

<CN>Chapter 2

<CT>Where is 'Red Clydeside'? <CST>Industrial Heritage, Working-Class Culture and Memory in the Glasgow Region

<CA>Arthur McIvor

<FL>Glasgow and Clydeside's industrial past, working-class culture and heritage have been the focus of struggle and contestation. Urban renewal and associated image rebranding from the 1980s has projected a sense of the city as a prospering, safe, welcoming, stylish place of hedonistic consumption, great architecture (McIntosh and Art Nouveau) and with a vibrant nightlife. In this rebranding, working-class culture and social life, industrial heritage, the ravages of deindustrialization and the struggles of 'Red Clydeside' have been marginalized. If Glasgow's museums act as theatres of heritage, it is creative, artistic, technological, religious, scientific and industrial achievements and developments that now take centre stage. This chapter explores regional identity and representation in public history, critically examining the ways that museums, archives and the heritage industry have engaged with the history of work, working-class culture and radical politics of the industrial conurbation of Clydeside – the 40 miles or so centred on Glasgow, Scotland's largest city – since 1980. My analysis is influenced by and framed within the seminal work on the theory of heritage of Laurajane Smith, who has argued in *Uses of Heritage* (2006):

<EXT>At one level heritage is about the promotion of a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites to regulate cultural and social tensions in the present. On the other hand heritage may also be a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups.¹

This chapter explores within the context of Glasgow and Clydeside Smith's concept of a hegemonic 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD) versus alternative, subordinate discourse and practices. The argument draws upon ongoing research by a cluster of scholars in Scotland that is shedding valuable new insights into aspects of working-class culture, protest, deindustrialization, heritage and memory, and upon the extensive intangible heritage work being undertaken in the country, especially in relation to oral history.² In the latter, the Scottish Oral History Centre based at the University of Strathclyde has played an important role.³

The first section contextualizes the argument with an outline of Glasgow's socio-economic and industrial history. The second part will examine how the struggle over representing Glasgow's industrial and radical past – encapsulated in the notion of 'Red Clydeside' – was played out in the city's industrial heritage and museums. The argument here is that neoliberal politics in the city in the 1980s/1990s prompted an assault on some elements of working-class culture that marked a paradigm shift that facilitated attempts to reconfigure and erase 'Red Clydeside'. Section three traces the parallel failure to preserve tangible industrial heritage (in marked contrast, for example, to the Ruhr) that celebrates in the preservation of work-site buildings the meaning of blue collar working lives and mourns their loss as deindustrialization intensified. These contests over memory, heritage and how historical places and cultures are preserved, memorialized and represented are traced through examination of the political struggles within the city over who controlled the museums in the mid to late 1980s and 1990s between socialist-feminists, such as the curator of the People's Palace (Glasgow's social history museum) Elspeth King and her assistant Michael Donnelly, and liberal-labourist 'revisionists', led by Pat Lally, Julian Spalding and Mark O'Neill. The victory of the latter was entangled with an image rebranding period for the city (with the slogan 'Glasgow's Miles Better') and

a clear investment strategy thereafter, which sidelined the People's Palace (and working-class culture) and favoured shiny new (and rather sterile) museums where the focus was on technological achievement, on physical artefacts, on art and celebration of the 'Clydebuilt' industrial products (like ships and locomotives). Scotland's pioneering place in industrialization became the dominant motif. The new 'Riverside Museum' (opened 2011), which has many admirable qualities, epitomizes this and is perhaps the best example of Smith's AHD in practice. Certainly, working-class lives, work, culture, protest and resistance are marginalized within Zaha Hadid's wonderfully designed and sensuously sculpted space.

The final section of the chapter will examine how this neoliberal 'authorized heritage discourse' has been and continues to be challenged in an ongoing struggle over how the past is represented in the city through 'grass-roots' radical history groups, creative collectives, community heritage, 'unofficial' memorializing and oral history. Nor is there one single discourse within and across the multiple Corporation-controlled museums (currently eleven) within the city – rather a range of contending curatorial views and practices. Alternative discourses reviving traditions of 'Red Clydeside', reconstructing exploitative class relationships, radical protest movements or challenging the erasure of women from official representations have almost always existed and have re-emerged and proliferated in the recent past. People's sense of honesty, injustice and authenticity drove these alternative history-making exercises along. Examples drawn upon here are the 'Workers' City' movement (1988–92), the Glasgow Women's Library, the memorializing of occupational disease deaths (Clydebank Asbestos Monument) and radical campaigners (e.g. Mary Barbour in Govan), and the 'Red Clydeside' websites, audio trails (as in Govan), virtual museums and archives (including the Willie Gallacher Library). The deployment of oral history in many of these heritage initiatives marks a clear effort to develop an alternative narrative – a people's voice that records and preserves the rich mosaic of working-class life

and culture in a classic heavy-industry dominated city and industrial conurbation with a rich tradition of political protest and resistance to injustice. I argue here that oral history has played (and should continue to play) a key role in this reconstruction, reconfiguration and problematizing of the past, exposing the multiple narratives and reconstructing identities and the complexity of culture and plurality of politics in a modern industrial city.

<A>Context: Clydeside's Industrial and Radical Past

<FL>Historically, this region was at the heart of Scotland's industrialization in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the local economy based on textile manufacturing, coal mining, iron and steel, engineering, shipbuilding, the docks and heavy chemical manufacture. The working environment, exploitative social relations, proletarianization and grim overcrowded living conditions (based on the tenement housing structure) germinated a powerful sense of working-class consciousness by the late nineteenth /early twentieth centuries, manifested in the rise of socialist politics, radical trade unionism and the concept of 'Red Clydeside'. It has been argued that militancy, protest and radical workplace cultures were evident in the pre-World War I strike wave across Clydeside and that this was in large part a reaction to the authoritarian management style of the region's industrial magnates.⁴ Other manifestations of 'Red Clydeside' include the first UK wage strikes in World War I, the infamous rent strikes of 1915, anti-war demonstrations, vociferous demands for workers' control and a powerful socialist-led shop stewards movement (led by the 'soviet' Clyde Workers' Committee). Most notably, perhaps, the seismic shift in politics from a Liberal dominated city was evidenced in the 'landslide' victory for socialist ILP candidates in the 1922 general election.⁵ A decade later in 1933, socialists in the local government (Glasgow Council) gained a majority – a position they retained (with the

occasional exception) right through to the end of the twentieth century. In the early decades of the twentieth century, therefore, Glasgow was transformed into one of Europe's foremost socialist cities.

This narrative has not gone uncontested and has been the subject of vigorous academic debate. Notably, the concept of 'Red Clydeside' was challenged by politically charged liberal revisionism that accompanied Thatcherism in the 1980s. Iain Maclean's seminal monograph published in 1983 symbolized this rewriting of Glasgow's past, though there were others who subscribed to the view that the idea of a revolutionary city was a myth and the stuff of legend.⁶ This research made a major contribution towards putting some of the hyperbole associated with communist polemics and journalism and the narrative arc of the 'forward march of labour' and a victorious, united proletariat into perspective and began the process of re-envisioning the city's social and political movements in more complex and multilayered ways. Glasgow was a city riven by class, occupational, gender, spatial, ethnic and religious divisions with multiple social and political identities. Further research subsequently rehabilitated the idea of 'Red Clydeside' within this new framing and in a more nuanced form.⁷ The most recent PhD thesis (2015) on the topic argues for 'a more ambiguous labour politics' and 'a plurality of labour practices and experiences' whilst strongly supporting the 'relevance' of Red Clydeside.⁸ This synthesizes several decades of research and attention to the city's labour history, adapting to, revising but ultimately adding some credence to the interpretation of Marxist historians such as John Foster and Terry Brotherstone in the 1980s and 1990s.⁹ And the radical past of the city had deep significance, as one commentator noted in 1990, referring to the socialist artist Ken Currie's work: 'At a cultural level, however, a popular socialist history and, particularly in Currie's work, the iconography of Scottish working-class history and, especially, the mythology of the so-called "Red Clydeside", have been recuperated to have a specific symbolic interest'.¹⁰

That the past has relevance and meaning in the present is illustrated in the ways that activists have drawn upon the discourse of Red Clydeside in campaigns since World War II. This has been evident in the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' work-in in 1971, through the anti-Poll Tax campaign of 1988–89 to the Scottish Referendum campaign of 2014 and the bedroom tax protest in 2016.¹¹ And Clydeside workers themselves, notably in shipbuilding and in mining, continued to associate with radical left politics – at least until towards the end of the twentieth century (when a left-wing Scottish nationalist resurgence challenged traditional loyalties to socialism). In a recent (2016) oral interview, Govan shipbuilder Danny Houston reflected:

<EXT>Very rarely was someone a Conservative in here [Fairfield shipyard]. If you were a Conservative, you'd likely get battered! A lot a [of] Labour, but there were a lot of lefties in here; Trotskyists, Leninists. A lot of communism in here.¹²

[INSERT Map 2.1]

Map 2.1 Map of Glasgow: Major industrial sites, c. 1950

Meanwhile, the economy and employment profile of the city and the Clydeside region was changing. The map above identifies some of the major industrial enterprises in the city in 1950. By the end of the century, only five of the 37 industrial workplaces identified here were still in operation.¹³ The decennial census data for Glasgow for 1951 give a clear sense of the occupational profile of the city and the dominance of industrial jobs, as well as the gendered nature of the labour market.

Table 2.1 Employment in main industries on Clydeside, 1951

	Clydeside total (000s)	Male employment (000's) and as a % age of total employment)	Female employment (000s)
Mining	37.5	36.9 98.4	0.6
Shipbuilding	58.2	55.5 95.4	2.7
Construction	71.8	68.4 95.3	3.2
Metals	44.2	41.6 94.1	2.6
Vehicles	29.4	27.3 92.9	2.1
Mechanical engineering	81.7	69.1 84.6	12.6
Transport & Communications	94.5	78.4 83.0	16.1
Public administratio	53.6	44.1 82.2	9.5
Timber	18.4	14.7 79.9	3.7
Metals	19.3	15.0 77.7	4.3
Chemicals	21.1	15.4 73.0	5.7
Instrument engineering	6.6	4.1 62.1	2.5
Electrical engineering	11.4	6.7 58.8	4.7
Paper	21.8	12.6 57.8	9.2

Food/drink	47.1	26.4	56.1	20.7
Textiles	55.7	18.9	33.9	36.8
Clothing	30.9	6.7	21.7	24.2
Not classified	0.8	0.5		0.3

Source: Census of Scotland, 1951

In 1951, industrial jobs accounted for 50 per cent of the total in Glasgow. By 1991, this was down to just 19 per cent. In the hinterland of the city, coal mines closed with increasing velocity in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire from the 1950s on. Employment in coal mines in Scotland fell from 89,000 in 1951 to 34,000 in 1971 and 25,000 in 1981 *before* the political attack of Thatcher that left these communities decimated.¹⁴ Whilst little compensated for the blighted lives of middle-aged and older industrial workers, others adapted and there were widening job opportunities in the service sector, office and creative work in the post-industrial city. Widening access to higher education for the generation of working-class youths from the 1960s also enabled access for some to less dangerous and more intrinsically rewarding professional and creative jobs. But the legacies of ill health associated with industrial work, redundancy and impoverished working-class communities cast a long shadow, contributing to a crisis in public health in the city. This ‘Glasgow Effect’ generated a considerable volume of research, led by the Glasgow Centre for Population Health. The best of this work framed Clydeside’s experience in comparison to other industrial and deindustrializing regions across Europe, and Glasgow’s story in contrast to similar UK cities, such as Liverpool and Manchester.¹⁵ Some recent research has gone further, persuasively linking the neoliberal ‘political attack’ and the intensification of deindustrialization under Thatcher in the 1980s with worsening levels of joblessness, deprivation,

inequality and ill health in Glasgow and the Clydeside area.¹⁶ Undeniably, the data shows that Glasgow experienced a higher proportion of communities in poverty and with lower life expectancy than any other city in the UK.

Whilst deindustrialization, closures and lay-offs were intensifying and economic transformation deepening, the industrial city of smog, dirt, poverty, ill health, crime, sectarianism, militancy and radical politics continued to dominate the discourse and representation of the city through the second half of the twentieth century – as Mike Pacione has shown in his carefully calibrated social-spatial study of Glasgow.¹⁷ These motifs were deeply engrained into popular consciousness. This reputation and these features of an industrial, proletarian city were influential in attracting me, as a young early career labour historian, to move to and settle in the city in 1984.

<A>Reshaping a City's Identity: Politics, Public History and the Erasure of 'Red Clydeside'

<FL>So much for the convoluted academic discourse on Clydeside's working-class culture and politics. How then have working lives, working-class culture and politics and the idea and tradition of 'Red Clydeside' been represented in public heritage discourse in museums in the city? Surveying the position now, it appears that the people's story is in the background rather than the foreground, obscured by shiny new and extensively refurbished museums that focus on religion, on transport and on art and that fetishize machines, artefacts and technologies. Style has been prioritized over substance and working-class social history. In public history, it is tempting to trace the exorcism of 'Red Clydeside' – the narrative of working-class poverty, mobilization and politicization – to a conscious attempt to rebrand the city and attract tourists and investment in the Thatcher era of the 1980s. In 1985, a private-public consortium *Glasgow Action* was established after the Scottish Development Agency,

using external consultants, advised a complete image overhaul as a prerequisite for a city redevelopment plan (the five year plan 1985–1990). These years saw the adoption of the ‘Glasgow’s Miles Better’ logo, the naming of the east central city area ‘Merchant City’, the Garden Festival docklands development and culminated in Glasgow’s designation as European City of Culture in 1990.¹⁸ The 1980s/90s redevelopment transformed the city centre and docklands areas without significantly affecting the key areas of deprivation and poverty – the blighted peripheral housing estates (Easterhouse, Drumchapel, Pollok and Castlemilk). The outcome was a marked widening of inequalities across neighbourhoods within the city¹⁹. Ian Spring described this ‘New Glasgow’ as ‘particularly reactionary and puritanical’.²⁰

The new neoliberal direction of the Labour Party-controlled City Council under its leader Pat Lally was manifest in the struggle over heritage; on how to represent the industrial and radical past of Clydeside in the city’s museums and especially at the city’s ‘flagship’ social history museum, the People’s Palace. This led to the controversial snubbing of the socialist feminist curator of the People’s Palace, Elspeth King, in 1990–1991 and the sacking of her assistant Michael Donnelly for speaking out about the local authorities (Pat Lally) and the appointment of an ‘outsider’, an Englishman, Julian Spalding, as Director of Museums in the city. As curator of the People’s Palace museum from 1977, King had created a wonderful, vibrant museum, which focused on the gritty reality of Glaswegians’ working lives: the poverty, ill health and crime, their radical politics and struggles and vibrant popular culture. Forty-one major exhibitions over more a decade reflected and celebrated the richness of working-class heritage in the city. And the quality and innovative nature of King’s work at the museum was recognized internationally. The People’s Palace in this era in the 1980s won an award for the best museum in Europe and the best museum in the UK. Amongst King’s initiatives was to appoint Alistair Gray as artist in residence, to stimulate the collection of oral history recordings (which I’ll return to

later) and to commission the artist Ken Currie to paint eight massive murals celebrating ‘Red Clydeside’, which were then hung around the dome inside the museum. These were the largest mural commissions in the city for almost 100 years since the building of the City Chambers and stood in marked contrast to the marble splendour and elite ‘high art’ of the town hall built in the 1880s and designed to represent the stature of the city then as the ‘second city of the Empire’.

What happened? When the local authorities announced a reorganization of museum services and the creation of two new jobs as Director of Museums Services for the city and Keeper of Social History, King was widely tipped to get promoted. She applied and failed to get either post. The appointment to the first of an Englishman and the second of an Irishman (and King’s subordinate, who had been selected by King to run a small local community library in Springburn) was met with shock and disbelief. There followed a petition of more than 5,000 signatures against the appointments and a protest outside the town hall in George Square of more than 1,000 supporters of King, but to no avail. Elspeth King resigned in 1991 and left the city for good, taking up a post at the Smith Library and Museum in Stirling (where she was reunited with her sacked assistant, Michael Donnelly).²¹

This episode also galvanized a grass-roots protest movement that had emerged over the designation of Glasgow as the European City of Culture. An amorphous group of radical working-class writers, artists, sculptors and others (including James Kelman, Alistair Gray, Francis McLay and Wilma Eaton) under the banner of the ‘Workers’ City Group’ developed a biting critique of the amount of money being wasted in promoting the City of Culture at a time of accelerating deindustrialization, mass unemployment, deprivation and ill health in the city. Their publication, *The Glasgow Keelie* (1989–92), together with two other Workers’ City books provided a scathing critique of yuppie culture, corruption in the Council, the obscenity of commissioning the ad firm Saatchi and Saatchi to rebrand the city’s image and logo – ‘Glasgow’s Mile’s Better’ – and the attempted erasure of the darker side of

working-class lived experience and working-class protest and identity.²² As Ian Spring argued in 1990, this rebranding process involved ‘a disassociation of nostalgia with “melancholia” or disease, and a clear reassociation with the concept of pleasure’.²³

The Elspeth King affair and the ‘Workers’ City Group’ are significant because they demonstrate the *contestation* in Glasgow and Clydeside over regional identity and representation. It demonstrates how the municipal authorities mobilized in the late 1980s and 1990s to reconstruct Glasgow’s identity, to rebrand the city as a cultural centre and an attractive, stylish and safe place to visit. This was a clash of politics and cultures; of neoliberalism vs socialism. In this process, Glasgow projected itself to the outside world as a city of style and culture, of museums, beautiful architecture and art galleries whilst airbrushing out the city’s links with slavery, sectarianism, radical working-class culture, strikes and workplace occupations and revolutionary politics. Working-class lives and the concept of a ‘socialist city’ became poorly represented in public history, at least in the major city museums. Investment from the 1980s was directed to the refurbishment of the main city museum and art gallery at Kelvingrove and to the creation of shiny new museums of religion (St Mungos) and transport (the Riverside Museum), where people’s history was poorly represented – and machines, ‘high’ art and technologies dominated. Meanwhile, the People’s Palace experienced two decades of stagnation and lack of investment. Significantly, whereas in England new initiatives were taking place with the relocation of the national labour history museum to Manchester, no such Scottish labour history museum was established. Some local community museums also atrophied, including the innovative Springburn Museum (located in a deprived working-class area of the city) – which focused on working-class lives and had integrated oral history and the voice within its small exhibition space – which closed in 2008. The ‘Clydebuilt’ museum in Braehead – which celebrated the ‘glory’ of shipbuilding and its workers – also closed recently in 2010 as did an important radical library in

Glasgow with communist antecedents (the Gallacher Memorial Library – named after the Marxist William Gallacher) which closed in 2015, due ostensibly to public spending cuts.

The potential of oral history to facilitate a refocused story around lived experience, marginalized communities and emotions – a key vehicle recognized by feminist and socialist historians in the 1970s and 1980s (such as Elizabeth Roberts, Paul Thompson and Ian MacDougall) was also not taken up as extensively or as imaginatively by the city’s museums, in marked contrast to elsewhere (for example the Museum of London and Edinburgh Museums). I’ll come back to explore the role of oral history in heritage in a little more depth in the final section. The point to highlight here is that whilst Glasgow has many wonderful museums (eleven in total), working lives, working-class culture and struggle and protest has not been as well represented within them as it potentially could have been.

<A>**Industrial Heritage: Demolish and be Damned**

<FL>What about the places in which these workers were employed? How much of the physical heritage of Glasgow and Clydeside’s industrial past has survived, and what value has been placed on preservation? Concurrently, opportunities to create industrial heritage centres and preserve industrial sites (as happened in the Ruhr) were eschewed as the bulldozer flattened factories, shipyards and tenements and infilled docks to create spaces for speculative investment in new housing along the Clyde river, a motorway (M8) that dissected the city, and entertainment, conferencing and retail parks such as the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre and the cinema complex on the opposite side of the river (‘The Quay’). Big industrial sites gave way to retail and small business complexes, such as the construction of ‘The Forge’ retail park on the site of the Beardmore’s steel and engineering plant in Parkhead. Others were just demolished leaving massive gap sites, such as Dixons steelworks in

Govanhill, Glasgow and the North British Locomotive works in Springburn. The haunting Cranhill Arts video production (in which Ken Currie was involved) *Clyde Film* (1984) captured this orgy of destruction. This was the product of short-sighted local authority regeneration policies in the 1980s and ineffectual political pressure (prior to the creation of a devolved Scottish Parliament in 1999) to preserve and re-use industrial sites and tenements. The first knee-jerk response was to demolish and make way for redevelopment. Sites for consumption thus replaced sites for production. This mirrored developments outside the city in the wider Clydeside industrial conurbation; for example, Singer's massive site in Clydebank was demolished almost without a trace following closure in 1980, and the iconic Ravenscraig steelworks was bulldozed in 1996. The latter has recently been captured in a moving piece of filmmaking by Illona Kacieja, drawing on original footage showing shots of ex-Ravenscraig workers clearly traumatized and moved to tears by the dramatic demolition (by explosives) of the works.²⁴ This demonstrates the meaning of industrial work to these men and the level of emotional attachment they had to their sites of employment, a recurring theme in the deindustrialization literature.²⁵ Strangleman has argued persuasively that the impacts of job loss were mediated through interlocking networks of family, class, work and space and that loss of industrial work was intimately associated with the physical spaces they occupied through their working lives.²⁶

There were some exceptions to the erasure of industrial heritage that characterized the Clydeside story. Templeton's iconic carpet factory in Bridgeton has survived and become reused as offices and a small independent brewery. Two giant cranes have also been preserved on the Clyde and have become emblematic of the city's port and industrial heritage.²⁷ And the derelict A-listed Fairfield shipyard offices have recently been renovated and converted into a heritage centre.²⁸ The most notable exception, however, is the UNESCO World Heritage Site at New Lanark (late eighteenth and early nineteenth century mill buildings and village associated with the communitarian visionary Robert

Owen). This owed much to the pioneering role of industrial archaeologists – notably John Hume – and the Scottish Ancient Monuments Board. Nonetheless, here there was a tendency to ‘Disneyfication’ and uncritical nostalgia, with the site signally failing to represent the more recent history of the iconic factory complex, which closed in the 1960s. Nor is downsizing and deindustrialization explored in the interpretation, and New Lanark only superficially embraces possibilities to incorporate the people’s story, the complexities of working-class life and the ways the work impacted adversely upon workers’ bodies. There is only limited use of autobiographical and personal accounts and no use of oral testimonies in the interpretation of this famous heritage site. The focus is on industrialization and innovation in production (in this case, the welfarist social engineering of the early factory system) and the contribution of Scots pioneers (David Dale and Robert Owen). This emphasis on invention and achievement is repeated in other industrial heritage sites such as the new ‘Riverside Museum’ of transport, which gives short shrift to labour history and has the underlying motif of ‘Clydebuilt’. Of UNESCO sites, it has been noted by Smith, Shackel and Campbell that ‘the focus on industrial heritage is often void of people and class struggle’.²⁹ This is certainly true of New Lanark and the flagship Riverside Museum, in Glasgow.

Industrial heritage on Clydeside has tended to be erased rather than conserved, and there is a significant difference in this respect compared to what has happened, for example, in the Ruhr. German historian Lutz Raphael commented in relation to the UK: ‘In public debate, deindustrialization was generally seen as an irreversible trend delegitimizing the defence of industrial sites and jobs and consigning industrial work to history.’³⁰ The latest available statistics suggest that of the 8,191 Scheduled Monuments in Scotland, only 532 (6%) are industry or transport related. Additionally, only 6,380 (13%) of Scotland’s 47,674 listed buildings are classed as industrial or transport.³¹ The *Industrial Heritage Strategy for Scotland Report* (2015) commented:

<EXT>The default position has often therefore been one of destruction, new build and collective amnesia. Understandably, recently-closed industrial premises are what local communities have wanted to forget, the assumption being that they can move on into a bright new future with a clean break, severing links with difficult memories of decay and decline.³²

An interesting presumption is being made here about the desire of communities to forget, to erase and disassociate from ‘difficult memories’. Some oral history interview evidence contradicts this and suggests a much more complex relationship between workers, industrial communities and their places of work.³³ There is strong evidence of intimate attachment to workplaces and a sense of ownership and of mourning when jobs are lost and the physical spaces are bulldozed. Grass-roots campaigns to create community museums (for example, at Springburn locomotive works and Fairfield shipyard, Govan, successfully, and at Johnnie Walkers (whisky), Kilmarnock, unsuccessfully) might be seen in this light – as lasting memorials of lives spent meaningfully in those spaces where work had significance beyond the wage packet and where relationships were developed and class (and other) identities were forged.

That said, there have been some success stories in industrial heritage in Glasgow – and not all of Clydeside’s industrial heritage has been lost. Examples would include Weir’s, Templeton’s and the East End textile and leather works. There have also been some really innovative attempts to re-create and preserve the industrial past in the face of modernization – such as the M74 (motorway) Archaeology project that my SOHC colleague David Walker was involved with. This included an oral history project that revealed much about the meaning of working lives and working-class community in a south side multiracial working-class neighbourhood (Govanhill).³⁴

<A>Challenge, Protest and Struggle: Community and ‘Unofficial’, Alternative Memorializing and Heritage Building

<FL>These erasures, nation-building exercises, class-omitted and sanitized interpretations of the past were, however, challenged and contested. It is important not to represent the heritage industry in Glasgow and Clydeside as a unidimensional thing, rather a hundred flowers blossomed and a vibrant counterculture coexisted that ran against the tide of the AHD. This can be seen in the proliferation of community and activist-based projects to preserve and memorialize working lives, culture and Red Clydeside. These projects were under-resourced, to be sure, compared to the monolithic Corporation/city museums. Nonetheless, the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) in the 1980s and the Heritage Lottery Fund thereafter were important sources of funding for local and community projects, including oral history-based heritage projects, which formed an important core of ‘alternative’ working-class labour history in the region. In an ironic twist, the MSC, designed to take people off the unemployment register in Thatcher’s Britain, funded many oral history projects that focused on the social and cultural impacts of deindustrialization in ravaged working-class communities, such as Greenock and Springburn. Latterly, the Heritage Lottery Fund has supported a plethora of local and community projects that patently challenge the AHD with a focus on labour and women’s history, protest and class conflict. A prime example would be the Govanhill People’s Story, a wonderful oral history-based project focusing on multiracial working-class history in one of the most deprived areas of the city.

Other radical and innovative projects, archives and public history and heritage initiatives have continued to represent and develop our understanding of working-class history on Clydeside. For many years prior to its closure, the Gallacher Memorial Library (based at the Communist Party HQ, then at

the Scottish Trade Union Congress offices and finally housed within the Archives of Glasgow (Caledonian University) provided an alternative archive of working-class and radical history well used by history researchers across the region and beyond. Its closure in 2015 is a national scandal. Similarly, the Glasgow Women's Library, formed in 1991, has provided a pivotal locus for feminist history, including the contribution made by women to political protest and struggles such as the campaign for the vote and the rent strikes of 1915. This has been important in decentring 'Red Clydeside' from its former focus around male activists and remembering the key participation of women such as Mary Barbour, Helen Crawford, Rose Kerrigan, Agnes Maclean and others. Other projects have brought the contribution of women to 'Red Clydeside' into sharper focus. An example here is the wonderful interdisciplinary community arts project in Govan led by artist and historian Tara S. Beall, which has reconstructed the contribution of women to working-class history in the area, including the role played by women in the infamous Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' work-in of 1971, which successfully defended jobs, delaying the closure of Clyde shipyards, albeit temporarily.

These challenges to the AHD have often and increasingly deployed oral history methodologies. They seek to find and elucidate a different heritage, drawing where possible on the authentic and unadulterated voices of the people in eyewitness testimonies reconstructing and reinterpreting the past. These have often been powerful and emotive. In this refocused history, the Scottish Working People's History Trust played an important and pioneering role, with the doyen of oral history in Scotland, Ian MacDougall, heading a drive to record, archive and preserve memories of working lives (from coal miners and dockers to librarians and journalists) and episodes of class struggle and community protest, such as the General Strike of 1926, the interwar Hunger Marches and the contribution of Scots to the Spanish Civil War. Given the loss of so much of the physical industrial heritage to the bulldozer, the importance of recording memories of what it was like and the meaning of working and living in

working-class communities on Clydeside is amplified. The Director of Conservation for Historic Scotland recognized this in 2015, stating: ‘We are losing many of the last people with direct connections and experience of our most historic industries, so it is especially important that our understanding of our industrial past is brought to the fore.’³⁵ The radical potential of oral history was recognized by Terry Brotherstone, one of the prominent academic proponents of the ‘Red Clydeside’ thesis:

<EXT>Oral historians, as they make use of evermore sophisticated analytical techniques must not lose sight of the bigger picture, the way in which personal life stories can challenge orthodoxy and demand the construction of alternative critical narratives about the recent past and its significance.³⁶

Glasgow is bespattered by civic statues memorializing the ‘great men’ – the military, civic and business leaders (including James Watt, inventor of the steam engine) who built, represented and forged the ‘second city of the Empire’. Industrialization, pioneering science and technology and Empire are key motifs in Clydeside’s heritage discourse. Statues include some of the city’s worst capitalist exploiters such as Lord Overtoun, who ran a Glasgow chemical business that poisoned generations of workers. Recently, however, alternative memorializing of working-class ‘heroes’ has proliferated, such as the city centre plaque to the Marxist John Maclean, who Lenin appointed as Bolshevik consul for Scotland to the fledgling USSR soon after the Russian Revolution and the memorial statue to the 1915 Glasgow Rent Strike socialist-feminist activist Mary Barbour at Govan Cross. Another strand of working-class memorializing commemorates those killed and disabled by workplace injuries and chronic occupational diseases. The monuments to coal mining disasters

(deploying the motif of ‘blood on the coal’) around the Clydeside region are testament to this, as is the recently erected memorial in Clydebank to commemorate those killed and disabled by the asbestos tragedy.³⁷ The message of these heritage sites is clear: the benefits of industrialization were patently unequally distributed, and the darker side of unregulated capitalism killed and maimed individuals and could decimate communities. Industrial injury, disability and death rates from accidents and chronic occupational diseases (like pneumoconiosis and mesothelioma) were particularly high on Clydeside – a factor that, like poor housing and overcrowding, contributed to social discontent and mobilization.

Moreover, ‘official’ efforts to represent (and sanitize) the past, writing out of history episodes of working-class protest associated with ‘Red Clydeside’ have been challenged by local community groups and activists, who have developed radical counter-narratives, whilst such sanitization, loss and erasure was mourned in much popular culture. This has been and continues to be a contested terrain. The Spirit of Revolt Archive – gifted by Glasgow anarchists to the Mitchell Library – is an example. The visibility of Red Clydeside may be diminished in mainstream museums in the city, but it has an enduring presence online. An example would be the Glasgow Digital Library and their comprehensive Red Clydeside collection.³⁸ These resources continue to provide the potential to develop counter-narratives to the ‘official’ story, to keep Red Clydeside alive. Influential in local and community initiatives to continue and revitalize working-class history has been the availability of funding through the Heritage Lottery Fund, which has led to a proliferation of local projects, many of which have been centred on oral history approaches, tapping into people’s memories to reconstruct the past. Acting as a ‘hub’ between academic and community oral history, the Scottish Oral History Centre (SOHC: formed in 1995 at the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow) has played a significant role here. The first oral-history based PhD in the SOHC by Neil Rafeek explored the neglected role of women in the Scottish Communist Party and working-class protest through the twentieth century.³⁹ A stream of such studies

have drilled down and added depth and nuance to Clydeside's rich proletarian history and culture, through tapping into and critically interrogating workers' own oral testimonies.⁴⁰ Some of this work has crossed over into public history, involving schools and community groups.⁴¹

The Govanhill People's History Project (2012–) provides an exemplar, perhaps, of the kind of local grass-roots community project, run by volunteers, that celebrates working-class communities in all their rich diversity, ethnic and religious, as well as their politics, protest and mobilization. With training and support from the Scottish Oral History Centre, such community-led heritage projects, many relying heavily on memory sources, have added new dimensions and understandings to regional identities whilst challenging the sanitization of the past, which has threatened to deny Clydeside's fractured but rich militant, radical working-class culture. They also make the past more accessible, via outstanding websites and, in the case of Govanhill, an audio trail interspersed with extracts from oral testimonies.⁴²

And some Clydeside museums came, somewhat belatedly, to expand their programmes of oral history collection and integration of the voice to get at 'lived experience'. The Summerlee Museum of Scottish Industrial Life (Coatbridge) provides an example of systemic integration of the voice, whilst Glasgow Museums' oral history programme has expanded notably in recent years, and the heritage activities of the Glasgow Women's Library, including oral interviewing, is significant.⁴³

<A>Conclusion

<FL>The regional identity of Clydeside and the interpretation and preservation of Glasgow's industrial past, working-class culture and heritage have been a focus of struggle and contestation. Image rebranding from the 1980s has projected a sense of the city as a safe, welcoming stylish place of

hedonistic consumption, great architecture (McIntosh and Art Nouveau) and with a vibrant nightlife. In this rebranding, working-class culture, industrial heritage, the ravages of deindustrialization and the industrial, political and social struggles of 'Red Clydeside' have been marginalized. Instead, in its museums, the postmodern city has projected a sense of an enterprising and creative culture that pioneered industrialization and was a bulwark of Empire, with the motif of 'Clydebuilt' at centre stage. This transition and contestation over heritage was evident and epitomized in the Elspeth King controversy over the 'Keeper of Social History' position, in the City of Culture designation and in the 'Workers' City' movement in the 1985–92 period. Destruction, erasure and renewal characterized the 1980s and 1990s – evident in the loss of industrial heritage and the investment in sterile modern museums that focused on machines, artefacts and art, rather than on social history and the 'people's story'. Recently, the closure (in 2015) of the most important archive collection that relates to 'Red Clydeside' – the William Gallacher Memorial Library – as a result of public sector University spending cuts (collections staff were reduced from seven to just one) shows just how 'Red Clydeside' in public history continues to face threats and is being further marginalized.

But this contest over regional identity, representation and image was (and remains) an ongoing one. Hegemonic narratives are persistently challenged and alternative representations promoted. This assault on community museums, archives and the idea and legacy of 'Red Clydeside' clashed with people's sense of honesty and authenticity and their pride in their independence, autonomy, work ethic, protest and resistance. Concurrently, there were robust efforts to represent the 'real' Glasgow – what has been termed 'an assertive working-class presence'⁴⁴ and to preserve and celebrate working-class history from grass-roots organizations, communities, artists and academics. And increasingly, oral history has played a key role in this reconstruction, reconfiguration and problematizing of the past, resulting in a rich mosaic of projects reflecting the multiple identities and the complexity of culture and

plurality of politics in a modern industrial city. In this reflective reconfiguration, the traditions of the past, including ‘Red Clydeside’, are remembered and have resonance, are drawn upon for inspiration and continue to have meaning and significance.

Arthur McIvor is Professor of Social History and Director of the Scottish Oral History Centre (SOHC), which he co-founded in 1995. His research interests lie in the history of work, occupational health and industrial heritage, and he has published widely in these areas. His most recent books are *Working Lives* (Palgrave 2013) and (with Juliette Pattinson and Linsey Robb) *Men in Reserve* (Manchester University Press, 2017). He is currently investigating the relationship between loss of work and health during deindustrialization.

<A>Bibliography

Baillie, M. ‘A New View of Dilution: Women Munition Workers and Red Clydeside’. *Scottish Labour History* 39 (2004), 1900–50.

Bartie, A., and A. McIvor. ‘Oral History in Scotland’. *Scottish Historical Review* 92 (2013), 108–36.

———. ‘Oral History’, in *Regional Framework for Local History and Archaeology: Essays on the Local History and Archaeology of West Central Scotland*. Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 2015.

Brotherstone, T. ‘Does Red Clydeside Really Matter Any More?’ in R. Duncan and A. McIvor (eds), *Militant Workers*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992, 52–80.

- Brotherstone, T., and H. Manson. 'Voices of Piper Alpha: Enduring Injury in Private Memory, Oral Representation and Labour History'. *Scottish Labour History* 46 (2011), 71–85.
- Campbell, L. 'UCS: Scotland's Industrial Heritage and Maritime Identity'. *Urban Cultures* 23(1) (2014).
- Clark, A. "'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* 48 (2013), 116–34.
- . 'Collaborating with Schools: Challenges and Opportunities for Oral Historians'. *Oral History* 43 (2015), 107–15.
- Conlon, M. 'Giants of the Clyde: How Memory and Cultural Identity Can be Embodied in Post-Industrial Landscapes'. PhD thesis, University of Strathclyde 2018/2019, forthcoming.
- Craig, C. *The Tears that Made the Clyde: Well Being in Glasgow*. Glendaruel: Argyll Publishing, 2010.
- Foster, J. 'Strike Action and Working-class Politics on Clydeside, 1914–1919'. *International Review of Social History* 35(1) (1990), 33–70.
- . 'Red Clyde, Red Scotland', in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds), *The Manufacture of Scottish History*. Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992, 106–24.
- Gibbs, E. 'Historical Tradition and Community Mobilisation: Narratives of Red Clydeside in Memories of the Anti-Poll Tax Movement in Scotland, 1988–1990'. *Labor History* 57(4) (2016), 439–62. DOI: 10.1080/0023656X.2016.1184027.
- Griffin, P. 'Labour Struggles and the Formation of Demands: The Spatial Politics of Red Clydeside'. *Geoforum* 62 (2015), 121–30.

- . ‘The Spatial Politics of Red Clydeside: Historical Labour Geographies and Radical Connections’. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2015.
- High, S. *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America’s Rust Belt, 1969–1984*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- High, S. *One Job Town: Work, Belonging and Betrayal in Northern Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- High, S., L. Mackinnon and A. Perchard (eds). *The Deindustrialized World: Confronting Ruination in Postindustrial Places*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017.
- Johnston, R. *Clydeside Capital*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000.
- Kacieja, I. ‘Red Dust: Documentary Film Research Project’. Unpublished Masters dissertation, Edinburgh School of Art, 2013.
- Kenefick, W. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left, c.1872 to 1932*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
- Kenefick, W., and A. McIvor (eds), *Roots of Red Clydeside*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996.
- Lever, W.F. ‘Deindustrialisation and the Reality of the Post-industrial City’. *Urban Studies* 28(6) (1991), 983–99.
- MacInnes, J. ‘The Deindustrialisation of Glasgow’. *Scottish Affairs* 11(1) (1995), 73–95.
- Mackenzie, M., C. Collins, J. Connolly, M. Doyle, and G. McCartney. ‘Working-class Discourses of Politics, Policy and Health: “I Don’t Smoke; I Don’t Drink. The Only Thing Wrong with Me is My Health”’. *Policy & Politics* (2015). Online ISSN 1470 8442; <http://dx.doi.org/10.1332/030557316X14534640177927>.
- Maclean, I. *The Legend of Red Clydeside*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983.

- McIvor, A. *Working Lives: Work in Britain since 1945*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- . ‘Industrial Heritage and the Oral Legacy of Disaster’, in I. Convery, G. Corsane and P. Davis (eds), *Displaced Heritage: Responses to Disaster, Trauma and Loss* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 234–50.
- McKinlay, A., and R.J. Morris (eds). *The Independent Labour Party on Clydeside*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.
- McLay, F. *Workers’ City*. Glasgow: Clydeside Press, 1989.
- . *The Reckoning*. Glasgow: Clydeside Press, 1991.
- Pacione, M. *Glasgow: The Socio-spatial Development of the City*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Phillips, J. ‘The Moral Economy of Deindustrialization in Post-1945 Scotland’, in S. High, L. Mackinnon and A. Perchard (eds), *Deindustrialized World*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017, 313–33.
- Rafeek, N. *Communist Women in Scotland*. London: I.B. Taurus, 2008.
- Raphael, L. ‘Transformations of Industrial Labour in Western Europe: Intergenerational Change of Life Cycles, Occupation and Mobility 1970–2000’. *German History* 30(1) (2012), 100–19.
- Smith, L. *Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Smith, L., P. Shackel, and G. Campbell (eds), *Heritage, Labour and the Working-classes*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2011.
- Smyth, J.J. *Labour in Glasgow, 1896–1936*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000.
- Spring, I. *Phantom Village: The Myth of the New Glasgow*. Edinburgh: Polygon, 1990.
- Strangleman, T. ‘Networks, Place and Identities in Post-Industrial Mining Communities’. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25(2) (2001), 253–67.

Walsh, D., N. Bendel, R. Jones and P. Hanlon. 'It's Not "Just Deprivation": Why do Equally Deprived UK Cities Experience Different Health Outcomes?' *Public Health* 124 (2010), 487–95.

Walsh, D., M. Taulbut and P. Hanlon. *The Aftershock of Deindustrialization*. Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health, 2008.

Wight, D. *Workers not Wasters: Masculine Respectability, Consumption and Employment in Central Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993.

<A>Notes

-
1. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 4.
 2. See, for example, Clark, "'And the Next Thing the Chairs Barricaded the Door": The Lee Jeans Factory Occupation, Trade Unionism and Gender in Scotland in the 1980s', 116–34; Gibbs, 'Historical Tradition and Community Mobilisation: Narratives of Red Clydeside in Memories of the Anti-Poll Tax Movement in Scotland, 1988–1990', 439–62; Conlon, 'Giants of the Clyde: How Memory and Cultural Identity Can be Embodied in Post-Industrial Landscapes'; Campbell, 'UCS: Scotland's Industrial Heritage and Maritime Identity'. And see the several Scottish contributions in High, Mackinnon and Perchard, *The Deindustrialized World: Confronting Ruination in Postindustrial Places*.
 3. The Scottish Oral History Centre was established in 1995, and oral labour history has been a dominant strand in its research and knowledge exchange work over the past two decades or so. See <https://www.strath.ac.uk/humanities/schoolofhumanities/history/scottishoralhistorycentre/>.

-
4. See Kenefick and McIvor, *Roots of Red Clydeside*; Johnston, *Clydeside Capital*.
 5. Ten out of fifteen Glasgow constituencies returned a socialist (Independent Labour Party) Member of Parliament in the 1922 election.
 6. Maclean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*.
 7. See, for example, Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow, 1896–1936*; Kenefick, *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left, c.1872 to 1932*; Baillie, ‘A New View of Dilution: Women Munition Workers and Red Clydeside’, 1900–50; McKinlay and Morris, *The Independent Labour Party on Clydeside*.
 8. Griffin, ‘The Spatial Politics of Red Clydeside: Historical Labour Geographies and Radical Connections’; Griffin, ‘Labour Struggles and the Formation of Demands: The Spatial Politics of Red Clydeside’, 121–30.
 9. Foster, ‘Strike Action and Working-class Politics on Clydeside, 1914–1919’, 33–70; Foster, ‘Red Clyde, Red Scotland’, 106–24; Brotherstone, ‘Does Red Clydeside Really Matter Any More?’, 52–80.
 10. Spring, *Phantom Village: The Myth of the New Glasgow*, 109. Currie has been compared to the Marxist muralist Diego Rivera. Currie’s famous eight paintings depicting scenes of Glasgow’s radical past hang in the People’s Palace Museum in Glasgow.
 11. Gibbs, *Historical Tradition*; Griffin, ‘Spatial Politics’. The Member of Parliament for Maryhill, Glasgow (Maria Fyfe) made reference to the need to conjure up ‘the spirit of Mary Barbour’ in relation to the 2016 ‘bedroom tax’.
 12. Danny Houston interviewed by Rory Stride 11 October 2016 (Scottish Oral History Centre Archive). I am grateful to Rory for bringing this to my attention. See “‘Proud to be a Clyde

-
- Shipbuilder. Clyde Built”: The Changing Work Identity of Govan’s Shipbuilders, c. 1960–Present’ (unpublished BA History honours dissertation, University of Strathclyde, 2017), 34.
13. See also MacInnes, ‘The Deindustrialisation of Glasgow’, 73–95; Lever, ‘Deindustrialisation and the Reality of the Post-industrial City’, 983–99.
14. Phillips, ‘The Moral Economy of Deindustrialization in Post-1945 Scotland’, 315–17.
15. Walsh, Taulbut and Hanlon, ‘The Aftershock of Deindustrialization’; Walsh et al., ‘It’s Not “Just Deprivation”: Why do Equally Deprived UK Cities Experience Different Health Outcomes?’, 487–95. See also Craig, *The Tears that made the Clyde: Well Being in Glasgow*.
16. Mackenzie et al., ‘Working-class Discourses of Politics, Policy and Health: “I Don’t Smoke; I Don’t Drink. The Only Thing Wrong with Me is My Health”’.
17. Pacione, *Glasgow: The Socio-spatial Development of the City*.
18. There were similar rebranding exercises in some of the ‘satellite’ Clydeside industrial towns and regions. For example, in Lanarkshire, after the closure of the iconic steelworks at Ravenscraig, the area was initially rebranded ‘New Lanarkshire’ then renamed later to ‘Super County’.
19. Lever, ‘Deindustrialisation’, 996–97.
20. Spring, *Phantom Village*, 114.
21. See http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/11948473.Why_Elspeth_King_paid_the_price_of_a_Palace_revolution/.
22. McLay, *Workers’ City*; McLay, *The Reckoning*, and for a wider discussion around these issues see Spring, *Phantom Village*. See also <http://www.workerscity.org/>.
23. Spring, *Phantom Village*, 32. Spring fixed the year of the ‘birth’ of the ‘New Glasgow’ at 1986.

-
24. Kacieja, 'Red Dust: Documentary Film Research Project'; Red Dust film (2014) – see an extract on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D_9xNJ9ENb0.
25. See, for example, High, Mackinnon and Perchard, *Deindustrialized World*.
26. Strangleman, 'Networks, Place and Identities in Post-Industrial Mining Communities, 258–59. See also Wight, *Workers not Wasters: Masculine Respectability, Consumption and Employment in Central Scotland*, and for a wider discussion of the meaning of job loss see McIvor, *Working Lives: Work in Britain since 1945*, 240–69 and the important new book by Steven High, *One Job Town*.
27. See Conlon, *Giants of the Clyde*.
28. See <http://www.fairfieldgovan.co.uk/heritage/>.
29. Smith, Shackel and Campbell, *Heritage, Labour and the Working-classes*, 2.
30. Raphael, 'Transformations of Industrial Labour in Western Europe: Intergenerational Change of Life Cycles, Occupation and Mobility 1970–2000', 107.
31. Heritage Scotland, *Industrial Heritage Strategy for Scotland*, 2015, 12. Consulted at http://www.archaeologists.net/sites/default/files/IH_Strategy (accessed 10 October 2016).
32. *Ibid.*, 19.
33. See, for example, High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt, 1969–1984*.
34. <http://www.headlandarchaeology.com/project/m74-completion-project-glasgow/>. The oral history interviews are located at the Glasgow Museum Resource Centre.
35. Dr David Mitchell, cited in *An Industrial Heritage Strategy for Scotland*, 5.
36. Brotherstone and Manson, 'Voices of Piper Alpha: Enduring Injury in Private Memory, Oral Representation and Labour History', 71–85.

-
37. 'The Known & Unknown', International Asbestos Memorial, Clydebank, 2015 (West Dunbartonshire Council / CAG); for a wider discussion of these issues see McIvor, 'Industrial Heritage and the Oral Legacy of Disaster', 243–50.
38. See <http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/>.
39. Subsequently published as a book: Rafeek, *Communist Women in Scotland*.
40. For full references see Bartie and McIvor, 'Oral History in Scotland', 108–36; and for a more focused comment on Glasgow see Bartie and McIvor, 'Oral History'.
41. Clark, 'Collaborating with Schools: Challenges and Opportunities for Oral Historians', 107–15.
42. See <http://govanhillpeopleshistory.com/>. The full interviews from the project are archived at the Scottish Oral History Centre, University of Strathclyde.
43. See, for example, the Glasgow 2000 Lives oral history collection archived at Glasgow Museums and at the Scottish Oral History Centre, University of Strathclyde.
44. Griffin, 'Spatial Politics', 205.