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**Deindustrialisation and Industrial Communities: The Lanarkshire Coalfields c.1947-1983**

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November 2016

## **Abstract**

### **Deindustrialisation and Industrial Communities: The Lanarkshire Coalfields c.1947-1983**

This thesis examines deindustrialisation, the declining contribution of industrial activities to economic output and employment, in Lanarkshire, Scotland's largest coalfield between the early nineteenth and mid-twentieth century. It focuses on contraction between the National Coal Board's (NCB) vesting in 1947 and the closure of Lanarkshire's last colliery, Cardowan, in 1983. Deindustrialisation was not the natural outcome of either market forces or geological exhaustion. Colliery closures and falling coal employment were the result of policy-makers' decisions. The thesis consists of four thematic chapters: political economy, moral economy, class and community, and generation and gender. The analysis is based on archival sources including Scottish Office reports and correspondence relating to regional policy, and NCB records. These are supported by National Union of Mineworkers Scottish Area and STUC meeting minutes, and oral history testimonies from over 30 men and women with Lanarkshire coalfield backgrounds, as well as two focus groups.

The first two chapters analyse the process of deindustrialisation, with the first offering a top-down perspective and the second a bottom-up viewpoint. In chapter one deindustrialisation is analysed through changes in political economy. Shifts in labour market structure are examined through the development of regional policy and its administration by the Scottish Office. The analysis centres upon a policy network of Scottish business elites and civil servants who shaped a vision of modernisation via industrial diversification through attracting inward investment. In chapter two the perspective shifts to community and workforce. It analyses responses to coalfield contraction through a moral economy of customary rights to colliery employment. A detailed investigation of Lanarkshire colliery closures between the 1940s and 1980s emphasises the protracted nature of deindustrialisation.

Chapters three and four consider the social and cultural structures which shaped the moral economy but were heavily altered by deindustrialisation. Chapter three focuses on the dense networks that linked occupation, community, and class consciousness. Increasing coalfield centralisation and remote control of pits from NCB headquarters in London, and mounting hostility to coal closures, contributed to an accentuated sense of Scottish-ness. Chapter four illuminates gender and generational dimensions. The differing experiences of cohorts of men who faced either early retirement, redundancy or transfer to alternative sectors, or those who never attained anticipated industrial employment due to final closures, are analysed in terms of constructions of masculinity and the endurance of cultural as well as material losses. This is counterpoised to women who gained industrial work in assembly plants and the perceived gradual attainment of an improved economic and social position whilst continuing to navigate structures of patriarchy.

## **Contents**

List of Tables 4

List of figures 4

Acknowledgements 5

Declaration 6

Abbreviations 7

Maps 8

Introduction 10

Chapter 1 Scottish Economic Development c.1945-1980s 20

Chapter 2 The Moral Economy of the Coalfields and the Management of Deindustrialisation 66

Chapter 3 The Scottish Mining Community: Locale, Class, Nation and Sectarianism 120

Chapter 4 Gender and Generation 167

Conclusion 211

Appendix: Biographies of Oral History Participants 216

Bibliography 221

## **List of Tables**

1.1 Male Employment in Lanarkshire 30

1.2 Female Employment in Lanarkshire 31

1.3 Unemployment in Lanarkshire 31

1.4 Scottish Coalfield Employment 32

4.1 Generation, Temporality and Employment Structure in the Lanarkshire Coalfields 170

4.2 Male Generational Responses to Deindustrialisation in the 1980s 185

## **List of Figures**

1.1 ‘Map of the Lanarkshire Coalfields’ 8

1.2 ‘Map of the Scottish Coalfields’ 9

2.1 ‘Map of Peter Downie’s Travel to Work’ 92

3.1 ‘Auchengeich Memorial’ 139

3.2 ‘Miners’ Gala Day 1969’ 148

3.3 ‘Gala Day 1969’ 150

3.4 1988 Scottish Miners’ Gala ‘Advertising Poster’ 153

## **Acknowledgements**

This thesis was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council on a 1+3 grant from the Scottish Doctoral Training College.

I would like to thank Dr. Duncan Ross and Dr. Jim Phillips for supervising this thesis and providing continual support and encouragement over the last three years. Conducting this research relied on the assistance of lots of people who gave up their time to conduct oral history with me, and upon those who were friendly enough to put me in contact with friends and colleagues. I also owe thanks to the archivists at the National Records of Scotland, the University of Glasgow Archives and the volunteers at the National Mining Museum of Scotland who made large numbers of documents available to me at short notice. I would also like to thank Professor John Firn for granting me permission to use his records at the University of Glasgow archives. Dr. Annmarie Hughes and Dr. Andrew Perchard have given me scholarly guidance and friendly advice. My examiners, Professor Keith Gildart and Dr. Catriona MacDonald, provided expertise and critical comment that assisted in presenting a clearer perspective in this thesis.

I have relied on the support of many friends and colleagues over the last three years. Thanks to fellow Ph.D students Susan Gardiner, Felicity Cawley, Chris Miller and Stephen Mullen for being good people to study alongside, discuss developing a thesis with, and friends in and out of the office. Patrick Orr, Stephen Low, Raquel Candelas, Duncan Hotchkiss, Andy Clark and Laura Dover have dealt with a friend who would discuss his research with anyone who would listen and engaged in critically discussing ideas or proof reading the odd sentence. Lauren Gilmour has been more supportive than I could have asked a partner to be, and provided belief when I didn't have much in myself.

I wish to dedicate this thesis to Ksenija and Petro Szwec, who were reluctant citizens of industrial Scotland, Ukrainian Dundonians, and proud grandparents.

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ewan Gibbs', written on a light blue horizontal line.

Ewan Gibbs

## **Abbreviations**

CCC Colliery Consultative Committee

CNTDC Cumbernauld New Town Development Corporation

COSA, Colliery Official and Staff Association

CPGB Communist Party of Great Britain

FDI foreign direct investment

IDC Industrial Development Certificate

MNE multinational enterprise

NACODS National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NCB National Coal Board

NUM National Union of Mineworkers

NUMSA National Union of Mineworkers Scottish Area

OMS output per manshift

SDA Scottish Development Agency

SCDI Scottish Council (Development and Industry)

SCEBTA Scottish Colliery Enginemen and Boilermen and Tradesmen Association

SDD Scottish Development Department

SEPB Scottish Economic Planning Board

SEPD Scottish Economic Planning Department

SIEC Scottish Industrial Estates Corporation

SNP Scottish National Party

SSHA Scottish Special Housing Association

STUC Scottish Trade Union Congress

UCS Upper Clyde Shipbuilders

WFTU World Federation of Trade Unions



## Maps

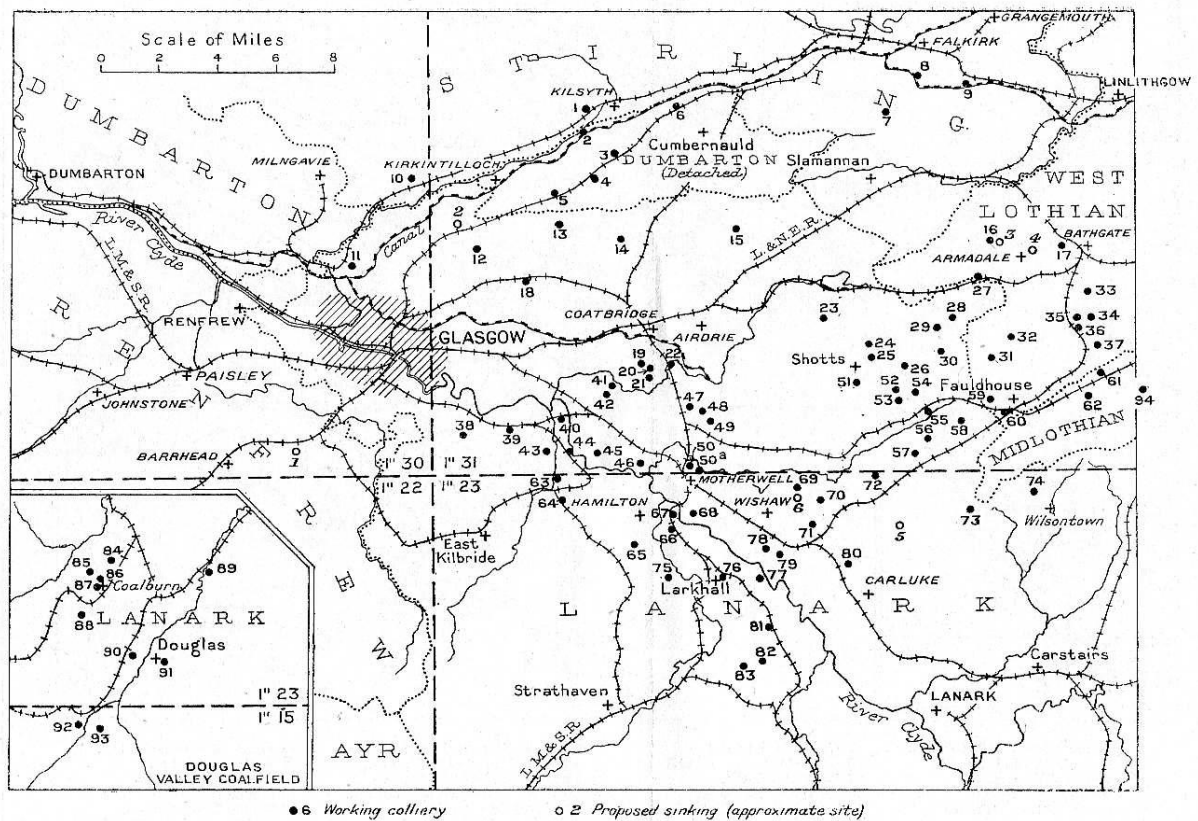


FIG. 17.—INDEX MAP OF THE CENTRAL AND DOUGLAS VALLEY COALFIELDS  
(See Table XXIII)

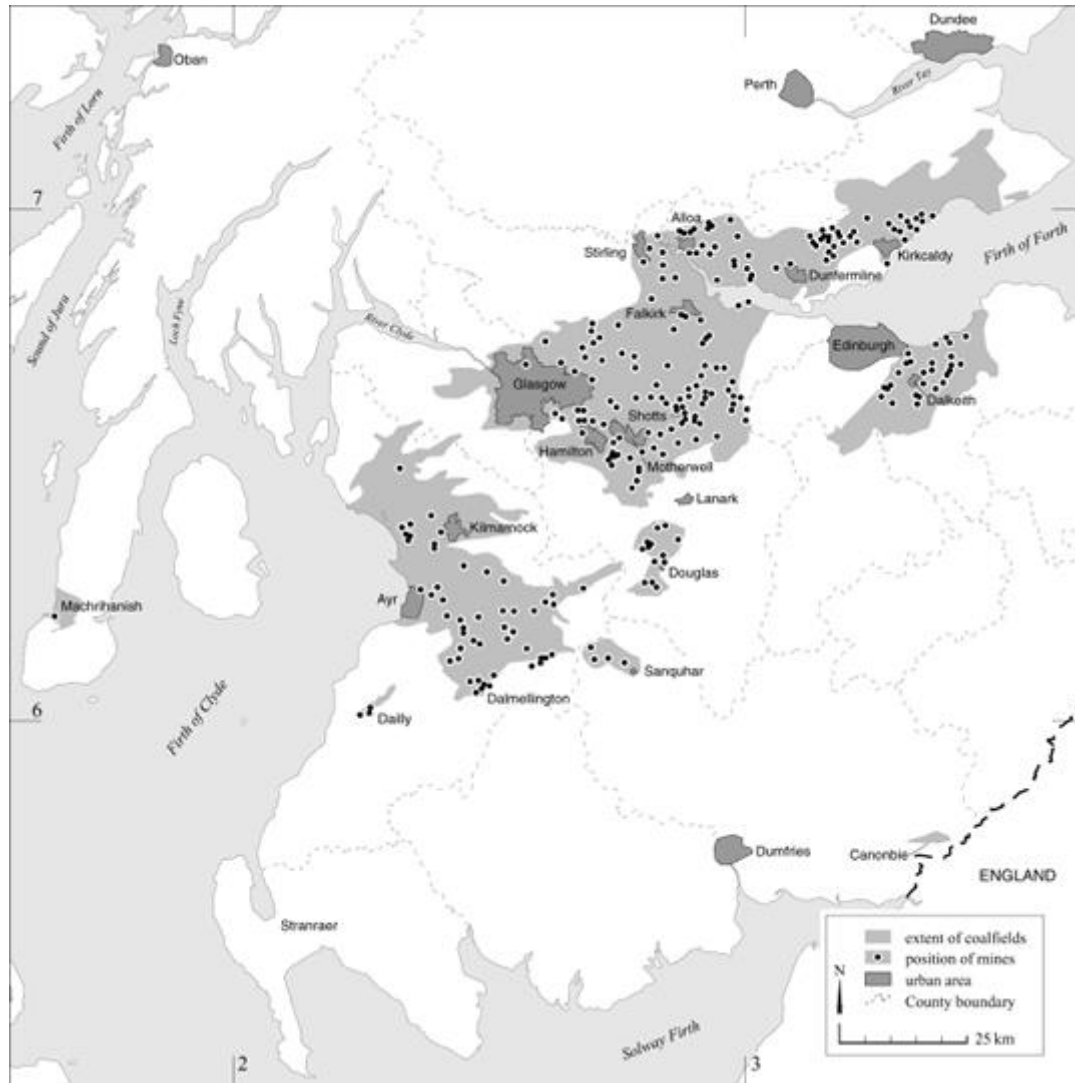
**Figure 1.1** 'Map of the Central and Douglas Valley Coalfields, 1944', *Scottish Mining*

<http://www.scottishmining.co.uk/Indexes/LKS-1944.jpg> [accessed 9/9/2016].

Location of notable collieries:

- 5 Gartshore 9/11
- 11 Garscube
- 12 Wester Auchengeich
- 13 Auchengeich
- 14 Bedlay
- 18 Cardowan
- 24 Baton
- 25 Hillhouserig
- 39 Gateside
- 43 Bardykes
- 51 Kingshill 1

53 Kingshill 2  
90 Douglas Castle  
92 Kennox  
93 Glespin



**Figure 1.2** 'Map of the Scottish Coalfields' *RCAHMS* (2005)

## Introduction

Deindustrialisation, the declining contribution of industrial activities to GDP and employment, provides a crucial insight to understanding post-1945 Scottish economic development, and major social and political changes. It was a complex, phased, and highly politicised process which took place over several decades across the mid and late twentieth century. Deindustrialisation had profound effects in altering social and cultural structures, as well as shaping the emergence of a more pronounced sense of Scottish-ness in demands for greater political autonomy through extended devolution and independence. This thesis looks “beyond the ruins” of ‘post-industrial’ Scotland to illuminate the long-term impact of a process that entailed qualitative changes which fundamentally restructured society.<sup>1</sup> It does so through a comprehensive analysis of contracting coal mining employment in Scotland’s largest coalfield, Lanarkshire, under the stewardship of the nationalised coal industry. The analysis focuses on the period between the National Coal Board’s (NCB) vesting in 1947 and the closure of Lanarkshire’s last colliery, Cardowan, in 1983, which was a formative episode during the lead up to the 1984-5 miners’ strike. Thus, “deindustrialisation does not just happen”; the incremental contraction of coal mining activities was not the natural outcome of either market forces or geological exhaustion.<sup>2</sup> Colliery closures and falling coal employment were the result of policy within the NCB, the Scottish Office, the Ministry of Fuel and Power, and its UK government departmental successors.

By emphasising the protracted process of coalfield contraction this thesis challenges the dominance of the closures of the 1980s at the expense of the longer process of labour market adjustment within historical research. This is apparent within both the “instant post-industrialisation” reading of Scottish economic development, and the predominant focus upon the pit closure programmes which came after the miners’ strike in British coalfield literature.<sup>3</sup> Both centre on the ramifications of the events of 1984-5 and the economic policy of the Thatcher government, losing sight of long-term dynamics. In particular, energy policy that tended to favour alternatives to coal from the 1950s onwards, and investment over the life-span of the nationalised industry which focused manpower in ‘super pits’

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<sup>1</sup> J. Cowie and J. Heathcott, ‘Introduction: The Meanings of Deindustrialization’, in *Beyond the Ruins* ed. by J. Cowie and J. Heathcott (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2003) p.6.

<sup>2</sup> Barry Bluestone and Bennet Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry*. (New York: Basic Books, 1982) p.14.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes* third edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998) p.164; Tim Strangleman, ‘Networks, Place and Identities in Post-Industrial Communities’, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* vol25 (2001) pp.253-266; Mike Foden, Steven Fothergill, Tony Gore, *The State of the Coalfields: Economic and Social Conditions in the Former Mining Communities of England, Scotland and Wales* (Sheffield Halam University: Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research, 2014) pp.13-4; Peter Ackers, ‘Review Essay: Life After Death: Mining History without a Coal Industry’, *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* vol.1 (1996) pp.160-1 notes the tendency for coalfield histories to reflect contemporary circumstances, emphasising the aftermath of the 1984-5 strike.

within the most productive coalfields are overlooked. This thesis demonstrates that even before the peak of post-Second World War coal employment within the British and Scottish coalfields in 1957 pit closures contributed towards major episodes of community restructuring and shaped the attitude of the National Union of Mineworkers' Scottish Area (NUMSA) towards the nationalised industry.<sup>4</sup> These experiences, which are interrogated in chapter two, were particularly apparent in the Shotts area to the east of Lanarkshire which underwent significant divestment during the early 1950s.

A detailed examination of deindustrialisation in the Lanarkshire coalfield is constructed using an extensive reading of archival sources and oral history testimonies incorporating both top-down perspectives and voices from below. Policy-maker viewpoints are gauged through an analysis of three major planning proposals from the 1940s to the 1970s, and correspondence from within the Scottish Office. This is accompanied by an analysis of changes in labour market structures over time using census employment statistics. NCB material provides a basis to evaluate the involvement of government, unitary, cross-UK central management, and Scottish Divisional, as well as colliery level management, in decision making over manpower planning and investment. Through the minutes of Colliery Consultative Committee (CCC) meetings between management and worker representatives the NCB documentation also illuminates workforce responses to closure. The minutes of the executive meetings and annual and special conferences of the NUMSA, and the records of the STUC further contribute to understanding of how workers' attitude to coalfield contraction and energy policy shifted over time. They also shed light on the union's evolving political perspectives, in particular the NUMSA's increasingly vocal support for Scottish devolution from the 1960s onwards.

Further reflection is provided in the testimonies from the oral history interviews conducted with over thirty men and women in a life-story format, with the addition of two focus groups. The interviewees were recruited through a variety of methods, with most participants being found through 'snowballing' via existing contacts but some also found through advertisements in the local press.<sup>5</sup> Recruitment was conducted with the aim of collecting testimonies from a range of voices in gender, generational and geographical terms. This was achieved, with former miners who had worked at collieries across the three geographical areas case studied for their experiences of closure in chapter two providing testimonies. Men and women from mining backgrounds who had taken employment in the new industries brought to Lanarkshire under the impetus of regional policy were also interviewed. Recruitment was biased towards former trade union activists, a product of both the contact networks

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<sup>4</sup> William Ashworth, *The History of the British Coal Industry volume 5 1946-1982: The Nationalized Industry* (Oxford: Calderon Press, 1986) energy policy details pp.38-9; employment peaked at 710,000 in the UK coalfields in 1957 p.163; Miles K. Oglethorpe, *Scottish Collieries. An Inventory of the Scottish Coal Industry in the Nationalised Era* (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 20. Scottish coalfield employment peaked in 1957 at 82,000.

<sup>5</sup> Peter T. Knight, *Small-Scale Research Pragmatic Inquiry in Social Science and the Caring Professions* (London: Sage, 2008) p.65.

that snowballing was conducted through, and the tendency of those most vocal and intimately involved in mobilisation to have confidence in making their narrative heard. This reflects the tendency of activists to have the strongest narratives, and retain social and emotions connections with movements they took part in.<sup>6</sup> However, narratives were also gathered from former miners who were not supporters of the NUMSA leadership's Communist-influenced politics, including individuals who had a history of being active within Orange Order activities.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format. Dialogue was broadly constructed around a life-story format, with questions emphasising meanings and understandings of community, connections to the mining industry, and experiences of closure. Interviews with women in particular discussed changes in gender roles and family life connected with increasing female participation in the workforce and rising male unemployment. This uncovered elements of the distinct gender experiences of coalfield deindustrialisation and gendered labour market participation. Colliery closures came alongside expanded inward investment and industrial diversification which led to improved employment opportunities for women. Chapter three discusses the contrast between women's narratives of gradually improving gender and social position across progressive generations with male narratives of cultural and material loss. However, two of the women interviewed were employed in colliery canteens and were effected by closures. Former activists tended towards a greater level of discussion of their membership of NUMSA, and how political perspectives were shaped by family histories, workplace experiences and the traditions of the union. The testimonies are deployed with particular reference to how family memories shaped perspectives on colliery closure, and how elements of critical nostalgia and gender have framed recollections of class, occupation and community within former coalfield localities.

Two focus groups were also conducted. One, with a retired miners' group in Moodiesburn, North Lanarkshire, centring on experiences of industrial relations and pit closures, and another of a mixed gender group in Shotts, to the east of the county, which focused on community and social changes. Both took a semi-structured format, with dialogue largely evolving through the interactions of participants, with the researcher largely steering through suggesting broad topics for discussion. The retired miners' group, which meet regularly, was recruited through a contact. The Shotts focus group was recruited through contacting a local history group which largely consisted of men and women from mining backgrounds. The discussion in Moodiesburn largely revolved around workplace experience, with particular discussion on patterns of closures in North Lanarkshire, and memories of

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<sup>6</sup> Nigel Fielding and Hilary Thomas, 'Qualitative Interviewing', in *Researching Social Life* ed. by Nigel Gilbert third edition (London:Sage, 2008) p.260; Lorraine Stizia, 'Telling Arthur's Story: Oral History Relationships and Shared Authority', *Oral History* vol.27 (2) (1999) on Communist narratives pp.633-4; John Kirk, *Class, Culture and Social Change: On the Trails of the Working Class* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) pp.163-5 on miners and narratives of class struggle.

industrial relations and the history of dangers and disasters in the Lanarkshire mining industry. The focus group in Shotts focused upon community, emphasising shared social activities, and the role of institutions, such as Miners' Welfares, in shaping life within coalfield areas.

Both the life-story interviews and focus groups displayed elements of collective memory, and evidenced the tendency for communal experiences to be retold through the lens of popular myth and legend.<sup>7</sup> Within the testimonies this was most apparent in the framing of individual memories being heavily shaped by family stories. These reflected the operation of a coalfield cultural circuit discussed further in chapter two, which tended towards implicating experiences within the history of economic and social dislocation of the private coal industry of the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup> In the focus groups the collective construction of memories was evident. The dialogue was more fragmentary and focused upon either shared elements of everyday social life in a community and workplace setting, or upon particular communal experiences of major events such as gala days, pit closures or mining disasters. This lacked the depth of the life-story narratives, as well as being characterised by the tendency for dominant voices or memories to prevail over those who lacked either personal confidence or linguistic and cultural resources to validate their perspective on the past. To some extent this was mitigated by the fact that all subjects knew each other and were in an environment where they were comfortable and used to voicing their viewpoint and on occasion differing with others.<sup>9</sup> The benefit of this came from the 'generative' content it produced, with focus group participant interaction driving dialogue and demonstrating the links and connections through which the cultural circuit operates.<sup>10</sup>

The analysis, which links the experience and memory of long-term economic change and policy development with culture, puts forward an alternative to predominant explanations of how more pronounced expressions of Scottish nationhood developed during the late twentieth century. These have tended to emphasise aspects of constitutional politics and culture. Pittock has referred to burgeoning confidence in the arts and literature as contributing towards a state of "cultural autonomy", which conditioned growing support for devolution and independence in Scotland during the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>11</sup> Others foreground "political divergence between Scotland and England",

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<sup>7</sup> Susan A Crane, 'Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory', *American Historical Review* vol.102 (1997) p.1373; Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991) pp.1-.2.

<sup>8</sup> Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010) p.68.

<sup>9</sup> Grahame Fallon and Reva Berman Brown, 'Focusing on Focus Groups: Lessons from a Research Project Involving a Bangladeshi Community', *Qualitative Research* vol.2 (2002) pp.196-7.

<sup>10</sup> Helen Finch and Jane Lewis, 'Focus Groups' in *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social science Students and Researchers* ed. by Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis (London: Sage Publications, 2003) p.171.

<sup>11</sup> Murray Pittock, *The Road to Independence?: Scotland since the Sixties* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013) p.139.

emphasising how declining support for the Conservative Party after 1979, and the retention of “an essentially social-democratic majority” in opposition to Thatcherism within Scotland, weakened the Union.<sup>12</sup>

Devine’s study of the long-run development of Scotland emphasises economic factors behind these political changes, noting that since the mid-1970s Scotland “had been transformed to an extent unknown since the epoch of the Industrial Revolution.” He related this to “a crisis of national identity” arising from the extent to which “Scotland’s modern collective psyche was invested in the great traditional staples of shipbuilding, heavy engineering and coal mining.”<sup>13</sup> The analysis in this thesis enriches these debates with a more nuanced account, examining the economic substance of cultural and political change, and Scotland’s distinct trajectory within the UK. It builds upon MacDonald’s observation that “twentieth-century Scotland was overwhelmingly shaped by the conflicting dynamics of centralisation and regional autonomy”, and the role of a polity which often acted as an “interface” between the nation and the political institutions of the unitary state in London.<sup>14</sup>

These aspects are apparent in the first chapter which examines the structures of administrative devolution and a Scottish policy network of Scottish Office civil servants and business representatives who shaped the vision for industrial modernisation which predominated in the application of regional policy between the 1940s and 1960s. This perspective was in large part shaped by Scotland’s politically peripheral status in a UK, and by the consensus that its indigenous industrial sectors lacked the capacity to deliver the development of modern mass production activities. Chapter one takes a top-down approach to the process of deindustrialisation through analysing the political and economic relations which shaped post-1945 Scottish economic development. This emphasises the development of a consensus among policy-makers that Scotland required wholesale modernisation through inward investment which won assent from Conservative and Labour politicians, and labour movement support, between the 1940s and late 1960s. The concept of ‘passive revolution’ is utilised with an emphasis on the state’s role as a nodal point in coordinating development within regions and nations where indigenous economic forces and market operations were judged to have failed to provide. This facilitates a focus on the spatial aspects of the economic relationships that predominated in post-1945 Scotland. Political peripherality encouraged industrial peripherality through policies which increased dependency on inward investment and externally controlled capital that failed to develop either the sectoral strength or employment security policy-makers had anticipated.

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<sup>12</sup> Alice Brown, David McCrone and Lyndsay Paterson, *Politics and Society in Scotland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998) p.64.

<sup>13</sup> Tom Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2007) p.643.

<sup>14</sup> Catriona M. MacDonald, *Whaur Extremes Meet: Scotland’s Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2009) p.250.

The first chapter's discussion emphasises the limitations imposed on policy-makers' modernisation efforts by popular expectations of stable employment being provided in return for the acceptance of the movement of labour from heavy industries to assembly goods production. The Lanarkshire coalfield was at the heart of this process. It was designated for extensive contraction, whilst the area also received large-scale inward investment in assembly engineering activities and two New Towns were constructed in the county, East Kilbride, which was inaugurated in 1947, and Cumbernauld in 1956. The analysis focuses on the tension between elements of UK centralisation and Scottish autonomy within economic policy which challenged the agenda of 'modernising' policy-makers. This was spurred by growing labour movement discontent with mounting heavy industrial job losses and unstable employment in assembly factories. The analysis of these developments utilise the records of the NUMSA and the STUC, examining the NUMSA's growing support for devolution as a means to increase Scotland's economic, as well as its political, autonomy and how this shaped the outlook of the wider Scottish labour movement.<sup>15</sup>

In the second chapter focus is reprised to the coalfields, and the role of forces from below, through workforce and community responses to colliery closures. This chapter adopts a moral economy approach to the management of coalfield contraction, which places reconstruction within a Polanyian framework. The nationalisation of coal is understood as the product of a struggle between liberal market forces and the efforts of workers and the state to embed the labour market within the social requirements of coalfield communities and the energy needs of the British economy. A moral economy analysis inspired by the approach of E.P. Thompson is constructed to examine how community and workforce expectations of the nationalised industry shaped conceptions of colliery employment, and identifies the practices which were employed to ameliorate objections and legitimate closure. Although there are clear distinctions between Thompson's 'English crowd' of eighteenth century consumers who enforced traditional customary rights to bread at a "reasonable price", and Scottish coalfield communities facing colliery closures, both emphasised aspects of social responsibility regarding the distribution of resources.<sup>16</sup> In a coalfield context it was collieries, and the comparatively secure and well remunerated industrial employment they provided, which was disputed. Nationalisation incurred social responsibility upon policy-makers who promised a future of consultation and "humanised" industrial relations that contrasted with the experience of mass unemployment and industrial conflict during the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Jim Phillips, *The Industrial Politics of Devolution: Scotland in the 1960s and 1970s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008) passim.

<sup>16</sup> E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present* vol.50 (1971) p.109.

<sup>17</sup> Jim Tomlinson, 'A "Failed Experiment"? Public Ownership and the Narratives of Post-War Britain', *Labour History Review* vol.73 (2008) pp.235-239.



The study is informed by NCB records, with workers' voices heard through the minutes of CCC meetings that took place between workforce representatives and management before closures. This is accompanied by reflections from the oral history testimonies. These reveal that the experience of social injustices in the private industry across the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century conditioned a moral economy understanding of coalfield employment as a community resource, which prevailed within the nationalised industry. The dialectical relationship between forces from above and pressures from below outlined in the first chapter is given a detailed analysis. This centres on the development of expectations that the NCB and Scottish Office policy-makers would adhere to social responsibilities incurred upon closing collieries. These entailed legitimating closures through negotiations with trade union representatives and providing both individual workers and communities with alternative sources of employment.

The moral economy was neither static nor entirely accepted. It was an outlook shaped within the experience of coalfield communities that determined the attitude of the NUMSA over the nationalised period. The practice of the moral economy was moulded by the approach of the NUMSA towards closures during the late 1940s and early 1950s, in particular the experience of large-scale closures in the Shotts area. This determined that the NUMSA would reject approaches to closure which entailed making future colliery employment dependent on migrating to other coalfields. The moral economy was heavily bound up with preserving small-scale geographically bounded communities, which created some tension between the NUMSA's attempt to create a Scottish mining community consciousness and its role in protecting employment within particular locales. Although the moral economy was not constant or ever adhered to in full, it was formative in shaping practices within the Lanarkshire and Scottish coalfields across the four decades, and in miners' changing attitudes towards the NCB.

Chapter two outlines the continual disputation of the moral economy between the 1940s and the 1980s. Demonstrating it was asserted more potently at some points than others. In particular, it emphasises the accelerated rundown of pit closures during the 1960s as calling the moral economy into question. This experience coincided with, and encouraged, increasing centralisation within the NCB which contributed towards increasing the remoteness of control over the development of the Scottish coalfield. Alongside contributing to the NUMSA's devolutionary sentiment, it also encouraged enmity at UK energy policy. Rising hostility was directed at the NCB, and the declining deference shown towards consolatory machinery and official trade union structures, weakened the mechanisms through which the moral economy operated. However, this also facilitated its renegotiation via a series of unofficial and then official strikes between 1969 and 1974. These were stimulated by a moral economy view that the NCB was failing to provide either the adequate

economic rewards or employment security to miners, especially given their declining earnings compared with other industrial workers.<sup>18</sup>

The eventual outcome was significantly increased miners' earnings and the promise of a stable future for the industry through the 1974 Plan for Coal, which was understood as a major step towards a coordinated energy policy. These were achieved in no small part due to the increasing market power of coal following the oil crisis of 1973-4 which not only increased coal's price competitiveness but also confirmed its importance as an abundant indigenous fuel resource.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the moral economy was dependent on the ability of miners to enforce their understanding of social justice. This was dramatically confirmed during the 1980s as the NCB asserted managerial prerogative and financial priorities. These objectives were achieved through aggressive anti-trade unionism that saw the deconstructing of consultative procedures before the 1984-5 miners' strike, and the imposition of accelerated closures which abandoned the insulation from market pressures provided by the Plan for Coal. Part of this process was the removal of management personnel who adhered to moral economy principles through a close relationship with the workforces and trade union representatives. The moral language of the 1984-5 strike, in particular the slogan 'Coal not Dole', was therefore grounded within the experience of the nationalised industry's operation over almost four decades, and understandings of legitimacy and social justice that colliery closures should be managed within. The strike must therefore be viewed within a long history of colliery closures and the mentalité miners and coalfield communities developed over the course of deindustrialisation during the mid and late twentieth century. This was itself strongly influenced by their understanding of a longer history of economic dislocation.

Chapters three and four consider the social and cultural identities which shaped the moral economy but were heavily altered by deindustrialisation. Chapter three focuses on the dense networks that linked occupation, community, and class consciousness which coalesced in the construction of a sense of belonging in the coalfields. This extends to an examination of the combination of manual working class identities, trade union membership, public housing tenures, and Labour Party affiliations that underpinned 'Labour Scotland' between the 1940s and 1980s.<sup>20</sup> The analysis integrates considerations of the cultural impact that coalfield contraction and the growing remoteness of economic control outlined in the first two chapters had in assertions of Scottish national identity. This focuses on the NUMSA's annual Scottish Miners' Gala. The Gala was a key institution within the construction of a Scottish coalfield community, and was presented in national as well as class terms.

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<sup>18</sup> Andrew Taylor, *The NUM and British Politics volume 2: 1969-1995* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) p.1, 36.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, pp.111-112.

<sup>20</sup> Gerry Hassan and Eric Shaw, *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012) pp.5-7.

The approach to the politics of 'labourism' in this chapter shares Gildart's conception of viewing it as the articulation of practical working class politics which was constructed upon and practiced through the experience of the workplace and political organisation. This is opposed to predominant understandings of labourism being the product of institutional barriers to the organic development of socialist consciousness.<sup>21</sup> Through considering the impact of the NUMSA's political culture, which was shaped by the prominent presence of Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) members in its leadership, and their deployment of Scottish national identity, the conception of the political forces and influences that shaped labourist ideology is extended beyond their traditional confines of an attachment to the institutions of the British state and moderate Labour Party politics.<sup>22</sup> In place a more heterogeneous understanding of political forces committed to working towards a unified industrial and political labour movement, and parliamentary representation through the Labour Party, is suggested. The examples of the NUMSA and its intervention within the STUC demonstrate this was less constrained in foreign policy, ideological alignment or constitutional stance than dominant theories of 'labourism' recognise.

The fourth chapter returns focus to the major transitions in political economy outlined in the first chapter, but deploys a bottom-up analysis of the social experience of deindustrialisation from a generational and gender perspective. The oral history testimonies collected for the thesis reveal the salience of these factors in shaping distinct labour market experiences associated with the contraction of industrial employment. Whilst there were intergenerational commonalities in the shared values of the moral economy and the communal experience of loss of community cohesion, there were also clear differences according to gender and generational groupings. Older men broadly faced the intensifying contraction of industrial employment through redundancy and labour market withdrawal, younger workers mostly transferred to service sector employment, and a generation entering the labour market had to adapt to not engaging in the industrial occupations they had anticipated. This major shift entailed social and cultural, as well as economic, losses associated with both the identities and the secure, relatively high, wages provided by industrial employment over the second half of the twentieth century. The analysis of expanding female labour market access, and a discourse of incremental improvement in employment opportunities and social standing, emphasises that women were also directly affected by deindustrialisation. The expansion of women's employment in assembly factories after 1945 provided jobs within engineering sectors that came to be embedded within moral economy understandings. This was underlined by the involvement of government policy

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<sup>21</sup> Ralph Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism: A Study in the Politics of Labour* (London: Merlin Press, 1973) *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> Keith Gildart, *North Wales Miners: A Fragile Unity, 1945-1996* (Cardiff: Wales University Press, 2001) pp.4-5.

and public finances in securing inward investment. Plant closures during the ‘retreat’ of multinationals from Scotland during the 1970s and 1980s placed women workers on the frontline of deindustrialisation, an aspect that has largely been excluded from the literature.<sup>23</sup>

This thesis addresses a significant gap in historical literatures through its emphasis on the protracted nature of colliery closures across the mid and late twentieth century. It demonstrates they were a significant factor in shaping the NUMSA’s politics before employment had even peaked in the nationalised industry. Coalfield contraction is illuminated as a long run process which was managed over four decades through the structures of the nationalised industry and by government policies designed to provide compensation for the loss of employment in coal mining with work in assembly goods sectors. This was shaped by a moral economy understanding of colliery employment that emphasised policy-maker social responsibilities to provide alternative employment. The moral economy was moulded by the historical experience of industrial strife and mass unemployment during the interwar period, and established the terms upon which the NUMSA were willing to legitimate colliery closure. These centred on consultation with workforce representatives and the provision of alternative local employment which provided economic security for individual workers, and collective labour market alternatives for communities losing employment in collieries. The NCB and government policy-makers largely met moral economy responsibilities under the managed economy between the 1940s and 1970s before it was abruptly abandoned in the market liberalisation and assertion of financial priorities during the 1980s. However, it was continually contested, and the moral economy’s assertion varied over time, and was dependent on the ability of miners to enforce their conception of policy-makers’ responsibility, and of coalfield employment as a community resource.

Deindustrialisation had profound and long-term social and cultural consequences. The moral economy was constructed within the dense connections of community and workplace that characterised coalfield communities, but these were heavily reconstructed between the 1940s and 1980s. The predominance of public sector housing and the expansion of assembly engineering sectors reinforced manual working class identities and extended moral economy conceptions into areas of women’s employment. The experience of the growing remoteness of control of industry in Scotland, both within the NCB and through the increasing reliance on inward investment, bolstered support for political autonomy and contributed to heightened cultural expressions of an accentuated Scottish national identity. The transformations in the economy and social relations associated with

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<sup>23</sup> Neil Hood and Stephen Young, *Multinationals in Retreat: The Scottish Experience* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982) passim; Andy Clark, “And the Next Thing, the Chairs Barricaded the Door’: The Lee Jeans Factory Occupation, Trade Unionism and Gender in Scotland in the 1980s’, *Scottish Labour History* vol.48 (2013) pp.129-130.

deindustrialisation were both the fundamental forces that shaped Scottish history after 1945 and part of the predominant trend that has characterised all major developed economies.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Robert Rowthorn and Ramana Ramswamy, *Deindustrialization: Its Causes and Implications* (Washington DC: IMF, 1997) p.5.

## Chapter 1 Scottish Economic Development c.1945-1980s

### Introduction

This chapter examines the development of the Scottish economy between 1945 and the 1980s, placing coalfield deindustrialisation within the wider process of interlinked deindustrialisation and reindustrialisation in post-Second World War Scotland. It does so through a top-down focus on the aims, priorities, and achievements of policy-makers. The role of these forces from above are qualified by an assessment of the role played by pressures from below for secure industrial employment and the increasingly vocal demand for political devolution from the early 1970s in shaping the regional policy agenda. The next chapter contains a more systematic analysis and detailed assessment of community and workforce perspectives through the popular customs of the moral economy of the coalfields. This was articulated and negotiated within the broader process of economic change and policy development presented in this chapter.

Post-Second World War Scottish economic development entailed a fundamental shift in political economy, which was especially marked on Clydeside. An economy characterised by privately owned Scottish family firms engaged in interconnected heavy industrial activities was transformed. These interests gave way to a more diversified industrial structure including the growth of externally owned assembly goods plants, predominantly controlled from England and America. These were mostly engaged in mechanical, electrical and instrument engineering, later advancing into electronics. State policy played a dominant role in this process. Coalfield contraction and the later rundown of steel employment were managed through nationalisation.<sup>1</sup> This process made the space and labour available necessary for reindustrialisation through inward investment. Coordinated investment and divestment in these nationalised industries was accompanied by regional policy efforts which utilised incentives and coercion through Industrial Development Certificates (IDCs) to “steer” investment from the “congested” South East and English Midlands to “peripheral” areas of the UK, especially declining coalfields.<sup>2</sup> These policies were designed to oversee a spatial realignment of economic activities. The Lanarkshire coalfields, whilst designated for contraction, were also to be at the forefront of industrial diversification. This was linked to advance factory facilities in the New Towns of Cumbernauld and East Kilbride as well as to Scottish Industrial Estate Corporation (SIEC) sites in other areas. These developments connected social reconstruction with economic development. Housing provision in the two New Towns and widespread local authority house building alongside slum clearances contributed to the recomposition of communities. The New Towns also absorbed

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<sup>1</sup> Jim Tomlinson, ‘A “Failed Experiment”? Public Ownership and the Narratives of Post-War Britain’, *Labour History Review* vol.73 (2008) p.238.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon C. Cameron, *Industrial Movement and the Regional Problem* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966) p.1.

large numbers of migrants from Glasgow through “overspill” provision which linked the slum clearances agenda with the direction of future industrial development towards ‘greenfield’ sites.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter’s first three main sections outline a framework for understanding the general economic and political dimensions of post-1945 industrial Scotland. The focus on shifting regional policy priorities illuminates changes in attitudes to deindustrialisation over time. This framework is then extended by an examination of the application of regional policy within Lanarkshire through an analysis of the experience of foreign direct investment (FDI). The analysis integrates coalfield deindustrialisation with the broader political-economy factors that characterised Scottish economic development during the second half of the twentieth century.

The first section provides a theoretical basis for the framework through deploying Gramsci’s conception of ‘passive revolution’. It centres the framework’s conception of fundamental change to an industrial base upon the state’s attraction of inward manufacturing investment where domestic capital was seen to have failed to provide modern industrial development. This contributed towards the industrial peripheralisation of Scotland via an increasing reliance on externally controlled capital. These developments were the outcome of Scotland’s politically peripheral position within the UK, specifically the operation of regional policy.

The second section develops the framework by examining economic and industrial policy development between the late 1940s and early 1970s through analysing the influential *Clyde Valley Regional Plan* of 1946, the Toothill report of 1961 and the *Oceanspan* reports of 1970 and 1971. The analysis highlights shifts in the priority of regional policy objectives over this time period. It does so through illuminating the linkages between the Scottish Council (Development and Industry) (SCDI) and state policy-makers, divisions between fractions of capital in shaping regional policy outcomes. The role of community and workforce expectation, expressed through political pressure from below, is also assessed. In the third section, growing opposition to Scotland’s peripheral status through mounting calls for administrative devolution are considered in terms of the tension which shifts in the labour markets structure brought by the process of passive revolution, in particular its failure to provide promised economic security. This contributed to the development of a labour movement rooted ‘industrial politics of devolution’ that sought to internalise control over Scottish economic development.<sup>4</sup>

The fourth section illuminates this framework for understanding Scotland’s post-1945 economic and political development through a detailed study of regional policy’s application in Lanarkshire utilising

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<sup>3</sup> John MacIness, ‘The Deindustrialisation of Glasgow’, *Scottish Affairs* vol.11 (1995) p.80.

<sup>4</sup> Phillips, *The Industrial Politics of Devolution*, passim.

press reports and material from a succession of Scottish Office bodies, the Scottish Economic Planning Board (SEPB), the Scottish Development Department (SDD) and their successors, the Scottish Economic Planning Department (SEPD), and Scottish Development Agency (SDA).<sup>5</sup> A focus is placed on the negotiation of contradiction between policy-maker goals of developing “zones of growth”, as defined by the Toothill report, and which became a British government policy objective in the 1960s, and pressures for employment provision in areas which had lost large numbers of jobs in traditional industries.<sup>6</sup> This involves consideration of the direction of investment as well as the often gendered objectives pursued by policy-makers in relation to localised unemployment levels. In the fifth section, the analysis of the effects of growing external control is extended in case studies of the development of manufacturing plants brought to Lanarkshire through regional policy, with a focus on American multinational enterprises (MNEs). This is based on correspondence between the Board of Trade, Scottish Office and major employers who maintained a long-term presence in Lanarkshire: Hoover, Burroughs, Sunbeam and Honeywell. The evolution of the subsidiaries is understood in terms of the “plant life-cycle-effect” which views their development as a process of growth focused around new and competitive products followed by decline and divestment by MNEs.<sup>7</sup> Competition for product mandates with other plants elsewhere in Britain and globally, and the shifts from electro-mechanical to electronic production methods are examined in terms of their effect on employment levels. The impact of shifts in economic circumstance, in particular the recession and slow growth which followed during the mid-1970s, is also analysed.

This section is embedded within the historiography of Scottish multinational subsidiaries. It develops the scope of this literature through counterpoising Lanarkshire’s multinational manufacturing plants with Dimitratos et al’s research into IBM’s operation in Greenock which has revised pessimistic conclusions about US MNE subsidiary’s development in Scotland. IBM constitutes a “special case” of a subsidiary which provided the economic benefits sought from FDI. A history of “subsidiary entrepreneurship” saw the operation undergo a “metamorphosis” of competence development as it evolved from a manufacturing plant to a high value-added R&D oriented “campus site”.<sup>8</sup> This chapter contributes to this emerging historiography by outlining the process of bringing, expanding and maintaining MNE plants in Lanarkshire and shows how exceptional the IBM experience was. Despite

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<sup>5</sup> Gavin McCrone and J.N. Randall, ‘The Scottish Development Agency’, in *The Economic Development of Modern Scotland, 1950-1980* ed. by Richard Saville (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985) p.133; MacDonald, *Whaur Extremes Meet*, p.88.

<sup>6</sup> J.N. Toothill, *Inquiry into the Scottish Economy, 1960-1961: Report of a Committee appointed by the Scottish Council (Development and Industry) under the chairmanship of J.N. Toothill* (Edinburgh: SCDI, 1961) p.154; Gavin McCrone ‘Industrial Clusters: A New Idea or an Old One’, *Scottish Affairs* vol.29 (1999) p.76.

<sup>7</sup> Michael C. McDermott, *Multinationals: Foreign Divestment and Disclosure* (Maidenhead: McGray-Hill, 1989) p.8.

<sup>8</sup> Pavlos Dimitratos, Ioanna Liouka, Duncan Ross and Stephen Young, ‘The Multinational Enterprise and Subsidiary Evolution: Scotland since 1945’, *Business History* vol.51 (3) (2009) pp.215-9.



the considerable contraction of employment following manufacturing divestment the operation achieved greater capability development and a far higher level of embeddedness in Greenock than the four Lanarkshire case studies. The analysis in this section provides an understanding of the characteristics of the political economy of inward investment-led reindustrialisation, and the process through which manufacturing plants, which partly replaced coal mining employment, grew and then contracted concurrently with coalfield contraction.

### **Framework: Passive Revolution**

Scottish economic development in the post-Second World War period has the hallmarks of Gramscian “passive revolution”: an effort through which the state coordinated modernising infrastructure and industrial investment to oversee a “concomitant social re-organisation”.<sup>9</sup> This maintained capitalist social relations whilst implementing state-led economic planning which consciously oversaw a comprehensive redesign of Scotland’s industrial base in circumstances where privately owned indigenous capital was judged incapable of doing so. Rather than the typical sector designation of corporatism, this entailed an economy-wide perspective and the development of a long-term agenda for through rejuvenation.<sup>10</sup>

Passive revolution has its origins in Antonio Gramsci’s analysis of the unification of Italy and Germany. He distinguished these processes from the “permanent revolution” characteristic of earlier revolutions such as in France where the bourgeoisie had acted as the “hegemonic group of all popular forces” and mobilised the urban and rural population to overthrow feudalism. Passive revolution was characterised by a “revolution without a revolution” through a “restrictive form of hegemony” which resulted from:

The class relations created by industrial development, with the limits of bourgeois hegemony reached and the position of the progressive classes reversed, had induced the bourgeoisie not to struggle with all its strength against the old regime, but to allow a part of the latter’s face to subsist, behind which it can disguise its own real domination.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, as opposed to the permanent revolution, the passive revolution was based on a hegemony exercised over the mass of the population rather than through popular mobilisation. Gramsci further extended passive revolution into an analysis of the development of capitalist states. In relatively

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<sup>9</sup> Peter D. Thomas, *The Gramscian Moment: Philosophy Hegemony and Marxism* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2010) p.153.

<sup>10</sup> A. Grant Jordan, ‘Iron Triangles, Woolly Corporatism and Elastic Nets: Images of the Policy Process’, *Journal of Public Policy* vol.1 (1) (1981) p.104.

<sup>11</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935* ed. by David Forgacs (New York: New York University Press, 2000) p.258.

underdeveloped nations and regions, such as interwar Italy, state involvement was required to meet the needs of economic development whilst maintaining capitalist social relations and private property where indigenous private capital could not fulfil this role. Thus, under Italian fascism, the “economic structure is transformed in a ‘reformist’ way from an individualistic to a planned economy (command economy).” This facilitates a “transition to more developed political and cultural forms without radical and destructive cataclysms of an exterminating kind.”<sup>12</sup> The state was at the centre of coordinating this wholesale transformation of the structure of Italian industry in the image of more developed economies:

Through the legislative intervention of the state, and by means of the corporative organization relatively far-reaching modifications are being introduced into the country’s economic structure in order to accentuate the plan of production elements; in other words, that socialization and co-operation in the sphere of production are being increased, without however touching (or at least not going beyond the regulation and control of) individual and group appropriation of profit. In the concrete framework of Italian social relations, this could be the only solution whereby to develop the productive forces of industry under the direction of the traditional ruling classes in competition with the more advanced industrial formation of countries which monopolize raw materials and have accumulated massive capital sums.<sup>13</sup>

Recent scholarship has utilised Gramsci’s concept of passive revolution outwith its original historical context. Neil Davidson has argued that Scotland experienced the first instance of passive revolution over the second half of the eighteenth century. This resulted from the geographical and political consolidation that followed the defeat of the final Jacobite rising in 1746. Agrarian capitalist social relations were imposed “from above” having been “systematically theorised in advance of implementation.” Thus, the transition from feudal based landholding arrangements based on labour and military obligations to a system revolving around the private ownership of land and cash payments, which had taken several centuries to gradually emerge in England, was achieved in a short space of time in Scotland. This was an outcome of pro-capitalist forces achieving political power in Scotland when feudal relations still persisted in the countryside. As a result, the “economy had to be consciously reconstructed.”<sup>14</sup>

Like Davidson, Morton also emphasises passive revolution as the product of uneven development, which produces pressures for “state-led attempts at catch-up”. Building on Gramsci’s analysis of the role of the Italian state and applying this to developing economies he concluded that “capitalism is

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, pp.252-267.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 266-7.

<sup>14</sup> Neil Davidson, ‘Scotland: Birthplace of Passive Revolution’, *Capital and Class* vol.34 (2010) pp.354-357.

forced to revolutionise itself whenever hegemony is weakened or a social formation cannot cope with the need to expand the forces of production.” The state acts as “a nodal point in the spatiality of capitalist development” where the norms of free market based capital accumulation cannot suffice. Economic policy provides an interface between the nation or region and the external capital required for rejuvenation. Therefore, “‘foreign’ capital, for example, is not simply represented as an autonomous force beyond the power of the state but instead is represented by certain classes or fractions of classes within the constitution of the state apparatus” and where prevalent is part of the dominant “historic bloc”.<sup>15</sup>

In post-Second World War Scotland a “historic bloc” centred on the ‘modernisers’ fraction of capital- which Foster identified as associated with assembly engineering industries- was at the forefront of policy development. The bloc incorporated allied civil servants and political representatives to win consent for a vision of combined economic and social renewal. Foster’s terms succinctly emphasise the division within Scottish business between the ascendant modernisers and the ‘traditionalists’ grouped around Scottish-based heavy industrial family firms who did not wish to concede labour resources or policy prerogatives to externally controlled capital. This divide centred on regional policy instruments which facilitated inward manufacturing investment and managed the contraction of heavy industry.<sup>16</sup> The modernisers’ argument became hegemonic through the active development of consent and support for this perspective among representatives of labour and local authorities. Support was premised on promises of an orderly transition via the coordination of the rundown of heavy industries with the provision of employment in new activities, principally light engineering. In the next chapter the role that the promise of modernisation attained with economic security through employment transfers and labour market restructuring is considered in relation to workforce responses to colliery closures in the Lanarkshire coalfield.

Scottish modernisation efforts after 1945 paralleled Davidson’s analysis of the institution of land reform “from above” in eighteenth century Scotland, stimulated by the development of agricultural capitalism in England. Scottish reindustrialisation was shaped by the development of new consumer goods and vehicle manufacturing industries in the Midlands and South East of England which had not been present in interwar Scotland.<sup>17</sup> Dependency on ‘old Victorian staple’ industries was widely viewed as having contributed to the comparatively slow economic growth and severity of

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<sup>15</sup> Andrew David Morton, *Unravelling Gramsci: Hegemony and Passive Revolution in the Global Political Economy* (London: Pluto Press, 2007) pp.120-122, 126, 138, 151-3.

<sup>16</sup> John Foster, ‘The Twentieth Century, 1914-1979’, in *The New Penguin History of Scotland: From Earliest Times to the Present Day* ed. by R.A. Houston and W.W. Knox (London: Penguin Books, 2001) p.469.

<sup>17</sup> Christopher Price, ‘Depression and Recovery’, in *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change* ed. by Francesca Carnevali and Julie-Marie Strange (Harlow: Pearson, 2007) p.152.

unemployment Scotland suffered during the 1920s and 1930s. This perspective shaped the formulation of UK regional policy, and the outlook of Scottish Office civil servants.<sup>18</sup>

The US economist, R.L. Meier's, study of the potential for industrial planning in Scotland commissioned by the Board of Trade in 1950 referred to a "steam-steel complex" of industries as dominating Clydeside. Overreliance on these export oriented sectors created the conditions for the extreme experience of mass unemployment during the 1920s and 1930s, with rates higher than any region of the US. Meier hopefully pointed to regional policy initiatives which were introducing "new industries" in "light manufacturing" industries that would help to create a more resilient economic structure.<sup>19</sup> Demonstrating that this was a prolonged and prominent concern, the influential 1954 *Scottish Economy* volume edited by Alec Cairncross contains a statistical account of Scottish manufacturing by C.E.V. Leser which emphasises the continued absence of key modern sectors in Scotland, focusing on vehicles and light engineering.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, peripheralisation, the increasing externalisation of ownership and control of the Scottish economy, was legitimated through the promise of economic redevelopment and employment in new industries which could only be furnished through a dependency on inward investment. The historic bloc's attainment of hegemony, a broad social base of assent, was dependent on the promise of a prosperous modernity. This would be attained through coal and steel communities in Lanarkshire exchanging heavy industrial employment for cleaner and better paid work in assembly goods manufacturing. Passive revolution took place through a consciously designed planning of industrial renewal which was the outcome of interactions between the state and the 'modernisers' wing of capital, in particular through the SCDI. Given the SCDI's authority and influence within government Cameron has stated it can "be regarded as virtually part of the state".<sup>21</sup> Although the body's agenda was largely determined by business, trade union and local authority representatives also took contributed to the SCDI. It is evident from the annual reports of the STUC that labour movement representatives shaped discussions on modernisation. They largely accepted the design of wholesale economic modernisation to be achieved through focus on inward investment but played an operational role in supporting this agenda's development and championing particular projects such as the Forth

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<sup>18</sup> G.C. Peden, 'A New Scotland? The Economy', in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* ed T.M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) p.657.

<sup>19</sup> National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS)/Scottish Economic Planning Board (hereafter SEP)4/585/ 8A R.L. Meier, University of Chicago, 'Industrial Planning in Scotland: The Role of New Technology in The Economic Development of a Region', date 9<sup>th</sup> June 1950.

<sup>20</sup> C.E.V. Leser, 'Manufacturing Industry' in *The Scottish Economy: A Statistical Account of Scottish Life* ed. by A.K Cairncross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.121.

<sup>21</sup> Ewen A. Cameron, 'The Stateless Nation and the British State since 1918', in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* ed. by T.M. Devine and J. Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) p.629.

Road Bridge and a strip steel mill which is outlined in the third section.<sup>22</sup> The 1951-1952 STUC annual report included its representatives on the SCDI championing the importance of modern “research-based industries” such as electronics, noting that:

To overcome the unemployment that prevailed between the wars, however, it was necessary to expand our economy not only by developing established industry by bringing in new industry. Wherever possible we sought to grow new industries from Scottish sources, but often it was necessary to import from outside.<sup>23</sup>

The consistency of the SCDI’s status and ongoing “high quality” communications with civil servants in setting and changing regional policy goals established a policy network around Scottish economic development. The literature on policy networks emphasises the key to outcomes lies not simply in the power of a network’s constituents but in the forms of interaction between them. In this case, given the stability of the network over Conservative and Labour governments, there are indications of Jordan’s observation that where policy networks predominate “group-departmental relations are far more important than the political party/electorate focus.”<sup>24</sup> The stability of the network is characteristic of policy networks between insiders with the relative exclusion of outside actors.<sup>25</sup>

The analysis in this chapter proceeds from recent “anti-foundational” approaches to policy networks which emphasise the role of agency and consciousness. Policy network interaction involves a dialectical relationship in response to material conditions which is influenced by, but in turn influences, the context in which they take place. Alongside the material situation, the ideological climate exercises a key influence in shaping worldviews of policy-makers and conditions policy formulation.<sup>26</sup> This is apparent in the shifts in priorities from industrial diversification in the 1940s to increasing economic growth rates in the 1960s which was the product of changing outlooks and interaction between the Scottish Office and the SCDI, especially through the influence of the Tothill Report outlined in the section below. The shift from diversification towards economic growth accorded with concerns over raising productivity rates that characterised economic policy-making during the 1960s.<sup>27</sup> This strengthened the impulses behind passive revolution, as the decline of heavy

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<sup>22</sup> STUC, *1957-1958* vol.91 (1958) p.194

<sup>23</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1951-1952* vol.55 (1952) pp.86-9.

<sup>24</sup> Jordan, ‘Iron Triangles’, p.105;

<sup>25</sup> R.A.W. Rhodes, *Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 1997) p.44; R.A.W Rhodes and David Marsh, ‘Policy Networks in British Politics: A Critique of Existing Approaches’, in *Policy Networks in British Government* ed. by David Marsh and R A W Rhodes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) p.14.

<sup>26</sup> Henrick Enroth, ‘Policy Network Theory’, in *The Sage Handbook of Governance* ed. by Mark Bevir (London: Sage, 2011) p.25.

<sup>27</sup> Jim Tomlinson, *The Labour Governments 1964-1970 vol. III: Economic Policy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp132-4.

industries was welcomed and the need to develop assembly engineering sectors became more pressing.

However, pressure from below became more marked during the late 1960s as fears of “unemployment related social unrest” fostered a greater concern for alleviating joblessness and compromised the strategy based around “clusters” with high growth potential.<sup>28</sup> This challenged the hegemony of the modernisers’ vision through a labour movement argument for political as opposed to simply administrative devolution, which could act to protect heavy industrial employment. These are outlined in terms of policy changes and a political challenge to the historic bloc in this chapter, which informs the analysis behind the mounting opposition to colliery closures in the late 1960s and early 1970s analysed in the next chapter. Thus, regional policy was not consistent; a series of policy shifts took place between the 1940s and 1970s as priorities moved from diversification, to growth and then to the alleviation of unemployment. The role of working class pressure demonstrates the limitations which passive revolution from above operated within. Broad ascent for a vision of wholesale industrial modernisation was contingent on promises of labour market security, confirming the “only partially effective” nature of the hegemony of a historic bloc.<sup>29</sup> Acceptance of managed coalfield contraction and transition to a diversified industrial structure depended on the maintenance of investment and manufacturing employment in return for consent to heavy industrial closures. The role of popular pressure and agency and customs relating to the legitimating of colliery closures is developed in the next chapter on the coalfield moral economy.

### **Planning and Managing Industrial Renewal**

Given its early designation as a shrinking coalfield, Lanarkshire was a key location in Scotland’s reindustrialisation from early in the post-Second World War period. This had been anticipated by the 1944 Scottish Coalfield Commission at which coal owners, mining engineers and even trade union representatives accepted the industry’s contraction in the region as inevitable. The willingness to permit divestment was a reflection of long-term experience; “the great Lanarkshire heartland” had dominated the West Central coalfield which employed 60,000 of Scotland’s 140,000 miners when employment in the industry peaked during the early 1920s.<sup>30</sup> In 1921 59,925 men were employed in

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<sup>28</sup> Peter Scott, ‘Regional Development and Policy’ in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain vol. III: Structural Change and Growth, 1939-2000* ed. by Richard Floud and Paul Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) pp.352-353; Jim Phillips, ‘Deindustrialization and the Moral Economy of the Scottish Coalfields, 1947 to 1991’, *International Labor and Working Class History* vol.84 (2013) p.108.

<sup>29</sup> Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* second edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) p.120.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Duncan, *The Mineworkers* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005) pp.144-5, 206-7; Payne, Peter Payne, *Growth and Contraction: Scottish Industry c.1860-1990* (Glasgow: Studies in Scottish Economic and Social History, 1992), p.26.

Lanarkshire's coal industry, near one third of the county's male workforce of just under 165,00.<sup>31</sup> However, by 1944 the Lanarkshire coalfields had experienced over two decades of decline. Geological difficulties proliferated, productivity faltered and employment contracted due to a growing reliance on thin coal seams as reserves were exhausted.<sup>32</sup> The Scottish Office commissioned *Clyde Valley Regional Plan* of 1946 reinforced this perspective, declaring coal mining in Lanarkshire a "fast dying" industry. The closure of mines necessitated "several substantial new industries employing thousands of men." Large-scale external investment, "rather than the setting up of concerns merely to supplement the basic industrial structure" would need to be brought to the region to achieve both economic and social modernisation.<sup>33</sup> Thus, interwar experience and the promise of renewing the industry on a Scotland-wide basis, and of replacement employment within communities affected by the loss of coal employment, shaped the moral economy and acceptance of colliery closures in Lanarkshire.

**Table 1.1 Male Employment in Lanarkshire**

Year	Mining	(%)	Metal Manufacturing	(%)	Engineering*	(%)	Combined (%)
1951	20225	15.5	23403	18.0	12821	9.9	43.4
1961	13440	9.3	23340	16.2	28010	19.4	44.9
1966	6610	4.6	24030	16.8	33380	23.7	45.1
1971**	3720	2.8	21810	16.2	34500	25.6	44.6
1981	1060	0.9	10680	9.4	24449	21.6	31.3

*Sources: Census 1951 Scotland Vol. iv Occupation and Industries* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1956) Table 13 pp.433-469; *Census 1961 Scotland Occupation and Industry County Tables Glasgow and Lanark Leaflet No.15* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1966) table 3 pp.16-21; *Sample Census 1966 Scotland Economic Activity County Tables Leaflet No.3 Glasgow and Lanark* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1968) Table 3 pp.33-44; *Census 1971 Scotland Economic Activity County Tables Part 2* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1976) Table 3; *Census 1981 Scotland Economic Activity 10% Strathclyde Region Microfiche* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1983) Table 3

<sup>31</sup> *Census of Scotland 1921 vol.1 part 22 County of Lanark* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1922) Table E p.1139.

<sup>32</sup> Duncan, *The Mineworkers*, p.26.

<sup>33</sup> Sir Patrick Abercrombie and Rober H Matthew, *The Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1949) p.96.

\*Engineering in 1951 includes 3915 constructional engineers who were omitted from later figures. The 1961, 1966, 1971 and 1981 engineering figures include engineering, vehicle manufacturing and other metal goods manufacturing.

\*\* The 1971 and 1981 figures are based on a 10% sample. As there are no county figures available for 1981 the figures are an amalgamation of Clydesdale, Cumbernauld and Kilsyth East Kilbride, Hamilton, Motherwell, and Monklands District Council figures.

**Table 1.2 Female Employment in Lanarkshire**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Textiles</b>	<b>(%)</b>	<b>Engineering</b>	<b>(%)</b>	<b>Clothing</b>	<b>(%)</b>
<b>1951</b>	<b>3820</b>	<b>8.1</b>	<b>4226</b>	<b>8.9</b>	<b>2760</b>	<b>5.8</b>
<b>1961</b>	<b>4070</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>8548</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>3320</b>	<b>5.8</b>
<b>1966</b>	<b>2990</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>13090</b>	<b>18.9</b>	<b>4540</b>	<b>6.5</b>
<b>1971</b>	<b>2200</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>15290</b>	<b>19.5</b>	<b>3560</b>	<b>4.6</b>
<b>1981</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>6920</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>4040</b>	<b>5</b>

Source: As Table 1.1..

**Table 1.3 Unemployment in Lanarkshire**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>(%)</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>(%)</b>
<b>1951</b>	<b>7301</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>2342</b>	<b>3.4</b>
<b>1961</b>	<b>9450</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>2990</b>	<b>4.0</b>
<b>1966</b>	<b>6690</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>4530</b>	<b>4.9</b>
<b>1971</b>	<b>11350</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>5580</b>	<b>5.4</b>
<b>1981*</b>	<b>28940</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>14131</b>	<b>13.5</b>

Sources: *Census 1951 Scotland Vol. iv Occupation and Industries* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1956) *Census 1961 Scotland volume 6 part III* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1966) table 1 p.10; ; *Sample Census 1966 Scotland Economic Activity County Tables Leaflet No.3 Glasgow and Lanark* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1968) table 1 p.5; *Census 1971 Scotland Economic Activity County Tables Part 2* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1976) Table 3; *Census 1981 Scotland Economic Activity 10% Strathclyde Region Microfiche* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1983) Table 1



\*The 1971 and 1981 figures are based on a 10% sample. As there are no county figures available for 1981 the figures are an amalgamation of Clydesdale, Cumbernauld and Kilsyth East Kilbride, Hamilton, Motherwell, Monklands District Council figures. Temporary sick in receipt of benefits are included within 1961 and 1981 figures.

**Table 1.4 Scottish Coalfield Employment**

Year	Employment (thousands)
1947	77
1957	82
1967	32
1977	21
1987	6

*Source:* Miles K. Oglethorpe, *Scottish Collieries. An Inventory of the Scottish Coal Industry in the Nationalised Era* (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 20.

Table 1.1 reveals the impact of managed economic change. The process of passive revolution, through the implementation of regional policy, saw the restructuring of the labour market, as its dependency on coal gave way to engineering activities. Coal mining employment continued to decline, falling by over 75% in the 20 years between 1951 and 1971. This went against the broader Scottish pattern to some extent, with table 1.4 demonstrating an overall increase in coal mining employment over the first decade of public ownership. Reflecting Lanarkshire's designation as a declining coalfield, contraction gathered pace from the onset of nationalisation, as demonstrated in the absolute and relative employment decline between 1951 and 1961. Thereafter, following the Scottish trajectory, the pace of decline peaked in the early 1960s, job losses per year rose from 679 between 1951 and 1961 to 1,366 from 1961 to 1966. Metal manufacturing, Lanarkshire's other major traditional male industrial employment sector, stagnated and fell proportionally as the workforce expanded.

As table 1.3 demonstrates state economic management was successful in maintaining a low unemployment rate during the most marked period of coal contraction. Over this period the promise of providing alternative employment in exchange for workers and community's accepting the decline of coal employment was broadly met. This was partly the result of expanding work opportunities in engineering which grew under the impact of restructuring, particularly the attraction of investment in vehicles, electronics and consumer durables, with large-scale female employment also established in instrument engineering. Following the overall Scottish trend, coal employment then became more stabilised, with 578 jobs per annum lost between 1966 and 1971. This concurs with table 1.4 which

shows a marked decline in job losses in Scottish collieries from 1967 to 1977 compared to the preceding decade. The pace of decline slowed as the rate of growth in sectors which provided replacement employment fell.<sup>34</sup> Unemployment began to grow from the late 1960s, but by 1971 coal, engineering, and metal manufacturing still accounted for almost 45% of male employment, whilst the main sectors of women's industrial employment amounted to around 25%. The figures for 1981 reveal the impact of intensified deindustrialisation and falling employment in the sectors brought through inward investment. Thus, up to the early 1970s coal's decline was compensated for by engineering expansion which saw the combined proportion of male employment within metal manufacturing, coal and engineering employment remain approximately stable, accounting for between a low of 43.4% and a high of 45.1% of Lanarkshire's male workforce over the period of 1951 and 1971. By 1981 the combined employment in these industrial sectors was down to 30% following significant job losses of approximately 10,000 each in metal manufacturing and engineering.

Like coal, the main traditional women's industrial employer, textiles, also contracted from the early 1950s, although as table 1.2 demonstrates absolutely and relatively it accounted for far less of the female workforce than coal mining and steel had for men. Female employment was far more service based than male employment, but inward investment did provide work in expanding industrial sectors. To some extent the decline in textiles was met by employment in clothing, but engineering was the industrial area most marked by female workforce growth, reaching nearly one fifth of total women's employment in 1971. However, the fall in female engineering employment was proportionately higher than the fall in male employment in the sector between 1971 and 1981, perhaps reflecting the volatility of assembly work and the impact of technological changes in electronics production methods considered in the next section.

Thus, overall, the engineering sectors brought to Lanarkshire played a considerable role in providing employment as coal contracted and women's workforce participation expanded between 1951 and 1971. However, at this point light engineering began to falter in the face of slowing economic growth. This was exacerbated by the spatial and power dynamics of passive resolution through MNE restructuring and divestment, which disproportionately affected peripheral subsidiaries, and the declining importance accorded to employment levels in government policy. Alongside the continuing decline of coal and steel this led to intensified deindustrialisation. Table 1.3 demonstrates the employment ramifications this had, with unemployment in 1981 approaching triple the absolute and relative rate it had been for both men and women ten years previously.

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<sup>34</sup> Phillips, 'Deindustrialization and the Moral Economy of the Scottish Coalfields', p.99.

Given changes in census industrial occupation categories it is not possible to generate comparative figures for 1991. It is evident that the trends apparent in the 1981 figures continued. The background to divestment within both nationalised industries and by multinationals was a major shift in political economy and the abandonment of key hallmarks of the modernisation agenda. Under the impetus of a neoliberal “regime of reorientation” policy prioritised monetary stability over full employment, imposed strict financial targets on nationalised industries as they moved towards privatisation, and dismantled the regional policy regime.<sup>35</sup> Coal mining employment became even more negligible following the end of deep mining in Lanarkshire in 1983. As table 1.4 demonstrates Scottish coal employment had fallen to 6,000 by 1987 and was concentrated in Fife and Clackmannan, with some miners commuting from Lanarkshire.<sup>36</sup> Large-scale steel production in Scotland ceased in 1992 with the closure of Ravenscraig strip mill in Motherwell, which was anticipated by a series of major layoffs in the preceding years.<sup>37</sup> The engineering sector was affected by the ‘retreat’ of multinationals from Scotland. Major 1980s factory closures in Lanarkshire included Burroughs at Cumbernauld and Caterpillar in Uddingston during 1987, which took place alongside large-scale job losses elsewhere.<sup>38</sup>

The restructuring evident in the employment tables between 1951 and 1971 was anticipated in the 1946 *Clyde Valley Regional Plan*. The highly industrialised area of North Lanarkshire at the heart of the coalfield was judged as likely to have been entirely “worked out” by 1965, and 40% of miners were accordingly to migrate to expanding coalfields.<sup>39</sup> The county’s steelmaking capacity would also be lost over this period as the “heavy industry centre of gravity” moved south-west of Glasgow. It was argued a coastal based steel strip mill would be better suited to an industry which relied on imported iron ore.<sup>40</sup> This reprised the model for steel rationalisation based on a coastal integrated steel works presented by US consultant to Scotland’s major steel magnates in the 1929 Brassert report.<sup>41</sup> The *Clyde Valley Regional Plan* was clear in its conclusion that the rehabilitation of North Lanarkshire was conditional on establishing a new, competitive, economic structure.<sup>42</sup>

The development of the modernisers’ perspective for comprehensive industrial rejuvenation can be seen in the Plan’s designation of state policy as the nodal point for economic development; improved transport infrastructure would connect new publicly owned industrial estates that were to house light

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<sup>35</sup> Neil Davidson, ‘What was Neoliberalism?’, in *Neoliberal Scotland: Class and Society in a Stateless Nation* ed.by Neil Davidson, Patricia McCaferty and David Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2010) p.47

<sup>36</sup> Phillips, ‘Deindustrialization and the Moral Economy of the Scottish Coalfields’, p.101.

<sup>37</sup> Peter L Payne, ‘The End of Steelmaking in Scotland c.1967-1993’. *Scottish Economic and Social History* vol.15 (1995) pp.76-77.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Woolfson and John Foster, *Track Record: The Story of the Caterpillar Occupation* (London: Verso, 1988) p.33; Hood and Young, *Multinationals in Retreat*, passim.

<sup>39</sup> Abercrombie and Matthew, *The Clyde Valley Regional Plan*, p.8.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, pp.79-84.

<sup>41</sup> Peter Payne, *Colvilles and the Scottish Steel Industry* (Oxford: Calderon, 1979) p.174.

<sup>42</sup> Abercrombie and Matthew, *The Clyde Valley Regional Plan*, pp.8-9, 16.

industries characterised by “footlooseness”, such as the manufacture of ball bearings, vacuums and electric registers. The achievement of such a “reasonable measure of industrial balance” was dependent on attracting inward investment to develop new industries which would provide improved employment opportunities. An emphasis was placed on the availability of female workers in areas traditionally dominated by male employment in heavy industry. Labour market efficiency was to be increased through extending travel to work areas through the provision of public transport links and road construction.<sup>43</sup> These economic aims were strongly tied to social goals. Both industrial and population congestion would be abated through establishing New Towns, including two in Lanarkshire, with Cumbernauld to the north-east and East Kilbride to the south. They were to be in part populated by the “overspill” population from Glasgow’s slum clearances, offering work in a large range of sectors to avoid the plight of the “one-industry town”.<sup>44</sup> This aspect of realigning Scotland’s industrial geography through inward investment set in train a long-term policy objective of “the redevelopment-‘modernisation’-of the economy of central Scotland away from Glasgow.”<sup>45</sup> Collins and Levitt have outlined how the modernisers developed an “assumed narrative” through a policy vision pivoted on inward manufacturing investment in New Towns and industrial estate in which Lanarkshire figured heavily. This was firmly embedded in the operation of regional policy between the 1940s and 1970s.

The *Clyde Valley Regional Plan*’s aim of redevelopment through two New Towns in Lanarkshire and replacing traditional industries with external investment in state provisioned industrial estates was fulfilled. The most significant policy divergence from the plan’s proposals was the relocation of the steel industry. Ultimately the Macmillan government, facing political constraints in a region characterised by high rates of male unemployment, maintained production in Lanarkshire and pressurised Colvilles to invest in a strip mill at Ravenscraig as part of an effort to provide the materials required for assembly engineering activities.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the continuity of steel employment was tied to the process of passive revolution in terms of the sector’s direction towards the requirements of reorienting Scotland’s industrial base from heavy industry towards consumer durables manufacturing. However, the location of Ravenscraig was also strongly influenced by pressure from below for the maintenance of industrial employment.

The proposals heightened tensions between modernisers and traditionalists, and revealed the strength of the moderniser’ hegemony. The modernising wing enjoyed the backing of the Scottish Office and the SCDI’s export committee during the late 1950s, when Scottish unemployment at 3.1% was nearly

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, pp.94-100.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p.7

<sup>45</sup> Chik Collins and Ian Levitt, ‘The ‘Modernisation’ of Scotland and its Impact on Glasgow, 1955-1979: ‘Unwanted Side Effects’ and Vulnerabilities’, *Scottish Affairs* vol.25 (3) (2016) p.297.

<sup>46</sup> Peter Payne, *Growth and Contraction*, p.38.

double the British rate.<sup>47</sup> They were also supported by the STUC. A 1957 General Council memorandum noted that the Scottish industrial economy “depended almost entirely on heavy engineering and shipbuilding”, and emphasised the vital requirement of strip steel to diversification, also highlighting the role that a new mill would provide in supporting Scottish coking coal production. At the 1958 conference General Council representative John Lang criticised the “steel monopoly” who opposed a strip mill for seeking to prevent important an industrial development in order to extend their control over Scotland’s industrial resources.<sup>48</sup> Representatives of heavy industry opposed the loss of their status as Scotland’s dominant private sector employers and the directing of steel production and labour towards the needs of the lighter engineering sectors dominated by inward investment.<sup>49</sup> The importance modernisers attached to Ravenscraig is demonstrated in a 1967 SDD report produced by F.T. Walton, a lecturer in Political Economy at the University of Glasgow, which argued that the employment and economic activity the strip mill provided was vital to Lanarkshire’s “economic rehabilitation”.<sup>50</sup>

This episode is also indicative of the tensions within the social relations in which the process of passive revolution developed. Ravenscraig proved contentious as policy priorities shifted from moving towards a diversified industrial structure in the 1940s to raising the rate of economic growth in the 1960s. It coincided with the peak of Scottish heavy industrial employment in the late 1950s after which coal, steel, shipbuilding, shed tens of thousands of jobs.<sup>51</sup> The Toothill report of 1961 actively welcomed this, arguing economic growth could be realised through releasing labour from heavy industry to provide manpower for light engineering. This report was the outcome of an SCDI inquiry chaired by Sir John Toothill, the chairman of Ferranti, an English electronics firm which relocated to Edinburgh during the Second World War. Both Foster and Harvie argue that the policy conclusions it drew effectively accepted the decline of Scotland’s indigenously owned heavy industries as inevitable and drew regional policy towards further encouraging Scotland’s status as an economically peripheral area of Britain constrained by a dependency on externally controlled capital.<sup>52</sup>

The report warned against “supporting the inefficient and seeking to postpone for a little by means of subsidy or control the decay of industries and districts that had no prospect of achieving independent prosperity or growth”, which would waste manpower. Growth would be attained through releasing labour to “the newer industries” through the “build-up of industrial complexes and centres which offer

<sup>47</sup> Phillips, *The Industrial Politics of Devolution*, pp.20-1.

<sup>48</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1957-8* vol.61 (1958), memorandum pp.3-11, conference comments, p.194.

<sup>49</sup> Phillips, *The Industrial Politics of Devolution*, pp.20-1.

<sup>50</sup> NRS/SEP/17/70/42A F.T. Walton, ‘The Selection of “Growth Areas” in Central Scotland in 1963: A Report Prepared at the Invitation of the SDD’ (June 1967) p.48.

<sup>51</sup> R.J. Finlay, *Modern Scotland 1914-2000* (London: Profile, 2004) pp.259-265.

<sup>52</sup> Foster, ‘The Twentieth Century’, p.469; Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes*, p.62.

prospects of becoming zones of growth.”<sup>53</sup> The focus of these complexes was to be “chiefly in large-quantity production of engineering-based consumer durables”, which marked a departure from Scotland’s traditional focus on bespoke production for niche markets that prevailed in shipbuilding and locomotive production. The development of the Ravenscraig strip mill was duly welcomed as the “prerequisite, almost, of the development of modern mass-production engineering-based consumers’ durables industry.”<sup>54</sup> This argument was taken up by the Conservative Secretary of State for Scotland, Michael Noble, at the opening of a new factory in East Kilbride during 1964, when he noted the important role Ravenscraig was to play in supplying materials for producing motor vehicles which put it at the heart of Scotland’s economic rejuvenation.<sup>55</sup>

The forces behind policy reorientation during the early 1960s demonstrate the significance of the linkages between the business representatives who dominated the SCDI and policy-makers. It is evident from the correspondence that Toothill had a strong influence over Scottish Office policy-making, demonstrating the importance of the policy network in furthering the process of passive revolution. In 1964 Toothill’s emphasis on the need for the development of industrial complexes was referred to by a Ministry of Labour representative as justifying investment in infrastructure to support the “fast-growing and specialised” electronics industry. It was argued Toothill’s conception warranted investment in workforce reskilling in declining coalfield areas, with Motherwell and East Kilbride listed alongside areas in West Lothian and Fife as potential locations for electronic engineering training centres.<sup>56</sup> Toothill’s impact was apparent when the SDD was established in 1962 at the recommendation of the report. This devolutionary measure “symbolised the Government’s administrative commitment to arrest industrial decline.”<sup>57</sup>

Reports and correspondence make it clear Toothill’s proposals shaped the Department’s outlook. For instance, Walton’s 1967 report on regional policy in Scotland cited Toothill in arguing that “manufacturing expansion” was to be the “central element” for future policy which should be based around broadly conceived “growth areas” rather than ameliorating unemployment. Lanarkshire was identified as a location where developing “complexes” could give “a geographical focus for the effort to stimulate the expansion of a whole region.” These agglomerations would centre on advance factories around the New Towns and industrial estates in North Lanarkshire which would gain from

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<sup>53</sup> Toothill, *Inquiry into the Scottish Economy, 1960-1961*, p.38, 155-6

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, pp.36-38.

<sup>55</sup> NRS/SEP/4/567/42 ‘Some Notes relating to Industrial Development in Scotland as a contribution to the Secretary of State’s speech at the opening of BNJ’s new factory at East Kilbride’, Board of Trade Scottish Office date.21<sup>st</sup> April 1964.

<sup>56</sup> NRS/SEP/17/70/15 ‘Training Arrangement in the Growth Areas: Note of Meeting held by the Minister of State at 11am on Tues 4<sup>th</sup> February 1964’.

<sup>57</sup> Ian Levitt, ‘The Origins of the Scottish Development Department, 1943-1962’. *Scottish Affairs* vol.14 (1996) p.59.

the release of labour from traditional industries. Eastern Lanarkshire would provide a labour supply for a “complex” centred on Grangemouth and Falkirk.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, Toothill’s concerns over manpower were echoed in attitudes towards workforce deployment. In 1965 T.R.H. Godden of the SDD’s Distribution of Industry Panel noted with concern that, at “present somewhat artificially high level of activity in Clyde[ship] yards, which was leading them to try and claw back skilled labour, could not be without its disadvantages in the long-term if a temporary aggravated shortage of key skills were to make it more difficult for Scotland to attract different kinds of industry having a more expansionist long-term future.”<sup>59</sup>

The permeation of the objectives of both the diversified industrial structure envisioned by the *Clyde Valley Regional Plan*, but especially the refinement of these aims to a focus on releasing labour from heavy industry to establish “complexes” of engineering plants by the Toothill, were the key achievements of the modernisers’ hegemony. An acceptance of their perspective, and therefore the necessity of sanctioning the process of passive revolution, was articulated by representatives of labour at both trade union and political level who came to tolerate the decline of employment in heavy industry in return for manufacturing inward investment.

### **Responses to Industrial Changes: Labour and Scottish Capital**

Up to the early 1950s the NUMSA maintained a position of arguing for an expanded coal industry apparatus. The 1948 Area conference passed a resolution calling “for the direction of suitable alternative industries to the mining villages to provide employment for the families of miners and all others unable to take up employment in the pits.”<sup>60</sup> Notably this was moved by the Ponfeigh branch, which was located in an isolated area of South Lanarkshire, and was overwhelmingly dependent on mining employment. However, these arguments for diversification were predicated on the maintenance of coal as the major employer of able-bodied men. This was confirmed by later attempts from Lanarkshire branches to ameliorate the impact of mounting pit closures through an expansion of the sector by developing coal chemical products and proposing investment in a distillation plant making use of by-products from mining. The demand was raised by delegates from the Shotts pits of Castlehill and Dewshill at an Area minutes conference in 1949, and by the NUM at the STUC.<sup>61</sup> In 1950 the campaign for the plant was extended to other areas of Lanarkshire with Motherwell and

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<sup>58</sup> NRS/SEP/17/70/42A F.T. Walton, ‘The Selection of “Growth Areas” in Central Scotland in 1963: A Report Prepared at the Invitation of the SDD’ (June 1967) p.39, 59-63.

<sup>59</sup> NRS/SEP/17/40/30 T.R.H Godden, ‘Distribution of Industry Panel: 27<sup>th</sup> Nov 1964’, date.30<sup>th</sup> November 1964.

<sup>60</sup> National Mining Museum Scotland archives (hereafter NMMS)/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 23<sup>rd</sup> June to 8<sup>th</sup> June 1948*, p.556.

<sup>61</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 20<sup>th</sup> June 1949 to 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1950*, p.111.

Wishaw Trades Council lobbying the NUMSA executive for further support for a campaign over the issue in May.<sup>62</sup> A delegate for Overtown colliery, in the Wishaw area, moved a resolution at the NUMSA conference the same year, defending the “immediate necessity of the full utilisation of the coal resources in Lanarkshire and the provision of alternative employment for the people.” This tied a distillation plant to the policy of diversification, arguing that such a development would facilitate developments in both light and heavy oil, motor spirit, petrol and synthetic rubber.<sup>63</sup> Following a 1950 STUC conference resolution on similar lines, these proposals were raised by the NCB but rebuffed on lines of expense when capital and manpower was being concentrated within the most productive coalfields.<sup>64</sup>

Over the 1950s the Scottish labour movement became more accepting of accepting coalfield contraction in return for the provision of employment in factories brought by inward investment. A 1953 STUC General Council report on Scottish industry responded to coal closures by emphasising that “the employment demands of the sons and daughters of those remaining in Lanarkshire are still large. It is providing employment for this section of the population that the new industries are admirable suited and should therefore be promoted to the maximum in this area.”<sup>65</sup> Within the NUMSA the perspective of economic redevelopment through reindustrialisation and investment in alternative industries also gained traction over the 1950s. This was evident at the 1957 Area conference, the year that coal mining employment reached its post-Second World War peak.<sup>66</sup> Mick McGahey, future NUMSA President and NUM Vice-President, speaking as a delegate for Newton colliery in South Lanarkshire, moved a resolution calling for “an overall Scottish plan for industrial development to offset Scottish dependency on the heavy industries.” He connected this to the successful campaign that NUMSA had fought with the STUC in efforts to win the commitment to build the steel strip mill at Ravenscraig which would directly provide 6,000 jobs. The significance of Ravenscraig lay in its contribution to industrial diversification, with the production of strip steel establishing the potential for 20,000 jobs in related industries, and delivering the impetus for aircraft and automotive manufacturing to develop in Scotland. However, McGahey maintained that the NUMSA should favour “the development of new industries, but also a position where such industries could be linked directly to the heavy industries”, and thus provide coal with a future in a more industrially balanced Scottish economy.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid, pp.571-2.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, pp.651-2.

<sup>64</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1950-1951*, vol.54 (1951) pp.78-9.

<sup>65</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1952-1953*, vol.56 (1953), pp.39-41.

<sup>66</sup> Ashworth, *The History of the British Coal Industry volume 5*, p.163.

<sup>67</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 18<sup>th</sup> June 1956 to 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> June 1957*, p.780.



The STUC President, William Mowbray, praised NUMSA for campaigning around the strip mill and emphasised it alongside the recent announcement of a Forth Road Bridge as developments which would “bring about a great improvement in industry and employment.”<sup>68</sup> At the 1958 STUC conference the strength of these links was confirmed when NUMSA delegate J. Wood commended the General Council’s efforts in arguing for a strip mill, and underlined the need for a “balanced economy” that was not overly dependent on heavy industrial sectors whilst also establishing a secure future for coal mining. The NUMSA and STUC’s concern with a Scottish economic plan for development and industrial modernisation are evidence of the roots that the ‘industrial politics of devolution’ of the late 1960s and early 1970s had in the 1950s. During this later period, the STUC, with prominent support and involvement of the NUMSA, articulated arguments which combined “the right to work” with control over “Scottish national development” through a devolved Scottish “workers’ parliament” in Edinburgh. It was through these durable labour movement linkages that a space was created in which Communists, with the support of left-wing shop stewards, won broad support for a political position in conflict with the dependency on regional policy and externally controlled capital promoted by the Labour Party leadership at both Scottish and British level.<sup>69</sup>

The NUMSA and STUC’s increasingly vocal support for political devolution was the product of the protracted process of closures and growing disillusionment with the modernisation agenda. Initially, as coalfield closures intensified following the peak of employment in the industry during the late 1950s, the NUMSA’s leadership were supportive of the approach outlined by Toothill. In late 1961, the same year the report was published, at a special Area conference called in response to closures, NUMSA President, Alex Moffat, made it clear his priority was employment stability and *not* the maintenance of the coal industry, bluntly stating that: “The government could shut down all the pits if every miner had a reasonable job to go to.”<sup>70</sup> This was indicative of the philosophy that shaped the operation of the moral economy of the coalfields during this period, which is outlined in the next chapter, and that Moffat’s generational cohort of miners’ leaders had generalised the 1944 acceptance of Lanarkshire’s coalfield contraction in return for alternative industrial employment. The consolidation of this perspective was made evident when a large raft of pit closures was announced in 1965, including the closure of more than half of Scotland’s collieries by 1970, with the loss of 15,000 jobs. Government assurances of advance factory provision were explicitly made in the areas affected. This included Kilsyth, Carluke, Blantyre, Bellshill, Newmains and Queenslie. Moffat stated that the

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> John Foster and Charles Woolfson, *The Politics of the UCS Work-In: Class Alliances and the Right to Work* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988) pp.226-7, 324-5; Phillips, *The Industrial Politics of Devolution*, p.104.

<sup>70</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *National Union of Mineworkers Minutes of Executive and Special Conferences 12<sup>th</sup> June 1961 to 6<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> June 1962* p.283.

NUMSA, whilst accepting coalfield contraction, would “impress upon their own men in Parliament the need to get more advanced factories into the areas affected.”<sup>71</sup>

Labour Party ministers in the 1964 to 1970 Wilson governments encouraged this approach. They shared their Conservative predecessors’ enthusiasm about the potential regional policy measures held for Scotland’s future and argued in favour of deepening the process of industrial renewal through external investment. Alongside his statements about the importance of Ravenscraig, Noble’s 1964 speech in East Kilbride asserted that regional policy was bringing “completely new forms of products and processes”, to “the places with the greatest need”, in “a background of continual economic expansion”. This included infrastructure development and the introduction of atomic energy. He disparaged those “preoccupied with the decline which we see taking place in some of our older industries”, instead citing “new projects” run by US MNEs’ STC and Honeywell which were to “play a part in changing the Scottish industrial scene.”<sup>72</sup> The Labour Minister of State for the Ministry of Technology, Eric Varley, used similar motifs in a speech in Glasgow in 1970. He was critical of those who lamented the decline of shipbuilding and coal, which he referred to as “my own industry”. Varley praised the “remarkable progress” made by Honeywell’s employment and product expansion at the Newhouse, Bellshill and Uddingston industrial estates. With employment at the American firm due to expand to 7,000, North Lanarkshire had a “bright future”.<sup>73</sup>

Varley was deploying a well-established discourse. The Secretary of State for Scotland from 1964 to 1970 and 1974 to 1976, Willie Ross, also endorsed a vision of subsidiary expansion through the extension of product and market mandates. His perspective was that of the Wilson Labour governments elected in 1964 and re-elected in 1966 which aimed to achieve higher economic growth rates through encouraging the development of assembly goods industries.<sup>74</sup> Ross outlined in his speech a month before Varley’s in January 1970, at the unveiling of an extension to the Hoover plant in Cambuslang, the seventh since its opening in 1946. Rising employment and production made it “a model operation” based around growing exports. This was facilitated by upgraded transport infrastructure across land, sea and air, including a new inland clearance depot at Coatbridge which connected Lanarkshire to upgraded port facilities on both the east and west coasts.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> NRS/SEP/17/56 James Grassie, ‘NCB plan will Close 40 Scots Pits’ *Scotsman* 19/11/1965 p.1, 3.

<sup>72</sup> NRS/SEP/4/567/42 ‘Some Notes relating to Industrial Development in Scotland as a contribution to the Secretary of State’s speech at the opening of BNJ’s new factory at East Kilbride’, Board of Trade, Scottish Office, date.21<sup>st</sup> April 1964.

<sup>73</sup> NRS/SEP/4/1629 ‘Glasgow: Report of a visit by Minister of State’ date.3<sup>rd</sup> February 1970.

<sup>74</sup> Peter Scott, ‘Regional Development and Policy’, p.352; Stuart Holland, *The Regional Problem* (London: Macmillan, 1976) pp.29-36.

<sup>75</sup> NRS/SEP/4/13/32 letter from E. Reoch to J.A. Scott SEPD, Edinburgh ‘Secretary of State’s Engagement at Messrs Hoover’, SEPD Edinburgh date.23<sup>rd</sup> January 1970’.

Thus, only the positive aspects of job creation and industrial development associated with inward investment were noted whilst the negative aspects of dependency associated with the economic relations of passive revolution were ignored by politicians and policy-makers. Ross' sentiments are indicative of the continuation and deepening of the perspective of interwar 'Unionist Nationalism', which forwarded a distinctive Scottish approach to industrial diversification within a British policy framework. Graeme Morton originally coined the terms to relate to the articulation of a distinct Scottish identity within a Unionist polity in nineteenth century civic governance.<sup>76</sup> McKenzie's argues that over the 1920s and 1930s this was extended to a perspective centring on utilising the British state to deliver in the interest of the particular needs of Scottish economic development. The coalition of politicians, civil servants and industrialists connected through the modernisers' historic bloc indicates that the same forces continued to be at the forefront of this argument into the 1970s, but with a more prominent role for Labour Party representatives, and a more extensive role for active regional policy.<sup>77</sup>

Ross' emphasis on port transport as a facilitator of export-led growth reflected the concerns of Scottish industrialists during this period, but their views diverged on their appraisals of the potential of domestically controlled economic activity to develop in Scotland. The Clydeside shipbuilder, Sir William Lithgow, emphasised this in the *Oceanspan* reports of 1970 and 1971. The reports argued that regional policy had successfully brought new manufacturing sectors to Scotland through inward investment. Through further deepening the passive revolution relationship between the state and externally controlled capital Scotland had the potential to become "Europe's bridgehead" into the Atlantic Ocean. This would take the form of an "industrial corridor" across central Scotland; raw material imports from the west coast ports of Hunterston and Greenock would be connected to a "growth line" of export processing industries to the east coast ports of Grangemouth and Leith.<sup>78</sup> The second report cited Motherwell and East Kilbride as potential locations for engineering "complexes" given the present success of US FDI in these areas, and factories often exporting 40% of their production to European and North American markets.<sup>79</sup>

Lithgow's vision was devolutionary; industrial development was tied to the establishment of a Scottish Port Authority with "real and effective autonomy" which would build on the powers of the recently established Clyde Port Authority. There was also an important contrast with Tothill's

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<sup>76</sup> Graeme Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1999) pp.4-7.

<sup>77</sup> Alex McKenzie, "'Public-Spirited Men Cannot Stand By and Do Nothing': Scotland's Inter-War Industrialists and Economic Revival" (unpublished paper) pp.4-6.

<sup>78</sup> Sir William Lithgow, *Oceanspan: A Maritime Based Development Strategy for a European Scotland, 1970-2000* (Edinburgh: SCDI: 1970) p.5, 10.

<sup>79</sup> Sir William Lithgow *Oceanspan 2: A Study of Port and Industrial Development in Western Europe* (Edinburgh: SCDI, 1971) pp.38-42.

emphasis on the necessary decline of the staple industries, which was demonstrative of Lithgow's status as a representative of the 'traditionalist' wing of indigenously controlled Scottish capital. Lithgow shared the *Clyde Valley Regional Plan's* support for an integrated steelworks at Hunterston, and, reflecting his own background, favoured expanded shipbuilding in the Lower Clyde. The reports also emphasised the potential export opportunities opened to indigenous engineering firms as well as externally owned plants.<sup>80</sup> Thus in the context of mounting unemployment *Oceanspan* offered an "antidote to deindustrialisation".<sup>81</sup> Reindustrialisation was to be deepened to provide faster economic growth and employment in a strategy which saw it complement rather than replace traditional industrial employment.

The responses to *Oceanspan* were indicative of its clash with the objectives of Toothill and the pressures behind passive revolution. *Oceanspan* returned to focus around concerns surrounding unemployment and emphasised preserving a traditional Scottish industrial base. This contrasted with the priorities of regional policy which had up to this point been geared to accommodating and managing the rundown of heavy industry through stimulating economic growth and boosting productivity via inward investment. Reflecting the continuity of these priorities within the Scottish Office and opposition to further devolution, unlike either the *Clyde Valley Regional Plan* or Toothill, the report did not have a major policy impact. In part this outcome was determined by Lithgow's "turn away from devolution", and retreat from arguing for economic expansionism in the context of mounting industrial unrest, especially the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) 'work-in' which commenced in June 1971 and ran on to February 1972. During the dispute he opposed the provision of further state assistance to the UCS yards to provide a more favourable labour market for his own yard situated on the lower Clyde.<sup>82</sup> As discussed below, the work-in marked a pivotal moment when Scottish business grouped through the SCDI's place at the forefront of making the argument for extending devolution gave way to the labour movement led by the STUC, and when demands for administrative devolution were eclipsed by conceptions of political devolution through a Scottish parliament or assembly.

Mick McGahey anticipated the discontent expressed in the UCS work-in when he gave the Presidential address, in the absence of Alex Moffat, at the 1967 NUMSA Area conference, returning to his arguments for the maintenance of a heavy industrial based from a decade earlier. This preceded his later election of the Presidency upon Moffat's retirement due to illness. In this speech he argued that the ongoing rundown of heavy industry led to the "the need to create new jobs in Scotland",

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<sup>80</sup> Lithgow, *Oceanspan*, 24, 26, 33; Lithgow *Oceanspan* 2, 5-11.

<sup>81</sup> Jim Phillips, 'Oceanspan: Deindustrialisation and Devolution in Scotland, c.1960-1974', *Scottish Historical Review* vol.84 (2005) pp.70-1.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid pp.66-7; Foster and Wolfson, *The Politics of the UCS Work-In*, p.383.

which amounted to “an added burden being placed on the economy.”<sup>83</sup> The reindustrialisation effort was failing to keep pace with the mounting rundown of heavy industrial employment. This weakened the modernisers’ visions, which predicated economic development on the passive revolution relationship between the state and externally controlled capital, which was challenged from below. McGahey’s speech was indicative of a hardening of attitude towards further coal job losses and a more antagonistic attitude towards both the NCB and energy and industrial policy that characterised NUMSA from the late 1960s onwards. This contributed towards a shift in regional policy priorities towards preserving heavy industry, and the slowing of the contraction of coal employment. The ramifications of this in the form of a renegotiated energy policy and moral economy practices are discussed with regard to responses to colliery closures discussed in the next chapter.

The STUC 1967-8 annual report also demonstrates that there was mounting discontent with the Wilson government within the Scottish trade union movement. The acceleration of coalfield contraction was at the centre of this. Following a resolution at the 1967 conference the General Council assisted NUM representatives in lobbying government ministers. At a meeting with the Minister of Power, Richard Marsh, General Council members criticised the lack of a planned energy policy and called for the “prior provision of alternative industry in areas threatened by pit closure.” Marsh was somewhat conciliatory in relation to developing energy policy planning but refused to make commitments regarding future provision of employment which he felt would force the NCB to maintain inefficient and loss making operations.<sup>84</sup> The incremental experience of colliery closures thus furnished increasing dissatisfaction with the British state and influenced both the NUMSA and STUC’s support for devolution as a means to develop an alternative form of economic policy through radically redefining the institutional landscape of Scottish politics.

McGahey played a seminal role in developing this perspective by moving a NUMSA motion at the 1968 STUC conference in support of establishing a devolved workers’ parliament. This was framed in terms of furthering the “decentralisation of power in order to involve the people of a country in the operation of power at every possible level.” Whilst emphasising his allegiance to a united British labour movement, McGahey made it clear he was putting forward an argument for a major institutional development to affirm Scotland’s national status: “He firmly believed, and his union firmly believed that Scotland was a nation. Not a region of Britain, not a district, but a nation in its own right and entitled to demand a right to nationhood.”<sup>85</sup> McGahey’s resolution was ultimately remitted for further consideration by the STUC General Council for further discussion, indicating an

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<sup>83</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 27<sup>th</sup> June 1966 to 14/16<sup>th</sup> June 1967* p.423.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, pp.65-67.

<sup>85</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1967-1968*, vol.71 (1968) pp.398-400.

increasing will to support political devolution and diverge from conceptions of a 'British road to socialism', which had dominated the Scottish labour movement since the 1920s.<sup>86</sup>

This was given impetus by further threats to employment security. The UCS work-in expressed a concern over rising unemployment which was also demonstrated in two one day regional general strikes called by the STUC in the West of Scotland during the summer of 1971 in support of UCS and against increasing joblessness. The work-in coincided with the 1972 miners' strike, and representatives from both disputes met at the STUC's 'Scottish Assembly' in Edinburgh during February 1972 which called for a "workers' parliament" that would preserve and develop heavy industry as well as assembly engineering activities.<sup>87</sup> Thus, industrial action was attached to the broader faltering of reindustrialisation as new investment failed to keep up pace with the decline of heavy industry. This met a response in the articulation of a political devolution challenge to regional policy implemented via administrative devolution through the Scottish Office. Following the experience of the UCS Work-In, and further disappointment with Labour government policy after 1974, the STUC put itself at the forefront of the 'Labour Movement Yes' campaign for the ill-fated 1979 referendum on a Scottish Assembly.<sup>88</sup>

Despite his own shift in political direction, Lithgow's reports therefore articulated increasingly popular political demands which crystallised over the late 1960s and 1970s. Initially this took the form of mounting pressure for extended administrative devolution. In 1967 the SCDI pre-empted *Oceanspan* by coming out in favour of an independent Scottish steel board upon the industry's nationalisation, stating that it was "concerned about the problem of control from the south."<sup>89</sup> In March 1969 the Clyde Valley Planning Advisory Committee, made up of local government representatives from across Clydeside, argued in favour of the establishment of a Scottish Port Transport Authority as an important constituent of "national economic planning machinery" in order to further develop "'large sectors of new growth industry linked with numerous establishments elsewhere."<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid; David Howell, *A Lost Left: Three Studies in Socialism and Nationalism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986) passim, especially conclusion.

<sup>87</sup> John Foster and Charles Woolfson, 'How workers on the Clyde Gained the Capacity for Class Struggle: The Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' Work-in, 1971-2,' in *British Trade Unions and Industrial Politics volume two: the High Tide of Trade Unionism, 1964-1979* ed. by John McIlroy, Nina Fishman and Alan Campbell (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1999) p.297, 300; Phillips, *The Industrial Politics of Devolution*, p.104.

<sup>88</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1978-1979* vol.82 (1979) pp.172-3.

<sup>89</sup> NRS/SEP/4/903/11A "Scotland 'Needs Own Steel Board' Council Writing to Minister" *Scotsman* 21/2/1967.

<sup>90</sup> NRS/SEP/17/137/21 A.B. Hume, SDD, Edinburgh to Lord Hughes, Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, London 'West Central Scot: Coordination of Economic, Physical and Transport Planning', date.5<sup>th</sup> March 1969.

The campaign for an ore terminal at Hunterston connected the devolution of port transport and the steel industry with broader Scottish industrial development. It became a political cause célèbre with the support of a cross-party coalition. This was demonstrated in March 1969 when a large meeting saw representatives from the SNP, Labour, Liberals and the Conservatives, who were joined by industrialists and trade unionists, in asserting that Hunterston's deep water constituted "the best natural harbour in the United Kingdom." The *Herald* described this as a "massive campaign" and noted that coal and shipbuilding's future were seen to be just as "at stake" as steel's.<sup>91</sup> Calls for development at Hunterston polarised political standpoints as it increasingly came to be seen as related to the wider issues of Scotland's economic future. Later in the same year Winifred Ewing, MP for Hamilton, argued at an SNP organised "Save Steel" conference in Motherwell that "if there is no steel complex at Hunterston there will be no more development in Lanarkshire."<sup>92</sup>

The UCS work-in and growing concern over unemployment fanned mounting devolutionary sentiment which was communicated through the standpoints taken by the councils of both of Lanarkshire's New Towns over UCS and towards future economic development. In August 1971 East Kilbride Town Council passed a resolution which called on the Heath government to resign due to its handling of the situation at UCS, noting "a constantly rising number of unemployed in the country as a whole has shown them to be totally inadequate to govern. They have demonstrated a particularly callous disregard of the human and social implications of a policy of mass unemployment which utterly unfits them to continue as the government of this country."<sup>93</sup> Similar motifs were present in a Cumbernauld Town Council resolution from July 1971 which called for the SIEC to take over the UCS yards. The resolution also argued for a relaxation of rules around industrial subsidies to maintain employment levels whilst demanding statutory changes to allow local authorities to invest in industry with involvement from Scottish banks and trade unions.<sup>94</sup>

Reactions to the proposed closure of UCS were related to broader concerns over the future of industry in Scotland and in particular the survival of the steel industry. This served to confirm the labour movement, and in particular the STUC's, ascendancy to leadership of the devolution agenda. In December 1971 East Kilbride Town Council joined the STUC general council in passing a resolution on which articulated the need for investment in a "multi-million pound steel complex" at Hunterston, and the maintenance of steel employment in Lanarkshire, which was viewed as dependent on this further investment. It went on to state the need for "further urgent action to relieve the serious

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<sup>91</sup> NRS/SEP/17/137/press cuttings 'Massive campaign in support of Clyde ore terminal' *Glasgow Herald* 24/3/1969.

<sup>92</sup> NRS/SEP/17/137/press cuttings "'SNP launch 'save steel' campaign' *Scotsman* 14/7/1969.

<sup>93</sup> NRS/SEP/4/568/46 letter from Gordon McNay, Town Clerk and General Manager of East Kilbride Town Council, to John Davies M.P., Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, London. date.13<sup>th</sup> August 1971.

<sup>94</sup> NRS/SEP/4/4251/48D 'Resolution Passed by Town Council', date. 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1971.

unemployment situation in Scotland and the continuing low level of industrial development which is currently barely keeping pace with closures and redundancies outwith special areas such as East Kilbride.”<sup>95</sup> This heightened concern over steel’s future was concurrent with faltering assembly factory employment in the context of economic volatility. In January 1971 the town clerk of Coatbridge wrote to Gordon Campbell, Secretary of State for Scotland, claiming that 400 redundancies at Honeywell Newhouse were “another serious blow” to an area that had “suffered, more than others, from the general decline in heavy industry.”<sup>96</sup> After mounting speculation, the announcement of 5,800 steel redundancies in Lanarkshire in 1972 was described as “a greater crisis” than the closure of UCS by an STUC spokesperson.<sup>97</sup> Thus, regional policy’s inability to develop replacement for employment in areas experiencing intensifying contraction in traditional heavy industry sectors led to the political questioning the modernisation.

The affirmation of the political devolutionary position in response to the failure of reindustrialisation policies and the ongoing decline of heavy industry was confirmed in Mick McGahey’s presidential address at the 1978 NUMSA conference in the run-up to the referendum on a Scottish Assembly. He criticised Labour MPs who had enforced the “40% rule”. This required 40% of the electorate to vote in favour of the Assembly and in McGahey’s view amounted to an act of sabotage, “flying in the face of all the aspirations of the Scottish people.” He echoed the STUC in calling for a vote for an Assembly in familiar terms emphasising economic planning, and the social goals attached to it:

Let the Government heed the demands of the Movement and act resolutely and decisively to bring the Bill onto the Statue Book; and let that Bill contain powers for the Scottish Assembly that will enable us to plan and develop the Scottish economy, resolving the many difficulties in the field of industry, education and social welfare.<sup>98</sup>

Speakers from the STUC and the Labour Party were also critical of government policy and concurred with McGahey’s assessment. Janey Buchan of the Labour Party’s Scottish Council referred to the period as “a critical time for Scotland”, and argued that more criticism within the labour movement was needed to “win the battle for ideas”. Jimmy Milne, General Secretary of the STUC, who shared McGahey’s Communist politics, encouraged delegates to adhere to their “duty to be critical” of the Labour government.<sup>99</sup> Debates over the development of Scotland’s economic structure had become

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<sup>95</sup> NRS/SEP/4/568/50 letter from Gordon McNay, Town Clerk of East Kilbride Town Council to Department for Trade and Industry, London. date.29<sup>th</sup> December 1971

<sup>96</sup> NRS/SEP/4/1629 Letter from Town Clerk of Coatbridge to Gordon Campbell Secretary of State for Scotland date.14<sup>th</sup> January 1971.

<sup>97</sup> NRS/SEP/4/3550 *Scotsman* 21/6/1972.

<sup>98</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 27<sup>th</sup> June 1977 to 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> June 1978*, pp.609-10.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, pp.650-653.



enmeshed with the growth of devolutionary sentiment in the context of concerns over the inability of regional policy to successfully generate employment at a rate surpassing the loss of jobs in heavy industry. This was strengthened due to the disappointment of the Wilson-Callaghan governments of the mid-1970s which encouraged support for devolution and opposition to more conservative elements of the Labour Party who had traditionally advocated a dependency approach towards regional policy.

The context of Thatcherism, intensified deindustrialisation, and the build up to the miners' strike, further accentuated the demand for Scottish autonomy. McGahey explicitly linked the two at the 1983 NUMSA conference stating that Conservative "policies had led to the deindustrialisation of the country, to the decimation of the coal steel and railway industries, to the threat to the shipbuilding industry and to the attacks on social services." Arguing in light of the 1983 election results that "The Conservative Government does not represent Scotland", he called on the Scottish Labour Party leadership "to reconsider their position of refusing to take part in a broad based campaign for a Scottish Assembly" which could mobilise "all progressive and democratic opinion in Scottish society." A motion in favour of a Scottish Assembly was passed unanimously. Articulating a sentiment which was strengthened over the 1980s, David Hamilton, the NUM delegate for Monktonhall colliery in Midlothian, argued that "The Tories did not have a mandate in Scotland."<sup>100</sup> This perspective was also shared by Gordon Brown from the Scottish Council of the Labour Party, and the recently elected MP for the constituency of Dunfermline East, who numbered many miners among his constituents. Brown specifically emphasised his support for the NUM's campaign to save Cardowan, Lanarkshire's last colliery which was closed a few months later, and counterpoised this to the Tory policies which would "create industrial deserts in Scotland." He implored the Scottish Area to "put the case for the establishment of a Scottish Assembly" in order "to save a country where more people were without permanent jobs than there were people employed in the manufacturing and mining industries."<sup>101</sup>

The heightening of this oppositional devolutionary perspective amid growing deindustrialisation and unemployment under the Thatcher government marked a significant departure from the momentum which grew in support of reindustrialisation and social reconstruction from the 1940s to mid-1960s. During this period a visions of achieving wholesale industrial modernisation through inward investment with the assistance of regional policy won broad assent within the policy making community and among the labour movement. The *Clyde Valley Regional Plan's* proposals for New Town construction and industrial diversification were broadly implemented. The Toothill report's argument for attaining faster economic growth through the development of "complexes" of inward

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<sup>100</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Executive Committee Minutes, July 1982 to June 1983*, pp.702-3.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, pp.670-1.

investment plants in geographically favourable “growth areas” found favour with state-policy makers, especially in the SDD which was established at the reports’ recommendation. Labour representatives were broadly accepting of these developments although it had to be negotiated through expectations of local employment provision as demonstrated by the case of the placement of the Ravenscraig strip mill.

Until the late 1960s state economic management successfully maintained employment levels. Modernisation was attained through passive revolution; the state acted as a nodal point using regional policy to direct inward investment to Scotland, overseeing the exchange of heavy industrial employment for that in assembly goods factories. By the late 1960s demands for further administrative devolution and the strengthening of Scottish heavy industry were articulated through the *Oceanspan* reports and voiced by political and trade union representatives who went further than Lithgow by arguing for political devolution through a Scottish Assembly. This was a response to the faltering of economic development as job losses in heavy industry began to outstrip gains in new sectors. From the early 1970s a labour movement based opposition raised devolutionary demands under the impetus of pressure from below and challenged the modernisers’ hegemony.

The reindustrialisation agenda that had been furthered by the modernising policy network since the 1940s was effectively abandoned during the 1980s. This confirmed the predominance of monetary priorities under the Thatcher government. The pursuit of currency stability at the cost of high unemployment rates marked a paradigm shift in the key determinant of government policy.<sup>102</sup> The logic of this prescription necessarily meant tolerating deindustrialisation and the shrinking of manufacturing in favour of services, especially finance.<sup>103</sup> In part this stemmed from the increased financial performance pressures within the nationalised coal and steel industries as they were moved towards privatisation, but it was also pertinently apparent in the declining activities of regional policy and inaction to the effects of the closure of plants brought to Scotland through inward investment following the Second World War.<sup>104</sup> Thus, this later wave of deindustrialisation falsified the promises of a secure industrial future associated, in part, through a labour market transition from heavy industrial activities to assembly goods manufacturing. The next section analyses the application of regional policy in Lanarkshire and the shifts in economic structure towards a growing dependency on

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<sup>102</sup> Andrew Gamble, *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism* second edition (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994) p.194.

<sup>103</sup> Alfred E Eckes, *The Global Economy: A History Since 1980* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2011) pp.18-20.

<sup>104</sup> John Foster, ‘The Economic Restructuring of the West of Scotland 1945-2000: Some Lessons from a Historical Perspective’ in George Blazycy eds. *Restructuring Regional and Local Economies: Towards a Comparative Study of Scotland and Upper Silesia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003)p.57; Christopher Harvie, ‘Scotland after 1978: From Referendum to Millennium’ in *The New Penguin History of Scotland: from Earliest Times to the Present Day* ed. by R.A. Houston and W.W. Knox (London: Penguin, 2001) pp.502-3.

externally controlled capital. It focuses on the evolution of American manufacturing subsidiaries and the negotiation of contradictions between the aims of the reindustrialisation agenda, the provision of stable employment and MNEs' objectives.

### **Regional Policy and Branch Plants in Lanarkshire: The Operation of the Passive Revolution**

“Scotland and Strathclyde have survived because of the real contribution made by non-Scottish companies.”<sup>105</sup>

The reindustrialisation agenda was dependent on state support for external investment to achieve industrial rejuvenation. In the above quotation from 1982, John Firn, a Professor of Applied Economics who was head of Industrial Programmes at the SDA, was obliged to recognise the extent to which the Scottish economy had become reliant on MNEs' activities, despite holding criticisms of the lack of transfers of R&D and marketing activities to Scottish subsidiaries. This outlook was summed up by Firn's qualifiedly pessimistic view that Scotland's “branch plant” economy was dominated by subsidiaries where management agency was confined to routine manufacturing activities.<sup>106</sup>

US FDI was focused towards the Glasgow Planning Area, which included Lanarkshire. This area accounted for 56,700 of the 82,600 US subsidiary employees in Scotland in 1972. Manufacturing FDI was predominantly in mechanical, electrical and instrument engineering. By 1972 US MNEs accounted for 26.5%, 39.5% and 45.6% of employment in these sectors in Scotland.<sup>107</sup> This marked a fundamental reorientation of the Clydeside regional economy which had been characterised by autonomous locally owned heavy industrial firms until the mid-twentieth century.<sup>108</sup> The SCDI saw these developments in a more positive light than proponents of “branch-plant syndrome”, emphasising the benefits of diversification and growing capacity. It concluded that US MNEs were making “a most important contribution to Scotland's economic revival” through the introduction of new products and

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<sup>105</sup> University of Glasgow Archives, John Firn's University of Glasgow research projects, Scottish Development Agency, Firn Crichton Roberts Ltd (ACCN 3700) folder 8/5/3/John Firn, SDA, Edinburgh ‘Confidential note to the Chief Executive and Chairman [of the SDA] “How the West Was lost article”’, Edinburgh date. 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1982.

<sup>106</sup> John R Firn, ‘John R Firn CV’, *Scottish Government* <<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/921/0048410.pdf>> [accessed 6/8/2013]. John Firn, ‘External Control and Regional Policy’, in *The Red Paper on Scotland* ed. by Gordon Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Student Publishing Board, 1975) p.156.

<sup>107</sup> Scottish Council Research Institute, *US Investment in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Council Research Institute, 1974) p.3, 8.

<sup>108</sup> Richard Saville, ‘The Industrial Background to the Post-War Scottish Economy’, in *The Economic Development of Modern Scotland, 1950-1980* ed. by Richard Saville (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1985) p.5.

processes and providing exports which grew in value from £75 million to £367.1 million between 1964 and 1972. Accounting for inflation this was nevertheless a significant increase.<sup>109</sup>

More recent business analysis, based on the theoretical development of “subsidiary entrepreneurship”, has revised Firm’s qualified pessimism which emphasised the negative aspects of Clydeside’s industrial survival through inward investment which came at the cost of increasing external control. This perspective views subsidiaries as engaged in internal “competitive arenas” both in the external product market and internally for resources within MNEs. Subsidiary evolution is dependent on the build-up of distinct capabilities to compete for product mandates and win “creative” roles in R&D and marketing. This entails engaging in risk-taking “entrepreneurial” activities and seeking opportunities for expansion in new markets and product areas.<sup>110</sup> Birkinshaw et al give the example of Motorola, who were present in East Kilbride as microchip manufacturers from 1969 until 2009, as competing internally for the right to manufacture future generations of technologically advanced chips.<sup>111</sup> Entrepreneurial activities included gaining a large £250 million investment in production capabilities in 1994, and R&D activities which continued after the manufacturing plant closed down in 2009.<sup>112</sup>

The outstanding example of subsidiary entrepreneurship in Scotland has been IBM in Greenock. Dimitratos et al emphasise how the plant management was able to “assume” roles, developing capabilities through connections with local suppliers, regional development agencies and universities to gain product mandates. Over five decades the factory, which opened in 1951 as a “branch plant”, producing counting and tabulating machines for the British market, attained product upgrades including personal computer production, extensions to the subsidiary’s market remit and responsibility for more processes such as testing and R&D. As IBM divested from manufacturing, the Greenock operation successfully reoriented itself by developing capabilities in supply chain and customer management, technical support, and software development. Due to these accomplishments the plant retained a workforce of 2,000 in 2008, down from 3,600 at its manufacturing peak, whereas Motorola’s employment fell from a high of over 2,500 to only 150 after manufacturing closed,

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<sup>109</sup> Scottish Council Research Institute, *US Investment in Scotland*, p.2, 8.

<sup>110</sup> Julian Birkinshaw, Neil Hood and Stephen Young, ‘Subsidiary Entrepreneurship, Internal and External Competitive Forces, and Subsidiary Performance’, *International Business Review* vol.14 (2005) pp.228-230; Dev Kumar Boojihawon, Pavlos Dimitratos and Stephen Young, ‘Characteristics and Influence of Multinational Subsidiary Entrepreneurial Culture: The Case of the Advertising Sector’, *International Business Review* vol.16 (2007) pp.552-554.

<sup>111</sup> Birkinshaw et al, ‘Subsidiary Entrepreneurship, Internal and External Competitive Forces, and Subsidiary Performance’, p.230.

<sup>112</sup> Gordon Thomson, ‘The End of a dream: It was the Heart of Silicon Glen, Employing 2500 worker: Now the Motorola Factory is a Heap of Rubble’ *Evening Times* 25/4/2012 <<http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/news/the-end-of-a-dream-it-was-the-heart-of-silicon-glen-employing-2500-workers-now-the.17390384>> [accessed 16/7/2013].

indicating its more restricted capability development.<sup>113</sup> FDI developments in Lanarkshire resembled Motorola more than they did IBM. The evolution of subsidiaries and the role they played within the strategies of MNEs is the main focus of this section. Before considering this the competing pressures facing policy-makers in terms of prioritising either “growth poles” as advocated by Toothill, to encourage labour mobility and the agglomeration of new industries, or the amelioration of local unemployment, are outlined to understand how FDI was brought to Lanarkshire and the determinants of its spatial distribution.<sup>114</sup>

FDI was channelled to Scotland through a complex regional policy regime which combined incentive and coercion to “take work to the workers” via IDCs, which ‘steered’ investment to peripheral areas. The priorities in determining which areas should be allocated investment were contested and changed. During the early post-Second World War period, the debate over diversification related to offsetting a dependence upon heavy industry. In 1950 R.L. Meier argued the development of electronics could offset Clydeside heavy industry’s “great sensitivity to world business conditions”, and also hoped the investment would provide spillover effects in raising labour productivity and flexibility.<sup>115</sup> The focus of policy-makers was towards attracting these new industries to sites with suitable, especially female, labour reserves, during a period of full employment when a premium was placed on dollar earning manufactured exports.<sup>116</sup> Demonstrating the constraints and compromises faced by the modernisers, this outlook changed as the more general rundown of heavy industry became apparent. In 1958 the SCDI noted the plight of areas experiencing pit closures and estimated that a “formidable” 120,000 jobs needed to be created by 1971, including 50,000 in manufacturing, to maintain employment levels. Indicative of the SCDI’s role as a body representing interest across Scottish society, in contrast to Toothill, this report raised concerns about the effects of external control noting that “key industries have waxed and waned but always another rose in their place. This cycle has lost its impetus, and the new expanding industries have established their roots elsewhere.” It was felt that the “value of these new industries” lay in increasing employment but the report noted “they did not provide the answer to Scotland’s future economic stability” given the lack of R&D and headquarters’ functions attached to such developments.<sup>117</sup>

The report’s focus on unemployment anticipated regional policy initiatives directed towards alleviating joblessness; the Local Employment Act of 1960 provided incentives for firms set up in

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<sup>113</sup> Dimitratos et al, ‘The Multinational Enterprise and Subsidiary Evolution’, pp.414-9; Thomson, ‘The End of a Dream’.

<sup>114</sup> McCrone ‘Industrial Clusters’, p.74.

<sup>115</sup> NRS/SEP 4/585/8A R.L. Meier, University of Chicago, ‘Industrial Planning in Scotland: The Role of New Technology in The Economic Development of a Region’ date.9<sup>th</sup> June 1950.

<sup>116</sup> NRS/SEP/4/693/53 The Research Committee of the Distribution of Industry Panel for Scotland, ‘The Availability of Women Workers in Scotland’ date. May 1950.

<sup>117</sup> NRS/SEP/4/768 SCDI Industrial Power (Draft Report) (Edinburgh, 1958) p.4, 32-4.

small districts of “serious” unemployment, over 4.5%. However, policy later changed towards the stimulation of economic growth, rather than the amelioration of localised unemployment. Legislation in 1963 and 1966, influenced by the Tothill report, established a larger Development Area including the whole of Scotland except Edinburgh. This prioritised “locational advantages” such as communications and utilities which could achieve “self-generating growth”.<sup>118</sup> Lee estimates that up to 38,000 jobs were created through regional policy initiatives and that the bulk of these came as spending rose from the 1960s to mid-1970s, coinciding with the most severe rundown of traditional industrial employment.<sup>119</sup>

Although there was widespread support for industrial modernisation efforts, contradictory policy priorities are apparent in the files and correspondence of the SDD, the branch of government overseeing the implementation of regional assistance. Thus, the hegemony of the modernising vision was always limited and was contingent on the provision of labour market stability. This shaped the perspectives of policy-makers who continued to feel social responsibilities towards declining heavy industrial areas. Despite having been established by the Tothill report and the body’s support for establishing “zones of growth”, SDD policy-makers remained concerned with areas experiencing high rates of unemployment. An investigation from July 1964 affirmed the importance of continuing the “unemployment test” for future development. Yet, a note written only two months later argued in favour of “the designation of a very limited number of growth or holding points” and another queried whether “growth areas” should be given priority over “unemployment areas”.<sup>120</sup>

Policy-maker obligations towards communities with high unemployment affected by colliery closures continued to compete with broader development goals in the allocation of FDI despite the predominant outlook of the SCDI and evidence of SDD officials’ support for the aims of the Tothill report. This signals that the moral economy concerns outlined in the next chapter were felt in the Scottish Office who oversaw inward investment with the objective of ameliorating the worst excesses of unemployment created by coalfield contraction. In September 1969 H.J. Henson of the Board of Trade Office for Scotland wrote to the Department of Industry expressing concern at the “seriously aggravated” male unemployment that he expected to develop in Kilsyth over the following months.

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<sup>118</sup> Cameron, *Industrial movement*, p.1, 28-34; Neil Hood and Stephen Young, ‘Industrial Policy and the Scottish Economy’, in *Industry, Policy and the Scottish Economy* ed. by Neil Hood and Stephen Young (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984) pp.30-2.

<sup>119</sup> Clive Lee, *Scotland and the United Kingdom: The Economy and the Union in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) pp.276-279; Jim Tomlinson, ‘Industrial Policy’ in *Britain in the 1970s: The Troubled Decade* ed. by Richard Coopey and Nicholas Woodward (London: UCL Press, 1996) pp.163-4.

<sup>120</sup> NRS/SEP/17/40/22 T.L. Lister to Mr Baird SDD Edinburgh date.2<sup>nd</sup> July 1964; NRS/SEP 17/40/17 SDD Draft Distribution of Industry Note for Secretary of State date. 8<sup>th</sup> July 1964; NRS/SEP 17/40/26 J.H. McGuiness ‘Distribution of Industry ES (G) Committee Meeting’ date. 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1964; NRS/SEP 17/40/17 SDD ‘Draft Distribution of Industry Note for Secretary State’ date.8<sup>th</sup> July 1964.

This related to the expected closure of Cardowan colliery, with the immediate redundancy of 1,200 men, due to the pit being put onto “jeopardy” status regarding its financial losses. Bedlay colliery, which employed Kilsyth men too, was also expected to close due to a gas problem. Henson raised concern as to the availability of male employment in the area, noting that just less than half, 80 of 180, available local jobs were classified as “male” and that most of the local advance factories were oriented towards women’s work. The letter concluded that “when drawing up any future programme of advance factories, the needs of Kilsyth will be borne in mind” given the “effect that the continued run-down in the coal-mining industry is likely to have on employment in Kilsyth.”<sup>121</sup>

These concerns typified the development of regional policy as objectives shifted during the late 1960s and early 1970s from economic growth to maintaining employment levels.<sup>122</sup> Unemployment in Kilsyth remained an ongoing concern, with a Department of Industry report from 1972 about the employment situation at Burroughs in Cumbernauld noting that Kilsyth was suffering from redundancies from the plant, whilst at Bedlay and Cardowan, which employed 350 local men, “production difficulties they have had in the past perhaps make them somewhat suspect in the longer term.” The report also noted with alarm that the male unemployment rate of 19.7% was over double the Scottish rate of 8.5%, itself double the post-1945 average. Despite the relatively small numbers involved, 444 men, it was argued it nevertheless constituted a considerable problem in the local community.<sup>123</sup>

The division over priorities between developing growth points and ameliorating unemployment unearthed differences regarding the location of FDI and assistance offered to MNEs, especially between the Scottish Office and Cumbernauld New Town Development Corporation (CNTDC). The decision to grant Hill Clothing a five year rent-free period in Kilsyth in the early 1970s prioritised providing employment in an area losing industrial jobs over developing aims. It was opposed by the CNTDC which felt out-competed by areas able to use Local Employment Act provisions to secure investment.<sup>124</sup> More grievous concerns were raised over the loss of larger FDI projects, including National Semiconductor which moved to Greenock in similar circumstances, depriving the New Town of an expanded base in electronics and reinforced its reliance on a single firm, Burroughs.<sup>125</sup> Although there were 23 manufacturing firms in a diverse range of industries (including 4 from the

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<sup>121</sup> NRS/SEP/4/4251/5 Letter from H.J. Henson Board of Trade Office for Scotland, Glasgow, to J.H. Brown Department of Industry Division of the Board of Trade, London date. 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1969.

<sup>122</sup> Scott, ‘Regional Development and Policy’, pp.353-4; Geoffrey Tweedale, ‘Industry and De-Industrialization in the 1970s’, in *Britain in the 1970s: The Troubled Decade* ed. by Richard Coopey and Nicholas Woodward (London: UCL Press, 1996) p.259.

<sup>123</sup> NRS/SEP/4/3791/26/3 ‘Background Note for the Meeting Between the Minister for Industry and Mr R.W. Macdonald, President of the Burroughs Corporation to take place on 24 July 1972’.

<sup>124</sup> NRS/SEP/4/4251/36 J.C. Roach, File note: ‘Cumbernauld New Town’ date.8<sup>th</sup> March 1971.

<sup>125</sup> NRS/SEP4/4251/10 ‘Steering Procedure Note Prepared by Mintech Office for Scotland for Secretary of State’s visit to Cumbernauld on 15th May 1970’, pp.3-4.

US) active in 1968 around 3,000 of 4,500 manufacturing jobs in Cumbernauld were at Burroughs alone.<sup>126</sup> A 1971 10% census sample of Cumbernauld demonstrated the town's overreliance on Burroughs, with 154 of 511 employed men and 47 of 304 women working in office machinery manufacturing. There was no other sector of male employment near half of this level, whilst the only industrial sector of comparable size for women was clothing and footwear.<sup>127</sup> This questions claims that the New Towns were successful "purely in industrial terms" given Cumbernauld's dependency on one large firm.<sup>128</sup>

In comparison, East Kilbride achieved a more diversified manufacturing base through the attraction of inward investment. A survey was commissioned by the East Kilbride Development Corporation in 1979 with the aim of evaluating the New Town's contribution to industrial diversification and restructuring the regional labour market in an area which had experienced the rundown of mining earlier than Cumbernauld. The report emphasised that East Kilbride provided "very valuable" work for 3,220 women in-commuters, 70% of whom were from Lanarkshire, and with employment in electrical, mechanical and instrument engineering created opportunities for work in a region traditionally dominated by male employment in heavy industry. In contrast to Cumbernauld's dependence upon Burroughs, Rolls Royce declined from 50% to under 20% of East Kilbride's manufacturing employment between the early 1950s and the mid-1970s. Electrical engineering grew from around 10% to 40% between 1962 and 1976 as US electronics firms such as Motorola, STC and Sunbeam began production in the town. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 indicate that the timing of East Kilbride's earlier designation as a New Town gave it an advantage over Cumbernauld in being able to attract investment at the point when the engineering sector was at its highest rate of expansion, and before policy priorities shifted towards the alleviation of unemployment.

As well as the earlier development of the town, East Kilbride also benefited from employment at Rolls Royce, which provided an industrial base in an alternative sector to electronics and electrical engineering. In contrast to the Cumbernauld's industrial workforce's concentration at Burroughs into the early 1970s, as early as 1966 only a minority of manufacturing employment was at Rolls Royce; 3,280 of East Kilbride's male workforce which totalled 11,800 and 460 of around 7,100 women were employed in vehicle manufacturing, centring on the aeroplane engine factory. However, a greater proportion of the workforce, 2,350 men and 2,130, women worked in a broad range of electrical and engineering activities, with a concentration in radio and electronic apparatuses. Diversity in women's

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<sup>126</sup> NRS/SEP4/4251/7 Miss W.F.M. Lorimer, 'Scottish New Towns' date. 30<sup>th</sup> January 1970.

<sup>127</sup> *Census 1971 Scotland Economic Activity County Tables Part 2* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1971) Table 3 pp.50-78.

<sup>128</sup> J.N. Randall, 'New Towns and New Industries', in *The Economic Development of Modern Scotland, 1950-1980* ed. by Richard Saville (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985) p.268.



manufacturing employment extended to clothing, with over 500 female workers employed in this sector.<sup>129</sup>

Significantly, the East Kilbride report argued it was an “unacceptable judgement, legally, morally, and economically” to consider women’s employment secondary to men’s. This contrasts with policy-makers privileging male opportunities in Kilsyth in the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, even within this picture of relative success, some of the characteristics associated with ‘branch plant syndrome’ were apparent. This included the tendency of firms to employ part time workers who were “easier to hire and fire in the short-run to cope with fluctuations in business”, which was demonstrated through a drop of 26% followed by a rise of over 20% in numbers of part time manufacturing workers over the early 1970s as demand fluctuated.<sup>130</sup>

The report’s view that engineering factories served merely as relatively disposable additional capacity concurs with the SDA’s perspective that Honeywell and Burroughs’ operations in Lanarkshire functioned as “feeder plants designed to manufacture products in high volume”, without significant R&D or marketing functions.<sup>131</sup> The SDA’s perception that Scottish subsidiaries largely produced products using processes that were designed externally fits with Haug’s findings from a 1980s survey of 14 US affiliates, who were responsible for over 70% of ‘Silicon Glen’s’ US MNE employment. He found prevalent reasons for investing in Scotland included access to the European market, positive government attitudes, and a relatively low waged, skilled workforce which spoke English. The vast majority of subsidiaries, around 80%, mentioned property costs and provision, low wages, and skilled labour availability as key reasons for investment. Over 50% mentioned unskilled labour availability, whilst only around a third referred to R&D requirements.<sup>132</sup> The SIEC’s provision of industrial estates and custom-built factories as part of the wider set of incentives offered through regional policy were key in bringing and expanding MNE operations. Forsyth’s study published in the early 1970s found that the majority of firms’ decision to locate in Scotland related to government policy including both incentives and compulsion via IDCs, with 32 naming incentive packages, often emphasising the provision of factories, as their chief reason for choosing Scotland over another region.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> *Sample Census 1966 Scotland Economic Activity County Tables Leaflet No.3 Glasgow and Lanark* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1966) Table 3 pp.33-44.

<sup>130</sup> NRS/SEP/15/437 G.C. Cameron, J.D. McCallum J.G.L. Adams, ‘The Contribution of East Kilbride to Local and Regional Economic Development: an Economic Study Conducted for the East Kilbride Development Corporation’, East Kilbride date. June 1979.

<sup>131</sup> ACCN/3700/8/5/3 SDA Planning and Projects Directorate ‘The Scottish Electronics Subcontractors and Components Suppliers Industry’ (1981).

<sup>132</sup> Peter Haug, ‘US High Technology Multinationals and Silicon Glen’, *Regional Studies* vol.20 (2) (1986) p.109.

<sup>133</sup> David J C Forsyth assisted by Kathryn Docherty, *US Investment in Scotland* (New York: Praeger, 1972) p.221.

The centrality of low wages to FDI is inferred by a 1974 investigation into Burroughs by the Department for Industry which confirmed Britain was seen in a favourable light due to having unit labour costs at only 75% of the US, contrasting with many western European countries which had higher costs. This made Scotland an “attractive manufacturing base” with potential to develop areas such as semiconductor production. The same investigation noted the low value of production relative to turnover, indicating a heavy reliance on externally produced components.<sup>134</sup> Similar priorities are clear from other cases. For instance correspondence from the Board of Trade in 1960 noted “costs in Scotland compared favourably with those of any other Sunbeam manufacturing unit”. Unlike Burroughs, the Sunbeam plant appeared to have a wider market remit, including the US, but it was mostly directed towards British and other European sales, and thus like Burroughs shared the vulnerability to external control emphasised by the ‘branch plant syndrome’ analysis.<sup>135</sup>

The examples of Honeywell and Hoover demonstrate an incremental build-up of employment and production. The SIEC worked to the requirements of Hoover who in 1950 rejected opening additional capacity at the Newhouse industrial estate in favour of an expansion of their site at Cambuslang. This process involved negotiating with local landowners including Colvilles, who were willing to give up their land to allow expansion, and a local farmer who was more reluctant. The urgency behind facilitating this expansion was rationalised in terms of competition with other plants in Britain. Correspondence between St Andrews House and the Board of Trade noted that Hoover’s Merthyr Tyfdil plant had already expanded and that both plants could foreseeably produce electric motors for vacuum cleaners and washing machines, thus “production at Cambuslang must therefore keep pace with the expansion in Wales.”<sup>136</sup> By 1974 5,000 workers were employed at the plant and Hoover looked to set up new facilities nearby. However, this marked the peak of the firm’s Lanarkshire operations; by 1979 the workforce at Cambuslang had declined to 2,902, and the operations established in Motherwell and Hamilton had been shut down.<sup>137</sup> Inter-plant competition had a marked impact on the development of Cambuslang. The perceptions of the threat posed by Merthyr Tyfdil in 1950 were realised in the 1970s as washing-machine component production was rationalised and

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<sup>134</sup> NRS/SEP/4/3791/10A Department of Industry for Scotland, ‘Commercial in Confidence Burroughs Machines Ltd’, date.1<sup>st</sup> April 1974.

<sup>135</sup> NRS/SEP/4/567/18 C.J.A. Whitehouse to Mr Macbeth ‘Sunbeam Electric Ltd’ Board of Trade date.12<sup>th</sup> December 1960.

<sup>136</sup> NRS/SEP/4/13/13 Extract from letter dated 27<sup>th</sup> July 1950 from Secretary of State for Scotland, Hector McNeil, to Lord Bisland; NRS/SEP/4/13/22 letter from DD Mills, Board of Trade and Ministry of Supply to J.B. Fleming Dept of Health for Scotland, Edinburgh (September 1950).

<sup>137</sup> NRS/SEP/4/1629 *Phase ‘Non-Stop Hoover will Lead’* May 1974 p.2; SEP4/3706/1 ‘A comparative Study of Corporate strategies of Manufacturing MNEs operating in high levels of regional assistance in UK and Eire’ (1980) annex E and annex F.

concentrated there. Cambuslang's final closure in 2003 came alongside the creation of additional jobs at the Welsh plant.<sup>138</sup>

This process of a build-up and then decline in plant employment, reflecting initial investment in machinery and competitive products which then peaks before declining, has been referred to by McDermott as embodying a "plant 'life-cycle-effect'".<sup>139</sup> This took place at all four factories with initial growth, the relatively stable provision of employment followed by marked decline and divestment, especially in the post-1979 period. Whilst Hoover broadly followed this process it was both non-linear and convoluted by short-term shifts in economic circumstances, for instance in 1952 750 workers were laid off due to poor conditions in the Australian market.<sup>140</sup> Similarly, in June 1966 Honeywell responded to falling demand by laying off 200 workers and cancelled an expansion of microswitch production, which would have created an additional 600 jobs.<sup>141</sup> This took place over a period more generally characterised by expansion as Honeywell's employment peaked at 5,901 in August 1970, over 1,000 short of earlier expectations. This figure fell by over 1,500 over the next three years through a series of redundancies reflecting market volatility and technological changes to more capital intensive electronic as opposed to electro-mechanical production processes.<sup>142</sup>

In 1981 the *Scotsman* described Burroughs as also having gone through a "painful switch," with the exit from electro-mechanical production leading to the loss of 2,000 jobs at the Cumbernauld plant as employment fell to around 800 in similar circumstances to Honeywell. However, the article was also critical of the company management, and noted its failure to compete with IBM in the mainframe market.<sup>143</sup> This vulnerability concerned members of the SEPD, which was responsible for areas of economic policy devolved to the Scottish Office. They noted that in 1975 Burroughs held 3.9% of the world computer market but was "dwarfed by the giant IBM", who held a majority.<sup>144</sup> The same was also true of Honeywell which held around 5% in 1970 when IBM's share was 70%.<sup>145</sup> This inferior position created instability in the Honeywell and Burroughs' factories by making them vulnerable to demand shifts which IBM, thanks to its higher market share, was more able to absorb.

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<sup>138</sup> Hood and Young, *Multinationals In Retreat*, p.89; 'Hoover to Close Scots Plant' *BBC News* 8/10/2003 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/3173484.stm>> [accessed 20/7/2013].

<sup>139</sup> McDermott, *Multinationals*, p.8.

<sup>140</sup> NRS/SEP/4/13/21 Extract from Hansard date. 8<sup>th</sup> July 1952.

<sup>141</sup> NRS/SEP/4/1629/press cuttings 'Honeywell to Lay Off 200 Workers' *Glasgow Herald* 3/6/1966.

<sup>142</sup> NRS/SEP/4/1629 Department of Employment 'Honeywell Limited: Outline of Scottish Operations and Manpower Detail' (1974).

<sup>143</sup> NRS/SEP/4/5677/12 'How the Burroughs Program just failed to add up' *Scotsman* 7/8/81.

<sup>144</sup> NRS/SEP/4/3791 Scottish Economic Planning Department Industrial Development Division 'Burroughs Machines Limited Scotland' date.18th December 1975.

<sup>145</sup> Hood and Young, *Multinationals In Retreat*, p.120

Lanarkshire's experience of inward investment attracted by state incentives and low wages shared parallels with that of Bloomington, Indiana, outlined by Cowie. After initial expansion, plants downsized or closed in the face of locational competition, technological changes, and industrial relations conflicts.<sup>146</sup> Aspects of industrial relations conflicts in branch plants, centring on workers' response to the disappointment of promises of secure employment, are discussed in the fourth chapter. The shared international experience of plant lifecycles question the outlook of all three of the major reindustrialisation proposals studied in the third section, which assumed subsidiary manufacturing operations could be expected to provide the basis for a sustainable long-term industrial future. Contradictions emerged between the reality of the experience of branch plant employment and expectations of engineering employment as stable and well paid which had been bolstered by political representatives who argued in favour of regional policy. Thus, Eric Varley's 1970 speech omitted comment on the negative aspects of dependency associated with the process of passive revolution. It detailed a positive vision for the future through a regional policy commitment to "social justice" and economic security that would be brought via inward investment which would provide employment in "newer industries securely rooted and growing".<sup>147</sup> The Ministry of Fuel and Power also emphasised the benefits provided by redeploying manpower from coal to assembly manufacturing. In 1967 it used examples from Derbyshire where 200 to 300 ex-miners now employed in engineering factory were "happier and healthier" according to the local branch secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers.<sup>148</sup> Yet, despite the Ministry's concern with inter-industry transfers and declining mining employment, transfers were largely postponed until the 1980s as the development of alternative employment stalled and coal employment stabilised.

In contrast to the premise of an exchange of employment in unproductive and unclean heavy industrial activities for durable work in prosperous new industries, the examples of employment instability at Hoover, Burroughs and Honeywell were part of a generalised trend within Scottish subsidiaries. An SEPB official noted with concern that between 1962 and 1967 engineering redundancy rates more than doubled, from below to above average for the Scottish workforce. The biggest focus of this was in the "other machinery" category, which largely consisted of electronics and electrical engineering. Between 1962 and 1966 Scottish employment in electronics increased by over 50% but only by 14% in Britain as a whole whilst Scotland's share of industrial R&D fell relatively and absolutely. This led to the pessimistic conclusion that "at least to some extent the trends result from structural factors such as the large number of branch factories in Scotland in these

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<sup>146</sup> Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labour* (New York: The New Press, 2001) pp.1-10, 59-66

<sup>147</sup> SEP 4/1629 'Glasgow: Report of a visit by Minister of State' date.3<sup>rd</sup> February 1970.

<sup>148</sup> NRS/SEP/4/2337 John Anderson, Ministry of Fuel and Power Scottish Headquarters, Edinburgh to S MacDonald, SEPB, Edinburgh date.21<sup>st</sup> November 1967 attached 'Ex-Miners 'are Happier and Healthier in Engineering' *Northern Echo* 16/11/1967.

growth sectors of industry controlled from Headquarters elsewhere.” This was particularly “disturbing because of the great emphasis we have attached to the long term change in the Scottish industrial structure, resulting from the increase in modern science-based engineering and electrical industries.”<sup>149</sup>

There is further evidence from the correspondence to suggest that the pressures associated with peripheral status caused tension between local management and MNE headquarters over the future development of subsidiaries. This is in accordance with Haworth and Ramsay’s view that an MNE is “a site of contradictory decision-making within capitalist accumulation,” with conflicts often taking place over the spatial distribution of activities at different levels of management.<sup>150</sup> It is also congruent with the subsidiary entrepreneurship perspective in emphasising inter-subsidiary competition, but many of the experiences in Lanarkshire demonstrate the limits that an MNE’s competitive position within product markets and its corporate structure can impose on subsidiary development. For instance, the SEPD’s view that Burroughs was “rigidly centralised,” with its Detroit headquarters largely dictating product development and investment, appears to be validated by the failure of attempts by the Cumbernauld plant and Scottish subsidiary more broadly to gain product mandates and managerial functions. The plant remained dependent on the US for specialised microchip production with British operations confined to simple varieties.<sup>151</sup>

Clear limits were placed on the autonomy of the subsidiaries’ R&D and this came despite proven success. The B80 mini-computer which was “designed and engineered” in Cumbernauld was seen as “one of the main products of the future” by the factory’s general manager.<sup>152</sup> Profits rose from £4 million to £10 million between 1976 and 1978 as the plant was bolstered by orders from British and foreign banks. By 1978 600 of the workforce, one third, were employed in R&D, which appears to contradict the view that Burroughs was merely a branch plant confined to production activities.<sup>153</sup> However, despite this, and support from Burroughs’ British headquarters, the subsidiary did not win rights to develop and produce a plasma display panel. J.F. Hardwick, of Burroughs British senior management, who had been liaising with the SEPD over the project wrote to the department

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<sup>149</sup> NRS/SEP/4/2337 A.W. Teel to Mr Grant, SEPB, Edinburgh ‘Redundancies and Unemployment Change’ date. 6<sup>th</sup> September 1967.

<sup>150</sup> Nigel Haworth and Harvie Ramsay, ‘Labour and Management Strategies in the World Market: The Plot Thickens’, in *The Politics of Industrial Closure* ed. by Tony Dickson and David Judge (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986) p.144, 153.

<sup>151</sup> NRS/SEP/4/3791/22 A.G. McKenzie, SEPD Industrial Development Division, ‘Note for the File: Burroughs UK Limited’ Edinburgh date.30<sup>th</sup> June 1978.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> NRS/SEP/4/3791/23 J.S. Robertson, ‘Burroughs Note for File: Burroughs UK Ltd’ date.6<sup>th</sup> June 1978.

expressing disappointment, commenting that “it would have given me great pleasure to see such a facility provided in Scotland”, but Detroit were unwilling to proceed.<sup>154</sup>

Similar frustrations were expressed by the management of Sunbeam in East Kilbride. The plant recovered from the mid-1960s overproduction of domestic appliances through introducing new products and expanding its workforce which reached 800 in 1967. In 1966 Sunbeam commenced a factory extension to produce the ‘Shavemaster’ and an electric carving knife.<sup>155</sup> By 1971 however, the workforce had contracted to 350. Local management were “openly critical of the Sunbeam organisation” which “invited direct competition between its own plants sometimes on an unfair basis.” They were especially condemnatory of the decision to hand over all European Common Market production to the Italian subsidiary, which was also awarded a product mandate for a food mixer said to be near identical to the model previously designed and produced in East Kilbride. The plant was left dependent on a limited and dated set of products, which was seen as evidence of the plans of management to wind-up the SIEC factory when the lease expired in 1977.<sup>156</sup>

In the cases of Burroughs and Sunbeam it is significant that product development and R&D took place in the plants. This indicates a degree of capability advancement beyond the confines traditionally attributed to a branch plant. However, there were clear limitations, including an ongoing dependency on the capabilities of other subsidiaries and an inability to win or maintain product mandates. These developments undermines the extent to which they can be understood as “developmental” outcomes as subsidiary entrepreneurship and capability development were undermined by decisions made from headquarters which limited product autonomy. This infers the debilitating impact of external control emphasised by the ‘branch plant syndrome’ perspective. Unlike IBM Greenock, core management decisions prevented the realisation of potential for capability upgrade and subsidiary reorientation. The dependent status of subsidiaries impaired the dual goals of regional policy. It undermined the aim of developing ‘growth point’ clusters of successful plants which would spearhead regional economic development, whilst their vulnerability to demand shifts and internal competition for product mandates lessened their ability to provide stable employment in areas experiencing the decline of traditional industries.<sup>157</sup>

Thus, these examples serve to validate Firn’s conclusion that the “branch plant” status of subsidiaries diminished “the power of Scotland to shape or even strongly influence her own economic future” as

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<sup>154</sup> NRS/SEP/4/3791/31 Letter from J.F. Hardwick to Miss ME Shanks, SEPD, Edinburgh date.5<sup>th</sup> February 1981.

<sup>155</sup> NRS/SEP/4/568/1 E.M. Smith, ‘Sunbeam Electric Limited’ Board of Trade date.12<sup>th</sup> May 1966.

<sup>156</sup> NRS/SEP/4/568/38 Miss D O’Callaghan, ‘File Note: Sunbeam Electric Limited, East Kilbride’ date. 20<sup>th</sup> May 1971.

<sup>157</sup> Ivan Turok ‘Inward Investment and Local Linkages: How Deeply Embedded is ‘Silicon Glen’?’, *Regional Studies* vol.27 (1993) pp.402-3.

“central office functions” relating to product development, production levels and procurement were located within MNE headquarters. Market fluctuations were resultantly “transmitted” to the labour market and introduced instability, especially in West Central Scotland, which increasingly depended on subsidiary employment. Thus, regional policy “unwittingly reinforced” dependency, lowering the potential for self-sustaining growth.<sup>158</sup> The economic relations that developed from the process of passive revolution externalised control and delimited the developmental potential of the industries brought to Scotland through regional policy.

Turok’s study of inward investment electronics plants subsequently developed the branch plant approach, distinguishing between “dependent” and “developmental” outcomes for regional economic development. In the former: “local cluster are weak nodes within a wider network of powerful multinationals. The direct global connections expose local economies to volatile world markets making them vulnerable to forces of international competition.”<sup>159</sup> He concluded ‘Silicon Glen’ was generally characterised by such a relationship. This was a product of the “branch-plant character of many foreign firms” that lacked design or procurement mandates. It was reflected in the disembedded nature of subsidiaries, only 12% of subcontracted value-added remained within Scotland, and was focused towards labour intensive “bulky” items. Turok juxtaposed this to the “developmental” outcomes which centred on the fostering of wider linkages and embeddedness within a regional economy that secured the subsidiaries’ status, developed further capabilities and provided spillover effects. The developmental outcome establishes “networks of sophisticated, interdependent linkages, which support the expansion of local firms and generate self-sustaining growth of cluster as a whole.” This was associated with both capability upgrading and subsidiary autonomy which enabled the development of such connections. IBM Greenock was emphasised as having such characteristics. Alongside its capability upgrading the subsidiary operated a “permanent employment” policy which saw it develop a more sustained engagement with local supplier during periods of high demand. The subsidiary’s autonomy compared to that of others in Scotland made it “by far the biggest customer of local suppliers” of the thirteen largest electronics MNEs in Scotland studied. IBM’s strategy facilitated an approach to procurement based on strong relationships with suppliers that resulted in considerable local spillover effects from its own success.<sup>160</sup>

Given the presence of product development neither Sunbeam nor Burroughs fit the dependent ideal type exactly. However, the negative impact of external control through the loss of product mandates and inter-plant competition which led to closure is indicative of a dependent subsidiary and stands in marked contrast to IBM’s ability to develop capabilities, bolstered by the greater autonomy of local

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<sup>158</sup> Firm, ‘External Control and Regional Policy’, pp.164-166.

<sup>159</sup> Turok ‘Inward Investment and Local Linkages’, pp.402-3.

<sup>160</sup> Turok ‘Inward Investment and Local Linkages’, pp.401-403, 412-413.

management. Honeywell is arguably the most likely candidate for developmental status among the plants considered. It is the only firm to maintain a significant presence in Lanarkshire. In 1971 its Lanarkshire operations constituted 90% of its British manufacturing capacity and thus were of more relative significance to Honeywell than the other plants to their MNE's presence in Europe. As a result it won major product mandates such as production of "giant" series 6000 computers in 1972 which had 100 orders valued at £75 million.<sup>161</sup>

Honeywell's commitment to their Lanarkshire operation was also seen in significant investment in the Newhouse plant in 1979, which included an upgrade of the die-casting foundry as part of a European rationalisation programme. Whilst not creating more jobs this preserved the operation's employment of 80 workers and expanded capacity to supply components to other European subsidiaries.<sup>162</sup> Investment also saw a "High Technology Unit" open at Newhouse in late 1979 which would produce two new printed circuit boards and constitute "the most up to data electronics production unit in Europe." However, tensions within Honeywell's corporate structure meant that the cost of the investment had to be presented as minimal in order to maintain support from US shareholders. The project did not entail significant R&D development either.<sup>163</sup> Neither did it stem the pattern of declining employment; by 1979 both the Uddingston and Bellshill plants had closed as production was concentrated at Newhouse which employed just over 1,400 workers, down from a peak of 3,866.<sup>164</sup>

The ongoing vulnerability of the plant to economic shocks and its continued role as largely providing additional production capacity which can be readily cut back was confirmed in 2009 when 80 of the workforce of around 1,000 were made redundant due to the impact of recession. Honeywell's Corporate Communications Manager for Europe, Middle East and Africa, Zekie Dennehy, rationalised this decision by emphasising Newhouse's status as a plant where employment regularly fluctuated with demand cycles: "This is normal ongoing business practice to ensure we optimise our manufacturing operations and keep costs down in line with expected demands."<sup>165</sup> Thus, the political

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<sup>161</sup> NRS/SEP/4/1629 J.H. McGuinness note for Mr Fraser and Mr Hendry 'Honeywell' SDD, Edinburgh date.4<sup>th</sup> March 1971; SEP/4/1629/press cuttings 'Honeywell Giants in Scotland' *Glasgow Herald* 19/4/1972.

<sup>162</sup> NRS/SEP/4/4075 5 'Application for Assistance under the Non Ferrous Foundry Scheme Honeywell Limited', SEPD date.24<sup>th</sup> April 1979.

<sup>163</sup> NRS/SEP/4/4075/11 G. Skelton 'File Note: Honeywell Limited, Newhouse Meeting at Newhouse 10 Jan 1979' SEPD date. 15<sup>th</sup> January 1979; 26 23/5/79 SEP 4/4075/26 J. Thomson 'File Note: Honeywell Process and Control Newhouse, Motherwell' SEPD date.26<sup>th</sup> May 1979.

<sup>164</sup> NRS/SEP/4/3706/1 A comparative Study of Corporate strategies of Manufacturing MNEs Operating in High Levels of Regional Assistance in UK and Eire (1980) annex B, annex F and annex G; NRS/SEP/4/1629 Department of Employment 'Honeywell Limited: Outline of Scottish Operations and Manpower Detail' (1974)

<sup>165</sup> Andrew McGilvary, '80 More Jobs go as Honeywell is Hit by the Credit Crunch' *Hamilton Advertiser* 15/1/2009 < <http://www.hamiltonadvertiser.co.uk/news/local-news/hamilton-news/2009/01/15/80-jobs-to-go-as-honeywell-is-hit-by-credit-crunch-51525-22694825/> > [accessed 20/7/2013].



economy embedded by the modernisation effort did not provide sustained economic development. Rather than a fulfilment of the promised replacement of coal and steel jobs with more productive and economically rewarding employment, intensified deindustrialisation occurred through divestment in the sectors brought in through regional policy. However, they did provide employment in modern manufacturing sectors over the period when coal contraction was at its post-Second World War peak.

Scottish subsidiaries remained dependent on corporate headquarters that allocated markets and product mandates, seen most contentiously at Sunbeam but also in the barriers to product development at Burroughs. Even within the most successful of the subsidiaries investigated, Honeywell, employment significantly declined and production was concentrated at one site over the 1970s whilst the plant remained dependent on its parent's R&D and products despite seeing investment in production facilities. Significantly, there were also cases of R&D in Lanarkshire subsidiaries, including Motorola, Sunbeam and Burroughs whilst Honeywell also had employment in complex technical processes. This lends support to the perspective that although reliance on FDI created a dependent relationship between the Scottish economy and externally controlled capital, this was within an international division of labour in which Scotland achieved a greater, but still limited, role in advanced industrial activities than developing economies.<sup>166</sup> Subsidiaries' lack of autonomy, especially at Burroughs and Sunbeam, undermined developmental potential. This presents a qualified support for the 'branch plant syndrome' thesis, verifying that Scottish subsidiaries' development was hampered by the pressures of external control but also indicating their dependent status was not pre-determined. The potential for developmental outcomes was visible in capability development and product mandate successes but further progress was undermined by core management decisions.

## Conclusion

Lanarkshire played a key role in plans for Scottish economic and social rejuvenation. Through the managed decline of its coal industry from the 1940s onwards and subsequently receiving two New Towns, as well as the development of the strip mill at Ravenscraig, and manufacturing inward investment, it was at the forefront of broader developments taking place across Scotland. The New Towns' connection with the Glasgow overspill and development of MNE subsidiary employment

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<sup>166</sup> Jeffrey Henderson, *Semiconductors, Scotland and the International Division of Labour* (Glasgow: Centre for Urban and Regional Research, University of Glasgow, 1987) pp.5-6; Alan Sinclair, 'The Multinational Phenomenon', in *Scotland, Multinationals and the Third World* ed. by Stephen Maxwell (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1982) pp.73-5; John Firn, 'Multinationals, Scotland, and the Third World: The Changing Reality', in *Scotland, Multinationals and the Third World* ed. by Stephen Maxwell (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1982) pp.84-5 Alistair Young, 'Foreign Direct Investment in Scotland: The Silicon Glen Experience', in *Regional and Local Economies: Towards a Comparative Study of Scotland and Upper Silesia* ed. by George Blazyca (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2003) p.173.

placed Lanarkshire at the heart of the transformation of the Clydeside regional economy. This included the shift towards externally owned light industry and the accompanying rise in women's employment. Through these developments, heavy industrial contraction was combined with reindustrialisation and social reconstruction. It was a process led by regional policy with combined economic and social goals. From the 1940s to 1960s aims shifted from diversification to economic growth based on the redeployment of labour from heavy industry to more productive employment in light engineering. The process of passive revolution from above saw industrial diversification achieved through the state acting as a key nodal point to facilitate the entrance of externally controlled capital. A network of state-policy makers and the 'modernising' fraction of capital through the SCDI formed a historic bloc that achieved hegemony for its vision of development through inward investment. However, broad political ascent to modernisation through inward investment was contingent on the provision of labour market security and policy-makers being seen to meet social responsibilities towards areas experiencing closures in heavy industry. Civil servants implementing regional policy despite ostensibly accepting the aim of establishing "zones of growth" through "complexes" of agglomerations of plants continued to work towards ameliorating localised unemployment. As pressure grew with rising unemployment these choices in geographical priorities for investment were constricted as policy reverted to prioritising employment during the late 1960s and into the 1970s.

The incapacity of subsidiaries to provide expanding stable employment into the 1970s combined with the ongoing contraction of heavy industry fuelled opposition. This spurred a devolutionary based labour movement argument for the moving of political power to Scotland in order to regain control over economic development. As regional policy failed to maintain pace with job losses in heavy industry, demands for further industrial renewal including investment in the preservation of a heavy industrial base, were intertwined with support for political devolution through a Scottish assembly. A second wave of deindustrialisation over the late 1970s and 1980s flouted earlier promises of stable employment in assembly goods industries that the community and workforce's acceptance of pit closures had been predicated on. The next chapter shifts focus from the top-down policy approach, centring on arguments at a Scottish and UK level, to a coalfield community and workforce-oriented moral economy perspective. It centres on responses to colliery closures and their customary legitimisation. This develops the themes of policy-maker obligations towards the provision of employment, and the NUMSA's initial acceptance of coal closures between the 1940s and mid-1960s followed by a growing discontent with the erosion of heavy industrial employment from the late 1960s.

## Chapter 2 The Moral Economy of the Coalfields and the Management of Deindustrialisation

### Introduction

This chapter builds upon the perspective on the Scottish economy between the 1940s and 1980s outlined in the previous chapter to illuminate workforce and community responses to contracting coalfield employment in Lanarkshire. It develops the analysis of policy-makers assuming responsibility for employment provision in communities affected by heavy industry job losses through a detailed examination of how the NCB managed colliery closures over the four decades. The analysis emphasises the basis that these practices had within the coalfield moral economy's popular customs and expectations of economic security. Nationalisation in 1947 and the building of a system of 'industrial citizenship' marked a significant departure from the industrial relations which prevailed under private ownership. These were characterised by instability and often antagonistic relations between coal owners and trade unions. The changes in the industry's management associated with nationalisation are understood as part of Polanyi's 'Great Transformation' of capitalism following the Second World War through the social democratic effort to embed the economy into society. Specifically they are analysed as part of an attempt "to take labour out of the market" through the decommodification of labour power by enhancing the role of the state and trade unions in determining wages and conditions.<sup>1</sup> This develops the themes of the previous chapter. Policy-makers' acceptance of responsibility for providing employment, and containing labour market instability, serves as the framework for understanding trade union and community responses to coalfield contraction. This centred on expectations that closures would be legitimated by consultation and the provision of alternative employment for the workforce. The shifts in labour attitudes towards declining heavy industrial employment considered in the last chapter are given more detailed examination through an analysis of mounting opposition to closures during the 1960s, and the renegotiation of the coalfield moral economy through energy policy changes during the early 1970s.

The moral economy of coalfield deindustrialisation was constructed within a Polanyian framework characterised by the effort to contain the worst excesses of labour market instability created by the Scottish industry's transition to a diversified structure discussed in the previous chapter. It had roots in the collective memory of mass unemployment, and class conflict during the interwar period, and the promises of social justice associated with nationalisation. These were articulated through customary expectations which ensured that the worst effects of pit closures were managed to minimise distress. The moral economy was shaped by an emphasis on the social responsibility of policy-makers to provide alternative employment when collieries were closed. In particular, that the

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Time* (1944; reprint Boston, MA : Beacon Press, 2001) p.258.

threat to community cohesion posed by large-scale joblessness would be alleviated. This chapter overviews the conceptual evolution of moral economy approaches before discussing the development of a moral economy of Scottish coalfield deindustrialisation through geographical and chronologically related Lanarkshire case studies of colliery closures. The case studies consist of three sub-areas of the Lanarkshire coalfield. The first is of the 'Eastern Periphery' of Lanarkshire around Shotts which experienced major closures from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s in conjunction with NCB migration schemes, an experience which constituted a formative period for the moral economy. The second is of the 'Southern Area' around Lesmahagow and Lanark. This area of the coalfield was progressively run down between the mid-1950s and early 1970s, during a period when moral economy expectations of alternative employment provision and transfers for miners were broadly met. The third case study is the Northern Core, the area at the heart of the coalfield which underwent extensive economic closures during the 1960s, before stabilising in the 1970s, and then undergoing final closure during the 1980s as industrial relations were overhauled by a management with a renewed focus on financial costs and aggressive anti-trade unionism.

Moral economy analysis has its origins in E.P. Thompson's "moral economy of the English crowd", discernible in eighteenth century riots directed against the liberalisation of foodstuffs marketing. These actions were "legitimated by the old paternalist moral economy" which resisted the commodification of bread. The crowd defended and enforced customary practices of open market selling through disciplined direct action, including price setting at below supply and demand levels. These activities shaped by a moral economy consciousness which "taught the immortality of any unfair method of forcing up the price of provision by profiteering upon the necessities of the people."<sup>2</sup> Thompson's analysis underlined the role of "custom, culture and reason", with regard to methods deployed to protect communities from disruption by market forces. He emphasised the crowd's efforts to secure traditional social obligations. On occasion the crowd was supported by paternalist patrician officials who acknowledged custom by setting prices and enforced open market selling, especially in times of food shortages.<sup>3</sup> Thompson later summarised his conception of the moral economy at a theoretical level. It centred on claims of "non-monetary rights" to resources predicated on "community membership [which] supersedes price as a basis of entitlement."<sup>4</sup> The moral economy of the coalfield also had a basis in popular custom and expectation but related to the provision of industrial employment within the nationalised industry rather than food consumption. This similarly centred on an interpretation of the social responsibilities of elites, NCB officials and government policy-makers, to provide security against economic instability and fulfil the nationalised industry's

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<sup>2</sup> E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Middlesex: Pelican, 1968) paperback edition pp.67-72.

<sup>3</sup> E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd', pp.77-79, 95-6.

<sup>4</sup> E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London: Merlin, 1991) pp.338-9.

promise of worker 'voice' through consultation with trade unions. Phillips and Perchard defined this as:

Joint regulation, through agreement between managers and union representatives, of workplace affairs, including pit closures, job transfers, substantial alterations to production and the labour process; and guaranteed economic security, so that miners displaced by colliery closures could find equally well-remunerated alternative employment, at other pits or elsewhere in industry.<sup>5</sup>

Randall and Charlesworth's analysis states moral economy is "as much about the negotiation of power as about actual rights"; the ability and willingness of the crowd and authorities to enforce their demands and views of the other's obligations.<sup>6</sup> The moral economy of the coalfields was strongly shaped by the ability or otherwise of workers and communities to enforce their perspective of policy-makers' social responsibilities. As discussed within the case studies, this was particularly apparent in the renegotiation of the moral economy between the late 1960s and early 1970s when miners used the heightened market power of coal to renegotiate the moral economy through a series of major industrial disputes. These actions were shaped by a perspective which held that the NCB was failing to meet its obligations to provide adequate economic rewards and secure employment given miners' relatively low earnings and the incremental impact of colliery closures. The experience of the 1980s, when the NCB dismantled the structures of joint regulation upon which the moral economy was constructed, most openly revealed conceptions of collieries and the employment they sustained as a community resource. The scale of the defeat in the 1984-5 miners' strike, which was triggered by the NCB's removal of the structures of joint regulation and imposition of an accelerated closure programme, triggered the dissolution of the moral economy. Thus, during the 1980s miners were unable to enforce their conception of policy-makers' social responsibilities.<sup>7</sup>

This chapter extends the scope of the moral economy of the coalfields via an investigation of the forces which shaped consciousness within mining communities towards viewing collieries as a social resource held through a 'non-monetary right', and the customs through which the moral economy operated. It begins by considering the historical roots the moral economy had in nineteenth and early twentieth century efforts by the state, employers, and organised labour, to limit the worst excesses of a liberalised labour market, and to ensure the strategically important coal industry had a ready supply of

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<sup>5</sup> Andrew Perchard and Jim Phillips, 'Transgressing the Moral Economy: Wheelerism and Management of the Nationalised Coal Industry in Scotland', *Contemporary British History* vol.25 (3) (2011) p.389.

<sup>6</sup> Adrian Randall and Andrew Charlesworth, 'The Moral Economy: Riots, Markets and Social Conflict', in *Popular Protest: Crowds, Conflict and Authority* ed. by Adrian Randall and Andrew Charlesworth (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000) pp.20-23.

<sup>7</sup> Martin Adeney and John Lloyd, *The Miners' Strike: 1984-5: Loss without Limit* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1986) vii.

workers. The operation of market forces was regulated due to the economy's overwhelming reliance on coal into the mid-twentieth century. This was not limited to workplace matters; the often relatively isolated location of mining communities and their dependency upon the industry laid the foundation for the strength of both paternalist and collectivist practices through which conflicts between labour and capital were fought in the interwar coalfields.

The failure of the privately owned industry to provide employment stability moulded the expectations associated with the management of contraction after nationalisation in 1947. Moves towards a system of industrial relations based on consultation with an emphasis on social goals which took place under nationalisation are considered. The promises associated with nationalisation, especially of increased worker 'voice' through consultative mechanisms incorporating with trade unions, shaped the moral economy and the NUMSA's emphasis on consultation within colliery closure processes. Focus then shifts to an investigation of the more specific issues surrounding pit closure and customs relating to redundancy and transfers employed to minimise community dislocation. The analysis is based on oral testimonies from respondents whose personal memories include the interwar period, and many who had an extended family history in Lanarkshire mining communities, as well as NCB documents and correspondence. It draws upon the minutes of CCC meetings which were held before pit closures with the input of NCB, trade union and workforce representatives.

The benefits of an awareness of local distinctions and traditions at community and colliery level have been recognised in the historiography of British coal mining.<sup>8</sup> This approach is deployed in chronologically based case studies which analyse temporal and geographical contingencies within the operation of the moral economy. An examination of closure, migration and community focuses on the 'Eastern Periphery' area of Lanarkshire from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s with a focus on the operation of the NCB's migration scheme to other Scottish coalfields. The role of this experience as a formative episode of the moral economy is considered in its cementation of arguments for locally based employment, either through pit transfers or in alternative industries, which the NUMSA maintained thereafter. This indicates elements of tension between the NUMSA's role in representing the interests of geographically bounded communities and its initial support for comprehensive redevelopment of the Scottish coalfield, including accepting sustained contraction in Lanarkshire in return for investment elsewhere.

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<sup>8</sup> Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'South Wales Miners' Attitudes Towards Nationalization: An Essay in Oral History', *Llafur* vol.6 (3) (1993) p.78; Hester Barron, *The 1926 Miners' Lockout: Meanings of Community in the Durham Coalfield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.54; Roy Church and Quentin Outram, *Strikes and Solidarity: Coalfield Conflict in Britain, 1889-1966* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp.133-136; Alan Campbell, *The Scottish Miners, 1874-1939 volume one: Industry, Work and Community* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) pp.376-377.

These themes are further illuminated in the study of the Southern Area, entailing Lesmahagow, Lanark, and the relatively isolated mining villages of South Lanarkshire, from the mid-1950s to late 1960s. Here, the expectation of local workforce redeployment was broadly met, but within a widened locale of extended travel to work distances. The third case studies considers the renegotiation of the moral economy through mounting community and trade union objections to closures over the 1960s and early 1970s, with a focus on the Northern Core where coal employment was maintained for longest. The NCB's abandonment of moral economy obligations during the 1980s is analysed in relation to the closure of the last two collieries in Lanarkshire, Bedlay and Cardowan.

The analysis of the three subareas provides an original contribution towards understanding the factors that shaped the management of Scottish coalfield contraction and its regional policy ramifications. Emphasis is placed on the experience of the increasing remoteness of control which created a clash of worldviews, and underlined Scottish distinctiveness, by disempowering often sympathetic local managers in favour of more socially and geographically distant NCB officials in London. This became a recurring factor as the NCB was progressively centralised as the coalfield contracted, which was particularly marked in the 1967 reorganisation which removed the Scottish Divisional Board and made NCB Areas directly answerable to the London headquarters at Hobart House.<sup>9</sup> The failure of migration schemes and policy-makers' willingness to 'move work to the workers' discussed in relation to the Eastern Periphery, which then achieved general application, builds on the framework outlined in the first chapter. The second and third case studies underline the importance of moral economy concerns relating to preserving colliery employment and the value of NCB promises of job security in the renegotiation of energy policy during the period of heightened industrial relations conflict in the late 1960s and early 1970. This gives a specific coalfield focus to the more general climate of objection to falling heavy industrial employment and demands for devolution which challenged the hegemony of the modernisers discussed in the first chapter

### **Foundations of the Moral Economy**

This section outlines the historical roots of the moral economy of the coalfields. The memory of mass unemployment and social dislocation during the interwar period is emphasised in relation to how these experiences shaped expectations of the nationalised industry. Nationalisation was understood as a major shift from the priorities which guided the industry under private ownership. This included an emphasis on joint administration and management-union consultation, as well as improved pay and conditions, a prioritisation of improved safety standards, and greater employment security. There was an extent of continuity in the expectations attached to state intervention. The moral economy had a

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<sup>9</sup> Robert S. Halliday, *The Disappearing Scottish Colliery: A Personal View of some aspects of Scotland's Coal Industry since Nationalisation* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990) p.7.

link to the social relations of the private but regulated coal industry of the early twentieth century. It was strengthened in the context of greater union bargaining power, public ownership, and the “redistribution of social esteem” in favour of the industrial working class after the Second World War, but had roots pre-dating 1914.<sup>10</sup>

Coal mining was a significant site of the “counter-movement” to laissez-faire economics. Polanyi theorised industrialisation and capitalist production as the “great transformation” of human history: “Instead of the economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system.” Traditional “safeguards”, such as the customs of locally organised markets defended by Thompson’s ‘crowd’, were swept aside by Smithian political economy.<sup>11</sup> However, the disembedding of the economy met a response in a “countermovement checking the [market’s] expansion in definite directions.” This centred on resistance to the commodification of money, land and labour, which as resources essential to society whose survival were endangered by the encroachment of market relations, are “fictitious” commodities. Thus, workers organised through trade union organisation and social democratic parties, served “a wider interest than their own” in struggles necessitated because “the organisation of capitalist production itself had to be sheltered from the devastating effects of a self-regulating market.”<sup>12</sup>

Coal mining provides an archetypal example of the double movement, given the involvement of state regulation and employers as well as organised labour in “the clash of the organizing principles of economic liberalism and social protection”, through interaction with “the conflict of classes”.<sup>13</sup> The dangers present in the industry combined with social norms to encourage early legislation of the industry such as the 1842 Mines Act which regulated the labour market by prohibiting women and boys under the age of ten from working underground.<sup>14</sup> By the early twentieth century this had passed into other areas including health and safety and the length of the working day. The state legislated for minimum conditions which were highly contested by the coal owners and trade unions.<sup>15</sup> Legislation also related to the strategic importance of coal as a fuel source upon which the rest of the economy’s functioning was dependent. Fine concluded that the “central position” of coal within British industry contributed to state intervention, including the setting of prices in the interwar period, and led to a

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<sup>10</sup> Ross McKibbin, *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) p.291.

<sup>11</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, pp.60-65.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.136.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p.140.

<sup>14</sup> ‘The 1842 Act’ *Scottish Mining* <<http://www.scottishmining.co.uk/388.html>> [accessed 21/7/2014].

<sup>15</sup> Roy Church, ‘Employers, Trade Unions and the State, 1889-1987: The Origins and Decline of Tripartism in the British Coal Industry’, in *Workers, Owners and Politics in Coal Mining: An International Comparison of Industrial Relations* ed.by Gerald D Feldman and Klaus Tenfelde (New York: Berg, 1990) p.28; Arthur J McIvor, *A History of Work in Britain, 1880-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001) p.133.



situation whereby conventionally understood “capitalist relations of production had been eroded.”<sup>16</sup> This pattern of organisation set a precedent for the managed contraction of the industry under nationalisation.

An understanding of the central economic role that coal played was articulated in the oral testimonies gathered in researching this thesis. Billy Maxwell, who worked at Cardowan colliery between 1957 and 1979, after being raised in a mining family in Muirhead, North Lanarkshire, stated that, “miners for centuries, as I said to you before, were fuelling the industry ae Great Britain. They were the most important ingredient in the making of wealth.” Earlier in the interview he claimed that “deep mining in the industrial revolution financed the world we have today”, and underlined this was “at the cost ae a lot of miners.” An awareness of the true ‘price of coal’, juxtaposing arguments relating to financial costs to that of lost miners’ lives, was compounded by the view miners did not abuse their power, “the miners could ae held the country to ransom at that time [, during the 1950s] and didnae dae it cause they were too decent a people.”<sup>17</sup> A sense of coal’s social and economic importance was combined with an awareness of the dangers endured by the workforce. This furthered a moral economy perspective based on the obligation of the state to reciprocate the “decent” conduct of miners.

Social relations in coal mining extended beyond the workplace given coal communities were often geographically remote, which created a dependence upon employers for housing and social amenities before nationalisation. Within the Scottish coalfields the most pronounced example of paternalism was at the Lothian Coal Company in Newtongrange. The manager, Mungo Mackay, utilised the company’s ownership of the housing stock and its domination of the local labour market to implement a regime of social control resting on connections with the local police force and religious organisations.<sup>18</sup> Ackers identified mining villages as localities where “paternalism linked work and community” through employers’ dual authority over male breadwinner employment and welfare functions. This rested upon “kinship networks, which are embedded in a surrounding occupational community, isolated from major metropolitan industrial centres.”<sup>19</sup> Campbell argues such practises were present within secluded Lanarkshire mining localities with small pits such as Larkhall. He counterpoised such areas with the central Clyde Valley where the “large and more mobile population of the district” was less constrained and able to assert independence through a “collectivist village culture”. This centred on a strong associational life which mobilised opposition to the victimisation of

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<sup>16</sup> Ben Fine, *The Coal Question: Political Economy and Industrial Change from the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 1990) xi-xiii, 174.

<sup>17</sup> Moodiesburn Focus Group, The Pivot Community Centre, Moodiesburn, 25<sup>th</sup> March 2014.

<sup>18</sup> Ian MacDougall, *Mungo Mackay and the Green Table: Newtongrange Miners Remember* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995) pp.150-2.

<sup>19</sup> Peter Ackers, ‘On Paternalism: Seven Observations on the Uses and Abuses of the Concept in Industrial Relations, Past and Present’, *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* vol.5 (1998) pp.176-8.

trade unionists through sackings and evictions.<sup>20</sup> Such events entered collective memory and shaped perceptions of the injustices associated with the private industry. Bolton's collection of stories from the Lanarkshire coalfields includes instances of resistance to bailiffs from workers who were tenants in company houses in the Eddlewood and Cadzow miners' rows in Hamilton during strikes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>21</sup>

The testimonies for this thesis contained memories of antagonism and dependency which combined in moral economy claims on stable employment. Perspectives were influenced by a powerful cultural circuit of coalfield memory, through which historical narratives conditioned personal recollections. The dominant view of cultural circuits within oral history literature has emphasised the role of influential narratives emanating from nation-building myths, the state and mass media. However, Alistair Thomson has argued that hegemonic historical narratives can be challenged by alternatives that appeal to the experience and ideological inclination of "particular publics".<sup>22</sup> Within the testimonies, understandings of the past were shaped by family and community stories and mythology, as well as the influenced of politicised coalfield narratives popularised by the NUMSA.<sup>23</sup> The "conceptual and definitional effects" of the cultural circuit framed the interviewees' experiences through an understanding of history which emphasised the injustices of the private industry and the legacy of mobilisation and struggle.<sup>24</sup> These fused into a perspective which connected individual and collective historical experiences from the early twentieth century, up to the final closure of deep mining in Lanarkshire, and the 1984-5 miners' strike.<sup>25</sup> This allowed respondents to compose life-stories which placed their experience within a wider industry and community narrative.

Jessie Clark grew up a mining family in the coalfield village of Douglas Water, an isolated mining village in the far south of Lanarkshire, during the 1920s and 1930s. Her testimony revealed the complexity of both the reliance upon the pre-1947 Coltness Iron Company and the strength of the collective oppositional culture within Douglas Water. She recalled the company's employment practices as punishing trade unionists and socialists such as her father and encouraging social divisions within the village:

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<sup>20</sup> Alan Campbell, *The Scottish Miners, 1874-1939 volume one*, p.277, 289.

<sup>21</sup> Wilma S. Bolton, *Black Faces and Tackety Boots: True Stories from the Coal Mines of Lanarkshire* second edition (Blantyre: Wilma Bolton, 2007) p.117, 129-131.

<sup>22</sup> Alistair Thomson, 'Anzac Memories: Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practice in Australia', in *The Oral History Reader* ed. by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge, 1998) p.301.

<sup>23</sup> Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.68.

<sup>24</sup> Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998) p.14.

<sup>25</sup> A. Green and K.. Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) p.234.

My father was a union man and during the '30s when I was growing up my father was unemployed quite a lot, you know it was a question of first out, you know, last in. And I have no doubt I have no doubt, eh, there were people who, eh, I'm afraid there's two things that, the enemies, that my father always talked about was the likes of the landowners and the Masonic Lodge.<sup>26</sup>

Dependency was cemented by tied company housing. This functioned to ensure the workforce remained in the village during periods of unemployment, whilst also accruing debts to the company which were dealt with via a scheme of repayment upon regaining employment. Jessie also mentioned the provision of electricity to the houses by the company but was keen to stress the poverty and insecurity that these conditions enforced on her family. This included the perceived pettiness of law enforcement against the collection of coal from bings, which was a common activity for female family members when male breadwinners were unemployed and even subsidised company coal was unaffordable. Jessie concluded these memories of dependency on and antagonism towards the Coltness Iron Company by stating that in Douglas Water “everything was very much tied up with that colliery y’know.”<sup>27</sup>

These comments are indicative of Ackers’ view that there was “always a wide gap between the ambitions of paternalism as an employer strategy and its realization in worker deference”; given the “limits of paternalism” company culture was never a Foucauldian “‘total’ institution”.<sup>28</sup> Thus, concurrent with McKinlay and Starkey’s conclusion on studies of paternalist industrial relations, practices were “contested”, with the company’s hegemony challenged at both a workplace and community level.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps indicative of her background as a CPGB activist, along with her father and husband, Jessie claimed Douglas Water was a “Little Moscow” with a socialist associational political culture. Paralleling Stuart McIntyre’s description of other ‘Little Moscovs’, including the Fife mining village of Lumphinans, Douglas Water was a single industry settlement where work and residency patterns coalesced to cement a strong “localised group loyalty.” In both cases industrial relations characterised by anti-union employers and Communist-led industrial activism were present.<sup>30</sup> Community self-organisation and antipathy between employer and workforce was evident in the wide ranging social activities of the village that were run from the Miners’ Welfare and, “Had

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<sup>26</sup> Jessie Clark, interview with author, residence, Broddock, 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ackers, ‘On Paternalism’ p.180; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* trans. by Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1975) p.145.

<sup>29</sup> Alan McKinlay and Ken Starkey, ‘Managing Foucault: Foucault, Management and Organization Theory’, in *Foucault, Management and Organization Theory: From Panopticon to Technologies of Self* ed. by Alan McKinlay and Ken Starkey (London: Sage, 1998) p.8.

<sup>30</sup> Stuart McIntyre, *Little Moscovs: Communism and Working-Class Militancy in Interwar Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1980) pp.176-178.

sweet nothing to do with the people that owned the pits but it was the miners themselves you took the initiative to, eh, create these different organisations you know, eh, you could have a very busy life in that wee village.”<sup>31</sup>

Jessie understood nationalisation as a social advance and a victory in class struggle terms. It entailed “getting rid of the coal owners and there was going to be a bit more democracy you know within the the, eh, working area.” Politically, “at least there wasn’t some eh lazy so-and-so drawin the money from your, the interest from your labour”, but material gains were also expected. Alongside an end to intermittent employment, improvements were anticipated in other areas such as health and safety as well as in the social outlook of the management of the industry following the brutality of the private industry. When Jessie’s husband’s brother was killed in Douglas Castle colliery aged 16, before nationalisation, and when her husband went to collect his pay the company “chopped off half a shift they only paid for that half shift that he worked that day that he got killed. And he, his mother, got compensation of 25 pounds for that boy’s life.”<sup>32</sup>

Family memories of injustices within the private industry were mentioned by respondents who lack Jessie’s direct connection with the interwar period. For instance Mick McGahey, the son of the trade union leader of the same name, recalled how victimisation uprooted his father and grandfather’s family from their community and prevented them from settling stably elsewhere:

My father was born in Shotts, my family was born in Shotts, and once eh they moved fae pit tae pit cause miners were like gypsies. At that time the pits were owned by coal owners, werenae nationalised. So in my grandfather’s day, eh, y’know, they moved when they were victimised. My grandfather was involved in the 1926 general strike, he got sent to jail, he did six month in the jail. My grandmother got evicted, family oot the pit owner’s hoose, and they ended up in Kent, and they moved aboot the coalfields in England, and eventually came back to Scotland and settled in Cambuslang.<sup>33</sup>

Mick’s testimony exemplifies Campbell’s “genealogies of victimisation and radicalism”, which reinforced the moral economy view of coalfield employment as a community resource struggled for in decades of mobilisation. Mick’s father was victimised when involved in a strike at Gateside, Cambuslang, in 1943, and he himself was sacked by the NCB during the 1984-5 miners’ strike when he was employed as a surface worker at Bilston Glen, Midlothian.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Jessie Clark, interview.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Mick McGahey, interview with author, Royal Edinburgh Hospital, 31<sup>st</sup> March 2014.

<sup>34</sup> Mick McGahey, interview; Alan Campbell, ‘Scotland’, in *Industrial Politics and the 1926 Mining Lockout: The Struggle for Dignity* ed. by John McIlroy, Alan Campbell, Keith Gildart (Cardiff: University of

Alongside victimisation, stories of industrial accidents and injuries were present in many testimonies. Tommy Cannavan, who was born into a mining family in Croy, North Lanarkshire, in 1947 recalled the inter-generational transmission of the cultural circuit. Tommy stated that during the 1950s and 1960s “I used to hear aw the old men talkin’ aboot what they endured eh... the private coal industry”. These stories were also passed on within families, in a similar vein to Jessie Clark’s memory of her husband’s brother’s death in an industrial accident, Tommy recollected the injustice that occurred when his wife’s grandfather died at Currymire near Kilsyth, in North Lanarkshire, and his family still had to pay a penny to the company as rent for the lamp he had used.<sup>35</sup> The effect that injury and connected unemployment had on miners was emphasised by Peter Downie who was raised in a mining family in Greengairs, North Lanarkshire, before starting work at the local colliery of Glentore. His father was involved in an accident at Bedlay colliery in 1938 and not provided with either adequate social security or work to suit his condition. As a result, his family grew up in poverty and he was “raised on the parish”. In Peter’s view this was part of a broader history of economic insecurity suffered by miners:

When you go and take your history from the 1840s the 1840s onwards they were living in deprivation. The miners were living in deprivation because the situation was that they couldnae feed the weans that they haved and they were living in wooden shackles shacks stane flares and the weans had rickets born weakness and the people who helped them was very very little. The coal owners gave them nothing.

He summed this up in another discussion by stating that “up to 1947 the men were living in deprivation”.<sup>36</sup>

The testimonies demonstrate the moral economy was shaped by a history of family and community dislocation associated with the private industry, and the industrial relations tensions of the interwar period. The inclusion of references to conditions mineworkers experienced in the first half of the nineteenth century is indicative of a cultural circuit which extended beyond familial experience. The NUMSA’s emphasis on political education popularised this understanding of history via publications including R. Page Arnot’s 1955 *A History of the Scottish Miners*. Arnot foregrounded the miners’ “record of suffering and of heroic struggle against the soulless mine-owner”, including the efforts to abolish serfdom which was achieved in 1799, which could be interpreted as an inaugural point in the

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Wales press, 2009) pp.184-5; . John McIlroy and Alan Campbell, “McGahey, Michael (Mick), (1925–1999),” in *Dictionary of Labour Biography. Volume XIII* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), ed. Keith Gildart and David Howell, 242–51.

<sup>35</sup> Tommy Canavan, interview with author, residence, Kilsyth, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2014.

<sup>36</sup> Moodiesburn Focus Group.

double movement by acting to liberalise employment within Scottish coal mining. He also detailed the conditions of the early industrial revolution period, using quotations from the 1840 Children's Employment Commission to detail the horrific conditions in which children as young as seven years old worked up to thirteen hours per day.<sup>37</sup> Thus, personal, familial and community experiences were reinforced by an awareness of a longer mining history in shaping the demands placed upon the nationalised industry. These centred on the call for a more humanised system of industrial relations, in particular dealing with matters of health and safety. In terms of the management of contraction, employment stability and community cohesion were prized. This related to the dependency of communities upon employment in the industry and housing that was tied to it, furthering the expectation of consultation, or in Jessie Clark words, "more democracy", in the making of decision over the future of the industry. Thus, awareness of a long history tying occupational, family and personal experiences moulded the popular expectations of labour market security and policy-maker obligation to legitimate colliery closures by providing alternative employment discussed in the previous chapter.

### **The Nationalised Industry**

The nationalisation of coal was part of the 'Great Transformation' of developed capitalist societies after the Second World War. From a Polanyian perspective, "social control was restored over the economy", as the objectives of full employment and social security underpinned an enhanced role for state intervention.<sup>38</sup> In all the interviews nationalisation was viewed as a major achievement which signified a victory in granting miners independence from the coal owners and securing improvements in pay and conditions. Ashworth stated in the official history of the nationalised industry that the priorities miners accorded public ownership were "first and foremost a guarantee of a better working life" was verified by testimonies from those with direct memories of the changes associated with nationalisation.<sup>39</sup> The comments from a focus group in Shotts demonstrate this in a commonly held association between public ownership and both improved remuneration and health and safety standards:

Ewan Gibbs: How did nationalisation change things?

Betty Turnwood: The Coal Board.

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<sup>37</sup> R. Page Arnot, *A History of the Scottish Miners: From the Earliest Times* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955) p.12, 20-28.

<sup>38</sup> Kari Polanyi Levitt, *From the Great Transformation to the Great Financialization: On Karl Polanyi and Other Essays* (London: Zed Books, 2013) p.100.

<sup>39</sup> Ashworth, *The History of the British Coal Industry volume 5*, p.129.

Willie Hamilton: It improved the miners' conditions tremendously y'know. As I say it was practically slavish y'know wi the private owners then you had a bit of independence after that. The money wisnae great mind you it could have been better but eh but eh I think.

Ella Muir: Did you have more security?

Willie Hamilton: Very much more. And as I said they opened new pits and that the miners moved away.

Bill Paris: It became safer as well.

Willie Hamilton: The safety side aw the mines was greatly improved ,especially the support in the roofs and so forth. With the private owner he skimped on the material used to support the roof but when the Coal Board come in they upgraded everything.<sup>40</sup>

In similar terms Willie Allison from Bellshill, who later moved within Lanarkshire to Plains, recalled his father's unemployment and his family's poverty and migration between mining villages during the interwar period. With a near fatalistic sentiment stated, that when "Nationalisation came aboot it was the greatest thing that ever happened tae miners." He went onto elaborate that this was connected to improvements in material wellbeing and linked it to the broader social democratic measures taken by the post-Second World War Labour government:

They were completely dependent on the coal owners probably in the same way the steelworkers were completely dependent on the steel owners. And nationalisation was brought in by the first socialist government the Labour Party in 1948, '47, '48. And really that was a big a big, big, thing for the working class movement. Because we had come back fae the Second World War, and the two wars cost the country. We couldnae imagine how much it cost the country, and in between times they never really survived the cost ae the first one before the second one started. So when it came tae the 1940s everything was eh on coupons, you were, it was hard times for everybody, these two wars had to be paid for. It was right up through the fifties before you actually could get credit for anything, in they days you had to save for. Hoover came out in 1950 and I can always remember my Auntie Annie getting a hoover and I can always remember that was the first hoover I'd ever seen. She saved up her

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<sup>40</sup> Shotts Focus Group, Nithsdale Sheltered Housing Complex, Shotts, 4th March 2014.

money buy it. The Labour Party at that time fae 1945 tae 1951 instigated a lot ae getting things better y'know and nationalisation was one ae them.<sup>41</sup>

These improvements in conditions and living standards were accompanied by employment practices which emphasised social priorities. For example the NCB provided employment suitable for men with learning difficulties and those who had been disabled during industrial accidents. Pat Egan, who grew followed his father into coal mining employment by starting at Bedlay during the late 1970s recalled:

Pat Egan: There also at that time that you looked you employed quite an amount ae people wi learning disabilities and stuff that wouldnae of got work elsewhere ehm they would be employed in the surface or the baths they were mentored or coached but I mean they got a job and it gied them a bit ae a feeling ae self-worth, a wee bit of boost to their confidence and they were looked after basically by the community. Very looked after. Quite a few people who had Down syndrome and stuff but they were always looked after.

Ewan Gibbs: Did that extend to people that got physical disabilities in coal mines?

Pat Egan: Eh, no they became management \*both laugh\*

Ewan Gibbs: Seriously?

Pat Egan: Seriously. Aye they used to get taken on in the training department. When you done your underground training they used to frighten the life oot o you! I think there was ten instructors at Calderhead which was next to Shotts. I think there was only wan that had ten fingers and ten toes. It didnae help that the boy that kept the register had one airm and was called Jimmy Hazzard!<sup>42</sup>

These priorities were shared by management. Indicative of the presence of moral economy priorities among colliery level management, Ian Hogarth, who worked as a ventilation officer at Cardowan before his responsibilities were extended across Central West Area level during the 1950s felt that nationalisation had shifted priorities in the industry in favour of health and safety:

Ian Hogarth: Now I don't think, can't prove it, but I'm very suspicious of the number of times that these rules were flouted before nationalisation. Because the poor official was terrified that if he said we'll draw the men we'll do this and we'll do that he was gonna lose his job.

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<sup>41</sup> Moodiesburn Focus Group.

<sup>42</sup> Pat Egan, interview with author, Fife College, Glenrothes, 5<sup>th</sup> February 2014.



Ewan Gibbs: So was nationalisation a big change then?

Ian Hogarth: I think a big change, although it's difficult to prove, from the safety angle yes. It also changed a lot of things, ehm, we no longer had coal owners we were owned by the country.<sup>43</sup>

Ian also recollected efforts to provide jobs for disabled workers. The Cardowan undermanger, Jimmy Henderson, asked him to take two elderly disabled miners into his squad. One of them suffered from pneumoconiosis, whilst the other was a First World War veteran who only had one leg. In his view these efforts were an example of "great humanity in the pits."<sup>44</sup> Positive memories of the accommodation of workers with learning difficulties and physical disabilities stand in stark contrast to interwar experiences of displacement and precariousness. This provided grounding for the moral economy demand that during pit closures appropriate employment would be provided for disabled workers or that they would be compensated with redundancy payments, early retirement or disability benefits. For instance in June 1950, when organising the closure of Baton colliery, the NCB sought to confirm the availability of local vacancies for "older and immobile men" as well as surface workers, whilst younger underground workers were to be provided with employment via transfer to Fife and Lothian.<sup>45</sup> The fact this was a large pit, it employed 772 at its peak employment earlier in the year, and that its closure happened during the more general rundown of coal employment in Shotts, may well have influenced this, given the scale of unemployment that would be created otherwise.<sup>46</sup>

However, such accommodation was not always forthcoming from the NCB. The operation of the moral economy was ultimately dependent on miners' ability to enforce it, and competed with financial priorities. This was especially evident during the intensified rundown of the coal industry during the late 1950s and 1960s. In 1959 when Douglas Castle colliery was closed an NUM representative on the pit's CC commented that the 139 redundancies at the colliery left him "astounded at the callous manner in which elderly and disabled workmen had been discarded after serving a life time in the industry and it would appear that human relationship had been ignored completely by the Board." Notably, the meeting secured some moral economy concessions with up to 19 "extreme hardship cases" to be reinstated.<sup>47</sup> On colliery closure it was common to utilise redundancy payments, early

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<sup>43</sup> Ian Hogarth and John McDonald, interview with author, National Mining Museum, Newtongrange, 28<sup>th</sup> August 2014.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> NRS/National Coal Board (hereafter CB)/222/14/1/38A Form of Notification of Proposed Closure date. June 1950.

<sup>46</sup> Miles K. Oglethorpe, *Scottish Collieries*, p.174.

<sup>47</sup> NRS/CB/280/30/1 Douglas Castle Colliery Summary of Manpower as at 6/1/59; NRS/CB/280/30/1 Notes of a Meeting held in the Manager's Office Douglas Castle Colliery on 4<sup>th</sup> February 1959.

retirement and sickness benefits for such workers. For instance when Bardykes colliery in Cambuslang was closed in 1962 of a workforce of 300, 38 were compensated as long-term sick, whilst a further 50 workers were aged between 61 and 64 and therefore also discounted from transfer provisioning.<sup>48</sup>

As the process of contraction developed, the workings of the system of transfers became more coordinated and the terms of redundancy more generous. Upon the closure of Bardykes 76 men under the age of 60 were not found transfers and reports of some of these men having finally found work appeared into 1964.<sup>49</sup> Anthony Rooney recollected that his father was one of several men in Bellshill who were made redundant at the time. Aged 56, he lost rights to NCB retirement benefits open to those over 60, such as concessionary coal allowances.<sup>50</sup> This contrasts with the closure of Kingshill 3 in 1974, which took place after the moral economy's renegotiation and the empowerment of miners in energy market terms described below. All men over 55 and disabled workers were given the right to redundancy with pensions or sickness benefits. Additional space was created for transferees by a policy of offering early retirement to men over 62 at the receiving collieries, Cardowan and Polkemmet, on the West Lothian border with Lanarkshire, which served to prevent involuntary redundancies.<sup>51</sup>

The growth of employment opportunities afforded by nationalisation informed the moral economy in other respects. Many respondents mentioned the NCB provided opportunities for internal promotion. Colliery level management and higher grade workers were largely promoted internally and had mining backgrounds. This helped to ensure a community connection between workers and management, who shared an outlook and interest in preserving pits and employment. Demonstrating this applied beyond Scotland, in a diary entry commenting on a visit to Bedwas colliery in South Wales during November 1975, the Secretary of State for Energy, Tony Benn, wrote:

The characteristics of the mining industry that make it so remarkable are that most of the colliery managers, under managers, overmen, deputies and shot-firers all start at the pit and worked their way up and therefore there is no management brought in from the outside. There is no real parallel with the rest of British industry in that sense.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> NRS/CB/219/14/1 Bardykes Colliery: Manpower: Week Ending 6<sup>th</sup> October 1962.

<sup>49</sup> NRS/CB/219/14/1 Assistant Area Manpower Officer, Glasgow to James Tennyson, NUM District Secretary Hamilton date.6<sup>th</sup> February 1964.

<sup>50</sup> Anthony Rooney, interview with author, Morrisons Café, Bellshill, 24<sup>th</sup> April 2014.

<sup>51</sup> NRS/CB 334/19/3 Minutes of a Special CC meeting held at Allanton Welfare on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1974.

<sup>52</sup> Tony Benn, *Against the Tide: Diaries 1973-76* (London: Hutchinson, 1989) p.471.

This was perhaps an exaggeration. Ian Hogarth distinguished between the “old fashioned” management such as himself who got their manager’s certificate after working down a pit and studying on day release, with the “new breed” from the “modern school of management”. The latter were taken on by the NCB after attaining mining engineering degrees and able to progress straight to taking their manager’s certificate. However, the older scheme remained open and as such career advancement into management grades was a realisable aim.<sup>53</sup> Alan Blades recalled that at Bedlay the NCB provided opportunities to attain skilled jobs through apprenticeships and that his father was able to gain promotion by undertaking night school courses in shot firing.<sup>54</sup>

In a similar vein to Alan’s father, Willie Hamilton, who followed his father, uncles and brother into colliery employment, described the NCB as being perceived as providing a “job for life”. He became an official at Kingshill 3 and then Polkemmet, progressing from a shotfirer to a deputy and later an overman.<sup>55</sup> The value attached to these opportunities was addressed in the moral economy expectation of job security through continued employment in skilled grades for craftsmen, faceworkers and other higher earning underground positions. However, this concern was also attached to continuing elements of economic insecurity. Nicky Wilson, who started at Cardowan colliery in 1967, recalled that mining was an industry where career progression often gave way to regression as older workers were no longer able to maintain the physical effort required for the best paid face and tunnel jobs. Others were threatened by the consequences of transferring to large ‘cosmopolitan’ pits which provided employment for men from across a large area such as Cardowan where he worked as an electrician:

As I say what y’got sometimes when say a colliery closed and men were transferring, like I remember when Bedlay closed and the men came over. The good jobs if y’like, the driving the tunnels, mine driving we called it, where the men actually physically drove the tunnels, the roadways, and then the coalfaces were taken off then y’know? They were the better paid jobs and because there was already established teams aw men in them the men that came fae other collieries didnae always get a chance.<sup>56</sup>

Unlike the opportunities the NCB offered his father, Alan Blades, had his advancement in the industry thwarted by persistent closures and privatisation as the system of industrial citizenship constructed in the 1940s was eroded. Between 1979 and 1997 he worked at Bedlay, Polkemmet and then three different collieries in the eastern coalfields. In contrast to his older brother, he was unable to attain the

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<sup>53</sup> Ian Hogarth and John McDonald, interview.

<sup>54</sup> Alan Blades, interview with author, residence, Airdrie, 26<sup>th</sup> February 2014.

<sup>55</sup> Marian and Willie Hamilton, interview with author, residence, Shotts, 19<sup>th</sup> March 2014.

<sup>56</sup> Nicky Wilson, interview with author, John Macintyre Building, University of Glasgow, 10<sup>th</sup> February 2014.

rank of faceworker and remained an oncost man.<sup>57</sup> Concerns over the effect of transfers upon advancement within the industry are apparent from the early closures onwards and were articulated by NUMSA leaders as well as local representatives. Opposition to the closure of Baton colliery in 1950 was taken to consultation between NUMSA and the Scottish Divisional Board with much of the discussion focused over the availability of facework. Attention was drawn to the fact that 80 workers previously transferred to Ayrshire from the Shotts area were still working as oncost men rather than in the faceworker role they had been promised. In response to this “specific vacancies” were demanded to be given for men to be transferred to Fife and Lothian in return for the acceptance of closure.<sup>58</sup>

As with redundancies, practices evolved to defuse moral economy tensions through the coordination of transfer to specific positions. In 1966 the closure of the Garscube pit in Maryhill, Glasgow, was agreed through meetings with the NUM branches at Garscube and Cardowan, and the colliery manager, John Frame, which placed transferees in facework and power-loading jobs. Callaghan, an NUM representative on the Garscube CCC, stated that having been initially “suspicious” over closure he was now “quite happy” to accept the transfers.<sup>59</sup> As will be discussed below, seventeen years later Frame was commended by union activists for his opposition to the closure of Cardowan, and the victimisation he suffered as a result. His earlier actions acted to cement his reputation through the cultural circuit as a manager who operated within, and defended, the moral economy.

However, as Alan Blades’ experience indicates, the possibilities for advancement declined with contraction. When closures intensified these opportunities lessened as the number of jobs in better paying positions fell. This was particularly apparent at the closure of Gartshore 9/11 in 1968, in the north of the Lanarkshire coalfield. This was indicative of the pressures placed on the moral economy during the accelerated coalfield contraction of the 1960s which saw the closure of local collieries and increasing concentration on a small number of larger employing ‘super pits’. Although cash payments were to be offered to downgraded men the local NUM branch objected and demanded redundancy payments for faceworkers and power-loaders who were not being transferred to a like job.<sup>60</sup> This led to a situation where 60 men refused transfers and launched appeals against being placed on lower grade work at Bedlay or Cardowan with the support of the local NUM branch and against official union policy. Many of their complaints connected with grievances over a 20% wage cut and the likelihood of attaining higher grade work at cosmopolitan pits where a large workforce of transferees from smaller pits which had been closed were in competition for skilled positions. During an NCB

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<sup>57</sup> Alan Blades, interview.

<sup>58</sup> NRS/CB/222/14/1/29A Note of proceedings between the Scottish Divisional Coal Board and the National Union of Mineworkers (Scottish Area) Regarding the Proposed Closure of Baton Colliery Held at No.58 Palmerston Place Edinburgh on Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> May 1950.

<sup>59</sup> NRS/CB 298/6/1 Minutes of Meeting held at Robertson Street, Glasgow, on Wednesday 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1966.

<sup>60</sup> NRS/CB/300/14/1 T.D. Gibb Industrial Relations Officer, Scottish North Area, Alloa, to J.G.C Millian Director-General Industrial Relations, NCB, London, date.19<sup>th</sup> January 1968.

study in which the men were interviewed one commented that there was “no bloody hope of getting a power-loading job in Bedlay or Cardowan”, and another claimed that the pits were “flooded with spare men”.<sup>61</sup>

### **Closure and the Limits of Migration**

The analysis in this section emphasises examples of closures where tension between the NCB’s economic priorities and the moral economy’s emphasis on community stability was most apparent. It focuses on the Eastern Periphery of the Lanarkshire coalfields, centred on the pits around Shotts which were designated for early closure during the late 1940s and early 1950s. This case has strong overtones of the “community abandonment” thesis of deindustrialisation, as the NCB oversaw strategic divestment as part of their policy of diverting resources to other coalfields within the context of concern over manpower shortages.<sup>62</sup> Friction centred on the NCB’s expectation that the industry’s reorganisation would be accompanied by large-scale migration from the declining Lanarkshire coalfield to expanding ones. These priorities were in tension with expectations of community stability which contributed to pressure for industrial development to replace lost coal employment. The Shotts experience was a formative period for the moral economy which conditioned the more sensitive management of redundancy and transfer in future closures.

The tension between the NCB’s economic priorities and community cohesion were summed up in 1950 by the NUMSA President, Abe Moffat, responding to the proposed closure of Baton colliery when he stated: “the Board should realise that they were not discussing a Mining Engineer’s opinion but the social life of a mining village.”<sup>63</sup> This outlook became more solidified within the NUMSA following the Shotts experience, with future closures negotiated with the objective of alternative employment being provided within commuting distance of the workforce. The NCB’s strategy centred on encouraging labour mobility, and was signified by W. Drylie, the Area Industrial Relations Officer, who upon the closure of Longlea colliery in 1949 advised “local men, particularly young men”, to seek transfers within Scotland. The same year at Fortissat it was claimed the NCB was failing to meet its obligations to the community. W. Irvine, an NUM representative on the CCC asserted that “a human element” was being ignored by the NCB. This coincided with the moral economy case to “give the men work”, mining large accessible coal reserves within the area. CCC

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<sup>61</sup> NRS/CB/300/14/1 Manpower Branch, NCB, Glasgow to Legal Department, NCB, Edinburgh Memorandum: ‘Background notes: What happened at Gartshore 9/11 closure?’ (1968).

<sup>62</sup> Bluestone and Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America*, pp.19-20.

<sup>63</sup> NRS/CB/222/14/1/21A Notes of Proceedings Between the Scottish Divisional Coal Board and the National Union of Mineworkers (Scottish Area) Regarding the Proposed Closure of Baton Colliery held at no.58 Palmerston lace Edinburgh, on Monday 8<sup>th</sup> May, 1950.

members asserted the nationalised industry had not maintained the Scottish Coal Commission's assurances that Shotts pits would be viable until 1965.<sup>64</sup>

Some amelioration of moral economy expectations was apparent in the case of Fortissat through Drylie's assurances that he had "been trying to do my best to make room for the men in this area so that they would not have to shift." By offering other men from Lanarkshire voluntary transfers to Fife he hoped to be able to create space at Thankerton in Holytown, North Lanarkshire, and that Polkemmet and Bathgate, in West Lothian, could also act as receiving pits for transferees from Shotts who would be able to continue residing in the area.<sup>65</sup> The NUM objected to the proposed closure of the pit on the grounds that "workable reserves" were not exhausted.<sup>66</sup>

The contested debate about investment indicate an absence of consensus on the responsibilities of the NCB in the early nationalised period were, as well as differences over the extent to which joint regulation merited worker and community control over the industry's development and the board's assets. J. Todd, the NUM pit delegate at Baton summed up the moral economy argument stating that, "If the NCB are making profits, surely they can spend some to save a district getting derelict. The profitable pits should help the others not doing so well".<sup>67</sup> Local NUM representatives' expectations of the provision of local employment stood in contradiction with the NCB's priorities for the development of the Ayrshire, Lothian and Fife coalfields, in part through the transfer of miners from Lanarkshire.

During the early years of nationalisation there was more broadly ample evidence of patrician attitudes from the Board and conflicts between mining communities and NCB management in relation to pit closures. These factors were present in the NCB's publicity. Enticknap has noted that NCB-commissioned *Mining Review* films often showcased the "foci of the community" in presentations of the industry's future.<sup>68</sup> Within these portrayals, discussion between miners, trade union representatives and management were foregrounded. However, this dialogue was framed by an ideology of "social democratic technocracy", and centred on winning workforce consensus for the Board's objectives for advancing the industry.<sup>69</sup> This clarifies the limits of the redistribution of social

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<sup>64</sup> NRS/CB/295/14/1/1E Fortissat CCC Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> January 1949; NRS/CB/295/14/1 Fortissat Colliery CC Minutes of Meeting Held in Colliery Office 15<sup>th</sup> February 1949.

<sup>65</sup> NSA/CB/295/14/1 Fortissat CCC Minutes of Meeting Held in Colliery Office 15<sup>th</sup> February 1949 3pm.

<sup>66</sup> NRS/CB/295/14/1/1E Fortissat CCC Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> January 1949.

<sup>67</sup> NRS/CB/222/14/1/5C Baton CCC minutes of meeting 24<sup>th</sup> January 195.

<sup>68</sup> Leo Enticknap, 'British Cinema and the Nationalisation of Coal, 1946-47', in *Digging the Seam: Popular Cultures of the 1984-5 Miners' Strike* ed. by Simon Popple and Ian W MacDonald (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012) p.23.

<sup>69</sup> Patrick Russell, 'Power in whose hands? Industrial Relations and the Films of Nationalised Coal Mining', in *Digging the Seam: Popular Cultures of the 1984/5 Miners' Strike* ed. by Simon Popple and Ian W MacDonald (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012) p.39.

esteem which followed 1945. As the last chapter outline, reconstruction was devised and overseen from above by business elites and civil servants, although labour market stability and employment objectives were taken into account.

These trends are evident in the 1949 film 'Replanning a Coalfield' about the NCB Scottish Area's proposals for future development. The nationalised industry is presented as a step forward from the "chaos" and "depression" of the interwar period. The Board is committed to providing "new jobs" in "up to date pits", and a manpower shortage necessitates the movement of miners to Fife. This is viewed as a positive move for transferees who will be granted newly built Scottish Special Housing Association (SSHA) homes and access to social amenities in the Glenrothes New Town. These are favourably compared to the dilapidated "old rows" of Lanarkshire and the poor working conditions in its thin coal seams. Some attention to moral economy expectations is given, especially to the role of consultation in the event of pit closure and to cooperation with trade unions in facilitating transfers. It is also emphasised that older workers will be found employment "within reach of their homes", whilst young transferees will be granted economic security through the development of pits with "years and years" of coal. Yet, there is also a strong paternalism about the film which lacks a social understanding of the community connections felt by many miners and their families. Responding to the staged objections of an actor playing a miner, who resents being placed far from his friends and not being able to accompany them to football matches on a Saturday, the narrator replies in received pronounced terms, "maybe you'll have to follow a new team."<sup>70</sup>

The NCB were articulating the dominant understanding of employment policy in the terms of the wartime coalition government's 1944 white paper that formed the cornerstone of subsequent practice; a state commitment to "high and stable" employment underpinned by the obligation of workforce mobility.<sup>71</sup> However, regional policy concerns and non-compliance resulting from the reluctance of miners and their families to leave their communities worked to undermine the NCB's migration schemes. A sense of policy-maker social responsibility was evident in August 1948, when H.S. Phillips, the Board of Trade researcher for Scotland, argued that "the transfer method is only an additional and short term method of reducing male unemployment." This related to social circumstances: "quite a high proportion of unemployed persons are not prepared, or able, to move more than a short distance." Indicative of the tensions between growth poles and ameliorating unemployment within regional policy discussed in the first chapter, Phillips argued that the situation

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<sup>70</sup> 'Replanning a Coalfield', *Mining Review* 2<sup>nd</sup> Year no.10 (1949) *Portrait of a Miner: National Coal Board films volume one* (BFI, 2009).

<sup>71</sup> Margaret Roberts 'Annotated Copy of *Employment Policy* (1944)', *Margaret Thatcher Foundation* <<http://fc95d419f4478b3b6e5f3f71d0fe2b653c4f00f32175760e96e7.r87.cf1.rackcdn.com/2312B65342E04F2B8107131C635023BD.pdf>> [accessed 11/6/2013].

in Shotts justified a “take work to the workers” policy.<sup>72</sup> Two years later a Board of Trade research team studied Shotts and concluded that although some emigration was desirable, limited success had already been attained in attracting light industry and that further developments were necessary “to preserve and balance the community on a smaller scale.”<sup>73</sup>

Thus, policy-makers’ assumption of responsibility for providing communities with employment provision shaped the workings of the moral economy. This acted to hamper the NCB’s plans for coalfield restructuring, which incorporated significant migration from declining coalfields to expanding ones. In the official history of the nationalised industry William Ashworth noted that “most mineworkers had stronger ties to their home community than to their industry” and that this harmed transfer schemes. The system of consultation, which involved advance warning of closure by placing pits in “jeopardy” status, combined with tight labour market conditions and regional policy commitments that directed investment towards declining coalfields, created obstacles to inter-coalfield migration. As “most mineworkers preferred to go on living in their familiar district”, the availability of local employment encouraged young miners to leave the industry when threatened with jeopardy status. This was confirmed by the fact that over two formal schemes operated across the Welsh, Scottish and Northern English coalfields only 14,974 transfers of miners and former miners took place between 1962 and 1971. By comparison, 678,000 workers left the coal industry between 1957 and 1967, with the bulk concentrated in the transferring areas.<sup>74</sup>

Lord Robens, Chair of the NCB from 1961 to 1971, emphasised these factors in explaining limited achievements of the transfer schemes. He expressed frustration to the Ministry of Power in the early 1960s that “extreme lengths” were being taken with respect to “the concept of trying to synchronise mine closures with the coming in to operation of new factories in the same area.”<sup>75</sup> In his autobiography Robens bemoaned the failure of transfers. He articulated the arguments of the 1944 white paper in relation to the need for geographical labour mobility stating “in the old days, miners went where there were jobs”. He felt that regional policy as well as the Redundancy Payments Act 1965 had “reduced the flow of transferring miners to a trickle” by creating disincentives to transfers which constituted an offer of “suitable employment”, and thus ruled out eligibility for redundancy payments. Robens was particularly critical of practices within Scotland in comparison with other declining coalfields. He gave the example of “a Scottish pit with a very limited life” where “a solid alliance of local management backed up by the local unions” was antagonistic and uncooperative

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<sup>72</sup> NRS/SEP/4/762 H.S. Phillips, ‘Research Studies: Geographical Movement of Labour’ date.9<sup>th</sup> August 1948.

<sup>73</sup> NRS/SEP/4/762 Research Team ““Geographical Movement of Labour”-Research Section Board of Trade (Scotland)’ date.4<sup>th</sup> August 1950.

<sup>74</sup> Ashworth, *The History of the British Coal Industry volume 5*, pp.260-2.

<sup>75</sup> NRS/SEP/17/56/1 NCB manpower forecast 1963-4.



towards the aims of the transfer scheme.<sup>76</sup> This points to competing conceptions of the NCB's social responsibilities between differing levels of management, and the tendency for colliery level management to be sympathetic to moral economy concerns, in part resulting from community ties. Power shifted up the NCB hierarchy over time, especially following the centralisation of control in London following the 1967 reorganisation which abolished the Scottish Division, furthering the potential for tension as cost control pressures mounted.<sup>77</sup>

Peter Mansell-Mullen worked at NCB headquarters at Hogarth House in London from the late 1950s and rose to become Director of Manpower in 1971. He recalled that during the early years, the Scottish Divisional Board "had a good deal of independence, and a certain amount of extra separation cause Scotland's always been seen as a bit distinct from everything else." However, the weight of failed projects in Scotland, in particular that of the Fife super pit, Rothies, which cost over £5 million, contributed to the erosion of this administrative devolution. This diminished the NCB's willingness to fund future Scottish developments: "that sort of thing one remembers next time the Scottish Area's sent something up you know."<sup>78</sup> This confirms Halliday's perspective, that in contrast to broader industrial and economic policy, the NCB rolled back devolution and centralised decision making in London.<sup>79</sup>

The policy of linked closures and migration to other coalfields was broadly a failure; movement was limited even among younger men with many refusing to transfer. There was a high rate of immobility at the Shotts pits whilst others cited family in gainful employment and unwillingness to leave the community. At Hillhousesrigg in 1949, as at Baton the previous year, there was an anticipated low take-up of transfers. In the face of 105 redundancies within Shotts the NUM branch President and Secretary argued that one third of workers were too old to transfer whilst another third "will be unwilling to uproot family ties" and leave the locality. They noted that 1,050 men had been made redundant in Shotts in recent pit closures and raised concerns for the future of the area.<sup>80</sup> This evidence concurs with Heughan's research from Shotts in the late 1940s which concluded that the "deep roots" that most of the population had within a "self-sufficient, independent community" created reluctance to relocate.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Alfred Robens, *Ten Year Stint* (London: Cassell, 1972) pp.103-6.

<sup>77</sup> Halliday, *The Disappearing Scottish Colliery*, p.7, 108.

<sup>78</sup> Peter Mansell-Mullen, interview with author, residence, Strathaven, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2014.

<sup>79</sup> Halliday, *The Disappearing Scottish Colliery*, p.108.

<sup>80</sup> NRS/CB/321/14/1/letter to the NCB from William Moore Sec and J.N. Watson President no.121 Baton Branch Central East Area date.26<sup>th</sup> February 1949.

<sup>81</sup> Hazel E Heughan, *Pit Closures at Shotts and the Migration of Miners* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1953) p.12, 56.

The oral testimonies and records from the initial migration schemes from Shotts reveal the extent to which there was resistance to inter-coalfield transfers which related to the strength of ties to community and an aversion to disruption. Following the closure of Baton in 1950 miners were offered transfers to the Ayrshire, Lothian and Fife coalfields yet only 40 of the 226 men judged eligible transferred to these Areas. More men either refused offers for transfer, 28, or transferred and then subsequently returned, 15. This may have been conditioned by the lack of consultation at this stage, with managers instructed that at redundancy interviews, “the workman should be made a firm offer of employment and not asked if he is prepared to consider it.”<sup>82</sup> Given the returnees figure was drawn up shortly after redundancies were completed it is possible others followed. This was referred to at the focus group in Shotts, with particular reference to miners and their families who moved to Fife returning following the failure of Rothes:

Willie Fleming: A lot ae them moved away I’m a child of the sort of the fifties and I can remember the early fifties a lot ae families movin away they went to Pontefract and places doon south.

Betty Davey: They went tae Durham a lot ae them didn’t they?

Betty Turnwood: Not as many as what they anticipated, there wasn’t as many moved away as what they thought. But a lot ae them came back.

Willie Hamilton: Some of them well the pits closed.

Betty Turnwood: I mind them coming back from Glenrothes.<sup>83</sup>

During the late 1940s and early 1950s the NUM was committed to trying to make the nationalised industry a success and was accepting of some closures. This was most straightforward in cases where geological rather than economic reasoning was put forward by the NCB. For instance in 1949 James McKendrick, the NUM Area secretary accepted that, “they [the trade unions] could not make out a case for the continuation of Chapel mine”, as it became apparent that much of its reserves were unworkable due to flooding.<sup>84</sup> Thus, the NUMSA was willing to accept closures as part of the

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<sup>82</sup> NRS/CB/222/14/1 Offers of Employment to Redundant Workmen date.13<sup>th</sup> June 1950 .

<sup>83</sup> Shotts Focus Group.

<sup>84</sup> NRS/CB/295/14/1/1F Minutes of Meeting of Chapel Mines Consultative Committee Meeting held in Bothwell Office 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1949.

development of the industry. At the Area's annual conference in 1948 Abe Moffat referring to the gains the union had made under nationalisation, made it clear that these were tied to the reorganisation of the industry:

We cannot possibly expect to retain the reforms and make further improvements in miners' conditions unless we are prepared to give wholehearted support to modernisation and concentration. We have accepted the principle of modernisation and concentration with a view to securing the best conditions possible for our members.<sup>85</sup>

These attitudes are evidence of the brand of "Stalinist Labourism" that McIlroy and Campbell argue prevailed within the NUMSA under the Moffats. This perspective consolidated "restraint and moderation in the context of partnership with the NCB."<sup>86</sup> The experience of the interwar period shaped the emphasis that was placed on procedure and orderly transition in return for accepting closures and the broader agenda of the industrial modernisers referred to in the last chapter. Page Arnot confirms that under the Moffats NUMSA policy was shaped by a commitment to joint regulation which stemmed from the industrial relations history of employer hostility and divisions within mining trade unionism which had characterised the 1920s and 1930s. The wartime construction of a Scotland-wide and then subsequently Britain-wide miners' union was presented as a key achievement of "men who were not prepared to be put off by the difficulties and obstacles that had baffled their predecessors", and as an accompaniment to nationalisation.<sup>87</sup> In this context there was an acceptance of closure and reorganisation. In line with the response of labour leaders to the management of the process of passive revolution outlined in the last chapter, the acceptance of colliery closures was contingent on the minimisation of economic disruption in communities affected. Within the nationalised coal industry this also entailed an expectation of consultation through consultative structures. Page Arnot singled out the Shotts area as a particularly grave case where the union had to accept large-scale closures, but underlined that this took place within joint regulation through consultation between the NCB and trade union representatives.<sup>88</sup>

For the Moffats, joint regulation and consultation was fundamental and framed the operation of the moral economy. When this was seen to have been breached it caused a souring of relations between the NUM and NCB. This was evident at Broomside which closed the same year as NUMSA leaders urged conference delegates to accept restructuring. Having provided 70 houses in Fife the NCB began

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<sup>85</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 8<sup>th</sup> July 1946 to 11<sup>th</sup> June 1947*, p.499.

<sup>86</sup> John McIlroy and Alan Campbell, 'Coalfield Leaders, Trade Unionism and Communist Politics: Exploring Arthur Horner and Abe Moffat', in *Towards a Comparative History of Coalfield Societies* ed. by Stefan Berger, Andy Croll and Norman La Porte (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) p.276.

<sup>87</sup> Arnot, *A History of the Scottish Miners*, pp.252-3.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, pp.287-290.

redundancies before closure was agreed which was objected to at Scottish Divisional level by Abe Moffat. He argued it went against stipulation as closure had not yet been sanctioned by the trade unions.<sup>89</sup> Similar events happened at Baton in 1950. Early closures also often contained high redundancy levels; 86 workers were laid off upon closure and given the presence of redundancies before the beginning of consultation the NUM refused to be party to the closure.<sup>90</sup> The closure of Baton saw grievances over the closure process combine with concerns over the availability of facework for transferees and the treatment of the elderly and injured with Abe Moffat arguing that it was “not sufficient to say that the workmen would receive 26 weeks redundancy pay and then be forgotten about.”<sup>91</sup>

Concern over local responses to the rundown of mining in Shotts was apparent in the Scottish Division’s worry over “press reactions” to the closure of Hillhouserigg in 1950.<sup>92</sup> The Board objected to early accusations it was determined to shutdown Shotts pits. Economic priorities justified redundancies to maintain efficiency; closures were due to financial losses and the greater productivity of manpower if it was transferred elsewhere. However, later the NCB appeared to be more accepting of social arguments. In 1954 when Kingshill 1 was reorganised, and manpower reduced, the Area Production Manager acknowledged that there were “very few jobs in the area” due to the impact of “fairly heavy redundancies.”<sup>93</sup> The growing weight of objections to closure was summed up in the clash over redeployment following redundancies at Stane which also took place in 1954. The Area General Manager, William C. Parker, inquired “Do I take it that it doesn’t really matter about the men being offered jobs as long as there is a redundancy payment?” He was rebuked by the NUM Area Secretary, James McKendrick, who stated that such policies may be acceptable for elderly and disabled workers but that in general “No, we want the men to be given work. We prefer the men to be working instead of being idle.”<sup>94</sup>

Moral economy concerns gained traction over time as the NCB demonstrated a greater willingness to meet the responsibilities expected of it by the NUM and within mining communities. In 1955 Parker acknowledged “a community life in Shotts which the Board did not want to see disappear.”<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> NRS/CB/483/24/1/6A Divisional Consultative Committee point 127 Broomside Colliery (1948).

<sup>90</sup> NRS/CB/222/14/147A Abe Moffat, NUM, Edinburgh to L.E. Bourke, NCB, Edinburgh date.20<sup>th</sup> October 1948.

<sup>91</sup> NRS/CB/222/14/1/29A Note of proceedings between the Scottish Divisional Coal Board and the National Union of Mineworkers (Scottish Area) Regarding the Proposed Closure of Baton Colliery Held at No.58 Palmerston Place Edinburgh on Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> May 1950.

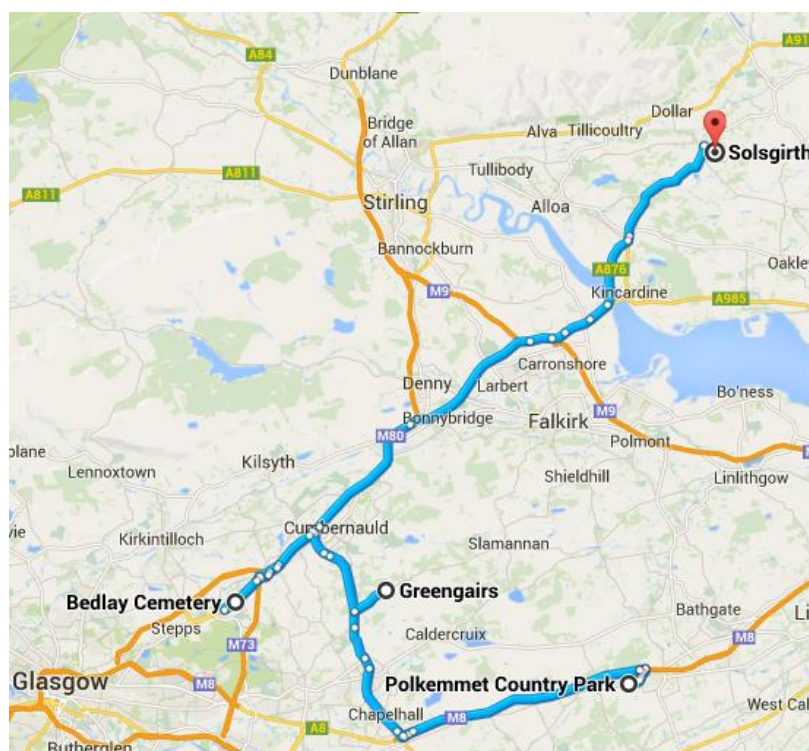
<sup>92</sup> NRS/CB/321/14/1/14a Divisional Board Closure of Hillhouserigg Colliery-Item 153.

<sup>93</sup> NRS/CB/334/19/2/2 Special Meeting of the Consultative Committee Meeting held on 26 January 1954.

<sup>94</sup> NRS/CB/410/14/1 Minute of Special Colliery Consultative Committee Meeting Held at Sub-Area Office, Shotts, on Tuesday 27<sup>th</sup> April 1954.

<sup>95</sup> NRS/CB/410/14/1/57A Notes of Proceedings between representatives of the board and representatives of the NUM at 58 Palmerston Place Edinburgh on Friday 21<sup>st</sup> October 1955.

Kingshill 2's rundown was gradual in the early 1960s and extensive transfers were provided.<sup>96</sup> Kingshill 3 was maintained through several loss-making years after 1970 in an attempt to reach profitability. Consultation procedures were abandoned in 1973 before final closure took place in 1974, with local transfers provided for all under 55 to relevant positions according to skill levels, and redundancy payments were granted to elderly and disabled workers. In part this was achieved through the coordination of transfers with early retirement for men over 62 at the receiving pits, Cardowan and Bedlay, which avoided involuntary redundancy.<sup>97</sup>



**Figure 2.1** ‘Map of Peter Downie’s Travel to Work’ source *Google Maps* [accessed 9/12/2014].

For the most part over the nationalised period migration was turned down in favour of extended travel to work distances, either to larger pits such as Cardowan and Bedlay or to employment in other industries. This was exemplified by the procedure adopted at Kingshill 3, which broadly maintained patterns of residency but enlarged the locale, stretching moral economy understanding of local employment. The extension of travelling to work was an incremental process with waves of closures increasing distances. Figure 2.1 demonstrates Peter Downie’s trajectory of employment in the Scottish coalfields. He started working in his local village pit of Glentore during the 1950s, before transferring

<sup>96</sup> NRS/CB/334/19/2 Transport Arrangements for workmen transferring to Polkemmet (1963); NRS/CB/334/19/2 Kingshill no.2 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage (1963).

<sup>97</sup> NRS/CB/334/1/3 Minutes of a Special Consultative Committee meeting held at Allanton Welfare on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1974.

to the adjacent Grayshill, and then the somewhat longer commute of around 9 miles to Bedlay. Following the closure of Bedlay in 1982 he transferred further afield, to Polkemmet in West Lothian, 17 miles from Greengairs. He ended his working life at the Solsgirth mine, part of the Longannet complex in Clackmannan, which involved a daily commute of nearly 30 miles across central Scotland, amounting to a round trip of almost 60 miles.<sup>98</sup>

### **The Contested Moral Economy**

This section focuses on the experience of the operation of the moral economy from the mid-1950s until the late 1960s, when the modernisation agenda discussed in the previous chapter was visible through accelerated coalfield contraction and expanding assembly manufacturing sectors brought to Lanarkshire via inward investment. In the Southern Area of the Lanarkshire coalfield the rundown of mining employment was broadly managed within the social obligations attached to the moral economy of the coalfields. Economic closures were still objected to and the NCB rarely met expectations entirely. As in the Eastern Periphery, travel to work journey extensions redefined conceptions of what was considered local employment. However, over this period moral economy obligations to provide employment within travel distance of residency were upheld. This included both the transfer of miners to pits in the Lanarkshire and Ayrshire coalfields that were within travelling distance of their homes as well as expanding employment opportunities in alternative industries.

The Southern Area included relatively large population centres such as Lanark and Lesmahagow as well as smaller pit villages such as Coalburn and Douglas Water, which were more or less dedicated mining settlements. The rundown of employment was more gradual than in the Eastern Periphery. To some extent this was a reflection of the more profitable status of the seams within this area, which was not at the forefront of the initial closures during the late 1940s and early 1950s. The southern extremity of this coalfield acted as a receiving area for miners from Central Lanarkshire in the late 1940s, for instance Alex Clark, Jessie's husband, transferred from Larkhall to Douglas Water colliery in 1948 and was allocated a council house in Rigside.<sup>99</sup> However, the later maintenance of mining was also indicative of its relative geographical isolation, as NCB employment was actively maintained given the absence of alternatives.

A social commitment to the preservation of employment within areas which overwhelmingly depended on coal mining competed with financial imperatives in NCB decision making. A scheme for

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<sup>98</sup> Moodiesburn Focus Group.

<sup>99</sup> Alex Clark, 'Personal Experience from a Lifetime in the Communist and Labour Movements', *Scottish Labour History Review* no.10 (1996-7) p.11.

further development of Douglas Castle through investing just over £460,000 put forward by the West Central Area in 1957 to work 3.9 million tons of proven reserves, and an estimated total of over 8 million, was rejected by Scottish Division officials. The Area projected investment would raise output from 270 to 700 tons per day with 510 men employed at an output per manshift (OMS) of 27.56 tons, which maintained employment at 392 men.<sup>100</sup> The pit's maintenance was partly justified by concern over the fate of the villages which were built around it. The NCB Deputy Reconstruction Director argued there was a "need to retain the colliery from the manpower and social aspect."<sup>101</sup>

In 1957 a Scottish Division official speculated "that closure of the [Douglas Castle] colliery would be something of a disaster for the local community at Douglas Village and Douglas West, and a considerable number of dependable miners would probably be lost to the mining industry." These reservations over closure centred on the nature of the village and the unwillingness to move to the Ayrshire coalfield which paralleled the earlier experience in Shotts. Douglas was described as, "a contented homogeneous community with strong local attachment and very unlikely to accept, without opposition, any move to close the colliery or any suggestion to move the bulk of the miners to Barony or Killoch."<sup>102</sup> This involved a daily round trip of either 48 or 50 miles from Douglas. Thus, there were tensions within management surrounding responsibilities towards areas experiencing colliery job losses which paralleled those seen within the Scottish Office in the last chapter. In this case a sense of moral economy obligation this was embedded at the level of the Scottish Divisional Board, which was done away with in a centralising reorganisation ten years later, that further empowered London headquarters.<sup>103</sup>

The anticipated opposition to closure took the form of a "local protest committee" which wrote to the NCB Area Secretary requesting more dialogue over the proposed closure.<sup>104</sup> Ultimately 139 men were made redundant in January 1959, only 6 of whom were over 65.<sup>105</sup> The NCB felt that contraction would release manpower for other industries, stating it was "likely that many of the miners would seek work outside the mining industry near to places where the younger members of their families work", with Glasgow, Hamilton and Motherwell listed as possibilities.<sup>106</sup> The oral testimonies indicate that pit closures led to extended commuting distances within South Lanarkshire. Gilbert Dobby recalled that after Auchlochan 9 was closed in Coalburn: "Well ehmm there wisnae ah don't

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<sup>100</sup> NRS/CB/280/30/1 Douglas Castle Colliery Rankin and Wilson Mines Reorganisation.

<sup>101</sup> NRS/CB/280/30/1 A. Thomson Deputy Reconstruction Director NCB, Edinburgh, to W.I. Finnie Deputy Area Prod Manager NCB, Lugar Works, Cumnock, date. 6<sup>th</sup> December 1957.

<sup>102</sup> NRS/CB/280/30/1 Report on Douglas Castle Colliery Project, Scottish Division date. 6<sup>th</sup> December 1957.

<sup>103</sup> Halliday, *The Disappearing Scottish Colliery*, p.107.

<sup>104</sup> NRS/CB/280/30/1 Robert Scott secretary of the protest committee, Lanark, to the Area, Secretary, NCB Lugar Works, Cumnock date.12<sup>th</sup> December 1958.

<sup>105</sup> NRS/CB/280/30/1 Douglas Castle Colliery: Summary of Manpower as at 6/1/59.

<sup>106</sup> NRS/CB/280/30/1 Report on Douglas Castle Colliery Project, Scottish Division date.6<sup>th</sup> December 1957.

think there was say an awful lot left the village, but they'd to go further for work the likes ae Ravenscraig and things like that.”<sup>107</sup>

Later closures were accompanied by redundancies from areas outwith travelling distance of Ayrshire pits. Geographical remoteness meant that when Auchlochan 9 closed in 1968 NCB officials noted that “work within daily travelling distance can be offered only to a very few men but jobs will be available to men willing to move”, with only 10 of the 340 workers able to transfer initially.<sup>108</sup> Opposition was greatest in cases such as these where closure took place on economic grounds and moral economy transfer expectations were not fulfilled. At Auldtoun in 1963 objections were raised to an economic closure without adequate plans for transfer. G. Stobbs, the NUM District Secretary, argued that this contravened transfer customs: “as alternative employment could not be offered to the men, he felt that production should be continued in all places w[h]ere coal was available.” This opposition was furthered by the fact that where work was available it did not meet the expectation of a transfer to the same grade with faceworkers, shotfirers and deputies all affected.<sup>109</sup> Four months later upon final closure 71 of the mine’s relatively small workforce of 74 were transferred to other pits but only at the expense of a very much enlarged travel distance for the vast majority, 64, who went to Killoch.<sup>110</sup>

The extension of travel distances stretched the moral economy’s conception of local employment and contributed towards mounting objections to the removal of industrial employment without a perceived adequate replacement. Similar demands to those in the Shotts area were raised in relation to the rundown of the pits in the Douglas Water area of South Lanarkshire. These concerns gained some redress from policy-makers. The Scottish Economic Planning Council attempted to link closures with vacancies at new sinkings in other coalfields, including transfers to England. However, the need for “major developments” in advance factory provision in North Lanarkshire was also recognised. This partly reflected pressure emanating from local political organisation. The Douglas Water Cooperative Society responded to the continuation of the closure programme through proposals for industrial developments to take place locally given the likely closure of Auchlochan 9 in the near future. In a letter to the Labour MP for Lanark, Judith Hart, in 1965 Douglas Water Cooperative representatives asked, “why should the [Labour] Government not make some effort to take steps to prepare our people in some other job or employment during the transitory period to the closing of the very doubtful life of the Colliery?” Referencing the example of East Kilbride, a New Town on the A74 road adjacent to Rigside or Lanark was proposed and if not granted, “at least an Industrial Estate” was

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<sup>107</sup> Gilbert Dobby, interview with author, Coalburn Miners Welfare, 11<sup>th</sup> February 2014.

<sup>108</sup> NRS/CB 210/14/3 National Coal Board Colliery Closures Scotland date.21<sup>st</sup> March 1968.

<sup>109</sup> NRS/CB 210/25//12A Minutes of Meeting held at Auldtoun Mine, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1963

<sup>110</sup> NRS/CB 210/25//1/7B Notice of Closure Concentration or Reorganisation date.30<sup>th</sup> September 1963.



judged necessary “to revitalise the Upper ward of Lanarkshire”.<sup>111</sup> This effort was successful, at least indirectly, as Larkhall was later marked for development. Work at Cardowan and Bedlay, as well as opencast developments, maintained employment in the area, albeit within a redefined and enlarged locale.

Concern over falling coal employment grew incrementally as the weight of closures and local opposition mounted. Hart stood alongside, Lawrence Daly, NUMSA and NUM General Secretary and Mick McGahey, NUMSA’s President, in opposing the NCB’s proposed closure of Kennox during proceedings over 1968 and 1969 in terms which underlined objection to pit closures on economic grounds as the future of the industry was called into question. In part this reflects the demise of ‘Stalinist Labourism’, and its cautious cooperation with the NCB. Daly had left the CPGB in 1956 in response to the party’s unwavering support for the Soviet Union, and was a member of the Labour Party by the late 1960s, but united with McGahey in leading opposition to pit closures, and in supporting industrial action to improve miners’ wages.<sup>112</sup> John Kay, the CPGB Scottish industrial organiser between the mid-1960s and 1990 recalled that the Moffats were known as imposing “hard nuts” who enforced discipline upon the membership and did not tolerate dissent. In comparison McGahey was more consensual, operating through a “Broad Left” approach which made him more amenable to the concerns of the membership, and to resultantly take forward a more combative attitude to the NCB in opposition to coal closures in the 1960s.<sup>113</sup>

This paralleled experiences in North Wales Area of the NUM where “rising dissatisfaction” with coal closures over the 1960s contributed to growing antagonisms towards the Board and the policies of the Wilson Labour governments of 1964 to 1970.<sup>114</sup> When STUC General Council members met the Minister for Power, Richard Marsh, in December 1967, they impressed on him the needs of particular coalfields, especially “isolated areas” without industrial areas. They singled out Coalburn and the surrounding area, noting worries over future employment at Auchlocan 9. This meeting followed a 1967 STUC conference resolution which “expressed alarm at the failure of the Government to implement a national fuel policy, with the resultant consequences of continuing pit closures”. These concerns were stimulated by the continuing shift towards oil within power generation, and the anticipated future impact of North Sea gas.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> NRS/SEP/4/17/56/20 Scottish Economic Planning Council, ‘Implications of pit closures for economic planning’ date. December 1965; NRS/SEP/4/17/56/23 Douglas Water Cooperative Society to Judith Hart MP date. 15<sup>th</sup> Dec 1965.

<sup>112</sup> Phillips, *The Industrial Politics of Devolution*, p121.

<sup>113</sup> John Kay, interview with author, residence, Bishopbriggs, 11<sup>th</sup> August 2014.

<sup>114</sup> Gildart, *North Wales Miners*, p.84.

<sup>115</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1967-1968*, pp.30-1, 65-7.

The mounting workforce opposition to closures detected in the minutes of the NUMSA Executive meetings and conferences compelled the leadership towards taking a more oppositional stance. This had taken place amid a visible decline in defence towards both the nationalised industry, and the trade union leadership. The forces this unleashed would both weaken the structures through which the moral economy operated through, but also allow its renegotiation under a new generation of trade union leaders, between the late 1960s and early 1970s. Following on from the large-scale unofficial walkout across the Scottish coalfields over the closure of Devon colliery in Alloa in 1959, on the morning of 13<sup>th</sup> November 1961 nine Scottish collieries were affected by strike action against the announcement of further pit closures.<sup>116</sup> Unlike in 1959, in December 1961 and January 1962 delegate conferences voted for a day of official strike action against the industry's contraction.<sup>117</sup> The strike was to be timed alongside a lobby of parliament in March, but was eventually rescinded by Alex Moffat and the Executive in favour of building inter-industry unity against wage restraint.

However, this stance further exposed tensions within the NUMSA, as 3,000 miners in the Stirlingshire area struck despite the leadership's stance. A group of Fishcross strikers reportedly met NUMSA leaders with chants of "throw them in the pond."<sup>118</sup> Events between March and June 1967 subsequently confirmed the sharp differentiation in outlook between the generation of miners represented by the Moffats and the younger cohort organised around McGahey and Daly. As highlighted in the last chapter, this generational transition occurred after coal closures had accelerated over the early and mid-1960s, whilst the ability of inward investment to replace lost coalfield employment was called into question as assembly manufacturing growth began to slow. In March 1967 a NUMSA delegate conference voted overwhelmingly, by 62 votes to 12, in favour of a resolution from the NUM Economic Sub-Committee which stated:

The only solution is for the industry to concentrate as quickly as possible upon the most efficient and profitable pits and to adjust total capacity to potential demand levels. To fight for the survival of grossly uneconomic pits and for high levels of development expenditure on these pits is to place upon the industry a burden that ultimately will make necessary an even greater degree of contraction.<sup>119</sup>

This was viewed as an unfortunate necessity by most delegates. E. Tannahill from Kingshill 3 commented that in the last two decades Lanarkshire had lost 40 collieries and now only 8 remained,

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<sup>116</sup> Phillips, 'Deindustrialization and the Moral Economy of the Scottish', p.102.

<sup>117</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive and Special Conferences 12<sup>th</sup> June 1961 to 6<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> June 1962*, p.338, 353.

<sup>118</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive and Special Conferences 12<sup>th</sup> June 1961 to 6<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> June 1962*, pp.502-3, 509.

<sup>119</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 27<sup>th</sup> June 1966 to 14/16<sup>th</sup> June 1967*, pp.279-80, 323.

“despite all the campaigns, all the mass meetings and all the demonstrations.” Alex Moffat addressed the conference, bluntly stating that “whether we liked it or not, the Mining Industry was going to contract”, and securing production on a financially profitable basis was the only option for the industry’s survival.<sup>120</sup> Yet, just three months later, in June 1967, the NUMSA annual conference voted unanimously to overturn this position. In the absence of the ill Alex Moffat, Mick McGahey delivered the customary Area Conference Presidential address, anticipating his election to the post upon Moffat’s retirement which followed soon after. He stated clear opposition to government fuel policy proposals. These would emerge more fully in the November 1967 *Fuel Policy* white paper. However, the Ministry of Power had already intimated that objectives of capital investment towards a 200 million ton annual capacity target for 1970 had been reduced to 140 million. By 1980 this would be reduced further to only 80 million across all holdings in England, Wales and Scotland.<sup>121</sup>

McGahey stated that opposition entailed “refusing to co-operate in the total rundown of the industry.” His stance was characterised by moral economy arguments. Financial measurements were counterpoised to social needs: “I reject the present approach taken in many quarters which would make the cost of coal the sole criterion for determining the future size of the mining industry.” In particular, the “disruption of mining communities” and the effect of large numbers of older men being made redundant were underlined. This related to government attitudes towards coal, which neglected its role as a strategic industry and Britain’s prime source of fuel. NUMSA’s objective was to secure mining employment and the communities which depended on it through an energy policy that would serve to “guarantee coal its proper share in the energy market, and to protect the long term interests of the people we represent.”<sup>122</sup>

Despite the ultimately unanimous vote, some delegates raised objections relating to the failures of previous attempts to oppose closures. However, the overwhelming sentiment, including from several Lanarkshire delegates, was that the latest direction of closure and policies was a threat to the industry which had to be opposed. R. Baird of Cardowan claimed the industry was haemorrhaging workers because there was “no security” in coal mining employment. T. Cullen of Gartshore 9/11, reaffirmed this stating that the “Executive should oppose all closures including partial closures.” Most demonstrative of a shifting attitude, Tannahill, the delegate from Kingshill 3 who had spoken in support of Alex Moffat four months previously, argued that the revised target was tantamount to the government reneging on promises of a stable future for the industry: a 200 million ton output would

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<sup>120</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 27<sup>th</sup> June 1966 to 14/16<sup>th</sup> June 1967*, pp.319-320.

<sup>121</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 27<sup>th</sup> June 1966 to 14/16<sup>th</sup> June 1967*, p.411.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

have limited the impact of closure through the expansion of capacity elsewhere. As a result he voted in favour of the change of position.<sup>123</sup>

The cumulative effect of divestment was evident in the NUM's increasingly pronounced opposition to closures and reassertion of the moral economy. The NUM took the Kennox closure to a national appeal in London where McGahey argued that "the Board had already upset the social structure of what had been a prolific mining area" through a large number of closures. Daly, emphasising the threat to community cohesion, called for the pit to be "kept open until the Government had arranged to introduce measures to alleviate the serious social consequences which would arise from closure."<sup>124</sup> The NCB conceded extending the colliery's life to allow the installation of chain conveyors. Despite early premonitions that the improved performance was inadequate and that closure "appears inevitable", the pit was later withdrawn from jeopardy status.<sup>125</sup> The final closure of Kennox in 1972 related to the erosion of the pit's reserves. As was typical with the application of the moral economy, it was far less controversial than earlier moves towards an economic closure had been, and was accepted by the trade unions without even contesting the formal jeopardy procedures.<sup>126</sup>

### **The Renegotiated Moral Economy**

Over the 1960s, as deindustrialisation intensified and the future of mining in Lanarkshire was questioned, the moral economy was called into question and renegotiated through a series of confrontations between the NCB and the NUM over the late 1960s and early 1970s. This was evident in growing NUMSA opposition to economic closures which followed the election of Mick McGahey as Scottish President. During the late 1960s and early 1970s coal's position as a strategically important energy source was bolstered by the effects of the devaluation of sterling, which raised the price of oil imports. This was hugely reinforced by the oil spike of 1973. Industrial relations tensions grew in response to both the impact of incremental closures and in opposition to the comparative diminution of pay and conditions in the coal industry. A subsequent shift took place in NCB policy which asserted the moral economy obligation towards maintaining employment. This section analyses this change through the management of closures in the Northern Core, which encompasses the established mining and industrial area of North Lanarkshire. Although many closures took place there

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid pp.413-4.

<sup>124</sup> NRS/CB/327/14/1/37B Note of Meeting between representatives of the National Coal Board and National Union of Mineworkers held at 3.30pm on Wednesday, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1969, in the board Room, Hobart House.

<sup>125</sup> NRS/CB/327/14/1/52A T.D.M Scrimgeour Director (Special Duties) Scottish Southern Area to W. Kerr Fraser Regional Development Division St Andrew's House Edinburgh date.1<sup>st</sup> May 1969; NRS/CB/207/14/5/52A J.M. Trail Staff Manager Scottish Southern Area to K.S. Jeffries Sec NCB London date.30<sup>th</sup> December 1970.

<sup>126</sup> NRS/CB/207/14/5/92A Kennox Colliery note date.22<sup>nd</sup> May 1972.

was also prominent NCB investment within the area, including the redevelopment of Cardowan and Bedlay and significant expenditure at Gartshore 9/11, and Wester Auchengeich, which maintained employment into the late 1960s.<sup>127</sup> The availability of transfers mitigated resistance but there was evidence of grievances related to the coordinated rundown of pits in the area to provide manpower for Bedlay and Cardowan. This contributed to a sense of instability within the industry as perceptions grew that the NCB's promises of economic security were being broken.

During the 1960s closures in the Northern Core were predominantly justified on economic grounds and were contested by NUM representatives who articulated the need to mine accessible coal reserves, which were viewed as a community resource that sustained local employment. In doing so they were supported by local politicians. Margaret Herbison, MP for North Lanarkshire, wrote to the Chair of the Scottish Division of the NCB, Ronald Parker, opposing the closure of Auchengeich in 1965. Her concerns echoed those of the workforce regarding the NCB's promises of economic security given that a colliery ranked as Grade A and considered having a long-term future in 1962 was now being closed and that many men faced a considerable loss of earnings through transfers. Herbison stated she was "willing to help in any way possible to try to keep this colliery", and called for investment, referring favourably to the NUM's suggestion to develop the main coal area. Parker's reply sought to placate these concerns by emphasising that closure took place within moral economy parameters, only 9 men were to be made redundant and pieceworkers would be found suitable positions through transfer. He also detailed the NCB's objections to what it saw as dangerous proposals to restart production in areas affected by the 1959 fire at Auchengeich, which killed 47 men in Scotland's worst mining disaster of the twentieth century.<sup>128</sup>

Demonstrating the growth of concern over mounting closures and pressure for a commitment to the future of the industry, the NUM responded to the proposed closure of Wester Auchengeich in 1967 by compiling an extensive engineering report arguing for redevelopment. This was based on an outlook of maintaining coal mining employment in the area as it speedily dwindled towards having only two remaining collieries. The report concluded that long-term possibilities depended on six months of development work to reach the Cadder area which could be profitably mined. It detailed tension between moral economy obligations and cost control priorities within different levels of management;

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<sup>127</sup> Miles Oglethorpe, 'The Scottish Coal Mining Industry Since 1945', *Scottish Business and Industrial History* vol.26 (2011) p.82.

<sup>128</sup> NRS/CB/207/24/1/30A Margaret Herbison MP, House of Commons, London to Mr R.W. Parker, Chair NCB Scottish Division, Edinburgh 'Proposed Closure of Auchengeich Colliery' date.16<sup>th</sup> March 1965; NRS/CB/207/24/1 Mr R.W. Parker, Chair NCB Scottish Division, Edinburgh to Margaret Herbison MP, House of Commons, London 'Auchengeich' date.19<sup>th</sup> March 1965; Arthur McIvor, 'The Realities and Narratives of Paid Work: The Scottish Workplace', in *A History of Everyday Life in Twentieth Century Scotland* ed. by Lynn Abrams and Callum Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010) p.110

“some [unnamed] Board officials” supported further investment but the Area Production Manager opposed diverting resources towards the colliery.<sup>129</sup> This had parallels with the experience of Michael colliery in Fife which was also closed in 1967 following a major fire but, as with Wester Auchengeich, NCB officials favouring continued operations were overruled by superiors.<sup>130</sup> These cases are further indications of the moral economy’s basis in local community connections. Support from colliery management and those closest to the pits for the initiatives were overruled by central investment priorities.

The NUM’s opposition to closure was bolstered by the perception that collieries were unjustly being closed to provide manpower for Cardowan and Belday.<sup>131</sup> To some extent this was borne out; the legitimacy of the NCB’s commitment to joint regulation became more questionable as NCB management was centralised. T.F. Gibb, the Area Industrial Relations Officer, in organising the closure, stated that there was “every possibility the Trade Union will fight the closures” and that therefore procedure had to be followed and national headquarters must be briefed in order to press through closure if it was brought to appeal.<sup>132</sup> Indicating the inevitability of closure, the Director of the Scottish North Area, D.J. Skidmore, wrote to both Cumbernauld Development Corporation and to the NCB in London advising that the closure of Gartshore 9/11 would take place during or shortly after March 1968, but he contacted McGahey assuring him production had improved and more discussions were needed on the colliery’s future.<sup>133</sup>

The decision to defer closure to March reflected the role of the Wilson government’s moratorium on closures in late 1967 preventing it taking place before the New Year. Skidmore inquired with the NCB’s national Industrial Relations Department as how best to proceed in running down the colliery within the requirements of the pause on closures.<sup>134</sup> The temporary cessation of closures was evidence of the impact of opposition from mining communities to the Wilson government’s *Fuel Policy* white paper. This put forward the accelerated contraction of coal mining and the transfer of labour to higher productivity assembly goods industries discussed in the previous chapter. In relation to Gartshore 9/11 there was also pressure from the Scottish Office to further delay closure due to concerns over

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<sup>129</sup> NRS/CB/207/14/3 National Union of Mineworkers (Scottish Area) Report on Wester Auchengeich Coal Reserves-Lance Johnston Safety and Technical Officer 1967.

<sup>130</sup> Phillips, ‘Deindustrialization and the Moral Economy of the Scottish Coalfields’, p.106.

<sup>131</sup> NRS/CB 207/14/4 Minutes of Special Meeting of CC Held At Wester Auchengeich Colliery, August 7 1967.

<sup>132</sup> NRS/CB/207/14/4 T.F. Gibb Industrial Relations Officer to T. Smith Production Manger Auchengeich Office ‘Warning Meetings-Wester Auchengeich Gartshore Collieries’ date.10<sup>th</sup> August 1967.

<sup>133</sup> NRS/CB/300/14/2 D.J. Skidmore, Director Scottish North Area, Alloa to James Holmes, Secretary and Legal Advisor, Cumbernauld Development Corporation, Cumbernauld date.4<sup>th</sup> October 1967; NRS/CB/300/14/2/ D.J. Skidmore, Director Scottish North Area, Alloa to K.S. Jeffries secretary NCB, London date.24<sup>th</sup> October 1967; NRS/CB/300/14/2 D.J. Skidmore, Director Scottish North Area, Alloa to Michael McGahey, President NUMSA date.1<sup>st</sup> November 1967.

<sup>134</sup> NRS/CB/300/14/2 D.J. Skidmore, Director Scottish North Area, to J.G.C. Milligan, Director-General for Industrial Relations, NCB London date.12<sup>th</sup> October 1967.

unemployment in the area, demonstrating an instance where social responsibilities to provide employment provision overrode economic policy objectives. Skidmore informed the Chair of Cumbernauld New Town Development Corporation that: “If the Chairman of the Scottish Economic Planning Council is of the opinion that any redundant miners from this colliery would simply swell the ranks of the unemployed, it might mean a further deferment until after 31<sup>st</sup> March 1968.”<sup>135</sup>

The relationship between closures and industrial tension is vividly described in NCB correspondence and minutes of CCC meetings. This centred on objections relating to the legitimacy of consultation and perceptions that the NCB falsely promised employment stability to transferees. At the Gartshore 9/11 closure both of these were apparent. Plans for the closure of the colliery and Wester Auchengeich were published in the NCB’s *Coal News* and the Glasgow *Evening Times*. In a letter to Skidmore, McGahey argued that this encouraged animosity between workers and management, and stated “no information or statements should be issued publicly before the miners and other workmen at the pit are informed of the actual position.”<sup>136</sup> The cumulative effect of closures over time was apparent in the feelings of mistrust towards the NCB which worker representatives articulated at Special CCC meetings. At Gartshore 9/11, it was alleged that transfers to the colliery following the closure of Boglea in 1962 had contributed to overmanning the pit and depressed its economic performance.<sup>137</sup>

At both Gartshore 9/11 and Wester Auchengeich recent Area management promises of 10 and 20 years of economically productive life were also mentioned. Doubt had been cast upon the transfer policy by Gartshore men in 1966 with reference to the fact that 49 men had recently been moved to Wester Auchengeich, which an NUM representative, reflecting on his belief the pit would soon close, stated had “no future”. This was borne out when closure proceedings began the following year.<sup>138</sup> Discontent over Gartshore 9/11’s closures related to perceptions of the future of the industry in the area. Among men who refused transfer, one miner, commenting on recent closures, stated that “the pits are finished”, whilst another simply said, “I’ve been through too many closures”. Others highlighted the fact that in five years four nearby pits, an NCB workshop, and Wester Auchengeich’s

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<sup>135</sup> NRS/CB/300/14/2 D.J. Skidmore, Director Scottish North Area, Alloa to James Holmes, Secretary and Legal Advisor, Cumbernauld Development Corporation, Cumbernauld date.4<sup>th</sup> October 1967.

<sup>136</sup> NRS/CB/300/14/2 D. J. Skidmore Area Director Scottish North Area, Alloa, to Michael McGahey, President NUMSA, Edinburgh, date.9<sup>th</sup> January 1968.

<sup>137</sup> NRS/CB/300/14/2 Minutes of Special CCC Meeting held in Grayhill Office at 1.30am, on Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> August 1966.

<sup>138</sup> NRS/CB/300/14/2 Minutes of Special CCC Committee Meeting held in Grayhill Office at 1.30am, on Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> August 1966; NRS/CB/300/14/2 Wester Auchengeich CCC Minutes of Meeting held in Manager’s Office on Wednesday 27<sup>th</sup> December 1967; NRS/CB/207/14/4 Minutes of Special CC at Wester Auchengeich Colliery January 9 1968.

coking plant, had been closed.<sup>139</sup> These came alongside an accusation from Kilsyth Town Council in a public letter to Lord Robens, that the Board was “deliberately re-deploying large numbers of men into Bedlay to force a closure on economic grounds within 3 years.” They further alleged, in concurrence with the transferees’ grievances over grading, that these miners were “not gainfully employed.”<sup>140</sup> The comments of the redundant miners, and the letter, demonstrate the incremental growth of opposition to closures over time as the industry was wound down and concerns for the future of coal mining within Lanarkshire grew. It is notable that protest was directed towards Robens and not towards Scottish NCB officials. This can be related to the centralisation associated with the 1967 reorganisation which enhanced the role of headquarters in scheduling pit closures.<sup>141</sup>

Perceptions of distance between mining communities and NCB headquarters were accentuated by a clash of worldviews. This centred on the productionist priorities of the NCB and the moral economy expectations of mining communities, which qualified the extent to which the generation of miners represented by Mick McGahey and Lawrence Daly viewed nationalisation as a social advancement. Tommy Canavan, who was an NUM representative at Cardowan, recalled McGahey arguing that the NCB had continued with the priorities and personnel of the private industry, stating that “the management just changed their jerseys. They went fae the Bairds, Scottish Steel and aw these different private, privatisation, companies and became manager.” However, Canavan balanced this by claiming the NCB “worked two ways”, and that despite its economic priorities it demonstrated a social understanding and commitment to mining communities at a local level via its support for community activities through Miners’ Welfares.<sup>142</sup> Similarly Willie Doolan, who was a third generation miner from Moodiesburn, and an active Communist and trade unionist at Cardowan, described the “hated” “hierarchy” of the NCB as “enemies of the working class” who retained a privileged and distant position. Nonetheless, management’s activities were constrained by public ownership which perhaps also reflects an awareness of some colliery managers’ commitment to moral economy obligations: “I’m not trying to paint the picture that all colliery managers were vicious towards the miners because that wasn’t the case. They were under, they were under instructions obviously, the National Coal Board 1947.”<sup>143</sup>

Phillips’ analysis suggests that the late 1960s and early 1970s marked a significant turning point in the operation of coalfield contraction which coincided with the slowing down of the growth of alternative employment opportunities emphasised in the previous chapter. Awareness of economic insecurity was

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<sup>139</sup> NRS/CB/300/14/1 Manpower Branch, NCB, Glasgow to Legal Department, NCB, Edinburgh Memorandum: ‘Background notes: What happened at Gartshore 9/11 closure?’

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Robens, *Ten Year Stint*, pp.117-123.

<sup>142</sup> Tommy Canavan, interview.

<sup>143</sup> Willie Doolan, interview with author, The Pivot Community Centre, Moodiesburn, 12<sup>th</sup> March 2014.



increased by the publication of the government's *Fuel Policy* white paper in November 1967. As McGahey had warned in the summer, this forecast that coal's energy market share would fall from 58% to 34% by 1975 and that employment in the industry would halve.<sup>144</sup> In Lanarkshire, and especially the Northern Core, this correlated with local experience where miners were asked to accept pit closures in return for transfers and employment stability. The NCB somewhat disingenuously gave assurances on each occasion yet forward planning documents suggest an awareness of likely further closures and a keenness to transfer men to collieries likely to be closed in the relatively near future.

This extended to the possible closure of Bedlay and Cardowan soon after the remaining pits in the Northern Core had been closed. The latter entered jeopardy status in the late 1960s, and the Scottish North Area considered rationalising coking coal production by concentrating efforts at Kinneil in West Lothian and Valleyfield in Fife shortly after.<sup>145</sup> The fact these closures did not take place is perhaps indicative of both the strength of workforce and community opposition but also coking coal market changes which benefited these collieries' position.<sup>146</sup> During the late 1960s Scotland's last major generation of coal fired power stations, Longannet and Kindcardine in Fife, and Cockenzie in East Lothian, were brought online which helped to secure NCB employment in Scotland.<sup>147</sup> A far more favourable position for coal in relation to power generation was provided soon after by the quadrupling of oil prices over 1973 following the beginning of the Arab-Israeli war, which also created political uncertainty over the viability of supplies.<sup>148</sup> Grievances over wages and closures which cumulated in the industrial action of the late 1960s and early 1970s were thus underpinned by a strengthened position for coal within international energy markets.

At the 1973 STUC conference, W, Maclean moved a NUMSA motion which made these concerns clear. He cited the importance of a secure energy policy operating within a long-term conception of national requirements rather than market fluctuations. This was of particular concern given the expanding production of North Sea oil which could be a valuable resource in a diversified energy sector but was presently being experienced as a threat to coalfield communities; "it was unfortunate indeed that every time a new oil strike was announced a shudder ran through the mining industry. This resulted from the lack of a definite Government fuel strategy."<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Phillips, 'Deindustrialization and the Moral Economy of the Scottish Coalfields', pp.107-8.

<sup>145</sup> NRS/CB 256/33/2/ Cardowan Colliery Extract from Note of Meeting between NCB and NUM in London on 13<sup>th</sup> November 1969; NRS/CB 256/33/2 W. Rowell, Director NCB Scottish North Area, Alloa, to G. Teel, Agent, NUM, Edinburgh date.10<sup>th</sup> June 1971.

<sup>146</sup> NMMS/FC/3/2/3/2 National Appeal Meeting Cardowan Colliery 16<sup>th</sup> August 1983 Appendix 1 Special Extended Colliery CC Meeting held in the Parochial Hall, Stepps, Friday 13<sup>th</sup> May 1983 p.9.

<sup>147</sup> Halliday, *The Disappearing Scottish Colliery*, pp.151-4.

<sup>148</sup> Catherine R. Schenk, *International Economic Relations Since 1945* (London: Routledge, 2011) p.56.

<sup>149</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1972-1973*, vol.76 (1973) pp.285-27.

The heightened tensions within the mining industry, in particular the impact of large unofficial strikes in 1969 and 1970 that led onto the official action of 1972 and 1974, also contributed to slowing contraction.<sup>150</sup> K.S. Jeffries, the NCB Secretary in London, sent a letter to Area Officials in December 1971 specifying that “in view of the fluid industrial relations situation” jeopardy meetings were to be suspended and that this specifically applied to economic closures, with “exhaustion closures” to be resolved through contact with headquarters.<sup>151</sup> The NUMSA played a key role in legitimising unofficial action in the build up to the later official disputes. This stood in stark contrast to the actions of the Moffats in response to the strikes of 1959 and 1961. At the 1969 Area conference Daly spoke in defence of unofficial action, and against the Wilson government’s *In Place of Strife* proposals to curb such activities, stating that it was the “the right of any British Trade Unionist to withdraw his [sic] labour as his democratic right.”<sup>152</sup>

This standpoint was reaffirmed on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1969 when, at the behest of the Executive and McGahey, a NUMSA delegate conference voted to legitimate unofficial strike action by 15,000 Scottish miners, who were among 130,000 across Britain striking for a 40 hour week for surface workers. In making the case for supporting the strike McGahey sought to disaggregate pit closures from the conditions of mineworkers, arguing it was the “policy of government”, and not the demand for higher wages, which closed collieries.<sup>153</sup> This echoed arguments he had made at the annual conference where he stated that miners’ place “down the [wage] league table of industrial workers” was “a position totally unacceptable to the membership”, and threatened recruitment to the industry, especially of younger miners.<sup>154</sup> Within the testimonies there was a conflation of declining coalfield employment and the economic position of miners relative to other workers within memories of the 1972 and 1974 strikes. George Greenshields from Coalburn, whose father and brothers worked in local pits but had transferred to the Northern Core by the early 1970s, whilst he was employed in local opencast developments, recalled the industrial action of the 1970s in terms of a struggle against closures which pre-empted the 1984-5 strike:

Ewan Gibbs: Can you remember if there was any local response or objections [to pit closures]?

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<sup>150</sup>Taylor, *The NUM and British Politics volume 2* p.1, 31-6.

<sup>151</sup> NRS/CB/207/14/5/67A/ K.S. Jeffries, Secretary, NCB, London to Area Officials ‘Colliery Closures’ date.22<sup>nd</sup> December 1971.

<sup>152</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 24<sup>th</sup> June 1968 to 18/20<sup>th</sup> June 1969*, p.507.

<sup>153</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences June 1969 to 15/16 June 1970* p.116, 128-9.

<sup>154</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 24<sup>th</sup> June 1968 to 18/20<sup>th</sup> June 1969* p.470.

George Greenshields: Well there was strikes and aw that like there were the 2 strikes you know one that they beat the government and the second the government did everything they could to to not to give in. Ehmm that wis the like Thatcher an' that they did every dirty trick in the book to try and y'know beat the miners aff they were just closing pits doon and aw that kindae thing.<sup>155</sup>

This tendency to compose events into a narrative which fits political subjectivities is characteristic of the operation of a cultural circuit.<sup>156</sup> Given later events, a narrative of a struggle responding to closure made more sense in the context of a locality which had already lost its pits by 1972 and the events which followed in 1984-5. Therefore, the strikes of 1972 and 1974 were understood as victories against the economic dislocation associated with pit closures.

Memories among a focus group of retired North Lanarkshire miners in Moodiesburn emphasised wage gains in light of the relative deterioration of miners' earnings. This was a highly moral argument centring on the NCB's failure to economically reward miners for the dangers and deprivations they experienced or recognise their centrality to Britain's economy. In terms which echoed Hyman's 1974 judgement that "coalminers have been able to argue that their work is dangerous and unpleasant and also that it has a new and strategic importance in economic life, as justification for substantial improvement in the incomes hierarchy", miners' conditions were compared to that of men who worked in the Rootes car factory at Linwood which opened in 1963, and was subsequently taken over by Chrysler.<sup>157</sup> Peter Downie recalled that "thousands" left coal mining for such opportunities and that he often met men who had done so whilst following Rangers Football Club:

We were standin at Ibrox in 1966 and '68. Linwood was open. Linwood, the Imp, the making of the Imp motorcar. We were goin from our village in Greengairs in to watch the Rangers playing football and we're standing with boys that were working in Linwood working in the motor factory, and they were coming home with 35 pound, and our wages was 22.50 [sic], that was the difference for leaving the pit to go to industry.

The relative decline of miners wages vis a vis those of other manual workers was a major component of the discontent which fuelled miners' industrial action in the early 1970s. Linwood played a seminal role in this, with Chrysler resolving a dispute in February 1972, whilst the miners were on strike, by granting a 14% annual pay rise, taking basic weekly wages to £37. This was £9 more than the NUM's

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<sup>155</sup> George Greenshields, interview with author, Coalburn Miners' Welfare, 11<sup>th</sup> February 2014.

<sup>156</sup> Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, pp.16-7.

<sup>157</sup> Richard Hyman, 'Inequality, Ideology and Industrial Relations', *British Journal of Industrial Relations* vol.2 (2) (1974) p.189.

basic claim.<sup>158</sup> Reflecting on this disparity, the 1972 and 1974 strikes were recalled by some ex-miners in terms of restoring economic justice:

Billy Maxwell: There were two strikes, '72 and '74 we won both of them. I think the power-loading wage went up.

Peter Downie: It was 35, up to 35 Billy. But we'd nothing before that.

Billy Maxwell: And then we got a good wage in 1974. We won that second strike in 1974 and it was like a good wage. We'd beat the government at that time, Heath had to chuck it up.<sup>159</sup>

The incoming Labour government's settlement of the 1974 dispute included a commitment to a *Plan for Coal* which "held out the prospect of a stable environment" through cementing a place for coal within a mixed energy policy, overturning the position of the 1967 white paper. This included a commitment to securing employment through a long-term commitment to new sinking extending into the 1980s.<sup>160</sup> Thus the moral economy had been renegotiated as mounting anger over employment security and deteriorating relative wages of miners combined with energy market shifts to the advantage of coal from the late 1960s. Industrial action secured wage increases whilst energy policy under the 1974 to 1979 Labour governments secured a position for coal. Under McGahey, the NUMSA became less accepting of economic closures. In this changed environment the NCB slowed down closures, in part due to industrial relations pressure. Favourable market shifts also assisted in abating the position of Lanarkshire's two remaining collieries, Bedlay and Cardowan. The experience of energy market fluctuations between the 1960s and 1970s, and especially accelerated closures due to the displacement of coal by oil, had a long-term impact on the NUMSA's perspective. In 1979, McGahey moved a resolution at the STUC conference that praised the work of the contemporary Labour government in committing to expanding coal production and employment, and making moves towards a more planned energy policy. However, he also warned of the experience of the recent past, reflecting on how reliance on imported oil had dislocated the UK economy and contributed to inflation:

I remember in this Congress many years ago when my predecessors-Abe and Alex Moffat-warned in the 1950s and 60s that this country would pay a heavy price for the contraction of

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<sup>158</sup> Jim Phillips, *The Industrial Politics of Devolution*, p.123.

<sup>159</sup> Moodiesburn Focus Group.

<sup>160</sup> Jim Phillips, 'Energy and Industrial Politics in the UK: The Miners' Strikes of 1972, 1974 and 1984-5', *Scottish Business and Industrial History* vol.25 (2009) p.63.

the coal industry, that oil would not always be plentiful and not always cheap. We have paid that price.<sup>161</sup>

### **The Moral Economy under Threat**

The final rundown of coal mining in the Northern Core took place during the early 1980s. The striking differences between the responses to the closure of Bedlay in 1982 and Cardowan in 1983 were due to the fact in the former closure the moral economy was broadly adhered to, whilst the latter constituted a clear management transgression of its customs. Bedlay was the last moral economy closure in Scotland, with all those that followed being marked by managerial hostility to union consultation, and workforce opposition to closure. Perchard notes that Bedlay had traditions of collaboration between managers and anti-Communist trade unionists. This contrasted with Cardowan where its history as a large cosmopolitan pit contributed to it being a stronghold of politicised left-wing trade unionism.<sup>162</sup> Descriptions based on these histories were present in the oral history interviews to explain why Bedlay shut earlier than Cardowan. For instance Pat Egan, an NUM youth delegate at Bedlay, recalled that, “There wis a kinda a fight from within Cardowan.” He went on to state that:

Pat Egan: Cardowan was always quite a militant pit, Bedlay wisnae and Bedlay was run by \*pause\* Cardowan’s mainly a Communist pit and Bedlay a lot a Catholic groups, the Knights of St Columba all these kindae organisations. It wis probably Knights of St Columba. They used tae say if you wanted overtime at Bedlay go for a pint at the Knights on Saturday night or a Friday night and you’d ask “how much is that?” Most ae the management were all in the Knights of St Columba or the Masonic Lodge.

Ewan Gibbs: Was there a tension between those two strands or would they cooperate?

Pat Egan: Aye, against the Communists, Communists was seen as the threat to them. Ehh they used to call them the Mickey Masons \*laughs\*

Ewan Gibbs: So what about the Union at Bedlay was that similarly influenced?

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<sup>161</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1978-1979*, pp.500-502.

<sup>162</sup> Andrew Perchard, *The Mine Management Professions in the Twentieth-Century Scottish Coal Mining Industry* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Melling Press, 2007) p.373; John McIlroy and Alan Campbell, ‘Beyond Betteshanger: Order 1305 in the Scottish Coalfields during the Second World War Part 2: The Cardowan Story’, *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* vol.16 (2003) p.46, 66.

Pat Egan: Mhmmm union and management wis eh pretty much what would be termed right-wing noo. Cardowan was always left-wing.<sup>163</sup>

Yet, these distinctions were not the fundamental causation of the differing responses to closure. It was the difference in the treatment of closure by the NCB, through their relative adherence to the moral economy at Bedlay and clear breach of it at Cardowan, which was fundamental in determining the stance taken by the NUM and within the communities affected. In the case of Bedlay the closure was less controversial as it took place on geological rather than economic grounds. Extensive consultation and discussions with all unions were spread over “several months”, and a “joint examination of all possible areas of reserves” took place with the involvement of the union’s mining engineers. Eventually closure was agreed due to “insurmountable geological conditions.”<sup>164</sup>

After consultation regarding closure was complete the provision of transfers to “neighbouring collieries” took place. This stretched the understanding of local employment further than previous Lanarkshire transfers, with receiving collieries including Polkemmet and extending across central Scotland to Fife pits. However, through coordination across Scotland, the 640 men from Bedlay were absorbed through 200 redundancies, 440 transfers and 100 redundancies within other collieries. Although the NCB undertook these costs, its accountants objected to a net loss of £3.3 million through redundancy, transfer and pension payments. They were most concerned by taking on 340 extra workers without increasing production and prescribed a solution of an additional 340 redundancies within the Scottish Area.<sup>165</sup> This attitude indicates that commitments to further development through the *Plan for Coal*, upon which the renegotiated moral economy rested, were increasingly being undermined by financial priorities. The accountants’ perspective was shaped by the Coal Industry Act 1980, introduced by the first Thatcher government, which projected an end to subsidy by 1984 and effectively scrapped the long-term investment framework of the *Plan for Coal*. In Ashworth’s view it was “drawn so as to make it almost impossible to operate the industry in the way it had been operating until then.”<sup>166</sup>

Pat Egan distinguished between Bedlay, closed on geological grounds, and the later closures of long-life, viable collieries. These breached the promises of a future for the industry, which in turn provided the legitimacy for closing Bedlay:

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<sup>163</sup> Pat Egan, interview.

<sup>164</sup> NRS/CB/223/14/3 P.M. Moullin Deputy Secretary NCB, London, to P. McPake, Bedlay, Glenboig date.30<sup>th</sup> November 1981.

<sup>165</sup> NRS/CB/223/14/3 Memorandum from Area Chief Accountant to Area Director subject Closure of Bedlay date.4<sup>th</sup> November 1981.

<sup>166</sup> Ashworth, *The History of the British Coal Industry* volume 5,p.352.

Pat Egan: Naw we seen at the start you could see, what was goin on wi the pits goin uneconomic there wis no way you could ha made a viable case fir the likes o Bedlay an that. You jist couldnae. Emm, but it got to stage when they were startin to shut really economic pits. It wis just vandalism, it wis terror raising and ideology. And that wis the likes eh Kinneil and aw these pits which should never have been.

Ewan Gibbs: Kinneil was local, within travelling distance of Lanarkshire?

Pat Egan: Aye, Kinneil was Bo’Ness, it wis actually comin through to link up with the Longannet complex and feeds so that wis the big scenario. *Plan for Coal* wis that you’d hae that big complex at Longannet, you wid have the Fife complex with the Lothians feedin into Cockenzie and there wis a new coalfield which is still a virgin coalfield, the Canonbie coalfield doon in the Borders which runs fae there right doon tae Durham, it’s massive seams o coal. Ehh that wis never it wis never, but that was planned where it would go. Cause we used tae talk that we could end up livin in the Borders in a new toon somewhere cause that wis the talk that they would build a new toon doon there.

Ewan Gibbs: So you were willing tae accept closures for a future for the Scottish coalfield?

Pat Egan: Aye, I mean mining’s an exhaustive industry. Pits are gonnae shut they need tae shut cause once you mine the coal what you gonnae do? Y’know and they weren’t just kept open fir the social aspect \*laughs\*<sup>167</sup>

Pat’s comments on future coalfield development concur with the analysis of the STUC General Council. A report of meetings with Tony Benn, Energy Secretary, and another with senior officials within the NCB, during 1978, led them to conclude that “there were thus, very extensive known reserves in Scotland which indicated the likelihood of a continued future for the mining industry.” The possibility of developing the Canonbie coalfield, in the south of Scotland, which Pat referred to, was mentioned alongside future undertakings in Fife, East Lothian and Clackmannan.<sup>168</sup>

Cardowan’s closure confirmed the abandonment of commitments to the Plan for Coal’s vision of future investment. It saw the NCB’s “pronounced emphasis on cost control”, combine with the management objective of “reconstructing workplace relations” through undermining the established

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<sup>167</sup> Pat Egan, interview.

<sup>168</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1978-1979*, pp.150-1.

system of joint industrial regulation which had characterised coal.<sup>169</sup> The pressure on Cardowan was connected to the role of these priorities across the nationalised industries, with the use of coal imports by British Steel to supply Ravenscraig playing a key role in damaging the financial performance of the pit.<sup>170</sup> Nicky Wilson echoed McGahey's comments from 1983 in 2014, arguing that the loss of this market for the pit's "high grade coking coal" resulted in a situation where they had to "mix it wi a lotta rubbish" to make it suitable for lower value power station use.<sup>171</sup> The closure was a clear breach of the moral economy's prioritisation of consultation with trade union representatives, which was jettisoned, whilst financial compensation in return for the acceptance of closure, transfer, and redundancy, was retained. Albert Wheeler, the Scottish Area Director of the NCB, made this clear at a CCC meeting at Cardowan in 1983 when he stated that "he wanted the opinion of the 1090 men employed at the colliery and not just the few who attended branch meetings." In place of negotiation with trade union representatives he made an "offer" of redundancy payments including a lump sum payment of up to £20,000, and pensions of up to £100 a week for men over the age of 50. Wheeler additionally promised protected earnings and transfer allowances for younger workers.<sup>172</sup>

The NUM's principal objections related to the NCB making moves to close the pit before any intimation of closure procedure was made towards trade unions. Cardowan followed the closure of Kinneil colliery in West Lothian in similarly contentious circumstances at the end of the previous year. By the time of the trade union's appeal, which saw the NUM supported by the National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers (NACODS) in opposing closure, 300 men had already left Cardowan, which both McGahey and Arthur Scargill, NUM President, argued breached procedure. Transfers were used to undermine workforce solidarity and collective agreements across the Scottish coalfields, leading to far greater intra-workforce disputes than the tensions unearthed at previous transfers over access to coalface positions. Grievances centred on the undermining of joint regulation, with strikes following the entrance of unnegotiated transfers to Frances, Polkemmet and Bogside<sup>173</sup> The most serious moral economy transgression took place at Polmaise in Stirlingshire where Cardowan men were transferred in June 1983 whilst the pit was undergoing reconstruction. This breached promises to local miners who had been assured of first

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<sup>169</sup> Phillips, 'Energy and Industrial Politics in the UK', p.58; Jim Phillips, 'Workplace Conflict and the Origins of the 1984-85 Miners' Strike in Scotland', *Twentieth Century British History* vol.20 (2009) p.155.

<sup>170</sup> Ashworth, *The History of the British Coal Industry volume 5*, p.401.

<sup>171</sup> Nicky Wilson, interview; NRS/CB 256/14/1 Memorandum Cardowan Colliery National Appeal Meeting Minutes date.19<sup>th</sup> September 1983.

<sup>172</sup> NMMS/FC/3/2/3/2 National Appeal Meeting Cardowan Colliery 16<sup>th</sup> August 1983.

Appendix 1 Special Extended Colliery CC Meeting held in the Parochial Hall, Stepps.

<sup>173</sup> NMMS/FC/3/2/3/2/ Background Brief for National Appeal Meeting on Cardowan Colliery.



refusal on employment at the redeveloped pit, and led to the NUM branch pursuing a policy of non-cooperation with unnegotiated transferees that contributed to a lockout at the pit.<sup>174</sup>

The tendency for the collective memory of social conflict to involve a “cluster of tales, symbols, legends and imaginary reconstructions” evident in memories of the 1972 and 1974 strikes, is also clear in recollections of Cardowan’s closure where boundaries between singular events are porous and often merge.<sup>175</sup> Willie Doolan recollected these events in terms of an anticipation of the divisive tactics deployed by the NCB during the 1984-5 miners’ strike stating that:

The big difficulty that we had there was you had people who you had workers who were members of the union remember the Coal Board were offering and I’m going back to 1983 they were offering fifteen hundred pounds to an individual to transfer tae another pit ... And it wis the same kindae tactic the Coal Board used during the miners’ strike ’84-85. They were offering vast amounts of money to people who’d been out on strike for the best part of a year. People who were penniless if you go back into work we’ll guarantee you there’ll be x amount, all taxpayers’ money by the way! We’ll guarantee you a vast sum of money in your wages next week.<sup>176</sup>

In August 1983 the workforce at Cardowan rejected industrial action against the closure, by a close ratio of 3:2, following several months of demoralisation as the NCB proceeded with closure and disregarded consultation with the cooperation of a minority of the workforce who accepted negotiated transfers and redundancy.<sup>177</sup> The narratives on the build-up to the final defeat of the NUM’s appeal the following month emphasised the divergence of Wheeler’s methods of management from those which had prevailed within the nationalised industry and their breach of the moral economy. Tommy Canavan recollected that when Wheeler visited Cardowan to explain the closure to the workforce he was met with physical violence. The confrontation centred on a view of the colliery as a community resource and source of employment as opposed to the property of senior management to be disposed with according to the logic of profitability:

Wheeler came to Cardowan, ehm, previous to that Kinneil went on strike, they had a sit-in doon the pit. Cardowan was a gas tank it wis full aw methane gas. Cardowan, they pumped methane gas oot aw Cardowan pit it used tae serve the whole ae Glasgow, but then they piped

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<sup>174</sup> Terry Brotherstone, ‘Energy Workers Against Thatcherite Neoliberalism: Scottish Coal Miners and North Sea Offshore Workers: Revisiting the Class Struggle in the UK in the 1980s’, *International Journal on Strikes and Social Conflict* vol.1 (2) (2013) p.144.

<sup>175</sup> Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, pp.1-2.

<sup>176</sup> Willie Doolan, interview.

<sup>177</sup> Phillips, ‘Energy and Industrial Politics in the UK’, p.38.

the whole in tae the whisky bottling. He was aw ‘this is a gas tank we will no be responsible if anything happens in this pit or anything’ and he went on and on and it finished up which wasnae a nice thing tae see one of the guys went up and knocked him up he just went up and banjoed him. I’m no sayin that was right but he brought it upon himself cause he was nothin but a bully. He was sayin ‘yous are wearin ma uniforms’, a boiler suit! As if we were some he was the commander of some big army or something. *It’s ma, his uniform! It was his pit! It wisnae oor pit it was his!*<sup>178</sup>

Nicky Wilson described opposition to Wheeler’s visit in terms of a mobilisation from across the communities which depended upon employment at Cardowan: “you had men in fae various groups ae workforce and aw the families from Cardowan and roond aboot came and he couldnae get oot.” Wheeler was eventually unable to leave using the main exit and escorted from the premises by police. The protestors physically blocking Wheeler’s exit symbolised a rejection of the NCB’s financial priorities in favour of a moral economy claim on the colliery and the employment it provided. In both testimonies the needs of composure are met through a version of events which aligns the respondents’ past with their present sense of self. Thus, Tommy Canavan, articulating himself through the coalfield cultural circuit’s emphasis on the legacy of struggle, underlined the militancy of the Cardowan workforce in their opposition to Wheeler and rationalised that a stay-down strike was impossible due to the gaseous nature of the pit. Nicky Wilson, perhaps reflecting his role as current Scottish President of the NUM, argued opposition to Wheeler was more comical than violent: “Somebody stuck an ice cream on his head right enough, that’s aboot as much damage as he got!” It was Wheeler’s intransigence and arrogant attitude in lecturing the workforce and their families outside, and his insistence upon attempting to use the main exit against police advice, which was behind the incident.<sup>179</sup>

Yet, despite these differences in detail, Nicky Wilson’s account shared Tommy Canavan’s emphasis upon Wheeler’s aggressive anti-trade unionism which informed his opposition to the moral economy: “He probably suited the government at that time. He’d no social conscience or that, he didnae care what happened tae mining communities despite coming fae that originally. Just a ruthless, ruthless person who had ambition.”<sup>180</sup> As these comments indicate, the closure of Cardowan was highly politicised and was part of the restructuring of the British economy inaugurated by the Thatcher government. John Smith, Labour MP for North Lanarkshire and Shadow Energy Secretary, was joined by other Labour candidates from the 14 constituencies across which the Cardowan workforce resided in at rallies and meetings in the run up to the 1983 general election. Smith pledged a Labour

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<sup>178</sup> Tommy Cannavan, interview.

<sup>179</sup> Nicky Wilson, interview.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

government would save the colliery and remove Ian McGregor, who was installed as Chair of the NCB by the Thatcher government after he implemented aggressive anti-trade union industrial relations practices and financial cost management within British Steel. In place Labour would and institute a management committed to a strategy based on “an expansion of all the coalfields.”<sup>181</sup> At the appeal to the NCB in September the NUM pit delegate, Alec Hogg, asked the NCB to consider “the effect on the community” which closure would have, emphasising the high rate of male unemployment in Strathclyde Region, which stood at 20.5%, and the Regional Council’s support for maintaining Cardowan.<sup>182</sup>

The acrimony over the decision to close Cardowan was focused on rising unemployment and rapid deindustrialisation. Pat Egan remembered that in the early 1980s there was a major rundown of industrial employment around Twechar as two foundries, a brickworks, Bedlay, and Cardowan, closed whilst there were redundancies at the Burroughs electronics factory in Cumbernauld, which finally shut in 1987. By the mid-1980s “that was basically it for big employers” in the locality.<sup>183</sup> The incremental growth of unemployment and the lack of opportunities for work in other industries increased opposition to closure. McGahey drew attention to the fact that Cardowan was the last colliery in Lanarkshire at the appeal. Moral economy objections to closures were further bolstered by the rejection of the uneconomic status of the colliery; Cardowan was not a “clapped out pit”. Unlike Bedlay, Cardowan had large workable reserves with 8 years’ worth of immediately accessible coal, and long-term development prospects for 35 years more work. The COSA representative, J. Varley, starkly commented that it was “ludicrous that such large reserves should be sterilised for purely political reasons.”<sup>184</sup>

The view that Cardowan’s closure was willed by the Conservative government and their agents within the NCB was strengthened by the treatment of the pit’s manager, John Frame. The tension between social obligations felt more keenly by lower rungs of management and cost control imperatives from officials at Area and headquarters level was irreconcilable in the context of the NCB’s abandonment of the moral economy. This was imposed by new techniques and leading figures in the form of both McGregor and Wheeler, whilst those such as Frame who adhered to moral economy principles were removed. Frame had held his position since the 1960s and had a record of struggling for the colliery’s future inside the NCB’s hierarchy. In 1969 he stood alongside McGahey at an appeal against the pit’s

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<sup>181</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Executive Minutes July 1982 to June 1983* p.596, 617.

<sup>182</sup> NRS/CB 256/14/1 Memorandum Cardowan Colliery National Appeal Meeting Minutes date.19<sup>th</sup> September 1983.

<sup>183</sup> Pat Egan, interview.

<sup>184</sup> NRS/CB 256/14/1 Memorandum Cardowan Colliery National Appeal Meeting Minutes date.19<sup>th</sup> September 1983.

closure in asserting that he was confident it could reach a viable economic performance.<sup>185</sup> Frame's commitment to the future of Cardowan was also demonstrated in 1973 when he pressed the Scottish North Area to provide a new mechanical shovel to Cardowan as "the development programme at this pit is of paramount importance and we must ensure as far as is possible that the facilities are available for the job."<sup>186</sup>

Willie Doolan recalled that in 1983 as the NCB moved towards closing the colliery Frame, who he described as a "devout Christian", "Telling us privately, telling the union privately, 'fight for the retention ae your pit because you have millions of tons of reserves of coal there, you have a bright future good coal.'"<sup>187</sup> In similar terms Tommy Canavan stated, "Even the manager knew the pit shouldnae shut. But it was laid doon by the Coal Board, by Wheeler, McGregor the whole lot ae them this was what was tae happen."<sup>188</sup> Thus, in their determined pursuit of the closure of Cardowan the NCB ceased any pretence of adherence to moral economy responsibilities. Rather than consultation and a negotiated procedure of closure and subsequent transfer, under Wheeler the Scottish Area sought to divide the workforce and break community opposition through aggressively forcing through closure whilst offering financial incentives to entice men to take redundancy or transfer.

The closure of Polkemmet during the miners' strike served to further confirm that the NCB was wilfully disposing of valuable assets and associated employment. Both Seamus Milne's investigative journalism and oral testimonies from managers within the Scottish Area have confirmed that Albert Wheeler was personally responsible for ordering that managerial staff desist from pumping and maintenance activities which resulted in the pit flooding, with final closure following shortly after the strike ended. This was in the context of an unfolding crisis which resulted from a heightened return to work effort which involved the NCB collaborating with police in enrolling six of the pit's workforce to cross picket lines, and the NUM resultantly withdrawing safety cover.<sup>189</sup> Polkemmet's workforce included many transferees from Bedlay who commuted from Lanarkshire to West Lothian. The events surrounding the closure were recollected as a clear transgression of the moral economy. Gilbert Dobby who worked as an engineer at the pit stated it "wis closed wi a lie. It wis supposed to be flooded durin the miners' strike. Ehmm now a cannae say it wisnae flooded because it wis flooded but it wisnae flooded." He explained that although on strike engineers continued to provide safety cover to maintain the pits intact but that:

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<sup>185</sup> NRS/CB 256/33/2 Cardowan Colliery Extract from Note of Meeting between NCB and NUM in London on 13<sup>th</sup> November 1969.

<sup>186</sup> NRS/CB 256/33/2 J. Frame, Cardowan Colliery General Manager, Cardowan to A. Ludking DCME Service NCB Scottish North Area, Alloa date.23<sup>rd</sup> May 1973.

<sup>187</sup> Willie Doolan, interview.

<sup>188</sup> Tommy Cannavan, interview.

<sup>189</sup> Seamus Milne, *The Enemy Within: The Secret War Against the Miners* third edition (London: Verso, 2004) pp.319-321; Andrew Perchard and Jim Phillips, 'Transgressing the Moral Economy', p.398.

One day we hears the pits flooded. And we couldnae understand why it was flooded. But it was. You could put it as they “persuaded” people I cannae say any more than that cause I don’t know 100 per cent but I’m 99 per cent sure I cannae say but they were persuaded tae go back. Now the electrical work the manager ae the pit y’know the manager he couldnae interfere personally, physically, personally wi that okay. So they managed tae get a from what I understand doon the pit tae pit bottom then there was a slight incline you maybe walk 40 yards 50 yards on a very slight uphill incline cause that’ll be the very first coal tae work on and other seams were lower and it wis a more steep downward trend tae get tae where the other coal seams work. Now some o these coalfaces had a lot ae water in them so the water got pumped tae the pit bottom. There wis a big pit reservoir built and water got pumped in there, you’d a huge pump at the pit bottom that pumped the water intae there. As I say they managed to persuade this electrician back tae his work by what means I don’t know \*laughs\*. And he wis told “switch that pump off, the pit bottom pump” so he did what he wis told, switched it off. So the water’s no gettin pumped oot from the pit bottom oot the pit but the water’s still getting pumped from the lower workings intae there. So yes there was a flood in the pit bottom cause I wis doon the pit after it, I spoke to the Mines Rescue there wis a guy in it that I worked beside and he worked beside my father as well, who was in the Mines Rescue and they went doon to check things oot because ae this. And eh I wis talkin tae him and I says “how bad is it”, “aw, 3 weeks’ he says ‘it’ll be back in full production” I says “so it’s no flooded?” “naw”, he says, “a little bit of water in the facelines but they’re no bad cause the pump’s been pumpin the water oot anyway” but the water had only gone so far up the incline at the pit bottom it didnae go over and run back where it’d come fae. And that wis the excuse they used for closin the pit.<sup>190</sup>

Similar allegations of intentional damage were put forward by Peter Downie who explained that an expensive development, with assets estimated at a value of £300 million, was suddenly ended with no adequate explanation and that items of equipment were in his view intentionally left at the pit which was deliberately flooded by management: <sup>191</sup>

We had a development working and it was within a hundred feet of being complete. And there were miles and miles of coal going away up by Forth and up the Forth Hills and in tae, which all went opencast eventually. There were big machines set doon that pit before the strike and they never turned a wheel, never turned a wheel. And they, they, know I’m telling

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<sup>190</sup> Gilbert Dobby, interview.

<sup>191</sup> Jim Phillips, *Collieries, Communities and the Miners’ Strike in Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012) p.153.

the truth. I was there when I seen them going in. The machines that were costin millions of pound to go in to production, for production. The washer they had in Polkemmet was outdated, it was completely gutted out renewed and the strike came on it never turned a wheel, it never turned a wheel. But they continued the man that was daein the installation. He continued workin during the strike when we were idle. We're fightin for conditions in the pit and this firm's coming in and getting millions of pounds! For engineering, keeping engineering going, we had men that could have showed them how to build machines and put machines in. Cost millions and when the pit shut they just did like that and shut the pit they just said "it's finished it's finished".<sup>192</sup>

Peter Downie's memories emphasised the growing involvement of private contractors within the nationalised industry which expanded markedly during the 1980s. Their profit making undermined the solidity of strike action and constituted a waste of resources by the NCB. His analysis of the closure rested on the broader process of deindustrialisation, the decline of the steel industry's demand for coking coal, as well as the greater assertion of market principles within it. As with Cardowan, Polkemmet had previously supplied Ravenscraig, and similarly its economic viability was hampered by the shift towards imported coal.<sup>193</sup>

## Conclusion

The moral economy was grounded in the broader process of post-1945 economic reconstruction, and the assumption of social responsibility of employment by policy-makers discussed in the last chapter. However, it also had a specific basis in coalfield history and was grounded in a view of collieries and their associated employment as the property of the communities which depended upon them. It had its roots in the early twentieth century when coal owner paternalism was contested by collectivist oppositional practices within the coalfields. The moral economy was shaped by the experience of economic insecurity during the interwar period. This included mass unemployment but also injury, sickness and the context of class conflict, specifically the victimisation of trade unionists and socialists. The expectations of the nationalised industry were shaped by this history. Nationalisation was understood as the elimination of dependence upon the coal owners and included the institution of a system of industrial relations based upon consultation between management and the workforce. Social goals, including the stable provision of employment, the possibility for career advancement within the industry, and the finding of suitable work for those with disabilities, stood alongside

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<sup>192</sup> Moddiesburn Focus Group.

<sup>193</sup> Stephen Fothergill, 'The New Alliance of Mining Areas', in *Restructuring the Local Economy* ed. by Mike Geddes and John Benington (Exeter: Longman, 1992) p.57.

consultation as key anchors of the new system of industrial citizenship. The moral economy was implemented through the application of popular customs upon colliery closure. Closure was agreed through negotiation with workplace representatives and was contingent upon the provision of local employment either through pit transfer or the availability of alternative industrial work. In the event of transfer the gains of the nationalised industry with respect to grade advancement and the employment of miners with disability were preserved, or the latter were awarded compensation through early retirement or disability benefits. Although these customs were rarely adhered to in full, and were continually contested, community and trade union attitudes towards deindustrialisation were articulated through a moral economy consciousness and a language which emphasised the social obligations of the NCB.

These expectations were broadly met after the failure of the initial attempt to rebalance the Scottish coalfields through migration from Lanarkshire, in particular the Shotts area, upon nationalisation. The transfer schemes failed, due to competing for manpower with regional policy efforts at industrial diversification, and being implemented in the face of community resistance which demanded industrial investment. This formative experience of the management of closure under nationalisation shaped the moral economy, cementing demands for the provision of local employment through pit transfers or work in alternative industries. The NCB was initially concerned over the impact pit closures were having in creating disillusionment within communities and showed a sense of social obligation towards areas which were dependent on the industry. This was evident within the Southern Area, and from the mid-1950s in the Eastern Periphery. From the mid-1950s until the late 1960s closures were largely conducted through the provision of employment at pits within travelling distance of the communities affected. There were long-standing distinctions between geological and economic closures, with the former broadly accepted and the latter contested in the context of the moral economy's arguments that reserves of coal were community resources which should be exploited to provide employment. External circumstances, including the wider availability of employment in the locality, tempered or extenuated these claims. Through this process the conception of the locale was redefined and the moral economy criteria were stretched. This was particularly apparent in South Lanarkshire where miners were obliged to travel to Ayrshire as closure proceeded over the 1960s. Closure was more or less contested according to time and place. There was less resistance in the Eastern Periphery from the late 1950s as the availability of transfers to the redeveloped Bedlay and Cardowan combined with inward investment to provide adequate alternative employment opportunities.

From the late 1960s, in both the Northern Core and Southern Area, political concern rose over the impact of the running down of the coal mining industry as male unemployment rose. This was accompanied by rising discontent towards the operation of increasingly distant direction of closures

within the increasingly centralised NCB and the operation of energy policy which was seen as disadvantaging coal in favour of other fuels, especially oil. Between the late 1960s and 1974 the moral economy was renegotiated. This was precipitated by a hardening in the attitude of the NUM towards economic closures, which had previously been broadly accepted as long as they occurred within procedure. The changed approach was spurred by both the intensification of coalfield deindustrialisation and the emergence of a more combative generation of trade union leaders under McGahey and Daly. These factors combined with energy market shifts to facilitate industrial action which both improved miners' comparative wages, and also contributed to securing a stable future for coal mining through the 1974 Labour government's *Plan for Coal*. The NCB's earlier expectation that Bedlay and Cardowan would close were dropped as the coking coal market position improved and pressure for the maintenance of the industry mounted.

The NCB abandoned the social obligations of the moral economy during the 1980s in favour of financial imperatives in line with the Thatcherite reconstruction of the British economy. This was clear at the closure of Cardowan. The NCB's approach was a major transgression of the moral economy under the direction of the Board's Scottish Director Albert Wheeler who negated consultation in favour of aggressive anti-trade unionism, asserting the rights of management to dispose of collieries against claims of community rights to employment. Financial dimensions of compensation in return for redundancy and transfer were maintained as part of a strategy which undermined joint industrial regulation through a direct appeal to workers as individuals willing to accept the NCB's "offer". This eliminated the structures of joint regulation through which the moral economy was practiced at the same time as the NCB hierarchy was remoulded so that personnel hostile to the moral economy were promoted whilst those sympathetic to it were removed. Within the collective memory of the workforce Cardowan's closure has become conjoined with the miners' strike and remembered as a major confrontation with the NCB where tactics which attempted to divide miners by offering incentives in return for breaking union and community solidarity were pioneered. The moral economy's operation was dependent on a relatively favourable balance of class forces towards labour which prevailed between the 1940s and 1970s. It was not static, and contested continually, as the closures of the 1960s and the moral economy's reassertion over the late 1960s and early 1970s demonstrate. The closure of Cardowan glaringly demonstrated this balance was shifting rapidly away from labour, and it was perhaps even more apparent at Polkemmet which was flooded in suspect circumstances during the 1984-5 strike, at a high cost of local employment and public assets. Thus, the contested ownership of collieries and the employment they provided between the NCB and coalfield communities was resolved in favour of the NCB through the imposition of closures amid the fraught industrial relations which preceded the miners' strike, and were confirmed by its decisive outcome.



## Chapter 3 The Scottish Mining Community: Locale, Class, Nation and Sectarianism

### Introduction

By considering the long-term social consequences associated with the economic restructuring analysed from above and below in the previous two chapters, this chapter goes “beyond the ruins” of the deindustrialised Lanarkshire coalfields. Through focusing on shifts within “mental and cultural frameworks”, the long-term ramifications of deindustrialisation are privileged over the “body count” of lost employment and the trauma of final closures.<sup>1</sup> An analysis of the oral history testimonies is utilised to gain a perspective on the construction of community as a dialogic process. Identities are complex, with overlapping and contradictory elements contained within individuals who at different times relate to a multiplicity of identities. In the context of the Lanarkshire coalfields, communities were built within small geographically defined areas with a historical basis in the mining industry. Class solidarities based on a shared attachment to largely male manual industrial employment and public housing tenancy characterised such locales. The gender implications of these social structures are considered in the next chapter. This chapter examines existence of multiple identities that had complex interactions. Different elements of identity relating to locale, class, both British and Scottish national identity, and sectarian religious allegiances, were lent on within different contexts and in response to varying social and economic pressures and challenges.

It becomes apparent from this perspective that community is an inherently “value-laden” term, and therefore contested between political forces.<sup>2</sup> At any historical juncture definitions of community are restricted by power relations, the related distribution of linguistic resources which shape the understanding of a collective, and where barriers to membership, both social and geographical, are drawn. Collins’ analysis of claims to represent community interests made by both tenants’ groups and a government backed development project in Ferguslie Park housing scheme, in Paisley, west of Glasgow, emphasises the “historical and concrete” in the environment of “distinctly local” face-to-face based neighbourly networks.<sup>3</sup> This is apparent in the role of neighbourhood and workplace connections within geographically limited locale communities analysed in this chapter.

However, as the analysis of the influence of national consciousness in the construction of a Scottish mining identity demonstrates, solidarities which extend beyond the locale also played important roles

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<sup>1</sup> Cowie and Heathcott, ‘Introduction’, p.6.

<sup>2</sup> John Walsh and Steven High, ‘Re-thinking the Concept of ‘Community’’, *Social History/Histoire Sociale*, vol.32 (1999) pp.255-6.

<sup>3</sup> Chik Collins, ‘The Dialogics of ‘Community’: Language and Identity in a Housing Scheme in the West of Scotland’, in *Contested Communities: Experiences, Struggles, Policies* ed. by Paul Hoggett (Bristol: Policy Press, 1997) pp.84-6.

in shaping affiliations within coalfield communities. Walsh and High have sought to extend conceptions of community beyond considerations of “everyday interactions and exchanges”.<sup>4</sup> They emphasise the combination of economic production, social reproduction and the role of the nation state in framing understandings of community.<sup>5</sup> This chapter deploys a perspective that acknowledges the centrality of the locale in the conceptualisation of community whilst emphasising the mobilisation of a less geographically restricted industrial identity. It utilises Barron’s conclusion from studying women’s mobilisation in the Durham coalfield during the 1926 general strike and miners’ lockout, that consciousness garnered from local experiences served as “building blocks” upon which broader occupational and class based solidarities were constructed.<sup>6</sup>

The analysis focuses on locally based community and class consciousness and extends this to an analysis of a wider community of interests. The latter is emphasised in relation to the NUMSA’s annual Scottish Miners’ Gala that developed occupational and class consciousness. It did so by appealing to Scottish national feeling, within the context of a Britain-wide trade union and nationalised industry, but also through leaning on an internationalist outlook. Utilising trade union material from the Gala as well as oral testimonies the combination of national, occupational and class elements are considered in how they fused within the process of “imagining” of mining communities at both the locale and Scottish national scale. Through Anderson’s perspective on nationalism it is recognised that such connections are imagined because, as distinct from localised coalfield communities, in terms of conceiving a Scottish mining community most involved would “never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”<sup>7</sup>

Community and class were congruent but not confluent within the Lanarkshire coalfields. As the analysis in the last chapter emphasised, the experience of work and at times conflictual industrial relations, especially over the priorities which determined economic development and the management of colliery closures, shaped class consciousness. However, community experiences and allegiances were also fundamental in forming understandings of social solidarities and divisions. This chapter adopts a Thompsonian framework to analyse class relationships as a historically placed “happening”. Classes are a “social and cultural formation” made up of “a very loosely defined body of people who share the same congeries of interests, social experiences, traditions and value-systems, who have a disposition to behave as a class, to define themselves in their actions and in their consciousness in

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<sup>4</sup> Walsh and High, ‘Re-thinking the Concept of Community’, p.256.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America’s Rustbelt* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003) pp.164-166.

<sup>6</sup> Barron, *The 1926 Miners’ Lockout*, pp.281-2.

<sup>7</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2009) p.6.

relation to other groups of people in class ways.”<sup>8</sup> The role of institutions, associations, their activities and political culture within mining communities is understood in terms of culture’s function as “mediation” of social relations.<sup>9</sup> The important role that these elements played in defining both class consciousness and conceptions of community are emphasised.

Drawing inspiration from Williams’ analysis of subaltern challenges to hegemonic culture, the social apparatus of mining communities is interpreted as containing elements of both “alternative” and “oppositional” cultures. Williams understood hegemony as consisting of “the central, effective and dominant system of meanings and values, which are not merely abstract but which are organized and lived” through “a whole body of practices and expectations.”<sup>10</sup> Elements of an alternative culture are evident in relation to the maintenance of collective social activities through bodies such as Miners’ Welfares, which were to some extent removed from the market and tied to both occupational traditions and small-scale territorially defined neighbourhood communities. Through political expressions in trade unionism and especially the Communist-influenced politics of the NUMSA this alternative culture also had facets of an oppositional culture. This was grounded in a socialist ideology that expressly posited hostility to the capitalist organisation of society and developed international connections with both the Eastern Bloc and anti-colonial struggles.

The analysis in this chapter shares Gildart’s emphasis on understanding ‘labourism’ as an actively constructed expression of working class consciousness and practical politics, rather than as an aberration to the development of an overtly socialist political culture. This is contrary to the dominant accounts of labourism which have their origins in the ‘New Left’ analysis of the 1960s, and its successors, which distanced itself from both orthodox Marxism and social democracy. Within this analysis, labourism has broadly been understood as the product of a deliberately moderate and reformist effort to mobilise the existing apparatus of the British state to incrementally improve the well-being of an organised working class constituency. In Elliot’s terms The “Labour [Party] was founded to advance the interests of the labouring classes within capitalism, via reforms, not to create a qualitatively different form of society; to ameliorate not abolish capitalism.”<sup>11</sup> Elliot’s perspective explicitly concurs with the earlier New Left view of labourism as the product of the late nineteenth century development of a labour movement dedicated to economic aims and accepting of the broad parameters of British national interest and social relations.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.939.

<sup>9</sup> Raymond Williams, *Culture and Materialism: Selected Essays* second edition (London: Verso, 2005) pp.32-34.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, pp.39-44.

<sup>11</sup> Gregory Elliot, *Labourism and the English Genius* (London: Verso, 1993) vii.

<sup>12</sup> Tom Nairn, ‘The Nature of the Labour Party (Part I)’, *New Left Review* vol.27 (1964) p.40; Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism*, passim.

Practices of work and trade unionism, local government and shifting national consciousness shaped the variety of manual working class consciousness that predominated in the Lanarkshire coalfield. As the first and second chapter demonstrate, Scottish as well as British national consciousness were formative in the development of the politics of the NUMSA, and in its impact on the STUC. The analysis of a key Labour affiliated union, and the principle organisation of Scottish trade unions in this chapter suggest that CPGB affiliated activists were able to shape its political culture, and stance on international issues, as well as the key areas of industrial strategy and constitutional politics discussed in the first chapter. This indicates the requirement for a broadened conception of labourism. A plurality of ideological forces developed strategies that shared a core understanding of an industrially and politically united labour movement represented by the Labour Party in parliament. In the case of the NUMSA these were fundamentally at odds with both the Cold War alignment and unitary constitutional stance which has been viewed as integral to labourism.

Mining communities were neither static entities nor socially homogeneous. Perspectives on nostalgia are utilised to analyse the oral testimonies' presentation of the past, especially in relation to notions of relative equality and homogeneity, and interpretations of how these were disrupted by major shifts in housing tenure and economic activities. The next chapter examines gender and generational facets of the phased economic and social restructuring analysed through the lens of community development and disruption in this chapter. The initial process of coalfield contraction and inward investment which took place after 1945 is differentiated from the intensified deindustrialisation from the late 1970s. The former phase was accompanied by an initial wave of public house building and slum clearances, and the later by one of private house building which added to the dislocation of established social routines. Divisions in coalfield communities which drew barriers within or in some cases between geographically defined locales are considered with a focus on the role which religious sectarian divisions had in the Lanarkshire coalfields. Community membership was also contingent upon other factors. Class identities constructed through industrial occupations and housing tenure were paramount, facilitating solidarities across occupations within locales and neighbourhoods but also acting as a potent social barriers within them. These factors shaped cultural associations and activities through institutions including trade unions and Miners' Welfares as well as less formalised bonds between workmates and neighbours. Community membership and the extent to which individuals engaged in it also involved exercising agency. Thus, whilst fraternal bonds were constructed via workplace and neighbourly connections, and associated social activities through Miners' Welfares were widespread, embracing of the NUMSA's Communist-influenced culture was more limited. Alongside the influence of sectarian allegiances, it is evident that labourism was politically fractured, acting as a container and manager of division, as well as a unifying force, within working class culture.

## Community Development

The oral history narratives gathered for this thesis indicate a clear connection in consciousness between class and community. Dialogue was structured around questioning what it meant to be part of a mining community, and the form of association respondents felt with their neighbours. The role of connections formed around workplaces, neighbourhoods, and collective social activities was emphasised in terms that stressed the connected facets of class and community consciousness. Examples of both the closeness of community bonds constructed on this basis, and their exclusivity through the raising of barriers associated with these factors, were discussed. Michael McMahon was raised in Newarthill, North Lanarkshire where he worked alongside his uncle and father in the American owned Terex family. Both his grandfathers had been miners. His response to being asked the character of Newrthill was to emphasise its homogeneity and comment that “They were very working class.”<sup>13</sup> The association between class and community is confirmed in a negative sense by Mary Spence’s experience. Mary’s narrative confirms that social boundaries delimited community involvement in spite of geographical proximity and familial connections. She returned to Bantyre, South Lanarkshire, in 1959 aged twelve, with her father, who was from a mining background but had entered the civil service and risen to a relatively senior rank. Mary described the gulf which this created between her father and his family who lived in impoverished conditions owing to her grandmother having to care for both her grandfather and uncle who had been disabled by work in coal mining:

Mary Spence: Yes well what changed? Total change that I thought in that the people, my grandparents and aunt, they were so side-lined, they were like people on an island. They were away from the centre of things. They were no longer part of a community to the same extent with immediate neighbours, you could feel the isolation. My grandmother must have been a very proud woman. We lived from ’61 onwards in Blantyre round the corner from them round the corner round another corner about a couple of hundred yards away. My grandmother was able-bodied, never visited us. She was never nasty to us. But my father thought he was going to move back into bosom with his family. He was wrong, it didn’t happen. There was a barrier.

Ewan Gibbs: Why was that?

Mary Spence: I was never actually told but what I can tell you is only from working things out. I think it was because its money is one factor, they were in absolute poverty, very unfair.

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<sup>13</sup> Michael McMahon, interview with author, 21<sup>st</sup> February 2014, constituency office, Bellshill.

And we had a very nice house, they were still living in their council house. And my grandmother was very proud and she thought well this is just me speculating, I've done my job I've brought up my children now they must get on with it. She belonged in her world and she was in that world and we were in ours and she coped her best in her world.<sup>14</sup>

Mary's comments underline the key social distinction between middle class owner-occupiers and working class public housing tenants. They also emphasise the growing isolation felt in some mining communities during the 1960s under the impact of the economic restructuring outlined in chapter one. The social impact of this is considered below. Jessie Clark also recalled the retention of sharp class divisions into the period of the nationalised industry. Her memories highlight the importance of the continuing connection between workplace matters and community life. She commented that post-nationalisation, "It wasn't just plain sailing you still had that manager you know." Despite the promise of "more democracy" within the workplace, there were evident elements of continuity in management power. In this case a particular manager, who had continued in his post from the private industry, "prevented us getting a house for a wee while." She speculated this was the result of her husband's reputation as a "troublemaker" given his Communist and trade union affiliations. The NCB hierarchy, or at least this particular individual, used the Board's control of SSHAs houses at Rigsides, in South Lanarkshire, to exercise power over the workforce reminiscent of that exercised by paternalist private employers who acted as landlords considered in the last chapter.<sup>15</sup>

Jessie's reflections on the eventual move to these new houses contained both happy memories of a major material improvement but also a feeling that the togetherness of community life in the miners' rows where she had grown up declined:

Jessie Clark: It was a big change for me because I'd been living in a room in somebody's house when I got married at first you know. And to go tae a house a where I had three bedrooms and a bathroom and running water, fantastic you know! It was, it was good to have a bath eh because that was the one thing about living in the miners' rows, you didn't have a bath and unlike the people in cities. We didn't have the baths that we could go to, you know, next door to the steamie, you know, eh. So that that was a great benefit as well, you know, because I had never been brought up in a house with a bath. You coped, eh, alright, but that was the one thing having hot water and, eh, on top and, and a bath made a difference yes. But I must say when it came to, eh, friendship, comradeship, the village, the old village, was a

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<sup>14</sup> Mary Spence, interview with author, The Terraces café, Olympia shopping centre, East Kilbride, 11<sup>th</sup> August 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Jessie Clark, interview.

hundred percent second to none. And even the move up to a mile way to these new houses it was different, it was different.

Ewan Gibbs: How was it different?

Jessie Clark: It was really it wasn't as close a community you know. Literally close I mean, miners' rows when you think about it, y'know, eh, there wasnae the same closeness you know as there had been you know.<sup>16</sup>

These comments on the role of geographical closeness emphasise the degree to which public and private spheres were overlapping in coalfield communities. Thus, as mentioned above, the community itself formed a very restricted public with membership defined on class, occupational and within the pit itself, gender terms. However, the nominally private family sphere had traditionally been inhibited by physical closeness and shared amenities and social lives. Jessie's interview emphasised that self-organised community activities through the Miners' Welfare including tennis courts, bowling greens, a pipe and silver band as well as dances and social events were at the centre of social life in Douglas Water. In Shotts similar recollections to Jessie's about the neighbourly closeness of miners' rows were also accompanied by references to such activities. During the interwar period this had also included illegal gambling syndicates organised around "safe houses" in the dense miners' rows, as well as more public formally organised events. Bill Paris, who grew up within a Shotts mining family and worked in local collieries, recalled that:

It was actually quite a busy town and there was many local amenities for everyone. Well the Miners' Welfare existed at that time and eh I can remember there was swimming baths and a library and various other...I would say y'know associations clubs built round about it eh there was tennis courts, bowling green. Snooker, there was a billiards club and eh also there was the junior football clubs. Football was a strong very strong thing in the area because there were junior clubs, amateur clubs, juvenile clubs and they were they say probably quite a lot at least half a dozen maybe even more eh and all sorts ae other pastimes associated you had the dog track as well doon there.<sup>17</sup>

As in Jessie Clark's narrative, the focus group in Shotts recalled that the community was pressured by pit closures and increasing travelling to work:

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Shotts focus group.

Ella Muir: Would it be fair to say if you've got these people changing under the umbrella if you moved onto different things would it do anything to the community the feeling in the community?

Bobby Flemming: It certainly fragmented. In the mining there was a common strand running through everything whereas going to all different industries it certainly fragmented

Betty Turnwood: The more people went out to different jobs the less people were all the same.

Willie Hamilton: The community as you say fragmented, they weren't so close as what they were.<sup>18</sup>

These memories of community fragmentation associated with post-1945 intertwined residency and employment shifts emphasise the growth of privacy. More socially and geographically mobile individuals entered new routines that led their employment and social lives to be less connected with their neighbours and work colleagues. Yet alongside these developments it is quite clear that there were elements of continuity. For instance, Willie Hamilton played for Shotts Vics junior football team which had a historic connection with both local miners and steelworkers, and mentioned there had been an ongoing presence of amateur teams in Shotts which had only declined in recent years. He also recalled that these activities formed connections within Southfield pit where men from Fauldhouse in West Lothian and Carluke in South Lanarkshire bonded with those from Shotts by playing sports together.<sup>19</sup>

The remaking of coalfield communities was positively affected by housing developments. Whilst being associated with the decline of old communities defined by the communal social activities of the miners' rows, the housing schemes constructed during and after the Second World War retained close forms of workplace and neighbourhood connections. These formed the basis of new communities. Margaret Wegg's family moved into an SSHA house in Cardowan in 1948 when she was seven years old. Her father worked at Cardowan colliery and had previously travelled from Feriegair near Hamilton but was offered a house in the village through a friend, a "union man", demonstrating both the continuation of coal industry involvement in housing and an extension of joint regulation within the nationalised industry beyond the workplace. Margaret fondly recalled social life in the village which revolved around connections to the colliery. She referred to miners as "the salt of the earth", reflecting on the generosity on display in regular collections being held at Cardowan colliery which

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Marian and Willie Hamilton, interview.



supported a range of initiatives including a pensioners' club that she is presently involved with. Margaret's testimonies also emphasised the importance of neighbourly connections with "mining families" several times, which were characterised by friendliness and shared social activities:

Cause when I was small in the winter when the snow was on the ground we used to sledge down the street and straight into the field you know, you had to duck under the wire but we used to you know or we used to go into the field and play, you played you know. I mean we used to play out in the street and our parents used to, well ma mum and Gladys stayed across the road, it was all mining families. And my mum and them used to go out in the street and play rounders, we'd play tennis you know, they played with the kids. No the first time the knock had come to the door, "is your mum coming out to play?" You know what I mean, that was the way it was, you know.<sup>20</sup>

Billy Ferns had parallel recollections of life in Bishopbriggs. Billy worked alongside his father at Cardowan colliery and moved to the area during the mid-1960s into houses demarked for miners. He estimated there were up to forty mining families who lived in NCB houses in the area. The men and their families socialised, indicating the establishment of a new coal community: "You went oot to we used to go oot to the miners' club on a Saturday up in Kirkintilloch they were aw there wi their wives I used tae go tae sometimes Twechar or Kilsyth and you'd meet all the boys there Saturday night with their wives. I knew them all well."<sup>21</sup>

There is a clear distinction between these descriptions and those ascribed to the period of private house building and intensified deindustrialisation outlined below. This has contributed to the rise of commuter towns and the decline of relatively autonomous industrial settlements with interlinked residency, work and social life patterns. Siobhan McMahon, Michael's daughter, remembered growing up in Bellshill, North Lanarkshire, during the 1980s where an "industrial community" was marked by a cross-over of family and neighbourhood connections. Siobhan's conception of an industrial community parallels Thompson's view of the working class being defined by a common culture. In particular, they share an emphasis on the role that collective mobilisation against the instability and power imbalances of industrial capitalist societies have in forming shared worldviews centring on a broadly defined commonality of experience and interest. Siobhan felt that families of miners, steelworkers, engineers and welders, including her father and both her grandfathers, had a stake in the "shared struggle the community had gone through." This was juxtaposed to the middle class character of the estates of "fancy new houses" where lawyers and accountants reside. In

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<sup>20</sup> Margaret and Jerry Wegg, interview with author, residence, Stepps, 17<sup>th</sup> November 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Billy Ferns, interview with author, residence, Bishopbriggs, 17<sup>th</sup> March 2014.

particular Siobhan emphasised the impact that the town's increasing reliance on commuting and relatively low paid service sector job has had in disrupting traditional community patterns and the essence of what she saw as having defined life in Bellshill:

We've changed in that the jobs aren't coming to the area anymore. And when they do come, it's what I would, it's not, it's not the same types of jobs, not the skilled jobs that you required to keep people. We've got lots o big retail jobs Tesco coming great, and it is great. But our town centre's decimated because it's charity shops, it's bookies, it's pubs, what does that say to young people y'know? What job do you get there and when you're trying to better yourself at uni then you don't come back to Bellshill. You're not going to get a job in Bellshill you go somewhere else. So people aren't remaining in Bellshill. They're seeing it as a town to build nice new houses in absolutely because it's half way between Glasgow and Edinburgh so it gets you along the motorway. That was never what it was supposed to be about that was never what Bellshill was.<sup>22</sup>

Siobhan McMahon's comment "that was never what it was supposed to be about", indicates a clear mental synonymy between Bellshill and an "industrial community". Its transformation into a suburban commuter town reliant on service sector employment is seen as a challenge to its very essence and disrupted a strongly felt sense of belonging. Duncan Macleod, whose father and grandfathers were Lanarkshire miners before his father migrated to Derbyshire during the late 1940s following colliery closures in in Carluke, South Lanarkshire. He felt that its shift towards a dormitory town had a similar impact as in Bellshill. The population has increased in size whilst over the same period visible signs of the area's mining legacy have been removed:

So what you find in Carluke is Carluke's gone from about say about 8,000 population to about 14,000. They've built about 2,000 new houses in the last thirty, forty, years. These'll be the oldest of the new ones if you like. These are about 40 years old. I work in my grandson's primary school and if you talk to the people, let's call them incomers for want of a better word, they're not aware of the mining history of this area. And yet if you come up even 20 years ago which was 30 years after the pit closed you couldn't fail to be aware that it was a mining area simply cause of the bings everywhere. And if you come in from Airdrie, from the Airdrie direction coming along the A73, you could see it from as far as the land was flat, it was almost like an artificial mountain.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Siobhan McMahon, interview with author, Central Scotland Regional List MSPs Office, Coatbridge, 28<sup>th</sup> March 2014.

<sup>23</sup> Duncan and Marian Macleod, interview with author, residence, Carluke, 1<sup>st</sup> March 2014.

Duncan also emphasised the demise of regular community events such as the annual miners' gala day which had continued after the local pits had closed. The interlinked changes in housing tenure and occupational structure disrupted the conceptions of class and community which had pervaded for four decades. In 1981 Motherwell, Wishaw, Bellshill and Coatbridge all had council house tenancy rates of over 80%.<sup>24</sup> This was reflected in the overwhelming majority of the interviewees having lived in public sector housing. Jennifer McCarrey grew up in Mossend, North Lanarkshire during the 1970s and 1980s. Her parents were both active trade unionists. Jennifer's father was the convenor for non-manual workers in Ravenscraig, where her grandfather had also worked. Jennifer recollected that the economic restructuring of the 1980s was interpreted through a linked community and class consciousness. This reinforced identification with the Labour Party which was in part associated with the predominance of council house tenancies in the Bellshill area, and affirmed the social division based on housing tenancies which Mary Spence referred to:

Jennifer McCarrey: You've got to remember our existence was very different. Like I had never even been in a bought house tul I was like a teenager. Nobody I knew even lived in a bought house!

Ewan Gibbs: It was all council housing?

Jennifer McCarrey: Everybody lived in a scheme, in a council house like you were saying. I was saying the other day I never met a Tory tul I was 14. One of them was leafleting up in a scheme in Bellshill, I remember looking at him as if to say you look just like us. It was that uniformity of the political identity in my community. It was the safest Labour seat in Scotland, North Lanarkshire.<sup>25</sup>

These comments resonate with Hassan and Shaw's view of post-1945 'Labour Scotland' as having been strengthened by the "institutional pillars" of public housing, local government and trade unionism. Jennifer's parents' trade unionism and her involvement as a young Labour Party activist during the 1980s are indicative of these connections. They sufficed to sustain a "Labour state which extended far into the lives of communities in a way unimaginable now", linking the workplace, housing and political representation.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> W. W. Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland, 1800-present* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999) p.262.

<sup>25</sup> Jennifer McCarrey, interview with author, iCafe, Woodlands, Glasgow 9<sup>th</sup> October 2014.

<sup>26</sup> Hassan and Shaw, *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland*, pp.5-7.

## Nostalgia and Critical Nostalgia: “It was Quite Good”

A feeling of nostalgia, defined by Davis as a sense of “ostensibly lost values, the sense of some ineffable spirit of worth or goodness having escaped time”, is apparent from the testimonies.<sup>27</sup> Nostalgia is a term with origins in ‘algos’, the Greek word for pain.<sup>28</sup> Strangleman has deployed this understanding to conceive of nostalgia for industrial communities as “a mourning process” for lost social connections, cultural activities and occupational identities.<sup>29</sup> Jones’ analysis of working class experiences in mid-twentieth century Brighton stresses the “longing for home” associated with the nostalgia for industrial workplaces and communities constructed around them. A latent critique of present circumstances and the absence of these structures is thus implicated within this feeling.<sup>30</sup> This is communicated in the form of “broad brushed contrasts” between a past defined by a vibrant industrial community and a present whose main feature is its erosion. Samuel viewed this dichotomy as typifying memories of major social changes.<sup>31</sup> High has argued such feelings of loss within industrial communities are often characterised by a “smokestack nostalgia” which emphasises sensual experiences of industrial activities.<sup>32</sup> This was evident within the oral testimonies. For instance Marian Hamilton, Willie’s wife, whose grandfather was a miner and father an iron moulder, fondly recalled that in Shotts, “You used to get up and suddenly you heard the boots in the morning the tramp tramp tramp and that was folk going to the pits and going tae the ironworks cause it was a big works as well.”<sup>33</sup> Jennifer McCarrey remembered that the sound of both the Lanarkshire and Ravenscraig steelworks, where her father worked, were defining features of life in Mossend. She found their absence displacing upon moving to Birmingham:

The other really weird thing that happened when I moved out of Bellshill was, ehm I didn’t sleep very well and I realised it’s because I couldn’t hear the clanging of the steel at night. Because that was constant through ma whole life, you would hear the clanging of the steel at night at Clydesdale and wherever, you always heard it. And I noticed it wasn’t here anymore! It was bizarre it was like what is that? Only when I went home I realised it was the steel! It sounds ridiculous now but it was absolutely true.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: The Free Press, 1979) p.13.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Nostalgia’ *Oxford Dictionaries* <<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/nostalgia>> [accessed 22/7/2015].

<sup>29</sup> Tim Strangleman, ““Smokestack Nostalgia,” “Ruin Porn” or Working-Class Obituary: The Role and Meaning of Deindustrial Representation”, *International Labour and Working Class History* vol.84 (2013) p.28.

<sup>30</sup> Ben Jones, *The Working Class in Mid-Twentieth Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012) pp.187-8.

<sup>31</sup> Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 2012) p.6.

<sup>32</sup> Steven High, *Industrial Sunset*, p.50.

<sup>33</sup> Marian and Willie Hamilton, interview.

<sup>34</sup> Jennifer McCarrey, interview.

It is evident from the extracts above that these feelings of affinity with industrial activities were entrenched by the infrastructure of community life built around them. Mick McGahey referred to coal mining as providing the basis for a “social fabric” of activities and social connections.<sup>35</sup> As in Duncan Macleod’s recollections, annual gala days played a key role in this. Rhona Wilkinson-Hewett, whose grandfather worked at Woodmuir and then Polkemmet colliery, had fond childhood memories of the annual day in Breich, West Lothian, just east of the border with Lanarkshire:

Everybody all went to the miners’ gala day. We always had our gala day, all that sort of stuff. It was a big day even although Breich couldnae afford shows or anythin. I think one year we got a coconut shy that would be aboot it! But it was just like races over the park and a cauld mince pie. Fauldhouse always seemed grand cause they had a Tunnocks box at their gala day. Ehm, but we just get a cauld pie and a German biscuit or something like that, that’d be it!<sup>36</sup>

Rhona’s emphasis on material deprivation alongside social cohesion concurs with the assessment of community apparent in memories of interwar miners’ rows. In accordance with the descriptions of conditions in Shotts, a similar assessment of social connections spurred by impoverishment was given by Barbarra Goldie, who was from a mining family in Cambuslang, and went on to marry a steelworker. She stated that mining families “had nothing then, we were aw in the same boat.”<sup>37</sup>

The dialogue in these instances was influenced by intersubjectivities. Oral history makes the historian “part of the source”.<sup>38</sup> Interviews are meetings between two individuals and relations between them shape dialogue.<sup>39</sup> In these cases the generational factor was paramount, given I was identified as somebody who had grown up following the decline of heavy industry as a major employer in Scotland. I was known to the interviewees as a University of Glasgow student originally from Edinburgh, contributing to perceptions of both geographical and social distance. This perhaps heightened contrasts between past and present. In the case of Alan Blades it also emboldened claims of the solidarity engendered through neighbourhood connections in the mining village of Greengairs, North Lanarkshire, through a contrast with my own background: “You’re a tight-knit community, y’know what I mean? It’s not like growin up in Leith!” He later specified that he felt the “village mentality” of Greengairs was particular to small-scale settlements, arguing that differing social

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<sup>35</sup> Mick McGahey, interview.

<sup>36</sup> Rhona Wilkinson-Hewett, interview with author, residence, Fauldhouse, 7<sup>th</sup> November 2014.

<sup>37</sup> Barbara Goldie and Margaret Keena, interview with author, Whitehall Bowling Club, Cambuslang, 8<sup>th</sup> December 2014.

<sup>38</sup> A. Portelli, ‘What Makes Oral History Different’ in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson eds. *The Oral History Reader* second edition (Oxon: Routledge, 2006) p.40.

<sup>39</sup> V. Yow, “‘Do I like them too much?’: Effects of the Oral History Interview on the Interviewer and Vice-Versa”, in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson eds. *The Oral History Reader* second edition (Oxon: Routledge, 2006) p.59.

attitudes, especially a tendency toward suspicion and to treat others as strangers, were visible in the comparatively large town of Airdrie where he now resides.<sup>40</sup>

These generational intersubjectivities perhaps contributed in a positive way towards displays of “critical nostalgia”. Bonnett has theorised that critical forms of nostalgia are necessary in criticising the present from a standpoint which identifies what has been lost in transition from the past. The key role of a more analytical perspective also allows for the “radical imagination” to conceptualise a grounded perspective on historical experiences.<sup>41</sup> Therefore nostalgia can entail recognition of elements of improvement as well as regression associated with deindustrialisation and connected social changes. Strangleman’s assessment of industrial nostalgia builds on such perspectives to make the case for a “a more generous critical cultural reading”, emphasising that alongside very real feelings of loss and pain associated with nostalgia: “In seeking out the past, there is the pleasure taken in ‘better days,’ but a critical engagement with both past and present is simultaneously provoked.”<sup>42</sup> This form of nostalgia therefore acts as a means to articulate criticisms of the past as well as the present. Thus, Alan Blades, perhaps influenced by my presence as a representative of a generation which had matured after most major industrial closures had taken place, and my status as a university student, argued economic changes had presented opportunities for some young men as well as social dislocation for others:

Alan Blades: Oh aye I would say cause boys and then obviously their sons arenae getting in the local pit so you’ve got the young ones aw comin through that were expected tae work in the pits they’d to go elsewhere and look for the jobs y’know what I mean?

Ewan Gibbs: Where would they have gone to look for work?

Alan Blades: Well obviously Airdrie, Glasgow y’know what I mean. It’d maybe be good for some ae them cause some ae them would probably say “I’ll need to be good I’ll need to start gettin into ma education” y’know. And go to uni and college and aw that y’know.<sup>43</sup>

The comments on community cohesiveness emphasised above were often accompanied by reflections on the impoverishment that accompanied them. These were emphasised in relation to the conditions of the private coal industry. In the Shotts focus group these were brought out more fully in relation to the material deprivation that underpinned togetherness:

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<sup>40</sup> Alan Blades, interview.

<sup>41</sup> Alastair Bonnett, *Left in the Past: Radicalism and the Politics of Nostalgia* (New York: Continuum, 2010) pp.1-3.

<sup>42</sup> Strangleman, ““Smokestack Nostalgia””, pp.25-28.

<sup>43</sup> Alan Blades, interview.

Willie Hamilton: I once said tae ma son when I was young every door you could go intae it wisnae locked. He says “what if somebody” I said “we had nothing to steal!”

Cathy Ratcliffe: You were aw in the same boat.

Willie Hamilton: We had nothin to steal, everyone was in the same boat.<sup>44</sup>

Perhaps more pertinently, a critical outlook was visible towards the culture within mining communities. Facets of these criticisms in relation to sectarianism later in this chapter and patriarchal gender relations are emphasised within the next chapter. Brendan Moohan grew up in Musselburgh, East Lothian. His grandfather was a Communist who was blacklisted out of Lanarkshire collieries during the interwar period. He subsequently found employment in the Midlothian coalfield where Brendan and his father subsequently also worked. Brendan’s comments indicated his feelings of ambiguity towards the organised associational life that characterised mining communities. He commented that:

There was something about that mining lifestyle that mining communities had that was a little bit conservative with a small c and if you were adventurous could be quite restrictive. You know it was, and there was a clear hierarchy to it as well. You know, you had the guys who were on the committee, and the guys from the union. There was a, there was a very definite kind of structure to it.<sup>45</sup>

However, reflecting the facets of critical nostalgia, his criticisms were qualified by reflections on the loss of “social cohesion” and the “form of socialism” that the associational life of mining communities contained. In particular he felt that the occupational identity and activities of Miners’ Welfares created a pride and consciousness that has been eroded following deindustrialisation which had involved a transition from an active community with a unique social life that celebrated its role in the mining industry to one increasingly based on the passive receivership of media forms:

But the miners’ clubs again, the other kind of socialistic element to it was in your community you’re gonna celebrate your community, and we’re gonna have this gala day every year, the high point of the year in the summer. And we’ll have all these kinda sporting activities, all that kind of stuff. It would all centre round the club, but it would be something whereby the community celebrated itself. I have to say in a very hierarchical way with a Gala Queen and

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<sup>44</sup> Shotts focus group.

<sup>45</sup> Brendan Moohan, interview with author, residence, Livingston, 5<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

all the rest of it. But it was something that was for working class people, accessible for working class people and being bold enough to celebrate who they are and in their own community. I think that was a good thing. And you know nowadays you know if people, nowadays, people more recipient of things to celebrate, i.e. they'll watch the World Cup, they'll celebrate whoever wins, the Olympics, something that's put on their TV screen. Whereas in those events you had all ages having their races, their singing competitions, their boxing competitions, the garden competition was often judged then. So there was a variety of things and it was celebrating no further than the boundaries of the village. It was quite good.<sup>46</sup>

Brendan's sentiment that growing up in a mining community "was quite good" contains key elements of critical nostalgia in noting the past's detractions but nevertheless asserting elements of positivity compared with present circumstances. His narrative articulated criticisms of social conservatism, yet nevertheless, in contrasting mining communities' social life with less mobilising and politically conscious contemporary routines he felt they had provided much that was of value.

A broader ambiguity in attitudes towards coal employment was evident in the bitterness which characterised memories of health and safety and disasters. In several interviews it was apparent elements of community and occupational pride stood in tension with considerations of the toll which employment in mining had on men's bodies. Antony Rooney's comments had parallels with Mary Spence's father's keenness to avoid the pits by working in a better remunerated and cleaner environment. Antony grew up within a miners' row in Bellshill and his father and both grandfathers were miners, but he recalled that "ma father wouldnae let any of us go anywhere near the pits", with both himself and his brother going on to take jobs in engineering factories. He summed up his attitude to underground work, stating mining "was a dangerous dirty job", and went on to reflect on the social injustices suffered by his father who died of lung disease only four years after he was made redundant: "All ma father got out of it was I carried him down the stair in a box, 60 years old."<sup>47</sup> Yet, Antony also proudly presented a picture of his father in his work clothes and indicated he felt a strong family connection to the industry: "I've never forgot my upbringing y'know, I've definitely got an affinity with the miners and that. As I say my whole family was on both sides, my mother's side coal mining and my father's."<sup>48</sup>

Scott McCallum, whose brother, father and grandfather worked in the Lanarkshire coalfield recalled that his father suffered a similar fate to Antony's, dying of lung cancer. Due to the fact he was a

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Antony Rooney, interview.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.



smoker he was denied compensation despite clear evidence that it was in fact his experience of mining that had contributed to his condition:

He was a smoker and eh he decided to stop smoking after Christmas, New Year one year. He started bringing up blood, he forgot to flush the toilet one time it wis black and it smelled like a charcoal barbeque, and he had to come oot put his hands up and admit that this was coal dust. But he was a smoker and you couldnae well prove anythin at the time. It wis coal, stains o black coal and the smell. He suffered through that tul he died.<sup>49</sup>

Scott's memories of a 1982 gas explosion at Cardowan colliery where his father and brother worked revealed both an awareness of the dangers associated with the industry, but also that the sense of community in Cardowan village where his family lived was strengthened by its stance in the face of adversity. The explosion fortunately led to no deaths but did have a casualty toll of 25, with seven men having to be stretchered to hospital with burns:<sup>50</sup>

I remember in 1982 after my brother had just started and the teacher started shouting a list of names, and there had been a gas explosion, and it had the names aw the families. Fortunately that day my brother had slept in and ma brother was had what you call a rest day, a sick day. They'd been workin in the same bit as him. That brought everybody quite close, there was lots of services it was broadcast all over the world. We had family all over the world, Australia and Canada, saying they'd seen it on the news and checking everybody was okay. And then for years after it you still seen people that was affected. One man, just mentally disturbed in his head, he could remember bits of it. It was a close-knit community everybody knew everybody.<sup>51</sup>

A similar perspective was given by Margaret Wegg who was employed at the pit's canteen at the time. The disaster served as both a memory of the dangers miners endured but also as a pertinent example of solidarity, symbolised by the efforts of the workers who were off shift, as she was, to assist with the rescue:

That was a bad one that was you know. But even then that's when you knew there was a community. I mean people ma dad's age was retired but the minute the word went out that that had happened all the old miners were right down to the pit to see what they could do you

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<sup>49</sup> Scott McCallum, interview with author, The Counting House, Dundee, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2014.

<sup>50</sup> 'Cardowan Colliery (Accident) HC Deb 27 January 1982 vol 16 cc889-91', *Hansard* <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1982/jan/27/cardowan-colliery-accident>> [accessed 21/6/2015].

<sup>51</sup> Scott McCallum, interview.

know. Could they go down to see, help with the rescue. Everyone sorta, because I wasn't working, I was on the nightshift. And I heard at 8, 7 o'clock, in the morning I think it was. We just got ready and that was it. We were down, the canteen staff were all there working you know. It didn't matter whether you were off duty or on duty or that you were down you know it was that. Oh there was a bad that was when John O'Rourke got brain damage. That eh, as I say, that was when we knew there was a community.<sup>52</sup>

These themes were apparent in reflection on other major disasters, especially the Auchengeich disaster of 1959 in which 47 men died in an underground fire. It was evident that this event's significance has been transmitted through the cultural circuit of coalfield memory. For instance Siobhan McMahon recollected her maternal grandmother, a miners' wife, recently telling her about the experience of the disaster in terms which underlined the strength of community ties and the key role that women played in responding to the disaster. She recalled her grandmother's memories in strong emotional terms, of terror at the incident and the combination of relief and guilt, with thought for other families who had not been so fortunate, with which wives and mothers responded to the knowledge that their sons and husbands had survived:

The women were the strongest I was talking to my gran only last week about the Auchengeich ehm pit disaster ehm and every year there's a memorial held about it and I go. And I was just explaining I was saying to her y'know my grandpa was in one ae the pits "so what was that like when you heard y'know there had been a fire at the pit?" She said "it had been on the news and one of the other wives had come up and said 'y'know there's a disaster at Auchengiech?'" So all the females got their children and waited at Bellshill Cross waiting on the bus coming back to see if their partner would get off the bus. How harrowing that must have been to wait and to see if your partner was coming off a bus because they had no other means of communication you know at that time. And she said y'know obviously that was a worried time for her it and the support. It was the female, just the image of that, standing for hours at a bus stop waiting on that and holding each other together. I mean how strong those women must have been.<sup>53</sup>

These experiences have parallels with Richards' examples from South Wales where he found that "blood on the coal ... generated a moral claim on the local mine."<sup>54</sup> Disasters served as pivotal events in framing conceptions of what it meant to be a mining community, emphasising collective solidarity in the face of the dangers that the industry brought. This further underlined moral economy arguments

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<sup>52</sup> Margaret Wegg, interview.

<sup>53</sup> Siobhan McMahon, interview.

<sup>54</sup> Andrew J Richards, *Miners on Strike: Class Solidarity and Division in Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 1996) p.22.

and the sense that a community which had sacrificed for the industry had a right to economic security. The annual commemoration of the Auchengeich disaster now acts as source of community continuity for Willie Doolan, from Moodiesburn, North Lanarkshire. Although Willie was only aged four at the time of the disaster he had memories of the events and its impact on families who lost fathers and sons. He was involved in Auchengeich Miners' Welfare's efforts to raise £35,000 for a major memorial for fiftieth anniversary of the disaster in 2009. His comments on this emphasised a wider occupationally defined solidarity and sense of community between miners across Scotland and internationally:

Willie Doolan: I don't know whether I said to you about it before or not Ewan but we have every year we have an annual memorial service to commemorate the miners that lost their lives in the Auchengeich pit disaster. They, I mean the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary was in 2009, and we could command three thousand people at that memorial service. But it wasn't only the families of ex-miners from this community. We had people from as far as the Lothians coming through we had people from down south coming up tae share with this community once again the sorrow that we and the sadness that we had undergot due to that disaster that happened in oor pit.

Ewan Gibbs: So is there a bigger mining community that goes beyond localities maybe occupational? You're talking about people from the Lothians or England.

Willie Doolan: Oh they were always a close, a miner, I mean my own perception o that is irrespective of whether the miners is in oor community irrespective of whether they're in the Lothians, Ayrshire eh or the English coalfields an injury to one or even internationally Poland, Russia, French eh France. If there was an injury or a cause of concern from them that was embraced by the Scottish miners also and the mining communities.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Willie Doolan, interview.



**Figure 3.1** ‘Auchengeich Memorial’, Moodiesburn, Ewan Gibbs, 29<sup>th</sup> November 2014.

Willie’s recollections indicate elements of celebration of community spirit as well as a commemoration of the dead. They also implicated the connections and tensions between occupation, community, class and nation. Memories of international solidarity shown by and attendees at the Auchengeich commemoration event from across Scotland and Britain demonstrate that at least in a limited sense the imagined national and international mining occupational community took material forms. This was not the inevitable outcome of the development of class consciousness within mining communities. *Coal is Our Life*, the influential ethnographic study of the South Yorkshire mining village of Ashton during the early 1950s, found that a community was shaped by “a common fate determined by virtue of their similar relationship, through a wage-earning husband, to the coal industry.” The collective experience of wage labour conditioned an awareness of “the fact of being of the ‘working class’”. Class conflict took place through the “day-to-day life in the pit [which] sees a constant struggle for advantage between the deputy and the workmen.” This moulded a highly visible but restricted form of politicisation which was “certainly class-conscious in the limited sense of their view of the immediate relations between workers and employers.”<sup>56</sup> These findings challenge simplistic explanations of broader solidarities as being the logical outgrowth of the mining industry and community locale.<sup>57</sup> The consciousness exhibited by Willie Doolan requires an analysis of the NUMSA’s political culture. Whilst Willie’s perspective was not universal within the Lanarkshire or Scottish coalfields, as demonstrated in the discussion of sectarianism later in this chapter, a politicised

<sup>56</sup> Norman Dennis, Fernando Henriques and Clifford Slaughter, *Coal is Our Life: An Analysis of a Yorkshire Mining Community* (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1956) pp.26-32

<sup>57</sup> Dick Geary, ‘The Myth of the Radical Miner’, in *Towards a Comparative History of Coalfield Societies* ed. by Stefan Berger, Andy Croll, and Norman La Porte (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) p.50.

conception of a unified Scottish mining community with broader British and international interests was articulated and disseminated through union discourses, organisation, and activism.

### **The NUMSA's Political Culture**

The NUMSA had a political culture which built on community and workplace experiences to emphasise the broader class and international dimensions of events in the coalfields. This was a conscious policy of the Communist leadership of the NUMSA from the formation of the Scottish Area as a federated member of the NUM in 1945. Unlike the NUMSA, the Scottish Colliery Enginemmen, Boilermen and Tradesmen's Association (SCEBTA), which was formed at the same time, retained full organisational independence. Within the context of the formation of the NCB and the NUM, with a federated Scottish Area, between 1945 and 1947, the political culture of the NUMSA was constructed in the setting of a distinct Scottish mining industry, given the presence of a devolved NUM Area and NCB Division, within broader and novel unitary British structures. Page Arnot, a staunch supporter of the CPGB and admirer of the Moffats, placed a great emphasis on the political direction that their leadership gave to the NUMSA. He was keen to highlight the role the union played in "encouraging the development of music, art and the theatre" to address the "cultural needs" of the mining community. In part this was related to the Scottish Miners' Gala which will be discussed later in this section. However, it also had a wider resonance in the NUMSA's support for the Edinburgh People's Festival, the Communist singer-song writer Ewan MacColl's Theatre Workshop, Unity Theatre's activities in Fife, and the high profile presence of miners at the American Communist singer, Paul Robeson's, concert at the Usher Hall in Edinburgh during May 1949.<sup>58</sup> This emphasis on international connections and political issues was shared in the NUMSA's youth activities. These included the establishment of educational schools aimed at young miners which delivered "an educational course not only on technical mining matters but on general social and political questions." From 1954 this message was also spread in the pages of the *Scottish Miner* which was published monthly and represented the achievement of the long-held aim of a regularly produced organ for mining trade unionists in Scotland.<sup>59</sup>

Mick McGahey, who like his father and grandfather was a member of the CPGB, recalled the important role these activities played in shaping trade union activism:

The Communist Party ae Britain played a massive role in training and development and education. Whenever you became active in the National Union ae Mineworkers in Scotland the first thing you did whether you were the youth delegate, whether you were on the

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<sup>58</sup> Arnot, *A History of the Scottish Miners*, pp.420-1.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, pp.413-416.

committee, didn't matter what role you had, the first thing they did was send you on a training course. You went to the Salutation Hotel in Perth for a weekend school. And it was about Marx, it was about Engels, it was about Lenin. It was about the ownership of the means of production, it was about the politics behind why does the government behave like that, why do we behave like that. It was a complete package of political education that I don't think exists nowadays in any organisation, any trade union organisation. That's what made it strong.<sup>60</sup>

Equally notable were the comments of NUMSA activists who were not CPGB members yet recognised the importance and distinctiveness of the outlook their presence provided. For instance Nicky Wilson, a longstanding member of the Labour Party, referred to "the leadership we had in the union in the past in Scotland who believed in bringing on young people and that didn't happen in other areas." Nicky posited that this formed a critical distinction between trade union organisation in the Scottish coalfields and that which was present elsewhere in the NUM. Consistent with the findings of *Coal is Our Life*, he emphasised that the NUMSA's commitment to political education of young members differentiated it from other NUM Areas, including Yorkshire, which he described as historically having been a "right-wing area" in spite of the later influence of Arthur Scargill. He underlined that the Yorkshire Area, unlike the NUMSA, had "no political education hardly at all."<sup>61</sup> There are elements of composure in this; in the aftermath of the miners' strike CPGB members and fellow travellers within the Scottish and Welsh NUM articulated criticisms of 'Scargallism,' which was seen as politically naïve and not attuned to the changed climate of the 1980s.<sup>62</sup> The reach that CPGB perspectives and history had within NUMSA was also exemplified by Tommy Cannavan, who like Nicky Wilson was a Labour Party member and trade union activist at Cardowan. He was keen to emphasise the importance of the *Scottish Miner*. When interviewed he presented a copy of the paper from 1967 which had a historical article discussing Willie Gallacher's role as a Communist MP for the coalfield constituency of West Fife, as well as an article making the case for a devolved Scottish Parliament. In his view the publication played an important role in publicising the union's perspective:

Oh aye we gave them oot at the pit for nothin' we didnae pay for it they were in the pit once a month it got published once a month. And that was in the pit every I think it was the first Friday of every month you got that see the Coal Board did a paper over their own they called it *Coal News* so that got brought out to hit the propaganda that the Coal Board were putting

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<sup>60</sup> Mick McGahey, interview.

<sup>61</sup> Nicky Wilson, interview.

<sup>62</sup> Peter Ackers, 'Gramsci at the Miners' Strike: Remembering the 1984-1985 Eurocommunist Alternative Industrial Strategy', *Labor History* vol.55 (2) pp.153-4.

out in the pits so the Miners' Union started a paper of their own to counteract what the Coal Board [put out].<sup>63</sup>

It is evident from the Executive minutes and annual conference proceedings that the NUMSA's policies and support for solidarity campaigns was greatly influenced by the CPGB's outlook. This included a high prominence given to opposition to nuclear weapons throughout the Moffats' and McGahey's leadership. It was also reflected in their stance on international issues including opposition to British military involvement in Greece and the Korean War, and in support of the anti-colonial struggles in Kenya and Malaya.<sup>64</sup> However, a clear occupational dynamic to this internationalism, as Willie Doolan's comments indicate, was also present. Longstanding connections between Scottish and Soviet miners were renewed through the exchange of delegations in 1967. A Soviet delegation returned in 1972, whilst a NUMSA visitation was arranged to the East German coalfields the same year. Financial support was given to miners in struggle, most prominently to the major Communist-led French miners' strike of 1947.<sup>65</sup>

The NUMSA's internationalism was within the context of similar connections visible in the STUC, which miners and CPGB activists played a major role in shaping. As with the NUMSA's activities this included significant linkages with the Eastern Bloc. For instance in 1968 the STUC welcomed a delegation from Hungary which included Antal Simon, General Secretary, of the Hungarian Mineworkers' Union. They visited East Kilbride among other locations across Scotland.<sup>66</sup> These fraternal links were also evident in STUC delegates making numerous trips over the iron curtain including attendance at Budapest May Day in 1972 and visits to East Germany and Czechoslovakia during the early 1970s. Fraternal links with the Hungarian miners were further extended through an invitation for Scottish miners and their children to holiday in the country.<sup>67</sup>

There is also evidence of support for anti-colonial and other liberation struggles. For instance the STUC's sustained opposition to Apartheid South Africa included a relationship with Jon Gaetsewe of the South African Congress of Trade Unions in Western Europe. He was recurrently mentioned within STUC annual reports as a point of contact who assisted in providing Scottish financial support to

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<sup>63</sup> Tommy Canavan, interview.

<sup>64</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1947 to 8<sup>th</sup> June 1948* pp.462-3, 497; NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 20<sup>th</sup> June 1949 to 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1950* p.785; NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 18<sup>th</sup> June 1951 to 20<sup>th</sup> June 1952* pp.664-5.

<sup>65</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1947 to 8<sup>th</sup> June 1948* pp.255-6; NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 27<sup>th</sup> June 1966 to 14/16<sup>th</sup> June 1967* pp.429-30; NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 28<sup>th</sup> June 1971 to 14/16<sup>th</sup> June 1972* p.597.

<sup>66</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1967-1968*, pp.191-2.

<sup>67</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1972-1973*, pp.201-6.

South African trade unions.<sup>68</sup> The NUMSA was at the forefront of arguing for expanding the STUC's international. At the 1973 conference Mick McGahey moved a resolution in support of the Spanish Workers' Commission, a Communist affiliated trade union federation, after the imprisonment of ten trade unionists by the Franco regime. This followed the conference having been addressed by one of the Commission's leaders, Carlos Elvira.<sup>69</sup>

In some cases NUMSA interventions were key in shaping STUC policy. For instance at the 1953 conference Abe Moffat spoke in favour of a motion that concluded "congress wishes the people of Kenya and Tanganyika every success in their fight to land, liberty and happiness." Moffat argued this was within the best traditions of the British labour movement: "He always had understood it was the basic policy of the Labour and Trade Union Movement in Britain to fight against all colonial wars and exploitation and he hoped that was going to continue to be its policy." This stance was opposed by the STUC General Council. G. Hamilton of the Transport and General Workers' Union articulated the mainstream position which echoed both the pressures of Cold War alignment and the legacy of sympathy for imperialism within the labour movement, as well as British belligerence in the conflict.<sup>70</sup> He stated that, "Before Kenya and Tanganyika could have self-government, the British had much more to contribute towards the education of the African peoples."<sup>71</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, given the context of a live struggle in which British soldiers and settlers were being killed, the motion passed.

Despite these successes, the records of both the NUMSA and STUC also contain elements of disquiet and opposition to those policies of the NUMSA leadership which were broadly congruent with Communist orthodoxies. For instance in 1957 resolutions were moved in opposition to the NUMSA having a relationship with organisations proscribed by the Labour Party, implicitly including the CPGB, and in opposition to the Communist-led World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). P. McCann, a delegate for the Lanarkshire colliery Gartshore 3/12, moved both resolutions. He alleged both that the WFTU was "Communist-dominated" and that further, "the real intention", of the cultural organisations and ties the NUMSA held with Eastern Bloc nations, was to aid regimes such as Czechoslovakia, Poland and East Germany which had all recently been responsible for violently suppressing democratic opposition.<sup>72</sup> Although both resolutions fell their presence indicates that the CPGB's hegemony within NUMSA was challenged and that oppositional forces were capable of winning delegate elections in Lanarkshire collieries.

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<sup>68</sup> STUC *Annual Report 1972-1973*, p.193; STUC *Annual Report 1978-1979*, p.548.

<sup>69</sup> STUC *Annual Report 1972-1973*, p.456.

<sup>70</sup> John McIlroy, 'Every Factory our Fortress': Communist Party Workplace Branches in a time of Militancy, 1956-79 Part 1: History, Politics, Topography', *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* vol.10 (2000) p.113.

<sup>71</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1952-1953*, pp.260-2.

<sup>72</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 18<sup>th</sup> June 1956 to 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> June 1957* pp.767-9.



More pertinent anti-Communist trends had been apparent ten years earlier when a leadership-supported conference resolution opposing British involvement in Greece and the Labour government's growing ties with the United States fell.<sup>73</sup> This perhaps reflected the conflict on this occasion between the CPGB and Labour Party position shortly following the achievement of the nationalisation of coal. These developments took place in the context of a general build-up of Cold War tensions within the British labour movement. Labour Party supporters of nuclear armaments and affiliation with the American-led western powers who went onto establish the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) were opposed by CPGB supporters of the Soviet Union-led Eastern Bloc, which later formed the Warsaw Pact who backed unilateral disarmament.<sup>74</sup>

Similarly the records of the STUC indicate episodes of discord during this period. This included the NUMSA's failure to overturn a ban on the Scottish USSR Society in 1951, and an affirmation of the STUC's opposition to the WFTU in 1958.<sup>75</sup> However, later exchanges of delegations with the Soviet Union indicate that the CPGB and its allies were able to overturn hostility to the Eastern Bloc as well as garner support for causes such as opposition to American involvement in Vietnam.<sup>76</sup> The STUC was therefore an important avenue through which the NUMSA were able to overturn social democratic orthodoxies in relation to international alignment as well as the areas industrial strategy and constitutional politics discussed in chapters one and two. This questions definitions of labourism contingent on a broad ascent for British foreign policy aims. Major sections of the post-1945 Scottish labour movement were in fact open to discussion and outlooks shaped by alignments contra to these outlooks, with a crucial role played by organisations that were firmly embedded within coalfield communities. These developments were fundamentally spurred by both the role of Communist activists within unions, most prominently and continuously at the helm of the NUMSA, but also by growing discontent with social democracy's failure to deliver the social advances and economic security it promised. This was most marked during the Wilson and Callaghan governments of the 1960s and 1970s when the STUC developed a devolutionary perspective and rejected predominant international linkages based on a pro-Western Cold War alignment.

Willie Clarke, who was first elected a Communist councillor in West Fife in 1973, recalled tensions between Labour and Communist affiliated trade unionists over local and industrial as well as international political standpoints when interviewed by Peter Geoghegan in 2014. However, his

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<sup>73</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 8<sup>th</sup> July 1946 to 11<sup>th</sup> June 1947* pp.38-9.

<sup>74</sup> Raphael Samuel, *The Lost World of British Communism* (London: Verso, 2006) pp.205-6; McIlroy, 'Every Factory Our Fortress' p.113.

<sup>75</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1950-1951* pp.22-23; STUC, *Annual Report 1957-1958*, pp.297-305

<sup>76</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1967-1968*, p.135, 192.

reflections also emphasised the role of dialogue and CPGB involvement in the joint administration of the nationalised industry which embedded it within the local community. One of his first acts as a local councillor was involvement in the response to an accident at his workplace, Seafield colliery, which killed 5 young miners.<sup>77</sup>

Left-wing opposition to the international as well as industrial aspects of Stalinist-Labourism discussed in the last chapter was also apparent. Lawrence Daly was a prominent critic of CPGB policy following his resignation from the party in 1956. Daly established the Fife Socialist League, with support from other members of the 'New Left' who had also rejected the CPGB's Stalinism, and won over 5,000 votes in West Fife during the 1959 general election. He came third, defeating the CPGB candidate in Willie Gallacher's former constituency.<sup>78</sup> There is evidence his political positions caused tensions in NUMSA. For instance at the 1957 NUMSA annual conference Daly inquired as to why his article on the counter-revolutionary Soviet invasion of Hungary had not been published in the *Scottish Miner*, arguing that "the essential point at issue was the question of the democratic rights of members." Notably he was not a lone voice, and was supported by a delegate from Priory colliery, Blantyre. Abe Moffat responded rather perversely given the politicised character of the *Miner's* coverage by claiming that "the paper had not been established for the purpose of discussing the policy of the Communist or any other political party", and went onto conflate two separate issues in an effort to present his stance as one for unity by arguing "the miners' paper could not be used for the purpose of attacking anyone's religious or political belief."<sup>79</sup>

As in changing attitudes towards industrial struggles outlined in the previous chapter, during the 1960s a broad left rather than strictly Stalinist-Labourist trend was present within the NUMSA's political development. Daly's outlook had partial success, but, as detailed above close relations with the Eastern Bloc countries continued. Yet, the CPGB's criticism of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 indicated a very different attitude to that which it had maintained over Hungary in 1956. Whilst Abe Moffat had barracked Lawrence Daly for his opposition to the latter, Mick McGahey was amongst the members of the CPGB's Political Committee which voted to oppose the Soviet suppression of the Prague Spring. Jimmy Reid, who also voted for the resolution, recollected the episode as a major rupture which led to Mick McGahey's father, John, a founding member of the CPGB, shutting his house door in his son's face after stating "So you and Jimmy Reid

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<sup>77</sup> Peter Geoghegan, *The People's Referendum: Why Scotland Will Never Be The Same Again* (Edinburgh: Luath, 2015) pp.41-45.

<sup>78</sup> Michael Kenny, *The First New Left: British Intellectuals After Stalin* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1995) pp.40-1.

<sup>79</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 18<sup>th</sup> June 1956 to 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> June 1957* pp.712-714.

condemned the Soviet Union.”<sup>80</sup> Mick McGahey’s more pluralistic attitude was also visible in support for the liberation struggles in Vietnam and South Africa through which the CPGB aligned itself with anti-Stalinist political forces in broader solidarity campaigns. It is notable given his past that Daly was at the forefront of the NUMSA’s solidarity efforts with Vietnam. In moving a resolution at the 1967 conference calling on the British government to condemn America’s involvement in the war he referred to his recent visit to the North Vietnamese coalfield and seeing villages “which had literally been wiped out by systematic bombing attacks.” The resolution passed unanimously.<sup>81</sup>

J. Ritchie, delegate for Seafield colliery in Fife, made a similarly impassioned call for support for the struggles against Apartheid in South Africa and white minority rule in Zambia and Namibia at the NUMSA’s 1977 conference. He emphasised solidarity across the international trade union movement following the 1973 International Confederation of Free Trade Unions conference in Geneva at which over 200 unions with a cumulative membership of over 186 million workers took an anti-apartheid stance.<sup>82</sup> Ritchie argued there was a particular imperative on the NUMSA to act given Britain was the source of £3 billion of South African FDI in 1976, 60% of the total volume. The Executive Committee signalled its backing with A. Doolan emphasising the role of Barclays bank’s operations in propping up the South African government, which was a key target of the anti-Apartheid activism.<sup>83</sup>

Under McGahey’s leadership a shift within political culture took place with respect to both education efforts and public platforms the NUM provided at events such as the Scottish Miners’ Gala which included prominent representatives from across the British labour movement and other political parties. This was representative of the wider ‘broad left’ turn within the CPGB’s industrial strategy during this period but also had a basis in the 1930s ‘popular front’ experience. Under this change of strategy the Communist International had switched from an ultra-left ‘third period’ position which denigrated social democrats as “social fascists” to a unity of political forces against fascism.<sup>84</sup> Within the Scottish context the CPGB allied with the Independent Labour Party and SNP to advocate a ‘popular front’ at the 1935 election, which included the election of Willie Gallacher in West Fife, where he united local left-wing political forces to defeat a Labour candidate who was on the right of

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<sup>80</sup> Jimmy Reid, ‘Mick McGahey’, *Herald* 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1999

<<http://www.heraldscotland.com/sport/spl/aberdeen/mick-mcgahey-1.307647>> [accessed 29/4/2015].

<sup>81</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 27<sup>th</sup> June 1966 to 14/16<sup>th</sup> June 1967* pp.440-1.

<sup>82</sup> South Africa Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa vol.2 (1970 to 1980)* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006) p.223.

<sup>83</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 27<sup>th</sup> June 1977 to 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> June 1978* pp.625-8.

<sup>84</sup> Helen Graham and Paul Preston, ‘The Popular Front and the Struggle Against Fascism’ in *The Popular Front in Europe* ed. by Helen Graham and Paul Preston (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1987) pp.3-4, 13-14.

the party. The Front's programme emphasised broad-based political support for home rule, a strategy which was reprised within NUMSA in coordination with the STUC under McGahey.<sup>85</sup> John Kay recollected that:

McGahey was a very very popular guy outside ae the miners ,eh, a towering figure in, eh, the STUC respected because he was a guy of principle and whatever. And he, some ae his best drinking cronies were, eh, guys of the Fire Brigades Union who werenae in the party, lots ae them. English trade unionists who were Labour Party. I cannae mind aw their name, famous names. And he made sure he knew them aw cause he brought them aw up to the gala as guests. Fisher ae NUPE, ehm the guys fae the railway unions ehm Ray something or whatever [Buckton] of ASLEF aw these famous names you can dig them up nae bother. Eh, and, ehm, them and their wives. And of course going to the miners' gala going to any miners' gala was a big even for them but going to the miners' gala in Scotland where they got lavishly treated over the weekend eh was a big deal for a big day. So I met a lot of them there eh including Len Murray he was put at the same table him and his wife with Ellen [John's wife]...So that was great to meet aw these people Mick was responsible for that and he gave them platforms. He gave John Prescott a platform and Prescott at a miners' gala, [he] was really a terrible speaker. People were just waiting for something aw sitting. They aw, Lib Dems, I cannae remember his name, Malcolm Bruce, platform, they all got, Women of the Lib Dems got speaking at miners' school. So the miners, eh, schools and education classes maybe held 2 or 3 times a year eh went from in ma time Communist speakers, lecturers, to a broad spectrum. SNP guys, eh women oot of UCATT, eh no, UCATT, USDAW, eh, and miles away fae the Communist Party. And they aw got daein a big session at the school big session. Eh so that you could say the miners led the way in that kinda thing.<sup>86</sup>

The importance John ascribed to the Scottish Miners' Gala was also apparent within the NUMSA's records and other testimonies. Elements of an "invented tradition" are evident from the Gala's inauguration in 1947. It aimed to consolidate conceptions of a Scottish mining community, the NUMSA's centrality to the labour movement, and popularise its leadership's political perspective. Eric Hobsbawm referred to invented traditions as practices and events "which appear to claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented." His definition emphasised inventing traditions as necessarily tied to spreading particular values and conceptions of history and the political present through seeking a basis in the past:

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<sup>85</sup> Foster, 'The Twentieth Century, 1914-1979', pp.445-6.

<sup>86</sup> John Kay, interview.

A set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.<sup>87</sup>

His examples included the FA Cup final and royal radio and television broadcasts. Broadly he referred to phenomena where elites attempt to preserve authority in periods of major economic and social upheaval through appeals to a “powerful ritual complex” which attempted to establish continuity with a mythologised national past.<sup>88</sup> Hobsbawm did consider that subaltern forces could similarly deploy such sentiments. For example, he argued James Connolly’s *Labour in Irish History* was an example of an attempt to popularise “a people’s past” reading of history that contested dominant interpretations and would inspire a socialist approach to national liberation. The Scottish Miners’ Gala is an example of a fuller deployment of “invented practices” which linked the ideology of the NUMSA’s leaders with their aim of establishing a distinct and united Scottish mining community in congruence with the practices of traditional localised communities.<sup>89</sup> Thus, the national gala had many of the events that the testimonies fondly remembered from local gala days including races, football and boxing, pipe and brass band competitions as well as a ‘Coal Queen’ competition, entrance to which was confined to miners’ daughters and partners.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, the Scottish Gala in part involved the replication of local gala days, including its highly gendered elements, on a larger basis.



**Figure 3.2** ‘Miners’ Gala Day 1969’ <<http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/image.php?usi=000-000-536-678-R&usi=000-000-536-678-C&scache=5r8pk4me7s&searchdb=scran>> [accessed 22/5/2015].

<sup>87</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’ in *The Invention of Tradition* ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) pp.1-2.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p.6.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10.

<sup>90</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences 8<sup>th</sup> July 1946 to 11<sup>th</sup> June 1947*, p.8.

However, in doing so it also communicated a different purpose. Rather than taking place in a coalfield area, the gala was always held in Edinburgh, shifting between Holyrood Park and Leith Links. Alongside the symbolism of Scotland's capital, this cemented the gala as an event affirming a distinct Scottish mining identity, taking place in the city where both NUMSA and the NCB Scottish Division were headquartered. Through the combination of local, national, and international networks coalescing around NUMSA, the Scottish Miners' Gala paralleled the Durham Miners' Gala, which Beynon and Austrin characterised as a "political project". In Durham, the NUM Area President, Sam Watson, used the gala to bring together a plurality of representatives from across the British coalfields, and the wider labour movement, including international speakers. In Watson's case this was to illuminate "all elements in the new Labourist society" constructed after the Second World War, which emphasised his moderate social democratic stance and support for liberal freedoms. In the case of the Scottish Gala similar mechanisms were used to project a distinctly different form of Communist-influenced politics, but also shared the Durham Miners' Gala emphasis on occupational and geographically rooted identities.<sup>91</sup> Thus, the Gala served as both a symbol and a key institution of a Scottish mining community by facilitating the 'imagining' of a large, unified, collective. The NUMSA placed itself at the centre of the event, and as in Durham, the Gala brought together politically diverse elements under the banner of the Scottish miners. This is demonstrated in figure 3.3 which shows Joan Lester, a junior minister in the Wilson government with responsibility for nursery education, speaking on a platform alongside representatives from the North Vietnamese trade union movement.<sup>92</sup> Brendan Moohan recalled the gala as a major annual event that showcased the size of the industry and the common purpose of mining communities across Scotland who marched alongside their union banners and band:

As a child, everybody went to the gala day and it was huge and it would be at Holyrood. And it was enormous and there was races and there was the boxing ring and the various boxing clubs would be involved. I remember the men very often wore suits on that gala day. I can also remember the banners, thousand, thousands of people representing their pits and their villages with their banners and there would be brass bands.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Huw Beynon and Terry Austrin, 'The Performance of Power: Sam Watson a Miners' Leader on Many Stages' [online] <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/johs.12052/pdf>> [accessed 8/7/2015], *Journal of Historical Sociology* (2014) pp.22-24.

<sup>92</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conference from 24<sup>th</sup> June 1968 to 18/20<sup>th</sup> June 1969*, p.192.

<sup>93</sup> Brendan Moohan, interview.



**Figure 3.3** Joan Lester (Labour MP), Lawrence Daly, and Vietnamese Federation of Union representatives, ‘Gala Day 1969’ <<http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/image.php?usi=000-000-536-676-R&csi=000-000-536-676-C&scache=&searchdb=scran>> [accessed 17/3/2015].

Through the Gala consciousness of a Scottish mining community was developed, extending beyond the locales of individual pits and villages, with the NUMSA at its forefront. The annual event served to preserve an identity as coalfield employment shrunk, and as an important platform from which the NUMSA could popularise its stances on industry matters, Scottish and British political issues, and international causes. The Gala acted to retained Antony Rooney’s familial connections to the industry and linked it with his labour movement activities as a shop steward at the Caterpillar tractor factory in Uddingston, and as a Labour Party activist in Bellshill:

Antony Rooney: Used to have bus runs, y’know buses miners’ trips one ae the times I got a bus tae Edinburgh y’know when I was older took my own kids y’know to the Miners’ Gala day in Edinburgh every year.

Ewan Gibbs: So you used to go to that?

Antony Rooney: Aye marching beside Tony Benn at one ae them and Mick McGahey walking through up in tae the Salisbury Crag.

Ewan Gibbs: So was that quite a political event if McGahey and Benn were there?

Antony Rooney: It could be aye a lot of trade unionists there aye. The miners' own gala day. Brought everybody together aw the mining communities. As I say there were always some important person y'know as I say Tony Benn was there 1 year marching along wi him and Mick McGahey. And all the other trade union, the miners, trade unionists fae the town.<sup>94</sup>

Antony Rooney and John Kay's comments indicate the involvement of key labour movement personalities in the Gala. Benn recalled in his diary that the 1977 event had a large attendance despite the weather, with Edinburgh "freezing and raining" on the day.<sup>95</sup> Thus, the Gala articulated both a Scottish mining identity and the unity of the British labour movement. In this sense a form of "unionist-nationalism" is apparent, with a distinct Scottishness being fulfilled within a wider British context. Unlike in Morton's history of nineteenth century urban governance, it was the social democratic infrastructure of the devolved aspects of Britain-wide trade union organisation and the nationalised coal industry, rather than local civic institutions, which provided the basis for the articulation of a Scottish national identity within a unionist framework.<sup>96</sup> This was indicative of the wider mid-twentieth century Britain setting where Ward argues "both national and transnational" civil societies functioned; the Gala exemplified this via the invocation of cross-Britain solidarity in a Scottish political setting, including the speeches of labour movement figures from England and Wales, especially British national leaders of the NUM.<sup>97</sup>

Yet the NUMSA's support for home rule also reveals another dimension to the Gala. Although this was very much justified on the basis of asserting democratic control over economic decision making in Scotland, a strategy making "utilitarian" rather than "existential" appeals to national feeling, aspect of national identity were nonetheless clearly mobilised.<sup>98</sup> McGahey's 1968 speech to the STUC in support of a Scottish parliament exemplified this friction. Although impressing that Scotland was a nation, and his positive attitude towards progressive "healthy nationalism", McGahey also outlined support for united working class politics across the UK, stating that he had "More in common with the London dockers, the Durham miners and the Sheffield engineers than they ever had had with the barons an landlord traitors of that kind of Scotland." This was affirmed in a declaration that "the miners' union was a [British] national union operated in a nationalised industry which miners would never allow to be destroyed."<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Antony Rooney, interview.

<sup>95</sup> Tony Benn, *Conflicts of Interest: Diaries 1977-80* ed. by Ruth Winstone (London: Arrow, 1991) p.177.

<sup>96</sup> Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, p.7, 190-1.

<sup>97</sup> Paul Ward, *Unionism in the United Kingdom, 1918-1974* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) p.6.

<sup>98</sup> David Torrance, *The Battle for Britain: Scotland and the Independence Referendum* (London: Biteback, 2013) p.184.

<sup>99</sup> STUC, *Annual Report 1967-1968*, pp.399-400.



These elements of tension between a Scottish and British identity framed within the context of the federated structures of the nationalised industry were evident at the Gala. Thus, alongside the characteristic British mining iconography of banners and brass bands there were pipe bands and Highland dancing competitions. In term used by Tom Nairn, latent “cultural ‘raw material’ for nationalism” served to embed a political agenda which was largely a response to the uneven economic development of British capitalism after the Second World War rather than an articulation of romantic nationalist aspirations.<sup>100</sup> Within the UK coalfields, the NUMSA were not alone in mobilising cultural sentiments as mining employment decline. Curtis’ analysis of the South Wales Area of the NUM notes that like the Scottish and Durham Areas they had an annual gala day whose politics shared much in common with NUMSA’s, being held in the Welsh capital, Cardiff, and regularly hosting delegations from the eastern bloc and elsewhere. Like the NUMSA, the South Wales Area similarly mobilised national sentiment as coalfield contraction accelerated. The annual Miners’ Eisteddfod showcased traditional activities such as choral activities, and was able to attract the attendance of high profile labour movement activists during the late 1960s.<sup>101</sup>

Like the South Wales Gala, as well as having the regular attendance of leading trade unionists and Labour Party figures, the Scottish Miners’ Gala was also an occasion which emphasised NUMSA’s internationalist politics. In 1956 a delegation of miners from Poland was present at the rally.<sup>102</sup> Delegates from the (North) Vietnamese Federation of Trade Unions addressed the rally in 1969 as part of NUMSA’s international solidarity activities analysed above. This took a sustained political effort, involving drafting the services of Alex Eadie, MP for Midlothian, to secure visas for the representatives. It also appears to have cemented links between NUMSA and Vietnam. A letter of thanks from the Federation was noted by NUMSA’s Executive on September 8<sup>th</sup>.<sup>103</sup>

A letter was submitted from Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions thanking the Scottish miners for their warm hospitality extended to their delegation during their visit to Scotland. In addition, on behalf of the workers and Trade Unions of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, they expressed their sincere appreciation for the sympathy and support being given to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against American aggression.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Tom Nairn, *The Break Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London: NLB, 1977) p.144.

<sup>101</sup> Ben Curtis, *The South Wales Miners, 1964-1985* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013) p.84.

<sup>102</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 18<sup>th</sup> June 1956 to 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> June 1957* p.608.

<sup>103</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences from 27<sup>th</sup> June to 14/16<sup>th</sup> June 1967* pp.465-9 (7<sup>th</sup> June entry).

<sup>104</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences June 1969 to 15/16 June 1970* p.55.

A further exchange of communications took place when NUMSA sent a note of condolences upon the death of North Vietnam's President, Ho Chi Minh, later the same year. The Vietnamese Federation of Trade Unions warmly accepted NUMSA's message replying that:

They had been deeply moved by the expression of thorough understanding and friendly solidarity of workers and Trade Union in Britain to the Vietnamese workers, Trade Union and people at this moment.

With an ironlike determination to materialise at all costs the testament of their esteemed President with the ever stronger support and assistance of the British workers and people, and the world workers and people, the Vietnamese workers and people were convinced that their just struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, would win total victory.<sup>105</sup>



**Figure 3.4** 1988 'Advertising Poster' <<http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/image.php?usi=000-000-488-874-R&usi=000-000-488-874-C&scache=4d4yg8wohr&searchdb=scran>> [accessed 17/3/2015].

The poster in figure 3.4, publicising the 1988 Gala, indicates the longevity of the event and a continuity of traditional mining community leisure activities such as pipe bands and sporting events alongside political speeches. Both nuclear disarmament and Scottish devolution and deindustrialisation among other contemporary political matters, through leading CND and STUC

<sup>105</sup> NMMS/NUMSA *Minutes of Executive Committee and Special Conferences June 1969 to 15/16 June 1970* p.166.

representatives, were at the forefront of the event. However, it was support for the struggle against Apartheid which was the lead item, with a speaker from the ANC listed on a South African themed publicity poster.

Thus, the Gala represented a key institution in popularising the conceptualisation of a distinct Scottish mining community. The day itself established an annual event in the Scottish capital which connected locales across the Scottish coalfield and the march with bands and banners symbolised a wider industry linked community within a national framing. To some extent the Gala borrowed its proceedings from traditional mining village activities which were apparent in the sporting and Coal Queen competitions. However, the very fact it was a large Scotland-wide event transformed the meaning attached to this, recasting the emphasis from a work and residence centred locale to one based on a broader industry attachment framed within the nationalised industry and the NUM's British and Scottish facets. The infusion of NUMSA's leadership's Communist politics further deepened this, emphasising industry level, national and international political elements through a range of speakers.

### **Divisions and Sectarianism**

In spite of the NUMSA's efforts to ascertain a cohesive Scottish mining identity there is evidence from the transcripts of continued divisions within the coalfields. Phillips has noted the regional dimensions of McGahey and Daly's rivalry, with distinctions between a Lanarkshire man and a Fifer present alongside differences over Communist politics.<sup>106</sup> Coalfield restructuring made these divisions potentially more pertinent as the closure of local collieries alongside the development of 'super pits' increased travel to work distances. As indicated in the last chapter the moral economy was embedded within assertions of localised community rights to employment. Coalfield restructuring created tensions between locales in the rationing of industrial employment. Pat Egan recollected that divisions between sections of the workforce from different areas of Scotland were highly visible when he transferred to the Longannet complex following the closure of Bedlay in 1982:

Pat Egan: There wis four pits there and they were aw in the middle ae nowhere so everybody was travelin quite a distance. I think the local, probably Oakley was the nearest village, which was in Fife, but then you went there all of a sudden you landed they had a big thing. Whereas in the Lanarkshire coalfield you had a sorta religious divide, when you came through to Longannet it was a sorta divide on where people came fae. It was Fifers, what they called Hillfooters which was people who come fae the local hills, Alloa, Fishcross all about the area.

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<sup>106</sup> Phillips, *The Industrial Politics of Devolution*, pp.119-121.

People fae the Hillfoots as they were called wouldnae vote for Fifers and Fifers wouldna vote for Hillfooters regardless ae ability.

Ewan Gibbs: Was that the union elections?

Pat Egan: That was the union elections and stuff, aye it was crazy. Then of course when we came through we were known as the Jimmys then \*laughs\* that's what we were called. We did in time eventually move away fae that cause we were fae aw o'er cause you had then people fae the Lothian coalfields when Bilston and Monktonhall shut it was the only place left and people travelled fae all over Scotland tae it.

Pat's comments indicate the importance of a sense of belonging attached to pits within their locales. Thus for Pat, who grew up in Twechar, a relatively isolated settlement in North Lanarkshire, Bedlay was a colliery invested with community and family significance. Upon transfer to Longannet he was displaced into "the middle ae nowhere." Similar dynamics relating to coalfield restructuring and fear about the increasing scarcity of employment were active in Lanarkshire during the 1960s. Peter Downie recalled upon transfer to Bedlay following the closure of Gracehills in 1964 he was met with antagonism:

As a matter of fact when we went tae Bedlay up fae Gracehills tae Bedlay Jimmy Cleland, a man that I stayed up brought up beside his mother and faither all of ma days. And him, he says, "you's are effin up here to steal oor jobs get away back tae wherever you come and get a job ae your oan." We'd no other pit we could tae bar the gas hole [Cardowan].<sup>107</sup>

Yet, there was also little novel about divisions within the workforce and competition for employment. This had a history which intersected with both sectarian and anti-trade union employment practices. Sectarianism has proved a slippery concept for historical analysis given its combination of ethnic and religious identities, as well as its status as a source of latent controversy within Scotland. Bradley's analysis of sectarian divisions in West-Central Scotland during the late twentieth century argued that "an ethno-religious frame of reference" was significant in reinforcing "social as well as political polarization" singling out Lanarkshire in particular.<sup>108</sup> Bruce et al sharply contested Bradley's conclusion, pointing to the need for evidence of material distinctions. Their response to Bradley underlined the decline of labour market discrimination and other elements of sectarian differentiation. The growth of mixed marriages, and marked decline of the working class "Orange vote" for the

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<sup>107</sup> Moodiesburn focus group.

<sup>108</sup> Joseph M Bradley, 'Orangeism in Scotland: Unionism, Politics, Identity, and Football', *Eire—Ireland* vol.39 (2004) pp.248-251.

Conservative Party have also been cited as major examples of the declining importance of sectarianism over the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>109</sup>

The analysis in this section proceeds by emphasising material elements. Whilst acknowledging the central importance of senses of belonging and community identification, the distribution of resources, in particular industrial employment, is foregrounded as central to analysing the significance of sectarianism. Kelly has suggested understanding it as “a social setting in which systematic discrimination affects the life chances of a religious group, and within which religious affiliation stands for much more than theological belief.”<sup>110</sup> In the context of the Lanarkshire coalfield where different Irish ethnic backgrounds, Catholic and Ulster-Protestant, intersected with residence, work patterns, and political affiliations, this definition is an appropriate basis on which to construct an analysis.

There were many memories of sectarian practices within the oral testimonies. For instance Jessie Clark recalled that within Douglas Water her father, a blacklisted trade unionist, felt “the members of the Masonic Lodge were the ones that always got the work, you know. And that was a fact of life in the village that I lived in.” He himself had rejected such a path, breaking with Jessie’s grandfather’s affiliation, proving that these influences were one among many, and not always predominant.<sup>111</sup> As considered in the last chapter, there is evidence of continuity of such connections maintaining a significant bearing on colliery level employment practices into the nationalised period. Pat Egan’s memories of the influential role played by a Catholic fraternity, the Knights of St Columba, within management and in shaping union policy at Bedlay, discussed in the previous chapter, are demonstrative of the social embedding of the colliery through strong links between workers and management. It is also indicative of a defensive and divisive mentality which protected access to premium employment for those of a particular ethnic background and religious-political affiliation. John Hamilton who was originally from Lesmehagow in South Lanarkshire worked as an engineer at Bedlay colliery during the early 1980s. John had originally worked alongside his father at Ponfiegh colliery, adjacent to Lesmehagow. Indicating the importance of restructuring in reshaping coalfield culture through removing the localised senses of belonging Pat Egan referred to, upon transfer John found himself within a different environment. His recollections also confirm Pat Egan’s memories of the Catholic presence at Bedlay, and indicate that sectarian affiliations were also embedded in other collieries. Before Bedlay closed, John transferred to Polkemmet, which in contrast to Bedlay, had a strongly Protestant loyalist character:

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<sup>109</sup> Steve Bruce, Tony Glendinning, Iain Patterson, Michael Rosie, *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004) pp.76-7, 96-8; Tom Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p.582-3.

<sup>110</sup> Elinor Kelly, ‘Review Essay: Sectarianism, Bigotry and Ethnicity-The Gulf in Understanding’, *Scottish Affairs* vol.50 (2005) pp.109-110.

<sup>111</sup> Jessie Clark, interview.

I'm of the Protestant religion. I worked at the Bedlay and it was, the majority was Catholic religion big time, so you couldnae even talk about Glasgow Rangers when you were doon the pit. And it was like quite bitter stuff. I've got a loe ae friends in Kilsyth, as I said I still go and visit them. And it's really staunch Celtic area. So I worked in that pit, I worked there for a year and a half, 2 year, 2 year I worked there. You'd just to watch what you were saying when you were saying it! \*laughs\* So when that closed I got transferred to Polkemmet. And in Polkemmet they've got pictures o the queen in every corner you can think ae. So one extreme to the other! Aye, you just walked in and there's a photo o the queen, a photo o the queen in the baths, a photo of the queen in there. So I guess the guys that were the Celtic supporters that worked in that pit, they'd just to watch what they were saying. But aye there was a lot ae different attitudes. But you were accepted nae matter where you came fae, didnae matter to who you were working wi, no. That was okay, as long as you were daein your job and aw that. There was never any trouble or anything like that.<sup>112</sup>

John's keenness to stress that sectarianism did not contribute towards employment practices or divisions in the workforce is perhaps indicative of elements of composure, in particular the influence of the coalfield cultural circuit's emphasis on workforce and community unity. Mick McGahey recollected that both Catholic and Protestant religious and political factions were active within mining communities and had a presence within the NUMSA: "You had the Communist Party, you had have the Labour Party, you'd have the Catholic Action, the Masonic Lodge you know you'd these major factions that were competing with one another."<sup>113</sup> In Pat Egan's view these divisions were sustained within a long history of an employer strategy based on utilising religious differences to divide the workforce, although like John he underlined that these had perhaps declined over the second half of the twentieth century:

It's eh when you go intae what is noo West Lothian in certain areas and a lot of mining villages which I think goes back to mine owners. Cause I know Twechar, was a mining village, and the next village up is Croy, which I think is predominantly, in fact it wis aw Catholic, it wis 100% Catholic. And they used to play baith villages cause it was the same mine-owner, it wis Bairds who Whitelaw married intae. Willie Whitelaw who wis in Thatcher's government. It wis Baird's who used to play them aff each other-"they're

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<sup>112</sup> John and Jeanette Hamilton, interview with author, South Lanarkshire Integrated Children's Services office, Larkhall, 26<sup>th</sup> April 2016.

<sup>113</sup> Mick McGahey, interview.

producing much more than you are”-that kinda stuff and he just played them off each other. I think it was a big part in the ‘20s, ‘30s, ‘40s, even ‘50s, ah would say.<sup>114</sup>

The private industry’s legacy of fostering social control through sectarian division has been noted elsewhere. In Coatbridge Peter Geoghegan was informed by Jim MacDonald, a former steelworker and an Orange Lodge veteran of 50 years standing, that the Bairds had given land to construct both Catholic and Protestant churches as well as an Orange Hall.<sup>115</sup> This interpretation of local history is consistent with Campbell’s account. He notes that “to very varying degrees, the Scottish mining communities were fractured by ethnicity and religion”, emphasising that this was amongst its most prominent within Lanarkshire. This involved activities of secret organisations including the Knights of St Columba and the Orange Order, which had a “mass membership” among Protestants from Ulster backgrounds. Into the interwar period there were regular clashes at parades and other events such as local football matches. Orange organisations were utilised by employers to pursue policies of “class collaboration”, often clashing with Communists who were disproportionately from Catholic backgrounds.<sup>116</sup>

However, the Catholic Church itself also possessed a powerful anti-Communist influence. Pat Egan’s description of the role of the moderating influence of Catholic organisations at Bedlay was part of a wider attempt to retain a basis within working class communities, and in particular to prevent the growth of the CPGB. This involved the mobilisation of Catholic Action within the labour movement and led to clashes over key areas such as birth control, divorce, and widespread support for the secularist Republicans during the Spanish Civil War. As Mick McGahey’s comments indicate this continued after the Second World War.<sup>117</sup> Jennifer McCarey’s awareness of family and wider community history in Newarthill, North Lanarkshire, exemplified this religious and political divide, and the power of the Catholic hierarchy:

My father and my mother was in the trade unions. We were always brought up in the knowledge that that was our background. That my grandpa had been in the Communist Party. We were brought up with that it was a real identity in that you know. There was some families that had that identity and they were ashamed of it and they hid it because they had been victimised by the Catholic Church in the community. Some of them, their fathers, had been thrown out the parish, the whole of the family. Ehm, and they were embarrassed and ashamed about that so they didn’t really talk about it. It was only, eh, later on when I asked

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<sup>114</sup> Pat Egan, interview.

<sup>115</sup> Geoghegan, *The People’s Referendum*, pp.39-40.

<sup>116</sup> Alan Campbell, *The Scottish Miners, 1874-1939 volume one*, pp.317-327, 342-6.

<sup>117</sup> Graham Walker, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland Between The Wars’, *International Review of Social History* vol.37 (1992) p.199.

about some of the characters, who the people were, that I kind of realised that other there were others that weren't proud of it.<sup>118</sup>

Jennifer's reflections indicated not only the power of the Catholic Church but also a continuation of historical geographical distinctions between Catholic and Protestant communities of the sort Pat Egan had also noted within North Lanarkshire. However, these were also complicated by ethnic distinctions within Catholic communities between Lithuanians, Italians and those of Irish backgrounds:

If you get in a taxi the first thing they'll ask you if you're going to Mossend they'll ask you "are you Lithie an Italian or a Tim?" cause that was the only three options so that was the standard joke you had to be one of those three. There was Protestants that lived there Mr and Mrs Scott were Protestants that lived next door to us some of the other people on the street were Protestants. There was a Catholic identity in Mossend that's true, but I mean there was a Protestant primary school right in the middle of it, but much more of a Catholic community than compared to Bellshill.<sup>119</sup>

Michael McMahon similarly recollected this area was marked by the form of sectarian "micro-geography" that Campbell identified as dividing communities within bordering locales in the Lanarkshire coalfields:<sup>120</sup>

You ask anyone now and they'll tell you Mossend is still seen as a Catholic place, Carfin is still the Catholic village, New Stevenson is the Protestant village Holytown is a Protestant village, that still exists no doubt about that. If you actually check now you'll see that the make-up of those villages is much different from what it would have been in the days when the pits were there. I mean there was also the fact that Terex in Newhouse was seen as the Protestant factory and Caterpillar was seen as the Catholic factory.<sup>121</sup>

These comments indicate that the post-1945 industrial developments examined within the first chapter entailed the extension of the sectarian geographies which characterised the Lanarkshire coalfield during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This casts doubts on Knox's assertion that nationalisation and FDI brought an end to sectarian industrial structures within central Scotland, as predominantly locally based Protestant employers declined, leading to the demise of sectarian practices, especially prevalent within apprenticeship systems for skilled labour. Knox asserts that they

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<sup>118</sup> Jennifer McCarey, interview.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Alan Campbell, 'Exploring Miners' Militancy, 1889-1966', *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* vol.7 (1999) p.158.

<sup>121</sup> Michael McMahon, interview.



were replaced by public ownership in the mining and steel industries, and largely American multinationals that disavowed such practices and moved towards semi-skilled assembly line production.<sup>122</sup> Continuities in the presence of sectarian affiliations within nationalised coal industry, of a diminished form, demonstrate that local autonomy facilitated persistence in industrial relations practices from the private era. The management of divisions recalled by Michael McMahon are indicative of the “always partial and conditional” nature of “Americanisation” that Knox himself, along with McKinlay, argued characterised American multinational’s Scottish plants.<sup>123</sup> As at Bedlay and Polkemmet, industrial relations were the product of core management expectations being filtered through local traditions. Michael McMahon’s recollections of the operation of the factory reveal how local management were able to employ sectarian industrial relations practices despite the intent of American owners:<sup>124</sup>

Michael McMahon: Historically, Terex opened up in the early 1950s, and I was told this by one of the American bosses because I was a shop steward in the place. We were just sitting talking one day when they were over. He said he’d remembered a conversation he’d had with a big boss from General Motors in America, his name was Perry. He’d come across and he was talking to management and the foremen and all the rest of it and it struck him how open they were in their pride in the fact the factory was predominantly Protestant. And so he asked the management to check what the make-up of the factory was and then he asked them to check what the make-up of the local community was. And it didn’t match up. So he insisted that the management do something about that. And the company was expanding, the reason why he was over was cause the company was expanding. They built an extension onto the factory and the manager insisted that there had to be a higher proportion of Catholics hired to make the balance of the workshop reflect better the local community. What they made the mistake was they almost entirely recruited a lot of Catholic onto one shift. The company was predominantly working dayshift. So all the new recruits, all the ones that were getting brought in because they helped with the balance of the religious division, were all hired onto one shift. What you ended up with was a shift that was predominantly Catholic and a shift that was predominantly Protestant. I was told when I served my apprenticeship, we served apprenticeship and we worked dayshift nearly all the time. We worked two weeks with one shift and then another two weeks with another. When it came to the end of our apprenticeship we were told tae well, we were invited to ask what shift did we want to go onto. And it was

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<sup>122</sup> Knox *Industrial Nation*, pp.252-254.

<sup>123</sup> Bill Knox and Alan McKinlay, ‘Working for the Yankee Dollar: American Inward Investment and Scottish Labour, 1945-70’, *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* vol.7 (1999) pp.8-9.

<sup>124</sup> Iain R Paterson, ‘The Pulpit and the Ballot Box: Catholic Assimilation and the Decline of Church Influence’ in *Scotland’s Shame?: Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* ed. by T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000) p.220.

made pretty clear to us that if we wanted to y'know we would be expected to go onto the shift that suited the religion best y'know.

Ewan Gibbs: So even though you'd actually served together?

Michael McMahon: Yeh! And most of the Catholic apprenticeships went onto one shift and most of the Protestant apprentices went onto another shift. And that was in the late 1970s early 1980s that kind of stuff was still going on. And there was one shop steward who ran an election campaign on the basis that he thought there was too many Catholic shop stewards and he wanted to get elected to redress the balance and make sure there was less Catholics. When the company closed down in 1984 what they decided to do was close the company down and then rehire those that would make the company efficient, i.e. those that were trained in more than one skills. As apprentices we were quite high up on the list of desirables because we could work all the machines because we were trained on them all whereas a lot of guys had come in and only worked on one machine. Thirty years and every day only working on one machine. So when we were getting hired back most of the apprentices were getting hired back but the guy who was hiring them back was a very senior individual in the Orange Order and he was making sure he was selecting the ones he didn't want to come back as well. And it was noticed a lot of the people that weren't getting re-recruited, re-hired, were the Catholics and it just reverted to the way it had been and there was a lot of religious tension built up around that time.<sup>125</sup>

Thus, within a subsidiary where senior management made commitments to opposing sectarianism, divisive practices were fostered by local level managers and trade union representatives. These relatively successfully accommodated senior management directives but ensured the workforce remained demarked by religious denomination into the 1980s. The retention of these practices through the power of Orange Order affiliated members of management challenges Knox's assertion that sectarianism "broke down" in the face of a skills shortage and major shifts in industrial structure during the 1960s. It also undermines Paterson's assertion that "externally-owned private manufacturing" was characterised by management which successfully imposed an end to sectarian practices.<sup>126</sup> Sectarian distinctions were to some extent embedded within at least part of the FDI engineering sector. This is an example of subsidiary management exercising a degree of autonomy within industrial relations which is characteristic of the inevitable and contested trade-off between

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<sup>125</sup> Michael McMahon, interview.

<sup>126</sup> Paterson, 'The Pulpit and the Ballot Box', p.220; W. Knox, 'Class, Work and Trade Unionism in Scotland', in *People and Society in Scotland vol.III, 1914-1990* ed. by A. Dickson and J.H. Treble (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1992) p.126

degrees of centralised and localised authority within MNEs.<sup>127</sup> The fact sectarian tensions became more pronounced when faced with closure perhaps lends some credence to Knox's arguments about the circumstances of the 1960s. Upon closure, as industrial employment became a scarcer resource, sectarian affiliations were strengthened through their deployment as a mechanism to lay claim to and ration well paid engineering jobs.

This qualifies Foster's general argument that the social reconstruction and slum clearances of post-Second World War Scotland combined with the decline of paternalist industrial employers to diminish the importance of identities defined by sectarian allegiance. These changes were particularly marked in the coalfields with nationalisation and the predominance of public sector housing removing cross-class ties to private sector employers and landlords.<sup>128</sup> Recollections of continuations in sectarian geographies indicate a material persistence of elements of the "two distinct religious communities [that] grew up in Scotland's industrial heyday which inhabited different social and psychological worlds even though they lived in close proximity to one another" which Gallacher identified as having developed during the nineteenth century and consolidated in the early twentieth.<sup>129</sup> Thus, aspects of the distinct Protestant and Catholic life-worlds centring on distinct religious affiliations and attached infrastructure including schools, churches, and secret societies remained. This furthered estrangement, mutual suspicion, and overt antagonism, which were constructed on the basis of differentiated employment, residency and education patterns. Jennifer McCarey's reference to a "Protestant" primary school in Mossend, demonstrates an example of continued separation.

Alan Blades recollected that associations through shared religious affiliations continued within Lanarkshire coal mining into the 1980s. Within the village of Greengairs, adjacent to Airdrie, Orange connections provided a similar social embedding through a common link between workers and managers as Catholic bonds provided at Bedlay. He emphasised however, that the closure of local mines meant that there were also strong links between Catholic and Protestant miners. Perhaps reflecting elements of composure and his perceptions of intersubjectivities, like John Hamilton, Alan was also keen to note in his view sectarianism was limited to "banter" and compared it to the Edinburgh football rivalry he assumed I was familiar with:

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<sup>127</sup> Haworth and Ramsay, 'Labour and Management Strategies in the World Market', pp.149-50; Dev Kumar Boojihawon, Pavlos Dimitratos and Stephen Young 'Characteristics and Influences of Multinational Subsidiary Entrepreneurial Culture: The Case of the Advertising Sector', *International Business Review* vol.16 (2007) p.552.

<sup>128</sup> John Foster, 'A Proletarian Nation? Occupation and Class since 1914' in *People and Society in Scotland vol.III, 1914-1990* ed. by A. Dickson and J.H. Treble (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1992) p.231.

<sup>129</sup> Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow The Uneasy Peace: Religious Tension in Modern Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987) p.4.

Alan Blades: Friendly, friendly yeh aye it was like your buddy. Y'know what I mean? Cause you were maybe workin wi their son who were you were friendly wi.

Ewan Gibbs: So that was connected to the fact you were all from?

Alan Blades: The one village aye well ma gaffer I grew up wi ma gaffer. I was in the Orange bands wi ma gaffer y'know what I mean we were a wee Orange village so I was in the bands wi' aw the boys I worked wi y'know.

Ewan Gibbs: Was there a lot Orange Order activities in the village?

Alan Blades: In the village at that time? Aye. But see the difference is a lot ae folk think that because yer in the Orange bands you hated the Catholics some ae ma best mates are Catholics. Oh aye I grew up wi some guys but they accepted it cause they grew up knowin that we were aw in the bands and oor Dads were aw in the bands y'know. Ye have yer bit ae banter y'know w ye Orange B y'Fenian B y' effin B and aw that we aw liked each other y'know it was a bit of banter they went tae Celtic games on a Saturday we went tae Rangers games know what I'm saying? A lot ae Catholics worked in the pits wi us as well especially as you moved out ae Moodisburn and Croy and that they're big Catholic villages still get on great wi' aw they boys banter that's aw it is a wee bit ae banterin y'know. Celtic Ranger y'know how it goes, you have Hearts and Hibs. \*laughs\*

Alan Blades' recollections of the continuation of public Orange Order activities do not appear to represent an isolated case. In his study of 'Cauldmoss', a coal and steel town also located within Central Scotland, Wight noted the continued importance attached to and divisive nature of an annual Orange march in the mid-1980s. Although only attended by a small minority of dedicated members of the local lodge, the march was greeted by a few hundred spectators, who flew Union Flags, brandished Rangers scarves, and cheered as the band played whilst the march passed the town's Catholic Church.<sup>130</sup> Bradley also notes the continuation of major Orange processions in Lanarkshire.<sup>131</sup>

These observations are inconclusive. It is evident that Lanarkshire was not characterised by the same kind of communal violence or sectarian political polarisation as Ulster. In line with Bruce et al's conclusions, the nationalised coal industry and the operation of the moral economy minimised

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<sup>130</sup> Daniel Wight, *Workers Not Wasters: Masculine Respectability, Consumption and Unemployment in Central Scotland: A Community Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993) pp.54-56.

<sup>131</sup> Bradley, 'Orangeism in Scotland', p.243.

divisions which markedly declined from their scale and legitimated status within the private industry. Yet, it is also clear that whilst trade union organisation and Labour Party politics created semblances of unity they also facilitated the management of division. This is visible in relation to support for religious schooling, but also perhaps in the continuation of residential divides under public housing and in workplace practices.<sup>132</sup> These were relative rather than absolute. For instance Willie Hamilton recollected the existence of prohibitive religious divisions in the Shotts area within new public housing developments which prevented one of his friends from marrying his partner but also that he felt these had dissipated over time:

Willie Hamilton: People from different areas had moved in y'know it took quite a while to integrate and then you had the religious problem. We've got a religious problem, problem of religions.

Ewan Gibbs: So is that a big problem in Shotts then?

Willie Hamilton: It was at one time y'know people live together at one time the it was quite eh eh strict that you wouldn't be involved wi my mate courted quite seriously but they never got married cause he was a Protestant she was Catholic it was their parents. It was quite, eh, restrictive for a lot of young couples, it was quite restrictive, restricted, y'know.<sup>133</sup>

The forms of occupational segregation associated with the privately owned steel and mining industries declined after the Second World War. This was particularly evident in the former which had been “almost exclusively Protestant”.<sup>134</sup> Jennifer McCarey's grandfather, a Communist of Catholic origin, was able to secure work in Lanarkshire's foundries whilst her father was a trade union representative for clerical workers at Ravenscraig.<sup>135</sup>

Sectarianism was thus a diminished but present source of division in the Lanarkshire coalfields into the 1980s. Although not marked by the same extent of employer instigated fractiousness or street violence of earlier in the century, after 1945, ethnic and religious ties continued to forge important bonds of identity and distinction. The existence of a single nationalised industry and a single, cohesive, trade union acted to undermine this. These forces were also behind the operation of the coalfield moral economy which established employment security and therefore weakened the historic

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<sup>132</sup> Graham Walker, 'Sectarian Tensions in Scotland: Social and Cultural Dynamics and the Politics of Perception' in *Scotland's Shame?: Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* ed. by TM Devine (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000) pp.127-131.

<sup>133</sup> Marian and Willie Hamilton, interview.

<sup>134</sup> Joseph Devine, 'A Lanarkshire Perspective on Bigotry in Scottish Society', in *Scotland's Shame?: Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* ed. by T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000) p.101.

<sup>135</sup> Jennifer McCarey, interview.

hold sectarianism had within a divided workforce competing for scarce jobs. However, divisions remained. This was apparent in relation to education, and through residency and employment patterns, which extended into both new public sector housing developments and externally-owned industrial sectors brought to Scotland via regional policy. The example of Terex shows that when industrial employment again became scarce in the 1980s it was contested on sectarian lines in some instances. The continued strength of sectarian identities was also confirmed in the 1994 Monklands East by-election. As at Terex ten years before, it was the distribution of economic resources, in this case local authority spending and employment, which was disputed. The election was marred by accusations that the Labour-led Monklands District Council heavily favoured the Catholic town of Coatbridge over the largely Protestant Airdrie. In her victory speech the Labour candidate Helen Liddell accused the SNP of playing the “Orange card” after her party’s majority in the seat was cut from over 15,000 to 1,660.<sup>136</sup>

## Conclusion

Class and community consciousness in the Lanarkshire coalfield evolved through linkages between employment, housing tenure and social and political institutions and affiliations. The locale provided neighbourly linkages which intersected around residency and work. These were the impetus for a close form of solidarity in the traditional neighbourhoods of miners’ rows, and a basis for the restricted public sphere of mining communities. Class and occupational consciousness were shaped by the closeness brought through the sharing of amenities and activities which delimited private space but also formed social barriers to middle class outsiders. Two major phases of economic restructuring disrupted these patterns, the first period of slum clearances and public housebuilding saw the construction of new mining communities and the broad continuation of traditional communal leisure activities and gala days centred on Miners’ Welfares. The second period of expanded private housebuilding and intensified deindustrialisation took hold over the 1980s. This displaced the dual foundations of public housing tenures and industrial employment that had contributed to conceptions of class and defined membership of an industrial community from the 1940s to the 1970s. Memories of major local events, especially disasters, have embedded themselves in collective memory, sustaining the close bonds of solidarity that characterised coalfield communities.

Community consciousness was expansive. Rather than being geographically delimiting, locale experience and activities served as a basis on which wider occupational and class solidarities were

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<sup>136</sup> John Paterson, ‘The Pulpit and the Ballot Box’, p.224; John Alldridge, ‘Labour to Act Over Monklands Scandal’, *Independent* 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1994 <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/labour-to-act-over-monklands-council-scandal-mp-to-heal-wounds-caused-by-allegations-against-local-authority-john-arlidge-reports-1410968.html>> [accessed 22/5/2015].

built. This was given particular prominence within the NUMSA. The Communist leadership of the Area used educational efforts, major union events such as the annual conference to promote an understanding of a community of common interest and identification across the Scottish coalfields, most prominently at the Scottish Miners' Gala. This gathering in the Scottish capital, Edinburgh, was framed within the wider British context of the nationalised industry and the NUM but also emphasised a distinct Scottish identity in the city which housed the headquarters of the Scottish Division of the NCB and the Scottish Area of the NUM. It also provided a platform at which the NUMSA's support for home rule was emphasised. Cross-UK labour movement involvement was accompanied through political campaigns championed by the NUMSA and support for international causes. However, there were also clear limits to solidarity. The moral economy's basis in localism created tensions which cut across attempts to articulate a singular Scottish coalfield community. Moreover, the Lanarkshire coalfields were also sites of division contested by religious and ethnically aligned forces. These barriers were relative rather than absolute, and diminished compared to earlier in the twentieth century. However, sectarian divisions were often preserved, albeit in a diminished form, by the practices of labourism within local government and workplaces, and so were to some extent legitimated by it. Elements of distinction through separate social worlds and sectarian conflict remained. Thus, identities remained fluid and variable. In responses to differing pressures aspects of class, nation and ethnic-religious identity were leaned on, and all were present in forming individual and collective responses to the contraction of the coal mining industry, and in attempts to assert control over economic resources, in particular industrial employment.

## Chapter 4 Gender and Generation

### Introduction

Experiences of deindustrialisation were shaped by gender and generational dimensions. These included the association of age cohorts with distinct temporal phases in the development of the labour market and workplace relations which conditioned expectations and informed social and political perspectives. This chapter utilises Campbell's method of studying coalfield generations by linking them with forms of workplace organisation, associated industrial relations, and political outlooks.<sup>1</sup> These are deployed to construct an understanding of how the transition from an industrial to deindustrialising economy during the mid and late twentieth century intersected with social democratic and liberal market forces in shaping generational experience.

The inauguration of heightened state economic management during the 1940s outlined in chapter one, which incorporated both a commitment to full employment and the nationalisation of coal, and the later abandonment of this regime in favour of the operation of liberalised markets from the late 1970s, were central in shaping the process and perception of deindustrialisation. In both phases age groups had distinct experiences of the same events. They were formative for a younger generation and interpreted through the lens of a long life-history by an older cohort. Gender was also a central dynamic. The labour market remained highly segmented throughout the period, but significant economic changes occurred. Married women's employment rose concurrently with the diversification aims of regional policy, an efficiency drive to make productive use of labour in the context of a full employment economy, and the expansion of employment in the welfare state.<sup>2</sup> Shifts in gender relations are considered through these economic changes but are also attached to broader social and cultural trends in the construction of masculinity and femininity. This extends to an analysis of the threat deindustrialisation posed to traditional male identities and breadwinner notions. Women's contrasting experience of a rise in social standing and opportunities for political activism, but the limitations that social conservatism and traditional gender expectations imposed are also appraised.

Generational consciousness is the product of cohorts becoming aware of themselves as a distinct entity which defines itself against others based on collective experience. Scherger emphasises that

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<sup>1</sup> Alan Campbell, 'Traditions and Generational Change in Scots Miners' Unions, 1874-1929', in *Generations in Labour History: Papers Presented to the Sixth British-Dutch Conference on Labour History*, Oxford 1988 ed. by Aad Blok, Dirk Damsma, Herman Diedriks and Lex Heerma van Voss (Amsterdam: Stichting beheer IISG, 1989) pp.27-34.

<sup>2</sup> Esther Breitenbach, *Women Workers in Scotland* (Glasgow: Pressgang, 1982) pp.35-6.



generational consciousness is constructed upon “a shared historical-biographical past”.<sup>3</sup> Generations are shaped by dealing with “common problems.... in a common way”, which may involve a response to “sudden shocks” such as war, major political changes and economic restructuring as well as more gradual but nevertheless profound changes in social life.<sup>4</sup> Karl Mannheim’s seminal work emphasises major life experiences which generally take place before cohorts mature to their thirties and which shape political and social outlooks. These events are experienced within “interior time”, “the time-interval separating generations”, which “becomes subjectively experientiable time; and contemporaneity becomes a subjective condition of having been submitted to the same determining influence.”<sup>5</sup> Thus interior time is crucial in biologically linked cohorts becoming generations through sharing economic, social, and political circumstance. Distinct phases in economic restructuring were fundamental in forming generational consciousness within the Lanarkshire coalfield through establishing perspectives shaped by the conditioning of interior time.

Through accompanying a generational analysis with a gender one this chapter emphasises the key role that the division of labour between men and women played within coalfield communities. Combining a gender perspective with a generational outlook also allows for an understanding of how gender relations changed over time as the expectations and activities of cohorts of women and men altered them. Emphasis is placed upon women’s increased labour market engagement after the Second World War, and in particular the development of a moral economy status for women’s industrial employment. This was largely concentrated in assembly factories and became an important source of family livelihoods. The analysis incorporates the use of oral history narratives to locate changing expectations and material experiences alongside Scottish Office policy-making documents and correspondence, which reveals a view of women’s labour as a key resource within the ‘reindustrialisation’ effort, and a gendered predisposition towards labelling work as either male or female. Both men and women were directly affected by deindustrialisation. Contrary to the literature’s near exclusive emphasis on male workers’ displacement and resistance, women experienced economic and social dislocation as a result of plant rundown and closure in Scotland. This entailed the loss of employment in engineering sectors created in the 1950s and 1960s during the 1980s.<sup>6</sup>

The generational unit serves as a lens to understand how male responses to deindustrialisation were configured and differentiated. Deindustrialisation incorporated losing more than earnings and

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<sup>3</sup> Simone Scherger ‘Concepts of Generation and their Empirical Application: From Social Formations to Narratives-a Critical Appraisal and some suggestions’ *CRESC Working Paper* no.117 (2012) p.3, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Lex Heerma van Voss, ‘Introduction’, in *Generations in Labour History: Papers Presented to the Sixth British-Dutch Conference on Labour History, Oxford 1988* ed. by Aad Blok, Dirk Damsma, Herman Diedriks and Lex Heerma van Voss (Amsterdam: Stichting beheer IISG, 1989) p.10.

<sup>5</sup> Karl Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* ed. by Paul Kecskemeti (London: Routledge, 1952) p.282.

<sup>6</sup> Clark, “And the Next Thing, the Chairs Barricaded the Door”, pp.129-130.

employment security. It also amounted to having masculine identity undermined; the producer and breadwinner enjoyed a heightened status in coal and steel communities where a class and gender conscious identity was attached to the physical prowess such work required and the dangers that were faced on the job.<sup>7</sup> These conditions were validated through the premium wages such employment granted which were secured through celebrated traditions of workplace militancy.<sup>8</sup> However, although universal elements of claims of economic and social justice were made through the coalfield moral economy and are clearly palpable from the narratives, generational particularities were fundamental in structuring responses to deindustrialisation. Thus, whilst “de-industrialization places men socialised into the masculine culture of the industrial shopfloor into a challenging position”, responses were conditioned by life stage.<sup>9</sup> Older men retired after redundancy, whilst younger workers faced seeking alternative, often service sector, employment in a deindustrial environment. Those too young to have worked in heavy industry also faced adaption as expectations of locally available industrial employment and economic security were dashed, and in some cases they left Lanarkshire to work elsewhere.

Oral history narratives are analysed with a focus on the interaction of gender and generational facets in narrative construction. Women often emphasised incremental progress and liberation over time, with a tendency to view later generations as having greater levels of freedom from institutional sexism and family boundaries, as well as a greater political voice and access to the labour market. This is to some extent counterpoised by more pessimistic male narratives which denote the social displacement associated with the loss of the social structure and fraternities connected to large-scale industrial employment. These are qualified by the cross-gender and pan-generational universality of the loss of a sense of belonging brought with the decline of industrial communities discussed in the previous chapter, as well as by the elements of critical nostalgia which question benign interpretations of the past. Generational aspects coloured both male and female narratives. In particular discrete formative experiences within differing structures of political economy shaped attitudes and approaches to agency and mobilisation, including memories of the 1984-5 miners’ strike and the traumatic experience of its aftermath.

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<sup>7</sup> David Morgan, ‘Class and Masculinity’, in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities* ed. by Michael S Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, RW Connell (London: Sage, 2005) pp.168-9.

<sup>8</sup> Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, ‘Dangerous Work, Hard Men and Broken Bodies: Masculinity in the Clydeside Heavy Industries, c.1930-1970s’, *Labor History Review* vol.69 (2) (2004) p.140.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Dunk and David Bartel, ‘The Logic and Limitations of Male Working-Class Culture in a Resource Hinterland’, in *Spaces of Masculinities* ed. by Bettina van Hoven and Kathrin Horschelmann (London: Routledge, 2005) p.32.

## Generational Experience and Economic Change

**Table 4.1 Generation, Temporality and Employment Structure in the Lanarkshire Coalfields**

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Interwar Veterans</b>	<b>Industrial Citizens</b>	<b>Flexible Workers</b>
<b>Regime</b>	Paternalist private employers. Sectarian and anti-trade union.	Managed economy. Public ownership of coal and later steel. Increased trade union voice and government commitment to full employment.	Intensified deindustrialisation. Abandonment of economic management, 'reindustrialisation' commitments and full employment policies.
<b>Industries/Labour Market</b>	Coal, steel.	Coal, steel, assembly plants.	Public and private sector services.
<b>Formative Experience</b>	Interwar unemployment and nationalisation.	Rising expectations within both traditional industries and new workplaces. Labour movement mobilisation during 1960s and 1970s.	Defeat in the 1984-5 miners' strike and dismantling of social democratic joint regulation and full employment commitment.  Long-term unemployment.
<b>Male employment</b>	Local coal mines and steelworks.	Commuting over a longer distance to coal mines, new steelworks (Ravenscraig) and assembly plants.	Service sector employment, both public and private.  Commuting.  State benefits and redundancy packages.
<b>Female employment</b>	Housewives. Pre-marital employment-domestic services and textiles.	Employment in the expanded welfare state and assembly plants.	Public services, especially roles in care. Private services such as retail.  Commuting.

Deindustrialisation was experienced distinctly as generational formation and consciousness was exhibited around formative experiences linked to temporal changes in political economy. Table 4.1

denotes an ideal anatomy of the transformation of Lanarkshire's economic structure, workforce and the shifting political priorities under which economic changes were managed. This was fundamental in shaping differing generational experiences and perspectives. As was noted in the second chapter, the moral economy was renegotiated as leadership transitions took hold within NUMSA over the 1960s. For the generation which held office under the Moffats, the interwar veterans, chief interior time experiences were the miners' lockouts of 1921 and 1926, and the economic and social dislocation associated with mass unemployment and the victimisation of trade unionists during the 1920s and 1930s. They saw the operation of joint regulation within the nationalised industry as a key achievement which granted employment stability. The rising generation of industrial citizens around McGahey and Daly whose consciousness was formed in the context of rising working class affluence in the decades following the Second World War had a more conflicted perspective, based on the expectations that had developed from the structures of industrial citizenship under nationalisation and growing working class affluence.<sup>10</sup> This generation was characterised by both mounting opposition to closures and participations in industrial action of the late 1960s and early 1970s discussed in chapter two.

The distinction between these two generations' experiences is summed up by a comparison of memories within the transcripts. Willie Allison, who was born in 1933, elaborated positively upon the stability and social justice of nationalisation in comparison to the struggles miners faced in the private industry, emphasising the social control wielded by employers. Illuminating the distinction between the interior time experiences of interwar veterans and industrial citizens, Willie compared the victimisation and unemployment his father, who was also a miner, faced to his own working life. Willie noted that despite major pit closures, he was never unemployed after starting work with the NCB in 1948:

I was brought up in a wee village called Lanerig in Stirlingshire. My first memory's ma daddy coming from work and telling ma Mammy we're to get oot the house because the coal owner, the pits, were privately owned. Because the coal owner sacked a guy cause he got his leg broken and they went on strike and to get oot o the hoose that night. And ma mammy went along tae the people that owned the hoose, and owned the mines, at the top o the hill as we called it, and leathered the man and the woman and got jailed 7 days for it, and, eh, ma Daddy after that got a job wi Mortons. Eh, Alan Morton played wi Rangers, ma daddy said the Mortons were the best employers he had in his life, but he had to walk 7 miles to work, couldnae even afford a bike. Eh, we lived in a house, a dry toilet outside, a well outside the door. Eh, just, eh, set-in beds miners worked hard and aw they had was enough to pay the

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<sup>10</sup> Jim Phillips, 'Generational Cohorts in Scottish Mining: Trade Unionism and Collieries from the 1920s to the 1980s', Economic and Social History Work in Progress Paper, University of Glasgow (2015) p.13.

store book on a Friday and back tae work on a Monday. Nationalisation came aboot it was the greatest thing that ever happened tae miners ehm there were some decent coal owners but the biggest majority were bastards were for a better word, eh, ma father died at eh 61 wi heart attack, he never lost a shift good livin. He was a good Catholic and and when he put his bunnet on the bus and all the rest ae it....After I got married I moved to Plaines in Airdrie near Airdrie but eh I worked in, I was never unemployed, but I worked a lot ae units but they aw shut. Loads ae mines shut and I went tae England came back went to McCaskey mine for a short time then started in Boglea in Greengairs which was another, great, great, people.<sup>11</sup>

As Willie Allison's comments highlight the price of resistance to employers' power was felt by whole families during the interwar period. Women also directly experienced these aspects of class relations in employment settings. Jessie Clark recalled her experiences of domestic service aged 14 as exploitative but also marked by differences accorded to age distinctions:

I didn't like it at all. The first the first job I had was with 2 old ladies \*laughs\* who were the oldest woman was about the age I am now you know eh but when I was 14 in these days old women were really old! There was a generation gap that you don't get now a days y'know. And, eh, although I was just 8 miles away from my home I only got home once a month I got a day off once a month and I was paid 2 pounds a month was ma wages.<sup>12</sup>

She felt that her experiences were typical of the gendered division of labour which operated in South Lanarkshire during the 1930s:

My father was a miner, all my uncles were miners. Y'know the thing was if you're brought up in the village like that if you were a boy that's where you went. You went to, eh, you went down the pit. Eh lassies they went to domestic service or there was a factory in Lanark it was only 8 miles it's only 8 miles from Lanark and there was factories there and some of the girls went and worked [there].<sup>13</sup>

Jessie's comments compliment the analysis in chapter one by indicating women were employed within industry in Lanarkshire during this period, with a concentration in textiles. She went on to elaborate how this extended to her own experiences, as she ultimately left domestic service to work in the Douglas Castle pit canteen because she "just didn't want to be somebody's skivvy." This

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<sup>11</sup> Moodiesburn Focus Group.

<sup>12</sup> Jessie Clark, interview.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

demonstrates that although in a small minority, there were women present within the coal mining workforce, and as demonstrated later in this chapter, they were also impacted by colliery closures.

Jessie further reflected upon how the generation of interwar veteran women who preceded her had their opportunities limited through both class and gender oppression; women were taught domestic science instead of complex maths at school and no mining family could afford to send their children to grammar school if they passed entrance exams. The post-Second World War expansion of the welfare state provided her with enhanced opportunities however, and she was able to find employment in social work.<sup>14</sup> Jessie's employment trajectory is indicative of the improved material and altered ideological conditions which followed the Second World War that saw the "redistribution of social esteem" from the middle class to the working class.<sup>15</sup> Within the structures of industrial citizenship material expectations were raised and improvements were gained. Mick McGahey junior, who was born in 1955, emphasised that his father, who was President of the NUMSA, campaigned for health and safety improvements and oversaw cooperation between the NUM and the NCB during the 1970s. This advanced beyond the earlier cooperation associated with the nationalised industry due to both growing concern within the NUM and the development of the Board's expertise.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the improved material circumstances associated with nationalisation and the mechanisms of joint regulation facilitated the demands for further improved conditions, particularly with regard to health and safety; a major concern evident in the litany of injuries, deaths and disasters within the narratives outlined in the second and third chapter:

I think it was, yeh, yeh see after nationalisation there was a, I think, an understanding between the unions in the coal mines and those people that were running the nationalised coal industry. And that was that they had tae take it to another level, take it to a different stage. There was mare concern about safety. My faither was the person who campaigned rigorously within the NUM and within the coal industry for eh self-rescuer masks. It was only up to the kinda like the mid-sixties you didnae have anything like that so the self-rescuer mask you just slipped it on and you could breathe and get oot o the pit and it was ma faither that drove that. Ehm, and by that point there was that relationship, which was a good working relationship between the union and the employer based on a common purpose. And that was to make it safer than it had been.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, p.161.

<sup>16</sup> Arthur McIvor and Ronald Johnston, *Miners' Lung: A History of Dust Disease in British Coal Mining* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) pp.205-208.

<sup>17</sup> Mick McGahey, interview.

The demand for all miners to be equipped with self-rescuers rose to prominence following the fire at Michael colliery in Fife during 1967 which killed 9 miners. The NUMSA successfully pressed for a public inquiry and the NCB made provisions for self-rescuers afterwards.<sup>18</sup> These rising expectations were constructed upon the basis of the improved conditions and full employment delivered by the social embedding of the economy after 1945. Memories of the earlier period coloured interwar veterans' appreciation of the gains associated with restructuring and the security and improved conditions provided by state economic management. In Polanyian terms this incorporated the efforts to have labour standards "determined outside the market" through the intervention of "public bodies" including empowered trade unions, the NCB, and through governmental legislation and intervention, exemplified by the public inquiry which followed the fire at Michael.<sup>19</sup> Margaret Keena and Barbara Goldie who both grew up in mining families in Cambuslang vividly recollected the 'great transformation' through contrasting interwar conditions with those which followed the relative economic affluence and stability in the decades after the Second World War. Margaret recalled her cousin returning home from working in the pits in the Cambuslang area in his dirty work clothes:

As I was saying, Isabel Devlin you know my cousin? They lived with in ma wee Granny Donnolly's room. And Willie finished at two o'clock in the day and he come in. And all you say was those 2 big eyes and he'd be filthy. And Bella would be saying to us "right c'mon, Wullie" And it was a big tin back in the room. "Get oot, get oot Wullie's to get his bath" and he'd this lamp on his hat and what have you.<sup>20</sup>

These comments were made within a wider discussion which profiled how interwar experiences entered interior time and framed generational understandings. Barbara recollected her Mother suffering from TB before she declared that "miners are heroes" for experiencing harsh conditions underground. The dialogue then moved to considering the injustices and dangers within the mines; several local deaths were mentioned whilst Margaret recalled an uncle who was blinded in an accident underground during the 1930s and received minimal compensation.<sup>21</sup> Margaret's sister and Barbara's brothers and sister worked at the local Hoover factory after the Second World War. The experience of Cambuslang's transition from a coal and steel town to a diversified industrial structure, and then to a deindustrial economy, was succinctly summarised in a discussion of the contribution the factory made to the town between the 1940s and 2003, when it closed:

Barbara Goldie: That kept Cambuslang going.

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<sup>18</sup> Jim Phillips, 'The Closure of Michael Colliery in 1967 and the Politics of Deindustrialization in Scotland', *Twentieth Century British History* vol.26 (4) (2015) p.552.

<sup>19</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, p.258.

<sup>20</sup> Barbara Goldie and Margaret Keena, interview.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

Margaret Keena: A lot of local people got work there. Conditions totally different from the pits and the mines I gather. And the wages were, no that I ever knew. They got very well paid.

Barbara Goldie : Well I had a sister and two brothers that worked in the Hoover.

Margaret Keena: Well I had a sister that worked in the Hoover.

Barbara Goldie: And I mean at the end up, I mean it was the only factory that was going in Cambuslang. Then they closed it.

Margaret Keena: Aye they went away again. That was it, down again, everybody looking for work.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, Hoover was associated with both safer and cleaner work and higher wages than had been provided in the private coal mining industry. It was embedded in the community, providing employment for families, with jobs for women as well as men. The exit of 'the Hoover,' after a prolonged rundown, ended significant industrial production in Cambuslang and contributed to rising unemployment in the area.

A similar memory, from the perspective of a representative of the generation of flexible workers, who entered the labour market during the intensified deindustrialisation of the 1980s, was relayed by John Slaven who was born in the Tannochside area in 1965. Both of his parents worked in the adjacent Caterpillar factory. He summed up his feelings on the factory as representing a social improvement and economic modernisation in comparison to the coal mining employment which had previously dominated the area, and ironically questioned the perceived permanence of Caterpillar's presence given their divestment from Uddingston in 1987<sup>23</sup>:

You have to understand the physical environment of Caterpillar. It was a big shiny new factory it looked modern the front as it looked modern it looked American so you know and they made these brilliant tractors that were sold all over the world, why would they go? You werenae making, you know, you werenae doing an old decrepit pit that's seam was running out. You were in this big modern factory that had computer design pay systems that were

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Woolfson and Foster, *Track Record*, p.30.



making big yella tractors that everybody knew about. You know, they could pay high wages, why would that ever go? <sup>24</sup>

Lanarkshire's evolution under the diversified industrial economy was attached to a broader process of social development. John felt that Tannochside was "a sorta prosperous working class place", with recently constructed "good quality houses", including both owner-occupied and publicly owned homes, such as the council housing in which his family resided. The area was at the heart of investment brought by regional policy with both Ranco, another American engineering firm, and the nationalised British Steel Corporation steelworks at Ravenscraig, also in close proximity. A strong sense of belonging was built around residing in the area and working within these factories, indicative that the social democratic order of industrial citizenship extended beyond the nationalised mining and steel industries. John referred to the Caterpillar factory as having built a "sense of identity" characterised by a strong trade union and a "paternalistic" management that supported social clubs, family days out involving workers' children, and sporting activities including three football teams. The construction of a strong identification with Caterpillar and the firm's involvement in social activities is indicative of the form of 'human relations' pioneered by AT&T during the 1920s and spread internationally by American multinationals after the Second World War.<sup>25</sup> As with Hoover's rundown and final closure in Cambuslang, John remembered the closure of Caterpillar and the broader and sudden decline of industrial employment during the 1980s as a dislocating process that established his status as part of the generation of flexible workers. Employment at the Uddingston factory peaked during the 1970s, before Caterpillar was badly affected by the global economic downturn of the early 1980s, during which it sustaining substantial losses between 1982 and 1984. John could not remember the precise date of the first compulsory redundancies which took place in 1982.<sup>26</sup> His testimony indicates the trauma associated with the series of local closures and job losses which ensued over the 1980s. The rundown of industrial employment in Lanarkshire altered his own life course through the absence of opportunities for someone who had left high school without many qualifications. Following long-term unemployment he chose to leave for a job on the railways in London in 1985:

I think you know the clouds started to come over when I was, I mean there was always this idea for example you grew up, like how I could describe, it is like my sister was quite academic, I wisnae at all academic. There was always this idea ach well you can just work in the Caterpillar and it'll be alright, and that'll be absolutely fine, or your dad'll get you in the

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<sup>24</sup> John Slaven, interview with author, STUC Building Woodlands, Glasgow, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Baker Library Historical Collections, 'Human Relations movement' *Harvard Business School* <<http://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/hawthorne/intro.html#i>> [accessed 6/10/2015]; Knox and McKinlay, 'Working for the Yankee Dollar', pp.24-25.

<sup>26</sup> McDermott, *Multinationals*, pp.101-102.

Caterpillar. It wisnae particular, you know they were quite rigorous in their interviews and recruiting and stuff, but they would recruit people locally if they could. They definitely, I think that's a very good feeling, it, definitely, there was definitely a sense ae rising living standards that it was quite a good environment. Ehm, and I remember the first redundancies in the Caterpillar were in about 1980 '81 and I do remember that was quite a shock. It just didnae seem like that the Caterpillar, seemed like a place that was profitable, it was big, it was new, it wisnae some old place that was gonnae shut, it seemed new. The factory looked new, eh, looked quite state ae art. The first redundancies were in '80, '81. I remember that was quite a profound shock. And it was very fast fae, fae being the optimism went all the way through the sixties seventies, and I'm no just saying that retrospectively I can remember it. This kindae feeling ach things are gonna be okay eh and it was very short. I mean a good example you know the first redundancies were in 1979, 1980, by '85 when I left school I had tae leave. I had to go to London because there was absolutely nothing there.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, generational change was intertwined with transitions across three distinct structures of political economy. The coal and steel town structure marked by the social as well as economic dominance of private coal and steel owners and their hostility to organised labour gave way to a social democratic order under nationalisation. This was linked to the state-managed transition to a diversified industrial economy which intertwined economic and social modernisation. It was closely associated with the provision of improved conditions within coal mining as well as investment in engineering activities. Assembly factories were perceived as delivering a future for Lanarkshire, providing enhanced employment opportunities for both men and women. The dismantling of the regional policy framework and rapid deindustrialisation during the 1980s was experienced as a traumatic shock, both by older generations already working in plants, but also by those who had grown up expecting to enter the industry. As John Slaven's comments indicate, the wave of major closures from the late 1970s into the 1980s entailed the removal of the structures of industrial citizenship and left an emergent generation of flexible workers entering a labour market that had shed promises of economic security.

### **Male Responses to Deindustrialisation**

Gender relations were central in configuring perceptions of deindustrialisation. The decline of both coal mining and steelmaking threatened the social and cultural fabric which Lanarkshire's industrial communities had been constructed around, discussed in the previous chapter. A key aspect of this was occupational identities which were invested with strongly gendered, masculine, dimensions. This section analyses the construction of a male coal mining identity and its articulation in response to the

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<sup>27</sup> John Slaven, interview.

threat of deindustrialisation. It places male responses to deindustrialisation within a generational context by considering how the onset of intensified deindustrialisation amid the final pit and major factory closures of the 1980s was experienced in distinct ways by different age cohorts of men who were able to retire, made redundant or never able to take industrial jobs which they had anticipated.

Connell has defined masculinity as “a configuration of practice within a system of gender relations”, which must be understood as “an aspect of a larger structure.”<sup>28</sup> Thus, hegemonic conceptions of masculinity are shaped by other aspects of social relations and prevalent ideological assumptions. In particular aspects of class consciousness and political standpoints were important in shaping competing conceptions of middle class and working class masculinity. In the case of the latter, trade union demands for a “breadwinner wage” merged with paternalist family ideology to assert the role of the male worker as producer and provider.<sup>29</sup> Morgan has argued that the male domination of the public sphere encouraged a masculine understanding of class and agency within Britain which was particularly marked in heavy industrial areas. He emphasises an intra as well as inter-class plurality of masculinities, noting the presence of “rough” as well as “respectable” working class masculinities. Respectable working class masculinity was in part constructed on the judgement of “failures” often accorded to alcoholics and others who do not live up to expectations of familial stability or suitable employment.<sup>30</sup>

Within the Lanarkshire coalfields the presence of “whole areas of life where only men congregated”, that Horrocks noted as characteristic of British industrial communities, were present. Large workplaces, affiliated trade union activism, and key locations of social interaction such as pubs and football matches were relatively gender exclusive.<sup>31</sup> The maintenance of gendered spaces within the coalfields was evident from the testimonies of former miners interviewed for this thesis, and not just in Lanarkshire. Peter Mansell-Mullen recalled commencing his work in colliery management in Nottinghamshire during the early 1950s. His wife, who was also undertaking management training, was treated with suspicion by the male workforce. This was rooted in traditions and superstition over women’s presence underground:

Women were ehh treated with considerable eh reserve, there weren’t many in there except as secretaries and so on ... My wife actually was a junior management trainee and eh she went underground and there was a fire shortly afterwards and the two were supposed to be

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<sup>28</sup> R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* second edition (Cambridge: polity, 2005) p.67, 83.

<sup>29</sup> Michael Roper and John Tosh, ‘Historians and the Politics of Masculinity’, in *Men and Masculinities: Critical Concepts in Sociology vol.I: Politics and Power* ed Stephen M Whitehead (Oxon: Routledge, 2006) p.88.

<sup>30</sup> Morgan, ‘Class and Masculinity’, pp.168-172.

<sup>31</sup> Roger Horrocks, *Masculinity in Crisis: Myths, Fantasies and Realities* (Basingstoke: Macmillan,1994) p.167.

connected ... So there was a good deal of prejudices wandering around, or what we now think of as prejudices.<sup>32</sup>

Billy Ferns' testimony indicates that in a Scottish context gendered sentiment influenced by the masculine nature of coal mining employment continued into the late 1980s. He recollected unilaterally choosing to take redundancy from the Solsgirth mine in the Longannet complex in 1988, where he worked after being transferred following the closure of Cardowan in 1983. He justified not consulting his wife because she had never worked underground, and in his view she resultantly did not have the experience to weigh a judgement on a decision which went onto shape both of their lives:

Oh aye Willie Doolan, the Bean, they called him, the Bean. Willie says "go and draw your cheque before you put your clothes on your going for an interview there's men getting out." He says "they're getting rid of men." At that time I wasnae the oldest man in the pit but I was wan o the wans wi the most service cause men had come oot the pit and come back in the pit, so there was men older than me but I'd maybe 15 years more service than them. At that time I was just coming 52 so he says "come in and see them anyway". So I went in to see them so they says "well right gonna tell you what you're gonna get if you're interested". In fact what we want you to do they told me I was gonna get thingmayered, "what you want to do is take that away with you and go home and speak it over with your wife and see what she thinks aboot it." I says "excuse me I'm no going home to thingmae with ma wife", I said "where do I sign?" And the 2 of them looked at one another and they said "to sign?" I said "the reason I'm going to sign rather than talk it over with my wife. My wife never put pit boots on in her life, she never worked doon the pit", "ah but do y'know?" I said "ma wife'll be fine with ma judgement", and she was to this day. [I] signed it and that was it, never looked back, never looked back after it.<sup>33</sup>

Billy's comments contain elements of composure that are framed by the 'breadwinner' model and separate spheres. The insecurity of mining employment contributed to this situation. When faced with an offer that could be withdrawn, Billy saw it as his obligation alone to swiftly negotiate the scenario to a conclusion which offered his family economic security. Billy's narration of the story implies that his wife contentedly accepted this as his social role and was happy with the results. Thus, as in Walkerdine and Jimenez's study of 'Steeltown' in the South Wales valleys, "masculinity was produced out of a certain distance from femininity" through the clear demarcation of places, spaces

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<sup>32</sup> Peter Mansell-Mullen, interview.

<sup>33</sup> Billy Ferns, interview.

and social roles.<sup>34</sup> Rhona Wilkinson recalled that gender distinctions contributed towards her feeling somewhat removed from her family's coal mining connections and social activities. She remembered despite often collecting racing pigeons on the way back from training flights, and being "fascinated" by the bird's homing abilities, "being a girl I wasn't really allowed into the doocot [enclosure]." This extended more directly into coal mining itself, with Rhona unable to join her male relatives in trips to the colliery, and potentially in hearing details about her grandfather's underground experiences:

Rhona Wilkinson: My grandda worked Woodmuir. My dad's dad. Ehm, he was there for years. But he also, he left for a wee while, left the pits and went to the whisky bond at Adiewell but then went back and was working doon at Polkemmet up until he retired. But he was in his 60s and he was up to his chest in water because Polkemmet's a wet pit. Never spoke about it though.

Ewan Gibbs: No?

Rhona Wilkinson: No, none of them did. None of them spoke aboot. But it really, I was kind of excluded cause as a girl and I'm the only girl. So I grew up with like male relatives, boy cousins, boy brother, you know that sort of stuff. And eh, they used to get to go for showers at the pit heid and all that sort of stuff which obviously I couldnae be part of. So there was always a bit of exclusion on that front.<sup>35</sup>

These established routines embedded social understandings of masculine spheres which were accompanied by an associational culture that emphasised occupational pride. In *Coal is Our Life*, Dennis et al recalled that they found Yorkshire miners exhibited "a pride in the fact that they are real men who work hard for their living, and without whom nothing in society could function."<sup>36</sup> Aspects of this occupational consciousness were apparent within the oral testimonies. Mick McGahey explained this in terms of an understanding of the key role that miners had played in developing British industry and supporting the economy at major points of national distress. These feelings were intertwined and embedded by kinship and family connections to the industry, bolstering the moral economy status of colliery employment:

Miners took a pride in the fact that they were producing coal which kept Britain going. You know, the reality is that you know we talk about you know the great wars World War One,

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<sup>34</sup> Valerie Walkerdine and Luis Jimenez, *Gender, Work and Community after De-Industrialization: A Psychosocial Approach to Affect* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) p.174.

<sup>35</sup> Rhona Wilkinson, interview.

<sup>36</sup> Dennis et al, *Coal is Our Life*, p.33.

World War Two, these wars were kept going because miners produced coal that produced the steel, that made the guns and bullets and aw the rest ae it. ... So they seen themselves as being an integral part ae the economy. Mining kept the wheels ae industry turning and we knew that. And that's why they talk about coal being king and so on. But it was it was aw aboot that and it was aboot places for jobs for their kids their families.<sup>37</sup>

Paternal family bonds were an important part of male coal mining identities. Scott McCallum recollected that within his family in Cardowan village there was an understanding that age "16 [you] go there [to the pit], that was what ma father did, what ma grandfather did. It was just what you did."<sup>38</sup> Antony Rooney recalled that within the Bellshill area this was secured through custom: "at that time the miners had an agreement, y'know, the oldest son in a family, eh, had to be more or less guaranteed a job y'know."<sup>39</sup> A clear association between a mining identity and a sense of masculinity was apparent in Gilbert Dobby's testimony. Gilbert followed his grandfather and father into the industry, going on to work alongside him at Bedlay from 1975. He remembered the pride he felt in following this tradition and contributing to the household by handing over his pay packet to his parents after he started work as an apprentice electrician at Arlochan 9 in Coalburn, South Lanarkshire, in 1961. He also recollected his wage compared favourably with those of other young men in the area:

Ma first wage was five pounds and fifteen shillings which was a lot ae money. Ehm, once everything was taken off I went home wi four pounds and ten shillings. And I remember you felt really proud handin your pay packet over to your Mum sealed, no open, and she counted the money out, took the four pounds and handed me the ten shillings and I thought I was one rich boy! \*both laugh\* That wis enough money for me tae take a girl to the pictures in the next village, pay her bus fare, pay her in, everything, and still had money left. A lot ae boys went tae the factories in Larkhall and they were maybe more than a pound a week less than what I was makin plus they had their bus fares tae take off that. So likes ae us apprentices in the pit at Coalburn anyway we were givin oor parents a good bit more money than what these guys were workin just as hard as us but they just didnae get paid as well. You felt proud aboot that s well!<sup>40</sup>

Gilbert's memories confirm that a pay packet was a "symbol of power", which informed a sense of masculinity. As with Billy's story of redundancy Gilbert's narrative is indicative of how this was

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<sup>37</sup> Mick McGahey, interview.

<sup>38</sup> Scott McCallum, interview.

<sup>39</sup> Antony Rooney, interview.

<sup>40</sup> Gilbert Dobby, interview.

embedded within familial obligation and community membership. The social status associated with being a contributor to the family was confirmed through the ‘respectable’ working class hallmark of handing a sealed packet to his mother, who was responsible for the household budget, and being given “pocket money”, of ten shillings, from his wage.<sup>41</sup> The testimonies affirm Heathcott and Howie’s assertion that scholars of deindustrialisation must “see it [industrial work] for what it was: tough work that people did because it paid well and it was located in their communities.”<sup>42</sup> Miners took jobs in pits because they were comparatively well paid and locally available and apprenticeships offered the chance to learn a skilled trade. Colliery employment was further prized due to the cultural values associated with mining work, which often entailed continuing a family tradition.

Within the Scottish experience of deindustrialisation these factors were crucial in the articulation of opposition to contraction and closures. This was evident during the UCS work-in of 1971-2 when Jimmy Reid overtly associated shipbuilding with constructions of masculinity, and overlooked the involvement of women in the dispute, by stating, “We don’t only build ships on the Clyde, we build men.” Reid’s other infamous uttering from the dispute, that there would be “no bevvy” at the work-in, is indicative that the form of industrially infused masculinity being defended was tied to notions of respectability.<sup>43</sup>

Reid’s perspective was restated at a later meeting of shop stewards from across Britain, where he declared that the work-in had “reasserted the dignity of working men” through a struggle to “establish that they’ve got rights, and they’ve got commitments and privileges and principles, and they are going to utilise their ability and capacity to resist these measures, to fight and to unite around them their brothers and sisters.”<sup>44</sup> In this case there was an acknowledgement of the role of women in the dispute but it was nevertheless framed in terms of a struggle for the livelihoods of male workers. This was not conceived in limited economic terms; the work-in was a struggle for dignity that implicated industrial employment into the heart of communal identity. Reid’s autobiography, *Reflections of a Clyde Built Man*, indicates that the imagery of shipbuilders he espoused during the UCS dispute was connected to a wider sense of self. He remembered the 1952 engineering apprentices’ strike, a national dispute which originated on Clydeside, and propelled Reid to prominence within the labour movement, as an event where “young men had organised in a responsible and disciplined manner.”<sup>45</sup> This emphasis on working class respectability was informed by Reid’s status as “a widely read autodidact.”<sup>46</sup> He wrote

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<sup>41</sup> Johnston and McIvor, ‘Dangerous Work’, pp.142-3.

<sup>42</sup> Cowie and Heathcott, ‘Introduction’, pp.14-15.

<sup>43</sup> Johnson and McIvor, ‘Dangerous Work’, pp.138-143.

<sup>44</sup> John Foster and Charles Woolfson, ‘How Workers on the Clyde Gained the Capacity for Class Struggle’, p.306.

<sup>45</sup> Jimmy Reid, *Reflections of a Clyde-Built Man* (London: Souvenir Press, 1976) p.14.

<sup>46</sup> Alan McKinlay, ‘Jimmy Reid: Fragments of a Political Life’, *Scottish Labour History* vol.46 (2011) p.38.

of his personal efforts and those of a group of young trade unionists he was associated with to educate themselves about Scottish history, culture, and literature.<sup>47</sup>

The outlook which was prominently deployed during the UCS work-in to widespread public acclaim across Scotland had a deep seated basis within the experience of industrial communities and the public imagination of the Scottish ‘industrial nation’.<sup>48</sup> This perspective had a resonance within the coalfields. A Colliery Official and Staff Association (COSA) representative anticipated Jimmy Reid’s remarks about “faceless men” in Whitehall threatening workers on the Clyde at a colliery consultative meeting preceding the closure of Gartshore 9/11 in North Lanarkshire during 1968 by similarly imbuing geographical distance with social and political facets. He articulated an understanding of mounting closures as the product of increasing centralisation within the NCB:

It used to be that the Colliery Manager had to plan out his own Pit, then Area officials took control of this and now we find that the planning for the Pit is done 500 miles away. Handouts were all right, if unavoidable, but *men wanted to work*.<sup>49</sup>

The COSA representative’s comments emphasise the masculine nature of coal mining, and also its value as a provider of social cohesion. His opposition to handouts was predicated on the fact that “men wanted to work”, with the implicit sentiment that its removal was a threat to accepted constructions of masculinity that were associated with industrial work. This statement articulates the moral economy’s embeddedness in local community connection; the social value accorded to colliery employment was more comprehensible to locally based management than at NCB headquarters, outwith the coalfields, 500 miles away in London.

Moral economy opposition to pit closures was reinforced by a gendered understanding of the colliery employment it defended. Brendan Moohan recalled the social routine behind this, which was infused by the nationalised industry, and structured his father’s generation of industrial citizens’ outlook on employment. This centred on a ‘deal’ that traded the security of lifetime employment for an acceptance of the dangers in the industry and occupational diseases which often ensured those who saw out their working life had a short retirement:

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<sup>47</sup> Reid, *Reflections of a Clyde-Built Man*, pp.12-13, 34-5.

<sup>48</sup> Andrew Perchard, ““Broken Men” and “Thatcher’s Children”: Memory and legacy in Scotland’s Coalfields’, *International Labor and Working-Class History* vol.84 (2013) pp.82-3; William Knox, *Industrial Nation*; John Foster and Charles Wolfson, *The Politics of the UCS Work-In*, pp.322-325.

<sup>49</sup> NRS/CB/300/14/1/Minutes of Special Consultative Committee Meeting of Gartshore 9/11 Colliery Consultative Committee Held in Grayhill Office on Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> January, 1968.



To the generation before mine it was cradle to grave. It was you left school, you went to the pit, until you retired, and a couple of years later and you died. That was the path that was the deal.<sup>50</sup>

The generational perspective was important to Brendan in reflecting on his own response to the social life of mining communities and the form of social conservatism that prevailed within them. This centred on constructions of respectability and masculinity. He recollected that he found the atmosphere stifling due to his style of dress and the music he listened to:

Ewan Gibbs: I was struck you mentioned this hierarchy and all these people are men. The union, committee.

Brendan Moohan: Oh they were, and a type of man. The type of man now that I have enormous admiration for but when I was 19 I thought were old farts. But you know when I look back I mean these guys with blazers that sat in smoked filled rooms were actually protecting a form of socialism. You know, in their own unique way they were the guardians of the community, and actually what they represented had to be fought for to be achieved over centuries. So there was, looking at them wi that set ae eyes as opposed to the set ae eyes I had at nineteen when they looked down on the way that ah dressed and I thought that I'd rather die than dress the same as they would.<sup>51</sup>

Jessie Clark's husband, Alex, perhaps epitomised the type of community leader from the generations of interwar veterans and industrial citizens that Brendan clashed with in his youth but came to respect in later life. Alex Clark was a representative of the interwar veterans, having worked in collieries in South Lanarkshire from the late 1930s until 1953 when he became a full time organiser for the Communist Party. He played a prominent role as a local young trade unionist and Communist activist during the early period of nationalisation. Jessie was keen to stress his intellectual and artistic involvement, which as with Jimmy Reid's example was based on a working class culture of self-education that defied the official expectations faced by the generation of interwar veterans:

So the whole attitude was that the authorities and maybe even some of the teacher not them all just didn't have any expectations for these kids you know. The boys are aw gonna be miners, doesnae matter where do you get miners that read poetry, y'know? Which is untrue!

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<sup>50</sup> Brendan Moohan, interview.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

Because in actual fact I married one and who taught me about poetry to really appreciate it you know eh but that was the attitude that was the attitude, you know.<sup>52</sup>

Alex was also a member of the Lesmehagow Male Voice Choir. This laid the interest of his career development as he went onto become prominently involved in Scottish performing arts and culture as a full time official for the Theatre union Equity and through the STUC Arts and Entertainment Committee.<sup>53</sup>

**Table 4.2 Male Generational Responses to Deindustrialisation in the 1980s**

<b>Generation(s)</b>	<b>Exit Path</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Response</b>
<b>Interwar Veterans and Industrial Citizens</b>	<b>Retirement.</b>	<b>Late 40s and over.</b>	<b>Redundancy pay and early retirement or disability benefits.</b>
<b>Industrial Citizens and Flexible Workers</b>	<b>Redundancy.</b>	<b>20s-40s.</b>	<b>Made redundant, found employment within services.</b>
<b>Flexible Workers</b>	<b>Never worked in industry.</b>	<b>Under 20.</b>	<b>Took jobs in services, migrated.</b>

Table 4.2 details an ideal typology of labour market trajectories for generations of men during the intensified deindustrialisation of the 1980s, differentiating between older men who withdrew from employment and younger men who left industries for service employment, or never entered the industrial workplaces they had anticipated. As Brendan and Jessie’s comments on cultural sensibilities indicate, masculine identities were informed by generational perspectives and attitudes to industrial employment shaped by interior time experiences. For the older generation facing industrial contraction in the 1980s it was the social democratic environment and industrial citizenship which had characterised the years between 1945 and the late 1970s that informed their perspective. This added to the social dislocation experienced upon redundancy, and the sense of a threatened routine and way of life. John Slaven summed this up by claiming that most male industrial workers in their fifties and sixties who were made redundant during the 1980s survived but felt deprived of their former status and social life: “I think there was cultural social poverty but economically people kinda got by. Maybe on a slightly [lower] living standard, so there was a lot ae people that just didnae work

<sup>52</sup> Jessie Clark, interview.

<sup>53</sup> Alex Clark, ‘Personal Experience from a Lifetime in the Communist and Labour Movements (part 2)’, *Scottish Labour History Review* no.11 (1997-8) p.15.

again.”<sup>54</sup> John’s father was a case in point, he was made redundant in the mid-1980s after almost three decades of work at Caterpillar in Uddingston. He was officially retired due to an industrial injury, but this related to him having lost a hand two decades previously. John felt his father was part of a broader trend across Lanarkshire, which led to an older generation of men experiencing social redundancy:

I think there was a lot ae issues with alcoholism. I think there was a lot ae issues with my dad was very much a physical manifestation. I think people definitely seemed vastly reduced, y’know, because they werenae the sort of people, they were just the wrong age to go back to uni, to retrain, or do stuff, they just werenae of that generation. So y’know, there was an awful lot of guys who when I look back on it were quite young guys in their forties and their fifties with big redundancy payments. Maybe with the culture then, their kids grown up cause you had kids in your twenties then, not in your forties and fifties like now kind of, shuffling out the last twenty five years o their life no working again. Going to the old club, going to the pub, no doing very much to be honest. I think, y’know, I would love to know how many people, men ae Lanarkshire, done that.<sup>55</sup>

John’s testimony is in harmony with Beatty and Fothergill’s statistical analysis of labour market restructuring in coalfield areas. This demonstrated how official unemployment rates fell between 1985 and 1994 despite over 200,000 redundancies taking place within the coal industry due to the operation of state incentives to withdraw from the labour market. The relaxation of Incapacity Benefit requirements, and their adjustment to be more financially rewarding than unemployment benefits, contributed to large-scale male labour market withdrawal, and older men taking early retirement.<sup>56</sup> John’s comments are also redolent of Daniel Wight’s conclusion that he found men in the coal and steel community of Cauldmoss “relying on the masculinity of one’s work for one’s self-respect.” Masculine identities were preserved by unemployed men retaining strongly held male kinship groups. Men who had been made redundant struggled to adapt to the changed environment, and attempted to preserve a gendered division of labour. This led to the spectacle of the “carrier bag brigade” disguising their activities when doing the family shopping which was seen as a woman’s activity.<sup>57</sup>

However, these experiences were not universal. Jennifer McCarey recalled that when Ravenscraig closed, her family “were all really worried about how he [her father] would take it. He was up for work half past 6 every day. And even when he went to college he did the studying even though he

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<sup>54</sup> John Slaven, interview.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Christiana Beatty and Stephen Fothergill, ‘Labour Market Adjustment in Areas of Chronic Industrial Decline: The Case of the UK Coalfields’, *Regional Studies* vol.30 (7) (1996) pp.631-635, 644.

<sup>57</sup> Wight, *Workers Not Wasters*, p.37, 47.

knew he would never use the qualification, they only did it to get a year's money." However, unlike John's father, Jennifer's, adapted to his new status upon his retirement at the age of 57. As well as contentedly becoming "a professional golfer", "he became someone that looked after the grandweans and it was great. He looked after my nephews [his grandchildren]."58

Tim Strangleman's analysis of the responses to colliery closures in Durham differentiated a younger generation, those in their late thirties and younger, from those in their forties and fifties who more or less withdrew from the labour market. This generation faced the difficulties of navigating between different forms of less secure and well remunerated manual employment, typically at around half of coal wages, and the benefits system, whilst raising families. Both generations attempted to maintain forms of stability and support mechanisms that held existing social routines together. These included getting up early to walk dogs together, and the ongoing presence of Durham Miners' Association.<sup>59</sup> There were parallels visible with Strangleman's examples in the retention of the retired miners' group in Moodiesburn who have continued to meet monthly and who acted as a focus group interview.<sup>60</sup> Wight and Strangelman illuminate the displacement experienced by men who in many cases no longer had a stable counterpoint to the domestic sphere, which was understood as feminine, and were unable to reconstitute a sense of self within it. In response associations were maintained and in some cases relocated to the street which replaced the workplace as a site of male bonding for the unemployed. This is emblematic of the 'crisis' of masculinity incurred by declining male workforce participation but retained patriarchal expectations during the late twentieth century.<sup>61</sup> Rhona Wilkinson remembered that younger men made redundant from local collieries reprised their social bonds in Breich, just over the eastern border of Lanarkshire in West Lothian, and as in Cauldmoss removed themselves from domestic settings:

There was a change in the villages. Suddenly, there was a corner in Fauldhouse known as Lawrie's corner. And as a kid all the men used to stand at it. But it was older men, but then there was a younger influx, would all stand there. But it was a lot of men who got money from the pits aw at one time. They'd never had any money, they had nowhere to go, and they drank it. You know so it's like what do you do when you're so isolated. You've had your identity pulled away from you as well. Not just a livelihood. You know I remember seeing things like that, that changed.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Jennifer McCarey, interview.

<sup>59</sup> Tim Strangleman, 'Networks, Place and Identities in Post-Industrial Communities', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* vol25 (2001) pp.253-7.

<sup>60</sup> Moodiesburn Focus Group

<sup>61</sup> Chris Haywood and Mairtin Mac An Ghaill, *Men and Masculinities: Theory, Research and Practice* (Buckingham: Open University press, 2003) pp.22-23.

<sup>62</sup> Rhona Wilkinson, interview.

Thus, alcohol abuse emerged as a response and coping strategy for social displacement across generations. This is confirmed by the memories of both Billy Ferns and Brendan Moohan. Billy recollected the disastrous impact that redundancy had on his work colleagues at Cardowan who were largely in their early fifties. He felt the impact of the removal of work contributed to excessive drinking and early deaths:

Billy Ferns: But eh when they closed them that was, you, you'd had it. I mean eh, I know, I know quite a few ae the boys at Cardowan had taken their redundancy they were just 50, 51. Most ae them, most ae them are all dead. Most ae them are all dead, most ae them were all dead by late fifties, sixties.

Ewan Gibbs: What happened to them?

Billy Ferns: Well some ae them just couldnae handle it went to drink and that nae job and whatever, nae lifestyle then.<sup>63</sup>

Brendan recollected the psychological trauma of his arrest and subsequent dismissal during the miners' strike, aged 19, and his struggle to cope with losing employment despite winning an industrial tribunal:

I won ma tribunal, I was supposed to be reengaged. Although it was the government's industrial court it wisnae law abiding so I was never brought back in. I was given some compensation which I drank. Though to be fair I didn't realise it at the time but the impact of the miners' strike had been huge on me personally and then somebody gives you, you know, 8 grand in compensation, you've never seen 8 thousand pounds, whittled it within a year.<sup>64</sup>

He also recalled that he was not alone in this experience, telling the story of a close friend who eventually died after succumbing to alcoholism in the aftermath of the miners' strike.<sup>65</sup>

As in Tim Strangleman's examples, Michael McMahon remembered that the younger generation of workers who had known the tail end of industrial citizenship struggled to reorientate in an environment of less secure employment and a very different social routine. This was even the case for those who remained employed within manufacturing as traditional working patterns were altered during the early 1980s. Michael McMahon recollected that at the Terex factory in Holytown moves

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<sup>63</sup> Billy Ferns, interview.

<sup>64</sup> Brendan Moohan, interview.

<sup>65</sup> Brendan Moohan, interview notes.

towards a 'just in time' production regime incorporated the reconstruction of industrial relations in line with the changes in management practices and technological paradigms discussed in the first chapter:

We were moving towards 'just in time'. We stopped the 5 day week, we worked day shift, night shift and then it went to what was called the double day shift so you started at 6 and worked to 2, and then the backshift came in and started at 2 and worked to 10. And there was no nightshift except for maintenance, or just a handful of people to keep certain machines going through the day. So I was involved in seeing that change and how that impact on peoples' lives. A lot of men just couldn't come to terms with working backshift. The old traditional things you would do go for a pint, and then go for work, or whatever, or finish your work and go for a pint. People had to rethink how they did that. That was some of the issues. It wasn't so much that working 2 o'clock to 10 o'clock was any more arduous than a nightshift, it probably wasn't. In terms of their social life it had a huge impact, that's what they were railing against.<sup>66</sup>

Alan Blades worked in the short-lived Chunghwa factory in the Chapelhall industrial estate near Airdrie after taking his redundancy from the Longannet complex in 1997. This factory lacked the social embedding evident in the recollection of Caterpillar, Terex, and other assembly factories opened during the period of social democratic management. Alan described the non-union factory as having a prohibitive and even anti-social working atmosphere:

Ewan Gibbs: Just thinking you mentioned the sociable working culture in the pits and you said Chunghwa was very different how was it different?

Alan Blades: Stricter, stricter aye yer dealin wi boys from Taiwan.

Ewan Gibbs: So there were actually Taiwanese managers?

Alan Blades: Oh aye they were the managers. They were brung over fae Malaysia and Taiwan, it was a Taiwanese company, and like y'know it's hand up tae go for a pee y'know what I mean? Can I go to the toilet? You're a one bit aw the time, at the pit yer movin aboot talkin tae boys y'know communicating and that.

Ewan Gibbs: So were you working on an assembly line?

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<sup>66</sup> Michael McMahon, interview.

Alan Blades: Aye aye totally different, didnae like it ma man, couldnae adjust.

Ewan Gibbs: What did you not like about it?

Alan Blades: Just...no camaraderie nae banter nae banter doon the pit there was banter y'know nae banter you werenae allowed tae talk. Put your hand up tae go for a pee.<sup>67</sup>

Alan recollected working 12 hour shifts at weekends without an overtime rate but mostly reserved his moral economy anger for the “white elephant” status of the factory which received extensive public funds but failed to deliver the long-term employment the company promised.<sup>68</sup> It was the context of growing economic insecurity across the engineering sector that convinced Michael McMahon to leave Terex and pursue studies at university instead:

Things were not going well, we were forever on short-time working at the plant. Sometimes it was 3 day weeks sometimes it was one week on one week off. I just thought the shipyards were closing, the oilrigs were starting to run out of work. I just thought “where can you go?” It was time to change and I went to university to do politics and sociology.<sup>69</sup>

Brendan Moohan similarly “reinvented” himself by engaging in youth work and studying at university before finding employment with West Lothian Council.<sup>70</sup> Other former miners also found work in the public sector. Mick McGahey, who like Brendan was victimised during the miners’ strike, and lost his job as a surface worker at Bilston Glen, in Midlothian. He described himself as “a refugee fae the pits y’know, there was nowhere else fir me to go so I got a job here wi the NHS [as a porter].” Mick recalled that former miners had worked as porters and care assistants at both the Astley Ainslie Hospital in Edinburgh where he was first employed and the Edinburgh Royal, where he was then working.<sup>71</sup>

The swift pace of closures during the 1980s marked a sharp distinction between the generation of industrial citizens made redundant from collieries, steelworks and engineering factories, and those flexible workers that never worked in them. This had a major disorientating impact on those who had grown up expecting to find employment in local industries. In John Slaven’s case entering the labour market as opportunities dried up entailed being sent on Youth Training Schemes whilst signing on

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<sup>67</sup> Alan Blades, interview.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Michael McMahon, interview.

<sup>70</sup> Brendan Moohan, interview.

<sup>71</sup> Mick McGahey, interview.

unemployed. He dubbed this as “the most blatant attempt at manufacturing the unemployment figures that I’ve ever seen.”<sup>72</sup> Thus, in different generational contexts, John and his father were both incorporated into government attempts to mask the labour market impact of the contraction of industrial employment.

Alongside the immediate experience of lost earnings and social status, there were longer term cultural aspects and hurt associated with the decline of heavy industrial work and the identities invested in it which flexible workers were cut off from. This was especially apparent within mining families. Scott McCallum’s brother was only four years older than him but this provided him with the opportunity to work at Cardowan and transfer to Fife upon the closure of the Lanarkshire pit. This created a generational distinction between his brother, who gained entry into the world of industrial citizenship, and Scott, who never entered mining. From his position in the generation of flexible workers, Scott reflected, “I probably would have worked in it maself if it hadn’t have closed, it’s like a family generation thing.” He went on to clarify that this was an expectation which he grew up with: “Oor kind ae education was to leave school and go and work in the mines you never really stuck in much. That was what the plan was you’d leave school and go and work in the coal mines.”<sup>73</sup> Scott’s narrative contained clear elements of discomposure as he attempted to mould his own life story within the “subjective and collective memory” of the coalfield cultural circuit. This centred on a struggle to place himself in the framework of a masculine occupational identity, which separated him from his family’s heritage:<sup>74</sup>

I feel. at the time it felt like sad because you weren’t following in the family’s footsteps, your brother worked there, your dad worked there, your granddad worked there, so kindae breaking up a family tradition you can say but that was the problem. My brother that did work in it sometimes says “you don’t know cause you didn’t work in the pits you had to be there”, but I had a good knowledge more than a lot of people in school of what it wis like.<sup>75</sup>

Thus the cultural and social status accorded to work in coal mining, including its highly gendered elements, were unquantifiable losses felt along with the decline in earnings brought by the loss of colliery employment.

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<sup>72</sup> John Slaven, interview.

<sup>73</sup> Scott McCallum, interview.

<sup>74</sup> Penny Summerfield, ‘Culture and composure: creating narratives of the gendered self in oral history interviews’, *Cultural and Social History* vol.1 (2004) p.74, 81.

<sup>75</sup> Scott McCallum, interview.



## Women's experiences of economic and social change

Women shared the collective experience of the economic and social processes which incorporated the decline of largely male employment in coal mining and steelmaking within Lanarkshire, but gender dynamics differentiated male and female perspectives. Women were the beneficiaries of both the growth of labour market opportunities and an accompanying raised social status in the decades that followed the onset of the managed decline of coal mining during the 1940s. The post-Second World War reindustrialisation drive saw an emphasis on utilising women's labour. This was informed by the environment of full employment but also by the characteristics of the industries which regional policy brought to Scotland. Light manufacturing activities including mechanical and electrical engineering had an emphasis on attentiveness and dexterity as opposed to the physical strength demanded in coal mining and steelmaking. Some activities in these sectors, such as assembly line work, required what were regarded as female qualities and were earmarked for women. They also provided a cleaner and safer environment than either coal or steel. This section analyses the growth of women's industrial work and considers how it developed a moral economy status due to rising family dependence upon female earnings and the increasing prevalence of married women's employment. It overviews archival sources, including Scottish Office correspondence related to the application of regional policy, to assess the gendered approach of policy-makers to employment and their view of women's work. This is accompanied by a broader overview of women's engagement with the labour market and experience of social life from oral testimonies. An emphasis is placed on generational changes and perceptions of gradual progress towards greater levels of gender equality. However, the constraining influence of patriarchal social relations continued to play in employment, family life and political activism are also considered.

The regional policy context which drove the promotion of women's employment was considered in the first chapter. From *The Clyde Valley Regional Plan* onwards women's labour was viewed as a necessary and valuable contribution towards industrial diversification. There were significant worries over a shortage of female labour. In 1946 the Board of Trade warned that industrial reconstruction may be hampered by "indications that in certain areas the danger line was being approached in regard to shortage of women."<sup>76</sup> This was followed by a warning in 1948 that regions were guilty of "the overselling of female labour" reserves in order to attract new industrial development.<sup>77</sup> Such concerns remained apparent into the 1960s, and were deepened as regional policy shifted from diversification

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<sup>76</sup> NRS/SEP/4/690/48 Minutes of the Nineteenth Meeting of the Research Committee Board of Trade, Glasgow. Date.6<sup>th</sup> June 1946.

<sup>77</sup> NRS/SEP/4/784 Progressive Statement No.4. (1948).

to economic growth aims which involved a growing reliance on the assembly goods manufacturing industries that most demanded significant female workforces.<sup>78</sup>

However, it is also clear that the rising importance of women's labour in policy-making agendas was combined with the retention of highly gendered attitudes and priorities regarding employment. This is evident in the conception of industries as "male" or "female" within forward planning for employment.<sup>79</sup> It is clear that this perspective extended into attitudes towards women workers. When presenting figures for unemployment in the West of Scotland in 1949 Ministry of Labour officials referred to a "hard core of unemployment" of around 20,000 people. As was customary, the figures were divided by gender and categories towards "primary" and "secondary labour", with the latter incorporating those judged to be on the periphery of labour market involvement. Over 60% of the 20,000 unemployed workers in question were married women classified as secondary, and officials noted that local workplaces were "not keen to employ them owing to possible absenteeism."<sup>80</sup> Thus, despite the promise of expanding married women's employment civil servants accepted gendered attitudes towards the domestic division of labour to the extent of sharing employers' assumptions that married women's obligations as mothers and wives would prohibit them from making a full commitment to paid work. The retention of this perspective was confirmed in 1952 by the declaration that Scotland had "a problem of finding an industry employing largely semi-skilled and unskilled men." This was despite the fact that the growth in unemployment between 1951 and 1952 was entirely due to an increase in women's joblessness, whilst over half of the secondary unemployed labour category, which totalled 27,000, remained married women.<sup>81</sup>

There was however, a marked if gradual shift in policy-makers' attitudes which was discernible by the early 1960s. These came to be more aligned with the position of the *Clyde Valley Regional Plan* and those major reindustrialisation proposals which followed. Coinciding with the publication of the Toothill report in 1961, the Scottish Physical Planning Committee forecast that to achieve satisfactory economic growth rates over 1961-2 women's involvement in the workforce would have to increase, and that this would be attained by encouragement through higher wages.<sup>82</sup> These outlooks were heightened as Scottish light manufacturing employment rose. The disproportionate employment of women within the electronics and instrument sectors in particular was noted positively, as providing employment opportunities in regions dominated by heavy industry where female employment had

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<sup>78</sup> NRS/SEP/4/781 Scottish Physical Planning Committee: Population Working Party Comparison of Estimated Labour Requirements and Estimate Population in Scotland for the year 1961-62, p.9.

<sup>79</sup> NRS/SEP/4/784/Progressive Statement No.4. (1948).

<sup>80</sup> NRS/SEP/4/1199/West of Scotland District Unemployment Figures date.10<sup>th</sup> October 1949.

<sup>81</sup> NRS/SEP/4/1199/Unemployment in Scotland-December-February 1952.

<sup>82</sup> NRS/SEP/4/781/Scottish Physical Planning Committee: Population Working Party Comparison of Estimated Labour Requirements and Estimate Population in Scotland for the year 1961-62 (1961), p.9.

often been limited. This was commented upon favourably by both academic economists and the SCDI.<sup>83</sup>

The background of growing agitation for women's rights and legal changes including the 1970 Equal Pay Act and the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act was the expansion of part-time employment which up to the 1970s included a significant concentration in manufacturing. This was largely made up of married women, especially those with children, either re-entering employment after childbirth or maintaining a presence in paid work.<sup>84</sup> It was within this context that the East Kilbride District Council report cited in the first chapter ruled it "unacceptable" to view the labour market opportunities the town's manufacturing industries provided for women who commuted from a large area across Lanarkshire as less valuable than male employment.<sup>85</sup>

Both the oral testimonies and archival records underline that the social gains and heightened labour market access women achieved during this period were within the restructuring, rather than elimination, of patriarchal relations and gendered norms and values. During the Shotts focus group Betty Turnwood recollected that before the Second World War "A woman's job was really quite an important job and a heavy job in the house, not like today when you can just put things in the washing machine." The introduction of pithead baths, central heating and domestic appliances, alongside the availability of employment within the expanded welfare state, such as at Hartwood Hospital, were remembered as heralding significant improvements.<sup>86</sup> Jessie Clark communicated these changes in generational terms, feeling that the expansion of social mobility after 1945 was of particular benefit to women, allowing industrial citizens to progress further than interwar veterans:

Well I would of said that what I know of young girls that were maybe 15 years younger than me. Ehh approximately that age group I know 2 or 3 of them who are ehh teachers and in different professions you know so when they got the opportunity to further their education, you know it meant they could go tae college.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Neil Hood and Steven Young, 'US Investment in Scotland: Aspects of the Branch Factory Syndrome', *Scottish Journal of Political Economy* vol.24 (3) (1976) pp.281-2; Scottish Council Research Institute, *US Investment in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Council Research Institute, 1974) pp.4-5.

<sup>84</sup> Chris Wrigley, 'Women in the Labour market and the Unions', in *British Trade Unions and Industrial Politics: The High Tide of Trade Unionism, 1964-79* ed. by John McIlroy, Nina Fishman and Alan Campbell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) pp.55-57; Sara Connolly, 'Women and Work Since 1970', in *Work and Pay in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Britain* ed. by Nicholas Crafts, Ian Gazeley and Andrew Newell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) p.153.

<sup>85</sup> NRS/SEP/15/437 G.C. Cameron, J.D. McCallum J.G.L. Adams 'The Contribution of East Kilbride to Local and Regional Economic Development: an Economic Study Conducted for the East Kilbride Development Corporation', East Kilbride date. June 1979.

<sup>86</sup> Shotts focus group.

<sup>87</sup> Jessie Clark, interview.

However, it is also apparent that there were severe limitations to the extent of liberation that these developments delivered to women. Marian Hamilton recollected the differences between Shotts and those visible within Windsor, to the west of London. She and her husband Willie briefly lived there in the early 1960s so that he could take up employment at the nearby Ford factory. Distinctions centred on a feeling of the absence of community she had been used to within Shotts but also related to differences in social habits and attitudes:

No they werenae so friendly, but then we'd been used tae a village. That was Windsor we moved to. Which really, well, it was a different way of life really. Women went tae the pubs doon there and families went but not here, women didinae go to the pubs.<sup>88</sup>

Marian's comments are indicative of the continuities of the differentiation associated with the rise of working class suburbs less rooted in "kinship" networks of industrial communities in the South East of England during the interwar period, and the retention of these traditions within heavy industrial areas of Scotland. The former were shaped by aspects of affluence rooted in "consumption communities" marked by home ownership and increased female employment, including within assembly goods plants, which only arrived in Scotland after the Second World War.<sup>89</sup> Marian's recollections have parallels with the "different notions of lifestyles and sexuality", specifically in relation to gender roles, unearthed in the "discovery" of poverty in Harlan County, Kentucky, by metropolitan American political elites during the 1960s. Whilst Marian's comments are not as drastic as Mildred Shackleford's recollection that "we [residents of Harlan] were more like the people in Vietnam than the people in the rest of the country", they share a commonality in experiencing the co-existence of distinct social and cultural temporalities.<sup>90</sup> The retention of an ideology and environment of separate spheres and gendered social obligations were also apparent from Billy Ferns' recollection of taking redundancy from the Longannet complex without consulting his wife in the section above. Billy's sentiments were perhaps indicative of the limited extent to which the ideals of a family integrated 'new man' who took decisions with his partner transferred to Clydeside.<sup>91</sup>

The qualification of women's relative advancement was compounded by the retention of chauvinistic attitudes. Jennifer McCarey elaborated on this, reflecting on her own experiences within the trade union movement during the 1980s. She referenced a recent speech by the TUC General Secretary,

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<sup>88</sup> Marian and William Hamilton, interview.

<sup>89</sup> Peter Scott, 'The Household Economy since 1870', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain Volume II: 1870 to the Present* ed. by Roderick Floud, Jane Humphries and Paul Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) pp.372-373.

<sup>90</sup> Alessandro Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County: An Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) pp.283-285.

<sup>91</sup> Hilary Young, 'Hard Man, New Man: Re/Composing Masculinities in Glasgow, c.1950-2000', *Oral History* vol.35 (1) (2007) pp.72-3.

Frances O'Grady, about the exclusion of women who felt a strong connection to the trade union movement to illuminate her own experience, emphasising her family's connection to the labour movement, in particular her father's role as an APEX shop steward at Ravenscraig:

I was told the Strathclyde Regional Council used to make sure there was always an abortion motion at the AGM in Hamilton and they would put that up to get a good turnout! Both sides would turn up to get in there so that's how they made sure that their AGM was really well attended! Makes sense in some ways. In retrospect I think people probably were a bit threatened and categorised me as quite an extreme feminist and I was kinda unaware of that at the time. But I think talking to John [Slaven], he was telling me stories about things and I think god they really thought I was this powerhouse of feminism a big woman and it couldn't have been further from the truth. I was more of a socialist trade union rep than anything else y'know. Frances O'Grady made a great speech once and I thought it totally epitomised women in the movement, my generation. And she said eh y'know she got involved in the trade union cause her family was trade unionists and its where she wanted to be. It was her movement and she got involved in it. Whenever she went to meetings people treated her as a visitor you know. They would be like "oh hen you sit down there", they treated her like she wouldn't understand the movement or she was in a place that she didn't know or she didn't understand. They treated her like the odd one out. That was my experience in the trade unions as well. I was trade union to the core. I grew up in a house where people would come chapping at the door and sit and talk to my dad about their problem and he would be taking case notes while I was watching Doctor Who lying on the floor! Trade unionism was all around me.<sup>92</sup>

The retention of such gendered perspectives on the role of women in paid work and public life within Lanarkshire's industrial communities were also recollected by Margaret Wegg. She explained that she had always worked and that her wages were necessary to maintain the household, but that this earned her the chagrin of a neighbour who felt that by working she set a negative example for his own wife:

Ewan Gibbs: I'm just wondering, you've obviously done various jobs, was it common for wives of miners to work round here?

Margaret Wegg: The wives?

Ewan Gibbs: Yeh.

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<sup>92</sup> Jennifer McCarey, interview.

Margaret Wegg: No not really because that was one thing the miners were was very chauvinistic. \*laughs\* The wife was for the house you know. In fact I used to get in to trouble off one chap because he said I was putting ideas in his wife's head you know what I mean. But I had always worked you know what I mean. When we, when we had come up here and we were staying you know we were staying with ma mum her thing was two women in a house is no use and we were saving for oor house for if we got a house. So she looked after oor daughter and ah went out tae work you know. But then of course when you got a house the two ae yours, well after oor Dale got to school age I went back out to work you know after we'd had him I went back out tae work. Because you had to work to keep our house. Well I say I started work after I was married and that for luxuries but it got that it was in, the money was in the house and it was to keep the house you know. But as I say I've always worked, always worked at different jobs. I trained as a shorthand typist bookkeeper which I did up tul after I was married but then you had to take jobs, you took jobs that suited your family circumstances you know what I mean. That if I could go out any work while the kids were at school. But I had to be in the house when they came back you know because ma thought was my mum brought ma brother and I up, why should she bring my kids up? You know, that's up to me to bring ma kids up. That's how I say up tul they got to the age when they were old enough you know. But by then you could only get the jobs you know, you still took jobs whatever you could get. Well I've worked in a clothing factory, I've worked in the bottling plant, I've worked in shops, I worked in the pit canteen as I say you just took, took what job you could to suit in with the family you know.<sup>93</sup>

Margaret's life story is indicative of the fact women's wages were often vital to secure a family's status in spite of the ideology of the breadwinner wage. This sits within a long historical continuity, but there were distinct regional variations.<sup>94</sup> McIvor's analysis singled out the "metal working and mining towns and villages of Fife and Lanarkshire" as areas which often lacked significant labour market opportunities for women until the mid-twentieth century. He counterpoised these with both textile areas where female work, often of a skilled nature, was widely available, and the "diversified female labour market" of larger cities such as Glasgow.<sup>95</sup> Jessie Clark's memories of women's employment in the textile factories of Lanark are indicative of a longer history of women's industrial

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<sup>93</sup> Margaret and Jerry Wegg, interview.

<sup>94</sup> Annmarie Hughes, *Gender and Political Identities in Scotland, 1919-1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010) p.19.

<sup>95</sup> Arthur McIvor, 'Women and Work in Twentieth Century Scotland', in *People and Society in Scotland vol.III 1914-1990* ed. by Tony Dickson and James H Treble (Edinburgh: John Donaldson, 1992) p.144.

employment. Within the Shotts focus group memories of women who worked on the surface of collieries sorting coal under the private industry were also present.<sup>96</sup>

However, the narratives of women's experiences of paid work are broadly consistent with the perspective that the coalfields provided limited opportunities for women's employment before the Second World War. They also underline the central role that expectations upon marriage, and the burdensome tasks faced by miners' wives, played in delimiting participation in paid work. Yet, Margaret Wegg and Jessie Clark's enjoyment of work in pit canteens underline the need to appraise women's perspectives on the value of their work. Despite patriarchal assumptions, women not only worked to earn additional income for their families but also gained a sense of identity and validation from their occupations that limited their internalisation of patriarchal values.<sup>97</sup>

Margaret's testimony reveals a sense of women's social advancement and gradual improvement. This is indicative of Catriona MacDonald's conclusion that women's history "has generally styled the lineage in a surprisingly Whiggish manner, presuming unrelenting progress and improvement in each generation."<sup>98</sup> Margaret's recollection reflects a liberal feminist influence by depicting a series of progressive generational advances in terms of social esteem and labour market roles. Unlike her mother, when Margaret married she worked to support the household, including commuting to Glasgow, and was trained in skills such as shorthand typing. Margaret felt her late daughter had advanced further than herself by receiving college education and entering management training with British Telecom. Within her memories aspects of growing working class affluence and rising social expectations are also apparent.<sup>99</sup> Margaret's wages afforded "luxuries" for the household whilst encouraging her own children to remain in education, which heightened their capacity for social mobility.

A key element in change was therefore the status given to women's employment, especially that of married women, alongside its expansion. Marian Macleod grew up in Law, South Lanarkshire. Her grandfather had worked as a miner in the area when it lost its last local collieries in the early phase of nationalisation. She went on to commute to work in administration roles for Honeywell at Newhouse,

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<sup>96</sup> Shotts focus group.

<sup>97</sup> Jayne D Stephenson and Callum G Brown, 'The View from the Workplace: Women's Memories of Work in Stirling c.1910-c.1950', in *The World is Ill Divided: Women's Work in Scotland in the Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century*, ed. by Elearnor Gordon, and Esther Breitenbach (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990) p.24.

<sup>98</sup> Catriona M MacDondald, 'Gender and Nationhood in Modern Scottish Historiography', in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* ed. by T.M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p.603; Margaret Wegg, interview.

<sup>99</sup> John Benson, *Affluence and Authority: A Social History of 20th Century Britain* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005) p.31.

North Lanarkshire, and later Motherwell Bridge. She cited both as providing “jobs for life” for women workers such as herself and a friend and colleague, Wendy:

They were a huge employer. There was a big, well there was a big they had done at Hemel Hempstead was the kind of head office. But they had Bellshill they had a place and at Honeywell they had about 3 different factory units they had that one that sits do you know it on the main road. But the one up from there that ran along the way that was bloc 16 that was a different. Cause Wendy was in there

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That was the other thing when we came out of school you actually reckoned you had a job for life. If you got a decent job you could stay in it practically as long as you wanted to I left Honeywell for other reasons and went to Motherwell Bridge just about the time we got married but even there you could have been there for a long, long, while but then they started having pay offs in early eighties that was when they started having redundancies and that was a really big thing in the area.<sup>100</sup>

It is evident from Marian’s testimony that aspects of industrial citizenship, especially economic security via long-term employment protection, were extended to women as well as men between the 1940s and 1970s. However, these developments took place within the context of the highly gendered dimensions of employment practices discussed within this section. A 1967 *Scotsman* article on employment within the electronics industry illuminated the outlook of factory managers, detailing that “dexterity and intelligence tests” were utilised by US electronics MNEs in their recruitment of women workers. The feminine qualities of “highly flexible” intricacy and “careful control” were prized by managers, whilst clean production processes and relatively high wages incentivised labour.<sup>101</sup> Before the late 1960s, the impression of comments from subsidiary management to Board of Trade officials is of a positive relationship between management and women workers. C.J.A Whitehouse, of the Board of Trade, noted in 1960 that Sunbeam’s “female labour in East Kilbride could not be bettered”, and she commented again in 1965 that despite grievances from male workers whose craft traditions were threatened by mass production practices, and a struggle to recruit skilled toolmakers, women workers “are good”, and justified the subsidiary negotiating male grievances.<sup>102</sup> Honeywell publicly commended their female workforce. The Director of their Newhouse plant was quoted in the *Herald*

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<sup>100</sup> Duncan and Marian Macleod, interview.

<sup>101</sup> NRS/SEP/4/2337 Press Cuttings “Dexterity and Intelligence Tests for Women Workers” *Scotsman* date.21<sup>st</sup> February 1967.

<sup>102</sup> NRS/SEP/3/567/18 C.J.A. Whitehouse to Mr Macbeth ‘Sunbeam Electric Ltd’ Board of Trade, date.12<sup>th</sup> December 1960; NRS/SEP 4/567/54 CJA Whitehouse ‘Sunbeam Electric Limited’ date .3<sup>rd</sup> May 1965.



during 1960 as having said “that their quickness in picking up detail of the work was about the best he had found in his career.”<sup>103</sup>

The more fraught period of industrial relations which followed from the late 1960s is indicative that women’s employment in engineering factories had developed norms and expectations which awarded it a comparable moral economy status to male work. This mirrored the process of the move from “gratitude” to “possession” that Cowie uncovered among the workforce of the RCA factory in Bloomington, Indiana. Similarly to the cases of many of the factories in Lanarkshire, women made up a large proportion of the electronics assembly workforce. Their experience of factory production shifted attitudes from a feeling of commitment to the company towards conceiving of the factory in terms of the firm’s obligation towards the community which both sustained and depended upon the plant.<sup>104</sup> The post-1945 redistribution of social esteem towards the working class and establishment of structures of industrial citizenship embedded ‘ownership’ consciousness with a moral economy understanding. This was emboldened by the understanding that assembly goods factories were brought to Scotland with the assistance of public money through regional policy, within communities that had often exchanged employment in heavy industries for assembly factories.

Where expectations of employment stability and comparatively high wages were broken there were instances of industrial action. For instance at Berg, manufacturers of air brakes in Cumbernauld, the failure to provide consistent employment triggered a strike which became a struggle for union recognition in June 1970. The dispute was sparked following the temporary layoff “at short notice” of ten women due to delays in machinery deliveries. They were joined by other sections of the workforce. The “internal works committee” which had traditionally overseen dialogue between workers and management in the non-union factory broke down, and an ad hoc strike committee was established which evolved into a branch of the Amalgamated Engineers.<sup>105</sup> The previous year over 1,000 workers at the largely female engineering workforce of BSR struck in East Kilbride for union recognition. The event was registered as a major event in the town. The East Kilbride Development Corporation in February 1970 stated that “until recently industrial relations have not been a major problem”, but pointed to the “labour difficulties of last autumn” as having changed this. The eventual granting of trade union recognition led to a hope that “harmonious” relations could be re-established.<sup>106</sup> The political and cultural influence of the events which took place at BSR and other plants is evident in John McGrath’s 1980 play *Blood Red Roses* which is set in East Kilbride. The

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<sup>103</sup> NRS/SEP/4/1629 Cutting from *Glasgow Herald* date.4<sup>th</sup> October 1960.

<sup>104</sup> Cowie, *Capital Moves*, p.4.

<sup>105</sup> NRS/SEP/4/4251/23 S. Palmer ‘File Note Berg Manufacturing (UK) Ltd Cumbernauld’ date.6<sup>th</sup> November 1970.

<sup>106</sup> NRS/SEP/4/568/16 ‘East Kilbride Development Corporation Corporate Dinner 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1970’, date.30<sup>th</sup> January 1970.

main character, Bessie McGuigan, is a Communist shop steward in an engineering plant owned by an MNE. She struggles against a combination of class and patriarchal oppression within her workplace but also in her efforts to raise a family as a single mother and against the forms of male chauvinism within the labour movement described by Jennifer McCarey.<sup>107</sup>

The influence that the promises associated with factories brought to Scotland via regional policy, popularly understood as an exchange for employment within heavy industry, influenced demands for better pay and conditions by encouraging the development of an 'ownership' consciousness.<sup>108</sup> John Slaven recollected that within Uddingston the Caterpillar factory's status as a stable and long-term employer was widely acknowledged:

Ewan Gibbs: How did people look at Caterpillar as an employer, you mentioned there was a certain paternalism?

John Slaven: That's a very good question. I have to say that there was a very strong sense that it was a good place to work. There was a very strong union in it but it was you know people seen it as a good place to work the Caterpillar locally was a place that was known to be a good place to try and get employed in. Ehh, that was a very strong feeling there there was a feeling that, ehm, it was a good place tae work, ehm, and I think that was very much replicated that even years later people will still talk about that factory eh so a very good question. I think there was a very discernible understanding that that was a good place to work.<sup>109</sup>

This encompassed a form of industrial citizenship which as in the NCB saw employment security extended to career opportunities. In the case of Caterpillar these extended to women as well as men, with John's mother joining his father in the factory in 1970:

My mum went in basically after she had me and my sister and just got a job because my dad kinda worked in there. Eh, and my mum went in tae the pay bill, had never worked in pay bill, who used computerised programmes, and she was trained to be a computer operator. We're talking about the late sixties early seventies. So I suppose what that gave it was a sense ae opportunity, it gave a sense ae opportunity, so because you could go in they valued that, it was a sorta place you could kinda make a bit ae a life and I think you could go in even at

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<sup>107</sup> John McGrath, *Six-Pack: Plays for Scotland* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996) pp.201-276.

<sup>108</sup> Jim Phillips, 'The 'Retreat' to Scotland: The Tay Road Bridge and Dundee's Post-1945 Development', in *Jute No More: Transforming Dundee* ed. by Jim Tomlinson and Christopher A Whatley (Dundee: Dundee University Press, 2011) pp.252-3.

<sup>109</sup> John Slaven, interview.

entry level the wages were quite good. But there was progression and there was opportunities there so I think that was one of the things they valued.<sup>110</sup>

John described how his mother became a shop steward at the plant, and played a prominent role within the 1987 occupation of the factory against closure. This case emphasises the role of ownership consciousness upon divestment, which was confirmed in the workers taking physical control of the factory between January and April 1987 before ultimately accepting closure upon better redundancy terms:

At one level it's terrible but my mum really will admit she had the time of her life. She absolutely loved the occupation she was very involved tremendous sense of purpose. It was a very hands on labour intensive occupation it had to be. Big huge site, eh, a lot of logistics of things having to get done eh money to get collected. So it was like having a full time job my mum was up and down to London all the time, demos, delegations etc. So at one level it actually seemed quite an exciting time. I have to be honest there was absolute sense that it wasn't going to be successful, eh, from the outside I think there was maybe a bit of hope that something would be salvaged from it. But I suppose at one level there was a sort of sense of, y'know, there was tremendous support I mean there really was tremendous support, eh, in many ways it probably did have a kinda feeling of an end of the era. Caterpillar shut in '87, people knew the Craig [Ravenscraig steelworks] was going, it just went. It did have a kinda Custer's Last Stand feel about it to be brutally honest with you and, eh, but at the time, y'know, it was, I think it was quite fun.<sup>111</sup>

At Caterpillar the strength of community embeddedness John described the factory as having, and the value of the employment opportunities it provided, were communicated in the four month occupation. Ownership consciousness was bolstered by the fact the company had received extensive public support, including a high profile £62 million grant to retool the factory the previous year which was prominently welcomed by the Secretary of State for Scotland, Sir Malcolm Rifkind. This was emphasised during the occupation in a banner hung on the front of the factory which stated "Caterpillar and Rifkind say "Yes" to £62 million-now CLOSURE! WHY?"<sup>112</sup> The "end of an era" feeling, and the sense that a vital community resource was being removed, during a period of diminishing industrial employment opportunities following a series of closures, was also visible in Burroughs, Cumbernauld, the previous year.<sup>113</sup> Unlike at Caterpillar, the chief public spokesperson for

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Woolfson and Foster, *Track Record*, p.41.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, p.33.

the workforce was a woman, the AEU convenor Veronica Cameron. She concluded that management had “set up” closure deliberately through denying the factory scheduled production of the A5 mainframe computer. Ownership consciousness was asserted in her claim that Cumbernauld had been “built around the Burroughs factory”, which articulated a sense that Burroughs, as a beneficiary of regional policy, and through its use of Cumbernauld labour over three decades, had incurred social obligations towards the town.<sup>114</sup>

So, women workers of the industrial citizen generation who had gained materially, and supported households through industrial employment, were also displaced by deindustrialisation, and exercised agency to contest and directly oppose closures. This is an important missing link in the literature on deindustrialisation which privileges male experiences. As a result it obscures the phased and varied nature of industrial transition and contraction in post-1945 Scotland. In their opposition to closure, women workers mobilised identities invested in their workplace and locale, challenging assertions that industrial occupational identities were reserved for men. This was visible in the occupation of Lovable Lingerie in Cumbernauld in 1981, as well as at Plessey, to the east of Lanarkshire in Bathgate, West Lothian, in 1982.<sup>115</sup> These factors were also apparent in two major disputes which won large support across the Scottish and British labour movement; the 1981 occupation of Lee Jeans in Greenock and the 1993 Timex strike in Dundee in which largely female workforces opposed closure in the first instance, and the radical restructuring of remuneration precluding divestment in the latter.<sup>116</sup>

Another notable example of women’s activism in response to industrial closures was Margaret Wegg’s involvement in the miners’ strike. The existing literature on the strike has appraised women’s involvement, emphasising the leadership role women played at local level in community struggles to preserve employment. In particular it has been stressed this was distinct from the more pronounced gendered division of labour in the 1926 lockout, when men dominated political leadership. During 1984-5 Women Against Pit Closures had a prominent role in building support for the strike as well as taking on more traditional tasks such as running soup kitchens.<sup>117</sup> A similar story is told in Maggie Wright’s documentary *Here we Go: Women Living the Strike*, which is largely narrated through the

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<sup>114</sup> NRS/SEP/4/4070/14 *Glasgow Herald* 8/1/1986; NRS/SEP/4/4070/25 *Glasgow Herald* 14/2/1986.

<sup>115</sup> Patricia Findlay, ‘Resistance, Restructuring and Gender: The Plessey Occupation’ in *The Politics of Industrial Closure* ed. by Tony Dickson and David Judge (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986) pp.70-71.

<sup>116</sup> Clark, “‘And the next thing, the chairs barricaded the door’”, pp.116-7; Bill Knox and Alan McKinlay, ‘The Union Makes Us Strong? Work and Trade Unionism in Timex, 1948-1983’, in *Jute No More: Transforming Dundee* ed. by Jim Tomlinson and Christopher A. Whatley (Dundee: Dundee University Press, 2011) pp.286-7.

<sup>117</sup> Jean Spence and Carol Stephenson, “‘Side by side with our men?’ Women’s Activism, Community, and Gender in the 1984-1985 British Miners’ Strike’, *International Labor and Working Class History* vo.75 (2009) pp.74, 79; . Sue Bruley, ‘The Politics of Food: Gender, Family, Community and Collective Feeding in South Wales in the General Strike and Miners’ Lockout of 1926’, *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol.18 (1) (2007) pp.66-67, 76.

voices of Scottish women who were involved in supporting the strike. Many of them were miners' wives who had little prior political experience, although others were experienced trade unionists and political activists.<sup>118</sup> Margaret's story broadly fits within this narrative of empowerment and activism. She explained that, "Once they started up the kitchen then, as I say, got roped in to goin giving the wimmin's point of view of what was happening during the strike. That was, you know, I says, you began to take an interest in the political side and that, you know." This was the first time she had ever been involved in the labour movement and her description centred on unexpectedly addressing a crowd at Clydebanks Shopping Centre during 1984:

As I say everyone helped everyone. Then I got roped in to going to meetings and speakin at them and, you know, which I wasn't too thingmae at the time! You know, I'd never done anything like that. As I say that was in the middle o the strike when that happened, you know. That they asked would I go. The very first one was, they said was only a gathering of about six or seven people you know. Turned out it was in the shoppin, the centre in Clydebanks, in the actual centre. And eh, as I say, that was very first time I'd ever spoke, you know.<sup>119</sup>

Margaret's story was shaped by a perspective which placed herself within a generation of women who took paid employment and benefited from improved wages and labour market associated with the generation of industrial citizens. Yet, although they gained from the extension of employment, from Margaret's perspective women of the industrial citizen generation remained fundamentally defined by domestic activities. This fits with Wight's findings, that women in Cauldmoss were socially evaluated on their roles as wives and mothers as opposed to men who were understood in terms of their capacity as workers.<sup>120</sup> Margaret recalled her activism in the strike as necessitating a confrontation with patriarchal assumptions, as she had to justify her activities against a local man, (it is unclear if he was the same neighbour as the one mentioned above that criticised her for being employed), who felt threatened by her new found confidence and involvement in public life. Margaret also defined her own activities against those of a younger generation of women who she felt had already taken on a more liberated role:

The younger ones coming up like younger than me, they would you know, by then the attitude wasn't the same you know, it wasn't the same. Whereas some of them were really "aw no no no she's in the hoose, she watches the wean" \*laughs\* you know that was their attitude you know. That eh one ae the boys I used to have, him and I used to go at it. Yeh, because we used to take, during the strike some of the miners were Bellshill and they had the

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<sup>118</sup> Maggie Wright, *Here We Go: Women Living the Strike* (TV2day, 2009).

<sup>119</sup> Margaret and Jerry Wegg, interview.

<sup>120</sup> Daniel Wight, *Workers Not Wasters*, pp.108-9.

Miners' Welfare. And they used to have nights, concert nights and different things. And one of the men that sort of run it, run the club, he used to give us so many tickets for the women to take you know, and had a minibus. The strike centre had a minibus so one of the men used to drive was it about eight or ten of us, the women, through to have a night out, you know. And he [John Shaw, her neighbour] used to say that, he says, "every time you go out with my wife she comes in you know with more ideas you know just stop putting the ideas in her head." I said "she doesnae need to be" oh no I says "there's none of this under the thumb sort of thing you know" I says "she should have her own ideas and her own thinking, not what you want" you know. But he used to didn't he John, John Shaw. And he used to you know, he used to say that "I wish you'd stop putting ideas into her head she's getting too independent" you know what I mean. But as I say what can you, that's the way I looked at it. As I say I'd never been eh politically minded or anything like that, the house although I worked and that, the house was ma, you know, the core of my life at the time, you know.<sup>121</sup>

However, there is also a clear distinction between Margaret's role and that of many of the women profiled in the academic literature on the miners' strike in that she had worked in the industry, having been made redundant from the pit canteen upon the final closure of Cardowan colliery in October 1983. She was not alone in this position within the Scottish coalfields. Canteen workers played a leading role in organising women's involvement in the miners' strike in Midlothian and Ayrshire. Liz Marshall, who worked at the canteen in Killoch colliery in Ayrshire, clearly articulated her own activities as motivated by a struggle to maintain her own employment and not simply as support for the men: "as a canteen worker...I would get no big redundancy. So I needed a job and, for me, it was always about a job."<sup>122</sup> Thus, although in limited number, the 1984-5 miners' strike represented a direct struggle for jobs for some women, or in Margaret's case, her activism was influenced by a history of employment within the industry as well as by family and community connections.

Yet, despite sharing the collective trauma of deindustrialisation, as workers and community members, the gendered dimensions of women's narratives contain a clear distinction from those of their male counterparts. Margaret's memories of her experience of the miners' strike are prefaced by comments about how a younger generation of women had rejected a role which centred their life and sense of self on domestic roles. As discussed above, her daughter, who had taken on further educational studies and management training before her death in the mid-1980s, personified this perceived change. Among male respondents, the shift towards female employment was not universally viewed positively. Peter Downie's comments within the all-male Moodiesburn focus group, which consisted

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<sup>121</sup> Margaret and Jerry Wegg, interview.

<sup>122</sup> Guthrie Hutton, *Coal Not Dole: Memories of the 1984/85 Miners' Strike* (Glasgow: Cordfall, 2005) p.6, 35, 54.

of a retired miners' group, indicated unease with both the decline of male employment and the rise of women's work:

We're a nation of women workers now. We've got the big Morrisons, Aldis aw these big places, big factories, employing 3 and 400 women and the men is lying in the hoose puttin the women oot to work. That's what's wrong wi the industry today and that's what's wrong wi the country today.<sup>123</sup>

In this we see parallels with Walkerdine and Jimenez's analysis of how the "perceived feminine nature of work" in services unsettled former steelworkers sense of self in Steeltown. Within younger workers this was reflected in a continued aspiration to gain employment in manual jobs which were perceived as maintaining a more respectable status. There were similarities in Scott McCallum's reflection that his profession, joinery, "wisnae ma planned option obviously but it's a trade." Whilst it was not employment in coal mining and removed him from his family's tradition he also gladly reflected that it had given him work in a local factory in Steps for 15 years before he began employment with Dundee Council.<sup>124</sup> Unlike Peter Downie's overt discomfort with the challenge of gender related economic changes, interviewees charged with policy-making roles considered the challenge the contemporary situation posed for young men. For instance, Michael McMahon recalled meeting a local high school head teacher shortly after his election to the first Scottish Parliament in 1999. He reported that unlike girls, boys were not maintaining the standard of performance at secondary school that they ought to have based on their primary school results. This was attributed to the absence of skilled employment that achieving qualifications and going onto take up apprenticeship would previously have provided in an industrial economy:

It was quite striking that in the girls the expectations that had been built up primary 1 primary 2 primary 3 up to primary 7, their first years of high school, up to third year, fourth year, you could see the expectation coming through. You could see the expectations built up carrying on. What he said was that over a period of time they'd noticed that as you got to second year the boys started to tail off and the level of expectation started to diminish. And they had been doing some work on that and they put it down to the fact that there was no incentive for boys to stick with education because there was no apprenticeship, there was no training available. What did you need to work in a call centre? What did you need in terms of education to pick shelves in a supermarket warehouse? And that was seeping into the education system. I can't say whether that's the case now or not, but that was in the late 1990s early 2000s that the

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<sup>123</sup> Moodiesburn focus group.

<sup>124</sup> Walkerdine and Jimenez, *Gender, Work and Community after De-Industrialization*, p.118; Scott McCallum, interview.

education system was identifying that there was a problem in keeping young guys motivated towards education in the old traditional skills because there weren't any apprenticeships. So guys who were y'know when I was at school people were talking about becoming plumbers and joiners y'know workin in the steelworks they didn't, I don't remember anyone just saying "I'm just gonnae become a labourer" we all had ambitions for something. Guys that thought they were gonna be good with their hands or were gonnae do whatever.<sup>125</sup>

George Greenshields, a Labour councillor for Clydesdale South, similarly emphasised the expansion of the service sector and the feminisation of the workforce, noting increasing employment in social care in particular: "I think most ae the women became employed through all these kindae care in the community like Auchlochen [Retirement Village], y'know that kindae type thing. Ehm you see aw the girls goin about in their South Lanarkshire uniforms and so on goin round about in the care in the community."<sup>126</sup>

Yet, alongside the positives associated with expanded employment opportunities, it is notable the sectors emphasised, particularly retail work and social care, are typical of feminised sectors in their insecurity and low wages. This tends to support McIvor's conclusion that during the 1990s as the West of Scotland continued its transition from an economy marked by significant industrial sectors towards one increasingly dependent on services, it tended to be characterised by low paid women's work.<sup>127</sup> Jennifer McCarey, who works as an organiser for the public sector union, Unison, articulated her own concerns about women's contemporary position within a deindustrial economic environment. She argued that labour movement decline had been a significant step backwards in disempowering a strong base of feminism:

It's always a struggle for women in the movement there's no doubt about it. There's no time in my life when it's not been harder for women. I cannot think of a time it has not been harder for women. As soon as I got involved to now. I think it's probably a bit worse now cause I think that there was a real grow in kind of feminism and women's identity in the movement in the eighties and I think in the nineties that kind of got lost. People need that, a kind of feminist agenda, and things. I think it's probably got a wee bit worse. Seem to be going to a lot of meetings and there's platforms of five guys and only one woman and thinking I

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<sup>125</sup> Michael McMahon, interview.

<sup>126</sup> George Greenshields, interview.

<sup>127</sup> Arthur McIvor, 'Gender Apartheid? Women in Scottish Society Scotland in the Twentieth Century', in *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* ed. by TM Devine and RJ Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996) p.206.



remember a time when that wouldn't even have been tolerated, and now we seem to be back there.<sup>128</sup>

In Jennifer's testimony this fed into contemporary concerns over trade union activism, including frustration that Unison had not taken a more confrontational stance on equal pay claims. This also extended to consideration over the organising of women who work within social care in casualised conditions and the role of her union in mobilising them and winning more secure employment conditions. Thus, the loss of secure industrial employment and the decline of trade union power have had a strong but distinct effect on women. Women's employment opportunities have expanded in an economic environment marked by the decline of traditional male employing heavy industries and the expansion of predominantly female service jobs. A generation of women flexible workers has faced the challenges of insecurity and the growing likelihood of being the sole or dominant earner in households as a result, in stark contrast to their parents' experience of the period of full employment which extended for three decades under the regime of industrial citizenship after the Second World War.<sup>129</sup>

## Conclusion

Generation and gender are key subjectivities which were mutually constitutive and interacted in shaping historical experiences and, subsequently, the construction of interviewees' narratives. This chapter has adopted an approach to generational development which emphasises the role of social placement and historical events in shaping consciousness. Coalfield generations were the outcome of collective cohort experiences of major changes in political economy, and in particular their labour market repercussions. Thus, a generation which lived through the transition from the interwar period and private ownership of the coal industry had a distinct experience from those who matured in the environment of post-Second World War industrial citizenship and economic security, who in turn were differentiated from those who came of age in the neoliberal policy environment and intensified deindustrialisation of the 1980s. In all cases formative youthful experiences, interior time, established reference points and understandings from which later events were appraised. The social dislocation of the 1920s and 1930s conditioned interwar veterans; rising living standards and employment security from the mid-1940s to the late 1970s informed the perspective of industrial citizens; defeat in the miners' strike and the struggle to orientate in the deindustrial environment and mass unemployment which followed were fundamental in shaping the understanding of flexible workers.

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<sup>128</sup> Jennifer McCarey, interview.

<sup>129</sup> Connolly, 'Women and Work Since 1970', p.143, 172.

Both men and women were strongly affected by the generational changes associated with differing regimes of political economy, but these processes were highly gendered. Masculinity in the Lanarkshire coalfield was imbued with industrial occupational identities. There was pride and respectability taken from work in coal mining as well as in steelmaking and mechanical engineering, which often involved following a family tradition. This was also informed by the premium wages earned in these sectors, with breadwinner implications, as well as by workforce traditions of assertiveness through trade union organisation. As a result the closure of industrial workplaces and the removal of the mining industry posed a challenge to cultural identities as well as undermining economic welfare. The consequences have been profound and continue to be felt in the rising health and wellbeing inequalities within coalfield areas. This intersects with the growing gulf in earnings and employment the coalfields have experienced in relation to Scotland as a whole and with metropolitan areas in particular.<sup>130</sup>

The experience of male displacement was punctuated by generational factors. Different age cohorts faced differing consequences arise from the final programme of major coal and steel closures, and major engineering divestment, during the 1980s. Those in their forties and fifties were removed from the labour market early and faced the difficulty of adapting to a regime of state sanctioned joblessness, often accompanied by enhanced compensation from redundancy packages and incapacity benefit which was marginally higher than unemployment benefit. Younger workers were obliged to adapt to the new flexible labour market environment, finding work within the service sector or in some cases the increasingly precarious manufacturing jobs which remained. A generation of men who had been raised within the culture of industrial communities anticipating that they would be able to find employment in coal, steel or engineering, also faced a reorientation. In some cases this also entailed a struggle to redefine a sense of self which had been framed within the expectations of industrial citizenship and industrial identities with longstanding family lineages. There were cross-generational facets to the experience of economic and social dislocation, including preponderance towards alcohol abuse.

Women's experiences were markedly different from those of men in terms of labour market outcomes but were also integrated within the broader trajectory of shifting regimes of political-economy, and informed by generational distinctions. Female narratives tend towards a liberal feminist sensibility of emphasising gradual conjoined economic and social advancement over time. In generational terms this was epitomised by Jessie Clark citing the generation who followed her eschewing work in domestic service and having professional opportunities, and then by Margaret Wegg, a generation younger than Jessie, emphasising that her daughter's peers had given up the domestic-centred

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<sup>130</sup> The Coalfields Regeneration Trust, *Analysis of Coalfield Area Deprivation in Scotland* (The Coalfields Regeneration Trust, 2013).

femininity that characterised her own generation. However, these outlooks were punctured by the female experience of deindustrialisation. The expansion of engineering employment between the 1940s and 1970s offered women of the industrial citizen generation access to factory work, albeit within a labour regime characterised by highly gendered structures. Over this period married women's wages became a central source of family income, and women industrial workers attained a stronger social and political recognition in part thanks to stronger trade union organisation. Deindustrialisation entailed the loss of this security. Whilst labour market restructuring has created expanded employment for women of the flexible worker generation within services, it has also tended towards concentrations in the low paid employment characteristic of coalfield localities after deindustrialisation.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

## Conclusion

This thesis has presented a detailed and comprehensive analysis of deindustrialisation within the Lanarkshire coalfields. It makes an original contribution through its emphasis on understanding coalfield contraction as a long-term process of fundamental economic and social restructuring. This was evident across the nationalised industry's operation from 1947. Coalfield contraction was a protracted process, and the contraction of coal mining employment had a significant impact within the Lanarkshire coalfield even before employment peaked during the under the nationalised industry. From the experience of the major rundown of coal employment in the Shotts area during the late 1940s and early 1950s onwards colliery closures were highly contested. They were managed within a moral economy of customs and expectations that developed based on the experience of the dislocation of the interwar private industry, and promise of consultation and worker 'voice' within the NCB. A retained emphasis on community cohesion and economic security was apparent in the NUMSA's responses to closures between the 1940s and 1980s. However, the experiences of the increased rate of closure during the 1960s, the moral economy's renegotiation between the late 1960s and mid-1970s, and its subsequent dissolution following the 1984-5 miners' strike, underline that the moral economy's assertion was more apparent during some periods than others. It was ultimately dependent on the power of coalfield communities to assert their claim to collieries and the employment they provided, and community and trade union perspectives on policy-makers' social responsibilities.

Colliery closures were managed within the nationalised coal industry and through regional policy. As such they incorporated a renegotiation of the economic and political structures of the Union. The experience of the increasingly centrally managed process of coalfield contraction and growing dependency on inward investment in manufacturing stimulated demands for political autonomy. These came to focus on putting forward a call for political, as opposed to merely administrative, devolution, and on restoring elements of economic as well as political governance to Scotland. It was a perspective shaped by the class as well as spatial dynamics inherent within the process of post-1945 economic development and policy-making examined in chapter one. Future research could develop the perspective of this thesis through greater consideration of the development of UK energy policy and its relationship to the devolved structures of the Scottish Office which oversaw the application of regional policy, as well as to long-term manpower and investment planning within the NCB. In particular, the major changes associated with the acceleration of colliery closures during the 1960s, the era of cheap oil, and the turn towards a securing of coal's place in a more secure framework during the mid-1970s, require further appraisal. This analysis would further advance the vital place of energy policy in shaping attitudes towards Scottish nationhood, and underline the connection between centralised UK policy-making and devolved aspects of regional policy making and electricity generation. Furthermore, it would also reveal the varying pressure felt by policy-makers at different

levels. As was apparent in the analysis of the moral economy, within the NCB locally situated management felt a great obligation towards communities which they shared an affinity with.

This related to an understanding shaped by historical experience. The analysis in this thesis deepens moral economy approaches to coalfield deindustrialisation by framing them within Polanyi's 'great transformation' of commodifying and decommodifying labour market forces, and pointing to the moral economy's origins within a long history across the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries detailed in chapter two. The moral economy was shaped by a powerful cultural circuit which connected institutional coalfield history with family memories and personal experiences of injustices and industrial relations conflicts. It moulded an understanding of social justice predicated on the responsibilities of both the NCB and government to manage falling coalfield employment within a framework that minimised labour market instability, and that provided security for both individual workers, and coalfield communities. The process of transition to a diversified industrial economy extended the sectoral scope of the moral economy. As employment in heavy industries was exchanged for work in assembly goods factories, these jobs were also given a moral economy value which was underlined by policy-maker promises of modernisation, and the role of public funding in securing inward investment.

The abandonment of the moral economy and associated commitments to full employment and reindustrialisation during the accelerated restructuring of the British economy during the 1980s fundamentally separated it from the earlier period in historical memory. Mick McGahey potently reflected on this period, stating, "It wisnae closure, it wis annihilation. They tried to annihilate the National Union ae Mineworkers, those that were members of the National Union ae Mineworkers, and the communities round about that supported them. And they failed because we're still here." In his view the NCB's acceleration of closures and assertion of financial priorities were a concerted attempt to destroy the coal industry and its institutions.<sup>1</sup> This particularly related to the 1984-5 miners' strike, during which he was victimised and lost his job as a surface worker at Bilston Glen colliery, Midlothian. Scott McCallum, whose family were not from a background of political activism, shared Mick's perspective, arguing it was the wilful effort of the Conservative Party and Margaret Thatcher in particular:

The Tory government \*sighs\* They're to blame for it. Politics. ... Just who was in charge at the time. She [Margaret Thatcher] went out tae put a purpose. She won her purpose. There's no mines now cause of her.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mick McGahey, interview.

<sup>2</sup> Scott McCallum, interview.

In both of these testimonies conceptions of “survival” were mobilised to make sense of the economic and social dislocation which characterise experiences of deindustrialisation. This paralleled comments from former miners and their families in Harlan County, Kentucky, where Portelli found that the tropes of struggles traditionally ascribed to trade union activism were utilised to explain the endurance of impoverishment and deprivation in a deindustrialising coalfield.<sup>3</sup> Scott stated, “I’m still proud to say I’m from a mining family, I’m from a mining village”, whilst Mick underlined his feelings of continuity by stating “we’re still here.” Despite final colliery closures and experiences of defeat in the 1984-5 miners’ strike, in his view commitments to trade union organisations and coalfield cultural values associated with collectivism remained.<sup>4</sup> Coalfield identities were stronger than the objective reality of colliery employment. They are visible in their continuing socio-psychological and cultural significance still accorded to them within coalfield communities. The moral economy perspective has shaped views of the past which have continued contemporary resonance in political outlooks and activities including trade union activism and community memorial efforts.

Pat Egan, who came from a mining family and started work at Bedlay colliery during the late 1970s, described the 1980s as living through the Thatcher government “dismantlin Scotland basically.”<sup>5</sup> He made specific references to a series of major closures which amounted to a full-scale rundown of major industrial employment in the vicinity of Twechar, North Lanarkshire, but magnified this to incorporate the broader national experience. As this thesis has identified, the accentuation of Scottishness during the late twentieth and early twenty first century, and associated strengthening of devolutionary and nationalist sentiments, have roots in economic substance and industrial processes dating back to the 1940s and 1950s. Perchard’s analysis of the “cultural scars” of deindustrialisation were emphasised through the fourth chapter’s consideration of the alcohol abuse and social dislocation both younger and older men experienced upon redundancy.<sup>6</sup>

As Pat’s comments indicate, these have been imbued with an important national significance in politicised narratives of deindustrialisation. This was personified by the response of the Scotland’s First Minister Nicola Sturgeon, to the death of Margaret Thatcher in 2013. The Deputy First Minister at the time spoke in similar terms to Pat Egan by recalling, “The brutal de-industrialisation she presided over, and the unemployment that resulted, [which] has left deep scars in every community in this city and across Scotland.”<sup>7</sup> Yet, as Phillips’ research on the “contested memory” of the 1984-5 miners’ strike indicates, interpretations of deindustrialisation and coalfield political conflict are not

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<sup>3</sup> Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County*, p.331.

<sup>4</sup> Mick McGahey, interview; Scott McCallum, interview.

<sup>5</sup> Pat Egan, interview.

<sup>6</sup> Andrew Perchard, “Broken Men”, pp.78-80.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Thatcher remembered: The Scottish Nationalist Nicola Sturgeon’, *STV* <<http://stv.tv/news/west-central/221629-margaret-thatcher-remembered-by-nicola-sturgeon-msp-for-political-division/>> [accessed 16/5/2016].

homogeneous. These have tended towards a ‘Civic Scotland’ understanding of accelerated closures and falling industrial employment as “an external attack” imposed on Scotland from London, which ignores dynamics of class conflict within Scotland itself. However, within these narratives the influence of the moral economy’s stress on government responsibility towards communities is evident. This has played a crucial role in shaping a ‘social justice’ discourse of collective partnership and shared national interest which predominates within contemporary Scottish politics.<sup>8</sup>

The erosion of skilled manual jobs has not only contributed towards a more unequal society in economic terms, it has also had ramifications for the distribution of power in society. Falling trade union membership and the destruction of the structures of co-determination that functioned within the NCB have entailed working class disempowerment and contributed towards the social and political marginalisation of coalfield areas. The legacy of deindustrialisation is confirmed in research from the Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change which concluded that Scotland was a “territorially divided nation”, with disproportionate regional economic inequalities to the rest of the UK. Notably, former coalfield areas played a significant role in this. Midlothian and East Lothian, and Ayrshire, were among the four regions in the bottom 10% of UK regional gross value-added per capita. In total these amounted to areas in which 14.2% of the Scottish population resides, whereas across the UK only 5% of the population lived in areas within the bottom 10% of gross value-added.<sup>9</sup> This corroborates the work of the *Coalfield Regeneration Trust* which points to the ongoing legacy of deindustrialisation. It looms large across all former Scottish coalfield regions in terms of economic output and employment, but also in other social wellbeing indicators such as access to amenities and especially health.<sup>10</sup> As the analysis in chapter three demonstrated this has created a major lacuna for narratives of self and place located in the history of industrial employment. The dislocation associated with deindustrialisation has been accentuated by suburbanisation and the transition of former coalfield communities to commuter towns.

It became apparent over the course of researching this thesis that deindustrialisation was an ongoing process. Rhona Wilkinson-Hewett encapsulated this when she discussed the recent closure of the Halls meat processing plant in Broxburn, West Lothian, and her own involvement in volunteering for an organisation that was helping workers who had recently lost their jobs following the closure of a

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<sup>8</sup> Jim Phillips, ‘Contested Memories: The Scottish Parliament and the 1984-5 Miners’ Strike’, *Scottish Affairs* vol.24 (2) (2015) pp.187-206; for more on Civic Scotland see Ewan Gibbs, ‘“Civic Scotland” versus Communities on Clydeside: Poll Tax Non-Payment, c. 1987–1990’, *Scottish Labour History*, vol. 49 (2014) pp.86–106.

<sup>9</sup> S. Johal, A. Leaver and K. Williams, ‘A New Development Model for Scotland?’, *CRESC* <<http://www.slideshare.net/stephenboydstuc/a-new-development-model-for-scotland>> [Accessed 3/12/2014].

<sup>10</sup> The Coalfields Regeneration Trust, *Analysis of Coalfield Area Deprivation in Scotland* (The Coalfields Regeneration Trust, 2013).

local textiles factory find jobs.<sup>11</sup> In recent years Scotland's status as a deindustrialising society has been confirmed in major economic and political developments. This included the industrial relations conflict at Grangemouth oil refinery and chemical works in 2013 which raised issues around the external control and ownership of Scottish industry. These events also incorporated workers' moral economy objections to the radical restructuring of remuneration packages and collective bargaining of a variety which mirrored objections to factory closures in the 1980s and 1990s considered in chapter four.<sup>12</sup> Similar motifs were present over late 2015 when the Indian multinational Tata announced the closure of Scotland's last significant steel plants in Motherwell and Rutherglen, North and South Lanarkshire respectively. Notably in this case, moral economy arguments about the damaging impact that closure would have on the local community, and the strategic value of the industry, compelled intervention by the Scottish Government.<sup>13</sup>

Deindustrialisation was the seminal process in the reshaping of the Scottish economy and society after 1945, and fundamental in accentuating pronouncements of Scottish nationhood. This thesis has contributed a novel approach to analysing coalfield deindustrialisation through combining an analysis of archival materials relating to the NCB and regional policy with the records of the NUMSA and voices from coalfield communities through oral testimonies. Its perspective is original in emphasising the protracted nature of deindustrialisation. The analysis of coalfield contraction underlines that contested pit closures were a factor throughout the lifespan of the nationalised industry, and not a distinct feature of the 1980s. Lanarkshire's experience highlights the phased and highly political nature of deindustrialisation: the closure of collieries, factories, and steelworks, were deliberate acts of policy-makers and businesses, not simply a natural outcome of market forces. Experience of the increasing remoteness of control over the Scottish economy and its management through nationalised industries, and industrial and energy policies formulated in London, stimulated support for greater autonomy. Scottish identity was culturally mobilised but grounded in industrial substance. The 'social justice' discourse which dominates contemporary Scottish politics has roots in the moral economy arguments put forward in response to industrial closures across the mid and late twentieth century, especially its emphasis on policy-makers' social responsibilities. This conclusion has emphasised that the legacy of deindustrialisation remains contested and contentious. The narratives that characterise memories of mid and late twentieth century Scotland have been heavily shaped by the experience of industrial closures and labour market restructuring, and its legacy remains a very live, and pertinent, matter.

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<sup>11</sup> Rhona Wilkinson-Hewett, interview.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Seymour, 'How Ineos humiliated Unite in Grangemouth' *Guardian* 9/11/2013 <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/nov/09/ineos-unite-union-grangemouth-oil-refinery>> [accessed 23/3/2016].

<sup>13</sup> 'Scottish Steel Task Force' *Scottish Government* 20/10/2015 <<http://news.scotland.gov.uk/News/Scottish-Steel-Task-Force-1e78.aspx>> [accessed 23/3/2016].



## **Appendix: Biographies of Oral History Participants**

Alan Blades grew up in Greengairs, a mining village adjacent to Airdrie, during the 1960s and 1970s. Alan worked at Bedlay colliery 1979 to 1982, following in his father and brother's footsteps. He transferred to Solsgirth upon closure and was a striker during the 1984-5 strike. After taking redundancy in 1997 he later worked at the Chungwha factory at the Chapelhall industrial estate near Airdrie, where he now lives.

Anthony Rooney was born in Bellshill in 1938 where he grew up in miners' rows. His father and both grandfathers worked in local collieries. Anthony found work at the Caterpillar factory in Uddingston where he was a shop steward, and he has also been a longstanding Labour activist in Bellshill.

Barbara Goldie grew up in Cambuslang during the 1930s and 1940s. Her father worked in local collieries and was an active trade unionist. Barbara's sister and two brothers worked at the local Hoover factory. Barbara had a range of jobs including work at the Templeton's carpet factory in Glasgow.

Billy Ferns was born in 1936 and grew up in Glasgow. His father worked at Cardowan colliery where Billy later found work. Billy moved into NCB housing in Bishopbriggs and was a highly active striking miner during the 1984-5 strike. He transferred to the Longannet complex after Cardowan closed, before retiring after taking redundancy during the early 1990s.

Brendan Moohan grew up in Musselburgh, East Lothian during the 1960s and 1970s. His grandfather had been a Communist activist who was blacklisted out of the Lanarkshire coalfields and migrated across central Scotland following the 1926 general strike and miners' lockout. Brendan followed his father into employment at Monktonhall colliery in Midlothian. He was arrested during the 1984-5 strike and subsequently sacked. Brendan now works as a youth worker with West Lothian council.

Duncan Macleod's father and both grandfathers were miners from the Carluke area of South Lanarkshire. His father subsequently moved to Derbyshire in order to join the police force. Duncan was born there in 1953. The family later moved back to Carluke in the 1970s and Duncan stayed in the town whilst working as a telecommunications engineer before retiring.

George Greenshields grew up in Coalburn during the 1960s and 1970s. His father and brothers had worked in local collieries and continued to commute to collieries further afield after the final closures in the area during the late 1960s. George worked at the large opencast site at Dalquhandy from 1978 until the early 1990s. He is now a Labour councillor for Clydesdale South.

Gilbert Dobby was born in Coalburn in 1946 where he grew up in a mining family. He entered local collieries as an apprentice engineer during the 1960s before transferring to Nottinghamshire after major closures affected the South Lanarkshire coalfield during the late 1960s. Gilbert subsequently returned to Lanarkshire during the early 1970s, working at Bedlay and then Polkemmet. Gilbert left took redundancy after Polkemmet was flooded during the 1984-5 miners' strike, which he supported throughout the year. Gilbert subsequently became a driving instructor before retiring.

Ian Hogarth was born in Springboig, Glasgow, in 1928 where he grew up adjacent to the Lanarkshire coalfield. His father was an accountant for Bairds Scottish steel. He entered the NCB's management training during the early 1950s. Ian was the Ventilation Officer at Cardowan before being made responsible for ventilation across the Central West Area. In 1959 he transferred to the NCB's Scottish headquarters at Green Park in Edinburgh where he remained until retiring in 1987.

Jessie Clark grew up in Douglas Water, South Lanarkshire during the 1920s and 1930s. Her father was a victimised miner and active Communist. Jessie shared his political convictions and went on to marry another Communist miner, Alex Clark. She worked first in domestic service during the 1930s before finding employment in the Douglas Water colliery canteen during the 1940s. Jessie subsequently worked in local government.

Jennifer McCarey grew up in Mossend, North Lanarkshire, during the 1970s and 1980s. Her mother and father were both active trade unionists. Jennifer's father was the convenor for non-manual workers at Ravenscraig, having followed his father into the industry. Jennifer was an active Labour Party member and supporter of the miners' strike. She subsequently became a professional trade union organiser in Birmingham during the late 1980s. Jennifer now works for Unison in Scotland.

John Hamilton was born in Kirkmuirhill, South Lanarkshire in 1949. He grew up in a mining family in Lesmehagow and entered local collieries during the mid-1960s. John subsequently migrated to Canada in 1969 but returned to Lanarkshire during the early 1970s. He re-entered mining in 1980 when he started work at Bedlay and then transferred to Polkemmet collieries but left the coal industry before the 1984-5 strike.

John Kay was born in Glasgow in 1925 and worked in engineering factories before migrating to New Zealand where he lived from 1949 to 1957. He joined the Communist Party there and became increasingly active upon his return to Glasgow. John became a full time organiser for the CPGB during the 1960s, first as Glasgow Secretary and then as Scottish Industrial Organiser, which was a post he retained until retiring in 1990.

John Slaven grew up in Uddingston, South Lanarkshire between the mid-1960s and mid-1980s. His parents had moved from Glasgow to Tannochside where his father took a job at the new Caterpillar factory which opened in 1956. John's mother also subsequently found a job at the factory where she was involved in the 1987 occupation against its closure, which took place after his father had taken redundancy in the early 1980s. John had been active in the local Labour Party but left Lanarkshire for London after leaving school in 1985 where he subsequently took a job on the railways and became an active trade unionist. He now works for the STUC.

Margaret Keena grew up in Newton Rows, Cambuslang, South Lanarkshire during the 1930s and 1940s. Her father was a miner at Newton colliery as were many of her other male relatives. Her sister went on to work at the Hoover factory, whilst Margaret was employed in a range of jobs including work in a textile factory and as a bus conductor.

Margaret Wegg grew up in Cardowan village in SSHA housing secured through her father's employment at Cardowan colliery. Margaret had a number of jobs including working as a typist before starting work at the Cardowan colliery canteen. She lost her job when the pit was closed in 1983 and subsequently became a leading Women Against Pit Closure activist in the area during the 1984-5 miners' strike. Her husband Jerry was a miner at Cardowan colliery and he subsequently transferred to Castlebridge, Clackmannan.

Marian Macleod is from Law near Carluke, South Lanarkshire and still lives in the Carluke area. Her grandfather worked at local collieries before final closure affected the area during the 1950s. Marian was employed at Honeywell Newhouse. She later became a Purchasing Director at Motherwell Bridge.

Marian Hamilton grew up in Shotts during the 1940s and 1950s. Her father was an iron moulder, and her grandfather had been a miner. She worked at the Hartwood hospital and married Willie Hamilton, a local miner. They briefly migrated to Windsor, West London, during the 1960s but subsequently returned to Shotts.

Mary Spence was born in Hamilton in 1944 but moved to Hampshire shortly afterwards. She returned to Lanarkshire with her father in 1959. Her father came from a coal mining family but had entered civil service. Mary felt that this established a large social distinction between them and created tension with her grandmother who looked after her father's father and brothers who suffered from coal mining related illnesses. Mary later moved to East Kilbride where she worked as a teacher.

Michael McMahon grew up in Newarthill, North Lanarkshire. His grandfather was a miner, whilst his father was employed at the Terex factory in Holytown where Michael also worked as a welder. Michael became an active trade unionist at the factory and was Chair of the STUC Youth Committee during the mid-1980s. He also joined the Labour Party. Michael left Terex to go to university during the 1990s and was a list MSP for Central Scotland between 1999 and 2015.

Mick McGahey was a third generation Communist miner. His grandfather was jailed for his activities during the 1926 general strike and miners' lockout and forced out of the Lanarkshire coalfield but returned during the 1930s. Mick's father became President of the NUMSA in 1967. Mick worked at Bilston Glen colliery in Midlothian from the early 1970s until he was victimised following his arrest during the 1984-5 strike. He now works at the Edinburgh Royal Hospital where he is the Unison convenor.

Nicky Wilson grew up in Easterhouse on the eastern outskirts of Glasgow during the 1950s and 1960s. He entered Cardowan colliery as an apprentice electrician during the mid-1960s and subsequently became a SCEBTA representative at the colliery. Nicky transferred to the Longannet complex after the colliery was closed and was active during the 1984-5 miners' strike. He is now NUM Scottish President.

Pat Egan grew up in a mining family in Twechar, North Lanarkshire, during the 1960s and 1970s. He followed in his father's footsteps by entering Bedlay colliery during the late 1970s. After Bedlay closed Pat transferred to the Longannet complex in Fife, and later moved to Glenrothes, but he was also active in Lanarkshire during the 1984-5 miners' strike. Pat subsequently worked at Longannet until it closed in 2002. He now works for Unite the union.

Peter Mansell-Mullen grew up in the south of England during the 1930s and 1940s. After graduating from Oxford with a PPE degree he joined the NCB as a manager during the early 1950s, where he met his wife who was also a management trainee at the time. Peter was trained in Nottinghamshire and then became an NCB Area Secretary in Cannock, Staffordshire. He later moved to NCB headquarter at Hobart House, London, where he became Director of Manpower.

Rhona Wilkinson-Hewat, from a mining family background in Breich, West Lothian. Her paternal grandfather worked at local collieries in the West Lothian area, eventually working at Polkemmet after working at Addiewell whisky bond following the closure of Polkemmet. Rhona's mother's family were also of local mining heritage. Her father worked as an engineer in local foundries. Rhona works in the public sector and lives in Fauldhouse.

Scott McCallum grew up in a mining family in Cardowan village. His great grandfather, grandfather, father and brother were all coal miners, and his father and brother both worked at Cardowan colliery. Scott was at primary school during the 1984-5 strike and was taken on demonstrations with his family. He subsequently became a joiner in the Stepps area before moving to Dundee.

Siobhan McMahon grew up in Bellshill, North Lanarkshire, during the 1980s and 1990s. Her father and paternal grandfather both worked at the Terex factory in Holytown whilst her maternal grandfather was a miner. Siobhan worked for her father as an MSP's researcher before becoming a Labour Central Scotland list MSP herself between 2011 and 2015.

Tommy Canavan grew up in a mining family in Croy between the late 1940s and mid-1960s. He followed his father and grandfathers into the mining industry by entering Cardowan colliery during the 1960s and subsequently transferred to Solsgirth, Clackmannan, following Cardowan's closure in 1983. Tommy was an NUM representative at Cardowan and was active in Lanarkshire during the 1984-5 strike. He was also a member of the Labour Party.

Willie Doolan was a third generation miner who grew up in Moodiesburn during the 1950s and 1960s. He began work at Cardowan colliery during the early 1970s where he was active in both the NUM and the CPGB. After Cardowan closed he transferred to the Longannet complex. Willie has continued his connection with coalfield culture through Auchengiech Miners' Welfare and their efforts to commemorate the memory of the Wester Auchengiech pit disaster of 1947.

Willie Hamilton grew up in Shott between the mid-1930s and mid-1950s. He entered the coal mining industry, following his father and grandfather. Willie worked in the Shotts area at Stane colliery and then Kingshill 3 before transferring to Polemmet in 1974. He was trained as a shotfirer and subsequently rose to the rank of overman.

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