	2	2

(Cont.)

ISSUES MENTIONED	PERIOD	ORIGIN OF LETTER	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED ISSUES			TOTAL LETTERS
			PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
USA Policy	Sept. '75	Inland/ locality West of Burgh	0	1	0	1
US arms race	Oct. '75	Inland/West of Burgh	0	1	0	1
TOTALS for 1975			0	2	0	2
SUM TOTALS FOR PERIOD MARCH 1963-END OF FEB 1976			2	11	9	22

2.3 SECTION 3: THE MICRO ISSUES RAISED WHICH WERE ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN BASE/PERSONNEL

2.3.1. YEAR TABLES

FIRST SERIES OF EARLY LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP THE MICRO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN PRESENCE FROM THE 5th NOV 1960-MARCH 25th 1961 (ALL LETTERS TOTAL 101 DURING PERIOD)

ISSUES RAISED	PERIOD	ORIGIN OF LETTER	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED ISSUES			TOTAL
			PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
Greed of local business folk	Nov. '60	East of Burgh	0	0	4	4
		Burgh	0	0	1	1
"Ibid"	Dec '60	Burgh	0	0	2	2
TOTALS for 1960			0	0	7	7
Rudness of some local residents to the USN incomers	Feb. '61	West of Burgh	0	0	1	1
Private cars are being used for hire for USN by locals	Mar '61	East of Burgh	0	0	1	1
The USN personnel ought to pay for use of local schools	Mar '61	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
TOTALS for 1961 up to March incl.			0	1	2	3
SUM TOTALS 5th Nov 1960-25th March 1961			0	1	9	10

2.3.2. YEAR TABLES

SECOND SERIES OF LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP THE MICRO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN PRESENCE FROM THE 12th AUG 1961-FEB 23rd 1963 (ALL LETTERS DURING PERIOD TOTAL 179)

ISSUES RAISED	PERIOD	ORIGIN OF LETTER	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED ISSUES			TOTAL
			PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
Holy Loch ruined by USN vessel/ noise nuisance	Sept '61	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
USN behaviour ruined the season	Sept '61	Burgh	0	1	0	1
The Protest marchers bad behaviour	Oct. '61	East of Burgh	0	0	1	1

ISSUES RAISED	PERIOD	ORIGIN OF LETTER	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED ISSUES			TOTAL
			PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
Bad USN behaviour gives town bad name	Nov. '61	"On the other side" West of Scotland	0	1	0	1
TOTALS.	12th August-	December, 1961		3	1	4
Litter habits of USN men.	Jan. '62	Burgh	0	1	0	1
Unacceptable behaviour with girls in public	Jan. '62	Burgh	0	1	0	1
Local girls are badly behaved	Jan. '62	USN DEPTS.	1	0	0	1
Unacceptable USN behaviour with girls in public	Feb. '62	Burgh	0	1	0	1
USN dating girls under 16 years	Apr. '62	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
		West of Burgh	0	1	0	1
		Not given	0	1	0	1
Local girls are willing, do not blame USN personnel		USN locality dependent	1	0	0	1
Discussion of dating habits of USN personnel	May	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
General bad behaviour of USN personnel		Not given	0	1	0	1
There are brothels in Dunoon	June	Burgh	0	1	0	1
Gratitude for local hospitality	July	USN Base	0	0	1	1
Dunoon is dead -USN not to be blamed	Oct.	Not given	1	0	0	1
Dunoon backward USN personnel liven it	Nov.	East of Burgh	1	0	0	1
TOTALS for.	JANUARY-DECEMBER	1962 incl.	4	9	1	14

ISSUES RAISED	PERIOD	ORIGIN OF LETTER	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED ISSUES			TOTAL
			PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
USN rubbish adulterates locality	Jan. '63	East of Burgh	0	2	0	2
		Burgh	0	1	0	1
		Rest of Scotland	0	0	1	1
TOTALS for Jan-Feb. 23rd 1963			0	3	1	4
SUM TOTALS FOR PERIOD			4	15	3	22

2.3.3. YEAR TABLES

FURTHER LETTERS WHICH BROUGHT UP MICRO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE USN PRESENCE BETWEEN MARCH 2nd 1963-END OF FEB. 1976.
(ALL LETTERS TOTAL DURING PERIOD 1908)

YEAR	MONTH OF PUBLICATION	ISSUES BROUGHT UP	ORIGIN OF LETTER	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED ISSUES			TOTAL
				PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
1963	March	USN and dependents on duty-free luxuries.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
		Locality gets bad publicity due to USN presence.	Burgh	0	2	0	2
		USN Captain explains regd. unpaid debts.	USN Base	0	0	1	1
	April	Birds dying around the Holy Loch.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
		USN wives interfere with running of life locally.	Burgh	0	1	0	1
	May	Complaints against USN wives again.	Burgh	0	1	0	1
		Concern about the anti-USN feeling locally.	USN dependent	1	0	0	1
	June	Locals blame USN for everything.	Rest of UK	1	0	0	1
	July	Proposed ban on single USN sailors in Burgh.	Inland/ East of Burgh	1	0	0	1
Burgh			3	0	0	3	

YEAR	MONTH OF PUB- LICATION	ISSUES BROUGHT UP	ORIGIN OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED--		TOTAL	
				ISSUES PRO USN	EXPRESSED ANTI USN in neutral terms		
1963	August (Cont)	Concern over proposed VD clinic.	Burgh	0	2	0	2
		USN Base has destroyed	East of Burgh	0	2	0	2
		local tour- ism.	Burgh	1	0	0	1
	Sept.	USN personnel create bad publicity.	East of Burgh	0	2	0	2
			Burgh	0	2	0	2
		USN personnel do not create it.	2 USN depen- dents	1	0	0	1
	Oct.	Drimard Hotel organized brothel.	Burgh	0	3	2	5
			East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
			USN Base	1	0	0	1
	Nov.	Burgh gets bad name because of USN.	Burgh	0	2	1	3
			West Scotland "other side"	0	1	0	1
		Events lead- ing up to USN advent cited.	West Scotland "other side"	0	0	1	1
	Dec.	Dunoon better place due to USN.	Burgh	1	0	0	1
TOTALS FOR 1963 March-Dec. incl.				10	21	5	36
1964	Jan.	USN presence good for locality.	Rest UK	1	0	0	1
		Xmas greeting on Hunley.	West Scotland "other side"	0	1	0	1
	May	Criticism of locality in general.	USN Base	1	0	0	1
	July	USN personnel leave unpaid debts behind.	Burgh	0	2	0	2
			East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	August	Nuclear mis- sile accident feared.	East of Burgh	0	0	1	1
		USN Dep.	USN Dep. explains from	0	0	1	1

YEAR	MONTH OF PUB- LICATION	ISSUES BROUGHT UP	ORIGIN OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED			TOTAL
				& ASSOCIATED ISSUES PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
	Dec.	General criticism of USN presence.	Burgh	0	1	0	1
TOTALS FOR Jan-Dec. 1964				2	5	2	9
1965	March	Overparking of USN personnel; Ardnadam.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	April	"IBID"	Not given	0	1	0	1
			East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	May	USN not good for locality especially for local youth.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	June	Rats feed off USN garbage by Holy Loch.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	August	Radiation dangers in Holy Loch waters.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
			Rest of Scotland	0	1	0	1
	Sept.	Ditto	Burgh	0	4	0	4
			Inland/ East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
			East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
			West Scotland "Other side"	1	0	0	1
	Oct.	Appreciation of hospitality.	USN Base	0	0	1	1
	Dec.	"Peace on earth" sign on Dry Dock is inappropriate.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
TOTALS FOR Jan-Dec 1965				1	14	1	16

YEAR	MONTH OF PUB- LICATION	ISSUES BROUGHT UP	ORIGIN OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED			TOTAL
				ISSUES PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
1966	Feb.	Noise from USN vessels keeping residents awake at night.	East of Burgh	0	2	0	2
	March	Ditto	East of Burgh	0	2	0	2
	August	Ditto	Burgh	0	1	0	1
	Nov.	USN high bids for rents have put local rents up.	East of Burgh Burgh	0 0	3 1	0 0	3 1
TOTALS FOR Jan-Dec. 1966				0	9	0	9
1967	August	USN pollution killing off fish in Loch.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
1968	Jan.	USN special houses to be provided locally.	East of Burgh Burgh Not given Inland/ East of Burgh USN Base	0 0 0 0 1	2 2 1 1 0	0 0 0 0 0	2 2 1 1 1
	Feb.	Ditto	Not given Inland/ East of Burgh Abroad	1 0 1	2 2 0	1 0 0	4 2 1
	Aug.	Local protes- ters against USN likened to old anti- "Sabbeth Breakers".	Burgh	0	0	1	1
	Sept.	USN special houses to be provided locally	Rest of Scotland	0	1	0	1
	Oct.	Ditto	Burgh Not given	0 0	1 1	0 0	1 1
	Nov.	Ditto	Burgh USN Base	0 1	0 0	2 0	2 1
TOTALS FOR Jan-Dec. 1968				4	13	4	21

YEAR	MONTH OF PUB- LICATION	ISSUES BROUGHT UP	ORIGIN OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED			TOTAL
				ISSUES PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
1969	Feb.	USN children upsetting curriculum and crowding primary schools.	Burgh	0	1	1	2
	Mar.	Ditto	Burgh	0	1	0	1
TOTALS FOR Jan-Dec. 1969				0	2	1	3
1970	March	Danger of nuclear explo- sion at Base.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
			Inland/ East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	August	USN good for locality	Not given	1	0	0	1
	Sept.	USN special houses to be provided locally.	Abroad	1	0	0	1
			Burgh	0	0	1	1
			Not given	0	1	0	1
	Oct.	Ditto	Not given	1	0	0	1
			Rest of UK	0	1	0	1
			Rest of Cowal	1	0	0	1
	Nov.	Ditto	Rest of UK	0	1	0	1
			Burgh	0	2	0	2
			USN Base	2	0	0	2
			Rest of Cowal	1	0	0	1
	Dec.	Fire aboard Canopus near missile store.	Burgh	0	0	1	1
			West Scotland "other side"	0	0	1	1
			Rest of UK	1	0	0	1
TOTALS FOR Jan-Dec. 1970				8	7	3	18
1971	Jan.	Fire aboard Canopus near missile store.	Burgh	4	3	1	8
			East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
			West of Burgh	0	2	0	2
			Inland/ West of Burgh	0	1	0	1
			US. Base	2	0	0	2

YEAR	MONTH OF PUB- LICATION	ISSUES BROUGHT UP	ORIGIN OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED ISSUES			TOTAL
				PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
1971	April (Cont).	USN shipping ability.	West of Scotland "other side"	0	0	1	1
	May	Poseidon missiles in service on Holy Loch.	Inland/ West of Burgh	0	0	1	1
			East of Burgh	0	0	1	1
	Sept.	Drugs abuse at USN Base.	Burgh	0	1	0	1
			Inland/ West of Burgh	0	2	0	2
TOTALS FOR Jan-Dec. 1971				6	10	4	20
1972	Jan.	"Our American infested Burgh"	Burgh	0	1	0	1
	Feb.	USN exploited locally pay- ing high rents for run-down houses.	East of Burgh	1	0	0	1
	March	USN not exploited. They ruin local houses and then claim they are sub- standard.	Not given	0	1	0	1
	May	General crit- icism of USN personnel.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	June	USN exploited locally.	Burgh	1	0	0	1
	July		Burgh	1	0	0	1
	August	USN shipping ability	"Other side"	1	0	0	1
	Dec.	Local hospital reserved for Yanks.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
			Not given	1	0	0	1
			Burgh	1	0	0	1
TOTALS FOR Jan-Dec. 1972				6	4	0	10

YEAR	MONTH OF PUB- LICATION	ISSUES BROUGHT UP	ORIGIN OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED ISSUES			TOTAL
				PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
1973	Jan.	Large amount of rubbish from USN homes.	West of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	Feb.	Young invited to tour USN vessels.	East of Burgh	0	0	1	1
		Kirn Primary School to have 40% US kids ratio.	Burgh	0	1	0	1
	Oct.	USN mobbing and rioting in Burgh.	West Scotland "other side" Burgh	0	1	0	1
	Nov.	Ditto	Burgh	0	1	0	1
			Abroad	0	1	0	1
			Rest of UK	0	1	0	1
			East of Burgh	0	0	1	1
	Dec.	Ditto	Abroad	0	0	1	1
			USN Base	0	1	0	1
TOTALS FOR Jan-Dec. 1973				0	7	4	11
1974	May	Ill effects of USN in general on Area.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	June	181D	Burgh	0	1	0	1
	July	Concern over USN effect on Schooling	Not given	0	1	0	1
TOTALS FOR 1975				0	3	0	3

YEAR	MONTH OF PUB- LICATION	ISSUES BROUGHT UP	ORIGIN OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED & ASSOCIATED ISSUES			TOTAL
				PRO USN	ANTI USN	in neutral terms	
1975	August	Noise of USN vessels keep- ing people awake at night.	East of Burgh	1	5	0	6
			West Scotland "other side"	0	1	0	1
			Rest of UK	0	1	0	1
			Inland/ East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	Sept.	Ditto	Inland/ East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
	Oct.	Scottish- American relations.	Rest of UK	1	0	0	1
	Nov.	Gratitude for local hospit- ality.	USN Base	0	0	2	2
	Dec.	Noise from USN vessels keep- ing people					
		awake at night.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
			Inland/ West of Burgh	0	1	0	1
			Not given	0	1	0	1
TOTALS FOR Jan-Dec. 1975				2	12	2	16
1976	Jan.	Noise from USN vessels keep- ing people awake at night.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1
SUM TOTALS FOR April 7th-End of Feb. incl.				39	109	26	174

A P P E N D I X 3.

LETTERS REGARDING ARDYNE
WITHIN LOCAL PRESS

YEAR
TABLES
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
OR DUNOON AND/OR ARGYLL
STANDARD REGARDING THE
OIL-RELATED INDUSTRY AT
ARDYNE AND THE OIL
QUESTIONS REGARDING
PLANT SUITABILITY
ELSEWHERE.

3.1. YEAR TABLES: LETTERS REGARDING OIL RELATED INDUSTRY & MATTERS ASSOCIATED

ISSUE OF THE NEWSPAPER	ORIGIN OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED			TOTAL	REMARKS
		pro-project	anti-project	in neutral terms		
1972 16 Sept.	Not given "Onlooker"	0	1	0	1	Mention of US possible Ardyne project and of another project at Ardentinny.
1973 10 Nov.	"Fugitive from pollution"	0	1	0	1	McAlpine's project at Ardyne. (USN riots being discussed at the time).
	Toward (West of Burgh)	0	1	0	1	
17 Nov.	Kirn (Burgh)	0	1	0	1	This letter was concerned with the Lind proposal at Ardyne.
1 Dec.	Kirn (Burgh)					
	Toward (West of Burgh)	0	1	0	1	Lind project discussed.
TOTALS		0	4	0	4	
1974 12 Jan.	Toward (West of Burgh)	0	1	0	1	Lind Project
19 Jan.	Toward (West of Burgh)	0	1	0	1	Ditto
16 March	Port Lamont (W/Burgh)	0	1	0	1	McAlpine extends his project.
23 March	Toward (W/Burgh)	0	1	0	1	Civic Trust created to protect local concerns against intruders/McAlpine
	Rest of Cowal	0	1	0	1	Portavadie mentioned Rig builders' axiom-"divide and conquer".
	Toward	0	1	0	1	Extension of McAlpine's project. Road hazards.
	Port Lamont (W/Burgh)	0	1	0	1	Smooth operators these rig-builders especially McAlpine.
6 April	Rest of Cowal	1	0	0	1	From someone signed "incomer".
	Toward	0	2	0	2	
20 April	Rest of Cowal	0	1	0	1	Against Portavadie employment only of young.

ISSUE OF THE NEWSPAPER	ORIGIN OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED			TOTAL	REMARKS
		pro- project	anti- project	in neutral terms		
27 April	Toward	0	1	0	1	Objection to the McAlpine helicopter landing in children's playground.
4 May	Rest of Cowal	0	1	0	1	Portavadie.
11 May	Rest of Cowal	1	0	0	1	Portavadie/an incomer.
18 May	Rest of Argyll	0	0	1	1	Ardentinny project.
25 May	Not given	0	1	0	1	Ardyne bosses laid off 155 men, amongst these were 4 local joiners.
1 June	Ardentinny (E/Burgh)	0	1	0	1	Ardentinny scheme.
8 June	Kilmun (E/Burgh)	0	1	0	1	"Leave Ardentinny to the people who love and live in it".
	Toward (W/Burgh)	0	1	0	1	Unite under Cowal Action Group against outside planers.
22 June	Toward (W/Burgh)	0	2	0	2	Ardyne - McAlpine.
	Inland/ (W/Burgh)	0	1	0	1	Kilfinan and Portavadie.
6 July	Innellan	1	0	0	1	Ardyne and Ardentinny projects.
17 August	Inland/ (W/Burgh)	1	0	0	1	Portavadie project good for local labour.
24 August	Rest of Cowal	1	0	0	1	Rig platform sites economic good effects.
21 Sept.	Rest of Cowal	0	1	0	1	Anti-Portavadie group received £500 from objectors.
TOTALS FOR 1974		5	20	1	26	
1975						
1 March	Burgh	1	0	0	1	McAlpine supervisor at Ardyne discusses an internal dispute involving local women in canteen.

ISSUE OF THE NEWSPAPER	ORIGIN OF LETTERS	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED			TOTAL	REMARKS
		pro- project	anti- project	in neutral terms		
	Toward (W/Burgh)	0	0	1	1	Noise level created by McAlpine discus- sed of Ardyne project by Toward Civic Trust.
5 Nov.	Dunoon Burgh	0	1	0	1	McAlpine at Ardyne keeps out local workers.
22 Nov.	Dunoon Burgh	0	1	0	1	Another complaint that McAlpine at Ardyne keeps out local workers.
TOTALS FOR 1975		1	2	1	4	
SUM TOTALS UP TO last letter before study terminated						
		6	27	2	35	

Only the letter of August 24th 1974 could be listed as dealing with macro issues: in this case the beneficial economic effects of a North Sea rig-building project.

From the above data there were: 12 letters which explicitly mentioned McAlpine.

4 letters which explicitly mentioned Lind and Co.

1 letter which mentioned a possible American project.

If one takes the sum total of all letters at this time they number 490 from 16th September 1972-end of February 1976.

The percentage therefore of letters mentioning Ardyne was 3.47% and McAlpine - 2.45%.

A P P E N D I X 4 :

REGIONALIZATION
LETTERS TO DUNOON
OBSERVER AND
ARGYLLSHIRE STANDARD.

YEAR

TABLES I

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR OF THE DUNOON OBSERVER
& ARGYLLSHIRE STANDARD ON REGIONALIZATION
AND MATTERS ASSOCIATED WITH IT.

4.1. YEAR TABLES : LETTERS TO THE EDITOR REGARDING THE QUESTION OF REGIONALIZATION AND/OR MATTERS RELATED BETWEEN OCTOBER 18th 1969-END OF FEBRUARY 1976 (ALL LETTERS OF PERIOD TOTAL 812)

PERIOD	ORIGIN	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED AND/OR MATTERS RELATED			TOTAL	REMARKS
		pro-reorganisation	anti-reorganisation	in neutral terms		
1969						
Oct.	Burgh	0	1	0	1	Only a few copies of Report in town. 3 with Town Council.
Nov.	Not given	0	0	1	1	Initial soundings of local authorities in process regd reorg.
<hr/>						
TOTALS FOR period						
Oct. '69-end of year		0	1	1	2	
<hr/>						
1970						
Jan.	Burgh	0	1	0	1	
<hr/>						
1971						
May	Burgh	0	2	0	2	One of the letters described reorg. as "mutilation".
<hr/>						
1972						
May	Burgh	0	1	0	1	Even division in Town Council over annexation with the "other side".
<hr/>						
1975						
Feb.	Innellan (W/Burgh)	0	1	0	1	Resentment over the proposed substitution of "West Strathclyde" for Argyll.
April	Argyll MP	0	1	0	1	Ditto.
June	West Scotland "other side"	0	1	0	1	Burgh dirty since reorganization.
July	Burgh	0	1	0	1	Burgh rundown since reorganization.
August	Rest of Argyll	1	0	0	1	Strathclyde refuse collection problems discussed.
Oct.	East of Burgh	0	1	0	1	Rates increase determined by Region resented.
	Burgh	0	1	0	1	
Dec.	Not given	0	1	0	1	Strathclyde can't work.
<hr/>						
TOTALS FOR 1975		1	7	0	8	

PERIOD	ORIGIN	SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED AND/OR MATTERS RELATED			TOTAL	REMARKS
		pro- reorganisation	anti-	in neutral terms		
1976						
Jan.	Burgh	0	3	0	3	Argyll St. badly surfaced under new order; Need to resurface again.
	West of Scotland "other side"	1	0	0	1	
Feb.	Burgh	0	1	0	1	Burgh rundown since reorganization.
TOTALS FOR 1976		1	4	0	5	
SUM TOTALS FOR PERIOD 2			16	1	19	

Only three letters dealt with macro issues: one in November 1969 and 2 in May 1971 in the months listed.

All three letters also brought up micro factors.

Percentage of letters dealing with reorganization was 2.34%.

A P P E N D I X 5 : SHERIFF COURT CONVICTIONS FROM
MAY 1961-END OF FEBRUARY 1976.

- 5 .1. TABLE 1: NON-MOTORING CONVICTIONS IN DUNOON SHERIFF COURT
- 5 .2. TABLE 2: MOTORING CONVICTIONS IN DUNOON SHERIFF COURT
- 5 .3. TABLE 3: THOSE OF "NO FIXED ABODE" WHO WERE CONVICTED FROM
MAY '61 - END OF FEBRUARY 1976
- 5 .4. TABLE 4: POSSESSION OF DRUGS CONVICTIONS IN SHERIFF COURT
DUNOON FROM MAY 1961-END OF FEBRUARY 1976
- 5 .5. TABLE 5: ARDYNE PERSONNEL CONVICTIONS FROM DECEMBER 1974-
END OF FEBRUARY 1976

TABLE 1: NON-MOTORING CONVICTIONS IN DUNOON SHERIFF COURT (DATA EXCLUDES OFFENCES OF DEMONSTRATORS AND PEOPLE OF NO FIXED ABODE).

SHERIFF COURT CONVICTIONS FROM MAY 1961-END OF FEBRUARY 1976; FROM TIME OF THE FIRST USN CONVICTION TILL CLOSE OF RESEARCH.

PERIOD	USN SHIP PERSONNEL	SUBMARINERS	US CIVIL	TOTAL	LOCAL RESIDENTS REST OF COWAL, REST OF ARGYLL	WEST SCOTS.	OTHER SCOTS.	REST EIRE	ABROAD	TOTAL	SUM TOTAL	USN %	
May-Dec '61	12	3	0	15	21	6	9	3	1	0	40	55	27.27
Jan-Dec '62	12	2	0	14	23	21	9	0	0	0	53	67	20.90
Jan-Dec '63	23	6	0	29	37	19	8	1	0	0	66	95	30.53
Jan-Dec '64	13	1	0	14	20	8	21	4	0	0	53	67	20.10
Jan-Dec '65	26	0	2	28	31	9	10	1	0	0	51	79	35.44
Jan-Dec '66	13	1	1	15	26	13	10	4	2	0	55	70	21.43
Jan-Dec '67	11	1	0	12	24	7	3	1	0	0	35	47	25.53
Jan-Dec '68	6	4	0	10	26	9	0	2	0	0	37	47	21.28
Jan-Dec '69	15	0	0	15	41	12	4	0	0	0	57	72	20.83
Jan-Dec '70	10	0	0	10	41	12	8	0	0	0	61	71	14.08
Jan-Dec '71	20	5	0	25	53	12	8	2	0	0	73	98	25.51
Jan-Dec '72	8	0	0	8	53	11	3	0	0	0	67	75	10.67
Jan-Dec '73	13	0	0	13	78	3	26	5	0	0	112	125	10.04
Jan-Dec '74	13	0	0	13	62	3	22	1	0	0	85	98	13.27
Jan-Dec '75	23	0	0	23	43	21	14	3	0	0	83	106	21.70
Jan-Dec '76	6	0	0	6	10	5	2	0	1	0	18	24	25.
TOTALS	224	23	3	250	589	171	155	27	4	0	946	1196	20.90

5.2

TABLE 2: MOTORING CONVICTIONS IN DUNOON SHERIFF COURT (DATA EXCLUDES OFFENCES OF DEMONSTRATORS AND PEOPLE OF NO FIXED ABODE - SEE TABLE 5)

PERIOD	USN SHIP PERSONNEL	SUBMARINERS	US CIVIL	TOTAL	LOCAL RESIDENTS REST OF COWAL REST OF ARGYLL							TOTAL SUM	USN %	
					WEST SCOTS.	OTHER SCOTS.	REST EIRE	ABROAD	REST UK	SCOTS.	UK			
May-Dec'61	11	0	0	11	28	19	32	6	0	0	0	85	96	11.46
Jan-Dec'62	40	0	0	40	48	46	45	5	0	0	0	144	184	21.74
Jan-Dec'63	28	0	0	28	95	41	91	10	0	0	0	237	265	10.57
Jan-Dec'64	36	1	0	37	56	78	13	13	0	0	0	160	197	18.78
Jan-Dec'65	37	0	0	37	65	45	63	10	0	0	0	183	220	16.82
Jan-Dec'66	31	0	0	31	70	34	55	10	0	0	0	169	200	15.5
Jan-Dec'67	33	0	0	33	110	24	13	0	0	0	0	147	180	18.33
Jan-Dec'68	57	0	0	57	82	11	10	4	0	0	0	107	164	34.76
Jan-Dec'69	64	0	0	64	125	24	10	2	0	0	0	161	225	28.44
Jan-Dec'70	53	0	0	53	84	35	27	6	0	1	153	206	25.73	
Jan-Dec'71	62	0	0	62	111	39	34	5	0	0	0	189	251	32.80
Jan-Dec'72	82	0	0	82	105	14	26	38	0	0	0	153	235	34.89
Jan-Dec'73	72	0	0	72	139	37	38	9	0	0	0	223	295	24.41
Jan-Dec'74	63	0	0	63	132	39	36	22	1	0	0	230	293	21.50
Jan-Dec'75	51	2	0	53	84	34	23	14	0	0	0	155	208	34.19
Jan-Feb'76	2	0	0	2	7	1	0	1	0	0	0	9	11	18.18
TOTALS	722	3	0	725	1341	521	516	125	1	1	2505	3230	28.94	

TABLE 3: THOSE OF "NO FIXED ABODE" WHO WERE CONVICTED IN THE SHERIFF COURT FROM 1961 MAY-END OF FEBRUARY 1976.

YEAR	MONTH	NON-MOTORING OFFENCES			MOTORING OFFENCES		
		M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL
1964	May	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Aug.	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Sept.	1	0	1	0	0	0
TOTALS		2	0	2	1	0	1
1965	May	3	0	3	0	1	1
	Aug.	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Sept.	0	1	1	0	0	0
	Dec.	1	0	1	0	0	0
TOTALS		5	1	6	0	0	0
1966	March	0	1	1	0	0	0
1970	April	2	0	2	0	0	0
	Aug.	0	3	3	0	0	0
	Sept.	1	0	1	0	0	0
TOTALS		3	3	6	0	0	0
1971	July	1	0	1	0	0	0
1972	Dec.	2	0	2	0	0	0
1973	Feb.	3	0	3	0	0	0
	April	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Dec.	1	0	1	0	0	0
TOTALS		5	0	5	0	0	0
1974	Jan.	2	0	2	0	0	0
	Feb.	1	0	1	0	0	0
	April	1	0	1	0	0	0
	June	1	0	1	0	0	0
	July	5	0	5	0	0	0
	Nov.	1	0	1	0	0	0
TOTALS		11	0	11	0	0	0
1975	May	1	0	1	0	0	0
	June	2	1	3	0	0	0
	July	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Oct.	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Nov.	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Dec.	0	1	1	0	0	0
TOTALS		6	2	8	0	0	0

TABLE 3 Cont'd.

NON-MOTORING OFFENCES				MOTORING OFFENCES			
YEAR	MONTH	M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL
1976	Feb.	0	1	1	0	0	0
TOTALS		34	8	42	1	1	1

5.4. TABLE 4: POSSESSION OF DRUGS CONVICTIONS IN SHERIFF COURT DUNOON FROM MAY 1961-END OF FEBRUARY 1976

PERIOD	USN MEN	VESSEL	US DEFS.	USA PERS. TOTAL	LOCAL RESID	REST COWAL	REST ARGYLL	WEST SCOT.	OTHER SCOTS.	REST UK	EIRE	ABROAD	NO FIXED ABODE	TOTAL
1971 June	2	Canopus	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
1972 June	4	Canopus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
July	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Sept.	1	Canopus	0	1	2	0	0	1	4	1	0	0	0	9
Nov.	1	Canopus	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1973 Feb.	0	-	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
Aug.	0	-	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dec.	1	Canopus	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1974 Jan.	1	Canopus	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
Feb.	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
May	0	-	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
June	0	-	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
July	1	Canopus	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Nov.	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1975 Jan.	1	Canopus	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
March	0	-	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
July	1	Canopus	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Oct.	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Nov.	1	Canopus	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

5.5 TABLE 5 : ARDYNE PERSONNEL CONVICTIONS FROM DECEMBER 1974-END OF FEBRUARY 1976.

PERIOD	NON-MOTORING CONVICTION	MOTORING CONVICTION	TOTAL
1974		Driving with excess alcohol	1
Dec.			1
1975		Driving with excess alcohol	1
Feb.	Disorderly		2
March	Disorderly and malicious damage	Stealing a car/no insurance/no licence/ car into Loch Eck	1
		Excess alcohol	1
April		Excess alcohol	1
May		Reckless driving	1
June	Disorderly	Excess alcohol	2
July		Excess Alcohol	1
		No insurance	1
Sept.	Making false statement		1
Oct.	Throwing stool through a mirror of pub.		1
Nov.	Disorderly in restaurant	Speeding	1
		Excess alcohol	1
TOTALS	10	12	22

Above convictions of people who gave Ardyne Camp as an address (some incoming Ardyne personnel convictions may have been included under registered local resident convictions because personnel may have given their temporary local address in the Sheriff's Court.)

A P P E N D I X 6 :THE DUNOON OBSERVER PHOTOGRAPHS : CONTENT

- 6.1. TABLE I: THE NUMBER AND TYPE OF CIVILIAN PHOTOGRAPHS IN THE DUNOON OBSERVER AND ARGYLLSHIRE STANDARD FROM NOVEMBER 5th 1960-
-END OF FEBRUARY 1976.
- 6.2. TABLE 2: THE NUMBER AND TYPE OF USN PHOTOGRAPHS IN THE DUNOON OBSERVER AND ARGYLLSHIRE STANDARD FROM NOV. 5th. 1960-
END FEB. '76.

6.1 TABLE 1: THE PROPORTION AND TYPE OF CIVILIAN PHOTOGRAPHS IN THE DUNOON OBSERVER AND ARGYLLSHIRE STANDARD FROM NOVEMBER 1960 - END OF FEBRUARY 1976.

Total number of newspaper issues covered by the following data - 757
 Total number of photographs in these issues - 3699

PHOTOS RELATED TO THE CIVILIAN "SCAPE"						
"SCAPES TO WHICH WERE PRIMARILY RELATED"	NUMBER RELATED TO "LOCAL-SCAPE"	NUMBER RELATED TO "OUTSCAPE"	TOTALS	PERCENTAGE RELATED TO:		TOTAL %
				"LOCAL-SCAPE"	"OUTSCAPE"	
"HISTORICAL-SCAPE"	206	1	207	5.57	0.03	5.60
"ECOLOGICAL-SCAPE"	56	0	56	1.51	0.00	1.51
"ECONOMIC-SCAPE"	78	0	78	2.11		2.11
	local business 70 Ardyne project 8			1.89 0.22	0.	
"POLITICAL-SCAPE"	363	20	383	9.81	0.54	10.35
	local MP. 120 Provost 148 Councillors 74 Strathclyde 21	"Outscape" MPs 6 Strathclyde) "Outscape") 14 Officials)		3.24 4.00 2.00 0.57	0.16 0.38	
	2402	388		64.94	10.48	
"CULTURAL-SCAPE"	Clergy/church 128 function Wedding Anniv. 46	Clergy in "Outscape" 4 Weddings in "Outscape" 144 leisure activities in 240 "Outscape"	2790	3.46	0.11	75.43
	Leisure Activities 2053			1.24	3.89	
	3105	409		83.94	11.05	
TOTALS			3514			95

6.2 TABLE 2: THE PROPORTION AND TYPE OF USN PHOTOGRAPHS IN THE DUNOON OBSERVER AND ARCYLLSHIRE STANDARD FROM NOVEMBER 5th 1960 - END OF FEBRUARY 1976.

PHOTOS RELATED TO THE USN MILITARY "SCAPE"						
"SCAPES" TO WHICH WERE PRIMARILY RELATED	NUMBER RELATED TO "LOCAL-SCAPE"	NUMBER RELATED TO "OUTSCAPE"	TOTALS	PERCENTAGE RELATED TO:		TOTAL %
				"LOCAL-SCAPE"	"OUTSCAPE"	
"HISTORICAL-SCAPE"	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	-
"ECOLOGICAL-SCAPE"						
"ECONOMIC-SCAPE"						
"POLITICAL-SCAPE"	Military "scape" activities 27	0	27	0.73	0	0.73
"CULTURAL-SCAPE"	156		158	4.22	0.054	4.27
	Weddings in Uniform 45 Weddings in Civilian clothes 21 Leisure Activities 90	Weddings in Uniform 2				
TOTALS	183	2	185	4.95	0.05	5.00

A P P E N D I X 7

MALE TOILET GRAFFITI

1ST FEBRUARY 1975-END FEBRUARY 1976

7.1 TABLE 1: MALE TOILET GRAFFITI WITHIN THE BURGH

7.2 TABLE 2: MALE TOILET GRAFFITI "FURTH" OF THE BURGH

NOTES

I had decided to take note of the toilet graffiti with a view to assessing feelings expressed locally with regard to the incomers. As it turned out, the findings threw some light upon these within the political context. I checked the Burgh male toilets early each Monday morning throughout twelve months from the last day in Feb. 75 to the first day of Feb. 76 inclusively. The toilets within the Burgh were well distributed: three in the town centre, three to the south-west of the pier, four to the north-west (one closed down after my research began), and one at the pier. Outside the Burgh, I regularly checked toilet graffiti in the main toilets at Toward, Ardentenny and Sandbank. The check on the female toilets was carried out by three women. Whereas the male graffiti did refer to the incomers, out of the 53 graffiti in the Burgh ladies' toilets, and 11 "furth" of the Burgh, there were no references to the incomers.

7.1.

TABLE 1: MALE TOILET GRAFFITI WITHIN THE BURGH : 1ST FEBRUARY 1975-
END OF FEBRUARY 1976 IN TOTALS.

SECTOR OF TOILET(S)	STREET SPECIFIC LOCATION	NUMBER OF MALE TOILETS	REGD. USN/ AMERICAN NAVAL PRESENCE	REGD. ARDYNNERS	REGD. LOCALS/ LOCALITY	OTHER GRAFFITI
1. TOILETS COVERED WITHIN THE BURGH						
DUNOON						
FERRY ACCESS	Dunoon pier	1	10	9	3	22
SHORE: WEST BAY DUNOON	Glenmorag Promenade	1	0	2	0	15
	Victoria Parade	1	1	0	0	7
SHORE: EAST BAY DUNOON	Alexandra Parade (closed down during period)	1	0	0	2	21
SHORE: KIRN	Marine Parade	1	0	0	0	5
SHORE: HUNTERS QUAY	Marine Parade	1	9	17	6	12
DUNOON IN TOWN	Moir St.	1	0	2	0	6
	Kirk Brae	1	3	36	30	1
	By Arthur Terrace	1	0	0	0	7
	Argyll St. (in the green by road)	1	14	9	0	23
TOTALS	Burgh	10	37	75	41	122

7.2.

TABLE 2. "FURTH" OF THE BURGH

EAST OF BURGH	Main St. in Sandbank by bus stop	1	5	0	0	29
	Ardentinny by car park	1	0	0	0	4
WEST OF BURGH	shore	1	0	2	0	3
TOTALS	three settlements	3	5	2	0	36

The toilets "furth" of the Burgh were selected as follows:
Sandbank because it was nearest the Base, and Ardentinnny and Toward
because they were at the extreme ends of the locality on the shore.
Toward was nearest to Ardyne.

A P P E N D I X 8FERRY BOAT INTERVIEW DATA

- 8.1 FERRY TIME-TABLE, MAY 3rd - SEPTEMBER 27th,
1975, FOR BOATS BETWEEN DUNOON AND GOUROCK.
- 8.2 PLAN OF THE FERRY BOATS JUPPITER AND JUNO
AND ZONES ABOARD FOR RANDOM INTERVIEWS. Plans I-III
- 8.3 ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE.
- 8.4 RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND SOCIAL
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 148 INTERVIEWEES
DIVIDED BY SEX. TABLES 1 - 12 .
- 8.5 NUMBER OF MAIN RESPONSES GROUPED BY VISITORS'
PLACE OF RESIDENCE. TABLES I-V.
- 8.6 THE TYPE OF VISITORS TABLES 1-4

81. FERRY TIME-TABLE MAY 3rd - SEPTEMBER 27th, 1975 : DUNOON-GOUROCK

MONDAY TO SATURDAY LEAVING DUNOON		
07.25	12.45	18.15
08.00 S	13.45	19.00
08.35	14.15	19.30
09.15	14.45	20.00
10.00	15.15	20.30
10.45	15.45	21.30 A
11.15	16.15	22.30 A
11.45	17.00 S	
12.15	17.30	
SUNDAY		
09.15	13.45	17.30
10.00	14.15	18.15
10.45	14.45	19.00
11.15	15.15	19.30
11.45	15.45	20.00
12.15	16.15	20.30
12.45	17.00	21.00 B

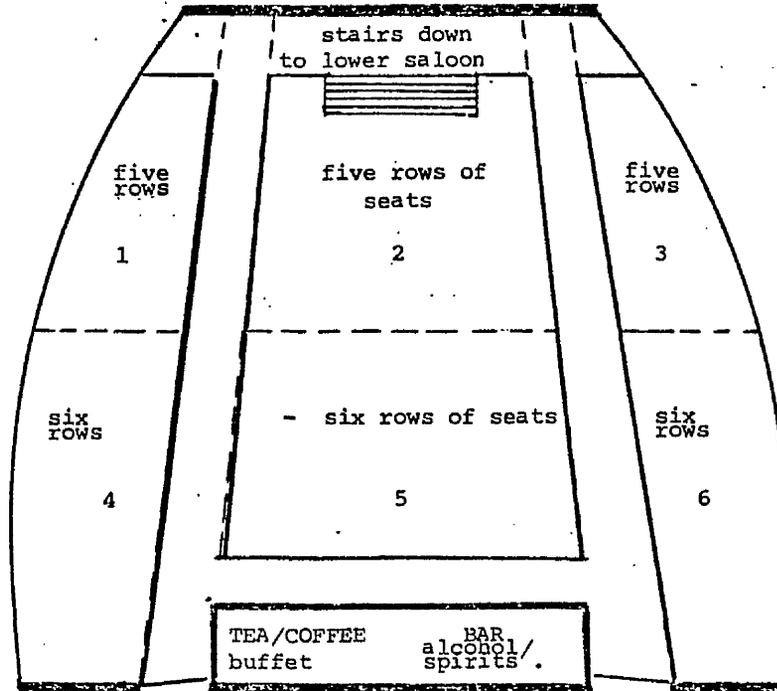
S = SATURDAYS ONLY.

A = 23rd MAY - 29th SEPTEMBER.

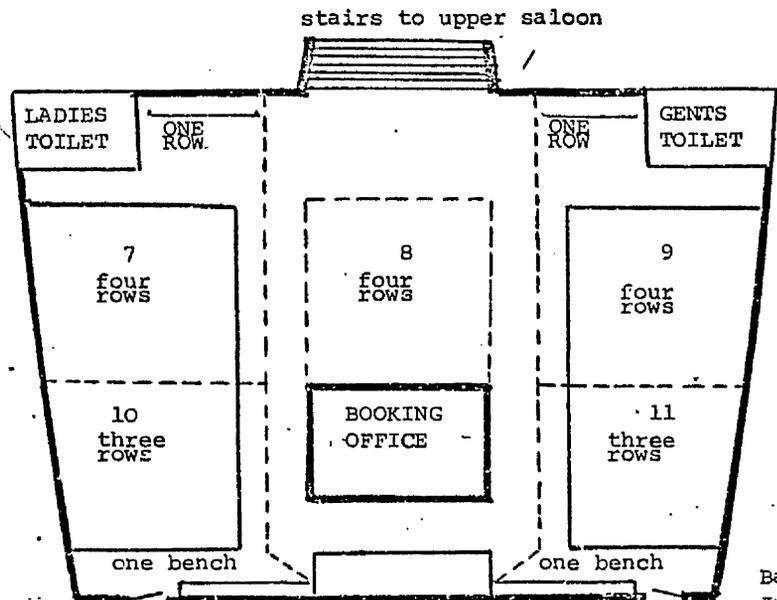
B = 29th JUNE - 31st AUGUST.

8.2. PLAN OF THE JUNO AND JUPITER, AND ZONES ABOARD FOR RANDOM INTERVIEWS

I UPPER SALOON

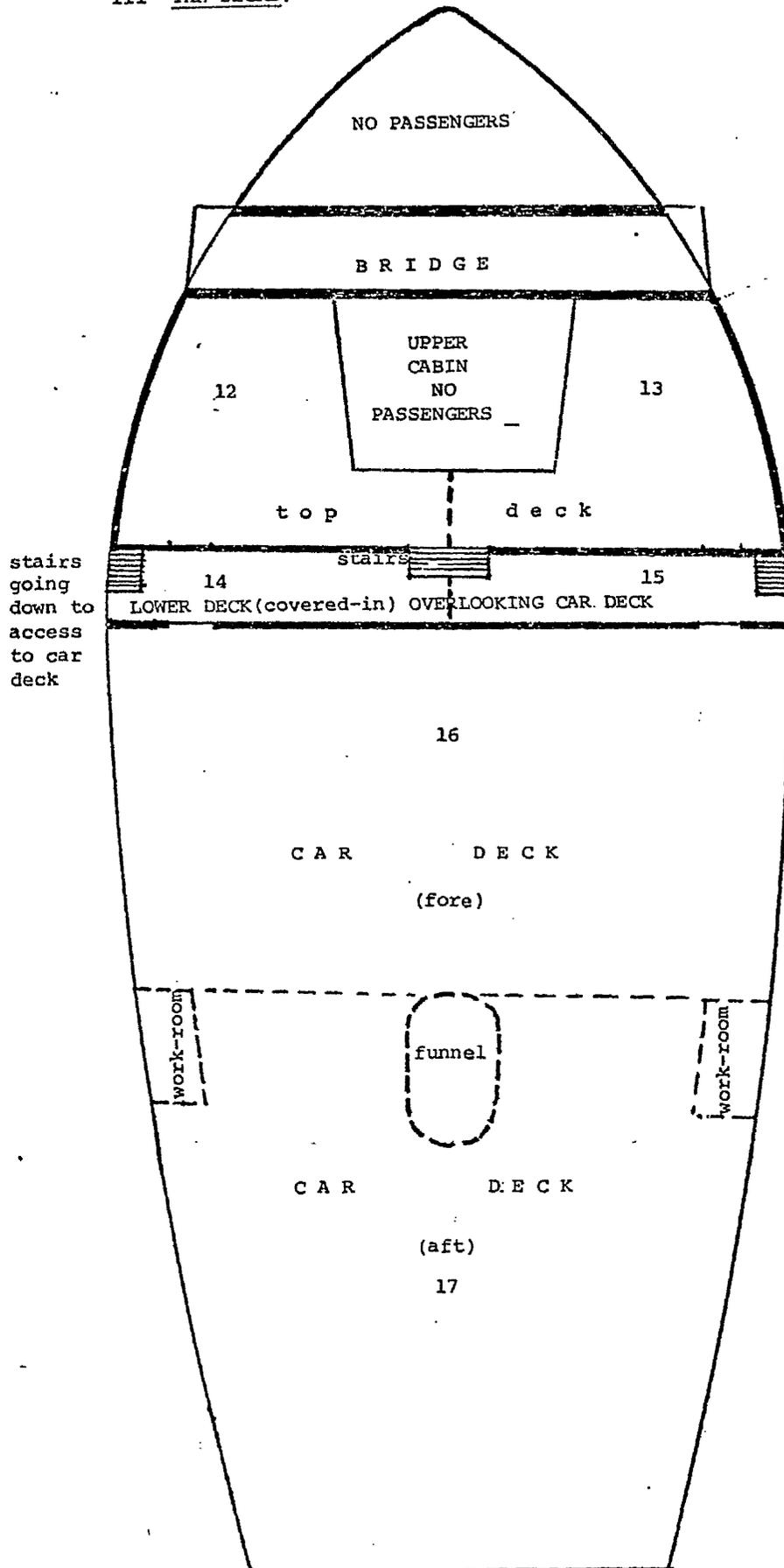


II LOWER SALOON:



Back bench only on the Jupiter, not the Juno.

III THE DECKS:



not drawn to scale -1975-'76.
JUNO and JUPITER
twin ships.

8.3. THE QUESTIONS ASKED ABOARD THE FERRIES.

Sex noted. The starting age - 17 years of age. The introductory remarks allow for clarification when there is any doubt with regard to age.

INTRODUCTION: 1. "Excuse me for troubling you. I am carrying out research at Glasgow University. This is my ID card. Part of the project I am engaged in involves interviews on the ferries between Dunoon and Gourock, could you answer a few questions please?
IF THERE IS ANY DOUBT WITH REGARD TO AGE ADD:
"Are you over 17 years of age?"

2. IF THE PERSON AGREES AND IS OF AGE ASK:
"In what city/town/village or country place do you permanently reside?"

IF THE PERSON ACTUALLY COMES FROM THE DUNOON DISTRICT (as determined within this study) THE INTERVIEW IS TERMINATED AND THE NEXT PERSON IS SUBSTITUTED TO THE LEFT OF THE PERSON, HAVING EXPRESSED THANKS FOR THEIR CO-OPERATION.

IF THE PERSON COMES FROM THE OUTSCAPE ASK:

1. Could you please point out on this display card what type of passenger you are:

DAY-TRIPPER
TOURIST
HOLIDAY-MAKER
WORK-COMMUTER
TRAVELLER PASSING THROUGH
OTHER KIND OF PASSENGER
NOT SURE WHAT TYPE OF PASSENGER

(point out the boxes in turn)

?

2. IF WORK-COMMUTER ASK:
Could you please point out on this display card where you are working:

DUNOON
KIRN
HUNTERS QUAY
SANDBANK/ARDNADAM
KILMUN
STRONE
BLAIRMORE
ARDENTINNY
BENMORE & RASHFIELD
BULLWOOD
INNELLAN
TOWARD
ARDYNE POINT
INVERCHAOLAIN
OTHER PLACE APART FROM THESE

(point out the boxes in turn)

?

2. IF WORK-COMMUTER ADD:

Could you please point out on this display card how long you have been working there:

1 - 2 years
3 - 4 years
5 -10 years
11-14 years
15 plus years

(point out
the boxes
in turn)

? MOVE TO QUESTION 4.

3. IF NOT WORK-COMMUTER ASK:

Could you please point out on this display card how long you have spent in the area here on the map (TRACE OUT THE AREA BY HAND ON DISPLAY MAP THEN SHOW THE CARD)

UNDER TWO DAYS
BETWEEN THREE DAYS AND A WEEK
A WEEK PLUS

(point out the
boxes in turn)
?

4. WITH THE MAP STILL HELD OUT ASK:

Briefly, what are your views about life today in this area (TRACE IT OUT - AS SET OUT IN THE STUDY) from the point of view of the visitor?

(NOTE: Whilst the interviewee responded I identified the "sticking points" in the replies by detecting:

- (1) Positive/negative remarks with regard to DUNOON and/or other places locally;
- (2) Positive/negative remarks with regard to the area as a whole;
- (3) If it was stated that Dunoon and/or other place was not a holiday place;
- (4) If it was stated that the area as a whole was not a holiday area;
- (5) If it was stated that the USN personnel and/or dependents had a good/bad effect upon Dunoon and/or other place locally and/or Base as such;
- (6) If it was stated that the Ardyne personnel had had a good/bad effect upon the area as a whole; and/or the Ardyne complex as such upon the area;
- (7) If there were other remarks apart from the above).

5. Could you point out please, on this display card, your age group:

17-19 years of age
20-29 " " "
30-39 " " "
40-49 " " "
50-59 " " "
60-69 " " "
70-79 " " "
80 years plus

(point out the boxes in turn)

?

6. And on this card could you point out what your marital status is:

SINGLE
MARRIED AT PRESENT
WIDOWED AT PRESENT
SEPARATED AT PRESENT
DIVORCED AT PRESENT

(point out the boxes in turn)

7. Could you point out on this card which applies to you:

EMPLOYED
SELF-EMPLOYED
UNEMPLOYED
HOUSEWIFE
RETIRED

(point out the boxes in turn)

IF EMPLOYED/SELF-EMPLOYED ASK:
What is your present occupation?

8. END BY ASKING:
"By the way, did you visit the Holy Loch?"

AND ADD:
"Were you at Ardyne Point during your stay?" *

CONCLUSION:
Thank you for helping by giving your views.
Sorry to have taken up your time on the journey.

* All those who work at Ardyne Point are not asked the last question regarding a visit to Ardyne Point - they are, however, identified as having been there.

NOTE: The questions regarding employment etc..... were left rather general, for example: part-time, full-time employment, and former employment of the retired were left out, because of the limits of the time factor on the crossing aboard the ferry.

8.4 RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 148 INTERVIEWEES DIVIDED BY SEX
KEY TO DATA SHEETS REGARDING THE BOAT INTERVIEWS; AND SOME OBSERVATIONS

THE HEADING	OBSERVATIONS AND SOME ABBREVIATIONS
PLACE IN THE ROTA SEQUENCE	The day upon which the interview took place is numbered from 1 - 148.
TYPE	This covers type of passenger: WC = Work-commuter HM = Holiday-maker T = Tourist TT = Travelling through DT = Day-tripper WC/B = Work-commuter employed in Burgh.
PERMANENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	ABBREVIATIONS: GLSGW = Glasgow R.A. = Rest of Argyll R.W.Sc. = Rest of the West of Scotland R.Sc. = Rest of Scotland R.UK. = Rest of the United Kingdom ABROAD = Outside the U.K.
R.G. CLASS OCCUPATION ETC.	RG. class I to V (Registrar General as in Censi) UN = Unemployed R = Retired H = Housewife
OTHER REMARKS REGARDING LOCALITY/PLACE	This covers all statements which cannot be slotted with negative/positive remarks regarding Dunoon and which cannot be slotted with negative/positive remarks regarding locality in general. If the remark was with regard to the locality in general it would be coded as <u>GEN.</u> , and if with regard to a certain place/settlement it would be coded as <u>E</u> if to the east of the Burgh; it would be coded as <u>W</u> if to the west of the Burgh. If both, <u>E/W</u> .
OTHER REMARKS REGARDING USN &/OR ARDYNERS	This covers all statements, with regard to USN &/or Ardyne complex personnel, which cannot be slotted with the USN ill effects upon town/locality in general, and cannot be slotted with the Ardyners' ill effects upon town/locality in general. If both USN/Ardyners are referred to, <u>BOTH</u> is registered. If reference was to either the Ardyne personnel or related matters the reference was coded as <u>ARD</u> . If regarding either the Ardyne personnel or related matters the reference was coded as <u>ARD</u> . If regarding the USN personnel or related matters the reference was coded as <u>USN</u>

RESPONSES WITH REGARD TO THE HEADINGS REGISTERED BY "X"

PLACE IN THE ROTA SEQUENCE within 148-day period	TYPE PERMIT PLACE OF RESID.	PERMIT CLASS. OCCUPN. ETC.	VISIT TIME IN LOCALITY TO TO ONE TO TWO SIX DAYS	TIME EMPLOYED WITHIN LOCALITY LESS ONE YRS. YRS. YRS. PLUS	WORKING AT ARDYNE	MARRITAL STATUS	Visit to HOLY LOCH during period	Remarks
3.40-49	T R.Sc.	IV	x	1-2				No mention
143	TT R.W.Sc.	II	x	3-4				no mention
60	DT R.W.Sc.	Un.	x	5-10				x x x x x x x x
171	DT R.W.Sc.	III	x	11-14				x x x x x x x x
81	DT R.W.Sc.	IV	x	15				x x x x x x x x
50	DT R.UK.	V	x					x x x x x x x x
1	DT R.W.Sc.	IV	x					x x x x x x x x
44	DT R.Sc.	V	x					x x x x x x x x
30	T R.Sc.	IV	x					x x x x x x x x
80	DT R.W.Sc.	V	x					x x x x x x x x
12	DT GLSGW	IV	x					x x x x x x x x
	10 MALES							

PLACE IN THE ROTA SEQUENCE #thin 148-day period	TYPE PERMIT PLACE OF RESID.	ORG CLASS. OCCUP ETC.	VISIT TIME IN LOCALITY		TIME EMPLOYED WITHIN LOCALITY	WORKING AT ARDYNE	MARRIAGE STATUS		VISIT to HOLY LOCH during period	Remarks	Visit to HOLY LOCH POINT
			ONE TO TWO DAYS	THREE TO SIX DAYS			YRS.	YRS.			
4.40-49											
84	HM R.W.Sc	H									
121	DT R.W.Sc	H									
105	DT R.Sc.	H									
10	DT R.W.Sc	II									
90	DT R.W.Sc	I									
104	DT R.UK.	H.									
68	DT R.W.Sc	H									
106	W/C/B R.W.Sc	II									
83	WC R.W.Sc	V									
144	HM R.UK.	H									
107	DT GLSGW	H									
82	DT GLSGW	H									
125	DT R.W.Sc	IV									
58	DT R.Sc.	Un.									
91	DT GLSGW	Un.									
146	T R.UK.	IV									
69	TT R.UK.	III									
57	TT R.Sc.	H									
108	DT GLSGW	H									
138	DT R.W.Sc	III									
56	DT R.W.Sc	H									
70	DT GLSGW	V									
92	HM ABROAD	H									
74	TT R.UK.	H									
132	TT R.W.Sc	Un.									
145	DT R.W.Sc	Un.									
51	DT GLSGW	H									
139	DT GLSGW	H									
47	TT R.Sc.	H									

Contd.

PLACE IN THE ROTA SEQUENCE within 148-day period	TYPE PERMANT RG PLACE OF RESID.	VISIT TIME IN LOCALITY	TIME EMPLOYED WITHIN LOCALITY	WORKING AT	MARITAL STATUS	OTHER REMARKS	Visit to HOLY LOCH during period
	CLASS. OCCUP. ETC.	ONE THREE TO TWO SIX DAYS	LESS ONE YR. PLUS	ARDYNE	s m wd sep div	regd. USN &/or Ardyners	
		ONE THREE TO TWO SIX DAYS	1-2 3-4 5-10 11-14 15 YRS. YRS. YRS. YRS. PLUS			ARDYNE ill effect on loc.	
						USN ill effects on loc.	
						USN ill effects on town	
						Not holiday area	
						Not holiday town	
						other remarks regd. loc./place	
						Pos. remarks regd. loc. in general	
						Neg. remarks regd. loc. in general	
						Positive remarks regd. DUNOON	
						Negative remarks regd. DUNOON	
5. contd.	DT GLSGN	x					x
71	DT GLSGN	x					x
17	DT R W SC	x					x
26	DT R.W.SC	x					x
111	DT R W SC	x					x
15	DT R W SC	x					x
	20 FEMALES						

8.5. THE NUMBER OF MAIN RESPONSES GROUPED BY VISITORS' PLACE OF RESIDENCE

TABLE 1:

NUMBER OF MAIN RESPONSES GROUPED BY VISITORS' PLACE OF RESIDENCE WITH FOCUS UPON THOSE WORKING AT ARDYNE :

GLASGOW IN NEARER OUTSCAPE - 30 INTERVIEWEES

AGE SEX	17-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-79		M	F	SUM TOTAL
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			
No.	0	2	2	1	4	0	1	8	3	4	2	3	0	0	12	18	30
WORKING AT ARDYNE	-	0	2	0	3	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	5	0	5
NEGATIVE REMARKS REGD. DUNOON	-	1	2	0	4	-	1	4	1	2	0	1	-	-	8	8	16
LOCALITY IN GENERAL	-	1	2	1	2	-	0	5	0	2	0	0	-	-	4	8	12
NOT HOLIDAY TOWN	-	0	2	0	4	-	0	3	1	0	0	0	-	-	7	3	10
LOCALITY	-	0	0	0	1	-	0	1	1	0	0	0	-	-	2	1	3
USN PERSONNEL ILL EFFECTS ON TOWN	-	1	1	0	3	-	1	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	5	1	6
LOCALITY	-	1	1	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	1	1	2
ARDYNER PERSONNEL ILL EFFECTS ON TOWN	-	0	0	1	0	-	1	8	1	3	2	1	-	-	4	13	17
LOCALITY	-	1	0	0	1	-	0	3	0	2	0	0	-	-	1	6	7
POSITIVE REMARKS REGD. TOWN	-	1	2	1	2	-	1	8	0	1	1	3	-	-	6	14	20
LOCALITY IN GENERAL	-	1	2	1	3	-	0	6	0	2	0	0	-	-	5	10	15

TABLE 2:
REST OF W. SCOTLAND - 61 INTERVIEWEES

AGE SEX	17-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-79		M	F	SUM TOTAL
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			
No.	-	1	5	4	3	9	5	12	4	9	7	2	-	-	24	37	61
WORKING AT ARDYNE	-	0	5	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	-	-	7	3	10
NEGATIVE REMARKS REGD. DUNOON	-	1	5	3	3	4	4	5	2	8	3	1	-	-	17	22	39
REGARDING LOCALITY IN GENERAL	-	1	4	4	2	1	2	3	2	4	2	0	-	-	12	13	25
NOT HOLIDAY TOWN	-	1	4	3	0	4	2	7	0	1	2	0	-	-	8	16	24
LOCALITY	-	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0	5	5
USN PERSONNEL ILL EFFECTS ON TOWN	-	0	4	0	3	4	3	3	0	2	0	0	-	-	10	9	19
LOCALITY	-	0	0	3	0	4	2	2	0	1	0	0	-	-	2	10	12
ARDYNER PERSONNEL ILL EFFECTS ON TOWN	-	0	0	3	0	4	3	9	2	4	6	0	-	-	11	20	31
LOCALITY	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	-	-	0	4	4
POSITIVE REMARKS REGD. TOWN	-	1	3	4	2	5	3	11	3	5	3	2	-	-	14	28	42
LOCALITY IN GENERAL	-	1	3	4	2	6	0	6	2	4	2	0	-	-	9	21	30

TABLE 3:
REST OF SCOTLAND - 17 INTERVIEWEES

AGE SEX	17-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-79		M	F	SUM TOTAL
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			
No.	0	1	1	0	0	1	3	4	4	1	2	0	-	-	10	7	17
WORKING AT ARDYNE	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	0	0
NEGATIVE REMARKS REGD. DUNOON	-	1	1	-	-	0	3	1	3	0	1	-	-	-	8	2	10
REGARDING LOCALITY IN GENERAL	-	1	0	-	-	0	2	1	3	0	0	-	-	-	5	2	7
NOT HOLIDAY TOWN	-	0	0	-	-	0	2	3	1	0	0	-	-	-	3	3	6
LOCALITY	-	0	0	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	0	0
USN PERSONNEL ILL EFFECTS ON TOWN	-	0	0	-	-	1	0	0	1	0	0	-	-	-	1	1	2
LOCALITY	-	0	0	-	-	1	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	1	1
ARDYNER PERSONNEL ILL EFFECTS ON TOWN	-	0	1	-	-	1	3	3	3	1	1	-	-	-	8	5	13
LOCALITY	-	0	0	-	-	0	0	1	0	1	0	-	-	-	0	2	2
POSITIVE REMARKS REGD. TOWN	-	1	0	-	-	1	2	3	3	1	1	-	-	-	6	6	12
LOCALITY IN GENERAL	-	1	0	-	-	1	2	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	5	5	10

TABLE 4:
REST OF U.K. - 34 INTERVIEWEES

AGE SEX	17-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-79		M	F	SUM TOTAL
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			
NO.	-	2	3	6	2	6	1	7	1	4	1	0	1	0	9	25	34
WORKING AT ARDYNE	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NEGATIVE REMARKS REGD. DUNOON	-	2	3	6	2	0	1	2	1	2	0	-	0	-	7	12	19
LOCALITY IN GENERAL	-	2	0	6	0	4	0	3	0	1	0	-	0	-	0	16	16
NOT HOLIDAY TOWN	-	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	-	0	-	1	3	4
LOCALITY	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0
USN PERSONNEL ILL EFFECTS ON TOWN	-	0	1	0	1	4	1	0	0	0	1	-	0	-	4	4	8
LOCALITY	-	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	5	5
ARDYNER PERSONNEL ILL EFFECTS ON TOWN	-	2	2	6	1	5	1	5	0	4	1	-	0	-	5	22	27
LOCALITY	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	-	0	-	0	5	5
POSITIVE REMARKS REGD. TOWN	-	2	1	6	2	6	1	6	1	3	1	-	1	-	7	23	30
LOCALITY IN GENERAL	-	2	3	6	2	4	1	6	1	3	1	-	1	-	9	21	30

TABLE 5:
ABROAD - 6 INTERVIEWEES

AGE SEX	17-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-79		SUM		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	TOTAL		
No.	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	-	-	0	6	6
WORKING AT ARDYNE	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	-	-	-	0
NEGATIVE REMARKS REGD. DUNOON	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	0	-	1	-	-	-	4	4
LOCALITY IN GENERAL	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	0	-	-	-	4	4
NOT HOLIDAY TOWN	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	-	-	0	0
LOCALITY	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	-	-	2	2
USN PERSONNEL ILL EFFECTS ON TOWN	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	0	-	1	-	0	-	-	-	1	1
LOCALITY	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	-	-	2	2
ARDYNER PERSONNEL ILL EFFECT ON TOWN	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	0	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	5	5
LOCALITY	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	0	-	1	-	0	-	-	-	1	1
POSITIVE REMARKS REGD. TOWN	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	6	6
LOCALITY IN GENERAL	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	0	-	1	-	0	-	-	-	3	3

8.6. THE TYPE OF VISITORS:

TABLE 1: THE TYPE OF WEST OF SCOTLAND VISITORS ("ON THE OTHER SIDE") TO THE LOCALITY INTERVIEWED ABOARD THE FERRIES LEAVING DUNOON ON THE GOUROCK ROUTE

SEX	TOTAL	AGE GROUP	TYPE OF VISITOR				TRAVELLING THROUGH	DAY TRIPPER	OCCUPATION					Housewife	Unemployed	Retired	
			WORK COMMUTER	HOLIDAY MAKER	TOURIST	TRAVELLING THROUGH			(R.G. CLASSIF.)	I	II	III	IV				V
M	3	17-19	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
F	12	20-29	7	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	7	3	1	0	0	0
	16	30-39	8	0	1	3	4	0	0	2	0	8	3	0	0	0	0
	26	40-49	2	1	1	1	21	1	1	3	2	4	9	4	0	0	0
	20	50-59	0	2	3	4	11	4	0	4	3	2	7	0	0	0	0
	14	60-69	0	0	1	1	12	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0
TOTALS	91		17	4	6	9	55	6	5	10	6	26	25	6	7	0	0

TABLE 2: THE TYPE OF VISITOR FROM THE REST OF SCOTLAND TO THE LOCALITY INTERVIEWED ABOARD THE FERRIES LEAVING DUNOON ON THE GOUROCK ROUTE

SEX	TOTAL	AGE GROUP	TYPE OF VISITOR				TRAVELLING THROUGH	DAY TRIPPER	OCCUPATION					Housewife	Unemployed	Retired	
			WORK COMMUTER	HOLIDAY MAKER	TOURIST	TRAVELLING THROUGH			(R.G. CLASSIF.)	I	II	III	IV				V
M	1	17-19	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
F	1	20-29	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1	30-39	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	7	40-49	0	0	2	2	3	0	0	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	0
	5	50-59	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2	60-69	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
	0	70-79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	17		0	1	5	3	9	4	0	0	3	4	5	2	0	0	0

TABLE 3: THE TYPE OF U.K. VISITORS FROM RES. OF U.K. INTERVIEWED ABOARD THE FERRIES LEAVING DUNOON PIER ON THE GOUROCK ROUTE

SEX	TOTAL	AGE GROUP	TYPE OF VISITOR					OCCUPATION (R.G. CLASSIF.)					Housewife	Unemployed	Retired
			WORK COMMUTER	HOLIDAY MAKER	TOURIST	TRAVELLING THROUGH	DAY TRIPPER	I	II	III	IV	V			
0	2	17-19	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
3	9	20-29	0	3	2	0	0	4	1	2	1	2	0	0	0
2	6	30-39	0	3	1	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	4	3	0
1	7	40-49	0	1	2	2	2	3	1	0	1	1	0	5	0
1	4	50-59	0	0	3	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	1	0
1	0	60-69	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	0	70-79	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	25	TOTALS	0	8	9	6	11	5	4	2	4	5	12	0	2

A P P E N D I X 9
THE 6% SAMPLE

9. 1. INTRODUCTORY NOTES ON THE REASON FOR ADOPTING A 6% SAMPLE; ITS COMPOSITION BY SEX AND SETTLEMENT; AND OBSERVATIONS ON "SUBSTITUTION".
9. 2. THE STREETS COVERED WITHIN EACH INTERVIEW SECTOR.
9. 3. THE QUESTIONS ASKED OF THE 525 INTERVIEWEES AUTUMN/WINTER, 1975-1976.
9. 4. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CLASSIFICATION WITH REGARD TO THE SOCIAL CLASS OF INTERVIEWEES.
9. 5. DATA CALCULATIONS OF THE INTERVIEW RESPONSES
 - 9.5.1. Questions and answers
 - 9.5.2 The Calculations and Identifications of those who were Critical of the INCOMERS OR STRATHCLYDE
 - 9.5.3 The Social Characteristics of the Interviewees related to criticism of incomers.
 - 9.5.4 The Social Characteristics of the Interviewees related to the issue of Strathclyde
 - 9.5.5 Crosstabulations: criticisms and views regarding confines.
 - 9.5.6 Crosstabulations: " " closure of the Base.
 - 9.5.7 Crosstabulations: " " " " Ardyne Complex.

9.1 INTRODUCTORY NOTES

The interview data was collected during the months of September - February 1976 . 525 people were randomly selected from the Electoral Roll, in a 6% stratified sample. The Electoral Roll was that of the Parliamentary Constituency of Argyll (Unit 96), Local Government Region of Strathclyde: District of Argyll and Bute, and in force between 16th February, and 15th February, 1976, the qualifying date being the 10th October, 1974. The "sample frame" included some 17 year olds, whose 18th birthday would fall within the period when the Roll was in force.

One problem was that the Census of the area does not give a breakdown of the age-groups, nor the population of each of the E.Cowal settlements . In the circumstance , the representativeness of the 6% sample could not be checked. *

The stratification by place and sex enabled me to gauge the possible impact, if any, on the various dispersed settlements in the area under study. Place mattered, because of nearness or distance from Ardyne or the Holy Loch U.S. Base. Sex mattered, in that both the Ardyne complex, and that of the U S. Polaris Base, were essentially male.

A 6% sample was adopted because it was regarded as a manageable sample, yet representative of the sexes to include all the settlements, from the scattered homesteads of Loch Strivenside to the more populated streets of the Burgh of Dunoon. A smaller sample could not have been utilized, because anything below 6% would have meant that in the area beyond Toward there would have been only one or no insufficient representation of males. As it was, with a 6% stratified sample male representation amounted to 1.62% taken as 2 (over 1.5). And, on the other hand, any larger sample would have made my task unmanageable given the time element, and the limits of resources. At the same time, the 6% sample was selected with a view to exploring the social climate of the area under study, and not to present an exhaustive demographic picture of life in the settlements.

Before presenting the data, it ought to be noted that since the focus of study was on the impact of the outsiders upon the local people and the residents of the area, both the incoming Ardyners and the U.S. personnel and families were excluded. This meant that although some dependents were holders of U.K. passports, and retained their British nationality, and therefore could be included in the Roll, qualifying according to date of arrival for inclusion, or simply because they were local people in the first instance who had married U.S. personnel, these were exempt from questioning (see structured format of interview approach) as were those who had come into the locality to work at Ardyne.

The Portavadie workers are in the area, but they could not be on the Roll, since the work there began after Ardyne, and their names could hardly be included since they came in after the qualifying electoral date in October, 1974. In any case, their presence is negligible, and Portavadie is on the Loch Fyne shore.

THE PLACES AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF 6% SAMPLE.

REGARDING SETTLEMENTS TO THE NORTH-EAST OF DUNOON								
PLACES & WARD	POLLING DISTRICT	NUMBER BY SEX		6% CALCULATION		NUMBER TO BE INTERVIEWED		
		Male	Female	Male	Female			
Ardentinny (26)	Ardentinny (CC)	45	51	2.7	3.06	3	3	: 6
Blairmore (26)	Strone (CD)	49	90	2.94	5.4	3	5	: 8
Strone (26)	Strone (CD)	120	140	7.2	8.4	7	8	:15
Kilmun (26)	Strone (CD)	119	150	7.14	9	7	9	:16
Benmore &) Rashfield/)(26) vicinity)	Rashfield (CB)	81	84	4.86	5.04	5	5	:10
Sandbank (26)	Sandbank (BY)	282	293	16.92	17.58	17	18	:35
Ardnadam (26)	Sandbank (BY)	50	66	3	3.96	3	4	: 7
TOTALS FOR AREA & WARD PLACES (26)		746	874	44.76	52.44	45	52	:97

REGARDING SETTLEMENTS THAT MAKE UP THE BURGH OF DUNOON						
PLACES & WARD	POLLING DISTRICT	NUMBER BY SEX		6% CALCULATION		NUMBER TO BE INTERVIEWED
		Male	Female	Male	Female	
Hunters Quay (22)	Dunoon (CE)	132	249	7.92	14.94	8 15 : 23
Kirn:						
(a) Upper (23)	Dunoon (CE)	122	174	7.32	10.44	7 10 : 17
(b) Lower (22)	Dunoon (CEA)	485	759	29.1	45.54	29 46 : 75
Dunoon:						
(a) East (23)	Dunoon (CEA)	475	741	28.5	44.46	29 45 : 74
(b) Central (24)	Dunoon (CEB)	702*	980*	42.12	58.8	42 59 : 101
(c) West (25)	Dunoon (CEC)	474	707	28.44	42.42	28 42 : 70
TOTALS FOR PLACES AND WARDS		2390	3610	143.4	216.6	143 217 : 360

* The number in fact was 707 males and 985 females, but 5 males and 5 females were set aside for a pilot study, sp reducing the total above for the sample.

REGARDING SETTLEMENTS THAT LIE TO THE SOUTH-WEST OF THE BURGH OF DUNOON						
PLACES & WARD	POLLING DISTRICT	NUMBER BY SEX		6% CALCULATION		NUMBER TO BE INTERVIEWED
		Male	Female	Male	Female	
Bullwood and shore up to Innellan (25)	Innellan (BZ)	59	107	3.54	6.42	4 6 : 10
Innellan (25)	Innellan (BZ)	293	430	17.58	25.8	18 26 : 44
Toward (25)	Innellan (BZ)	74	96	4.44	5.76	4 6 : 10
Inverchaolain & E. Loch Striven Shore (20)	Innellan (BZ) Colintraive (CA) Sandbank (BY)	35	27	2.1	1.62	2 2 : 4
TOTALS FOR PLACES AND WARDS		461	660	27.66	39.6	28 40 : 68

GRAND TOTAL FOR PLACES AND WARDS	3597	5144	215.82	308.64	216 309	: 525
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**The total does not include the 10 interviewed in the pilot run.

SUBSTITUTION:

A substitution list was utilized with a view to unsuccessful contacts, and to the elimination of any elements that ought to be kept out of the sample. The researcher's substitution lists for each place above, by sex, was determined as follows:-

1. Where the sex number to be interviewed was 12 plus: substitution was allowed for by a reserve list of substitutes numbering 25% of males and females respectively.
2. Where the sex number to be interviewed was 5 - 11: substitution was allowed for by a reserve list of substitutes numbering 50% of male and female number respectively.
3. Where the sex number to be interviewed was 2 - 4: substitution was allowed for by a reserve list of substitutes numbering 100%.

Moser, C.A. and Kalton, G., (1971), state: "We may assume that, in the average interview survey, there will be no information through non-response from something like 10 - 25% of the selected sample"¹. Later they observe that there will be differentials in response according to sex, age groups and social class. The above 12 plus procedure was based upon Moser and Kalton's observation regarding the average, but in the case of the 50% and 100% substitution lists, I had to allow for the possibility that as a stranger in the smaller place I might have less of a response, and that there might be more cases of moved households due to the decrease in tied property, and more of a turnover in countryside labour. Here I am taking Moser and Kalton's "non-response" in the broader sense of non-contacts as well as refusal or reluctance². A study of the Evaluation Rolls of Argyll at Register House, Edinburgh, covering Cowal from 1958 - made me aware that tied property often remained empty, or was occupied for very short periods at intervals. I was therefore more than usually cautious, also (up to 12 plus) because I was well aware of the older age group (from Census for Burgh) from general remarks of the Censi (especially also Statistical Accounts) and from observation,

1: MOSER C.A. AND KALTON G. (1971) SURVEY METHODS IN SOCIAL INVESTIGATION (London: Hienemann p. 172)

2: As above p. 44 See also p. 172 ff

and from the cosmopolitan nature of the residents, in whose regard prediction is often difficult to establish. However, as it happened, substitution was used only 18 times.

THE NUMBER OF SUBSTITUTES BY SEX AND PLACE

THE PLACE	TOTAL CONTACTS	SEXES		THE SUBSTITUTIONS					
		M	F	TOTAL	%	N MALE	% MALES	N FEMALE	% FEMALES
Blairmore	8	3	5	1	12.5	0	0	1	10
Strone	15	7	8	2	13.33	1	14.29	1	12.5
Innellan	44	18	26	2	4.55	0	0	2	7.69
Sandbank	35	17	18	4	11.43	1	5.88	3	16.67
Dunoon E.	74	29	45	5	6.76	2	6.90	3	6.67
Dunoon C.	101	42	59	4	3.96	3	7.14	1	1.69
TOTALS FOR ALL LOCALITY	525	216	309	18	3.43	7	3.24	11	3.56

The reasons why substitutions were made in the above instances were as follows: 16 out of the 18 were concerned with the very aged.

Reason for substitution of randomised people in "sample frame" due to unsuccessful contact:	Number of non-successful contacts in Holy Loch Area																				
	Blairmore			Strone			Innellan			Sandbank			Dunoon East			Dunoon Central			TOTALS		
	N	M	F	N	M	F	N	M	F	N	M	F	N	M	F	N	M	F	M	F	N
Contact refusal :aged	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	3	4	7
Non-contact after three attempts :aged	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	2	2	1	1	0	3	4	7
Indisposed/ill :aged	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Empty house	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
TOTALS	1	0	1	2	1	1	2	0	2	4	1	3	5	2	3	4	3	1	7	11	18

In the case of seven elderly people their kin would not permit the interview. In the case of the seven others apart from the 2 indisposed I later learned that they would not open the door to me.

Substitutions had been allowed for the:

Ill/indisposed	Military service
Non-contact after 3 attempts	Moved house
Contact refusal	Empty house
Substitution refusal	Previous contact
Dead	Deaf &/or dumb
In some institution	Ardyner incomer
Interviewed already/election time	U.S. department

In the case of a "moved person", I was prepared to follow up the person's new abode, and interview him/her, provided that the new lodging had been for no more than six months, and provided that the move was within the place. This was decided because I judged that their qualification date of 10th October, 1974, argued for inclusion, and the person, not the particular dwelling was the subject of randomisation. As it was, the need to follow up such a person did not arise.

It is clear that the degree of substitution did not vitiate the nature of the sample but the question of response bias necessitates estimating the non-response rate, as well as the nature of the missing elements if possible, and the difference in proportionality between the sexes as between those who responded and those who did not. As can be seen from the above data, the response rate was 96 - 57% and the non-response rate was 3.43%. Although substitution was made as above, the fact remains that the non-respondents may differ significantly from the respondents, so the risk of bias must be recognized in the research data collected. The substitution was made to conserve the desired sample size, and so that the smaller places be represented as best as could be for the intended analysis, and because it was realized that the non-response rate would probably vary between the strata in the stratified sample adopted. It was clear that the response rate was well within the usual average 11 - 25%, even within the strata.

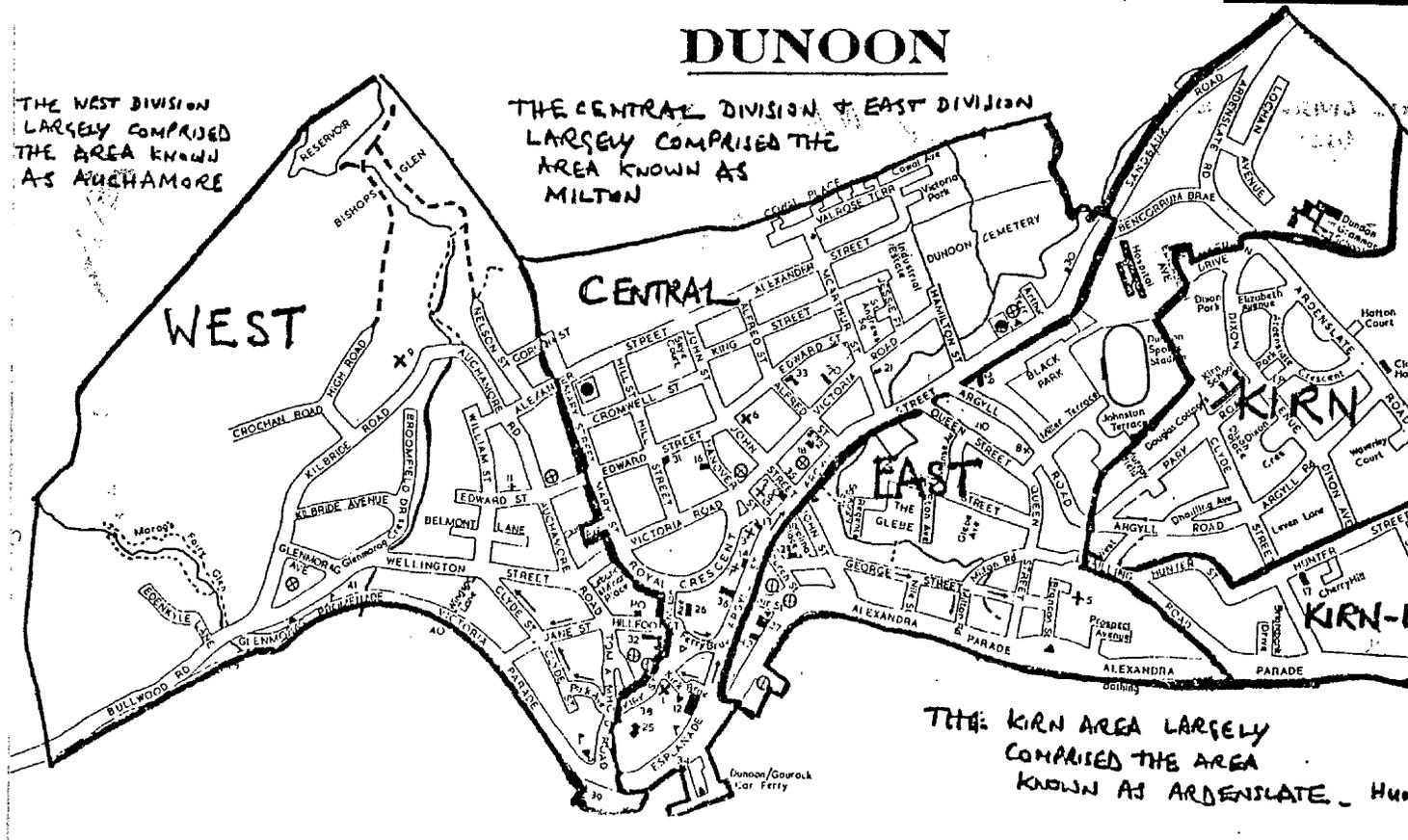
9 .2. THE STREETS COVERED WITHIN EACH INTERVIEW SECTOR.

The local address as stated within the Register of Electors (16th February, 1975 - 15th February, 1976) determined whether the adults would be included within the sample for a local settlement or not. The Register adopts the postal addresses. Many of the rural addresses had naturally no street names.

There was no real problem in designating what streets came under what settlement, except with regard to Dunoon where the Burgh is made up of Kirn and Hunters Quay, as well as the town proper. Here, the address was again the deciding factor as contained in the Register. The Burgh is not one place, being made up of three settlements.

When it came to designating what was West, Central and East Dunoon, I adopted the Auchamore (to the West), Milton (more or less central), and Ardenslate (more or less to the East) boundaries running within the built-up area as separating out the streets from which I drew my sample. Auchmore and Ardenslate areas run out beyond the town of Dunoon, but the inner boundaries within the town are helpful in parcelling out the streets. The Map indicates what roughly were the areas within which I drew my stratified sample of 6%. The boundaries on the map are not meant to be taken as precise, e.g. there are houses along the Sandbank Road not included in the boundary of Dunoon on the map, but which in fact were included in the East Dunoon interview sector. The important point to make is that by dividing up the areas one was able to make sure that the sample contained a 6% quota of houses from the East, West and Central Dunoon linked in with the settlements to the East and West, which might indicate, in an easterly and westerly fashion, diverse feeling or opinions with regard to the Ardyne complex to the West and the Holy Loch Base to the East, so as to make it possible to leave open to the group the findings in this fashion if the data warranted it.

It is interesting that the Inverchaolain area on the right side of Loch Striven has come under the BUTE AND WEST COWAL (no. 4) Regional Electoral Division, but in fact is 'historically linked with EAST COWAL (see chapter on history of the area). Later in 25th March '78 (March 25 '78, Dunoon Observer) it was reported that "it is proposed that the existing boundary between the Bute and West Cowal and Dunoon and East Cowal divisions should be altered by the transfer of Inverchaolain Parish from the former to the latter on the grounds that Inverchaolain looked to Toward, Innellan, and Dunoon, rather than any centres in Bute and West Cowal". Surely another warrant for including the area in our 6% sample of Dunoon and locality, and for regarding Inverchaolain on the East Cowal side of Loch Striven as related to the settlements of Dunoon and the East Cowal Shore?



QUESTIONS ASKED OF 525 INTERVIEWEES: AUTUMN/WINTER 1975-76

PRELIMINARY REMARKS:- "I am carrying out research at Glasgow University. Here is my ID Card This research involves interviewing some Cowal residents, except: 1. persons who have married American naval Polaris personnel; 2. persons whose husbands, or themselves, have come to work at Ardyne; and 3. those whom I have already interviewed in Dunoon during the last election ---- if you happen to be amongst these, please excuse me for troubling you (await response). If not, I hope you will assist me with my research by answering some questions and giving me your views. Neither your name, nor address, will be noted, and your views will remain anonymous." ADD: "If at any time you feel unsure of the answer when asked a question please say so."

QUESTIONS:-

1. "Firstly, what in your opinion, are the boundaries of Dunoon and its locality - by locality I mean 'the nearby surrounding area and places which are linked with the town historically, economically, politically, culturally and socially, which are also within easy travelling distance'. Could you please trace out what you consider the boundaries of the locality to be by passing your finger from sticker to sticker around the area on this map. As you do so, would you please repeat the printed number on the stickers, as you come to them, so that I might note down the combination. We are situated here on the map .
 "My study is about this area here on the map (trace out the Inglis area around Dunoon) The research covers this part of Cowal. For convenience I will be asking you about life in this area - so when I speak about 'the locality' this (trace it again) will be the part of Cowal I will be referring to. (The map is kept open during the interview). It will be important when I ask you questions to answer and speak about what goes on here (trace locality again)."
2. "Where were you born?"
3. 3.1 "Does (mention place name as on electoral roll) attract you? Would your answer be YES/NO or would it be that /in part it attracts/ or /in part does not attract/, or are you /unsure/?"

- 3.2. "Does the rest of the locality attract you (trace rest of the area with finger on map)? Would your answer be YES/NO/, or would it be that /in part it attracts/ or /in part does not attract/, or are you /unsure/?"
- 3.3. "Does the locality in general as an area attract you? Would your answer be YES/NO/, or would it be that /in part it attracts you/ or /in part does not attract/, or are you /unsure/?"
- 3.4. IF YES TO: ATTRACTION REGARDING LOCALITY IN GENERAL - ASK:-
 "What in particular attracts you to the locality in general?"
4. 4.1. "What about any dislikes with regard to anything within (place name), have you any? If so, what are they?"
- 4.2. "What about any dislikes with regard to anything within the area elsewhere within the locality (trace finger over the rest of the area on the map), have you any?. If so, what are they?"
- 4.3. "What about any dislikes with regard to anything within the locality in general, have you any? If so, what are they?"
5. 5.1. "What about change: have there been any, do you think, during the past 20 years affecting (place name)?" If so "Was the change /complete/ or /great/, or constitute only a /little change/?"
IF CHANGE CITED:- "Would the change you describe, in your opinion, have helped to bring about general conditions for the worse, or the better in (place name)?"
- 5.2. "What about change affecting any place or places elsewhere in the locality (trace finger around rest of the area besides place of residence), has there been any during the past 20 years?"
IF CHANGE CITED:- "Did the change you describe, in your opinion, help to bring about general conditions for /the worse/ or /the better/ elsewhere within the locality (trace area apart from the place of residence)?"
- 5.3. "What about change affecting the whole locality, - was there any do you think during the past 20 years?"
IF CHANGE CITED:- "Did the change you describe, in your opinion, help to bring about general conditions for /the worse/, or

/the better/in the locality in general?"

- 6.1. "Do you have either Ardyne personnel, or American technicians, or United States Naval men, lodging with you at present ?"
 - 6.2. IF SO: "Could you say which of these? How many ? What colour are they ?"
 - 7.1. "Did you speak with any American naval men (apart from your USN lodgers/ where relevant) during the past week?" IF SO: "How many?"
 - 7.2. "Of what colour?"
 - 7.3. "Of what rank?"
 - 7.4. "Did you also speak with /some/or all/ of these same persons (with this same person/where relevant) during the previous 12 months?"
IF SO: "How many?"
 - 7.5. "Of what colour?"
 - 7.6. "Of what rank?"
 - 7.7. "Did you also speak with other American naval men (apart from your USN lodgers/where relevant) during the previous 12 months?"
IF SO: "How many?"
 - 7.8. "Of what colour?"
 - 7.9. "Of what rank?"
 - 8.1. "Did you speak with any USN wives (apart from your USN lodgers/where relevant) during the past week?"
 - 8.2. IF SO: "How many/what colour/and of what rank/colour their husband ?"
 - 8.3. "Did you also speak with /some/or all/ of these same persons (with this same person/where relevant) during the previous 12 months?" IF SO: "How many/what colour/ and of what rank/colour their husband ?"
 - 8.4. "Did you also speak with other USN wives (apart from your USN lodgers/ where relevant) during the previous 12 months?"
 - 8.5. IF SO: "How many/what colour/and of what rank/colour their husband ?"
 - 9.1. "Did you speak with any USN children (apart from USN lodgers/where relevant) during the past week?"
IF SO: "How many and what was the colour of each of these contacts?"
 - 9.2. "Did you also speak with /some/or all/ of these same persons (with this same person/where relevant) during the previous 12 months?"
IF SO: "How many and what was the colour of each of these contacts?"
 - 9.3. "Did you also speak with other USN children (apart from your USN lodgers/ where relevant) during the previous 12 months?"
IF SO: "How many and what was the colour of each of these contacts?"
- "Have you had any correspondence with any American naval incomers since they left the locality?"
- IF SO: "With how many?"
- 11.1. "What would you feel when/or should/the following groups leave the locality for good? Choose out, or miss out, any group you wish to refer to on this display card."

American naval men
American naval wives
American naval children
C.B.s
American civil technicians
Ardyne workers at the Camp
Ardyne workers who travel daily from Gourock
Ardyne personnel travelling from McInroy's Point to Hunters Quay
Ardyne workers travelling from Wemyss Bay to Ardyne Point
Ardyne personnel living within Dunoon and its locality
Ardyne children living within Dunoon and its locality

(Point out and read out boxes to interviewee)

"Please indicate your feelings by pointing out what they are on this display card."

SAD	MIXED FEELINGS
UPSET	GLAD
INDIFFERENT	OVERJOYED
UNSURE	OTHER FEELINGS
I DO NOT WISH TO REPLY TO THIS QUESTION	

(Point out and read out boxes to interviewee)

11.2. "What would you feel, should the Polaris Base close down for good - please indicate your feelings by pointing out what they are on the display card (as above)? "

11.3. "What would you feel, when or should the Ardyne Platform Construction plant close down for good? Please indicate your feelings by pointing out what they are on the display card (as above)."

12. "I have here some newspaper cuttings, which you may like to look at:

12.1. Take the first: on June 2nd, 1975, an article appeared in the EVENING TIMES with the heading: 'ANYONE WHO COMES HERE FOR HOLIDAYS NOW IS MAD' SAYS DUNOON WOMAN. ASK: "Did you see the article? Did you read it?"

IF DID NOT READ: " It would help if you could please read the first paragraph for yourself ".

12.2. IF EITHER READ BEFORE/OR READ PARAGRAPH ., ASK:- "What do you think in general about the gist of the newspaper write-up ?"

13. "Here is the supplement to the local Dunoon paper (DUNOON OBSERVER AND ARGYLLSHIRE STANDARD) of May 10th, 1975, which gives the facts about reorganization and the new administration"(ask as before with reference to supplement, but do not ask the interviewee to read it, if not read already).

14. "Here is a cutting from the EVENING TIMES, 24th August 1974 which refers to Holy Loch having 'a sinister air', written by Jack House(ask as before as in 12.1 above).

15. "In the same newspaper on January 23rd 1975, there was this article headed: 'Dunoon Pubs Hit the Jackpot'..... (ask as before)

16. "The PEOPLE on Sunday, July 20th, 1975, had this article headed: 'Oil Boom Town Fears a War'..... (ask as before)

17. "The local newspaper on October 20th, 1973, described the 'Mobbing and Rioting' in Dunoon as you can see in this cutting"(ask as before)...

18. "The DAILY RECORD, of July 21st, 1975, had an article headed: 'SIN CITY FEARS IN BOOMTOWN' (ask as before)

19. "There have been three stories making the rounds in the locality which I have heard whilst living here over the period of the survey study. I cannot say they are true, but wonder if you have heard any of them, or perhaps all of them:-

19.1. "The first is concerned with one of the local roadsweepers. It is said that when reorganization took place in May, he received general instructions as to his daily duty. He was informed that from thenceforth he was to report personally each morning at

the District Office HQ, Lochgilphead, to be told his daily duties (for those not familiar with local geography this would have meant that he would have had to travel into Dunoon, take a ferry to Gourock, a train to Glasgow, and catch a bus (infrequent) to Lochgilphead, with the vague possibility he might just make HQ by mid-afternoon to discover what his day's duties might be)

"Have you heard the story?" OR: "Perhaps heard another version?"

IN EITHER CASE: "In what town, village or place did you first hear it?"

IF DUNOON

OR KIRN: show map (on p.154): "In which of these sectors of the Burgh?"*

- 19.2. "The second story that has been passed about is about a young bride. On her wedding day, she was seen to walk out of a local hotel in Dunoon, with the veil in her hands, and the 'best-maid' trailing behind. She hailed a taxi and got in with the 'best-maid' beside her in the backseat. Apparently they were arguing as they sped off up Argyll Street and then down to the 'prom' where they stopped at the coal-jetty. She ran out, and followed by the 'best-maid', reached the end of the pier, where she was about to throw herself off when her companion reminded her distraught friend that the tide was out. Behind the event was an explanation. Apparently at the wedding reception of the bride, who had just been married to a black USN seaman, there had been misgivings regarding the groom, it being said that in fact he cared more for the 'best-maid'. There was a scene within the room, where accusations were voiced. According to the story, he slapped his Bride's face. She threw her ring across the room, walked out of the reception to the steps of the hotel where she had hailed the taxi.

"Have you heard the story?" OR:

"Perhaps heard another version?" IN EITHER CASE: continue as above :19.1.

- 19.3. "The third story is about a taxi driver and an Ardyne worker. The taxi driver's cab was standing at the Burgh Hall at 2.00 am when he heard someone running down the hill. Looking up he saw a man in a leather jacket without trousers, or underpants, running as fast as he could, followed farther off by a man in a rage yelling at him, waving the trousers as he ran. The fellow begged the taxi driver to take him to Ardyne Camp for safety sake, adding that he had no money, but would pay him a 'fiver' when

* Kirn is within the Burgh. Sometimes people speak of Dunoon in the area as comprising the town proper plus KIRN and Hunters Quay; sometimes they refer only to the town proper and not the larger area of the Burgh of Dunoon

reaching the Camp. The taxi driver agreed, and when they reached the Camp, they were followed by a line of Ardyne workers which steadily built up as they made their way behind the bare-bottomed navvy, to his hut. Amid cheers the worker handed over the 'fiver' - every penny was worth it because the taxi-driver had saved his life.

"Have you heard the story" OR

"Perhaps heard another version?" IN EITHER CASE: continue as in 19.1.

20. "Do you support a Political Party?"

IF SO: "Which Party?"

21. "Do you usually read the:

21.1. Dunoon local paper?

21.2. Oban Times?

21.3. a national Sunday paper?" IF SO: "Which?"

21.4. a national weekly?" IF SO: "Which?"

21.5. a national daily?" IF SO: "Which?"

21.6. an evening paper?" IF SO: "Which?"

22. ASK OF THOSE NOT BORN IN LOCALITY:-

"How long have you resided here in (name place/village/Burgh) ? "

23. "Can you point out on this display card what type of accommodation you are residing in at present:

OWNER-OCCUPIED
private rented - UNFURNISHED
private rented - FURNISHED
FORESTRY COMMISSION HOUSE
COUNCIL HOUSE
SERVICE ACCOMMODATION
OTHER TIED ACCOMMODATION

(Point out card and read out boxes to interviewee)

24. 24.1. "Could you point out on this display card what details apply to you regarding your occupation in general:-

RETIRED			
EMPLOYED	part-time	full-time	self-employed
UNEMPLOYED at present			
HOUSEWIFE	part-time	full-time	

(Point out and read out boxes to interviewee)

24.2. IF EMPLOYED: "What is your present occupation ? "
MOVE ON TO Q.25

24.3. IF RETIRED: "What was your last full-time occupation?"
MOVE ON TO Q.26

25. "Are you working within the locality?"

IF SO: "Which of the following refers to your employment?"

Working for LOCAL GOVERNMENT
Working for A FIRM AT ARDYNE
Working for USN POLARIS BASE

(Point out and read out boxes to interviewee)

26. 26.1. "Did you speak with any persons who have come, since work began at Ardyne, from outside the locality and who work at Ardyne (apart from your Ardyne lodgers/Ardyners at work/-where relevant) during the past week?"

IF SO: "How many and what was the colour of each of these contacts?"

26.1.1. "Did you also speak with/some/or all/of these same persons (apart from your Ardyne lodgers/Ardyners at work/ - where relevant) during the previous 12 months?"

IF SOME: "How many and what was the colour of each of these contacts?"

26.1.2. "Did you also speak with other persons who have come from outside the locality and who work at Ardyne (apart from your Ardyne lodgers/Ardyners at work/ - where relevant) during the past 12 months?"

IF SO: "How many and what was the colour of each of these contacts?"

26.2. "Have you spoken with any family members of married Ardyne personnel who have come from outside the locality since the work began there (apart from your Ardyne lodgers/where relevant) at any time ?"

IF.SO- ADD: "During the past week ?"

IF SO: "How many and what was the colour of each of these contacts?"

26.2.1. "Did you speak with/some/or all/of these same persons (apart from your Ardyne lodgers/where relevant) during the previous 12 months?"

IF SOME: "How many and what was the colour of each of these contacts?"

26.2.2. "Did you speak with other family members of married Ardyne personnel who have come from outside the locality, since work began there (apart from your Ardyne lodgers/where relevant) during the previous 12 months?"

IF SO: "How many and what was the colour of each of these contacts?"

"Can you point out on this card which applies to you?"

SINGLE
MARRIED AT PRESENT
WIDOWED AND NOT REMARRIED
DIVORCED AT PRESENT
SEPARATED AT PRESENT

(Point out and read out boxes to interviewee)

28.1. "Can you point out which of these refer to you on this display card?"

1	NOT A PARENT
2	IS A PARENT
3	IS A FOSTER PARENT
4	IS A GUARDIAN
5	IS AN ADOPTED PARENT

(Point out and read out boxes to interviewee)

In the case of 2-5:ADD:
"Have you any children still at home?"

28.2. ASK ALL EXCEPT: THOSE WHO ARE NOT A PARENT

28.2.1. "Do you have a child, or children, at the local primary School?"

28.2.2. "Do you have a child, or youngsters, at the local Grammar School?"

28.2.3. "Have you a daughter, or daughters, married to USN personnel?"

29.1. "In your opinion do USN children generally/behave better/behave as well as/behave worse/than local children.

- 29.2. "Would you single out particular types of USN children as being worth noting/for special blame/or special praise?"
- 29.3. "Would you in your opinion say that Ardyne children generally/ behave better/ behave as well as/ behave worse/ than local children?"
- 29.4. Repeat 29.2. with regard to Ardyners.

30. "Can you indicate on this card which age group you belong to?"

Under 20 years of age
20 - 29
30 - 39
40 - 49
50 - 59
60 - 69
70 - 79
80 +

31. "Do you belong to any religious denomination?"

IF SO: "Which?"

END: "Thank you for your assistance and help, which will prove invaluable for the research programme."

9.4 SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CLASSIFICATION WITH REGARD TO THE SOCIAL CLASS OF INTERVIEWEES.

The unit groups of the Occupational Classification are arranged into broad categories to form the Social Classes as follows:

- I Professional, etc. occupations
- II Intermediate occupations
- III Skilled occupations.
- IV Partly skilled occupations
- V Unskilled occupations

See also Classification of Occupations (1966) H.M.S.

The composition of the Social Classes has been determined to present each Class as homogeneous, so far as is possible, with regard to general standing within the galaxy of the occupations within society. While this criterion is correlated with other factors such as education and economic environment, it has no direct relationship to the level of remuneration. Each occupational group is assigned as a whole to a Social Class, so therefore account is taken of differences between individuals within the occupational grouping.

The Social Class appropriate to any given combination of occupation and employment status (i.e. whether self-employed, manager, foreman or supervisor or other employee) is derived as follows:

- (a) each occupation is given a basic Social Class
- (b) persons of foreman status whose basic Social Class is IV or V are allotted to Social Class III.
- (c) persons of manager status are allotted to Social Class II or III, the latter applying if the basic Social Class is IV or V.

9.5. DATA CALCULATIONS OF THE INTERVIEW RESPONSES:

9.5.1. QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS:

Question 1: THE COGNITIVE MAPS:

Inclusions on Map Shown	Place of Residence			Total
	NE	SW	B	
Unsure	1	4	9	14
The Inglis confines Burgh and Innellan	37	21	201	259
NE and Burgh	5	0	65	70
SW and Burgh	16	6	4	26
Burgh only	12	20	0	32
Other boundaries	0	2	2	4
Totals	26	15	79	120
	97	68	360	525

Question 2: PLACE OF BIRTH:

1. The Women :

2. The Men:

NE	10	0	3	13	9	1	1	11	24
SW	0	9	3	12	0	5	1	6	18
Burgh	2	3	85	90	4	3	56	63	153
Rest of Argyll	3	1	3	7	1	2	2	5	12
Glasgow	8	10	59	77	9	4	46	59	136
Rest of West Scotland	9	7	26	42	10	5	24	39	81
Elsewhere in Scotland	10	5	26	41	5	5	8	18	59
England	8	3	8	19	2	2	3	7	26
Wales	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	3
North Ireland	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	3
Eire	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2
Other European country	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	2
USA	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2
Other countries	0	1	2	3	1	0	0	1	4
Totals	52	4	217	310	45	28	143	216	525

Question 3: ATTRACTION 'VIS A VIS' SETTLEMENT OF RESIDENCE, ENVIRONS, LOCALITY IN GENERAL:

Areal Reference	NE		SW		BURGH		Totals	No Response
	Positive like	Some Doubt	Positive like	Some Doubt	Positive like	Some Doubt		
Settlement of Residence	94	0	68	0	340	3	505	20
Environs	85	2	62	3	338	3	494	31
Locality in General	87	5	56	10	325	24	507	18

QUESTION 4: CITED DISLIKES:

CITATIONS: Dislikes expressed regarding-	Number of persons referring to them	Where Resident	Whether cited with reference to the settlement of residence, the environs, and locality in general.
USN incomers	45	BURGH	settlement, environs, locality in general.
USN incomers & other factors	8	NE	"ibid"
Ardyne incomers (N=55)	46	BURGH	"ibid"
	9	SW	"ibid"
Ardyne incomers and other factors (N=20)	2	BURGH	"ibid"
	18	NE	environs and locality in general.
Ardyne and USN incomers	16	BURGH	settlement, environs, and locality in general.
Ardyne, USN incomers and other factors	20	NE	"ibid"
Other factors (N=201)	90	BURGH	"ibid"
	39	SW	"ibid"
	1	NE	"ibid"
	25	NE	in environs.
	46	BURGH	in environs and settlement .
No dislikes cited (N=111)	6	NE	settlement, environs, and locality in general.
	3	NE	in locality in general.
	5	NE	in the settlement .
	10	SW	in the settlement and environs.
	8	SW	in the environs.
	79	BURGH	in the locality in general.

continued....

CITATIONS: Dislikes expressed regarding-	Number of persons referring to them	Where Resident	Whether cited with reference to the settlement of residence, and the locality in general.
Unsure (N=32)	1	NE	settlement , environs, the locality in general.
	4	NE	environs .
	1	SW	locality in general.
	4	BURGH	settlement, environs, and the locality in general.
	5	BURGH	settlement and locality in general.
	8	BURGH	settlement .
	9	BURGH	environs .
	No Response (N=17)	1	NE
5		NE	locality in general .
1		SW	locality and environs in general.
1		BURGH	settlement, environs, locality in general.
9		BURGH	locality in general .

Question 5: CHANGE AND THE IMPACTS

1. Opinion regarding change:

Opinion	Locality in general				In the settlement				In the environs			
	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL
Unsure	1	0	4	5	1	0	2	3	2	0	7	9
None	0	0	3	3	7	0	3	10	0	0	3	3
Complete	12	4	58	74	9	4	57	70	13	4	58	75
Great	11	14	39	64	5	17	45	67	11	13	36	60
Little	73	50	256	379	69	47	248	364	71	51	256	378
Totals	97	68	360	525	91	68	360	519	97	68	360	525

2. Direction of change : regarding locality in general.

Opinion	Direction of change in the locality in general							
	for the better				for worse			
	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL
NONE	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1
COMPLETE	1	0	1	2	10	4	57	71
GREAT	10	1	11	22	1	13	28	42
LITTLE	72	48	236	356	1	0	2	3
UNSURE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	83	49	250	380	12	17	88	117

3. Direction of change regarding settlement of residence:

Opinion	Direction of change in the Settlement of Residence							
	For Better				For Worse			
	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL
NONE	1	0	2	3	6	0	1	7
COMPLETE	1	0	1	2	7	4	56	67
GREAT	4	1	5	10	1	16	39	56
LITTLE	68	45	230	343	1	0	3	4
UNSURE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	74	46	238	358	15	20	99	134

33 non-responses

4. Direction of change in the environs :

NONE	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	1
COMPLETE	3	0	1	4	9	4	57	70
GREAT	10	0	7	17	1	13	28	42
LITTLE	69	48	236	353	2	1	3	6
UNSURE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	82	48	240	376	12	18	89	119

30 non-responses

5. Reasons why changes have taken place for the worse:

Cited reasons for changes	Regarding:									total persons making observations
	Locality in general			environs			settlement of residence			
	NE	SW	BURGH	NE	SW	BURGH	NE	SW	BURGH	
USN incomers	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	4
Ardyne incomers	0	14	5	0	16	5	0	14	3	21
Ardyne & USN incomers	0	0	16	0	0	16	0	0	16	16
Strathclyde	8	0	17	8	0	17	8	0	17	25
Strathclyde and other factors	0	0	24	0	0	25	0	0	24	25
Totals	8	14	62	8	17	63	11	15	60	91

6. Reasons why changes have taken place for the better:

USN incomers	8	1	7	7	0	3	3	1	3	16
Ardyne incomers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ardyne & USN incs.	3	0	3	0	0	3	3	0	3	6
Strathclyde & USN and Ardyne incs.	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
totals	11	1	11	7	0	7	6	1	7	23

It is clear that few were able to identify the reasons for change, but almost one in four of those who did give reasons had cited change for the worse locally.

Question 6: INTERVIEWEES WITH LODGERS:

Only two: Burgh resident with USN Black lodger.
SW resident with Ardyne lodger

Question 7: CONTACT WITH THE USN PERSONNEL, MADE BY 39 PERSONS:

1. Number of contacts, in past week only, made by six persons:

Residents making contact	INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS MADE								Contact Totals
	Black				White				
	Seamen	PO	Officers	Total	Seamen	PO	Officers	Total	
NE 3	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	4
BURGH 3	0	1	0	1	0	2	3	5	6
Total 6	0	1	0	1	0	3	6	9	10

2. Number of contacts in past year, but not in the past week, by six persons:

NE	3	3	0	0	5	2	1	0	3	8
SW	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
BURGH	2	2	0	0	2	1	1	1	3	5
Total	6	7	0	0	7	3	2	2	7	14

3. Number of contacts of contacts made in both the past week and year by 27 persons:

NE	5	0	3	0	3	7	0	29	36	39
SW	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	11	11
BURGH	21	3	0	0	3	18	6	67	91	94
Total	27	3	3	0	6	25	6	107	138	144

There was no attempt to assess the number of actual frequencies with regard to different persons contacted. I only established how many separate persons they had contacted within the past as set out in questions asked.

Question 8: CONTACT WITH USN WIVES: Here contact was limited to the 27 above, who had contact with USN personnel during the past week and year.

Residents making contact	INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS MADE			Contact Totals
	Black wives	White wives		
NE 5	0	28		28
SW 1	0	11		11
BURGH 21	1	64		65
Total 27	1	103		104

Question 9: CONTACT WITH USN CHILDREN.

There were 30 persons in contact with the children. 27 of them had been in contact with the USN wives, and three others had only contact with the USN personnel. All had been in contact during the past week and year.

Residents making contact	INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS MADE		Contact totals
	black USN children	white USN children	
NE 8	0	9	9
SW 2	0	4	4
BURGH 20	0	25	25
Total 30	0	38	38

Question 10: CORRESPONDENCE WITH USN WHO HAVE LEFT THE LOCALITY :

NE	8 persons corresponded with 8 USN in the "outscape" .
SW	7 persons " " 9 " " " " .
BURGH	24 persons . " " 25 " " " " .
Totals	39 persons corresponded with 42 USN who had left the locality.

Question 11: FEELINGS REGARDING THE POSSIBLE EXIT OF THE INCOMERS AND REGARDING THE POSSIBLE CLOSURE OF THE POLARIS BASE AND McALPINE'S PROJECT;

1. Regarding the USN Personnel:

Only 5 chose to respond to the possible exit of US naval men:

3 NE mixed feelings
2 BURGH mixed feelings. 520 non-responses

2. Regarding USN wives:

Responses	Residence of those making the responses			Totals
	NE	SW	BURGH	
Unsure	0	0	3	3
Sad	19	9	44	72
Glad	27	13*	61	101
Indifferent	38	45	150	233
Total	84	67	258	409

116 non-responses

3. Regarding USN children:

Glad	15	0	23	38
487 non-responses				
4. Regarding the US CB.s:				
Glad	0	0	8	12
Indifferent	0	0	4	

513 non-responses

5. Regarding USN civilian technicians:

Indifferent	86	66	334	486
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39 non-responses

6. Regarding Ardyne incomers/workers at the camp:

Glad	10	0	17	27
Indifferent	1	0	3	4
mixed feeling	6	0	14	20
Totals	17	0	34	51

474 non-responses

*One of the women from the South-West did say she would be glad, but added that they were "wonderful women; people relied too much on them", so in effect she was not criticising them.

7.Regarding Ardyne workers travelling each day from Gourcock:

Responses	Residence of those making the responses			Totals
	NE	SW	BURGH	
Unsure	0	0	1	1
Glad	19	23	128	170
Indifferent	42	7	71	120
Other feelings	1	0	4	5
Mixed feelings	28	21	104	153
Overjoyed	7	0	18	25
Total	97	51	326	474

Non-responses 51

8.Regarding Ardyne workers travelling from McInroy's Point:

Sad	6	0	2	8
Indifferent	3	2	22	27
Overjoyed	2	0	2	4
Total	11	2	26	39

Non-responses 486

9.Regarding Ardyne workers travelling from Wemyss Bay:

Indifferent	10	2	25	37
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Non-responses 488

10.Regarding Ardyne personnel residing within Dunoon and its locality :

Unsure	0	0	2	2
Glad	0	0	3	3
Indifferent	11	0	17	28
Mixed feelings	0	0	1	1
total	11	0	23	34

Non-responses 491

11.Regarding Ardyne children:living in Dunoon and its locality:

Sad	0	2	6	8
Glad	0	18	44	62
Indifferent	0	0	8	8
Mixed feelings	0	0	11	11
Total	0	20	69	89

Non-responses 436

12.Regarding Ardyne wives who have come to live in Dunoon and its locality:

Glad	0	0	3	3
Indifferent	11	2	27	40
Total	11	2	30	43

Non-responses 482

Feelings regarding the closure of USN Base :

Sad	19	10	54	83
Glad	50	18	172	240
Indifferent	28	39	114	181
Mixed feelings	0	0	16	16
Upset	0	1	4	5
Total	97	68	360	525

Feelings regarding the closure of the Ardyne McAlpine complex:

Sad	8	2	37	47
Glad	18	64	158	240
Indifferent	53	1	125	179
Mixed feelings	16	0	37	53
Overjoyed	2	1	3	6
Total	97	68	360	525

Question 12: REACTION REGARDING THE EVENING TIMES (June 2nd. '75) ARTICLE/
HOLIDAY IMAGE OF DUNOON :

Where Resident	REACTIONS						Total persons responding
	Agreed On whole fair	7	Some truth in it	Disagreed	Gutter Press	Rambling of mad woman	
NE	13	7	38	32	12	13	97
SW	0	9	30	27	8	3	68
Burgh	22	46	63	210	22	14	360
Total	35	62	131	269	42	30	525

Question 13: REACTION TO SUPPLEMENT OF DUNOON OBSERVER, 10th. MAY '75 / STRATHCLYDE:

Where Resident	REACTIONS		Total persons responding
	Agreed with Strathclyde	Did not agree	
NE	20	64	84
SW	8	38	46
Burgh	81	234	315
Total	109	336	445

Non-response 80

Question 14: REACTION TO EVENING TIMES, 24th. AUG. '74 / HOLY LOCH HAS A SINISTER AIR:

Where Resident	REACTIONS						Total persons responding
	Nothing Sinister about Loch	Never Notice USN	Jack House is biased/ anti-Polaris	Worrying Get Yanks out	Put the US Base on the Thames		
NE	33	27	6	23	13	1	97
SW	0	61	1	1	6	0	68
Burgh	16	176	18	83	72	15	359
Total	49	264	25	107	91	16	524

Non-response 1

Question 15: REACTION TO THE EVENING TIMES, Jan. 23rd. '75 / DUNOON PUBS:

Where Resident	REACTIONS			Total persons responding
	Agreed and added criticisms of the pubs.	Agreed and stated pubs only diversion	Exaggerated article	
NE	63	25	7	93
SW	31	29	12	68
Burgh	93	83	176	350
Total	189	137	195	511

Non-responses 14

Question 16: REACTION TO THE PEOPLE, JULY 20th. '75 / OIL BOOM TOWN FEAR WAR:

Where Resident	REACTIONS			Total persons responding
	Agreed	Disagreed	Stated that was nonsense	
NE	17	6	71	94
SW	37	14	15	66
Burgh	79	142	124	345
Total	133	162	210	505

Non-responses 20

Question 17: REACTION TO DUNOON OBSERVER ARTICLE ON THE USN RIOTING, Oct. 20th. '73:

Where Resident	REACTIONS					Total persons responding
	Agreed bad thing	USN to blame	Locals to blame	Locals started it	Cannot decide whom to blame	
NE	8	16	2	9	79	97
SW	1	4	5	1	57	67
Burgh	13	60	36	10	264	360
Total	22	80	43	20	400	524

Non-response 1

Question 18: REACTION TO DAILY RECORD, July 21st. '75; SIN CITY FEARS IN BOOMTOWN:

Where Resident	REACTIONS				Total persons responding
	Yes-Sin dump	All gossip	Gutter press stuff	Laughable	
NE	20	30	38	13	87
SW	6	33	16	19	65
Burgh	2	259	54	71	345
Total	28	322	108	103	497

Non-responses 28

Question 19.1. FIRST STORY: ROADSWEeper AND STRATHCLYDE:

Where Resident	Heard it	Never heard it	Heard another version	Total
NE	24	70	2	96
SW	8	41	19	68
Burgh	87	208	58	353
Total	119	319	79	517

Non-responses 8

Where story was heard :	Residence of respondents			Total persons responding
	NE	SW	BURGH	
Unsure	1	1	29	31
Kilmun	4	0	1	5
Sandbank	5	0	2	7
Innellan	0	5	0	5
Hunters Quay	0	0	2	2
Upper Kirn	0	0	5	5
Lower Kirn	0	0	1	1
Dunoon West	0	0	1	1
East	0	0	3	3
Centre	17	18	99	134
Total	27	24	143	194

Non-responses 331

Question 19.2: 2ND STORY: BRIDESMAID STORY:

Where resident	Heard it	Never heard it	Heard another version	Total
NE	13	84	0	97
SW	0	68	0	68
Burgh	28	284	48	360
Total	41	436	48	525

continued...

Where story was heard	Residence of the respondents			Total persons responding
	NE	SW	BURGH	
Unsure	0	0	10	10
Dunoon West	2	0	8	10
East	1	0	0	1
Centre	10	0	57	67
Total	13	0	75	88

Non-responses 437

Question 19.3: THIRD STORY: ARDYNE TAXI STORY:

Where Resident	Heard it	Never heard it	Heard another version	Total
NE	0	86	4	90
SW	2	56	9	67
Burgh	27	290	33	350
Total	29	432	46	507

Non-respondents 18

Where story was heard	Residence of the respondents			Total persons responding
	NE	SW	BURGH	
Unsure	0	1	5	6
Kirn Upper	0	0	1	1
Dunoon West	0	2	1	3
Centre	4	8	50	62
Total	4	11	57	72

Non-responses 453

Questions 20-25/27-28/ & 30-31: SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERVIEWEES:

These will be tabulated with the crosstabulation at the end after the full response statement.

Question 26: CONTACT WITH ARDYNE INCOMERS: NIL.

Question 28.2.3/sub-question: RESPONDENTS WITH DAUGHTERS MARRIED TO USN PERSONNEL:

SW residents with daughter married to USN : 1
 Burgh " " " " " " : 11 Total 12.

Question 29: OPINIONS REGARDING THE BEHAVIOUR OF USN AND ARDYNE INCOMERS' CHILDREN. COMPARED WITH LOCAL CHILDREN :

VIEWS "vis a vis" local kids	Residence of the respondents			Total persons responding
	NE	SW	BURGH	
1. USN children are better behaved	2	8	41	51
2. USN are worse	16	4	42	62
3. USN & Ardyne children worse	0	0	2	2
4. USN as good as	26	18	33	77
5. USN & Ardyne -kids as good as	45	24	194	263
Total	89	54	312	455

22 of the 51 (2-0-20) made special mention of the USN officers' children, and 7 (NE) out of the 77 did so also; so, 9 NE-0 SW- 20 Burgh made special mention of the good behaviour of officer children. There were 70 non-responses.

9.9.2. THE CALCULATION AND IDENTIFICATION OF THOSE WHO WERE CRITICAL OF THE INCOMERS OR OF STRATHCLYDE:

1. Those who criticised the USN incomers more than once : N 111

Questions	Criticisms	Residence			Total
		NE	S W	BURGH	
Q 29	Criticism of US children				
Q 4	USN incomers cited as dislike				
Q 14	"Get yanks out"	1	0	0	1
Q 11	Glad to see US wives go				
	Glad to see US children go				
Q 14	"Get yanks out"				
Q 4	USN incomers cited as dislike	5	0	23	28
Q 11	Glad to see US wives go				
	Glad to see US children go				
Q 14	"Get yanks out"				
Q 4	USN incomers cited as dislike	0	0	8	8
Q 11	Glad to see USN wives go				
	Glad to see CBs go				
Q 14	"Get yanks out"				
Q 4	USN incomers cited as dislike	1	0	0	1
Q 11	Glad to see US wives go				
	Glad to see US children go				
X	(Two persons made "asides" which were highly emotive and highly derogatory regarding the USN, but otherwise they did not spell out any specific criticisms)	0	(2)	0	(2)
Q 14	"Get yanks out"				
Q 4	USN incomers cited as dislike	0	0	5	5
Q 11	Glad to see US wives go				
Q 4	USN incomers cited as dislike				
Q 18	USN incomers have made Dunoon a "sin dump"	1	0	0	1
Q 15	USN cited as "drunks"				
Q 29	USN children criticised				
Q 11	Glad to see US wives go				
Q 29	USN children criticised				
Q 5	Change for worse due to USN				
Q 14	Wanted the US sailors out	3	0	0	3
Q 11	Glad to see US wives go				
	Glad to see US children go				
Q 29	USN children criticised				
Q 14	Wanted the sailors out				
Q 19.2	USN do not fit in locally	5	0	0	5
Q 11	Glad to see USN wives go				
	Glad to see US children go				
Q 14	Wanted the sailors out				
Q 29	USN children criticised	1	0	36	37
Q 19.2	USN do not fit in locally				
Q 11	Glad to see US wives go				
Q 4	USN cited as dislike	0	0	6	6
Q 18	USN made Dunoon a "sin dump"				
Q 15	USN personnel are "drunks"				
		17	(2)	78	95(+2)

continued.
78 95(+2)

Questions	Criticisms	Residence			Totals
		NE	SW	BURGH	
Q 4	USN cited as dislike				
Q 18	USN incomers made Dunoon "sin dump"	0	0	3	3
Q 15	USN cited as "drunks"				
Q 11	Glad to see USN wives go				
Q 14	"Yanks" unconcerned about local fears				
Q 16	U SW provoke the navvies				
Q 15	Pubs only diversion & spoiled by USN	0	3	0	3
Q 11	Glad to see USN wives go				
Q 29	USN kids criticised				
Q 17	USN to blame for rioting				
Q 16	USN provoke the navvies	0	4	0	4
Q 11	Glad to see USN wives go				
Q 29	USN kids criticised				
Q 5	Change for worse due to USN	0	1	0	1
Q 14	Americans indifferent to local fears				
Q 11	Glad to see USN wives go				
Q 14	USN indifferent to local fears				
Q 29	USN kids criticised				
Q 19.2	USN don't fit in : awful manners	0	2	0	2
Q 11	Glad to see USN wives go				
Q 14	USN indifferent to local fears				
Q 29	USN kids criticised				
Q 19.2	USN do not fit in: selfish people	0	1	0	1
Q 11	Glad to see USN wives go				
SUM TOTALS		17	11(+2)	81	109(+2)

2. Those who criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once:

Questions	Criticisms	Residence			Totals
		NE	SW	BURGH	
Q 15	Ardyne navvies cited as "drunks"				
Q 16	Ardyne navvies cause fights	0	2	0	2
Q 11	Glad to see navvies leave the camp				
Q 15	Navvies cited as often drunk				
Q 16	Ardyne navvies cause fights	7	0	0	7
Q 11	Overjoyed that navvies on Gourrock ferry will go				
Q 4	Ardyne incomers cited as dislike				
Q 15	Navvies cited as "drunks"				
Q 16	Ardyne workers cause fights	0	8	0	8
Q 11	Glad to see camp navvies go				
Q 15	Navvies constantly drunk				
Q 29	Ardyne staff's kids criticised				
Q 19.3	Ardyne men are a public nuisance	0	0	2	2
Q 11	Glad to see navvied at camp go Overjoyed to see Gourrock navvies on ferry /go				
Q 15	Navvies are a drunken crowd				
Q 16	Navvies cause fights	0	0	15	15
Q 11	Glad to see navvies at camp go Overjoyed that navvies on Gourrock ferry /go				
Q 4	Ardyne incomers cited as dislike				
Q 15	Navvies are "drunks"	0	0	32	32
Q 19.3	Navvies ruin the place or spoil it				
Q 11	Glad navvies on Gourrock ferry go				
Q 15	Navvies are "drunks"				
Q 4	Ardyne incomers cited as dislike	0	0	2	2
Q 19.3	Navvies are litter men				
Q 15	Navvies are "drunks"				
Q 5	Change for worse due to navvies	0	3	5	8
Q 11	Glad to see navvies on Gourrock ferry go				
Q 15	Navvies are "drunks"				
Q 5	Change for worse due to navvies	0	13	0	13
Q 18	Navvies make Dunoon a centre of sin				
Q 15	Navvies are drunken fools				
Q 19.3	Navvies are spoiling the look of Dunoon	0	0	1	1
Q 11	Glad navvies on Gourrock ferries will go				
Q 15	Navvies are drunken men	0	18	0	18
Q 16	Ardyne navvies cause fights				
Q 4	Ardyne incomers cited as dislike				
Q 15	Navvies at Ardyne are drunken	18	1	13	32
Q 15	Navvies are drunken men				
Q 16	Navvies cause friction locally	6	0	64	70
Q 11	Glad navvies on Gourrock ferries will go				
Q 15	Navvies cited as "drunks"	3	2	0	5
Q 16	Navvies cause friction locally				
Q 15	Navvies cited as drunken				
Q 4	Ardyne incomers cited as dislike	0	0	1	1
Q 19.3	Navvies ruin the locality				
Q 11	Overjoyed navvies on Gourrock ferries go /to				
SUM TOTALS		34	47	135	216

Questions	Criticisms	Residence			Totals
		NE	SW	BURGH	
Q 4	Ardyne incomers cited as dislike and USN				
Q 15	Navvies cited as "drunks" and USN				
Q 11	Glad to see navvies on Gourock ferry go	7	0	0	7
	Glad to see Ardyne children of navvies go				
	Glad to see USN wives go				
Q 4	Ardyne incomers cited as dislike and USN				
Q 15	Navvies cited as "drunks" and USN	6	0	0	6
Q 11	Glad to see navvies on Gourock ferry go				
	Glad to see children of Ardyne staff go				
Q 4	Ardyne incomers cited as dislike and USN				
Q 15	Navvies cited as "drunks"	5	0	0	5
Q 4	Ardyne incomers cited as dislike and USN				
Q 15	Navvies cited as "drunks" and "boozers"	2	0	0	2
Q 11	Glad to see USN wives go				
Q 15	Navvies cited as "drunks" and "louts" & USN				
Q 5	Change for worse due to USN & Ardyne men	0	0	13	13
Q 11	Glad to see navvies on Gourock ferry go				
	Glad to see kids of Ardyne staff go				
Q 4	Ardyne incomers and USN cited as dislike				
Q 5	Change for worse due to the USN and Ardyne men				
Q 11	Glad to see kids of Ardyne staff go	0	0	11	11
	Glad to see navvies on Gourock ferry go				
Q 4	Ardyne and USN incomers cited as dislike				
Q 5	Change for worse due to USN and Ardyne men	0	0	3	3
Q 11	Glad to see wives of Ardyne staff leave				
Q 5	Change for worse due to USN and Ardyne men				
Q 15	Navvies and USN men are "drunks"				
Q 29	Criticisms of both USN and Ardyne staff's kids	2	0	2	4
Q 11	Overjoyed to see navvies on ferry from McInroy's Point go .				
	Glad to see Ardyne staff children leave area				
Q 5	Change for worse due to USN and Ardyne men				
Q 15	Navvies and men of Polaris are "drunks"	5	0	2	7
Q 29	Criticisms of both USN and Ardyne staff's kids				
Q 11	Glad to see Ardyne staff's children leave				
Q 15	Navvies and USN personnel are "drunks"				
Q 5	Change for worse due to USN and Ardyne men				
Q 11	Glad to see navvies on Gourock ferry go	0	0	3	3
	Glad to see Ardyne staff's families leave				
Q 29	Criticisms of both USN and Ardyne staff's kids	0	0	2	2
Q 5	Change for worse due to USN and Ardyne men				
Q 11	Glad to see Ardyne staff's children leave				
Q 15	Navvies and USN personnel are heavy drinkers				
Q 5	Change for worse due to USN and Ardyne men	0	0	10	10
Q 11	Glad to see Ardyne staff's kids leave				
Q 4	Ardyne and USN men cited as dislike				
Q 5	Change for worse due to Ardyne and US men				
Q 15	Navvies and USN men are often drunk	0	0	2	2
Q 11	Glad to see Ardyne staff's kids leave				
Q 5	Change for worse due to Ardyne and USN men				
Q 16	Ardyne and USN men both cause friction	1	0	0	1
Q 11	Glad to see USN wives leave				
	Sum Totals	28	0	48	76

4. Criticism of the USN incomers made only once:

Questions	Criticisms	Residence			Total
		NE	SW	BURGH	
Q.17	USN rioters to blame.	16	4	60	80

Before leaving the identification of criticisms, it must be pointed out that there were 39 persons who had contact with the USN incomers. These were highly critical of the Ardyne incomers, and were numbered amongst the 216 under 2. Those who criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once (above p.148).

They were : 7 out of the 32 who made criticisms under Q.4 & 15,
1 out of the 21 who made criticisms under Q.15 & 5,
 and were resident: 2 NE. 0 SW. 5 BURGH.
 and were resident: 0 NE. 0 SW. 5 BURGH.
31 out of the 117 who made criticisms under Q.15 & 16,
 and were resident: 9 NE. 2 SW. 20 BURGH.

5. Criticism of Strathclyde made more than once:

Q.5	Strathclyde brought about change for worse , &				
Q.13	they objected to its creation.	8	0	42	50

6. Criticism of Strathclyde made once:

Q.13	as above.	56	38	192	286
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7. Those who made no criticisms of the incomers:

	2	4	36	42
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9.5.3. THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERVIEWEES:

SEX DIFFERENTIATION

1. Sex distributions regarding the 111(109+2) who criticised the USN incomers more than once:

	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL
Female	16	9	74	99
Male	1	2(+2)	7	10(+2)
Totals	17	11(+2)	81	109(+2)

2. Sex distribution regarding the 216 who criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once:

Female	11	23	30	64
Male	23	24	105	152
Totals	34	47	135	216

3. Sex distribution of the 76 who criticised both the USN and Ardyne incomers more than once:

Female	18	0	38	56
Male	10	0	10	20
Totals	28	0	48	76

4. Sex distribution of the 80 who criticised the USN incomers only once:

Female	5	4	41	50
Male	11	0	19	30
Totals	16	4	60	80

5. Sex distribution of the 50 who criticised Strathclyde more than once:

	NE	SW	BURGH	Total
Female	8	0	17	25
Male	0	0	25	25
Totals	8	0	42	50

6. Sex distribution of the 286 who criticised Strathclyde only once:

Female	23	14	102	139
Male	33	24	90	147
Totals	56	38	192	286

7. Sex distribution of the 42 who made no criticism of the incomers:

Female	2	4	34	40
Male	0	0	2	2
Totals	2	4	36	42

* Further details:

With regard to the 111 who criticised the USN incomers more than once:

Sub-division : 1. There were the 36 who made "asides" of a highly derogatory nature. Two of these did not spell out specific criticisms in response to the questions.

Their sex distribution was as follows:

Female	2	0	24	26
Male	1	(2)	7	8(+2)
Totals	3	(2)	31	34(+2)

2. There were the rest who were less antagonistic in their remarks about the USN than the 36.

Their sex distribution was as follows:

Female	14	9	50	73
Male	0	2	0	2
Totals	14	2	50	75

With regard to the 216 who criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once:

sub-division : 1. There were the 39 who had contact with the USN incomers.

They were all women, as follows.

Female	11	2	26	39
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2. There were the rest who had no contact with the USN .

Their sex distribution was as follows:

Female	0	21	4	25
Male	23	24	105	152
Totals	23	45	109	177

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS:

The salient social characteristics will be presented in full in the following groupings, based upon the above. These groupings will be as follows:

1. The 111 who had criticised the USN more than once.
 - 1.1. The 36 who made insulting "asides"
 - 1.2. The 75 who did not do so .
2. The 216 who had criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once.
 - 2.1. The 39 who had contact with the USN incomers.
 - 2.2. The 177 others.
3. The 76 who had criticised the USN and Ardyne incomers more than once.
4. The 80 who had criticised the USN incomers only once .
5. The 42 who did not criticise the incomers.

1. THE 111;

1.1 THE SALIENT SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 36 WHO MADE INSULTING "ASIDES" ABOUT THE USN INCOMERS:

1.1.1. The 26 Women:

AGE	MARRITAL STATUS	DEPENDENT OFFSPRING AT HOME	HOUSING CLASS.	POLITICAL PREFERENCE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	ORIGIN		YEARS IN LOCALITY	Daughter married to USN	Corres-pondence with USN
						FROM LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY			
Less 20yrs. 12	12 Married	13 all at primary school.	25 Council Housing	23 SNP	26 Presbytern.	NE 2	24 Elsewhere in Scotland	24 15-19yrs.	0	0
20-29 14	1 Divorced 2 separated 11 Single	1 House-wives 1 Owner Occupied.	18 III-IV 8 House-wives	2 Tory 1 Labour						

1.1.2. The 10 men:

17-19 4	6 Married	7 Only 3 of these at Prim. School.	8 Council Housing	10 SNP 3 Tory 3 Lab. 3 Unsure	10 Presbytern.	NE 1	1 Rest Scotland. 2 Rest Argyll 3 West Scotland 1 N Ireland 1 England 1 Wales	9	0	0
20-29 4	4 Single		1 Tied 1 Unfrnshd Rented							

1.2. THE SALIENT SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 75 WHO CRITICISED THE USN INCOMERS WITHOUT INSULTING "ASIDES":

1.2.1. 73 Women:

AGE	MARRITAL STATUS	DEPENDENT OFFSPRING AT HOME	HOUSING CLASS.	POLITICAL PREFERENCE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	ORIGIN		YEARS IN LOCALITY	Daughter married to USN	Corres-pondence with USN
						FROM LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY			
Less 20 yrs. 1	51 Married	53 29 of these at Prim. Schi.	30 mnr. occ. 29 priv. Rntd unfyrnshd	65 SNP 7 LAB. 1 Tory	73 Presbytern.	0	17 Glasgow 33 Rest W. Scot. 12 Rest Scot 11 England.	48 15-19yrs. 12 less 15 years 2 refusals	0	0
20-29 1	1 Divorced		52 House-wives 11 III-IV 10 unempld							
30-39 32	1 Widowed	22 at Sec. Schl.	3 Forestry Commission.							

1.2.2 The 2 Men:

AGE	MARRITAL STATUS	DEPENDENT OFFSPRING AT HOME	HOUSING	RG CLASS.	POLITICAL PREFERENCE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	ORIGIN			DAUGHTER MARRIED TO USN	CORRESPONDENCE WITH USN
							FROM LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY	YEARS IN LOCALITY		
30-39	1	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	0
40-49	1 married	1 at Prim. Schl. 1 at Sec. Schl.	Council House.	V.	SNP	Presbytrn.		Rest of Scotland	20yrs plus.		

2. THE 216 :

2.1. THE SALIENT SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 39 WHO HAD CONTACT WITH THE USN INCOMERS:

30-39	2	31 married 7 single 1 widowed	26 2 of these at Sec. school.	39 owner occpd.	27 hwives	39 Tory	10 unsure RC 7 "Prot." 3 Mormon 3 Baptist 3 Method. 2 C.E. 1 Jeh. Witness 1 Episcopalian 1 none.	28 BURGH 2 SWEST	5 England 3 Rest of Argyll 1 USA	9 20yrs plus.	0	0
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3. THE 76:
THE SALIENT SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 76 WHO CRITICISED THE USN AND ARDYEN INCOMERS MORE THAN ONCE

AGE	3.1. The 56 Females:		3.2. The 20 Males:		Daughter married to USN	Correspondence with USN					
	MARRIAGE STATUS	DEPENDENT OFFSPRING AT HOME	HOUSING	R.G. CLASS.			POLITICAL PREFERENCE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	FROM LOCALITY	ORIGIN LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY
30-39	36	37	47	41	29	41	7	36	12	0	0
40-49	8 married	owner occupied	owner occupied	I-III	SNP	Prebyterian	NE	Glasgow	20 yrs plus.		
50-59	13	10 of these at Prim. School.	8 private rented unfurnd. service accomod.	IV	Tory	C.E.		Rest of Scotland	2 yrs.		
60-69	5 widowed			13 Retired formerly house-wives)		11 unsure		3 Rest of Argyll	34 yrs.		
	2 divorced							2 Rest of England	less 15 yrs		
								1 Eire	8 refusals.		
								2 Other places abroad			
30-39	12	10	12	9	13	20	3	8	7	0	0
50-59	6	6 of these at Prim. School.	Council houses	unemployd.	SNP	Presbyterian.	NE	Glasgow	20 yrs plus.		
60-69	2		7 owner occupd. 1 service accomod	3 V 3 I 5 Retired (formerly I-III)	Labour.			Rest of Scotland	6 less 15 yrs.		
					2 unsure.			2 England.	4 refusals.		

4. THE SALIENT SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 80 WHO CRITICISED THE USN INCOMENS MORE THAN ONCE:

4.1. The 50 Women:

AGE	MARITAL STATUS	DEPENDENT OFFSPRING AT HOME	HOUSING	R.G. CLASS.	POLITICAL PREFERENCE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	ORIGIN		Daughter married to USN	Correspondence with USN
							FROM LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY		
40-59	16	20	49	12	9	16	28	10	0	0
50-59	25		owner-occupied.	Retired formerly	SNP	"Protestant"	Burgh	Glasgow	15	
60-69	9		1 Council House	RG I-II	41 Tory	9 Mormon	4 SW	3 England	20 yrs. plus.	
			5 House-wives	7		7 R.C.	3 NE	2 Rest of Scotland		
			6 House-wives	6		5 C.E.				
			32 I-III	9 of these at		5 Episcopalian				
			9 of these at	at		4 Presbyterian				
			3 in local govt)	at Ardyne,		3 Jehovah Witness				
				3 in local govt)		1 none				

4.2. The 30 Men:

60-69	30	0	30	26	30	27	18	1	0	0
			owner-occupied.	retired formerly	Tory	Presbyterian	Burgh	Glasgow	10 yrs. plus.	
			30	24 & 2		3 C.E.	1 SW	10 Rest of Scotland.	1 5-9 yrs.	
			2 single	RG I-III						
			4 R.G.IV	4						

5. THE SALIENT SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 42 WHO DID NOT CRITICISE THE INCOMERS

5.1. The 40 Women:

AGE	MARITAL STATUS	DEPENDENT OFFSPRING AT HOME	HOUSING	R.G. CLASS.	POLITICAL PREFERENCE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	ORIGIN		Daughter married to USN	Correspondence with USN
							LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY		
60-69	13 married	0	40 owner-occupied	40 retired formerly house-wives	23 Tory	27 Presbyterian	34 Burgh	1 Wales	0	0
70-79	6 widowed 17 single				13 no party 2 unsure 1 Jehovah Witness 1 Labour	9 "protestant" 2 unsure 1 Jehovah Witness 1 none	4 SW 1 NE	20 yrs. plus.		

5.2. The 2 Men:

70-79	2 single	0	2 owner-occupied.	2 retired (formerly R.G.V)	2 Tory	2 Presbyterian	2 Burgh	0	0	0
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9.5.4. THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERVIEWEES IN RELATION TO THE ISSUE OF STRATHCLYDE:

1. Of the 336 who said they were opposed to Strathclyde .
2. Of the 109 who were not opposed to Strathclyde.
3. Of the 80 who did not respond to the issue raised in the interviews concerning Strathclyde.

1. Social Characteristics of the 336 opposed to Strathclyde:

1.1. The 164 Women:

AGE	MARRITAL STATUS	DEPENDENT OFFSPRING AT HOME	HOUSING	R. G CLASS.	POLITICAL PREFERENCE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	ORIGIN		
							FROM LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY IN LOCALITY YEARS	
17-19	11	123	131 owner-occpd.	51 house-wives	67 SNP	62 Presbyterian	51 Burgh	60 Glasgow	4 20 yrs. plus
20-29	4 married	of these	20 at the	1 RG I	94 Tory	25 "Protestant"	3 NE	12 rest of West	12 15-19 yrs.
30-39	41 single	10 at the	Gouncil house	12 RG II	1 Labour	24 unsure	2 SW	25 Scotland	25 10-14 yrs.
40-49	4 divorced	and 27 at prim. school.	3 Forestry Commission	2 RE II	2 none	10 C E.	6 rest of Argyll	14 5-9 yrs.	14 2
50-59	4 widowed		5 private rented unfd.	79 RG III		5 Methodist	23 rest of Scotland	2 1-4 yrs.	2 14
60-69	6		4 private rented fd.	4 RG IV		16 R. C.	4 England	refusals	
			1 private service accomod.	13 retired (formerly 12 house-wives & 1 RG I).		3 Jehovah Witness	2 Abroad other places		
						2 Baptist	1 refusal		
						5 Episcop.			
						1 none			

1.2. The 172 Men:

AGE	MARRITAL STATUS		DEPENDENT OFFSPRING		HOUSING		R.G. CLASS.		POLITICAL PREFERENCE		RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION		ORIGIN					
	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	146	18	6	2	1	168	122	13	59	72	FROM LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY	YEARS IN LOCALITY
30-39	39	146	168	122	13	59	72	10	58	24	20 yrs. plus	10	58	24	20 yrs. plus			
40-49	78	married	of these	owner-	unempld.	Tory	Presbyterian	NE	Glasgow	20	20 yrs. plus	NE	Glasgow	20	20 yrs. plus			
50-59	47	18	25 at	occupd.	5	87	29	5	26	34	34	5	26	34	15-19 yrs.			
60-69	7	single	secondary	25	RG I	SNP	"Protestant"	SW	rest of	15-19 yrs.	15-19 yrs.	43	rest of	21	15-19 yrs.			
70-79	1	6	school &	council	33	11	9	43	West of	21	10-14 yrs.	Burgh	Scotland	10-14 yrs.	10-14 yrs.			
		divorced	14 at	house	RG II	Labour	R.C.			12	12		15	12	12			
		2	primary	21	85	3	6			5-9 yrs.	5-9 yrs.		rest of	1	5-9 yrs.			
		separated	school .	private	RG III	unsure	C. E.			1	1		Scotland	1	1			
				rented	9	10	4			1-4 yrs.	1-4 yrs.		6	22	1-4 yrs.			
				unfd.	RG IV	no party	Jehovah			refusals	refusals		England	22	refusals			
				1	14	2	Witness						1	1				
				private	RG V	refusal	Baptist						Wales	1				
				rented	11								2	2				
				furnished. Retired									Northern	2				
				2	(7 RG II								Ireland	2				
				Forestry	& 4								1	1				
				Commission.	2 RG III)								USA	1				
				1	refusals								1	1				
				service									abroad	1				
				accomod.									other	1				
													countries	1				
													3	3				
													rest of	3				
													Argyll	3				
													1	1				
													European	1				

2. The Social Characteristics of the 109 who were not opposed to Strathclyde:

2.1. The 80 Women:

AGE	MARRITAL STATUS	DEPENDENT OFFSPRING AT HOME	HOUSING	R.G. CLASS.	POLITICAL PREFERENCE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	ORIGIN	
							FROM LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY IN LOCALITY YEARS
17-19	2	34	51	3	31	78	6	9
20-29	1	of these	owner-	R.G. IV	Tory	Presbyterian	Glasgow	20 yrs.
30-39	16	16 were	occpd.	5	30	1	26	plus.
40-49	17	at secondary	26	R.G. V	SNP	Jehovah	Rest of	39
60-69	32	school &	private	30	8	Witness	West of	15-19 yrs.
		14 at	rented	house-	Labour	1	Scotland	1
		primary	unfd.	wives	1	none	6	refusal
		school.	council	9	unsure		Rest of	
			house.	unempld.			Scotland	
				33			9	
				retired			England	
				(formerly			1	
				house-			Wales	
				wives)			1	
							refusal	

2.2. The 29 Men:

20-29	1	28	0	2	28	28	10	10
60-69	27	married	owner-	R.G. II	Tory	Presbyterian	rest of	20 yrs.
70-79	1	1	occpd.	1	1	1	West of	plus.
		single	council	R.G. V	SNP	C.E.	Scotland	
			house .	26				
				retired				
				(formerly				
				1 RG I				
				19 RG II				
				4 RG III				
				1 RG IV				
				1 RG V				

3. The Social Characteristics of the 80 who did not respond to the issue of Strathclyde:

3.1. The 65 Women:

AGE	MARITAL STATUS	DEPENDENT OFFSPRING AT HOME	HOUSING	R. G. CLASS.	POLITICAL PREFERENCE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	FROM LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY	YEARS IN LOCALITY
20-29	10	16	54	6	23	36	2	11	22
30-39	1	of these	owner-occpd.	R.G.II	Tory	Presbyterian	NE	Glasgow	20 yrs. plus.
40-49	20	2 at	14	13	28	11	8	1	
50-59	5	secondary school	council house	R.G.IV	SNP	"Protestant"	SW	Rest of Argyll	4
60-69	23	13 at primary school.	2 private rented furnished	15 house-wives	no party	Baptist	16 Burgh	4	15-19 yrs.
70-79	6	2	1	5	1	1		4	5
		separated	1	unemployd.	unsure	R.C.		West of Scotland	10-14 yrs.
		1	rented	26		1		12	4
		divorced	furnished	retired (formerly 20 house-wives & 3 RG III & 3 refusal		Mormon		rest of Scotland	5-9 yrs.
						2		6	4
						C.E.		England	refusals
						1		2	
						Episcopalian		1	
						Jehovah Witness		2	
						1		Eire	
						Methodist		1	
						6		USA	
						unsure		1	
						3		abroad	
						other		other	
						1		country	
						none			

3.2. The 15 Men:

AGE	MARITAL STATUS	DEPENDENT OFFSPRING AT HOME	HOUSING	R. G. CLASS.	POLITICAL PREFERENCE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	FROM LOCALITY	OUTSIDE LOCALITY	YEARS IN LOCALITY
20-29	7	9	4	2	7	13	3	1	11
30-39	1	of these	Owner-occpd.	R.G.III	Tory	Presbyterian	Burgh	Glasgow	20 yrs. plus.
40-49	1	1 at	9	1	4	2		2	
50-69	3	secondary school & 4 at secondary school.	council house	R.G.IV	SNP	C.E.		rest of Argyll	1
70-79	1		1 house tied 1 rented unfd.	10 R.G.V	3 Lab.			3	5-9 yrs.
			1	2	1			rest of W.Scottl.	
			1	retired (formerly 1 RG. V)	unsure			3	
			rented unfd.					rest of Scotland/Wales/1 N. Ireland/1 England	

9.5.5. CROSSTABULATIONS REGARDING THE INTERVIEWEES' VIEWS WITH REFERENCE TO INCOMERS AND STRATHCLYDE AND THE CONFINES OF THE LOCALITY:

1. THE 111 CRITICISED THE USN INCOMERS MORE THAN ONCE:

1.1. The 36 most critical of the USN incomers:

PARTICULAR REACTIONS	FEMALE				MALE			
	N/2	N/O	N/24	N/26	N/1	N/2	N/7	N/9
	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL
Pro Strathclyde	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
Anti "	0	0	15	15	0	0	0	0
No response re Strath.	2	0	8	10	0	2	7	9
Excluded Ardyne only	2	0	4	6	1	2	0	3
Accepted Inglis confines	0	0	20	20	0	0	0	0
Unsure	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7

1.2. The 75 less critical of the USN incomers:

	N/14	N/9	N/50	N/73	N/O	N/2	N/O	N/2
Pro Strathclyde	0	8	39	47	0	0	0	0
Anti "	12	1	0	13	0	0	0	0
No response re Strath.	2	0	11	13	0	2	0	2
Excluded Ardyne and Holy Loch	4	0	49	55	0	0	0	0
Excluded Holy Loch only	8	2	0	10	0	0	0	0
Excluded Ardyne only	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
Accepted Inglis confines	2	3	1	6	0	2	0	2
Unsure	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0

2. The 80 who criticised the USN incomers once:

	N/5	N/4	N/41	N/50	N/11	N/O	N/19	N/30
Pro Strathclyde	0	0	0	0	10	0	17	27
Anti "	3	0	38	41	0	0	0	0
No response re Strath.	2	4	3	9	1	0	2	3
Excluded Ardyne only	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Accepted Inglis confines	5	4	41	50	11	0	17	28

3. The 216 who criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once:

	N/11	N/23	N/30	N/64	N/23	N/24	N/105	N/152
Pro Strathclyde	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti "	5	13	30	48	23	24	105	152
No response re Strath.	6	10	0	16	0	0	0	0
Excluded H. Loch & Ardyne	0	0	28	28	20	17	43	80
Excluded Holy Loch only	0	13	0	13	0	5	0	5
Excluded Ardyne only	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	5
Accepted Inglis confines	10	8	0	18	0	0	62	62
Unsure	1	2	2	5	0	0	0	0

4. The 76 who criticised both the USN and Ardyne incomers more than once:

	N/18	N/O	N/38	N/56	N/10	N/O	N/10	N/20
Pro Strathclyde	7	0	0	7	0	0	0	0
Anti "	11	0	36	47	10	0	10	20
No response re Strath.	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Excluded Holy Loch	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
Excluded Ardyne	11	0	0	11	1	0	0	1
Excluded H. Loch & Ardyne	5	0	24	29	0	0	0	0
Accepted Inglis confines	2	0	14	16	5	0	10	15

5. The 42 who did not criticise the incomers:

	N/2	N/4	N/34	N/40	N/O	N/O	N/2	N/2
Pro Strathclyde	2	0	23	25	0	0	1	1
Anti "	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No response re Strath.	0	4	11	15	0	0	1	1
Accepted Inglis confines	2	4	34	40	0	0	2	2

9.5.6. CROSSTABULATIONS REGARDING THE INTERVIEWEES' VIEWS WITH REFERENCE TO THE INCOMERS AND THE POSSIBLE CLOSURE OF THE POLARIS BASE:

1. The 111 who criticised the USN incomers more than once:

1.1. The 36 most critical of the USN incomers:

PARTICULAR REACTIONS	FEMALE				MALE			
	NE N/2	SW N/0	BURGH N/24	TOTAL N/26	NE N/1	SW N/2	BURGH N/7	TOTAL N/10
Glad	2	0	24	26	1	2	7	10

1.2. The 75 who were less critical of the USN incomers:

	N/14	N/9	N/50	N/73	N/0	N/2	N/0	N/2
Glad	14	9	50	73	0	2	0	2

2. The 80 who criticised the USN incomers once:

	N/5	N/4	N/41	N/50	N/11	N/0	N/19	N/30
Glad	5	4	41	50	10	0	19	29
Indifferent	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	5	4	41	50	11	0	19	30

3. The 216 who criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once:

3.1. The 39 who had contact with the USN incomers:

	N/11	N/2	N/26	N/39	N/0	N/0	N/0	N/0
Upset	0	1	4	5	0	0	0	0
Sad	11	1	22	34	0	0	0	0
Total	11	2	26	39	0	0	0	0

3.2. The 177 -remainder who criticised the Ardyne incomers :

	N/0	N/21	N/4	N/25	N/23	N/24	N/105	N/152
Indifferent	0	17	0	17	23	22	89	134
Mixed feelings	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	16
Sad	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	2
Glad	0	1	4	5	0	0	0	0
Total	0	21	4	25	23	24	105	152

4. The 76 who criticised both the Ardyne and USN incomers:

	N/18	N/0	N/38	N/56	N/10	N/0	N/10	N/20
Glad	18	0	25	43	0	0	2	2
Indifferent	0	0	13	13	4	0	8	12
Sad	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	6
Total	18	0	38	56	10	0	10	20

5. The 42 who made no criticism of the incomers:

	N/2	N/4	N/34	N/40	N/0	N/0	N/2	N/2
Indifferent	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	2
Sad	2	4	32	38	0	0	0	0
Total	2	4	34	40	0	0	2	2

9.5.7. CROSS TABULATION REGARDING THE INTERVIEWEES' VIEWS WITH REFERENCE TO THE INCOMERS AND THE POSSIBLE CLOSURE OF McALPINE'S PLATFORM CONSTRUCTION SITE:

1. The 111 who criticised the USN incomers more than once .

1.1. The 36 who were most critical of the USN incomers:

PARTICULAR REACTIONS	FEMALE				MALE			
	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL	NE	SW	BURGH	TOTAL
	N/2	N/O	N/24	N/26	N/1	N/2	N/7	N/10
Indifferent	0	0	22	22	1	0	7	8
Mixed feelings	2	0	2	4	0	0	0	0
Glad	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Total	2	0	24	26	1	2	7	10

1.2. The 75 who were less critical of the USN incomers:

	N/14	N/9	N/50	N/73	N/O	N/2	N/O	N/2
Indifferent	2	0	11	13	0	0	0	0
Mixed feelings	12	0	35	47	0	0	0	0
Glad	0	9	1	10	0	2	0	2
Overjoyed	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
Total	14	9	50	73	0	2	0	2

2. The 80 who criticised the USN incomers once:

	N/5	N/4	N/41	N/50	N/11	N/O	N/19	N/30
Indifferent	0	1	4	5	8	0	19	27
Sad	5	2	37	44	3	0	0	3
Overjoyed	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total	5	4	41	50	11	0	19	30

3. The 216 who criticised the Ardyne incomers more than once:

	N/11	N/23	N/30	N/64	N/23	N/24	N/105	N/152
Indifferent	9	0	26	35	3	0	0	3
Glad	0	23	4	27	18	24	105	147
Overjoyed	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Mixed feelings	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Total	11	23	30	64	23	24	105	152

4. The 76 who criticised both the Ardyne and USN incomers:

	N/18	N/O	N/38	N/56	N/10	N/O	N/10	N/20
Indifferent	18	0	0	18	10	0	0	10
Glad	0	0	38	38	0	0	10	10
Total	18	0	38	56	10	0	10	20

5. The 42 who made no criticism of the incomers:

	N/2	N/4	N/34	N/40	N/O	N/O	N/2	N/2
Indifferent	2	0	34	36	0	0	2	2
Glad	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0
Total	2	4	34	40	0	0	2	2