

The Second World War in Glasgow and Clydeside: Men in Reserved Occupations 1939-1945

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Abstract

This thesis explores the masculine subjectivities of civilian men who worked in reserved occupations in the Clydeside region during the Second World War. It contributes important findings to existing historical discussions about whether the war represented a catalyst for social change in Britain, and also adds to the historiography on personal subjectivities, particularly masculinity. While previous studies of social change have generally had a wide geographical coverage, this research investigates a specific and arguably unique British region. The thesis primarily uses both archived and newly conducted oral history interviews as source materials, as well as engaging extensively with official and cultural sources, including newspapers, novels, posters and films.

Using the terms 'lived' and 'imagined' to describe the plural, fluctuating and co-existing influences of socially constructed official and cultural discourses on the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers as well as the contingencies, necessities and immediacies of everyday life, this work takes a post-modernist approach and understands subjectivity as a fluid, oscillating and ultimately continuous concept, retaining an inevitable sense of personal agency through major historical changes. While the subjectivities of men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside are therefore understood as having been extensively influenced by a range of 'imagined' discourses, often resulting in feelings of guilt and emasculation, their subjectivities were nonetheless ultimately rooted in their 'lived' and immediate local vicinities, and the people and places of their everyday lives.

This ultimate relevance of 'lived' existence and the everyday, distinct from essentialism, also meant that while wartime relations between men and women were clearly shaped by a range of gender discourses and were continually being renegotiated, gender boundaries were never fixed or truly separate. This thesis therefore challenges assumptions about gender identities in wartime and arguments for the Second World War as an agent of social change in a fundamentally new way.

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Chapter One

Glasgow's War: Clydeside and the Schedule of Reserved Occupations

Recording his experiences of the Second World War in Glasgow on tape in 1992,

wartime shipyard apprentice Jim Fyfe made the following remarks:

During the war [...] I volunteered for the Merchant Navy and, eh, I was made very welcome, by gad, yes, what a good idea, until they found out where I worked. I worked in shipyards and I was working on minesweepers and destroyers and the job that I was doing was installing, not designing, just installing and connecting, the electrics of the ASDIC system, the old submarine detection equipment. That doesn't make me a genius or anything, it was just one of those jobs on a ship but I suppose it sounded good, so I was told I could not join the Merchant Navy as I was in a reserved occupation, work of national importance and that was that.¹

The British National Services Act, passed on 2 September 1939 and making men in the country aged between eighteen and forty-one liable for conscription into the armed forces, and the National Service (Number Two) Act in December 1941, which extended the limits of conscription to include men aged between forty-one and fifty-one, have been widely discussed by historians of the Second World War.² It is less often recognised, however, that while there were 4.5 million servicemen at the height of mobilisation in 1944, there were also 10.3 million men in civil employment, many of them not under eighteen or over fifty-one.³ The experiences of men such as Jim Fyfe, who were within the call-up age boundaries and in good health, yet were undertaking 'work of national importance' in reserved occupations

¹ Jim Fyfe, self-recorded interview, 2000 Glasgow Lives (henceforth 2000 GL), Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (henceforth GMRC), 1992.

² See for example: Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939-45*, (London: Pimlico, 1969), p. 51, p. 268.

³ Peter Howlett, *Fighting with Figures: A Statistical Digest of the Second World War* (London: Central Statistical Office, 1995), Table. 3.3.

and not serving in the armed forces, were therefore more widespread than is commonly acknowledged. Some of these men worked willingly on the home front while others, like Fyfe, did so with less enthusiasm. Most would not have described themselves as 'a genius or anything', but rather as ordinary individuals.

This research explores the subjectivities, and in particular the masculinities, of these ordinary men in Clydeside, a particular region of Britain, of which the geographical boundaries are outlined later in this chapter. A clear definition of masculinity is difficult to identify. Chris Haywood and Mairtin Mac an Ghaill have pointed to the 'elusiveness, fluidity and complex interconnectedness of masculinity in modern societies' and noted the diverse range of theories and conceptual frameworks which have been and continue to be used to discuss the subject.⁴ Nonetheless, Haywood and Mac an Ghaill have also asserted that these theories and frameworks are generally used to explore an array of key questions, including what it means to be a 'real' man, what men want from their lives, the relationship between manhood and boyhood, and what differentiates the lives and experiences of men from those of women, as well as similarities and differences between men living in diverse circumstances and geographical localities.⁵

Masculinity, and the questions posed by Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, is a relatively new area of historical research, emerging in America in the late 1970s.⁶

⁴ Chris Haywood and Mairtin Mac an Ghaill, *Men and Masculinities*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2003), p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ John Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender' in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 41.

Historians of Britain have increasingly begun to explore the subject, particularly in relation to the First World War.⁷ However, the concept is overlooked in most historical writing on the Second World War, which frequently views men in military and diplomatic terms, neglecting to study their individual subjectivities or the experiences of civilian men.⁸ Exploration of masculinities in the Second World War only really emerged alongside challenges to historical assumptions about the social implications of war in the 1970s. New historical writing, as we will see in this chapter, challenged the thesis that a spirit of national unity developed in wartime Britain. However, emergent studies of masculinity have so far neglected the experiences of civilian men, including those in the reserved occupations, and have failed to explore the complexity of masculinities in different parts of Britain.

This thesis therefore explores masculine subjectivity in relation to the wartime experiences of men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside, placing their experiences within the historiography of the Second World War as it affected the British nation and exploring the extent to which their subjectivities could be described as unique, as well as the ways in which their lives were part of a wider British war experience.

⁷ For example: Michael Roper and John Tosh, *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800*, (London: Routledge, 1991); Matthew McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England*, (Bath: Bath Press, 1999); Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*, (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1996); Joanna Bourke, *The Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare*, (London: Perseus, 1999); Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behaviour in the Second World War*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁸ Henri Michel, *The Second World War*, (London: Deutsch, 1975).

The thesis arguably takes a post-modernist approach to these subjectivities, understanding them as fluid, often contradictory and impossible to represent in cultural sources. Callum Brown has placed the origins of post-modernism in the late nineteenth century, quoting the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche as saying: 'There are no facts in themselves. It is always necessary to begin by introducing a meaning in order that there can be a fact.'⁹ Brown has argued that there are two core principles to post-modernism – the first that reality is unrepresentable in human forms of culture and the second that no authoritative account can exist of anything.¹⁰ In addition, Brown has noted that the intellectual origins of post-modernism lie in language studies, and the importance of the 'signified', or mental concepts giving structure and understanding, which can include newspapers and other cultural sources, and the 'signifier' or word.¹¹ This research does not argue that the structure given to society by cultural sources was unimportant to the subjectivities of men in reserved occupations in Clydeside, but rather asserts that their subjectivities cannot fully be explained with reference to different forms of cultural material. The thesis argues that the inevitable continuity of subjectivity in the face of major events such as the Second World War can only be understood through examining the 'lived' meaning of everyday existence. Brown defined identity as 'the product of self-perception by the individual [...] and perception by others in society', but noted that the concept is unstable and fragmented, with no

⁹ Callum G. Brown, *Postmodernism for Historians*, (Edinburgh: Pearson, 2005), p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 33-47.

single version existing.¹² I have consequently used the term 'subjectivity' more frequently than 'identity' in this thesis when referring to men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside.

Historians have vigorously debated the extent to which the Second World War represented a catalyst for social change in Britain. Penny Summerfield, for example, has described Angus Calder's 1969 publication *The People's War* as inaugurating a key phase of historical research on the subject.¹³ Prior to Calder's study, historians argued that British national solidarity developed during wartime, based on 'equality of sacrifice'.¹⁴ The notions of national cohesion and social unity were based on the perceived emergence of both a 'Dunkirk spirit' and a 'Blitz spirit'.¹⁵ The spirit of the Blitz was supposedly represented by the high morale, courage and tenacity of the British people during sustained air attacks on British cities between September 1940 and May 1941. London experienced most of the bombing, but other towns and cities affected included Coventry, Clydebank and Plymouth. The documentary film '*London Can Take It!*', made for an American audience, stated that bombs 'cannot kill the unconquerable spirit of courage of the people of London' and consequently

¹² Ibid, pp. 118-123.

¹³ Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird, *Contesting Home Defence: Men, Women and the Home Guard in the Second World War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 3.

¹⁴ For example: Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, *Women's Two Roles: Home and Work*, (London: Routledge, 1968); Richard Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy*, (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1950).

¹⁵ Calder, *The People's War*, p. 117, p. 163.

suggested that the British people formed a united front in the face of the Blitz.¹⁶

The Chairman's address to the Labour Party annual conference in 1942 also linked this notion of a united front to civilian workers in Britain:

There is a unity of purpose among the people which has never been surpassed in our history, and never more clearly demonstrated than on the industrial front – in the factories, the fields, the mines, and in the transport and shipping services – a determination, deep and universal, whatever the cost, to carry on the struggle till the aggressors are completely, totally and beyond any question defeated.¹⁷

However, the relevance of this notion of unity to different segments of the British population remains to be adequately explored on the historical agenda. This research will primarily examine how the masculine subjectivities of men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War, principally revealed through oral testimony, relate to discourses of wartime social cohesion and change.

The apparent relationship between 'total war' and social change was inherent in the notion that national solidarity developed during the Second World War. Ian F. W. Beckett has noted that 'total war' is now almost synonymous with the concept of war as a catalyst for far-reaching social change and almost always refers to the two world wars of the twentieth century.¹⁸ Wartime writers supporting the thesis that the conflict caused revolutionary social change included George Orwell in his treatise on revolutionary socialism, *The Lion and the Unicorn*, in which he argued

¹⁶ *London Can Take It!*, (London: GPO Film Unit, 1940); Nicholas John Cull, *Selling War: the British Propaganda Campaign Against American Neutrality in World War Two*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 97.

¹⁷ Labour Party Annual Report (London: The Labour Party, 1942), p. 94.

¹⁸ Ian F. W. Beckett, 'Total War' in Arthur Marwick, Clive Emsley and Wendy Simpson (eds.), *Total War and Historical Change: Europe 1914-55*, (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 2001), p. 24.

that: 'War is the greatest of all agents of change.'¹⁹ J. B. Priestley's popular *Postscripts* broadcasts also described the British people as travelling in 'an ark in which we can all finally land in a better world'.²⁰ In the 1960s, Arthur Marwick established a framework for the study of 'total war' which claimed that war played a substantial part in furthering social change.²¹ Other historians have also re-enforced Marwick's ideas, including Derek Fraser, Paul Addison and Peter Hennessy.²²

The People's War, and Calder's subsequent book *The Myth of the Blitz*, published in 1991, differed from this consensus by examining tensions beneath this image of solidarity, particularly during events such as the evacuation from Dunkirk, the Battle of Britain and the Blitz.²³ Calder explored numerous causes and consequences of social tensions, including class conflicts and divisions between urban and rural Britain, notably exposed during mass evacuation from the cities. Fatigue, poor health, absenteeism and strikes are revealed as consequences of workers' long hours and poor morale, which in itself was a result of rationing and blackout policies. Racial tensions are discussed, notably anti-Semitism and discrimination against citizens of overseas colonies. Calder also identified political tensions, embodied in opposition to the war from pacifists, the Communist and Independent Labour Parties and some nationalists in Wales and Scotland, as well as the bombing

¹⁹ George Orwell, *The Lion and the Unicorn*, (London: Secker and Warburg, 1962), p. 74.

²⁰ J. B. Priestley, *Postscripts*, (London: Heinemann, 1940), p. 38.

²¹ Arthur Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War*, (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003), p. 12.

²² Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy*; Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy Since the Industrial Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1973); Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War*, (London: Pimlico, 1975), p. 13; Peter Hennessy, *Never Again: Britain 1945-5*, (London: Penguin, 1992).

²³ Calder, *The People's War*; Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz*, (London: Pimlico, 1991).

campaign of the Irish Republican Army and the lack of military conscription in Northern Ireland. The failure of government policies is explored, including the violation of Norway's neutrality under Chamberlain, the internment of enemy 'aliens', the slow equipping of the Home Guard (as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three) and the government's reticence about adopting the Beveridge Plan, which proposed popular social reforms.²⁴

After 1969, historians debating the consensus that national solidarity arose as a consequence of war extensively referenced Calder's work and the issues discussed in it. The edited collection *War and Social Change* brought together a number of historians whose research challenged the theses of Titmuss and Marwick, arguing that continuity was a more relevant concept to wartime Britain than change.²⁵ Of these essays, Penny Summerfield's discussion of the concept of the levelling of class is particularly significant. She argued that higher working class earnings did not automatically lead to a 'levelling up' process and no overall middle class 'levelling down' took place in society.²⁶ John MacNicol's study of the disruptive nature of evacuation is also notable, pointing to class antagonism, complaints about the condition and behaviour of evacuees, and divisions between urban and rural Britain. Contrary to Titmuss's assertion that evacuation accelerated social change, MacNicol argued that the scheme further entrenched social divisions.²⁷ In addition, Niall Rothnie has argued that widespread looting took place and residents of larger

²⁴ Calder, *The People's War*.

²⁵ Harold L. Smith (ed.), *War and Social Change: British Society in the Second World War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

²⁶ Penny Summerfield, 'The "Levelling of Class"' in Smith (ed.), *War and Social Change*, pp. 201-202.

²⁷ John MacNicol, 'The Evacuation of Schoolchildren' in Smith (ed.), *War and Social Change*, p. 28.

British cities looked on bombings of smaller cities as distribution of a 'fair share' of war to richer British citizens, highlighting views less compatible with the notion of a united British front.²⁸

Other revisionist approaches to the issue of national unity in wartime Britain have addressed the political arena. For example, Stephen Brooke has challenged the notion that a political consensus was forged in Churchill's wartime coalition and Steven Fielding has argued that the presumed leftward swing of the electorate leading to the Labour victory in 1945 could simply have been representative of public disenchantment with the coalition.²⁹ Calder's ground-breaking study also clearly shaped the research of historians such as Lucy Noakes, who has discussed the 'creation' of the history of the Blitz in London's museums, and Mark Connelly, who has debated how the 'myth' of the Second World War arose and was propagated in popular culture, later emerging as central to the ideology of Margaret Thatcher's 'New Right' Conservative government and the 1982 British war in the Falklands.³⁰

Historical discussion of the rhetoric of social change has thus represented a new focus on the implications of war for civilian life. A wide range of historical studies, including Asa Briggs's *Go To It!* and Raynes Minn's *Bombers and Mash*, emphasise

²⁸ Niall Rothnie, *The Baedeker Blitz: Hitler's Attack on Britain's Historic Cities*, (Surrey: Ian Allan Ltd, 1992), p. 133.

²⁹ Stephen Brooke, 'Revisionists and Fundamentalists: The Labour Party and Economic Policy During the Second World War' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 1, March 1989, pp. 157-175; Steven Fielding, 'The Second World War and Popular Radicalism' in *History*, Vol. 80, February 1995, pp. 38-58.

³⁰ Lucy Noakes, 'Making Histories: Experiencing the Blitz in London's Museums in the 1990s' in M. Evans and K. Lunn (eds.), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford International Publishers Ltd, 1997); Mark Connelly, *We Can Take It!: Britain and the Memory of the Second World War*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2004).

the need to study the lives of ordinary people in debating Calder's thesis.³¹ Lynn Abrams and Callum Brown have also argued that research into the smallest aspects of individual everyday life, arguably representative of wider social culture, increasingly became legitimate in the inter-war years, particularly among sociologists and anthropologists.³² A more specific focus on the lives of individual civilians, both men and women, is therefore fundamental to furthering this debate about the extent to which far-reaching social change took place in Britain during the Second World War. This study examining the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside, with its central focus on the subjectivities of individual civilians, represents a wide and in-depth exploration of the way in which such masculinities fit with the rhetoric of social change during the war, as well as discourses on gender and wider subjectivities. While examining an extensive range of masculine subjectivities and discussing the plurality of these subjectivities, this research does not consider the concept of masculinity in isolation, understanding rather that male civilian workers in Clydeside lived in local communities alongside other civilian men and women. This research therefore considers masculinity in a context of day-to-day living, examining the relevance of the intricately intertwined concepts of continuity and change to the subjectivities of men who worked in reserved occupations in a specific British region during the war.

³¹ Asa Briggs, *Go to It!: Working for Victory on the Home Front 1939-45*, (London: Octopus Publishing Group Ltd, 2000); Raynes Minn, *Bombers and Mash: The Domestic Front 1939-45*, (London: Virago Press, 1999).

³² Lynn Abrams and Callum Brown (eds.), *A History of Everyday Life in Twentieth Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 1-4.

1.1 Theories of Masculinity

Of particular relevance in a study of masculinity such as this is Bob Connell's work on 'hegemonic masculinity', which he developed in the 1980s. Connell attempted to understand men and masculine subjectivities using Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony. In the 1930s, Gramsci's analysis of class relations and discussion of the bourgeoisie used the term 'hegemony' to refer to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life.³³ Connell uses this concept to identify culturally exalted forms of masculinity, existing alongside multiple other masculinities, some marginalised and subordinate.³⁴ His work argues that hegemonic forms of masculinity are not necessarily the most common forms.³⁵ Historians of masculinity have extensively referenced Connell's work, identifying and discussing multiple masculine subjectivities, including the figure of the 'new man' emerging in Hollywood in the 1950s, the homosexual, the black man, the literary man, the 'muscular Christian', the 'British organisation man', the older man and the working class man.³⁶ Later work by historians such as Christine Beasley,

³³ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 3-44.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ R. W. Connell, 'Masculinities and Globalisation' in *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1998, pp. 3-23.

³⁶ Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men*, (London: Virago Press Ltd, 1990); Roper and Tosh (eds.), *Manful Assertions*; Michael Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organisation Male Since 1945*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Carol Emslie, Kate Hunt and Rosaleen O'Brien, 'Masculinities in Older Men: A Qualitative Study in the West of Scotland' in *Journal of Men's Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Spring 2004, pp. 208-222; Candace West and Don Zimmerman, 'Doing Gender' in *Gender and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 1987, pp. 125-150; Mike Donaldson, 'What is Hegemonic Masculinity?' in *Theory and Society*, Vol. 22, No. 5, October 1993, pp. 643-657; Peter Stearns, "'Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?': Towards a Role Analysis of Mid Victorian Working Class Respectability' in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Spring 1979, pp. 336-353; Richard Price, 'The Working Men's Club Movement and Victorian Social Reform Ideology' in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2, December 1971, pp. 117-147; Keith Pringle and Bob Pease (eds.), *A Man's World?: Changing Men's Practises in a Globalised World*, (London: Zed Books, 2001).

who has argued for a more nuanced understanding of relations between masculinities, has attempted to re-work the theory of hegemonic masculinity.³⁷ However, revisionist historians have largely worked within Connell's theory, rather than challenging it.³⁸ James Messerschmidt has argued that 'the basic idea [of hegemonic masculinity] has withstood well twenty years of research' and Connell himself has continually returned to and rethought his ideas, noting the development of new forms of hegemonic masculinity such as 'transnational business masculinity' and arguing for diversity within hegemonic and subordinate masculinities.³⁹

Historians have used Connell's theory to discuss the social and cultural meanings of masculinity in different historical contexts. 'Hegemonic' masculinity has traditionally been linked to attributes of aggression, strength, courage, endurance, competence and logic, and Joshua Goldstein has connected the concept of 'manhood' with fighting.⁴⁰ Graham Dawson has significantly identified the link between these traditional images and military virtues during the First World War,

³⁷ Christine Beasley, 'Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity in a Globalising World' in *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 11, No. 1, October 2008, pp. 86-103.

³⁸ Richard Howson, 'Hegemonic Masculinity in the Theory of Hegemony: A Brief Response to Christine Beasley's "Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity in a Globalising World"' in *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 11, No. 1, October 2008, pp. 109-112.

³⁹ James W. Messerschmidt, 'And Now, the Rest of the Story: A Commentary on Christine Beasley's "Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity in a Globalising World"' in *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 11, No. 1, October 2008, p. 104; Connell, 'Masculinities and Globalisation', pp. 3-23; R. W. Connell and J. W. Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept' in *Gender and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 6, December 2005, pp. 829-859; T. Carrigan, R. W. Connell and J. Lee, 'Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity' in Peter Murphy (ed.), *Feminism and Masculinities*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); R. W. Connell and J. Wood, 'Globalisation and Business Masculinities' in *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 7, No. 4, April 2005, pp. 347-364.

⁴⁰ Juliette Pattinson, *Behind Enemy Lines: Gender, Passing and the Special Operations Executive in the Second World War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 16; Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 252.

which he defines as natural and inherent qualities of manhood 'whose apogee is attainable only in battle'.⁴¹ Dawson has also defined this hegemonic military subjectivity as complemented by domestic femininity, envisaging the nation as a gendered entity.⁴² Meanwhile, Richard Finlay has argued for the existence of this link between masculinity and militarism in Scotland as elsewhere during the First World War and Jessica Meyer has noted the glorification of death in active service, also during the First World War.⁴³ The more extensive discussion of masculinity to follow in Chapter Three will build on such understandings by analysing the masculine subjectivities of men in reserved occupations in relation to the theoretical concept of hegemonic masculinity.

A change in the ideals of manliness during the inter-war years, when the hard and aggressive 'soldier hero' was replaced by a 'softer' masculinity, distinct from the ultra masculine image of German Nazis, is identified in Alison Light's study of femininity, literature and conservatism between the wars.⁴⁴ However, Sonya Rose has argued that the image of the 'soldier hero' remained relevant during the Second World War and was notably different from both German hyper-masculinity and emasculated British men, such as conscientious objectors.⁴⁵ The idea of military service as the 'finest expression of manliness' and the 'ultimate test of national

⁴¹ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*, (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1-2.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Richard J. Finlay, 'The Turbulent Century: Scotland Since 1900' in J. Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: A History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 243; Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 76-77.

⁴⁴ Alison Light, *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism Between the Wars*, (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 9.

⁴⁵ Sonya O. Rose, 'Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain' in Dudink, Hagemann, and Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War*, pp. 184-190.

character' also survived the emasculation of both trench warfare and the inter-war depression identified by Light, and was a prominent feature of the wartime popular press.⁴⁶ Historians of both the First and Second World Wars, notably Joanna Bourke and Corinna Peniston-Bird, have highlighted the role of the male body in hegemonic forms of masculinity, noting the classification of the body according to the needs of the military services.⁴⁷ Historians' discussions of wartime masculinity in the twentieth century have thus focused primarily on men in the military, with little discussion of the experiences of civilian men. This focus arguably fits with popular and cultural understandings of the civilian male as less of a man than those conscripted into the armed services and indicates that other civilians viewed these workers as somehow lacking in masculinity.⁴⁸ These popular and cultural understandings are discussed extensively in Chapter Three, where we focus specifically on the masculinities of men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside.

1.2 The Policy of Reservation

To begin to understand the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers on Clydeside, it is also necessary to be aware of the background to the compilation of

⁴⁶ Adrian Bingham, *Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press in Interwar Britain*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p. 192.

⁴⁷ Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*; Corinna Peniston-Bird, 'Classifying the Body in the Second World War: British Men In and Out of Uniform' in *Body and Society*, Vol. 9, No. 4, December 2003, pp. 31-46.

⁴⁸ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, pp. 1-2; Rose, 'Temperate Heroes', pp. 184-190; George Q. Flynn, *Conscription and Democracy: The Draft in France, Great Britain and the United States*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2002), p. 146.

the Schedule of Reserved Occupations (henceforth the Schedule), as well as develop an understanding of contemporary official and cultural views of the reserved occupations. The British government began to devise the Schedule in 1922 with the intention of preventing the loss of skilled men working in trades considered to be essential to war production and the continuity of civilian life to the armed forces.⁴⁹ A sub-committee on manpower reached the conclusion that a list of occupations of national importance was essential to a satisfactory scheme of National Service to prevent errors made during the First World War when high numbers of such skilled men left their jobs to volunteer for the armed services.⁵⁰ Ernest Brown remarked in September 1939 that the Schedule was implemented because: 'There was silly waste in the last war, when hundreds of thousands of men were taken into the Services.'⁵¹ This emphasis on avoiding the experiences of industry during the First World War is also evident in media discussions of the Schedule. For example, Sir Auckland Geddes, quoted in the *Glasgow Herald* in February 1939, stated that: 'We don't want to repeat the mistakes of 1914, when highly skilled men went off to be infantrymen.'⁵² A list of occupations considered to be of national importance was consequently drafted by 1925.

The Schedule became available to the public in January 1939, and by mid 1942 approximately 2,406,290 fit men of military age were reserved in civilian

⁴⁹ H. M. D. Parker, *Manpower: A Study of Wartime Policy and Administration*, (London: HMSO, 1957), p. 41.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ HC Deb 29 September 1939 vol 351 cc1611-2.

⁵² 'Man-power of Britain', *The Glasgow Herald*, 14th February 1939, p. 9.

employment.⁵³ However, official attitudes towards the list of reserved occupations were often ambiguous. The government frequently sought to emphasise that men working in reserved occupations were as important to the British war effort as those in the armed services, and this attitude was evident in media sources. For example, as details of the Schedule and the accompanying guide to other ways in which civilians could contribute to the war effort in the event of hostilities breaking out with Germany emerged in newspapers, a January 1939 report in the *Glasgow Herald* stated that:

Both those who join the Defence Services and those who are covered by the Schedule of reserved occupations, and therefore stick to those occupations, are engaged in what is truly National Service. There must be no feeling that one is more honourable than the other. Both classes will be serving the country's interests in the way best fitted to their abilities. That is the official view.⁵⁴

In addition, the *Evening Times* reported in November 1939 on fears that: 'Young shipbuilders and engineers who have gone into the fighting services are not being utilised in accordance with their special skill and technical knowledge.'⁵⁵ The assertion in the article that 'there were semi-skilled and unskilled men in the engineering trades who could do the work [in the armed forces]' ascribes greater masculinity to men undertaking skilled work in reserved occupations than to those performing unskilled tasks as part of military service.⁵⁶ The monthly paper *Shipyard Spotlight*, distributed to all shipbuilding and ship-repairing firms in Britain

⁵³ National Archives, CAB 66/31/14, 'Man-Power Survey', 26th November 1942.

⁵⁴ 'Over 6,000,000 in Reserved Occupations', *The Glasgow Herald*, 25th January 1939, p. 13.

⁵⁵ 'Skilled Workers in Fighting Forces', *The Evening Times*, 6th November 1939, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

requesting it during the war, also frequently emphasised the contributions of this particular kind of work to the war effort.⁵⁷

However, these supportive viewpoints were complicated by a range of factors, including the language of heroism often ascribed to men in the armed forces in official and cultural sources. For example, the Labour Party's National Executive Committee report in 1941 stated that:

All honour, and a debt too great ever to be repaid, is due to our heroic airmen, soldiers, and sailors, both of the Royal Navy and of the Merchant Service [...] So, too, with the great army of civilian workers in industry, including those of the A. R. P.⁵⁸

The description of servicemen as 'heroic' in this report from the Labour Party, traditionally associated with industrial workers and the working class, makes the description of the 'great army' of civilian workers appear secondary in their contribution to the war effort. In addition, an article in the *Glasgow Herald* in April 1939 about changes to the Schedule included the following passage:

In view of the great importance of securing a sufficient number of suitable men to serve in the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve and in the Auxiliary Air Force as pilots or other members of aircraft crews, it has been decided that men in certain occupations who are at present reserved under the schedule may be accepted if they are suitable for this service.⁵⁹

The article implies that the 'great importance' to the war effort of men serving in the armed forces clearly supersedes the value of men working in reserved occupations. Moreover, although the Schedule and men working in reserved occupations were frequently mentioned in popular Glasgow newspapers in the

⁵⁷ HC Deb 09 September 1942 vol 383 cc140-1.

⁵⁸ Labour Party Annual Report (London: The Labour Party, 1941), p. 3.

⁵⁹ '30,000 Workers Added to Schedule', *The Glasgow Herald*, 1st April 1939, p. 6.

early years of the war, after early 1942 it is apparent that male civilian workers were largely neglected in articles and newspapers primarily focused on military events regarded as pivotal to the war effort.⁶⁰ Some oral evidence also indicates that the wartime recollections of those based on the home front focused on military campaigns. Mary O'Neill, born in 1920 and employed in a Glasgow factory during wartime, remarked when asked about the most memorable aspects of the war for her that: 'Up until El Alamein it looked as though we would never win, and we were so enthusiastic, wonderful, I'll never forget that, El Alamein, very important.'⁶¹ The emphasis on discussion of the key battles of the Second World War in newspapers and other cultural sources, particularly as the war progressed, was therefore reflected to some extent in Mary O'Neill's oral testimony and the predominance of military rather than civilian aspects of war in her memory.

However, it is notable that some reserved occupations were described in more admiring language than others in cultural and official sources. King George VI is quoted in the *Glasgow Herald* in September 1939 as stating that he 'would like to express to all officers and men in the British merchant navy [...] confidence in their unflinching determination to play their vital part in defence'.⁶² Men serving in the Merchant Navy and other occupations with obvious direct links to military activity were therefore described in the media and cultural sources in more 'heroic' language than men working in occupations less clearly linked to the war effort.

⁶⁰ For example: 'Axis Admit Eighth Army is Approaching', *Daily Record and Mail*, 4th September 1943, p. 1; 'Salute the Soldier', *The Glasgow Herald*, 27th May 1944, p. 3; 'Racing for Reich Border', *Daily Record and Mail*, 14th December 1944, p. 1.

⁶¹ Mary O'Neill, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th September 2010.

⁶² 'King's message to Merchant Navy and Fishing Fleets', *The Glasgow Herald*, 12th September 1939, p. 9.

Although references to men receiving white feathers as a symbol of cowardice for not being in the armed forces were largely restricted to discussions and depictions of the First World War, and Angus Calder has noted that the authorities and other civilians had ‘softened’ in their attitudes towards those not in the armed forces during the Second World War, much criticism of the Schedule is also evident in official and cultural sources.⁶³ For example, Major General Sir Alfred Knox stated in parliament in March 1939, in response to the publication of the Schedule, that:

The type of these reserved occupations is astonishing. I have received a letter from a constituent who served as an officer in the last War and would like to serve as an officer again. He tells me he is a general salesman and a general salesman in the particular place where he works—they are a decorating firm—is a man who, when someone calls at the shop and inquires about decorating his house, goes there to advise upon the scheme of decoration. He wisely said in his letter that when the first air raid comes to London no one will be wanting houses decorated and his job will have gone. What in the name of goodness is the use of keeping that man tied down in a reserved occupation when he is ready to do his part as a patriotic citizen in the fighting forces? We have in that large number of men, about 2,200,000, a reserve of strength which ought to be tapped.⁶⁴

In February 1939, Geoffrey Mander also described the Schedule as a ‘joke’.⁶⁵ Such dismissals of the Schedule reflect cultural depictions of men in reserved occupations receiving white feathers for cowardice such as in the 1939 film *The Four Feathers*, which focuses on central protagonist Lieutenant Harry Faversham and his decision to resign his commission from the Army after ten years and not sail for Egypt as ordered. The film was released during the war and again after it, and depicted

⁶³ For example: George Blake, *The Westering Sun*, (London: Century Publishing, 1946), p. 222; Calder, *The People’s War*, p. 494.

⁶⁴ HC Deb 08 March 1939 vol 344 cc2161-302.

⁶⁵ HC Deb 21 February 1939 vol 344 cc227-348.

Faversham being given four feathers as symbols of cowardice before redeeming himself by returning to join Kitchener's Army in Sudan. Such depictions of the cowardice of those not in the armed forces clearly undermine attempts to emphasise the importance of the reserved occupations to the war effort.⁶⁶ Angus Calder has also noted a brief resurgence in 1942 of the practice of handing out white feathers to identify men not in the armed services, causing at least two suicides.⁶⁷

Furthermore, men working in reserved occupations were often regarded as depriving the armed forces of manpower. Sir William Brass asked the Secretary of State for War in April 1939 whether:

he is aware that recruiting for the Territorial Army is being adversely affected by the assumption that all applications to enlist have to be sent to the Employment Exchange before a man is permitted to serve his country in any military capacity; and whether, in view of this reading of the regulations, he can make some early pronouncement clarifying the position and modifying the list of reserve occupations?⁶⁸

Such attitudes were particularly evident in discussions of unemployed men. Sir Joseph Nall remarked to Ernest Brown in parliament in September 1939 that many men whose jobs were listed on the Schedule 'had nothing to do except to draw unemployment pay'.⁶⁹ Both men clearly suggested that serving in the country in a 'military capacity' constituted a more worthwhile contribution to the war effort than being in a reserved occupation.

⁶⁶ Clive Coultass, *Images for Battle: British Film and the Second World War 1939-1945*, (London: Associated University Presses, 1989), p. 12.

⁶⁷ Calder, *The People's War*, p. 269.

⁶⁸ HC Deb 03 April 1939 vol 345 cc2446-8.

⁶⁹ HC Deb 29 September 1939 vol 351 cc1611-2.

A number of official and cultural discourses also questioned how hard men in reserved occupations had to work, suggesting that they had an easier life than those in the armed forces. Nall also argued in April 1940 that:

As regards men who are not reserved and who are called to the Colours, there is no question of absenteeism or of the time that they put in at their job. They put in 100 per cent, seven days a week [...] If the man called to the Colours is required to put in full time seven days a week to the Armed Forces, it is at least fair that those in industry should put in full time for their four, five, or six days a week, whatever may be the number of days worked in their occupations.⁷⁰

Similarly, John Rathbone commented in parliament in August 1940 that men working in reserved occupations ‘spent their evenings playing tennis and going round on motor bicycles’.⁷¹ Such remarks indicate a belief that men not serving in uniform had an easier time during the war than those in the military. Other sources depicted the home front as a feminised environment. An article in the *Evening Times* in March 1941, for example, described the role of a woman in the wartime household as that of ‘the man of the family’.⁷² A wide range of attitudes therefore clearly questioned the value to the war effort of a number of occupations listed as reserved in the Schedule.

Attitudes expressing the importance of men working in reserved occupations to the war effort were also undermined by the complicated nature of the Schedule. H. M. D. Parker has detailed the implementation of the Military Training Act in April 1939, making men aged between 20 and 21 liable to complete six months’ full time training in the armed forces, with the Schedule only to be applied after this period

⁷⁰ HC Deb 16 April 1940 vol 359 cc817-93.

⁷¹ HC Deb 20 August 1940 vol 364 cc1132-274.

⁷² ‘Call-Up Plans for Young Women’, *The Evening Times*, 19th March 1941, p. 5.

of six months was over.⁷³ Although only one group registration for this training took place before the outbreak of war, in June 1939, a number of men in reserved occupations were able to join the Territorial Army and move into the regular Army or other branches of the armed forces.⁷⁴ However some, such as Robert Martin, a moulder by trade and born in the Lanarkshire town of Wishaw in 1919, were later called back into their reserved jobs.⁷⁵ Earl Stanhope also remarked in the House of Lords in September 1939 that: 'Men who are already in the Territorials, if they belong to reserved occupations, are being combed out and sent back to those industries. That is going on now day by day.'⁷⁶ Such 'combing out' was also reported in Glasgow newspapers such as the *Evening Citizen*.⁷⁷ As the war progressed, however, and the need grew for more men in the armed forces, men were often 'squeezed' from industrial work, with firms still being expected to contribute men to the forces despite the existence of the Schedule.⁷⁸ The assumption that all fit young men, with no exceptions, should serve in the armed forces was also evident in Clydeside newspapers, with the *Evening Times* reporting in September 1939 that: 'The object of the [Conscription] Bill is to make all fit male British subjects, aged 18 to 40 inclusive, liable to be called up for service in the armed forces of the Crown during the war emergency.'⁷⁹

⁷³ Parker, *Manpower*, p. 54.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Robert Martin, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th June 2010.

⁷⁶ HL Deb 20 September 1939 vol 114 cc1089-98.

⁷⁷ For example: '20,000 Sent Back to Industry From Army', *The Evening Citizen*, 17th April 1940, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Parker, *Manpower*, p. 75, p. 226.

⁷⁹ 'Details of Britain's New Conscription Bill', *the Evening Times*, 2nd September 1939, p. 1.

Moreover, men were reserved in different occupations at varying ages. Geoffrey Mander notably observed in parliament in February 1939 that 'a great many people' had difficulty understanding 'why certain ages [were] fixed'.⁸⁰ In addition, the ages at which men were reserved for particular occupations were continually adjusted.⁸¹ Such changes to the ages of reservation appeared in local Clydeside media. The *Glasgow Herald*, for example, reported in April 1939 that the Ministry of Labour had adjusted the Schedule:

In regard to the banks, the age of reservation has been raised from 25 to 30, while architects are reserved from 25 instead of at all ages. This change will enable young bank clerks up to the age of 30 to join in National Service immediately, and 10,000 bank clerks between 25 and 30 who have not already joined the Territorials and other defence services will be available.⁸²

As part of a major re-adjustment of the Schedule in December 1940 to meet increasing demands for men for the armed forces, the process of block reservation of entire occupations was replaced by a system of individual deferment, whereby employers requested reservation status for individual employees considered to be undertaking work of national importance. By December 1940, approximately 200,000 men had been deferred at the request of their employers.⁸³ Justifying this change in the reservation process, Ernest Bevin stated in October 1941 that:

All men aged 18 to 41 are liable to be called up for service in the Armed Forces. Under the Schedule of Reserved Occupations men at and above the age of reservation for an occupation are in general reserved from calling-up for military service; this is an administrative, not a statutory, reservation. Men below the age of reservation who are in "key"

⁸⁰ Parker, *Manpower*, p. 75, p. 226.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 160.

⁸² '30,000 Workers Added to Schedule', *The Glasgow Herald*, 1st April 1939, p. 6.

⁸³ Parker, *Manpower*, p. 199.

positions or engaged on specially important work and must be retained in industry are prevented from being called up for the Armed Forces by being granted "deferment". The only issue that arises in determining an application for deferment is whether it is in the national interest for the man concerned to remain in his job. No question of the man's individual position arises.⁸⁴

Home Secretary John Anderson expanded on Bevin's explanation in November

1941:

The Ministry of Labour therefore proposes to abandon the system of block reservation by occupation in favour of a system of individual deferment. The age of reservation for all occupations will be raised by one year at a time at monthly intervals, individual deferment being granted only to men engaged on work of vital national importance. By this means, and by a drastic review of all existing deferments, the Ministry of Labour expect to find the balance of 310,000 men needed for the Forces. The system of block reservation has served its purpose; and, now that the shortage of man-power has become acute, it is clearly necessary to use the finer and more flexible instrument of individual deferment.⁸⁵

Such complicated explanations and alterations made it difficult for civilians to ascertain the importance of the work being undertaken by men in reserved occupations to the war effort. Furthermore, John Anderson's remark that the Schedule needed to be adjusted 'now that the shortage of man-power [had] become acute' ascribes greater importance to the armed forces than to those working in reserved occupations.⁸⁶ The Glasgow newspaper the *Evening Times* also reported in December 1941 on the replacement of the 'crude system' of block reservation, suggesting that many men prevented from joining the armed forces

⁸⁴ National Archives, CAB 66/19/22, 'Man-Power: Machinery for Individual Deferment', 27th October 1941.

⁸⁵ National Archives, CAB 66/19/30, 'Man-Power', 7th November 1941.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

because of their reserved occupations were not actually engaged in essential work.⁸⁷

In addition, a Scheme of Protected Work, marking out firms considered to be producing materials of national importance to the war effort, was also drawn up by William Beveridge in January 1941 and involved the implementation of double ages of reservation, with workers in 'protected' industries such as metal manufacture, shipbuilding, electricity and railways reserved at a lower age than workers with equivalent jobs in industries not designated as 'protected'.⁸⁸ The Essential Works Order, also implemented in 1941, represented a further government measure to mark out particularly important workplaces to the war effort, preventing men working there from leaving their jobs without giving a week's notice and also preventing employers from dismissing employees except in cases of gross misconduct.⁸⁹

In addition to these major overhauls, the Schedule was also subject to continual smaller revisions throughout the war and topics such as ages of reservation for particular occupations were frequently questioned in parliament. For example, in November 1939, before the replacement of the system of block reservation, Ernest Brown stated in a report on labour and national service that: 'The ages of reservation of a number of occupations in coal mining, iron ore and ironstone mining and quarrying, and the iron and steel trades have been reduced.'⁹⁰ The new

⁸⁷ 'Reservation Plan', *The Evening Times*, 2nd December 1941, p. 4.

⁸⁸ Parker, *Manpower*, pp. 145-6.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 161.

⁹⁰ National Archives, CAB 68/3/5, 'Labour and National Service Report No. 5, Fifth Report submitted by the Minister of Labour and National Service', covering period 1st to 15th November 1939.

system of individual deferment also meant that ages of reservation would be raised for a large number of occupations by one year at a time at monthly intervals until the occupation would 'cease to be reserved at all'.⁹¹ Individual occupations considered as being important to the war effort were also subject to other regulations to prevent loss of skilled manpower to the armed forces. For example, special deferment schemes existed for employees of, among others, the entertainment, legal and publishing industries.⁹² Oral testimonies demonstrate that many civilians expressed confusion about the definition of reserved occupations and were unaware which jobs had reserved status. Demonstrating his limited understanding, Harry Scott, who was born in Cumnock in Ayrshire in 1926 and grew up there before serving in the Army during the war, remarked that he 'was trying to think what were reserved occupations and these were the only two that I could come up with, miners and farmers, but I think firemen would be reserved'.⁹³ The Mass Observation publication *People in Production*, published in 1942, also noted that: 'It is becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate between war and non-war jobs now that there is no longer any cut and dried Schedule of Reserved Occupations.'⁹⁴ Arguably, continual revision and re-adjustment of the Schedule made understanding of the nature of reserved occupations difficult for many civilians and resulted in men having to justify the contribution of their work to the war effort with reference to frequently changing definitions.

⁹¹ Parker, *Manpower*, p. 299.

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 315.

⁹³ Harry Scott, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010.

⁹⁴ Mass Observation, *People in Production: An Enquiry into British War Production*, (Middlesex: Penguin, 1942), p. 21.

The Home Guard, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three but in which many men in reserved occupations served, was also frequently belittled in cultural and official representations. Originally formed as the Local Defence Volunteers in 1940, historians of the Home Guard have emphasised the enthusiasm of men to sign up, as well as the organisation's development into a strong and effective force.⁹⁵ However, the *Evening Times*, for example, reported in December 1941 that: 'Many of the Home Guard were middle-aged or old men, who could not endure the strain of several weeks in active service that the Home Guard would have to do in the event of an attempted invasion.'⁹⁶ Such reports indicated that many men in the Home Guard were perceived as being less capable than those serving in the armed forces.

It is thus evident that official statements of the importance of men working in reserved occupations to the war effort and suggestions that their work was as significant as that of men in the armed forces were consistently undermined throughout the war. A wide range of official remarks and cultural representations questioned the value of the reserved occupations to the war effort and continual revisions and adjustments of the Schedule hindered civilian understanding of the need for jobs of national importance. This research aims to build on this discussion of the Schedule. Chapter Three in particular explores the extent to which the masculine subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside were affected by such official and cultural representations of their work

⁹⁵ For example: S. P. Mackenzie, *The Home Guard: A Military and Political History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 4.

⁹⁶ 'Conscription for Home Guard Plea', *The Evening Times*, 10th December 1941, p. 4.

and their masculinities, examining whether these specific wartime representations disrupted the continuity of their subjectivities.

1.3 Definitions of Wartime Clydeside

Previous historical studies of social change in Britain during the Second World War at a regional level have inevitably been limited in their extent and have neglected a number of key areas. Peter Claus and John Marriott have convincingly argued that: 'Historians cannot take place as given – a mere backdrop where events are played out. Places [...] are cultural places that affect the thoughts and behaviours of those that inhabit that place.'⁹⁷ The area known as Clydeside, which forms the central focus of the research presented in this thesis, has long been recognised as an important industrial region of both Scotland and Britain. Consequently, findings about the wartime experiences of the area are also often relevant to other regions, particularly those such as Newcastle and Liverpool with high proportions of workers employed in heavy industry. Glasgow was during the Second World War, and remains today, the main city on the river Clyde, consequently occupying a central position in this study of Clydeside. To provide some context to this statement, by the time of the 1931 census the official population of the City of Glasgow comprised 1,088,461 inhabitants, and this figure rose to 1,089,767 in 1951.⁹⁸ The city boundaries in both censuses incorporated some parishes in the counties of

⁹⁷ Peter Claus and John Marriott, *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice*, (Harlow: Pearson, 2012), p. 205.

⁹⁸ Census of Scotland 1931, (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1934), p. 42; Census of Scotland 1951, (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956), p. 3.

Dumbarton, Lanark and Renfrew such as Cathcart, Eastwood, Paisley and Rutherglen.⁹⁹ The tables below show the population of the city in 1931 and 1951, divided by sex and age, and it is evident that approximately two thirds of Glasgow's inhabitants during the Second World War were men and women of working age:

1931

Age	Male Population	% of Male Population	Female Population	% of Female Population	Total Population	% of Total Population
Under 15	150,210	28.5	148,623	26.2	298,833	27.3
15-64	350,099	66.4	383,535	67.7	733,634	67.1
65 and over	26,597	5.0	34,263	6.0	60,860	5.6

1951

Age	Male Population	% of Male Population	Female Population	% of Female Population	Total Population	% of Total Population
Under 15	137,104	26.4	133,243	23.3	270,347	24.8
15-64	341,376	65.8	384,343	67.3	725,719	66.6
65 and over	40,337	7.8	53,245	9.3	93,582	8.6

Source: Census of Scotland, 1951, p. 10.

The historical roots of Glasgow as a settlement reach as far back as the origins of Christianity in Scotland.¹⁰⁰ The city grew in size throughout the medieval period and saw rapid commercial expansion from the seventeenth century, emerging in the

⁹⁹ Census of Scotland 1931, p. 42.

¹⁰⁰ Irene Maver, *Glasgow*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 3.

twentieth century with a mature industrial economy centred on heavy industries such as shipbuilding, railways, iron and steel.¹⁰¹ Glasgow by the first half of the twentieth century was a predominantly urban environment and was the most congested city in Britain in 1912, when the density of persons per acre was calculated at fifty-three as opposed to forty-five for Liverpool, the next most overcrowded city.¹⁰² Historians such as Irene Maver, Sean Damer, William Kenefick, Arthur McIvor and William Knox have all extensively discussed the distinctive industrial environment and working class culture of Glasgow in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁰³ However, Damer in particular has observed that although images of Glasgow have always been of a shipbuilding city, this was only one of many heavy engineering activities taking place in the conurbation.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the majority of shipbuilding work and heavy engineering in the twentieth century took place outside the official boundaries of the City of Glasgow, and within the city different areas were often associated with distinct industries.¹⁰⁵ Springburn, for example, was heavily associated with the railway industry by the first half of the twentieth century and the North British Locomotive Company alone employed 8000 of the area's approximately 25,000 inhabitants by 1903.¹⁰⁶ Many of the shipyards in

¹⁰¹ Maver, *Glasgow*.

¹⁰² John Wheatley, *Eight-Pound Cottages for Glasgow Citizens*, (Glasgow Labour Party: Glasgow, 1913), p. 10.

¹⁰³ Ibid; Sean Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990); William Kenefick, *Red Scotland!: The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left c. 1872-1932*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); William Kenefick and Arthur McIvor (eds.), *Roots of Red Clydeside 1910-1914?: Labour Unrest and Industrial Relations in West Scotland*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996); William W. Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland 1800-Present*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

¹⁰⁴ Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, p. 22.

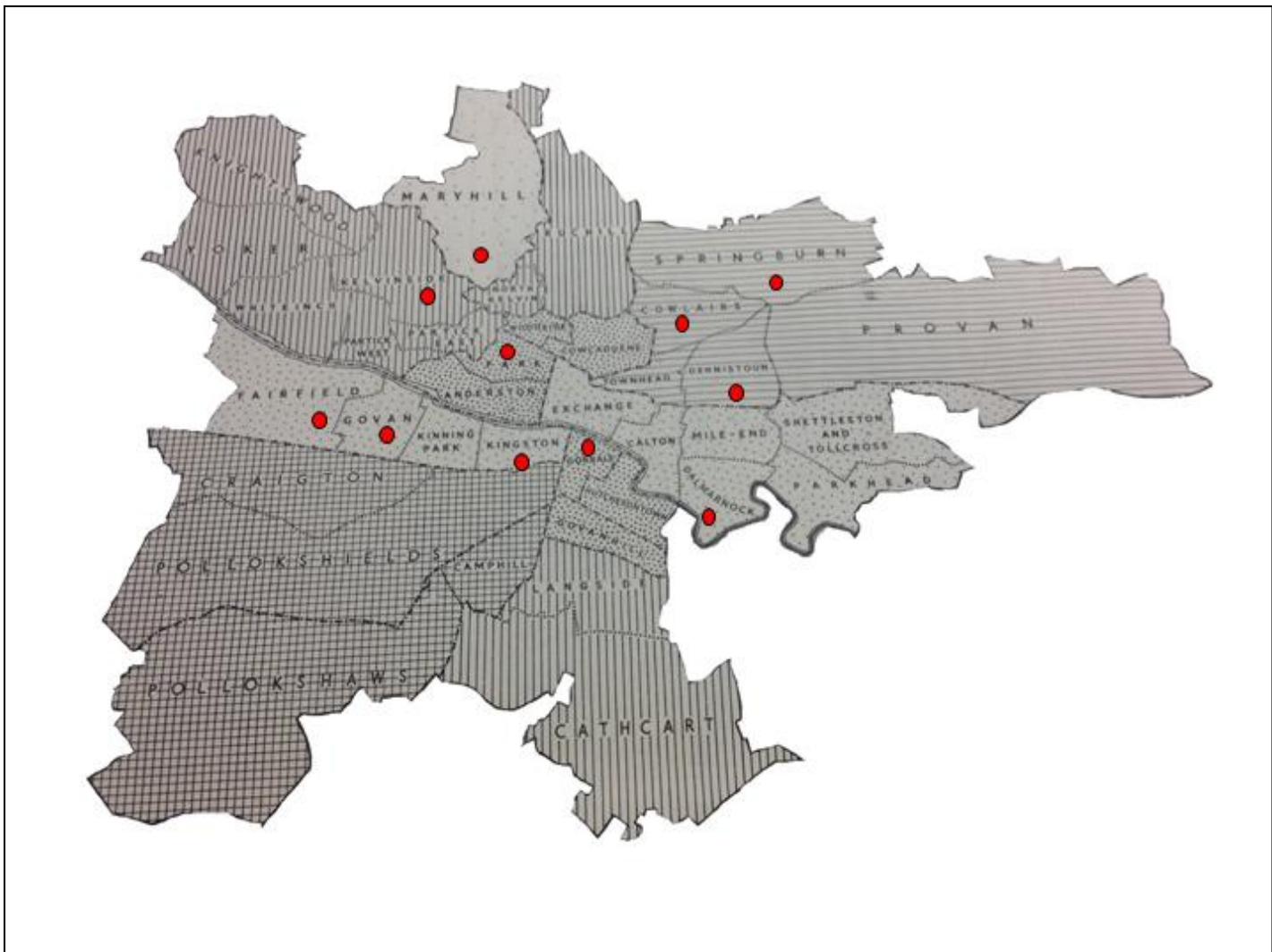
¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Gerard Hutchison and Mark O'Neill, *The Springburn Experience: An Oral History of Work in a Railway Community from 1840 to the Present Day*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), pp. 3-11.

western industrial burghs such as Govan and Partick were also acquired by Glasgow in the municipal boundary extensions in 1912.¹⁰⁷ The difficulties of drawing an arbitrary line to define Glasgow geographically have also been noted by a number of historians and writers, including Moira Burgess.¹⁰⁸ Despite the association of Glasgow and its immediate hinterland, before, during and beyond wartime, with heavy industry, local diversity of communities and neighbourhoods in the city must therefore be a notable theme when discussing the work that was undertaken by men working in reserved occupations during the Second World War. Below is a map of Glasgow showing the city boundaries as they were in 1931 – the red dots mark the parts of Glasgow where the men and women in my own interview sample (which I will discuss in depth in Chapter Two) worked, although, as I will shortly detail, some of the people I interviewed lived outside the boundaries of the city.

¹⁰⁷ R. J. Morris, 'Urbanisation and Scotland', in W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland 1830-1914 Volume II*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990).

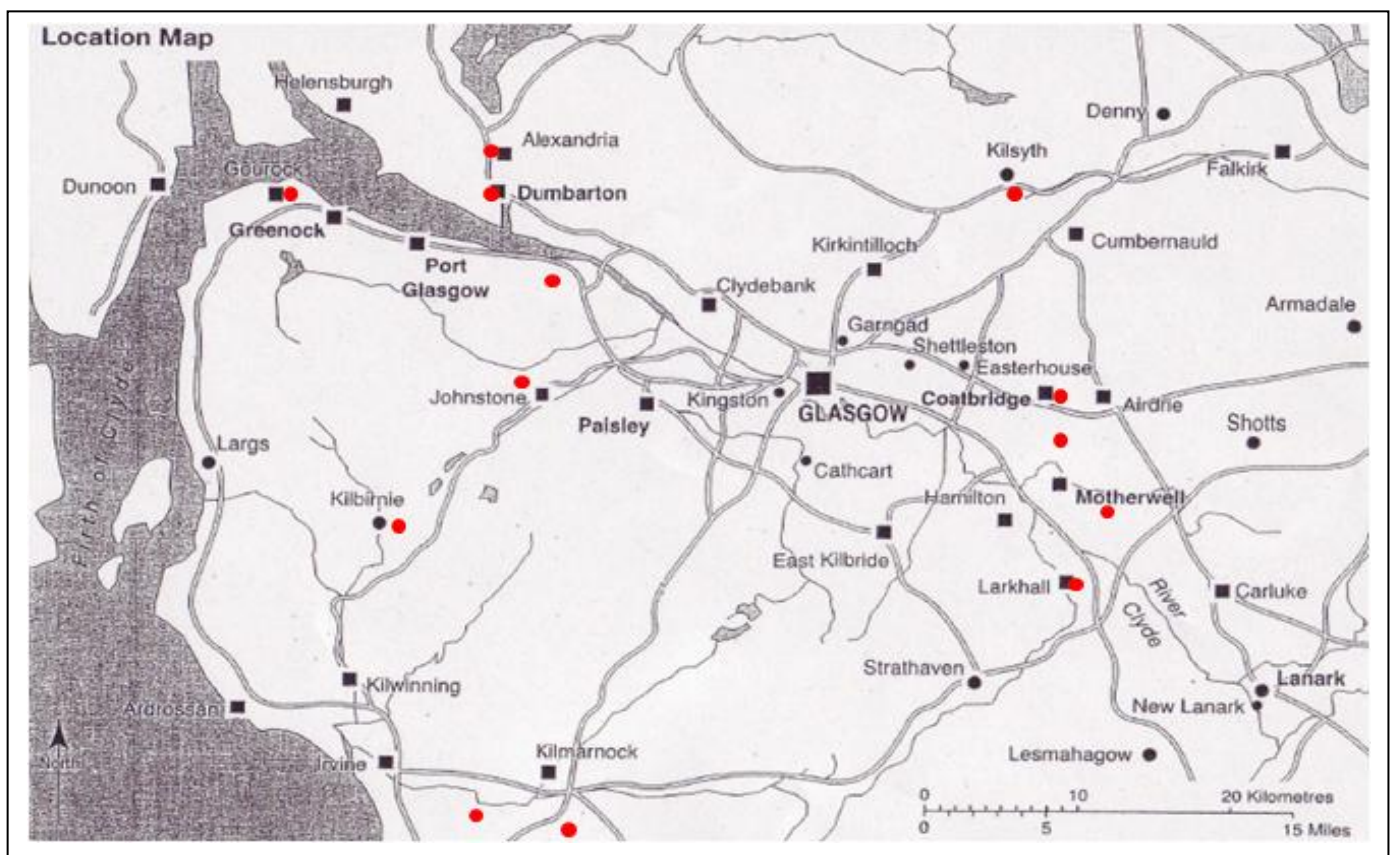
¹⁰⁸ Moira Burgess, *The Glasgow Novel: 1870-1970*, (University of Strathclyde, Glasgow: Unpublished PhD thesis, 1971).



Source: Census of Scotland, 1931, p. 3.

Moreover, despite the central position occupied in this research by Glasgow and the extent to which a wartime Glaswegian subjectivity will be shown to have been relevant to men working in reserved occupations, the scope of this thesis goes beyond the immediate surroundings of the urban city to also explore whether male civilian workers felt that belonging to the wider entity of Clydeside was important to their subjectivities in wartime. The term ‘Clydeside’ is defined here as approximately comprising the counties of Dumbarton, Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr and

Argyll and Bute, incorporating a diverse range of towns and villages and urban and rural environments, from the towns of Gourock and Greenock at the mouth of the river Clyde to smaller settlements in the Lanarkshire countryside. A map showing the approximate areas in Clydeside where men in my interview sample lived is included below. Although figures for the numbers of men and women who were employed in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside are unavailable, Chapter Four discusses the regional subjectivities of male civilian workers and estimates the proportions of men in the area who might have worked in reserved employment, while Chapter Six explores the experiences of women in essential work and refers to the numbers of women in such jobs.



Source: Ian R. Mitchell, *Clydeside: Red, Orange and Green*, (East Kilbride: Scottish Arts Council, 2010), p. 7.

The research of Sean Damer and others has explored the development of industry in the wider Clydeside area, noting that the growth of heavy industry in certain areas was based on the transatlantic slave trade, as well as the tobacco and cotton industries and textile manufacturing.¹⁰⁹ Supporting industries included coal and iron and the development of a transportation network.¹¹⁰ The growth of the nineteenth-century coal mines of Lanarkshire and Ayrshire in particular brought large numbers of Irish workers to Clydeside, and many Lowland Scots and Highlanders also came to the area for work, bringing with them a range of cultures and traditions and contributing to the distinctive community that existed in the region at the outbreak of war in 1939.¹¹¹ Shipbuilding was also prevalent beyond the boundaries of the city of Glasgow – by the end of the 1880s there were 43 shipyards along the Clyde.¹¹² Traditional rural industries such as agriculture, which employed significant numbers of men in reserved occupations, also survived in wartime in many areas of the region.¹¹³

Brian Osborne and Ronald Armstrong have noted the strategic significance in wartime of the river Clyde primarily as a result of the shelter afforded for marine vessels by the substantial natural harbour, convenient for sea routes to Ireland, other parts of the British Isles and the Atlantic.¹¹⁴ Although heavy industry suffered serious problems and significant decline between the First and Second World Wars,

¹⁰⁹ For example: Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, p. 23.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 26.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 29-42.

¹¹² Lewis Johnman and Ian Johnston, *Down the River*, (Glendaruel: Argyll Publishing, 2001), p. 10.

¹¹³ C. H. Lee, *British Regional Employment Statistics: 1841 to 1971*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 3-5.

¹¹⁴ Brian D. Osborne and Ronald Armstrong, *The Clyde at War*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), p. 7.

the massive momentum behind the war effort prior to the outbreak of the Second World War rejuvenated the Glasgow and Clydeside economy and reduced unemployment.¹¹⁵ For example, reflecting military and merchant demand during the war, Clyde shipyards launched an average of 493,000 tons annually between 1940 and 1944, and Beardmore's factory in Parkhead became the focal point of armaments production, which expanded into other Clydeside factories outside Glasgow.¹¹⁶

Men working in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War, who are the central focus of this research, were therefore employed in a wide array of jobs, from heavy industry to agriculture, and lived in a diverse range of environments, from the urban city of Glasgow to the wider Clydeside area with its industrial towns and large rural communities. We shall see in Chapter Four the extent to which these men expressed feelings of regional subjectivity and associated themselves with a diverse range of local communities and neighbourhoods.

1.4 'Lived' and 'Imagined' Subjectivities

We have seen how gender, and in particular Scottish masculinity, is central to this thesis. However, the concept of masculine subjectivity encompasses more than

¹¹⁵ Tony Dickson and Jim Treble, 'Introduction', in Tony Dickson and Jim Treble (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland Volume III, 1914-1990*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), p. 3; Paul Harris, *Glasgow and the Clyde at War*, (Cheshire: Archive Publications, 1986), p. 86.

¹¹⁶ Maver, *Glasgow*, p. 210.

gender, regionalism and nationalism. Building on understandings of official and cultural views of the reserved occupations to explore the extent to which the masculinities of men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside, revealed through oral testimony, fit with discourses of social change during the Second World War, this research also grapples with a number of important ideas about subjectivity.

A number of historians, including Mark Connelly, have debated the notion of historical 'reality', discussing the inseparability of public and shared 'myths' of the Second World War and subjectivity.¹¹⁷ This thesis uses the terms 'lived' and 'imagined' to discuss facets of masculine subjectivity. Benedict Anderson, in his key study of the cultural and emotional meanings of nationalism in history, *Imagined Communities*, has defined the nation as an 'imagined political community', 'imagined' as inherently limited and sovereign.¹¹⁸ Anderson has argued that the 'invention' of nationalism does not, however, equate to 'fabrication', discussing the origins of the 'imagined' community in ancient religion and culture.¹¹⁹ Prominent oral historian Alessandro Portelli has also asserted that geographical locations can exist on both 'real' and 'imagined' levels, while Hans Magnus Enzensberger wrote in 1978 that: 'History is an invention which reality supplies with raw materials. It is not, however, an arbitrary invention.'¹²⁰ While one of the main findings of this research concerns the primacy of the 'raw materials' of 'living' for the subjectivities

¹¹⁷ Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, p. 5.

¹¹⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 2006), p. 6.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Alessandro Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County: An Oral History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *La breve estate dell'anarchia*, translated by Renato Pedio, (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1978), pp. 11-12.

of male civilian workers, their everyday lives cannot be described as 'arbitrary', and were also heavily and inseparably influenced by 'imagined' discourses. In the context of the Second World War, the notion of the 'people's war' and a communal British war effort, propagated by historians such as Marwick, Titmuss, Fraser and Addison, represents an 'imagined' discourse projected particularly influentially into the lives of reserved men.¹²¹ This notion is therefore central to this research.

It is important to understand in using these terms, however, that the concepts of 'living' and 'imagination' do not exist in vacuums and were intricately intertwined within the masculine subjectivities of men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. Benedict Anderson's description of nationality as 'imagined' arguably assumed that all facets of subjectivity were constructed and developed through social and cultural influences. Lynn Abrams has defined the 'self' as 'the autonomous and self contained individual who possesses a rich and complex inner life or consciousness', continuous over time, and observed the significance of self in historical writing from new perspectives, particularly since Marxist historians in the 1980s saw the concept as the site of resistance to structures of domination.¹²² However, Abrams has also noted that the idea of an 'essential' self is now widely disregarded, with subjectivity formation, including gender identity, best understood as being shaped by a series of external forces, including social and cultural discourses.¹²³ Nonetheless, men working in reserved occupations lived their day-to-

¹²¹ Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War*; Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy*; Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State*; Addison, *The Road to 1945*.

¹²² Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 33-34.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 36.

day lives in immediate, physical environments, interacting on a daily basis with other men and women also living in their communities. Although Joanna Bourke has highlighted the difficulty of defining the term 'community', she has also discussed the low spatial mobility of people living in many working class centres, including Clydeside, in early twentieth-century Britain and the unavoidable physical proximity of individuals to neighbours, friends and kin alike in their daily lives, arguing that personal relationships were formed on an 'ad hoc' basis.¹²⁴ Bourke's arguments support the notion that facets of subjectivity, including those of men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, cannot simply be described as 'imagined'. While a wide range of subjectivities, including gender and regional subjectivities, both of which are central to this research, were constructed and formed by social and cultural norms, it is simplistic to suggest that subjectivity existed on no other level. Research by both Michael Roper and Anna Green has significantly demonstrated that psychology and emotions play an important role in the process of remembering.¹²⁵ Green in particular has argued that historians should not reject the capacity of individuals to engage critically and constructively with inherited ideas and beliefs, suggesting that Penny Summerfield's categorisation of women workers in the Second World War as 'stoic' and 'heroic' (which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six) leaves little space for the

¹²⁴ Joanna Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain: 1890-1960*, (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 169.

¹²⁵ Michael Roper, 'Re-remembering the Soldier Hero: the Psychic and Social Construction of Memory in Personal Narratives of the Great War', in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 50, Autumn 2000, pp. 181-204; Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2009); Anna Green, 'Individual Remembering and "Collective Memory": Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates', *Oral History*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Autumn 2004, pp. 35-44.

self-reflective individual with specific perspectives.¹²⁶ This thesis therefore takes account of the strong psychological dimensions of individual memory and explores the relationship between individual and collective remembering, as well as the meanings that this relationship holds for wider discourses of social change and subjectivity in wartime.

The notion of different identity levels has also been discussed in the work of American anthropologist James Scott who, in answer to the view that powerless people in society fail to revolt because of the influence of the dominant cultures of those who are powerful, has argued that such disempowered people merely pay 'lip service' to dominant social ideologies or 'public transcripts', replacing these ideologies with their own 'hidden transcripts'.¹²⁷ A number of historians, including Matthew Clark in his research into early modern social relations, have challenged these arguments, asserting instead that fixed categories of dominant and subordinate people did not exist; in reality people lived out a series of shifting and unstable alliances given meaning by circumstance and personality.¹²⁸ Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone, in their study of national identity, have also argued that 'imagined' nationality is not simplistically imposed on people in a 'top-down' manner, but is 'something molten, like magma', and therefore constantly shifting

¹²⁶ Green, 'Individual Remembering and "Collective Memory"', pp. 35-39.

¹²⁷ James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (New Haven: CT, 1985), pp. xvi-xvii.

¹²⁸ Matthew Clark, 'Resistance, Collaboration and the Early Modern "Public Transcript": The River Lea Disputes and Popular Politics in England 1571-1603', *Social History*, Vol. 8, No. 3, September 2011, p. 298.

and changing its meaning.¹²⁹ This research, while not arguing that individuals expressed their unitary selves in essentialist ways, asserts that men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside subscribed to 'imagined' and socially constructed facets of subjectivity as well as 'lived' facets tied to the necessities and contingencies of daily existence, but not limited to the home. These 'imagined' and 'lived' subjectivity levels are not understood as fixed or as a dichotomy, but rather as existing in mutual fluidity with one another. However, the distinction is useful in discussing the inevitable continuity of aspects of the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers in Clydeside in the face of the changes brought to their lives by war.

It is necessary also to note that the concept of subjectivity, whether 'lived' or 'imagined', involves both the body and the self. As John Tosh has stated, in the nineteenth century 'masculine identification' was considered to reside 'in the life of the mind', with contemporary literature showing little interest in the body.¹³⁰ However, historians such as Carol Wolkowitz have now disregarded the notion of dualism of the body and self, arguing that the body is integral to the self.¹³¹ When discussing the 'lived' and 'imagined' subjectivities of men in reserved occupations as well as their levels of personal agency over their own experiences, this research therefore understands men's bodies and multiple understandings of self to be fundamentally linked. We shall examine the wider subjectivities of male civilian

¹²⁹ Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone (eds.), *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 4.

¹³⁰ John Tosh, 'What Should Historians Do With Masculinity?', in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 38, No.1, 1994, p. 182.

¹³¹ Carol Wolkowitz, *Bodies at Work*, (London: Sage, 2006), p. 26.

workers in Chapter Five, while the subjectivities of women working in reserved occupations are analysed in Chapter Six. This will develop a more nuanced picture of the day-to-day lives and communities of wartime civilian workers in Clydeside and the relationship between these communities and individual subjectivities.

1.5 Summary

This thesis, then, sets out to paint a comprehensive picture of the masculine subjectivities of men who worked in reserved occupations in a particular region of Second World War Britain. To summarise the content, Chapter Two extensively discusses the methodology used to undertake my research, which primarily examines oral histories. This methodological approach means that the fundamental historical processes of change and continuity, examined in relation to the experiences of men working in reserved occupations, are explored through a prism of individual subjectivity and personal experience in a particular region of wartime Britain. Stephen Whitehead has argued that theories of gender in history often ignore the existence of multiple subjectivities and the notion of self.¹³² In conjunction with an exploration of the ways in which discourses of social change affected men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, this research therefore also aims to examine how the personal experiences of these men relate to discourses on subjectivity, with a focus on masculine gender identity in Chapter Three and regional subjectivity in Chapter Four. Chapter Five considers

¹³² Stephen Whitehead, *Men and Masculinities: Key Themes and New Directions*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p. 99.

wider aspects of subjectivity, including nationality, religion, political beliefs and social activities, while Chapter Six examines the experiences of women who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War and moves towards an understanding of how Clydeside's working men lived and interacted with other civilians on a day-to-day basis in their communities. Social change in wartime, which has primarily been discussed in historical studies in relation to material changes in society, is therefore explored via the internal and subjective viewpoints of individuals who lived through the war in a specific British region. Such focus on the concept of subjectivity and how men saw their own lives results in this research producing more nuanced findings and a more complete picture of the regional impact of social change in Britain than has previously been achieved.

The relationship between social change and subjectivity thus constitutes the central focus of this research into the experiences of men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside during World War Two. Through an examination of how these men saw their own lives and expressed a sense of self in oral testimonies, this thesis explores the evidence of continuity and change in gender, regional and wider subjectivity in a specific British region in wartime and thus contributes important new findings to the historical debate about the extent of social change in Britain during the Second World War.

Chapter Two

'An Inexhaustible Work in Progress': Oral History and Other Methodologies¹

The use of 'alternative' sources including visual and oral sources is becoming increasingly valuable to historical research.² This study of the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers in Clydeside during the Second World War has consequently made extensive use of such 'alternative' sources, specifically personal testimonies and primarily oral histories. My research has included work in existing oral history collections, in particular those held at Glasgow Museums Resource Centre but also those at Motherwell Heritage Centre, the Kirkintilloch Auld Kirk Museum and Glasgow University Archives. Research conducted in these archived collections was complemented by new interviews undertaken with men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, as well as with women who also worked in reserved jobs in the region during the same time period. Other key primary sources used in this research include the online version of the Mass Observation Archive, housed at the University of Sussex, as well as memoirs, diaries and novels. This chapter discusses the value of using primarily an oral history methodology to shed new light on a largely neglected area of social and cultural history, and also explores the benefits and disadvantages of conducting this research in existing oral history archives and of carrying out entirely new interviews.

¹ Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories*, (Albany: University of New York Press, 1991), p. vii.

² Sarah Barber and Corinna Peniston-Bird, 'Introduction' in Sarah Barber and Corinna Peniston-Bird (eds.), *History Beyond the Text: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 1.

Finally, the chapter discusses the engagement of my research with other, complementary primary sources.

2.1 Uses of Oral Testimonies in Historical Research

Perks and Thomson have defined oral history as 'the interviewing of eye-witness participants in the events of the past for the purposes of historical reconstruction' and asserted that the use of oral history sources in research offers perspectives from groups of people 'hidden from history'.³ Consequently, oral sources are of key relevance to research into the neglected and 'hidden' group of male civilian workers employed in wartime Clydeside, addressing the neglect of the personal lives of individuals in history identified by historians such as Luisa Passerini.⁴ Oral history was arguably the first kind of history; oral tradition was prevalent in pre-literate societies, and the first written histories, probably going back around 3000 years, set down oral tradition about the distant past and gradually began to chronicle the present.⁵ However, the subsequent expansion of printing in the centuries that followed led to the increasing authority of written sources.⁶ Paul Thompson has argued that the rise of the socialist movement in the late nineteenth century led to new moves to understand the condition and spirit of the working classes, particularly in Britain and Germany, and early social surveys made use of

³ Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1998), p. iv.

⁴ Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 3.

⁵ Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 25-60.

⁶ *Ibid.*

interviewing to produce documentary sources.⁷ Other notable experiments in using oral material took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and historical writing extensively drawn from oral tradition emerged in colonised countries such as Uganda.⁸ However, the notion of the document as reality and as the central discipline of a new and professional history also became deeply rooted during the nineteenth century.⁹ Demonstrating this development, written histories of Clydeside companies and workplaces have generally focused upon documentary sources and neglected the subjectivities of individual workers.¹⁰ Research into the largely undocumented experiences of groups of people whose voices have been marginalised, including the male civilian workers of wartime Clydeside, therefore contains notable gaps.¹¹

Over the second half of the twentieth century, however, a gradual global acceptance of oral history's validity as a source has taken place, fuelled by technological changes and the emergence of recording machines, as well as the dismantling of the British Empire and the consequent move among newly independent nations to research their own histories. Thompson has also argued that the emergence of the working class movement in Britain, symbolised in the coming to power of the 1945 Labour Government, as well as the convergence of sociology and history, encouraged by the founding of new universities in the 1960s, contributed to the rapid growth of the oral history discipline in the country and the

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ For example: Michael Dick, *The 4.15 to Cartsdyke! A Tale of Two Shipyards: - Scotts' and the Greenock Dockyard*, (Edinburgh: Pentland Press, 1993).

¹¹ Perks and Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, p. iv.

foundation of the Oral History Society in 1973.¹² Nonetheless, scepticism has emerged about the methodology from notable historians. Eric Hobsbawm centred his concern on the vagaries of memory and its unreliability; Niall Ferguson stated in January 2009 that ‘oral history is a recipe for complete misrepresentation because almost no one tells the truth, even when they intend to’; Arthur Marwick has called oral history ‘inherently (given the fallibility of human memory) a highly problematic source’; W. H. Dray argued that ‘good history is based...not on testimony but on evidence’; and A. J. P. Taylor described the methodology as ‘old men drooling about their youth’.¹³ Such dismissal of oral history, by a number of well-known and well-established historians, indicates that research such as my own, examining the experiences of people ‘hidden from history’ and using oral histories as its primary source material, continues to face challenges in the present day.¹⁴

Certainly, oral historians must be aware of a number of key issues when conducting oral history interviews. One such issue is the concept of ‘composure’, developed in the 1980s and 1990s, principally by the historian Graham Dawson. According to Dawson, interviewees ‘composed’ events from their lives during interviews to make their memories acceptable to themselves and to their listeners,

¹² Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, pp. 60-80.

¹³ Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth Century History and Theory*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 230; Niall Ferguson, ‘This Much I Know’, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2009/jan/18/niall-ferguson-historian-interview>, accessed 9th December 2009; Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language*, (Houndmill: Palgrave, 2001), p. 171; W. H. Dray, ‘Narrative Versus Analysis in History’ in *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1985, p. 137; Robert Gildea, ‘The Long March of Oral History: Around 1968 in France’ in *Oral History*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Spring 2010, p. 68.

¹⁴ Perks and Thomson, *Oral History Reader*, p. iv.

creating stability in their recollections.¹⁵ Corinna Peniston-Bird has pointed out that interviewees also construct memories using the public language and attitudes of their culture and their testimonies are shaped by public versions of historical events. This is apparent in Alistair Thomson's study of ANZAC soldiers in the First World War. Thomson argued that:

Our memories are risky and painful if they do not conform with the public norms or versions of the past. We compose our memories so that they will fit with what is publicly acceptable, or, if we have been excluded from general acceptance, we seek out particular publics which affirm identities and the way we want to remember our lives.¹⁶

The notion of 'what is publicly acceptable' changes over time and in using oral testimonies from both new interviews and existing oral history collections to research the masculine subjectivities of men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War, it is therefore necessary to be aware that male civilian workers may have 'composed' their memories according to social and cultural understandings of their reserved employment, both in wartime and the time period in which the interviews were undertaken, decades later.

However, although this research has explored archived interviews undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s as well as new interviews undertaken in 2010 and 2011, notable differences in how men saw their reserved wartime work were not evident, despite recent events such as Falkirk Council's November 2008 ceremony to award the Freedom of Falkirk Council Area, the highest civic honour which the Council can

¹⁵ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*, (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 25.

¹⁶ Corinna Peniston-Bird, 'Oral History: the Sound of Memory' in Barber and Peniston-Bird, (eds.), *History Beyond the Text*, p. 108; Alistair Thomson, 'Anzac Memories: Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practice in Australia' in *Oral History*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Spring 1990, p. 25.

bestow, to local men and women who worked in reserved occupations during the war.¹⁷ Although such events could be said to have raised greater public awareness of the reserved occupations in recent times, it is not clear that such awareness significantly altered the ways in which men viewed their wartime work. Arguably these events have not been sufficiently widespread or well-publicised to significantly affect men's retrospective views of their work.

Discussions of the concept of 'composure' often assume that talking about uncomfortable or even traumatic events is a beneficial experience for oral history interviewees. However, Wendy Rickard has argued that although oral history interviews can have a therapeutic effect on interviewees, moving discussion of traumatic experiences outside professionally contained spheres of therapy can mix private distress with creative impulses and consequently feel dangerous, as well as create difficulties with interviewees' desire for control over the final recordings.¹⁸ Tony Kushner's study of the oral testimonies of Holocaust survivors also discusses the difficulties of recording traumatic memories.¹⁹ Penny Summerfield's arguments that 'discomposure' of interviewees can result from a variety of intersubjective processes involved in oral history interviews stem from research such as this and she notes that many personal stories are not easy to tell. Notably, she has pointed to the 'cultural veil' hanging over the experiences of young, fit, civilian men on the

¹⁷ Arthur McIvor, Juliette Pattinson and Wendy Ugolini, 'Masculinities Challenged? Men in the Reserved Occupations in Second World War Britain', unpublished conference paper delivered at Swansea University, 11th September 2009.

¹⁸ Wendy Rickard, 'Oral History - More Dangerous than Therapy? Interviewees' Reflections on Recording Traumatic or Taboo Issues' in *Oral History*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Autumn 1998, pp. 34-48.

¹⁹ Tony Kushner, 'Oral History at the Extremes of Human Experience: Holocaust Testimony in a Museum Setting' in *Oral History*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Autumn 2001, pp. 83-91.

British Home Front in the Second World War and the difficulties of making memories fit with publicly acceptable discourses. Summerfield has also argued that such discourses vary according to gender. In her interviews with civilian men and women in Second World War Britain, men often sought to 'fit' their experiences into the hegemonic military discourses of wartime and women sometimes struggled to relate stories of leaving their jobs and returning to the matrimonial home after the war to more modern feminist discourses.²⁰

The research presented here explores the extent to which social and cultural discourses propagating the notion of a hegemonic military masculine ideal during the Second World War were relevant to men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. In an effort to achieve a more rounded and nuanced understanding of the complexity of the masculine subjectivities of reserved workers, my research also discusses the effects of social and cultural discourses on women who worked in reserved occupations in the region, engaging with men on a daily basis. The use of oral histories makes it essential to be aware that such men and women may have sought to 'fit' their experiences with 'publicly acceptable' discourses. Armed with such awareness, this research has aimed to achieve an incisive study, probing oral testimonies for meanings about the experiences of wartime civilians not apparent in documentary evidence or cultural depictions, which arguably obscure continuities of experience. Alessandro Portelli has argued that oral history must be kept methodologically distinct from straight factual

²⁰ Penny Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews' in *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2004, pp. 65-93.

information, and the testimonies of the men and women used in this research are therefore not understood as providing such factual information, rather revealing meanings about their individual experiences.²¹ In both the archived interviews used in my study and in my new interviews, for example, it was often difficult for interviewees to clarify the dates of events, and when exactly they started or finished particular periods of employment. However, specific dates and indeed factual clarity were not the most fundamental goals of my research, which rather sought to explore the feelings of men and what their experiences meant and represented to them.

The concept of 'intersubjectivity' is also key to understanding the notions of 'composure' and 'discomposure', as interviewees often adjust their tales according to the presence of other people, such as family members, in their interviews, or because of perceptions about the interviewer. Hilary Young, for example, has discussed her experiences researching masculinities in Glasgow as a young female interviewer, noting that interviewee responses often took account of both her age and gender, while Penny Summerfield has noted the significance of her pregnancy in interacting with some female interviewees.²² However, Juliette Pattinson has recently argued that it is possible to become too preoccupied with the notion of gendered intersubjectivities. Pattinson asserted that evidence from her interview sample of secret war veterans reveals other dynamics alongside gender in

²¹ Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, p. 256.

²² Hilary Young, 'Re/composing Masculinities' in *Oral History*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Spring 2007, pp. 71-80; Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 281.

interviews, such as generational differences, social status and interviewees' perceptions about the interviewer picked up from introductory correspondence.²³

Also suggesting that dynamics other than gender affect interviews, Corinna Peniston-Bird has written of an interview in which class differences influenced her relationship with an elderly interviewee:

Within a minute of his opening his front door, I could feel him withdraw from me. This was the first time this had happened to me, and I was perplexed as to what had happened, especially as our letter contact prior to the interview had been relaxed and friendly. The indication happened, as so often, off tape. The respondent started looking around. I offered to help. 'I'm just looking for my gla(h)-sses,' he responded. 'Ah, your glasses,' I said and started hunting around. 'Glar-ses,' he mimicked. It was my accent. As soon as he had opened the door and I had greeted him with 'How do you do? I'm Corinna', I had undermined the interview.²⁴

However, Alessandro Portelli has also noted that 'difference' between interviewees and interviewers can contribute to interviewers being seen as 'harmless' and can consequently be beneficial to the flow of interview dialogue, but that oral history can never represent the notion of the working classes speaking for themselves.²⁵

Oral historians have therefore emphasised that many complex processes occur in the intersubjective relationship between interviewer and interviewee.

It has been essential when undertaking my research project and analysing oral evidence from male reserved workers on the Clyde to be aware that such evidence is likely to be affected by this intersubjective relationship. My interviewees were all

²³ Juliette Pattinson, 'The Thing that Made Me Hesitate: Re-examining Gendered Intersubjectivities in Interviews with British Secret War Veterans', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2011, pp. 245-263.

²⁴ Peniston-Bird, 'Oral History', p. 111.

²⁵ Alessandro Portelli, 'Thirty Years of Fieldwork in Harlan County: Oral History as Method and Practice', Scottish Oral History Centre seminar series, 3rd June 2011; Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, p. 55.

very elderly men, mostly from working class backgrounds, and could be expected to have certain preconceptions about my role as a relatively young, female and middle class interviewer, despite our shared Scottish nationalities. The influence on my interviews of these differences between myself and my interviewees is evident in the recordings. For example, Robert Hodge, born in 1924 and a miner in Ayrshire during the war, remarked at one stage on my 'posh' Scottish accent: 'See that [...] accent o' yours, I get lost.'²⁶ Other men including Stewart Halley, also born in 1924 and a farmer near the town of Larkhall in wartime who frequently corrected the word 'tatties' to 'potatoes', tried to modify their accents and make them less broad when speaking to me.²⁷ I also sensed that a number of men felt that they needed to comment on issues affecting women because of my presence. James McMonigle, for example, born in 1929 and employed in a shipyard drawing office during the war, remarked unprompted that 'I don't know what women did during the war, I can't remember what women did during the war' and James Wilson, meanwhile, born in 1924 and employed as a naval architect in Glasgow in wartime, became very awkward and laughed bashfully when revealing his beliefs that family life was more stable before women began to enter the workplace in large numbers, in all likelihood because he was revealing these views in my presence.²⁸ In addition, William Dewar, born in 1924, probably downplayed his views on equal pay during the war for women, remarking that 'this was a wee sore point' in his workplace, Hyde Park Railway Works in Springburn, run by the North British Locomotive

²⁶ Robert Hodge, interviewed by Alison Chand, 29th November 2011.

²⁷ Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

²⁸ James McMonigle, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010; James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010.

Company.²⁹ It is probable that his opinion was much more elaborate than this and that resentment against equal pay for women among apprentices represented more than 'a wee sore point' for William Dewar, but in my presence he was unwilling to expand on his views. However, while I remained aware of the possible negative effects of these intersubjective dynamics while conducting my research, the differences between my interviewees and me could also be beneficial. At times, I felt that the men were more inclined to discuss their feelings with me about masculinity in a way that they would perhaps not have done to an older man of a similar class background. James Kane, for example, born in 1918 in the Govan area of Glasgow, went to help out after the Clydebank Blitz with his ARP unit from Govan and told me that he felt 'sick', 'upset' and 'numb' because of some of the traumatic situations with which he was confronted.³⁰ In addition, I also felt that a number of men provided more expansive details of their employment because they perceived me to be ignorant of industrial work. For example, at the end of my interview with Robert Hodge, he commented that 'I'll show you various things, that'll gie you an idea of what we've been talking about', and took me out to his shed to explain pieces of mining apparatus such as his old helmet, lamp and pick to me in great detail, evidently viewing me as lacking in key knowledge about the mining industry.³¹ Intersubjectivity therefore worked to shape my research in diverse and complex ways and it was necessary to be aware of both positive and negative effects.

²⁹ William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

³⁰ James Kane, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th May 2012.

³¹ Robert Hodge, interviewed by Alison Chand, 29th November 2011.

It is also acknowledged that respondents' private memories can be influenced by 'public' accounts, shaped by cultural sources such as media reports, books and films. It is more likely that such 'public' memories will be influential when the subject matter has received popular interest and information about it is widely disseminated. Arguably, while the Second World War has been the subject of much popular interest, the same is not, and has not historically been, true of those who worked in reserved occupations, as is illustrated in Chapter Three. While it has remained important to be aware of the influence of 'public' memories, and in particular the frequent absence of the reserved occupations from discourses of war, oral history therefore remains a particularly relevant and useful methodology for this research, restoring silenced voices to the historical record.

This chapter has thus far noted that the oral historian must be alert to issues such as 'composure', 'discomposure' and 'intersubjectivity'. Nonetheless, particularly from the 1970s, historians have increasingly argued for the use of oral testimonies as valid sources in research. Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, for example, have argued that awareness of the complex processes of memory reconstruction does not invalidate oral history and that, providing rigorous integration with other available primary source evidence takes place, the discipline has the potential to shed important insights on inadequately documented areas of experience.³² I will discuss my use of complementary primary sources in this

³² Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, *Miners' Lung: A History of Dust Disease in British Coal Mining*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 13.

research, providing greater validity to my findings from oral history sources, later in this chapter.

Moreover, historians such as Luisa Passerini have noted that differences between interviewees and interviewers, including differences in age, life experience and gender, can be beneficial in encouraging interviewees to discuss their memories freely, also supporting the use of oral history methodologies in historical research.³³ The benefits of such differences were evident, as we have seen, in my interactions with interviewees. Meanwhile, Alessandro Portelli has argued that the very fact that oral sources are so different from written sources makes them particularly useful. He has argued that: 'Our awe of writing has distorted our perception of language and communication to the point where we no longer understand either orality or the nature of writing itself.'³⁴ Portelli's research has called for oral history sources to be understood as oral narrative sources, telling more about the meaning of events than about events themselves, the processes of history rather than the outcomes, and therefore offering a different kind of credibility but credibility nonetheless.³⁵ Re-enforcing this notion of 'a different kind of credibility', Paul Thompson has described oral history as 'a rich and varied source for creative historians', making history more democratic. His work shows oral

³³ Luisa Passerini, 'Is Gender Still a Useful Category for Oral History?', University of Glasgow Centre for Gender History seminar series, 10th May 2011.

³⁴ Alessandro Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different' in Perks and Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, p. 33.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 33-41.

history as a challenge to the 'accepted myths' of history, often more full and accurate than written testimony.³⁶

Offering further support to oral history as a valid and reliable methodology, prominent oral historians such as Portelli have also argued that human subjects cannot be contained in one discipline. The nature of history is that it is concerned with the past. However, oral history interviews take place in the present and consequently link the discipline of history with others such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, geography and science, allowing researchers to move towards a wider, more nuanced picture of the experiences of human subjects.³⁷ A significant number of historians have therefore made valid arguments justifying the use of oral history testimonies in research, and my work on the subjectivities and experiences of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside has therefore aimed towards revealing such a nuanced picture, crossing boundaries between different disciplines, examining social change through the prism of individual subjectivity and consequently forming a more rounded and complete historical study than could have been achieved through examining documentary evidence alone.

Re-enforcing the validity of oral history methodology for this research, a number of historians have used oral testimonies in their reconstruction of men and women's wartime lives. Caroline Daley has noted that historians of masculinity have often been slow to embrace the technique, feeling that men are more likely to

³⁶ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, pp. 3-24.

³⁷ Portelli, 'Thirty Years of Fieldwork in Harlan County: Oral History as Method and Practice', Scottish Oral History Centre seminar series, 3rd June 2011.

assert dominant discourses than to want to discuss their feelings.³⁸ Indeed, oral history studies such as Clark and Carnegie's exploration of the lives of women in Edinburgh and Glasgow, which uses the oral history archives of Edinburgh and Glasgow Museums and spans from 1900 to the 1960s, often focus primarily on women.³⁹ However, Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor's work about the twentieth-century relationship between masculinity and heavy industry in the west of Scotland focuses primarily on men, as do the oral histories conducted for Alan McKinlay's research into shipyard workers in inter-war Clydeside.⁴⁰ Ann Marie Hughes has also used oral history to look at representations of domestic violence in Clydeside between the two world wars, while Ian MacDougall has written extensively on social history, notably publishing a collection of interview extracts detailing the spoken recollections of twenty-three working Scottish men and women of different ages.⁴¹ In addition, Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird's work on the Home Guard, as well as Juliette Pattinson's study of gender in the Special Operations Executive, used interviews with men as well as women.⁴²

³⁸ Caroline Daley, 'He Would Know, But I Just Have a Feeling: Gender and Oral History' in *Women's History Review*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1998, pp. 343-359.

³⁹ Helen Clark and Elizabeth Carnegie, *She Was Aye Workin': The Memories of Tenement Women in Edinburgh and Glasgow*, (Oxford: White Cockade Publishing, 2003).

⁴⁰ Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor, 'Dangerous Work, Hard Men and Broken Bodies: Masculinity in the Clydeside Heavy Industries 1930-1970s' in *Labour History Review*, Vol. 69, No. 2, August 2004, pp. 135-146; Johnston and Mclvor, *Miners' Lung*; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor, 'Narratives from the Urban Workplace': Oral Testimonies and Reconstruction of Men's Work in the Heavy Industries in Glasgow' in R. Rodger (ed.), *Testimonies of the City*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Alan McKinlay, *Making Ships, Making Men*, (Clydebank: Clydebank Libraries, 1991).

⁴¹ Ann Marie Hughes, 'Representations and Counter Representations of Domestic Violence on Clydeside Between the Two World Wars' in *Labour History Review*, Vol. 69, No. 2, August 2004, pp. 169-181; Ian MacDougall, *Voices from Work and Home: Personal Recollections of Working Life and Labour Struggles in the Twentieth Century by Scots Men and Women*, (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2000).

⁴² Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird, *Contesting Home Defence: Men, Women and the Home Guard in the Second World War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Juliette

Despite Caroline Daley's observations, these studies thus demonstrate the potential of gleaning rich material from oral history interviews conducted with male interviewees.

Oral history is a highly appropriate methodology for research into the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside. Little documentary evidence exists about male civilian workers in the region during the Second World War and few have left written records of their experiences. Using personal testimonies as the primary focus of this research therefore has important potential to uncover the experiences of a key marginalised group in history from the perspectives of group members themselves. Discussing her views about the methodology, Luisa Passerini has noted that oral history has already played a fundamental role in understanding gender as part of human subjectivities. However, she has also argued that use of oral history is no longer as 'avant garde' as it was in the 1970s and 1980s and is now often overshadowed by new theories such as post-colonialism. Particularly significant to this study is the question that her research asks about how oral history and gender should relate to one another in modern historical research.⁴³ Having been at the vanguard of developing an understanding of the separate gender identities of men and women in history, oral history can arguably now be a fundamental tool in developing a more nuanced understanding of these subjectivities. Men and women have always existed in 'living' communities and relationships. In my research, oral history has begun to

Pattinson, *Behind Enemy Lines: Gender, Passing and the Special Operations Executive in the Second World War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

⁴³ Passerini, 'Is Gender Still a Useful Category for Oral History?', 10th May 2011.

'undo' the historical 'antagonism' identified by Joan Scott between men and women and explore these communities and relationships.⁴⁴

Ana Carden-Coyne, in her discussion of the rehabilitation of human bodies and minds after the First World War, has raised the key question of how the effects of discourse and culture on individual lives can be measured.⁴⁵ My research has used personal testimonies, principally oral histories, to address the question of how social and cultural discourses on masculinity affected the individual lives of men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War. Carden-Coyne has also noted that collective memory, for example in cultural sources, cannot tolerate dissent and therefore must always be open to contestation.⁴⁶ The extensive use of oral testimonies in this research represents a key method of exploring this notion of contested memory, analysing individual memories, the conflicting evidence they yield and what this evidence means for wider historical discussions about social change and subjectivity during the Second World War.

2.2 Existing Oral History Collections

As outlined, I have explored a number of existing oral history collections as part of my research. Joanna Bornat has written in detail about the advantages and pitfalls

⁴⁴ Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 5, Dec. 1986, pp. 1053-1075.

⁴⁵ Ana Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism and the First World War*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 9.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

of revisiting oral history interviews with secondary analysis in mind. She has noted that 'fresh readings of documents [...] help us to see and hear different interpretations, make new connections, revisiting our perspectives of those past times as well as our understandings of what we see around us', but also discussed problems associated with this kind of research, such as discrepancies between the scope of the original data and secondary research questions, as well as ethical considerations about use of materials for purposes of which the original interviewees were unaware.⁴⁷ Both advantages and problems such as these were also relevant to my own analysis of existing oral history interviews and are discussed in this section.

My research included extensive use of the Glasgow Museums' Oral History Collection, mostly housed at Glasgow Museums Resource Centre in Nitshill and containing over 650 oral history interviews on analogue and digital media. 19 distinct projects make up the collection. My research has mainly used interviews collected as part of the 2000 Glasgow Lives Project, carried out in 1996 by the Open Museum to gather testimonies of Glaswegians of different ages ahead of the new millennium, as well as a donation of over 100 interviews conducted in Springburn for publication in *The Springburn Experience: An Oral History of Work in a Railway Community from 1840 to the present*.⁴⁸ Other existing collections used in this research have included oral testimonies held at Motherwell Heritage Centre in

⁴⁷ Joanna Bornat, 'A Second Take: Revisiting Interviews with a Different Purpose', in *Oral History*, Vol. 31, No. 1, Spring 2003, pp. 47-53.

⁴⁸ Tracey Hawkins, *Oral History Assessment Project Report*, (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 2008), pp. 2-20.

North Lanarkshire, the Auld Kirk Museum in Kirkintilloch, and the Glasgow University Archives, as well as the Imperial War Museum Sound Archive in London. Bornat has noted that 'by depositing interview data in an archive it is being put into some kind of public ownership'.⁴⁹ Although there were difficulties with ascertaining whether correct permissions had been obtained to use some interviews, as discussed later in this chapter, ethical secondary analysis of these existing collections was largely possible.

Working with these existing collections has been advantageous in a number of ways. The local archives mentioned were of particular relevance to my research, containing large numbers of testimonies of men and women who had lived and worked specifically in the Clydeside area. Although the Imperial War Museum Sound Archive is home to 30,000 hours of tape-recorded oral history interviews, only a handful have been undertaken with men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside.

Research in existing oral history collections has also enabled the testimonies of older men, now long dead, who were in reserved occupations and married with families during the war, to be considered as part of this project. Although Clydeside, as we have seen in Chapter One, was largely associated with heavy industry, some men were also employed in reserved occupations in 'white collar' occupations such as insurance, banking, the civil services, and office work in shipyard drawing offices. However, as a result of the time that has now passed since the end of the Second

⁴⁹ Bornat, 'A Second Take', p. 52.

World War, new interviews undertaken in the present day with men who were in reserved employment in Clydeside during the war could only include men who were in their late teens or early twenties while they were working. These men were more likely to have been employed in industrial work in which men were reserved at a younger age, rather than 'white collar' reserved employment, where ages of reservation tended to be older.⁵⁰ Use of existing collections has enabled important analysis to be made on the relevance of different masculine subjectivities to older and younger male workers, contributing to a fuller and more complete study than could otherwise have been undertaken.

However, despite the clear advantages of using existing oral history collections in this research, such use has also incurred a number of difficulties, including lack of financial and human resources. In addition, access to the collections held at Glasgow Museums Resource Centre and to most of those collections held in Clydeside was hampered by the lack of searchable collection databases and catalogues. For example, the interviews forming part of the 2000 Glasgow Lives project, kept in a variety of media formats, were stored in alphabetical order in a filing cabinet in the Centre, which had to be manually searched. Each interview (usually on cassette tape) was stored with a summary sheet showing personal details of interviewees such as date of birth, place of birth and occupation, as well as key details about the interview, such as the name of the interviewer and the date of the interview. The summary sheets also showed a tick list of topics which had

⁵⁰ H. M. D. Parker, *Manpower: A Study of Wartime Policy and Administration*, (London: HMSO, 1957), p. 75, p. 226; House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online, *Schedule of Reserved Occupations*, (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1939).

been completed by the interviewers. Although topics included 'wartime' and 'work', it was clear on listening to a random sample of interviews that the tick lists had often not been accurately filled in, with interviewees frequently discussing topics not acknowledged on the list. Only one occupation was ever attributed to interviewees on the summary sheets, usually their first ever job, despite many interviewees having had varied careers. Other existing oral history collections, for example the ones held at Motherwell Heritage Centre and the Auld Kirk Museum in Kirkintilloch, often had even more limited available information about interviews. Frequently, it was necessary to actually listen to tapes to establish the date of birth and occupation of a particular interviewee, resulting in some lost time listening to interviews later discovered to be outside the remit of this research. Access to relevant existing oral history collections was therefore often not straightforward.

The relevance or otherwise of material held in existing oral history collections was also problematic at times. Questions asked in interviews did not always reflect the goals of my research project as the collections were not designed with a view to analysing the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside. The gleaning of relevant material was also sometimes hampered by poor recording quality. Many interviews with elderly respondents in the majority of the collections were undertaken in nursing homes, with much background noise. In addition, volunteer interviewers often demonstrated inexperience in controlling volume levels and positioning microphones, contributing further sound interference. Although several skilled volunteer interviewers did undertake a number of interviews, it is also clear that some volunteer interviewers lacked important

interviewing skills, asking leading questions, talking over interviewees and cutting their testimonies short. A number of inappropriate interviews were also undertaken, particularly with elderly interviewees clearly suffering from conditions such as dementia. Although copyright clearance forms had been obtained for many of these interviews, their use in research would be clearly unethical. While useful material was gleaned from existing oral history collections, some material was nonetheless irrelevant or unusable.

A final issue in the use of existing oral history collections for this research was that copyright clearance forms had sometimes not been obtained at the time of interviewing. For example, although such forms were obtained for the 2000 Glasgow Lives Project, earlier projects held at Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, Motherwell Heritage Centre and the Auld Kirk Museum in Kirkintilloch are not always covered by copyright clearance. In some cases, the lines are particularly blurry. For instance, the interviews collected as part of an oral history of the Springburn area have no copyright clearance forms, but were published in a book, meaning that such copyright clearance has been assumed, and were also in some cases conducted before the passage of the Copyright Act in 1988, as part of which legislation clearance became a legal requirement in oral history research. In cases where interviews were conducted before the Act was passed, copyright clearance forms are therefore not required to make use of these interviews in research. It has been necessary, however, to be careful in selecting which interviews to use in this research to ensure that adequate copyright clearance is in place.

Although it has therefore been advantageous in a number of ways to use existing oral history collections as a key part of this research into the masculine subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, and a number of important revelations have been gleaned from these collections, their use has also presented a number of important difficulties. Conducting new interviews with men who were in reserved employment in the region during the war has therefore been necessary to gain important insights into the experiences of male civilian workers.

2.3 New Oral History Interviews

To recruit male interviewees who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, advertisements were placed in the *Herald* and the *Evening Times*, the two newspapers, based in Glasgow, with the highest readership in Clydeside. Although I mostly refer to the former newspaper as the *Glasgow Herald* in this thesis, the name of the publication changed to become simply the *Herald* in 1992. Short articles were also written and published in a number of smaller local papers in other Clydeside towns, and posters were distributed to a variety of locations in the region, including libraries, nursing homes, reminiscence groups, GP surgeries, churches, museums and other tourist attractions, including National Trust for Scotland properties and other heritage centres. Such wide distribution was considered necessary because of the relatively small numbers of men old enough to

have been of working age during the Second World War and currently able to be interviewed still living in the area.

These advertisements, articles and posters produced 46 respondents, of whom 31 were men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War. Two men responded who were too young to have been in reserved occupations during the war, but whose jobs were reserved after the war, and two additional men replied who were residing in Clydeside but worked in reserved occupations elsewhere in Britain during the war, and their testimonies were considered when looking in Chapter Four at the specifically regional nature of the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers in wartime Glasgow and Clydeside. I also interviewed three men from Clydeside who served in the armed forces for the duration of the war. These men were friends of men who had already agreed to record their testimonies and who were also interested in sharing their views on the reserved occupations. Notably, eight women also responded, including one woman born in 1944 whose mother had worked in a reserved occupation, despite the advertisements specifically requesting male interviewees. This high response reinforces the notion discussed in Chapter Six that many women felt pride in their wartime work in reserved occupations, and also indicates that the experiences of such women have also been neglected in historical research. Although Penny Summerfield's book *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives* was published in 1998 and provided key insights into the lives and subjectivities of British women working

during the Second World War, the experiences of Scottish women are largely absent from the historical record.⁵¹

As part of the recruitment of new interviewees undertaken as part of this research, some respondents interviewed as part of existing oral history collections such as the 2000 Glasgow Lives Project who had discussed their work in reserved occupations in their original interviews were also re-contacted. However, this yielded no positive responses and most interviewees no longer lived at the addresses given at the time of their original interviews. Notably, the one man with whom contact was made in this way, Gerald Carlin, was insistent that he had not worked in a reserved occupation and had served in the Army during the war, despite his original interview indicating that he had had to try very hard to leave his reserved employment in order to enter military service at the outbreak of war.⁵² This response suggests that he may have felt emasculated in his reserved occupation and sought to join the armed forces to reclaim masculinity; an issue discussed in Chapter Three.

2.4 Analysing New and Archived Interviews

Historians such as Nancy Mackay have asserted that full transcription of interviews is fundamental for the preservation of recordings.⁵³ However, oral history

⁵¹ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*.

⁵² Gerald Carlin, interviewed by James McKenna, 5th February, 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁵³ Nancy Mackay, *Curating Oral Histories: From Interview to Archive*, (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007).

interviews cannot arguably be adequately represented in print because 'even a complete transcript is an interpretation of the recording'.⁵⁴ Steven High, in his discussion of oral history and new media, has argued that 'nobody pretends for a moment that the transcript is...a better representation of the interview than the voice itself', a notion strongly re-enforced in the work of Alessandro Portelli.⁵⁵ This research has therefore worked directly where possible with interview recordings to remain as close to the original words as possible. Full transcripts have, however, been made of all new interviews carried out as part of the research for purposes of preservation.⁵⁶

To ensure the completion of as full and nuanced a study into the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside as possible, it has also been necessary to consider methods of analysis for oral testimonies. Alessandro Portelli has noted that: 'Oral sources are narrative sources. Therefore the analysis of oral history materials must avail itself of some of the general categories developed in the theory of literature.'⁵⁷ Lynn Abrams has additionally observed that: 'Oral history sources are also narrative sources, so historians must use theories derived for the interpretation of literary and folklore texts and those derived from linguistics and psychology in order to gain insight into the meaning as opposed to the content

⁵⁴ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, p. 260.

⁵⁵ Steven High, 'Telling Stories: A Reflection on Oral History and New Media' in *Oral History*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Spring 2010, p. 102; Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, p. 47.

⁵⁶ Transcripts and recordings will be archived at the Scottish Oral History Centre at the University of Strathclyde upon completion of this PhD thesis.

⁵⁷ Alessandro Portelli, 'The Peculiarities of Oral History', *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1981, pp. 96-107.

of the interview.⁵⁸ Analysis of the structure, language and narrative of the interviews used as part of this research is therefore regularly carried out throughout this thesis and aids understanding of interviewees' feelings, emotions and desires, all key facets of their subjectivities. It is also important to consider *how* people talk about their memories as well as *what* they say. Reinforcing the importance of working as closely as possible with original, spoken recordings, Block has noted that: 'The original tape is the primary document...Anything which comes after that can only be by definition an edited or interpreted version.'⁵⁹

Oral history also arguably inclines historians to a heightened state of interdisciplinary awareness.⁶⁰ As we have already seen, Alessandro Portelli has described the methodology as one which converges with sociology, psychology, anthropology, linguistics, folklore and music.⁶¹ In addition, Jean Freedman has noted the difficulty of finding any one discipline 'sufficient to describe and comprehend human behaviour and creativity'.⁶² Oral sources importantly reveal a good deal about sociological, psychological and anthropological concerns, delving into the subjectivities of the men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside and exploring issues such as what they wanted to do, why they wanted to do it and what they now think they did.

⁵⁸ Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 16.

⁵⁹ R. Block, 'Comments on Kate Moore's "Perversion of the Word": the Role of Transcripts in Oral History' in *Words and Silences: Bulletin of the International Oral History Association*, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1997, pp. 32-35.

⁶⁰ Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, p. xi.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Jean Freedman, *Whistling in the Dark: Memory and Culture in Wartime London*, (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), p. 9.

A final consideration in the use of oral history testimonies in research is the question of copyright and ethics. Thompson observes that the interviewer has responsibilities towards interviewees and consequently formal agreements must be set up for use of interview material. Interviewers have an ethical obligation to obtain 'informed consent' and the attention of interviewees should be drawn to the use of their material.⁶³ The Oral History Society website has provided useful guidelines for ethical use of oral history evidence.⁶⁴ For my research project, I have used pre-interview and post-interview consent forms based on these guidelines to ensure responsible and ethical use of interview material. These can be found in appendices two and four of this thesis.

2.5 Other Primary Sources

As well as oral histories, other primary sources have been explored in this research project. These include representations of men working in reserved occupations in wartime Glasgow and Clydeside in different kinds of personal testimonies, including written testimonies, as well as representations of such men in popular culture.

Although noting the limitations of the written word in autobiographical form and questioning the possibility of translating 'the chaotic ebb and flow of experience' into narrative forms, Jill Ker-Conway has asserted in her research that autobiographies represent another key route towards understanding personal

⁶³ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, pp. 252-257.

⁶⁴ Oral History Society, 'Copyright and Ethics', available at <http://www.ohs.org.uk/ethics/>, accessed 17th February 2012.

subjectivity and experience.⁶⁵ Kerr-Conway has argued that the past is not fully determined by economic and political forces, also representing a moral and spiritual journey best revealed through personal testimony.⁶⁶ In addition Peter Claus and John Marriott have detailed the increasing use of visual and literary sources, including novels, in historical research, noting that: 'Preoccupation with culture in literature and history has tended to make fiction writers more historically minded and historians more sensitive to the multiplicity of endings and narrative trails that fiction might open up.'⁶⁷ Martin Bellamy, meanwhile, has explored a number of written first-hand personal testimonies of workers in his research into Glasgow's shipyards, including memoirs, biographies and shipyard house journals, as well as photographs and extracts from novels, short stories and poems.⁶⁸ Primary sources such as these, as well as archival evidence, have shed additional light on wartime masculine subjectivities in the reserved occupations in Glasgow.

I have also undertaken extensive research in archives containing written personal testimonies of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside, including the BBC *People's War* Archive and the online version of the Mass Observation Archive housed at the University of Sussex. The *People's War* archive is a website comprising contributions made by members of the public to the BBC about the Second World War between June 2003 and January 2006, and which now contains

⁶⁵ Jill Kerr-Conway, *When Memory Speaks: Reflections on Autobiography*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), p. 3.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 176.

⁶⁷ Peter Claus and John Marriott, *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice*, (Harlow: Pearson, 2012), pp. 257-279.

⁶⁸ Martin Bellamy, *The Shipbuilders: An Anthology of Scottish Shipyard Life*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2001), p. xviii.

approximately 47,000 stories of wartime and 15,000 images.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, Mass Observation was founded by Charles Madge and Tom Harrisson in 1937 and represented a different style of historical research from the statistical surveys previously dominating the discipline, using a research methodology of subjective accounts and observation.⁷⁰ Historians such as Penny Summerfield and Dorothy Sheridan have made increasing use of these subjective accounts to research groups of people whose experiences have arguably been neglected in historical study, such as women in wartime.⁷¹ The Mass Observation Archive, and the reports and written testimonies contained within it, have also provided some useful insights into the experiences of men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, who represented, as we have seen, another neglected group in history. Nonetheless, only a handful of these reports and written testimonies were compiled by or about male civilian workers on the Clyde, and the rich information gleaned from existing oral history collections, mostly housed in the Clydeside area, as well as new interviews, therefore remained essential to the depth of research revealed in this thesis.

Other cultural and official sources which supplemented this research included paintings, photographs and novels, as well as official documents and newspaper reports. In particular, we have seen that research in newspaper archives and

⁶⁹ BBC *People's War* Archive, available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/>, accessed 28th June 2012.

⁷⁰ Penny Summerfield, 'Mass Observation: Social Research or Social Movement?' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1985, pp. 439-452.

⁷¹ Ibid; Dorothy Sheridan, 'Ambivalent Memories: Women and the 1939-1945 War in Britain' in *Oral History*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Spring 1990, pp. 32-40; Dorothy Sheridan, *Wartime Women: A Mass Observation Anthology – The Experiences of Women in War*, (London: Heinemann, 1990).

collections of official documents, including the online archive of Hansard parliamentary debates, has informed much of the discussion presented in Chapter One of this thesis. Supporting the use of such sources in historical research, Jessica Meyer has asserted that personal accounts of the past should never be used in isolation from public narrative.⁷² Use of newspapers and official documentation in research to ensure that such isolation does not occur has been extensively discussed by, among others, Peter Claus and John Marriott, and is evident in the work of a number of historians, including Michael Bromley, Hugh Cudlipp, Anthony James and Adrian Bingham.⁷³ Strengthening my research into oral testimonies with exploration of cultural and official sources has therefore ensured that the findings of this study represent the personal experiences of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside integrated with wider public narratives.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has clearly outlined the primarily oral history methodology used in my research. Oral histories have extensively informed historical research in the past and are now increasingly important to studies of people whose experiences are

⁷² Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 12.

⁷³ Claus and Marriott, *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice*, pp. 365-385; Michael Bromley, 'Was it the *Mirror* Wot Won It? The Development of the Tabloid Press During the Second World War' in Nick Hayes and Jeff Hill (eds.), *Millions Like Us: British Culture in the Second World War*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. 93-124; Hugh Cudlipp, *Publish and Be Damned: The Astonishing Story of the Daily Mirror*, (London: Andrew Dakers Ltd., 1953); Anthony James, *Informing the People: How the Government Won Hearts and Minds to Win World War Two*, (London: HMSO, 1996); Adrian Bingham, *Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press in Interwar Britain*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004).

largely absent from the historical record, such as men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War. This thesis has therefore used a diverse range of oral testimonies, incorporating both existing oral history collections and new interviews and corroborated and complemented by additional primary sources such as newspapers, official documentation and cultural materials to develop a coherent, rounded, and incisive picture of the individual lives and subjectivities of male civilian workers on the wartime Clyde.

Chapter Three

Conflicting Masculinities? : Men in Reserved Occupations in Wartime Glasgow and Clydeside and their Masculine Subjectivities

‘You didnae enjoy the hellish jobs [...] but you did them because there was a camaraderie there.’¹

‘Camaraderie’, here described by wartime farmer Stewart Halley as a reason why he enjoyed his reserved job, was particularly important to the subjectivities of men in reserved occupations during the Second World War. We have seen in Chapter One that research into wartime masculinity has neglected the experiences of these reserved men, focusing instead on men serving in the armed forces, and failed to explore the diversity of masculine experience in different parts of Britain. This chapter therefore aims to fill this lacuna and explore the facets of subjectivity, including the ‘camaraderie’ cited by Stewart Halley, comprising the masculinities of men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, examining how they relate to historical discussions of social change and to wider discourses about gender identities. The chapter will also explore the attitudes of civilian women towards working men and the extent to which their views and wartime presence in the workplace alongside men, as well as other social and official discourses, shaped the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers.

¹ Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

3.1 Emasculated Men?

Much evidence exists to suggest that men working in reserved occupations in Second World War Britain may have felt emasculated. Historians such as Sonya Rose have extensively discussed the concerns of many British officials and civilians alike during the Second World War about 'slackness' among factory workers, particularly when compared to workers doing similar jobs in the Soviet Union, who were perceived to be working much harder.² In addition, a number of wartime official and cultural representations of men working in reserved occupations demonstrate critical views of male civilian workers in wartime, which may have led to feelings of emasculation among men. For example, Noel Coward's 1944 poem *Lie in the Dark and Listen*, a tribute to R. A. F. Bomber Command, belittled their roles, referring to the sacrifices made on behalf of those sleeping at night in 'warm civilian beds', while J. B. Priestley's *Postscripts* also show civilian men on the sidelines of bravery and heroism.³ Although Priestley's work does celebrate the contributions of civilians to the war effort, his writing clearly elevates the status of soldiers, particularly airmen, above civilian workers:

It's possible that distant generations will find inspiration, when their time of trouble comes, in the report in their history books of our conduct at this hour; just as it is certain that our airmen have already found a shining place for ever in the world's imagination, becoming one

² Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939-45*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 50-54.

³ Noel Coward, 'Lie in the Dark and Listen' in Graham Payn and Martin Tickner (eds.), *Collected Verse* (London: Methuen, 1999), pp. 137-138; Arthur McIvor, Juliette Pattinson and Wendy Ugolini, 'Masculinities Challenged? Men in the Reserved Occupations in Second World War Britain', unpublished conference paper delivered at Swansea University, 11th September 2009; J. B. Priestley, *Postscripts*, (London: Heinemann, 1940).

of those bands of young heroes, creating a saga, that men can never forget.⁴

The language of this passage is heroic: 'inspiration', 'a shining place' and 'bands of young heroes' are used in reference to young men in the armed services. The work of those in reserved occupations, tellingly not mentioned in Priestley's passage, cannot hope to compete with the highly elevated status granted to those serving in the military. Such high esteem is also ascribed to men in the military in Home Intelligence reports. In contrast to frequent descriptions of industrial workers, particularly miners, in the reports as lazy and greedy, the 'heroism and endurance' of those serving in the armed forces was repeatedly remarked upon.⁵

A number of wartime posters intended to raise worker morale strikingly did not explicitly depict the industrial worker. This invisibility is noteworthy because it elevates the work of men in the armed services. Two poster series produced to accompany the military campaign in North Africa in 1943 and the invasion of Europe following D-Day in 1944-5 used the captions 'The Attack Begins in the Factory' and 'Back Them Up', but show a selection of military action scenes involving soldiers in battle, as well as ships, tankers and bombers in action. The men and women working in the factories are, in contrast, invisible in these posters. On the contrary, posters which did depict civilian men often showed comic figures. Such posters

⁴ Cited in Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 119.

⁵ National Archives, CAB 121/106 and CAB 121/107, Home Intelligence reports, 1940-1948.

include those making up the 'Dig for Victory' series, which shows often middle-aged men struggling to carry huge vegetables.⁶



Source: 'Dig on for Victory', (London: Ministry of Agriculture), <http://wartimeposters.co.uk/posters/original-posters/dig-on-for-victory.html>, accessed 28th June 2012.

In addition, Penny Summerfield has noted that post-war representations of Britain at war in film also tended to belittle the roles of civilian men. Films such as *The Cruel Sea* (1953), *The Dam Busters* (1954), *The Colditz Story* (1954) and *The Great Escape* (1963) identify those in the armed services as heroes.⁷ Meanwhile 'Dad's Army', the comedy series featuring the Home Guard and first shown on the BBC from 1968 to 1977, also shows civilian men as comic figures, too old, too young or too unfit to fight.⁸ Films documenting civilian wartime service include *San Demetrio*

⁶ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 120.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁸ *Ibid.*

– *London* (1943), which features the Merchant Navy, and *I was a Fireman* (1942), chronicling the heroic service of London firefighters during the Blitz.⁹ However, such filmic representations are relatively unusual, and men working in many other reserved occupations, including agriculture, industry and white collar occupations such as pharmacy, are almost entirely absent from representations of wartime Britain in film.

Advertisements in Glasgow newspapers were also dismissive of male civilian workers. The *Glasgow Herald*, for example, printed two adverts in December 1941 encouraging men in reserved occupations to join the R. A. F. as pilots:



⁹ *San Demetrio – London*, dir. Charles Frend (1943); *I was a Fireman*, dir. Humphrey Jennings, (1942).

Source: 'Reserved Men', *The Glasgow Herald*, 6th December 1941, p. 6.

The adverts implied the existence of a hierarchy of wartime occupations, describing flying with the R. A. F. as 'the biggest and most important war job a man can do – and so vital that you can even be released from reserved occupations'.¹⁰ Being in a reserved occupation, the adverts stated, did not mean that the Government wanted to prevent men 'from doing the vitally important fighting job of pilot or observer, if you are the virile type of young man which the R. A. F. needs so greatly'.¹¹ Indeed, between the outbreak of war and November 1941, the R. A. F. spent approximately £47,000 directly targeting men in reserved occupations by advertisement, mostly for air crew members and, as we have seen in Chapter One, the *Glasgow Herald* also reported on 'the great importance of securing a sufficient number of suitable men to serve in the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve' and the consequent decision to allow 'men in certain occupations who are at present reserved under the schedule' to join the organisation.¹² Bob Calloway, in his written testimony for the BBC *People's War* Archive, notably commented on the ease with which he was able to leave his reserved occupation to join the R. A. F.:

I tried to get into the Royal Navy, but as I was in a reserved occupation they wouldn't take me. The R. A. F. were more welcoming, as they had been losing so many men in the skies that they wanted as many to join as they could who wanted to fly the aircraft. So I joined the R. A. F. in 1943 and became a rear gunner.¹³

¹⁰ 'Reserved Men', *The Glasgow Herald*, 6th December 1941, p. 6.

¹¹ '100,000 Men De-reserved Monthly', *The Glasgow Herald*, 13th December 1941, p. 6.

¹² HC Deb 13 November 1941 vol 376 c66W; '30,000 Workers Added to Schedule', *The Glasgow Herald*, 1st April 1939, p. 6.

¹³ Bob Calloway, 'RAF Bombing in Dresden', BBC *People's War* Archive, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ww2peopleswar/stories/31/a3765431.shtml>, contributed 9th March 2005, accessed 13th February 2012.

In asserting that this 'virile type of young man' would be more suited to military service, adverts such as these treated the reserved occupations as less important to the war effort and implied that civilian workers were less 'virile' than pilots in the R. A. F. Such viewpoints were reflected in the remarks of the M. P. John Profumo that male civilian workers were 'men who are hiding behind the cloak of what are called reserved occupations'.¹⁴

In addition, representations of civilian men in Clydeside in novels often depicted them as shirking their duty. For example, in Robin Jenkins's novel *Guests of War*, which relates the evacuation of residents from the city of 'Gowburgh', widely understood to represent Glasgow, to the fictional countryside town of Langrigg, a local resident is described berating the young male Gowburgh teacher thus: 'Wars are for young men.'¹⁵ Although historians such as Cunningham and Gardner have discussed the heroic configuration of teachers during the Second World War and their important role in the evacuation process, the comment in Jenkins's novel implies a feeling that the ideal wartime role of young men was not in civilian life and rather in involvement with military activity.¹⁶

We have discussed in Chapter One Bob Connell's work on 'hegemonic masculinity' and culturally exalted forms of masculinity, and noted the links between traditional images of 'hegemonic' masculinity, such as aggression, strength

¹⁴ HC Deb 18 March 1941 vol 370 cc49-109.

¹⁵ Robin Jenkins, *Guests of War*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1956), p. 90.

¹⁶ P. Cunningham and P. Gardner, 'Saving the Nation's Children: Teachers, Wartime Evacuation in England and Wales and the Construction of National Identity' in *History of Education*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 1999, pp. 327-337.

and courage, and military service during the Second World War.¹⁷ We have also seen that discussions of wartime masculinity in historical research have focused principally on men in military service, neglecting the experiences of civilian men and fitting with popular and cultural understandings of civilian men as lacking in masculinity. Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird's study of the Home Guard argues that constructions of civilian masculinity during the Second World War were uncertain as a consequence of this perceived lack of masculinity. Their work suggests that men prohibited from military service, such as those in reserved occupations, were often eager to reclaim military pride by joining the Home Guard, wearing a uniform, and using weapons.¹⁸ These notions will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

An analysis of the oral testimonies of those who lived through the war reveals a diverse range of interpretations of the male civilian worker. Much evidence supports Dawson's assertion that serving in the armed forces represented a hegemonic masculine ideal and indicates that other civilians viewed men in reserved occupations as lacking in masculinity. Historians such as Martin Pugh have noted that the sudden rise in the status of women during the war was particularly disorienting for working men and cultural and official sources also gave this impression, with the M. P. John Profumo remarking in March 1941 that: 'Up and

¹⁷ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 3-44; Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*, (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1-2; Sonya O. Rose, 'Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain' in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 184-190.

¹⁸ Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird, *Contesting Home Defence: Men, Women and the Home Guard in the Second World War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 15.

down the country there are men who should be joining the Colours before we make all our women into soldiers, sailors and airmen. Let us rout out these people and put them into the forces.’¹⁹ This statement gives the impression that if women are involved in the war effort, all men should be serving in the armed forces and not working on the home front. It is evident from oral testimonies that a number of female interviewees from Clydeside overlooked the presence of male civilian workers in their communities and workplaces.²⁰ For example, Betty Connell, born in Dunfermline in 1922 and employed as a nurse at Yorkhill Hospital during the war, asserted that all men in wartime ‘were called up, unless they were physically unfit’.²¹ Asked if animosity existed towards men who stayed in work and did not join the armed services, she responded by composing an account of the return of her husband, a doctor, from the war, and his attempts to re-start work, saying: ‘He felt that he was called up so he didn’t get his chance [to progress professionally], and others who perhaps hadn’t been called for medical reasons got promotion.’²² In addition, her closing remarks about her husband’s conscription into the armed services note that he would have preferred to further his medical career than join the forces and she quickly asserted ‘but he wasn’t a conscientious objector’.²³ She thus made the assumption that all men not in the armed services were either too old, medically unfit or conscientious objectors, blurring the distinction between these men and able-bodied men of fighting age in reserved occupations.

¹⁹ HC Deb 18 March 1941 vol 370 cc49-10.

²⁰ Martin Pugh, *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain Since 1870*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), p. 257.

²¹ Betty Connell, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th May 2010.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

Furthermore, a report in the Glasgow newspaper the *Daily Record and Mail* in October 1943 entitled 'Women Take Over From Men' called for women to enter work to 'release men for the offensive', also assuming that all men of fighting age should be serving in the armed forces.²⁴ Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird discussed the testimony of Christopher Redmond, an engineering draughtsman who was concerned about being mistaken for a conscientious objector and consequently disappointed to be in a reserved occupation.²⁵ Evidence from personal testimonies demonstrates the existence of this attitude towards male reserved workers on the Clyde, supporting Summerfield and Peniston-Bird's argument that constructions of civilian masculinities in wartime were uncertain in the arguably feminised environment of the home front.²⁶

The presence of men in reserved occupations in civilian society was also overlooked by other civilians, as well as women. Danny McCready was born in 1923 in Donegal and came to work in Ayrshire during the Second World War. He, for example, remarked that he made this move because there were 'no men to plough' on the farms in wartime Scotland.²⁷ No acknowledgement is given in his testimony to the presence of British men working in agriculture and his view that there were 'no men' available echoes the assertion of one of Penny Summerfield's female interviewees, factory worker Fiona Thomas, that 'there was no men' working alongside her in wartime.²⁸ The notion that working men were overlooked in

²⁴ 'Women Take Over From Men', *Daily Record and Mail*, 21st October 1942, p. 6.

²⁵ Summerfield and Peniston-Bird, *Contesting Home Defence*, p. 225.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 15.

²⁷ Danny McCready, interviewed by James McKenna, 24th October 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

²⁸ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 122.

Clydeside reflects Summerfield's observations on the absence of men in reserved occupations from many cultural depictions of the Second World War, including posters and films.²⁹

Implicit within Graham Dawson's argument that a hegemonic military ideal existed in wartime is the notion that those not conforming to this ideal experienced resentment from other civilians. A number of oral testimonies imply that animosity existed towards male civilian workers in Clydeside. For example, Jessie MacPhail, born in Rutherglen in 1924 and employed as a telegraphist in the post office in Greenock through the war, noted of men in reserved occupations that: 'I think some people who were in the forces thought, och, they're right skivers.'³⁰ She elaborated by saying that: 'The people who were in reserved occupations, some of them tried to move quickly and some of them managed it, to get into the torpedo factory and that sort of thing.'³¹ Asked to suggest reasons why men might have wanted to enter reserved occupations, she asserted: 'So that they wouldn't have to go to the forces.'³² Such suggestions that male civilian workers were lazy and chose to avoid military service reflect the disparaging tone of Noel Coward's *Lie in the Dark and Listen*, which describes, among others, 'factory workers' and "'reserved" musicians' as 'safe' and owing their lives to the pilots of the R. A. F., addressing them with the words: 'Theirs is a world you'll never know.'³³ It is clear that although reserved men in Clydeside were often perceived as being lazy rather than scared or

²⁹ Ibid, p. 121.

³⁰ Jessie MacPhail, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th May 2010.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Coward, 'Lie in the Dark and Listen', pp. 137-138.

cowardly, they were also exposed to such resentful attitudes during the Second World War.

Some oral evidence indicates that resentment of men in reserved occupations was more targeted, particularly towards miners. Despite the fact that strikes were illegal under wartime emergency legislation, more working days were lost through industrial stoppages in British mining during the war than in any other industry and although the number of working days lost in mining to strike action fell in the war years, this indicates that the pre-war industrial militancy and striking associated with miners did continue to an extent.³⁴ A number of oral testimonies indicate opposition to miners' strikes. For example, Margaret Rogen, born in Glasgow in 1928, made a specific attack on wartime miners: 'Miners were not helpful, they did nothing but strike, never thinking of all the brave lads dying.'³⁵ Such remarks indicate that critical attitudes did exist towards men in reserved occupations in Clydeside, who were sometimes seen to be avoiding military service and not contributing sufficiently to the war effort. In contrast to Margaret Rogen's 'brave lads' and the 'young heroes' in the R. A. F. depicted in Priestley's 'Postscripts', miners were often viewed as shirking their duties to Britain in wartime. This is also illustrated, as we have seen, in Home Intelligence reports and in the 1944 cartoon below from the *Daily Mirror* newspaper, which portrays miners' grievances as

³⁴ Peter Howlett, *Fighting with Figures: A Statistical Digest of the Second World War* (London: Central Statistical Office, 1995), p. 64; Peter Hennessy, *Never Again: Britain 1945-5*, (London: Penguin, 1992), p. 102; William Kenefick, *Red Scotland!: The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left c. 1872-1932*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 42, p. 105, p. 112, p. 187; James Smyth, 'The ILP on Clydeside 1888-1906' in Alan McKinlay and R. J. Morris (eds.), *The ILP on Clydeside 1893-1932*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 22.

³⁵ Margaret Rogen, interviewed by Morag MacPherson, 27th May 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

considerably less important than the war effort being undertaken to protect Britain from 'slavery' if the Nazis emerged victorious:³⁶



Source: 'This List is Longer My Friend', *The Daily Mirror*, 6th April 1944, p. 3.

Much evidence therefore exists to suggest that men in reserved occupations were viewed as emasculated. An analysis of oral testimonies of men working in wartime Clydeside suggests that some male civilian workers did feel guilty because they did not perceive themselves as involved in the war effort. Andrew Fleming, for example, born in 1923 and employed in a munitions factory in the town of Bishopton during the war, remarked about a female colleague that: 'Her husband had been killed during the war and I felt a wee bitty, you know, guilty [...] she was working there in the war effort and her husband had died, had been killed, during the war.'³⁷ He was clearly affected by the experiences of the woman and felt guilty because of her husband's death while fighting abroad. It is also possible that the

³⁶ 'This List is Longer My Friend', *The Daily Mirror*, 6th April 1944, p. 3.

³⁷ Andrew Fleming, interviewed by Alison Chand, 2nd June 2010.

presence of the woman working in the factory alongside him was emasculating, and we will further discuss the relationships between men and women working together in wartime in Chapter Six. Meanwhile, George Lightbody, born in Kilbirnie in Ayrshire in 1926 and employed as a joiner in Glasgow during the war, remarked: 'I feel almost guilty about it sometimes', referring to his lack of memories of the Clydebank Blitz.³⁸ He felt guilty because of his lack of awareness of air raids, argued by Helen Jones to be one of the most direct, physical and violent ways in which military warfare impacted on civilian Britain.³⁹ Air raids, particularly in London and other British cities, were also prominent, as we have seen, in a number of wartime cultural sources such as the documentary film *London Can Take It!*⁴⁰ Born in the Dennistoun area of Glasgow in 1918 and summoned back from the Army to his job in Dumbarton as a welder in 1942, Frank Hannoway also commented that: 'You [felt] a bit guilty, because you'd left all your mates in the Army and they were being kitted out for Africa.'⁴¹ The perception that they were detached from the military 'war effort' was therefore an important reason why some male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside experienced guilt, which may have resulted in feelings of emasculation.

A number of men, including ten in my own interview sample, translated these feelings of guilt into attempts to join the armed services despite their positions in reserved occupations. For example, Robert Sinclair, born in Bellshill in 1923 and

³⁸ George Lightbody, interviewed by Alison Chand, 21st June 2010.

³⁹ Helen Jones, *British Civilians in the Front Line: Air Raids, Productivity and Wartime Culture 1939-45*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 3.

⁴⁰ Nicholas John Cull, *Selling War: the British Propaganda Campaign Against American Neutrality in World War Two*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 97.

⁴¹ Frank Hannoway, interviewed by Alison Chand, 12th August 2010.

employed as a factory worker during wartime, remarked on perceptions in the community of him as 'a fit young man who used to go hiking regularly'.⁴² Such perceptions resulted in him feeling 'social pressure' to try and join the armed forces because of his position in a reserved occupation.⁴³ Moreover, John Lindsay, born in Gourrock in 1920 and employed as an engineer during the war, was representative of a number of men in commenting on his resentment at being refused for the forces because of his reserved position:

They wouldn't take me, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, wouldn't take me, no, there I was hopefully wanting to get into the Air Force, but I never got and the Navy [...], the Navy would need men [...] and I tried to get in the Navy, but they said "you can't, you can't, you're an engineer too, you're too qualified for [...] going into the Navy, you're too qualified for going into the Navy, you'll need to go back round to the, round to the yards", so I went back to the yards.⁴⁴

Some men were initially successful in joining the armed services. Robert Martin, for example, signed up for the Territorial Army in May 1939 and spent thirteen months with the Army before being sent back to his job as a moulder.⁴⁵ Barry Keenan was born in the Bridgeton area of Glasgow in 1925 and despite noting that his employer used the threat of conscription as a 'lever' to prevent him departing his job, was also determined to leave his engineering apprenticeship and join the Army.⁴⁶ In addition, two men in my interview sample also moved from their Clydeside-based jobs to join the Merchant Navy. For example, Esme Adams, born in Springburn in 1923, left his reserved position at Barr and Stroud's factory to embark on a career in

⁴² Robert Sinclair, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th August 2010.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ John Lindsay, interviewed by Alison Chand, 24th August 2010.

⁴⁵ Robert Martin, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th June 2010.

⁴⁶ Barry Keenan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th January 2011.

the Merchant Navy because 'we didn't feel that we were doing anything' working in Glasgow.⁴⁷ He remarked in contrast of his previous reserved job at Barr and Stroud's:

It was [...] an impersonal thing, you were just working with lumps of glass, you know, there was nothing, eh, I mean, you weren't handling bullets or shells or anything like that that you would say would blow up on anybody, you know, it was just lumps of glass that you were working with, and, eh, and quite frankly we never even saw the end product, you know, a periscope, or, eh, range finder, because we weren't in that area. We were just in the glass, the glass, eh, shaping, polishing area.⁴⁸

He therefore saw joining the Merchant Navy as in much greater proximity to the war effort, less 'impersonal' than 'the glass shaping [and] polishing area'. Jerry Moffat, born in 1920 and employed as a shipyard welder in the Govan area of Glasgow during the war, also remarked that: 'The Merchant Navy was part of the forces also in those days.'⁴⁹ In addition, Helen Pryde's novel, *The McFlannels See It Through*, published in 1948 and set in Second World War Glasgow, demonstrates the interchangeable use of the terms 'Merchant Navy' and 'Navy' frequently seen in cultural and official sources during wartime.⁵⁰ The Merchant Navy was therefore regarded differently to other reserved occupations, considered as almost part of the armed forces and reflecting more favourable views of the organisation in cultural sources.

We have seen how some male civilian workers felt guilty and emasculated during the war and sought to join the armed forces. Even those who did not attempt to

⁴⁷ Esme Adams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

⁵⁰ Helen Pryde, *The McFlannels See It Through*, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1948), pp. 27-41.

enter military service at times expressed regret that they had not done so. William Dewar, for example, commented that ‘you felt some people’s husbands and sons, they were called up and you weren’t, sort of thing and there could be that wee bit of feeling now and again, mostly amongst the women-folk, you know, because we were still getting paid’, indicating awareness of resentful attitudes held against him amongst other civilians and particularly mentioning women working alongside him.⁵¹ Some oral evidence also explicitly links military service to the concept of masculinity, providing a clear indication that the guilt some men experienced could be translated into feelings of emasculation. Henry Elder was born in the Tradeston area of Glasgow in 1926 and began his apprenticeship at James Howden and Company on Scotland Street during the war. He remarked:

when I was an apprentice, I was a youth, developing, and the progress was, because you weren’t a man until you were twenty-one in those days [...] but when any of the friends or chaps that lived nearby, when they went to the forces, when they came home on leave, they were men, and they were still only eighteen, but they developed into men. I was still a youth [...] by the fact that I was working in a factory. I was still being taught what my engineering experience was going to be, but these chaps came back from just a few months away in the forces, and they came back, and they really were men. I envied that, I did really.⁵²

These comments, in which he described those serving in the armed forces as ‘men’ in a way that those working in reserved occupations were not, indicate a strong connection between masculinity and military service. This was a key motivation for men in reserved occupations in their attempts to join the armed forces.

⁵¹ William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

⁵² Henry Elder, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th August 2010.

The oral testimonies of men in reserved occupations who managed to leave their jobs and joined the armed forces tend to be dominated by discussion of their time in military service. For example, Frank Hannoway, employed as we have seen as a welder in Dumbarton during the Second World War, joined the Army after war broke out in 1939 but was asked to return to his welding job in 1940, where he remained for the rest of the war. Although his time in the Army was therefore much shorter than his time spent working as a welder, he talked almost uninterruptedly about his military service for over half an hour at the beginning of the interview before being questioned about his reserved occupation, clearly prioritising this military service over his longer period of civilian work.⁵³ Penny Summerfield has discussed the extent to which war work changed the lives of women, and oral testimonies also reveal that war, and even a short period of military service, could be important to male civilian workers' assertions of a sense of masculinity.⁵⁴

In addition, as has been asserted by Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird, some men viewed membership of the Home Guard as a way to attain the status of military masculinity.⁵⁵ Robert Cameron, for example, born in Coatbridge in 1922, joined the Army despite his reserved occupation as a farmer at the outbreak of war. However, before reaching the age when he could join the Army, he joined the Home Guard with a group of friends and commented: 'We all thought this was a big step up.'⁵⁶ His view of the organisation as a 'step up' from his work on the farm

⁵³ Frank Hannoway, interviewed by Alison Chand, 12th August 2010.

⁵⁴ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp. 252-286.

⁵⁵ Summerfield and Peniston-Bird, *Contesting Home Defence*, p. 15.

⁵⁶ Robert and Jessie Cameron, interviewed by Alison Chand, 6th August 2010.

reinforces Summerfield and Peniston-Bird's assertion that men sought to 'reclaim' masculinity by joining the Home Guard, wearing a military uniform and using weapons. William Dewar also remarked of the Home Guard that 'you were trained under the Army. Once you were in through that gate, you were under the Army instructions, so you got the full kit', emphasising the importance to him of having full Army uniform.⁵⁷ This link between masculinity and wearing a uniform is also apparent in testimonies from men who served in the Merchant Navy. For example, John Wilkie, born in the Lanarkshire town of Motherwell in 1928, asserted that there was no stigma attached to not being in the armed forces because: 'You were in uniform [...] they gave you a little badge with 'MN' on it.'⁵⁸ Frederick Bellenger M. P. commented in the House of Commons in March 1942 that: 'Perhaps the badge [for members of the Home Guard] is some sort of alibi in case somebody wants to present them with white feathers.'⁵⁹ In addition, James McMonigle commented on borrowing R. A. F. jackets to sneak into the cinema with a friend without paying, claiming that: 'Nobody bothered too much. So long as you had a kind of uniform on, you were let in, and we used to sneak in that way.'⁶⁰ The perceived military status of the Home Guard could 'rub off' on men in the organisation and, for some, wearing a uniform represented an important way of asserting masculinity through association with military activity.

⁵⁷ William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

⁵⁸ John Wilkie, interviewed by Alison Chand, 5th August 2010.

⁵⁹ HC Deb 19 March 1942 vol 378 cc1694-702.

⁶⁰ James McMonigle, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010.

3.2 Work and the War Effort

We have explored the guilt experienced by a number of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside and the consequent possibility that they felt emasculated.

Corinna Peniston-Bird has, however, argued that occupational pride could provide an alternative to military service as a basis for masculinity, as a consequence of individual deferment to reserved occupations, with men able to feel part of the war effort because of the contribution they felt themselves to be making through their work.⁶¹ Arthur Exell was employed in an Oxford car factory during the war and resented participating in the Home Guard, viewed by him as a 'waste of time' and a distraction from the contributions to the 'war effort' he was making in his reserved work.⁶² In addition, the *Evening Times* in Glasgow published an article in August 1940 which stated that 'British engineers are the best in the world. Today as never before their skill and endurance are being taxed to the utmost so that aeroplanes and ships, guns and munitions, tanks and vehicles of all kinds, can be turned out in an ever-increasing stream', elevating the importance to the war effort of men working in reserved occupations.⁶³ The *Daily Mirror* newspaper also published the following cartoon in August 1942, linking the wartime role of miners with the British push for 'victory', in contrast to the 'wasteful consumer' also depicted and to the representations of shirkers we have already seen and discussed in this chapter:⁶⁴

⁶¹ Corinna Peniston-Bird, 'Classifying the Body in the Second World War: British Men In and Out of Uniform' in *Body and Society*, Vol. 9, No. 4, December 2003, p. 34.

⁶² Arthur Exell, 'Morris Motors in the 1940s' in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1980, pp. 90-114.

⁶³ 'Engineers Play Big Part in Britain's War Drive', *The Evening Times*, 19th August 1940, p. 6.

⁶⁴ 'Victory', *The Daily Mirror*, 25th August 1942, p. 3.



Source: 'Victory', *The Daily Mirror*, 25th August 1942, p. 3.

However, this notion of occupational pride still defined the masculinities of male civilian workers according to the relationship of their jobs to militarism – the notion of occupational pride as an 'alternative' to armed service suggests that serving in the military continued to be an ideal to which young men aspired.

In addition, Penny Summerfield has noted that various poster campaigns attempted to emphasise the importance of civilian men on the home front to the war effort. Posters displayed included one depicting a male factory worker using a piece of machinery beneath a picture of a soldier firing a machine gun in an identical posture. Female 'dilutees' featured in the background lack colour and

muscle when compared to the men.⁶⁵ Again, such representations define masculinities according to militarism and the war effort, with the gun-wielding soldier positioned above the reserved worker in an elevated position. While men in reserved occupations appeared as more important than the female 'dilutees' in the background, their roles continued to be depicted as less important than those of men in military service.

Other cultural and official representations of men in reserved occupations as masculine figures also tended to link their masculinity to their contributions to the war effort. For example, the following article printed in the *Glasgow Herald* in March 1943 extolled the manly worth of shipyard workers:

Unhonoured and unsung are the shipyard workers of Clydeside and other areas. Maybe they don't care. Their work has first priority in the war effort but they just go to it [...] We hear plenty about the U-boat menace. The other day a Cabinet minister declared that never was the position more serious. I did not, however, read that he had anything to say about our stalwarts of the shipyards [...] Farmers are eulogised for giving us more home-grown food, tributes are paid to certain classes of war workers for what they do, but little or nothing is said about the shipyard men. They are on work vital to our existence. For craftsmanship in their industry they have not their equals in any other country.⁶⁶

However, despite describing the men working in shipyards as 'stalwarts' and undertaking 'work vital to our existence', the article also closely links their work and consequently their masculinity to the military war effort, asserting that: 'Their work has first priority in the war effort.'

⁶⁵ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 120.

⁶⁶ 'Stalwarts of Shipyards', *The Glasgow Herald*, 24th March 1943, p. 3.

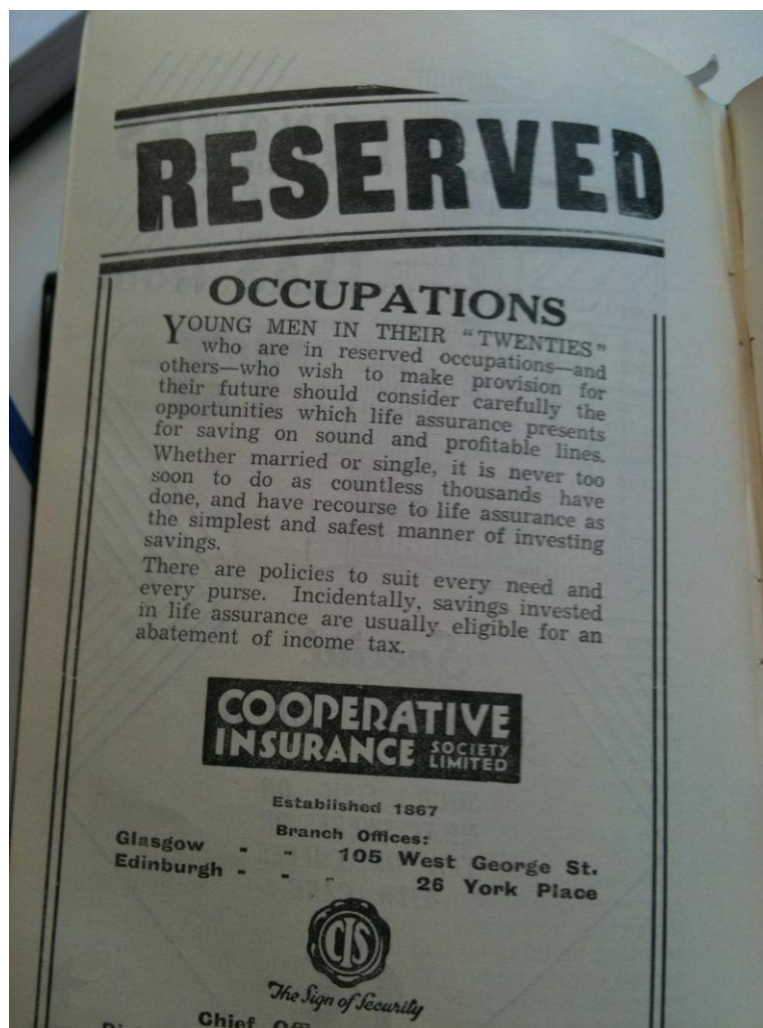
Some oral evidence also exists to suggest that those in reserved occupations were regarded in high esteem by other civilians because of the contributions they were making to the war effort. For example, Margaret Callaghan, born in Northern Ireland in 1913, came to Glasgow aged five and discussed her family's wartime roles, noting that: 'My lot did their bit in the war.'⁶⁷ Although her husband served in the R. A. F. during the war, she was also referring to an unknown family member killed while serving in the Merchant Navy, not the armed forces. She did not elevate the armed forces above the reserved occupations in her testimony and suggested instead that men involved in both military and civilian work were doing 'their bit' for the war effort. It is worth noting, however, that her views of the Merchant Navy may, as we have seen, have been different to her views of other reserved employment. Notably, nonetheless, the Scottish Trades Union Congress annual reports during the war were supportive of the war effort as a fight against fascism, encouraging workers to participate in the struggle against Nazi Germany and highlighting the role of the reserved occupations in this struggle.⁶⁸ For example, the President's address in the 1942 annual report asked the rhetorical question 'Who but the industrial workers provided the munitions of war, built the factories and the ships, tilled the fields, got the coal, wove the cloth, transported and distributed the materials which enabled the war to be carried on?'⁶⁹ Moreover, advertisements, such as this one for insurance featured in the 1940 Scottish Trades Union Congress

⁶⁷ Margaret Callaghan, interviewed by James McKenna, 23rd September 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁶⁸ Scottish Trade Unions Congress Annual Report, 1941, pp. 42-43.

⁶⁹ Trade Unions Congress Annual Report, (London: Congress and General Council, 1942), p. 9.

Annual Report, also sometimes appealed directly to men working in reserved occupations.⁷⁰



Source: Scottish Trades Union Congress Annual Report, 1940, p. 118.

However, such emphasis on the contribution of the reserved occupations to the war effort also validates the notion that military masculinity remained a hegemonic ideal in Clydeside. Although masculinity was ascribed to men not involved in

⁷⁰ Scottish Trades Union Congress Annual Report, 1940, p. 118.

military service, such masculinity was still defined by the war effort and thus by contribution to the activities of the armed forces.

Oral evidence also exists to show considerable support for men remaining in the Clydeside area to work in reserved occupations from men who joined the armed services. For example, John Lang, who was born in Johnstone in 1921 and served in the 51st Highland Division of the Territorial Army, when asked if men serving in the military held any adverse feelings towards men not in the armed forces, responded:

There was no feeling of that at all and in fact [...] we spent the early part of the war in Montrose and further north, and [...] were really pretty sheltered, whereas in the industrial areas, eh, I mean Clydebank and Greenock got bombed very badly and, eh, so that in fact the boot was on the other foot, it was more dangerous to be working in a factory which got bombed than it was to work in the armed forces.⁷¹

These comments clearly demonstrate his recognition of the importance of the reserved occupations to the war effort and indeed ascribe greater levels of masculinity to civilian male workers, noting that they faced greater levels of danger. Malcolm Smith has noted that civilian casualties outweighed uniformed casualties for most of 1941, while Angus Calder has detailed that all but seven of Clydebank's 12,000 homes were destroyed in the bombing of the town over two nights in March 1941, with 35,000 of the 41,000 inhabitants made homeless.⁷² In total, more than 1,200 people were killed as a result of the raids on Clydebank, and more than 1,000 were seriously injured.⁷³ Books such as Andrew Jeffrey's *This Time of Crisis*

⁷¹ John Lang, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th August 2010.

⁷² Malcolm Smith, *British Politics, Society and the State Since the Late 19th Century* (London: Macmillan, 1990), p. 148; Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939-45*, (London: Pimlico, 1969), p. 210.

⁷³ Brian D. Osborne and Ronald Armstrong, *Glasgow: A City at War*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003), p. 71.

extensively detail the events of the raids and the damage caused.⁷⁴ Angus Calder also highlighted the dangers faced to civilian workers in air raids on other British cities during the Blitz, noting the bombing of London between September 1940 and May 1941 and deaths of over 20,000 people in the capital over seventy-six consecutive nights from 7th September 1940.⁷⁵ The notion that Clydeside men serving in the armed forces were aware of the dangers of air raids is thus clear in oral evidence. Little recognition was, however, granted to dangers encountered by men in reserved occupations in their working lives. Waldron has noted the substantial increase in industrial diseases, particularly in the munitions industry, during the Second World War, as well as the increase in factory accidents from 193,475 in 1939 to 240,653 in 1945.⁷⁶ However, oral testimonies suggest that Clydeside men serving in the armed forces overlooked such dangers facing reserved workers, focusing on threats associated with air raids and the activities of the military and further validating the notion that a hegemonic military masculinity existed in wartime.

Oral testimonies of male civilian workers reveal that many men also viewed their positions in reserved occupations as representing important contributions to the war effort, reflecting the significance granted to these occupations in some posters and cultural sources. For example, Harry McGregor, born in Glasgow in 1922 and employed as an engineer during the war, said of his reserved job: 'If you hadnae

⁷⁴ Andrew Jeffrey, *This Time of Crisis: Glasgow, the West of Scotland and the North Western Approaches in the Second World War*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1993).

⁷⁵ Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz*, (London: Pimlico, 1991), p. 33.

⁷⁶ H. A. Waldron, 'Occupational Health During the Second World War: Hope Deferred or Hope Abandoned?' in *Medical History*, Vol. 41, No. 2, April 1997, pp. 204-205.

had people working in industry, who was gonnae supply all the ammunition?’⁷⁷

Similarly, Jerry Moffat noted that: ‘We need[ed] people in industry [...] just the same as we need[ed] people in the forces.’⁷⁸ Stewart Halley, meanwhile, remarked on ‘duffers [...] that wouldnae go to the Army and wouldnae work’, aligning himself with those in the armed forces, contributing to the war effort.⁷⁹ In addition, Andrew Fleming commented that: ‘Quite a few of us [...] felt that we were working as hard as some of the men who were away.’⁸⁰ Frank Halloway was disappointed to be called back from the Army in 1942 but commented that the reason for this was that his welding work was a ‘priority to the war, that’s why they sent us home’.⁸¹ In addition, Robert Cameron made the remark ‘the spud’s a war winner’, when discussing his wartime farming work.⁸² While suggesting that many men did not feel emasculated because of their jobs, such remarks reinforce the notion that a hegemonic military masculinity existed in wartime. Activities such as making munitions and food production on farms, cited as reasons why men in reserved occupations did not feel emasculated, had direct links to military activity. Such links were of high importance to the masculinities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside.

Some men also indicated that their employers encouraged them to feel connected to the war effort. Henry Elder, for example, remarked of his engineering workshop that:

⁷⁷ Harry McGregor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 1st June 2010.

⁷⁸ Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

⁷⁹ Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

⁸⁰ Andrew Fleming, interviewed by Alison Chand, 2nd June 2010.

⁸¹ Frank Halloway, interviewed by Alison Chand, 12th August 2010.

⁸² Robert and Jessie Cameron, interviewed by Alison Chand, 6th August 2010.

Quite often to help you to get going they issued a big chart, you know, 'we need four thousand guns', and this chart would be a big and large graph, showing the process that we were doing throughout the weeks. The target for this month was X number of guns or X number of mines or X number of various components.⁸³

Such remarks make evident that employer strategies such as displaying charts and graphs and setting production targets were sometimes influential in enabling men in reserved occupations to feel that their work contributed to military activities.

Notably, some miners also discussed the importance of their work to the war effort. Alex Truten, for example, born in the village of Twechar in 1924 and employed as a miner throughout the war, remarked that: 'The coal was needed for the war effort.'⁸⁴ Contrary to the notion that miners were shirkers avoiding military service, seen in Home Intelligence reports which refer to criticisms of miners' strikes and their 'grasping and unpatriotic' attitudes, some men who worked in the mines did make links between their work and the war effort.⁸⁵ Alex Truten also commented on the lack of miners' strikes in wartime, observing that: 'The miners were good that way.'⁸⁶ Evidently, even the masculinities of miners were, to an extent, shaped by their feelings of contribution to the war effort and therefore the notion of a hegemonic military ideal.

A number of men aware and proud of the contribution of their work to the war effort also referred in their oral testimonies to the wartime community spirit and the notion of the 'people's war'. Frank Gray, for example, born in the Lanarkshire town of Larkhall in 1921 and a civil servant in a factory during the war, commented

⁸³ Henry Elder, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th August 2010.

⁸⁴ Alex Truten, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th September 2010.

⁸⁵ National Archives, CAB 121 107, Home Intelligence Report no. 177, 4th February 1944.

⁸⁶ Alex Truten, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th September 2010.

of his workplace that: 'I knew that we were making the torpedoes which the Navy wanted, the Navy needed, ah, so I mean, you knew that it wasn't a silly job', and also remarked that: 'The country as a whole were solidly behind the war.'⁸⁷ In addition, James Taylor, born in Dundee in 1916 and employed in torpedo factories in Glasgow and Dundee during the war, commented that: 'There was more, an all-together feeling, you know, during the war. You were up against it, you had to do it.'⁸⁸ James Wilson also quoted Churchill's famous words 'We'll fight them on the beaches' when talking about his job as a naval architect.⁸⁹ These remarks made by men in reserved occupations link the contribution of their own employment not only to the war effort but to a wider notion of national unity, the existence of which in wartime was, as we have seen, primarily propagated by historians such as Arthur Marwick, Derek Fraser and Paul Addison.⁹⁰

The jobs in which men worked also influenced the extent to which they felt their work to be contributing to the war effort. George Elliot, born in 1925, for example compared the two reserved jobs in which he worked during the war, as a hill shepherd and then for the Forestry Commission, thus: 'When you were away up on the hill, you're not part of the war effort. I wasn't part of the war effort until I moved into the forestry business [...] because you were cutting down timber for direct use.'⁹¹ Evidently, employed in the Forestry Commission and working in a

⁸⁷ Frank Gray, interviewed by Alison Chand, 17th May 2011.

⁸⁸ James Taylor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th August 2010.

⁸⁹ James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010.

⁹⁰ Arthur Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War*, (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003); Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy Since the Industrial Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1973); Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War*, (London: Pimlico, 1975).

⁹¹ George Elliot, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th October 2010.

'direct' way for the war effort, George Elliot felt that he was contributing more than in his isolated job as a shepherd. In addition, James Wilson made the following remarks about his job as a naval architect:

Glasgow was [...] an engineering city, so we had lots of manufacturing that was necessary [...] to the war effort, but of course we had people like, em, bankers [...], insurance people, em, shopkeepers, who weren't essential to the war effort in that sense, so they were the chaps who usually were moved to the forces.⁹²

It is apparent that although he understood the contribution of his own work and that of engineers and manufacturers to the war effort, he did not view the work conducted by male bankers, 'insurance people' and shopkeepers as 'essential' to the war effort in the same way. The particular work being undertaken by men in reserved occupations was therefore very important to their sense of contribution to the war effort and the extent to which such feelings could form a suitable basis to their masculinities, with employment in the Merchant Navy often seen as the pinnacle of a hierarchy of wartime reserved occupations.

3.3 Alternative Masculinities

Cultural representations, however, also indicate that men in reserved occupations sometimes adhered to alternative masculinities. Such representations include Alexander McArthur and H. Kingsley-Long's novel, *No Mean City*, set in the slums of 1920s Glasgow and identified by historians such as Sean Damer and Andrew Davies as contributing to the violent images of gang warfare associated with the city during

⁹² James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010.

and beyond the inter-war years.⁹³ The novel focuses on the character of the 'Razor King' Johnnie Stark, who comments on the 'fantastic wages' paid to those in the wartime shipyards and munitions factories and muses on the experiences of local men during the First World War:

He shared the general impression that the men who joined the Army were 'bliddy fools' if they went voluntarily and 'plain daft' if they had been unable to avoid conscription. There was no hero worship for the men who came back and never a trace of reproach for the sensible ones who stayed at home.⁹⁴

Contrary to the idea that the men who 'stayed at home' were emasculated, Stark ridicules those who volunteered to fight in the First World War and suggests that the war being fought was irrelevant to the lives of those who remained. Katherine Archibald, discussing her time spent working in an American shipyard during the Second World War, similarly observed that 'the volunteer was scoffed at as a fool or disliked for setting a bad precedent', also indicating that those who joined the armed forces were ridiculed.⁹⁵ In addition, Hugh Munro's novel *The Clydesiders* depicts Colin Haig's mother Julia berating him for joining the Navy during the Second World War with the words: 'As many folk have told me you were a right fool, you could've been reserved like a lot more in the yards.'⁹⁶ Newspaper reports also emphasised the importance of industry for Clydeside men to earn money.⁹⁷

Evidently, alternative views, elevating the importance of employment and earning,

⁹³ Sean Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990); Andrew Davies, 'Street Gangs, Crime and Policing in Glasgow During the 1930s: The Case of the Beehive Boys' in *Social History*, Vol. 23, No. 3, October 1998, pp. 251-267.

⁹⁴ A. McArthur and H. Kingsley-Long, *No Mean City*, (London: Transworld Publishers, 1956), p. 70.

⁹⁵ Katherine Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard: A Study in Social Disunity*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), p. 192.

⁹⁶ Hugh Munro, *The Clydesiders: A Novel of the Glasgow Shipyards*, (Suffolk: Corgi, 1961), p. 245.

⁹⁷ For example: 'Scotland May Get Bigger Share of Rearmament Work', *Daily Record and Mail*, 12th May 1939, p. 15.

existed of men in civilian occupations. Such views are also evident in some official documentary sources. The Scottish Trades Union Congress Annual Report of 1940, for example, details a motion put forward objecting to the call up of young men from key stages of their apprenticeships shortly after the outbreak of war.⁹⁸

Apprenticeships represented earning capacity and this motion indicated that many viewed them as more important than military service even during the war.

Male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside ascribed importance to alternative facets of masculinity, notably employment and earning. In Western industrialised society, masculinity is bound up with work and the notion of the 'breadwinner'. Tolson, for example, asserted that a boy's entry into work represented his initiation into manhood and Johnston and McIvor have discussed the relevance of the male 'breadwinner' status in Clydeside.⁹⁹ In addition, John Baxter's 1944 film of George Blake's 1935 novel *The Shipbuilders* depicts unemployed riveter Danny Shields telling his son Peter that his job as a cinema doorman is not 'a man's job', and shipyard owner Leslie Pagan informing his young son John that: 'Ships are men's jobs.'¹⁰⁰ The economic depression of the 1930s saw high unemployment on the Clyde and is described in the film as a lonely time 'for a man without his craft'.¹⁰¹

The importance of employment and earning to men working in reserved occupations in Clydeside suggests that continuity, and the need for a man to earn a

⁹⁸ Scottish Trades Union Congress Annual Report 1940, p. 138.

⁹⁹ A. Tolson, *Limits of Masculinity* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1977); Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, 'Dangerous Work, Hard Men and Broken Bodies: Masculinity in the Clydeside Heavy Industries 1930-1970s' in *Labour History Review*, Vol. 69, No. 2, August 2004, pp. 135-146; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, 'Narratives from the Urban Workplace': Oral Testimonies and Reconstruction of Men's Work in the Heavy Industries in Glasgow' in R. Rodger (ed.), *Testimonies of the City*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

¹⁰⁰ *The Shipbuilders*, 1935, shown at Glasgow Film Theatre, 20th March 2011.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

wage for his family to live upon, was as relevant to masculinity as the changes represented by war. James Taylor remarked that: 'The war years were hard but [...] the worst period of my life was the 1930s, up to '39. The one thing the war did, it provided employment at a time when employment was dead.'¹⁰² Daniel Wight has also asserted that links have historically existed in central Scotland between earning money and the notion of 'real' work, integral to the worth of a man, meaning that the unemployment and poverty of the 1930s could be emasculating, a notion that is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.¹⁰³ Prominent oral historian Alessandro Portelli has observed that 'war was good for business' in the mining industry of Harlan County, Kentucky; this was also the case in Clydeside, where one of the most significant features of war for male civilian workers, bolstering their sense of masculinity, was increased employment and earning capacity.¹⁰⁴

The oral testimonies of women living in Clydeside through the war often indicate that men working in reserved occupations were fully accepted in their local communities. For example, Janet Carruthers and Jean Melvin, born in Govan in 1929 and 1924 respectively, discussed the shipyards there in the early twentieth century in their oral narratives. While Melvin listed Glasgow's different shipyards, Carruthers commented: 'At five o'clock at night Govan was absolutely teeming with men going home. You had to wait, if you wanted onto the subway, you had to

¹⁰² James Taylor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th August 2010.

¹⁰³ Daniel Wight, *Workers Not Wasters: Masculine Respectability, Consumption and Employment in Central Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 87-112.

¹⁰⁴ Alessandro Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County: An Oral History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 253.

queue for miles, you just didn't go near the subway at five o'clock.'¹⁰⁵ Earlier in the interview, Melvin also noted that: 'Most of the lads went into the shipyard.'¹⁰⁶

Although men's work was not specifically discussed in relation to the war, such remarks demonstrate an understanding that men in Govan worked in the shipyards and gave no indication that they should have joined the armed services rather than continuing to work. The war was discussed in the interview as an interruption to the social lives of the women, with Jean Melvin commenting 'the flaming war came and the blackout came', interfering with her plans to go out dancing.¹⁰⁷ She also talked about her work as a machinist in a shirt factory, making clothes for the forces during the war, but made no comments about the activities of the military services and did not link the men in the forces to the men working in Govan's shipyards. For these women, working in the shipyards is simply what the men in Govan did and little thought appeared to be given to any notion that they should have been fighting the war with the men for whom Jean Melvin made shirts.

Other women's oral testimonies demonstrate pride in Clydeside's industries during the war. Frances Doran, born in 1907, stated that 'Glasgow was a famous city' and 'Henderson the shipyard people were world famous.'¹⁰⁸ However, she laughed at her husband's participation in the Home Guard. As we have seen, historians of the Home Guard have emphasised the enthusiasm of men to sign up,

¹⁰⁵ Janet Carruthers, Jean Melvin and Margaret Collins, interviewed by Kirsty Devine and Elizabeth Henson, 13th June 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Frances Doran, interviewed by Shona Sinclair, 28th November 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

as well as the organisation's development into a strong and effective force.¹⁰⁹

However, Frances Doran laughingly remarked that: 'My man was in, eh select work, you know, he didnae, he was in the Home Guard and he used to wear his uniform and his gun.'¹¹⁰ Her laughter indicates that she considered 'his uniform and gun' to be inferior in importance to his 'select work', reflecting Arthur Exell's views on the Home Guard as a 'waste of time' when compared to factory work and contradicting A. G. Street's assertions on the worthwhile nature of being in the organisation for men in reserved occupations.¹¹¹ Although Frances Doran was not clear about the nature of her husband's work, Glasgow's industries were more relevant to her than the activities of the armed services. Arguably, this view stemmed from industry's capacity to provide employment and earnings to the men of the area. Similarly, William Galloway's wife, present in her husband's interview about his career working in Fairfields shipyard, which included employment there during the Second World War, noted that: 'It was really dreadful watching the men standing outside what they call the "buroo".'¹¹² The importance she ascribed to the employment and earning of the men of Clydeside is evident in this reference to the 'buroo', a west of Scotland dialect term for the government office from which unemployment benefit is distributed. Employment and earning, facets of masculinity celebrated in cultural sources such as McArthur and Kingsley-Long's *No Mean City* and Archibald's

¹⁰⁹ For example: S. P. Mackenzie, *The Home Guard: A Military and Political History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 4.

¹¹⁰ Frances Doran, interviewed by Shona Sinclair, 28th November 1996.

¹¹¹ Exell, 'Morris Motors in the 1940s', pp. 90-114; A. G. Street, *From Dusk Till Dawn: The Sedgebury Wallop Home Guard Prepare for War*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), p. 10, p. 44.

¹¹² William Galloway, interviewed by Hector Mackenzie, date unknown, 1989, *Voices from the Yard*, GMRC.

Wartime Shipyard, were more important to many women of Clydeside than the activities of men in the armed forces.

Association of men in reserved occupations with multiple alternative masculinities was not limited to Clydeside women, but also extended to other civilians, including wartime children. Eric Liddell, for example, born in Gourrock in 1930, related an anecdote about a man in a reserved occupation whose job it was to operate ferries to and from ships moored in the Clyde off Greenock. In this particular anecdote he was collecting men in the Navy from a ship to take them to shore:

Two o' them were sick. Now that was quite funny [...] It was the chap McEwan who was the skipper that day, and he said to him, that's funny these two boys being sick. He says, he says this is a different, this is a different movement completely from what you, what you get on the, the, I don't know whether it was a destroyer or a frigate but it was a different movement, and it was only a short trip, it would only be what, maybe half an hour, but see during that half hour the wee boat was rolling and twisting and, that's what he said [...] Just because you're a sailor doesnae mean that you'll no' get seasick, he says, this is a different movement from the, from our ship, which sails along quite smoothly. It rolls, you know, but it rolls gently, whereas the small ferry boat was rolling and twisting and, you know, and, this is what made the sailors [sick], and I think they were a wee bit embarrassed. Two of them were sick. It was quite funny.¹¹³

Eric Liddell indicated in these remarks that he viewed the reserved skipper of the river ferry, McEwan, as exhibiting greater masculinity, in his ability to handle different kinds of boats and water conditions, than the Navy sailors who became seasick. It is therefore further apparent that the attitudes of other Clydeside

¹¹³ Eric Liddell, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th May 2010.

civilians, including those of women and children, did not consistently encourage men in reserved occupations to aspire to a hegemonic military ideal in wartime.

Moreover, oral evidence from men who worked in reserved occupations also reveals that such men shaped their masculine subjectivities in diverse ways. Male civilian workers often rejected elements of the hegemonic military ideal and aspired to different models of masculinity. Harry McGregor, for example, clearly emphasised the importance of employment and earning, facets of 'breadwinner' masculinity, to young men in Clydeside, remarking:

Well, you're way behind on piecework, you know, so you took corners to make up there. Of course, if your job didn't pay you didn't get paid for the piecework. You got paid at time. All you got was time allowance [...] and you cut corners to get money. It all meant work for money. It was all about money.¹¹⁴

His observation that 'it was all about money' was echoed in the comments of Pat McChrystal, employed as a shipwright in Glasgow during the war, that: 'The only interest the men had was what was the hourly rate and what was the opportunity for overtime.'¹¹⁵ Earning is defined here as 'the only interest' of wartime shipyard workers. The theme of war is also markedly absent from Pat McChrystal's testimony about his work in the shipyards during wartime, indicating his prioritisation of earning money above any desire to be part of the war effort. The main feeling James Kane had about his wartime work was that: 'It was a job, it was a livelihood [...] I never had any great feelings of patriotism.'¹¹⁶ The 1930s depression

¹¹⁴ Harry McGregor, interviewed by Arthur McIvor, 13th July 2009.

¹¹⁵ Pat McChrystal, unknown interviewer, unknown date, Voices from the Yard, GMRC.

¹¹⁶ James Kane, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th May 2012.

represented a more emasculating period than the Second World War because of the high levels of unemployment in the area, as we shall see in Chapter Four. Meanwhile, Thomas Stewart, born in the Govan area of Glasgow in 1925 and employed as a blacksmith during the war, emphasised the inherently masculine nature of his work, repeatedly referring to the 'man's world' and 'man's environment' of work.¹¹⁷ Some men who left their reserved jobs to join the armed forces also observed that this disadvantaged their careers. Barry Keenan, for example, noted that a young man who started his apprenticeship at the same time as him was already qualified as a journeyman by the time he returned from the Army, and referred to the young man in derogatory terms as a 'specky eyed git'.¹¹⁸ For such men, the decision to leave their reserved occupations in wartime became a source of regret.

For other men, the prestige of their workplace was important in shaping their subjectivities. Esme Adams remarked that: 'It was a step above the average to say that you worked in Barr and Stroud's.'¹¹⁹ His comments indicate that employment with a particular company could be a source of pride for men in reserved occupations, supporting Corinna Peniston-Bird's argument that occupational pride could provide an alternative way for men to assert masculinity and was often embedded, particularly in working class communities, prior to the Second World War.¹²⁰ However, Esme Adams noted that working in Barr and Stroud's 'wasn't like

¹¹⁷ Thomas Stewart, interviewed by Kirsty Devine and Elizabeth Henson, 10th June 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹¹⁸ Barry Keenan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th January 2011.

¹¹⁹ Esme Adams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010.

¹²⁰ Peniston-Bird, 'Classifying the Body', p. 34.

working in a shipyard [...] there was something extra special about working in Barr and Stroud's', comparing his workplace to others in the city.¹²¹ In addition, William Dewar, discussing men from the North British Locomotive works in Springburn who joined the Navy, commented on the experience they gained 'working with the steam engines', indicating his view of the Navy as simply another workplace.¹²² Alexander Warren, born in 1924 and employed as an engineer for the North British Locomotive Company in Springburn during the war, was more specifically critical of other jobs in expressing pride about his labouring status, remarking that he had 'worked for people with very high degrees that [...] never had the practical knowledge of [...] men who were only labourers'.¹²³ While Corinna Peniston-Bird has argued that occupational pride could be an 'alternative' to military service, oral evidence reveals that male civilian workers in Clydeside often considered their employment in a hierarchy of workplaces, without reference to the war effort and independent of the notion of a hegemonic masculine ideal linked to militarism.¹²⁴ Such a hierarchy could be defined in a number of ways, but in the examples given here was often determined by skill – men employed in workplaces where highly skilled activities were undertaken saw themselves as superior to those working in less skilled jobs.

Involvement in industrial action, and standing up to 'fight' management, could also form a basis for masculinity among men in reserved occupations in wartime

¹²¹ Esme Adams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010.

¹²² William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

¹²³ Alexander Warren, interviewed by Alison Chand, 24th June 2011.

¹²⁴ Peniston-Bird, 'Classifying the Body', p. 34.

Clydeside, with those not in unions seen at times as outsiders. John Lindsay, discussing his role as secretary of the Clyde apprentices' strike in 1941, referred repeatedly to the actions of 'the boys' in seeking better wages. He remarked, for example, on 'just trying to get some money [...] for the rest of the boys' and also: 'This was [...] the boys [...] versus the owners of the yard.'¹²⁵ His remarks indicate that involvement in industrial action could make men feel like one of 'the boys', able to assert masculinity through membership of a group of men; one manifestation of the 'camaraderie' described in the citation from Stewart Halley at the opening of this chapter.¹²⁶

Other oral testimonies demonstrate clear rejection of the notion of hegemonic military masculinity. John Allan, for example, born in the Maryhill area of Glasgow in 1919 and employed in Scott's shipyard in Greenock during the war, remarked that: 'So long as you stayed in the shipyards you werenae going to the Army, and nobody wanted to go to the Army, or the Navy or the Air Force.'¹²⁷ Similarly, Esme Adams observed that: 'There were some men that wanted the reserved status. There was no way they were going into the Army or any kind of service [...] That was a, a known fact, and [...] they had made the goal of getting into Barr and Stroud's because it was a reserved occupation.'¹²⁸ Furthermore, Robert Cunningham, born in the Dennistoun area of Glasgow in 1919, commented on his decision to move into work as an apprentice fitter at Harland and Wolff because his previous boss had

¹²⁵ John Lindsay, interviewed by Alison Chand, 24th August 2010.

¹²⁶ Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

¹²⁷ John Allan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 1st June 2010.

¹²⁸ Esme Adams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010.

warned him he would be unable to 'get him exempt' in his work as an electrician.¹²⁹ Barry Keenan went so far as to say that: 'People [were] actually paying money to a foreman to make sure they got a reserved occupation.'¹³⁰ James Kane actively avoided service even in the Home Guard because he 'had no ambitions to be stuck in [...] uniform'.¹³¹ Notably, Harry McGregor described war as being 'a waste of life', reflecting the views of the character of Glaswegian woman Bessie Raeburn in Robin Jenkins's novel *Guests of War* that: 'Heroes are sometimes dead.'¹³² Oral evidence thus reveals that a number of men made an effort not to be in the armed forces during the war, actively rejecting an association between their masculinity and military service.

In addition, a number of men demonstrated a lack of awareness of the reasons why they were or were not reserved in their employment in wartime. Stewart Halley, for example, remarked when asked about his feelings about being in a reserved occupation as a farmer that: 'I don't know, eh, it would be, depending on the staff whether you were reserved or not.'¹³³ Meanwhile, I had the following exchange with my own grandfather Tony Turnbull, born in 1918, about the reasons why he was able to join the Army despite his reserved occupation as a chemist in Glasgow:

And was there ever a question because of your chemistry course that you might be kept back because of the reserved status?

¹²⁹ Robert Cunningham, interviewed by James McKenna, 10th February 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹³⁰ Barry Keenan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th January 2011.

¹³¹ James Kane, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th May 2012.

¹³² Harry McGregor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 1st June 2010; Jenkins, *Guests of War*, p. 13.

¹³³ Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

Yes there was. I, I think I had an interview with the battery commander, ah, in Kirkintilloch where the, ah, we were stationed at the time, em, he said that, eh, he'd had an application for my, ah, resignation sort of thing but he wasn't going to allow it and, ah, em, so I was, I remained in, in the Army from then until the, October 1945.

So who, who had applied for your resignation?

I don't know. Whether it was the college or who it was, I don't know, although I had had some interviews from, or with, Shell oil company [...]. In fact I was offered five jobs at the end of the year, university course, em, but the one I was going to take up was with Shell oil company, but it, it, it didn't, it didn't materialise.

And were you aware of any renewed attempts to, to keep you back from the, the Territorials?

Only that incident. I never applied myself, ah, I never applied myself and don't know, nobody else, ah, that was the only incident that I was aware of where, em, somebody suggested I should leave the services.¹³⁴

Much of the language used to discuss the reasons why he was able to join the services was vague and unsure. It is therefore apparent that, for men such as Stewart Halley and Tony Turnbull, uncertainty prevailed over the reasons why they were or were not engaged in reserved occupations. In addition, Barry Keenan referred to having 'blinkers on' while working in wartime and consequently being unaware of the contribution his job was making to the war effort.¹³⁵ The notion that these men made choices about their wartime occupations based on the decisions of those people surrounding them in their immediate everyday lives also suggests a detachment from any hegemonic military masculine ideal.

Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor have described Glaswegian workplace culture in the early twentieth century as risk-taking, competitive and 'machismo', noting the prevalence of habits such as hard drinking and heavy smoking and the

¹³⁴ Tony Turnbull, interviewed by Alison Chand, 17th June 2010.

¹³⁵ Barry Keenan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th January 2011.

frequent neglect of safety precautions in favour of fast work and high earning.

Daniel Wight has also noted the prevalence of this kind of culture in his study of the town of Cauldmoss (Wight did not use the real name of the town) in twentieth-century central Scotland.¹³⁶ Johnston and Mclvor's research asserts that masculine subjectivities in Clydeside, particularly among men working in heavy industries, were inextricably intertwined with the physicality of the male body, and that these physical working bodies were often regarded as equally masculine to those of men in military service in wartime.¹³⁷ Andrea Matosevic has also asserted that international working class cultures are 'full of "Stakhanovite" examples of workers pitting themselves against the acceptable limits of waged labour' in primarily industrial environments, referring to Russian miner Aleksei Stakhanov, who, in 1935, was reported to have hewed 102 tons of coal, or 14 times his quota, for which he earned 200 rubles instead of the 23 to 30 rubles he normally received, and from whom the Stakhanov movement derived its name.¹³⁸ The bodies of men working in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War were therefore fundamental components of their masculine subjectivities, and this is clearly evident in oral testimony. Bert Cording, for example, born in 1925 and employed as a central heating engineer during the war, commented on the lack of ear protection and 'dirty work' on the wartime railways in Springburn, but also remarked that 'it was a normal, acceptable thing', reflecting the assertions made by David Walker

¹³⁶ Wight, *Workers Not Wasters*, pp. 148-172.

¹³⁷ Johnston and Mclvor, 'Dangerous Work'; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor, *Miners' Lung: A History of Dust Disease in British Coal Mining*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

¹³⁸ Andrea Matosevic, 'Industry Forging Masculinity: "Tough Men", Hard Labour and Identity' in *Nar.umjet*, Vol. 47, No. 1, 2010, pp. 29-47.

that ‘danger was a thing that you were brought up wi’ for many working men routinely exposed to products, processes and conditions with detrimental effects on their health.¹³⁹ In addition, William Galloway, born in 1914, laughed about the lack of safety equipment and waterproof clothing available for workers at Fairfields shipyard during the war.¹⁴⁰ Arguably, the ability to manage, and physically survive difficult working conditions, was also very important to masculinity during, as before and after, the war. The subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside involved both their bodies and their minds.

A number of men indicated that long hours and difficult working conditions were often officially justified in wartime because work was for the war effort. Alex Scullion, for example, remarked that in his place of work, Fairfields shipyard: ‘Because it was wartime they expected you to do at least two nights to nine o’clock, and a Sunday, plus a Saturday afternoon.’¹⁴¹ However, reserved men were not always prepared to accept these new wartime hours and conditions, and some indicated their resentment of being made to endure such conditions for reasons not of their own choosing. Robert Hodge, for example, recalled arguing about undertaking Home Guard duty in addition to his work as a miner:

I was very much against adding to that occupation, so much so that they had trouble getting me into the Home Guard, but you were conscripted into it too. There were no ifs or buts, you were going. I can hear the man in charge yet, when I was marched in, ‘do you think that so many hours

¹³⁹ Bert Cording, interviewed by James McKenna, 30th April 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC; David Walker, ‘“Danger was a thing that you were brought up wi’’: Workers’ Narratives on Occupational Health and Safety in the Workplace’, in *Scottish Labour History*, Vol. 46, 2011, pp. 54-66.

¹⁴⁰ William Galloway, interviewed by Hector Mackenzie, 1989, Voices from the Yard, GMRC.

¹⁴¹ Alex Scullion, unknown interviewer, unknown date, Voices from the Yard, GMRC.

a week's work, seven days a week, was too much to ask along with four hours Home Guard duty?' 'Aye, I think it's too much to ask.'¹⁴²

He subsequently discussed his frequent absenteeism from his Home Guard duties.

Men in reserved occupations were prepared to endure physical difficulties, but protested about these difficulties if they were not of their own choosing and without financial reward. Male civilian workers thus maintained a sense of personal agency, relevant before, during and after the war, as part of their masculine subjectivities. Whether or not society dictated their fields of work, men arguably absorbed discourses on their own terms and perceived themselves as having control of their own subjectivities, including their employment.

A number of oral testimonies also indicate, however, that adherence to alternative masculinities could exist alongside recognition of a hegemonic military ideal. Connell has, as we have seen, argued that the theory of hegemonic masculinity can be applied to multiple masculinities, and Robert Martin, for example, noted the importance of money and earning to young men in Clydeside, arguably as we have seen rooted in the insecurity and poverty of the 1930s, observing that: 'That was the object of us all actually. It was, in a job then, it was all about what had the best money, that was the thing.'¹⁴³ However, as we have discussed, he joined the Territorial Army in May 1939 and was called up, serving for thirteen months as a soldier before being asked to return to his reserved occupation. Asked how he felt about being called out of the Army, he responded:

¹⁴² Robert Hodge, interviewed by Alison Chand, 29th November 2011.

¹⁴³ Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 3-44; Robert Martin, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th June 2010.

I didn't like it. I put in a request to the section officer if I could stay on, and [...] the major gave me a real good telling off for even asking that, because they had sent home over thirty people to the mines, because that was very essential to keep the power stations going and put coal into the homes then and all that sort of thing, so two thirds of them re-joined the forces and that cut down the amount of miners that we sent home and the major was very annoyed about that and I was told in no uncertain terms that I hadn't to do that again.¹⁴⁴

His remarks indicate that despite his recognition of the importance of 'breadwinner' masculinity, he wanted to remain in the armed forces and, when told that he could not do so, felt the need to emphasise the importance of the reserved occupations to the war effort, demonstrating recognition of a hegemonic masculinity linked to militarism. In addition, Henry Elder, although clearly linking masculinity with military service in his testimony, also remarked that beginning an apprenticeship represented 'climbing the ladder of [...] boyhood to manhood', also linking masculinity to work.¹⁴⁵ Further reflecting such co-existence of military ideals and 'breadwinner' masculinity, John Baxter's 1944 film *The Shipbuilders* emphasises the importance of industrial work to masculinity – for example, in the scene where Danny Shields looks at his hands in wonder at the prospect of the shipyard re-opening. Meanwhile, the background commentary asserts that: 'War gave these men their chance [to work].' However, the relationship between young Peter Shields and John Pagan at sea mirrors that of their fathers as military men in the First World War, placing military ideals within their working environments.¹⁴⁶ It is therefore evident that men often simultaneously adhered to elements of multiple and sometimes contradictory masculinities. However, while military masculinity was

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Henry Elder, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th August 2010.

¹⁴⁶ *The Shipbuilders*, 1935, shown at Glasgow Film Theatre, 20th March 2011.

arguably a temporary hegemonic ideal, relevant during times of war, 'breadwinner' and other alternative masculinities were central to the continuity of everyday life in local Clydeside communities before, during and after the war.

3.4 Continuity and Change

Continuity of subjectivity during the war was also demonstrated in a range of other ways in the oral testimonies of men and women on the Clyde. Everyday life continued for the men and women of Clydeside before, during and after the war, with wartime arguably representing a temporary interruption to day-to-day experiences. Marion Grundy was born in Maryhill in 1927. Talking about air raids on the Glasgow area, she commented on listening to the planes flying past, saying 'thank God it's not us' and 'you've got to think of your own, you know.'¹⁴⁷ More than once, she stated that 'life carried on just the same' during the war.¹⁴⁸ Although demonstrating awareness of the dangers of war, she suggested that 'life' and everyday activity took precedence in her perspectives on events. Similarly, Harry Scott, who was born in the mining town of Cumnock and served in the Army during the war, remarked that: 'I would far rather have been in the Army than down a pit I can tell you.'¹⁴⁹ Such views contrast sharply with the resentment expressed towards striking miners in oral evidence such as the testimony of Margaret Rogen, which, as we have seen, depicts miners as shirkers, fundamentally different from the young

¹⁴⁷ Marion Grundy, interviewed by Nancy Russell, 18th July 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Harry Scott, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010.

military heroes celebrated by Priestley and other cultural sources. Harry Scott's upbringing in the immediacy of day-to-day life of a mining community explains his more accepting view of miners and their work. Wartime arguably did not represent a watershed in the lives of many men and women in Clydeside and oral evidence is dominated by the notion that the ascendancy of everyday life continued relentlessly through the war, shaping the attitudes of other civilians towards men in reserved occupations and consequently the feelings of the men themselves. It is notable for this discussion that a number of men, including Harry McGregor, who remarked that 'the only time to read the paper was to go to the toilet', indicated that they did not read newspapers or books and were unaware of official and cultural propaganda in wartime.¹⁵⁰ Historians such as Michael Billig have emphasised the importance of cultural sources, including newspapers, in fostering a sense of 'imagined' nationality in individuals, but it is apparent that a number of men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside often paid little attention to such sources.¹⁵¹

Re-enforcing this notion that 'lived' everyday existence represented a dominant influence on the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers, a number of men indicated in their testimonies that the views of family members influenced their decisions. Daniel Wight has asserted the importance of 'kinship' networks and personal relationships to subjectivities, and particularly to the process of finding work, in local communities, and this importance is clearly demonstrated in these

¹⁵⁰ Harry McGregor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 1st June 2010.

¹⁵¹ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, (London: Sage Publications, 1995), pp. 93-127.

testimonies.¹⁵² Esme Adams, for example, when asked how his family felt about his decision to leave his reserved job and join the Merchant Navy, responded: 'I think my father was against it. I mean, he didn't voice his disapproval but [...] I really think he thought I was silly, leaving a reserved job to go to sea [...] My mother didn't, I think she was a wee bit proud of me really [...] secretly I think she was, that [...] I was going to sea.'¹⁵³ His remarks imply that his parents' views of his actions were important to him. Henry Elder was also influenced by the opinions of his parents, saying, 'I think my father would not have liked me to go to the forces' and indicating that this was because his brother and his sister's husbands had already joined up and his father feared the loss of his youngest son.¹⁵⁴ Penny Summerfield has noted the often prominent influence of parental opinion in the lives of working women in wartime, and the views of family members did undoubtedly also influence men in reserved occupations.¹⁵⁵

The views and actions of friends and comrades were also highly influential in shaping masculine subjectivities. Jerry Moffat described going with a group of friends to sign up for the R. A. F.:

I mean it was, you got five pounds. I don't know if the five pound was the attraction or no' [...] There was a place in Govan they went doon and we all went together, my brother, his pals, my pals, went down, and this other fella and I at the back, we were the youngest, Paddy McGuinness's young brother, so we went there. They said that they werenae taking any more. Maybe they were running out of fivers, I don't know, but they didnae take any more that night. They said [...] 'you go up to Yorkhill Barracks tomorrow night.' Well I couldnae go up to Yorkhill Barracks because I had something else to do, maybe, maybe a

¹⁵² Wight, *Workers Not Wasters*, pp. 47-53, p. 93.

¹⁵³ Esme Adams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010.

¹⁵⁴ Henry Elder, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th August 2010.

¹⁵⁵ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp. 44-70.

girl or something, I don't know what, but I had something else to do that next night. I didnae go.¹⁵⁶

Notably, his remarks partially attribute his decision to sign up for the R. A. F. to the offer of five pounds and the chance to earn money, a key facet of 'breadwinner' masculinity. However, also significant is the comment that 'we all went together' - joining up was undertaken in a large group of friends and family. William Kenefick has noted the significant role of 'following pals' during the First World War - enlisting for military service because friends were doing the same.¹⁵⁷ In addition, Lord Faringdon made these comments in House of Lords in February 1940:

Young men whose friends and relations are being called up, and who take perhaps a rather juvenile view of war, are inclined to regard the whole thing as a great adventure, and do not want to be left behind and so left out of it altogether. I know cases of employers whose men have come to them and said, 'Don't please say anything about it if I am called up. I want to go. Tom, Dick and Harry are going, too.' The employer's position in that case is a difficult one. It is useless for him to go against the man's will. A labourer kept against his own will would not be a very useful workman.¹⁵⁸

Comradeship and the influence of friends, with whom men were most familiar in everyday life, were undoubtedly key motivations for male civilian workers in wanting to join the forces. However, comradeship also influenced reserved workers in deciding to remain in their jobs. Jerry Moffat's plans to spend time with a woman and carry out activities already organised superseded any notion of returning to Yorkhill Barracks to try and join up again. William Dewar also noted his enjoyment of camaraderie and joking in the North British Locomotive works in Springburn, while Stewart Halley, as we have seen, discussed similar camaraderie in his life as a

¹⁵⁶ Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

¹⁵⁷ Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, p. 134.

¹⁵⁸ HL Deb 29 February 1940 vol 115 cc670-725.

farmer in Larkhall.¹⁵⁹ James Kane additionally remarked that: 'Most of the guys I'd grown up wi' were either shipyard workers or dock workers.'¹⁶⁰ In addition, despite his pride in having 'full [Army] kit' in the Home Guard, William Dewar still expressed uneasiness when talking about the experience as a consequence of not being around people with whom he was comfortable:

You got bedded down about eleven o'clock, you got Tom, Dick and Harry from the shipyards and other engineering places, rough guys, you know, and you wouldnae like to have been much with them, you know, because they were tough guys, and, eh, I didnae like the idea of going into this bed with, who was in beforehand, what kind of guy was it, you see? So I got my mother to make a sleeping bag (laughter), waited 'til the lights were out, then I slipped the sleeping bag in below the sheet.¹⁶¹

'Following pals' and hearing the war stories of friends also contributed to the disappointment many men felt at not being able to join the armed forces. James Wilson, for example, remarked that:

I was disappointed I didn't [join up], because most of my classmates, you know, were all in the forces. In fact, my school chum of those days, he finished up in the Navy actually, and, eh, they had quite an exciting time, so I felt [...] that aspect of it was missing.¹⁶²

Neil Gunn, in his novel *Butcher's Broom*, wrote of 'the deep craving in a boy's breast to do what other boys are doing', and 'what other boys are doing' and the people close to men in reserved occupations on a day-to-day basis therefore most clearly influenced their subjectivities.¹⁶³ Men were arguably most uncomfortable talking

¹⁵⁹ William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010; Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

¹⁶⁰ James Kane, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th May 2012.

¹⁶¹ William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

¹⁶² James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010.

¹⁶³ Neil M. Gunn, *Butcher's Broom*, (Edinburgh: Souvenir Press, 1977), p. 95.

about their wartime experiences when they did not involve reference to the people closest to them in their everyday lives.

Social and cultural discourses, as well as the attitudes of other civilians, were highly significant for men in reserved occupations in constructing subjectivities and developing 'imagined' subjectivities in wartime. However, these influences only had limited impact on male civilian workers, with the people around them on a day-to-day basis and the practicalities of daily life giving important continuity to their subjectivities. Oral evidence reveals that for many men, the concept of the 'war effort' was abstract. William Dewar, for example, remarked that: 'It was a hard life, but you never thought about it then [...] you were doing a war effort.'¹⁶⁴ The comment that 'you were doing a war effort' is awkwardly phrased and the notion of 'a war effort' implies a lack of personal connection between William Dewar and the concept itself, contrasting sharply with his in-depth and flowing testimony about the nature of his work. In addition, asked whether he experienced hostility because of being in a reserved occupation, Robert Sinclair responded that: 'There was nothing, nothing like that at all. You read about it in the "Four Feathers", saw it in the films [...] That was fairytale stuff, didn't, didn't permeate [...] life, not for me anyway.'¹⁶⁵ These remarks indicate that while he was aware of 'fairytale stuff' such as the handing out of white feathers to men not in military service, a practice intended to shame men which has been discussed by historians such as Nicoletta

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Robert Sinclair, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th August 2010.

Gullace, particularly in relation to the First World War, he did not regard it as relevant to his everyday life.¹⁶⁶

It is notable that official histories and records of Clydeside companies rarely granted extensive discussion to the Second World War, rather focusing on the continuity of work undertaken in the workplaces they owned.¹⁶⁷ For example, the records of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders during the Second World War frequently focus on details of the ships and vessels built during the period and are consequently little differentiated from the records of the company before or after the war.¹⁶⁸ Reflecting this, many reserved men barely mentioned the war in their testimonies – for example, Dougie McMillan, born in Springburn in 1924, began his engineering apprenticeship in the area in 1940 and talked extensively about the nature of the work he carried out, but made no mention of the war or the war effort, indicating that his work represented a career extending far beyond the end of the Second World War.¹⁶⁹ Nicholas Parsons, employed as a shipbuilding apprentice in Glasgow during the war, wrote an autobiography which dedicated only one chapter of twenty to this period, focusing instead on his post-war career as a comedian.¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile, a number of men discussed their wartime work as part of longer careers. A Mass Observation report from July 1941 referred extensively to

¹⁶⁶ Nicoletta Gullace, 'White Feathers and Wounded Men: Female Patriotism and the Memory of the Great War' in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, April 1997, pp. 178-206.

¹⁶⁷ For example: Michael Dick, *The 4.15 to Cartdyke! A Tale of Two Shipyards: - Scotts' and the Greenock Dockyard*, (Edinburgh: Pentland Press, 1993); Minutes of Directors' Meetings 1933-1946; Paul Harris, *Glasgow and the Clyde at War*, (Cheshire: Archive Publications, 1986); Upper Clyde Shipbuilders records, held at Mitchell Library archives, Glasgow, UCS2/1/6.

¹⁶⁸ Minutes of Directors' Meetings 1933-1946, Upper Clyde Shipbuilders records, held at Mitchell Library archives, Glasgow, UCS2/1/6.

¹⁶⁹ Dougie McMillan, interviewed by Martin Roberts, 15th April 1987, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

¹⁷⁰ Nicholas Parsons, *The Straight Man: My Life in Comedy*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994).

the preoccupation of many men in reserved occupations with post-war work.¹⁷¹ In addition, Jerry Moffat, for example, discussed shipbuilding as his career lasting from before the war until 1985 and it was often difficult to ascertain whether his anecdotes took place in wartime or not.¹⁷² For men such as him, events before and after the war were as important as events during it. A recording of a group of male Govan Reminiscence Group members, all of whom had been employed in shipyards during the war, discussing their work, also only fleetingly mentioned the war years.¹⁷³ Talking about a range of issues connected to their work such as training, safety precautions and strikes, the men did not focus on a specific time period and, like Jerry Moffat, referred to their shipyard employment as spanning the years before, during and after the war.¹⁷⁴ A focus on lifelong careers rather than wartime was also a feature of the testimonies of former Clyde shipbuilders included in Lewis Johnman and Ian Johnston's book, *Down the River*, and a Mass Observation report on British war production published in July 1942 additionally stated that:

There is now considerable pressure from published opinion in favour of repeating the other acknowledged production mistake of the last war, namely the indiscriminate transfer of people into the Forces without regard for their special abilities. This demand has rarely been encountered among ordinary people in this study but has been widely expressed in the Press.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Mass Observation Archive, File Report 807, 'The Post-War Prospect and Demobilisation', July 1941.

¹⁷² Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

¹⁷³ Tommy Stewart, Colin McEwan, Jim Kane and Andy McMahan, interviewer unknown, Glasgow University Archives, 27th September 1989, T5.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Lewis Johnman and Ian Johnston, *Down the River*, (Glendaruel: Argyll Publishing, 2001); Mass Observation, *People in Production: An Enquiry into British War Production*, (Middlesex: Penguin, 1942), p. 77.

The 'war effort' was an abstract concept for many male civilian workers and, while it did undoubtedly shape masculine subjectivities, it arguably did not permeate the daily lives of such men to a significant extent.

Moreover, for many men in reserved occupations who did try and join the armed services during the war, patriotism and conforming to a hegemonic military masculine ideal were often not the over-riding motivations behind their decisions. William Dewar, for example, considered leaving his job in the drawing office at Hyde Park railway works and joining the Navy because: 'I was getting a wee bit sort of bored.'¹⁷⁶ Although he joined the Merchant Navy, and not one of the armed forces, Esme Adams made the decision to leave his job at Barr and Stroud's because: 'I always had [...] the notion of going to sea.'¹⁷⁷ Such motivations were rooted in a desire for adventure and personal fulfilment rather than abstract ideals of patriotism and notions of entering military service to assert masculinity. Michael Roper's research into relations between British men on the western front during the First World War notes that soldiers close to death often felt ties to their earliest relationships, particularly with their mothers.¹⁷⁸ Emotions felt at a close, personal level on an everyday basis, such as William Dewar's boredom and Esme Adams's craving for adventure, were more relevant to the masculine subjectivities of men in reserved occupations than the notion of a hegemonic military ideal. Military warfare often presented temporary opportunities for men to fulfil personal goals that may have been fulfilled in other ways in peacetime. Again, it is evident that

¹⁷⁶ William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

¹⁷⁷ Esme Adams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010.

¹⁷⁸ Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2009), p. 3.

continuity was a prevailing influence on the subjectivities of male civilian workers on wartime Clydeside.

3.5 Age, Skill and Manliness

Another key consideration about the masculinities of men in reserved occupations is that the masculine subjectivities of older male civilian workers often differed from those of younger working men. The work of historians such as Andrew Davies has asserted the particular importance of fighting to the masculinities of younger men in Glasgow and Manchester during the inter-war period and indicates that different aspects of masculinity are often more relevant for older or younger men.¹⁷⁹

Alexandra Shepard has also noted the importance of perceptions of age difference among men themselves.¹⁸⁰ Notably, both the Glasgow newspapers the *Evening Citizen* and the *Evening Times* printed articles about reserved workers in January 1939, which declared that: 'About 3,000,000 of those in reserved occupations are over 45, the proportion rising sharply with age. Only about one in five men aged 18-25 is affected.'¹⁸¹ Such articles give the impression that men in reserved occupations were not young men.

In the context of wartime Clydeside such beliefs are clearly demonstrated in oral evidence. For example, Eric Liddell, too young as we have seen to undertake

¹⁷⁹ Davies, 'Street Gangs, Crime and Policing in Glasgow During the 1930s', pp. 251-267.

¹⁸⁰ Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 21.

¹⁸¹ 'Our Man-Power Plan', *The Evening Times*, 24th January 1939, p. 1; 'Britain's Reserved Occupations', *The Evening Citizen*, 24th January 1939, p. 1.

national service, expressed strong admiration for the five reserved brothers, members of the Ritchie family, who ran the river ferries in Gourrock, carrying out contracts for Merchant and Royal Navy ships stationed in the Clyde. He commented on the brothers: 'The Ritchie boys were great [...] they knew that river like the back of their hand.'¹⁸² He also noted that 'the war was maybe a boost for their financial situation', and expressed the view that their hard work merited such high earning.¹⁸³ Such comments indicate that he did not view the Ritchie brothers as defined by their contribution to the war effort, instead ascribing importance to their skills and their earning abilities. He did not measure their masculine subjectivities against a hegemonic military ideal, but against facets of multiple alternative masculinities.

Such attitudes found in oral evidence ascribing working men with facets of alternative masculinities are, however, often linked to the perceived older ages of reserved men. Asked if there was a question of the Ritchie brothers being called up into the armed forces, Eric Liddell responded: 'Oh no, they were quite happy [...] I never heard them saying they would like to go and join up. They were quite happy to do the job they were doing [...] because they were all married, aye, they were all married.'¹⁸⁴ He immediately dismissed the notion that the Ritchie brothers might have wanted to join the services. Although the precise ages of the Ritchie brothers at the outbreak of war are not known, Eric Liddell estimated that they were in their thirties. A post-war survey on wartime manpower noted difficulties in inducing

¹⁸² Eric Liddell, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th May 2010.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

married men to leave their families, and personal testimonies thus also clearly indicate that age and married status were key factors used by men to justify their positions working in reserved occupations.¹⁸⁵

Oral evidence also reveals different attitudes towards younger civilian workers. Eric Liddell's comments on his brother, who worked in a reserved occupation carrying out electrical repairs on ships, reveal such different views. He remarked of his brother: 'He tried everything, he tried to join the Navy, he tried to join the Army, he tried to join the Air Force, but nobody, they wouldnae let him go because of his trade.'¹⁸⁶ Asked for his brother's reasons for wanting to join the armed forces, he responded: 'Just because his brothers were called up, all his pals were all getting called up [...] All the Gourrock boys were getting called up, but, no, he couldnae get [...] because of the essential work he was doing.'¹⁸⁷ Evidently, he was aware that his brother was uncomfortable with working in a reserved occupation.¹⁸⁸ Comradeship was again undoubtedly one of the motivations of men such as Eric Liddell's brother in wanting to join the forces. Of his other three brothers, conscripted during the war into the armed services, he commented: 'I think they would be quite [...] happy to [...] be called up for the Army or the Air Force [...] because so many of their pals [...] had been called up [...] I think they felt it was probably their duty to go and do their best for their country.'¹⁸⁹ Oral testimony therefore reveals that civilian men

¹⁸⁵ National Archives, Beveridge Manpower Survey, LAB 76/46, 1946, p. 520.

¹⁸⁶ Eric Liddell, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th May 2010.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

and women often perceived it to be the 'duty' of younger men to serve in the armed forces.

Oral testimonies of men who left their jobs in wartime to join the services also reveal the attitude that working in reserved occupations was more appropriate for older men than for younger men. For example, Peter Edington, born in Glasgow in 1925 and employed as an engineer before and after the war, stated that: 'I could have been in the reserved occupations but [...] by this time I was coming up for eighteen, you know, I'd soon be eighteen. So, anyway, I joined the Navy.'¹⁹⁰ His remarks imply that because of his young age, working in a reserved occupation did not appeal to him. Again, it is demonstrated that serving in the armed forces was often viewed as a more appropriate occupation for young men than working in reserved employment.

Similar views revealing greater acceptance of older men in reserved jobs are evident in the oral testimonies of wartime girls. For example, Irene Williams, born in Rutherglen in 1929, remarked extensively on her father's reserved work in Fairfields shipyard in Govan, noting that 'soldiers were not the only ones who [...] died because of the war' and blaming her father's early death in his forties on his work.¹⁹¹ She did not question the masculinity of her father, aged thirty-seven at the outbreak of war. However, asked if younger men also worked in the shipyards, she responded: 'I suppose there was a lot of young men with trench coats on but if they weren't at the war you rather thought they were maybe not well enough or strong

¹⁹⁰ Peter Edington, interviewed by Hector McKenzie, 21st October 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁹¹ Irene Williams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 30th September 2010.

enough to pass the test.¹⁹² Her testimony therefore suggests that masculinity for younger men was more closely linked to service in the armed forces than was the case for older men such as her father.

One of the main exceptions whereby younger men were seen by many as justified for being in reserved occupations was for high-performing sportsmen. Norman Baker has pointed to the 'persistent refusal to abandon normalcy' and consequent 'significant continuity' in British sport during the war and, demonstrating the notion that involvement in sport could lead to men being viewed as requiring reserved working status, Andrew Fleming remarked that:¹⁹³

I don't know if you knew anything about the football players of my vintage, George John [...] He was a Scottish international for years and he played for Rangers, and George somehow or other, I don't know what it was, eh, got reserved. Perhaps it was because he was such a good footballer and some people pulled strings for him, and there were one or two others the same type [...] who were reserved. One of the women in the section I was in, one of the foremen said to me, you know, she's engaged to Malcolm MacDonald of Celtic. Well, Malcolm MacDonald of Celtic must have been excused as well because of his prowess at football, and there were quite a few like that.¹⁹⁴

Asked whether people resented footballers being granted such privileges, Andrew Fleming responded that: 'Generally the football players were sufficiently skilful to be held in fairly high esteem by other members of the community.'¹⁹⁵ James Kane also remarked that: 'In the shipyards, there were quite a few athletes, sportsmen, who were in reserved occupations. Suddenly overnight they were electricians [and]

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Norman Baker, 'A More Even Playing Field: Sport During and After the War' in Nick Hayes and Jeff Hill (eds.), *Millions Like Us: British Culture in the Second World War*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. 128.

¹⁹⁴ Andrew Fleming, interviewed by Alison Chand, 2nd June 2010.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

labourers.’¹⁹⁶ Not all men in reserved occupations, however, were aware of, or approved of, this happening. Esme Adams, for example, when asked about the practice, responded that ‘the football team wasn’t as important as all that’ and Norman Baker has also noted that for some, spectator sports constituted an unjustified distraction from the war effort.¹⁹⁷ Anton Rippon has also argued that in many cases throughout Britain ‘fit young men [...] receiving preferential treatment to keep them away from military service [and play football]’ were viewed as cowards.¹⁹⁸ However, it is evident that having ‘prowess at football’ and playing for one of the top-flight football teams in Glasgow, Rangers or Celtic, was seen as a reason why young men might justifiably have ‘strings’ pulled for them to remain in reserved occupations rather than join the armed forces.

Arguably, however, the more widespread attitudes ascribing higher importance to military service for younger men are also reflected in later viewpoints on the reserved occupations. We have seen in Chapter Two that recent events such as Falkirk Council’s November 2008 ceremony to award the Freedom of Falkirk Council Area to local men and women who worked in reserved occupations during the war did not significantly alter men’s retrospective views of their work.¹⁹⁹ Re-enforcing this notion, Isabelle Gow’s recent book on the experiences of the citizens of Annandale in Dumfriesshire during the Second World War relates the story of Eric

¹⁹⁶ James Kane, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th May 2012.

¹⁹⁷ Esme Adams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010; Baker ‘A More Even Playing Field’, p. 131.

¹⁹⁸ Anton Rippon, *Gas Masks for Goal Posts: Football in Britain During the Second World War*, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2005), p. 62.

¹⁹⁹ McIvor, Pattinson and Ugolini, ‘Masculinities Challenged?’, unpublished conference paper delivered at Swansea University, 11th September 2009.

Till, an apprentice engineer fitter sent away from Dumfries Naval Centre because of his reserved occupation. Gow, as editor, notes that 'Eric was not to be put off', and eventually joined the R. A. F. as a flight engineer.²⁰⁰ However, she remarked on Jim Blackstock, a young farmer who also joined the armed services and became a prisoner of war that: 'His father was a shepherd who served in the Home Guard during World War Two.'²⁰¹ While expressing understanding of Blackstock's and Till's decisions as young men to persist in joining the armed services instead of continuing to work in reserved occupations, Gow did not question Blackstock's father's decision to remain in his shepherding employment. The notion that working in reserved occupations was often seen as more appropriate for older than younger men has therefore not changed over time. This notion suggests that interviewees discussing men in reserved occupations had relatively little requirement to 'compose' their testimonies to fit modern viewpoints in the ways discussed by historians such as Graham Dawson, Corinna Peniston-Bird and Alistair Thomson.²⁰² Penny Summerfield has noted that women interviewed in the 1990s for her research into their experiences during the Second World War were talking about the 'choices' they made about aspects of their lives such as training, work, marriage and childbearing in the context of many new discourses about femininity and the

²⁰⁰ Isabelle C. Gow, (ed.), *World War Two: Annandale Connections* (Dumfries: Solway Offset The Printers, 2009), p. 30.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 47.

²⁰² Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 25; Corinna Peniston-Bird, 'Oral History: the Sound of Memory' in Sarah Barber and Corinna Peniston-Bird (eds.), *History Beyond the Text: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 108; Alistair Thomson, 'Anzac Memories: Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practice in Australia' in *Oral History*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Spring 1990, p. 25.

role of women, which had emerged between the late 1940s and the 1990s.²⁰³

However, Isabelle Gow's edited collection of testimonies, in which her views are clearly evident, indicates that the notion of working in reserved occupations being more appropriate employment for older than younger men has survived the post-war years and remained 'publicly acceptable'.²⁰⁴ In addition, Patricia McGlinn, born in 1944 and interviewed as part of my research because her mother worked in a reserved occupation, knew very little about what being in reserved employment involved, despite her mother's work, demonstrating the continued neglect of those in reserved occupations in the cultural memory of war developed through the remainder of the twentieth century and to the present day.²⁰⁵ As we have seen, interviewees in modern Britain often have little requirement to alter aspects of their testimonies to fit current viewpoints on the reserved occupations.

Nonetheless, however, it is notable that a number of men, including Robert Martin, retrospectively referred to their good fortune in not having been able to join or remain in the armed forces during the war. Martin remarked of his recall from the Army that: 'Possibly it was a great thing that I did leave [the Army]. That's possibly the reason I'm still here with two legs and two arms and two eyes and can speak.' The passage of time has, in this instance, clearly influenced Robert Martin's perspective on his return to reserved employment.

Research into the attitudes of men and women towards men in reserved occupations, often found in existing oral history collections, is particularly important

²⁰³ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 207.

²⁰⁴ Gow, *World War Two*, p. 30.

²⁰⁵ Patricia McGlinn, interviewed by Alison Chand, 19th August 2010.

when exploring the notion that younger men were more emasculated by their wartime work than older civilian workers. New interviews carried out with men in reserved occupations as part of this research could not, because of the elderly ages of the men involved, include older civilian workers and consequently it is necessary to be aware when examining these interviews that younger men may have defined their masculine subjectivities differently.

A number of oral testimonies clearly reveal that younger men in reserved occupations felt differently to older men about their work, implying that masculinity had different meanings for older and younger men. For example, James Taylor remarked that 'the older you got [...] they were happier to be in industry. The younger you were, the more you resented it [...] for a young man [military service] was an adventure', suggesting that older workers probably felt differently about being in reserved occupations.²⁰⁶ Meanwhile, James Perston, born in the Govanhill area of Glasgow in 1916 and employed as a vehicle builder during the war, recalled being asked by a friend if he wanted to join the armed forces and responding: 'I wouldnae mind going if I was single but I've got two kids.'²⁰⁷ Such remarks suggest that married men with children and family responsibilities did not feel the same need to join the military services as younger, single men without families. Active service was, and is, arguably seen as a younger man's duty, with Dawson's notion of hegemonic military masculinity more relevant and applicable to younger men than to older men. It is also possible that the higher pay often received by older men in

²⁰⁶ James Taylor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th August 2010.

²⁰⁷ James Perston, interviewed by Graham Clark, 3rd December 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

reserved occupations was an incentive in dissuading them from leaving their jobs. Esme Adams, who, as we have seen, left his reserved position as an apprentice to join the Merchant Navy, remarked that ‘as an apprentice, I didn’t get the same money [as] the other people’, implying that older men in more established employment received higher wages than apprentices and might therefore have decided not to leave their jobs for that reason.²⁰⁸

In addition to different perceptions of older and younger men in reserved occupations, divided attitudes towards skilled and unskilled male civilian workers also clearly existed. Historians such as Elizabeth Roberts, as well as Gerard Hutchison and Mark O’Neill, in their oral history of the Springburn area, have noted the existence of distinct divisions between skilled and unskilled labourers, both in the workplace and the wider community, before, during and after the war.²⁰⁹ V. S. Pritchett, meanwhile, has emphasised the skills of shipbuilding men in particular in wartime Britain, and a number of the men interviewed as part of my research justified their reserved positions with reference to less skilled workers.²¹⁰ William Dewar, for example, referred to both women and Irish employees working alongside him at North British Locomotive as less skilled than he was:

They [Irish workers] came into engineering and, eh, they were all semi-skilled, but, eh, they, generally, machine men, I think most of them were semi-skilled people that were working machines, because once you got

²⁰⁸ Esme Adams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010.

²⁰⁹ Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman’s Place: An Oral History of Working Class Women 1890-1940*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), p. 6; Gerard Hutchison and Mark O’Neill, *The Springburn Experience: An Oral History of Work in a Railway Community from 1840 to the Present Day*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), p. 53.

²¹⁰ V. S. Pritchett, *Build the Ships: The Official Story of the Shipyards in Wartime*, (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1946).

the hang of the machines, well, the machine did all the work. Somebody set it up beforehand, they had the knowledge of it, and, eh, if you pressed the button, that's why the women could press a button and the machine would start and they knew exactly, eh, what they were doing.²¹¹

Both Irish workers and women are here depicted as less skilled than the men at North British Locomotive employed in reserved occupations. By implication, they are therefore represented as less important to the war effort. In addition, Andrew Fleming remarked on the majority of men working at the munitions factory in Bishopton during the war that:

Being quite frank about it, Glasgow would have a fair number of unemployed pre-war, and the level of intelligence in the unemployed I would say wouldn't be very high. That's a fair comment I think, not a nice comment, but a fair comment, and most of the men who were employed in the place would have been unemployed before that, apart from a select few who were in the more skilled jobs.²¹²

As a chemist, Andrew Fleming aligned himself with the 'select few who were in the more skilled jobs' and, arguably, skilled men were more comfortable with their reserved employment because they were able to link their jobs more clearly to the war effort.

As well as identifying some reserved men as being less skilled, a number of men also noted the limited work activities undertaken by others. Esme Adams, for example, made the following remarks about 'dilutees' in Barr and Stroud's:

The department naturally with excess orders that were coming in, had to get people in and train them to do certain jobs and they would just do that one particular job. They weren't capable of, like, as apprentices, we were moved from one, eh, type of job to another, so that we,

²¹¹ William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

²¹² Andrew Fleming, interviewed by Alison Chand, 2nd June 2010.

would learn, like, there was the, ah, the roughing of, of, glass objects, and then there was the smoothing of glass objects and then there was the polishing of glass objects and, eh, you know, and different objects, lenses and prisms and different types of lenses and different types of prisms, you know, so that we were moved around, eh, to gain experience in the different, eh, different, eh, ways of making these, eh, glass, eh, objects, whereas these people that came in, they were just stuck in the one place, and that was it, that's all they did. They didn't do anything other than that, they couldn't do anything, any other of the, the tasks that we did.²¹³

These remarks make clear that skill in just one particular area of work was also regarded as inferior by men such as Esme Adams who were apprentices and saw themselves as gaining a far wider and more useful training experience to the war effort.

It is, finally, significant that the extent to which men felt the need to join the armed services often fluctuated throughout the course of the war, according to a number of factors which included military recruitment levels. Angus Calder has noted that 1940 was the peak year for recruitment in the armed forces, with more than half of British males aged between twenty and twenty-five and more than a fifth of the entire male population aged between sixteen and forty absorbed into the military by July of that year.²¹⁴ It is likely that in some cases men in reserved occupations felt more emasculated during such periods of intensive military recruitment. Nonetheless, it is also possible that some men felt less emasculated and more able to link their work clearly to the war effort following significant military events. For example, James Taylor commented on his feeling that he experienced a gradual decline in resentment from other civilians for not being in the

²¹³ Esme Adams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010.

²¹⁴ Calder, *The People's War*, p. 119.

armed forces as the war progressed, particularly in 1943 during the Battle of El Alamein.²¹⁵ Significant wartime events could thus impact the masculinities of male civilian workers in a variety of ways.

3.6 Conclusion

Historians, cultural sources and official documents have revealed that some men working in reserved occupations were often depicted as emasculated during the Second World War. However, other sources recognised their work as important to the war effort, comparable with the activities of men in the armed services. While these positions differ over whether male civilian workers were emasculated, they both validate Graham Dawson's argument that military masculinity occupied a hegemonic, culturally exalted position in wartime, defining the masculinities of those in reserved occupations against those of men in military service. Other cultural evidence, however, rejects the concept of a hegemonic military masculinity, ascribing key importance to facets of multiple alternative masculinities, such as skill, employment and earning. However, studies and oral histories specifically researching the masculine subjectivities of reserved workers and how they viewed their own lives are largely absent from the historical record.

Oral testimonies reveal a spectrum of ways in which masculinity was asserted by male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside. Some men clearly felt guilty and emasculated because they were not in the armed forces, validating Graham

²¹⁵ James Taylor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th August 2010.

Dawson's argument that a hegemonic masculinity associated with military service existed in wartime. Other oral testimonies, however, demonstrate that men in reserved occupations also adhered to 'alternative' masculinities. As Corinna Peniston-Bird has noted, occupational pride could form an alternative basis of masculinity to military service. Testimonies of male civilian workers indicate that many men asserted masculinity through associating their work with the activities of the armed forces. By continuing to define masculinity by association with the war effort, however, such evidence continues to validate the argument that a hegemonic masculine ideal associated with militarism existed in wartime.

Moreover, Bob Connell has noted the existence of multiple masculinities, and oral evidence clearly demonstrates that some male civilian workers adhered to masculinities not defined by militarism and often linked to employment and earning, or 'breadwinner' masculinity. A number of men also adhered to more than one form of hegemonic masculinity, indicating that they wanted to enter military service but also asserting the importance to them of earning a living wage. In addition, being involved in active service was often less important to older men than to younger men.

Arguably, however, continuity and the contingencies of everyday life were more dominant features of the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers on the Clyde than the temporary, albeit significant and influential, discourses of wartime. The notion that war did not represent a watershed for men working in reserved occupations emerges most clearly from their oral testimonies. While such men were demonstrably affected by multiple discourses, found in cultural and official sources

and evident in the attitudes of other civilian men and women, these discourses shaped 'imagined', although not fabricated, subjectivities. The 'lived' subjectivities of male civilian workers on the wartime Clyde, while existing in a fluid alliance with such 'imagined' subjectivities, were arguably rooted in everyday life and the people surrounding them on a day-to-day basis.

Chapter Four

Belonging to Glasgow and Clydeside: Retrieving Regional Subjectivities in Wartime

Describing the region incorporating Glasgow and Clydeside in her 1920 novel, *Open the Door!*, Catherine Carswell wrote of ‘the reservoir of human life which gives [...] essential character’, thus inextricably intertwining individual subjectivities, with geographical location.¹ We have seen and discussed the relationship between social change and gender identity, specifically masculinity, among men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War in Chapter Three of this thesis. This chapter will examine the extent to which this relationship was specific and unique to the urban city of Glasgow and also to the wider Clydeside area in wartime and thereby regional in nature. Oral testimonies of male civilian workers reveal a number of important issues about regional subjectivities. The chapter will reveal that while men working in Glasgow and Clydeside often adhered to collective British nationalities, and important similarities existed between the subjectivities of men who worked in different regions of Britain, distinctive regional subjectivities were also clearly apparent in wartime. In particular, local pride in both Glasgow and Clydeside and the industries prevalent in the area are revealed in oral evidence. While some of this can be linked to the contribution of the region to the British war effort, such pride can also be attributed to feelings of deep knowledge, understanding and awareness of the city and region as a distinct locality. Although the class identities of male civilian workers will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five, it will become apparent in this chapter that Clydeside was home to a

¹ Catherine Carswell, *Open the Door!*, (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1920), p. 168.

regional and very distinctive industrial and working class culture, which was central to 'lived', everyday civilian existence in wartime and played a key role in shaping the attitudes of men and women to male civilian workers and consequently the masculine subjectivities of men in reserved occupations themselves. Importantly, however, this chapter also emphasises the diversity of local subjectivities in the wartime region, exploring the extent to which the notion of Glaswegian identity, as well as the concept of belonging to the wider Clydeside area, were relevant to men working in reserved occupations. Although different levels of collectively 'imagined' subjectivities existed and were highly relevant to masculinities of reserved men in wartime Clydeside, 'lived', local subjectivities were arguably most important to the individual male civilian worker in wartime. This chapter will explore the relationship between social change and these different aspects of the regional subjectivities of men in reserved occupations.

4.1 Historiography

Despite the widespread historical belief that a national British unity and togetherness existed during the Second World War, enhanced by the depiction of war in many cultural sources as 'a contest involving two and only two contestants whose outcome will result in one contestant remaining', a number of historians have referred to different experiences in Britain's regions in wartime.² Angus Calder, for example, has identified political tensions undermining the British

² Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939-45*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 11.

Government caused by the emergence of nationalist elements in Scotland and Wales and discussed the relative success of left-wing parties such as the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party (henceforth ILP) in the west of Scotland.³ Sonya Rose has argued that the existence of national cultures other than Englishness within Britain made the idea of a unified 'British' wartime identity problematic and Steven Fielding has also noted the presence of nationalism in Scotland at the end of the war.⁴ Despite this identification of differing regional experiences in wartime, however, historical research into these experiences has thus far been limited in scope.

Historical studies examining regional experience in Second World War Britain include Philip Ollerenshaw's discussion of the social tensions underlying industrial mobilisation in Northern Ireland.⁵ In addition, Cynthia Cockburn's study of the impact of technological change on newspaper compositors focuses on the printing industry in London and Sally Sokoloff has also conducted oral history interviews as part of her research into the impact on Birmingham soldiers of the high proportion of men in the area working in reserved occupations.⁶ These useful regional studies reveal the importance of rescuing Scottish experiences to provide insight into Scottish worker identity. Notably, Jeffrey Richards, in his study of the relationship between films and national identity, which incorporates a discussion of film

³ Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz*, (London: Pimlico, 1991), pp. 65-89.

⁴ Rose, *Which People's War?*, p. 286; Steven Fielding 'What Did the People Want? The Meaning of the 1945 General Election' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 1992, p. 636.

⁵ Philip Ollerenshaw, 'Industrial Mobilisation and Society in Northern Ireland 1939-1945' in *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2007, pp. 169-197.

⁶ Cynthia Cockburn, *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change*, (London: Pluto Press, 1991); Sally Sokoloff, 'Soldiers or Civilians? The Impact of Army Service in World War Two on Birmingham Men' in *Oral History*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Autumn 1997, pp. 59-66.

representations of Scotland, argued that the 'imagined community' of the nation forms one of the most fundamental and inclusive forms of subjectivity.⁷ However, his arguments that the concepts of 'Englishness' and 'Britishness', because viewed as interchangeable by many foreigners, should also be studied as one, and that the Scottish Home Rule movement was eclipsed during wartime, are simplistic and ignore Scottish historiography and the diversity of subjectivities within the country.

Studies examining Scottish worker experiences include Campbell's discussion of Scottish coal miners, which notes the widely varying experiences of workers in different parts of Scotland but constitutes a broad national study.⁸ Meanwhile, Arthur McIvor's work on the twentieth-century Scottish workplace explores individual perceptions of work. By looking beyond the notion of the hegemonic 'breadwinner' masculinity to multiple subjectivities, McIvor has asserted that the meaning of work to workers was related to varied factors, including gender, class, ethnicity and work experience.⁹ In addition, Catriona Macdonald has noted the complex web of specialised regional and local economies in Scotland, with towns easily identified by their trademark manufacturing, such as jute in Dundee and linoleum in Kirkcaldy.¹⁰ My study of men in reserved occupations in Clydeside, a specific region, complements these wider Scottish studies.

⁷ Jeffrey Richards, *Films and British National Identity: From Dickens to Dad's Army*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

⁸ A. Campbell, *The Scottish Miners Volume 1: Industry, Work and Community*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 1.

⁹ Arthur McIvor, 'The Realities and Narratives of Paid Work: The Scottish Workplace in the 20th Century' in Lynn Abrams and Callum Brown (eds.), *A History of Everyday Life in Twentieth Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

¹⁰ Catriona M. M. Macdonald, *Whaur Extremes Meet: Scotland's Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2009), p. 15.

Historical research into Glasgow in wartime is also limited in scope. General works about the city include Irene Maver's study, which traces developments in Glasgow from 1690 to the second half of the twentieth century. Maver's work traces the industrial transformation of the city in the nineteenth century, accelerated by transatlantic trade links, and its growth into a mature industrial economy centred upon heavy industries such as shipbuilding, steel and railways.¹¹ Historians such as Maver, Sean Damer, William Kenefick, Arthur McIvor and William Knox have also, as we have seen, extensively discussed the distinctive industrial, working class, and uniquely radical political culture of Glasgow in the first half of the twentieth century.¹² Their research has explored social and political movements, including the late nineteenth-century strength of Liberalism and the emergence of Labour during the early twentieth century, as well as the reputation of the 'Red Clyde' for industrial militancy during the First World War, perhaps best represented in the rent strike of 1915.¹³ Glasgow in the inter-war years was depicted as a city where the Labour Party was politically strong, despite challenges emerging from members of the Communist Party and Scottish nationalists.¹⁴ In addition, Irene Maver's book also noted the city's severe social problems, including dilapidated and overcrowded housing and a reputation for violent, anti-social behaviour, symbolised in the 'no mean city' legend born from the 1935 gangland novel of the

¹¹ Irene Maver, *Glasgow*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp. 37-202.

¹² Maver, *Glasgow*; Sean Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990); William Kenefick, *Red Scotland!: The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left c. 1872-1932*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); William Kenefick and Arthur McIvor (eds.), *Roots of Red Clydeside 1910-1914?: Labour Unrest and Industrial Relations in West Scotland*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996); William W. Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland 1800-Present*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Maver, *Glasgow*, pp. 203-287.

same name.¹⁵ However, although the studies mentioned here all give some idea of the environment in which Second World War worker subjectivities were forged, they nonetheless only briefly explore the city's experiences in wartime and delve little into discussion of subjectivities of the individual workers who lived in and propelled the fluctuating industrial economy of the area.

Historical research focusing on Clydeside includes Alan McKinlay's pamphlet detailing oral histories of workers at John Brown's shipyard in Clydebank between the two world wars of the twentieth century. McKinlay's study discusses the shared experiences of the workplace and the apprenticeship as representative of leaving childhood behind and gaining acceptance in an adult world of men.¹⁶ Other research into industrial workers on Clydeside includes John Thomas's study of the development of Springburn's railway industry, as well as Hutchison and O'Neill's collection of oral history testimonies from railway workers in Springburn.¹⁷ Richard Finlay has also explored the history of urbanisation and industrialisation in West Dunbartonshire from 1750 to the second half of the twentieth century, noting elements of political identity amongst workers.¹⁸ Such studies are useful in their focus on the working man but are principally concerned with collectivism at the expense of individual subjectivities and are not specifically focused on workers in the Second World War.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Alan McKinlay, *Making Ships, Making Men*, (Clydebank: Clydebank Libraries, 1991), pp. 8-35.

¹⁷ John Thomas, *The Springburn Story*, (London: W. J. Holman Ltd, 1964); Gerard Hutchison and Mark O'Neill, *The Springburn Experience: An Oral History of Work in a Railway Community from 1840 to the Present Day*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989).

¹⁸ Richard J. Finlay, 'Urbanisation and Industrialisation: West Dunbartonshire Since 1750' in Ian Brown (ed.), *Changing Identities, Ancient Roots: The History of West Dunbartonshire From Earliest Times*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 67-86.

Studies discussing Glasgow and Clydeside during the Second World War are sparse but include William Knox and Alan McKinlay's research into shop stewards, which argues that the war effort did not transform popular consciousness in the region.¹⁹ The work of Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor on Clydeside is particularly insightful, discussing the existence of the Glaswegian 'hard man' and the idea of the male 'breadwinner'. Johnston and Mclvor have linked the concept of 'masculine' work in Glasgow to industrial labour.²⁰ However, much of their research is concerned with working conditions, occupational health and the impact on masculinity of Clydeside's disproportionately high rates of industrial injuries and diseases, with particular reference to coal mining and asbestos-related disease.²¹ Although their work gains a more personal perspective from individual workers through the use of oral history, greater scrutiny is given to the physicality of masculinity. My research into subjectivities in Glasgow and Clydeside and how male civilian workers saw their own lives complements their work.

¹⁹ William W. Knox and Alan McKinlay, 'Pests to Management: Engineering Shop Stewards on Clydeside 1939-45' in *Journal of Scottish Labour History Society*, Vol. 30, 1995, p. 12.

²⁰ Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor, 'Dangerous Work, Hard Men and Broken Bodies: Masculinity in the Clydeside Heavy Industries 1930-1970s' in *Labour History Review*, Vol. 69, No. 2, August 2004, pp. 135-146; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor, 'Narratives from the Urban Workplace': Oral Testimonies and Reconstruction of Men's Work in the Heavy Industries in Glasgow' in R. Rodger (ed.), *Testimonies of the City*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); See also Hilary Young, 'Re/composing Masculinities' in *Oral History*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Spring 2007, pp. 71-80 for the link between the 'hard man' image and Glasgow.

²¹ Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor, *Miners' Lung: A History of Dust Disease in British Coal Mining*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 40; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor, 'The War and the Body at Work: Occupational Health in Scottish Industry 1939-1945' in *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2005, pp. 113-136; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor, 'Dust to Dust: Oral Testimonies of Asbestos Related Disease on Clydeside c. 1930 to the Present' in *Oral History*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Autumn 2001, pp. 48-59; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor, *Lethal Work: A History of the Asbestos Tragedy in Scotland*, (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000); Ronnie Johnston and Arthur Mclvor, 'Voices from the Pits: Health and Safety in Scottish Coal Mining since 1945' in *Scottish Economic and Social History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2002, pp. 111-129.

Men working in many British regions, including Clydeside, were also largely absent from cultural sources and official pronouncements during the Second World War. One notable depiction of men working in Clydeside, however, was in Sir Stanley Spencer's 1940 series of eight paintings entitled 'Shipbuilding on the Clyde', commissioned by the War Artists Advisory Committee as a record of the building of merchant shipping for the Ministry of Information. The paintings showed the activities of the shipyards in considerable detail, focusing on the skills and co-ordinated teamwork of the men working there and differing from much work produced by other war artists in revealing no evidence of the military events of the Second World War:²²



Source: Sir Stanley Spencer, *Shipbuilding on the Clyde*, <http://www.rennart.co.uk/spencer.html>, accessed 29th November 2011.

²² Sir Stanley Spencer, *Shipbuilding on the Clyde*, available at <http://www.rennart.co.uk/spencer.html>, accessed 29th November 2011.

However, Spencer's depiction of men working in Clyde shipyards in wartime was an exception, and, additionally, the numerous sources cited by Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird in their discussion of civilian masculinity in wartime make little mention of men working in specific regions.²³ Moreover, novels set in wartime Clydeside such as Neil Gunn's *Wild Geese Overhead* rarely note the existence of men in reserved occupations.²⁴ Meanwhile, Home Intelligence reports, although frequently referring to criticisms of young men in civilian jobs from members of the public, gave little attention to specific regional experiences.²⁵ It is thus clear that discussion of the experiences of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside is largely absent from historical research, and there was also a notable dearth of cultural and official representations of their lives.

4.2 Men in Reserved Occupations in Wartime Clydeside

Although, as we have seen, statistics for the numbers of men working in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the war do not exist, the area was likely to have been home to more workers in reserved occupations during wartime than many other regions of Britain. C. H. Lee's survey of British regional employment between 1841 and 1971 uses the census as a source of employment data. Although no census was carried out in wartime, information gleaned from the 1931 and 1951

²³ Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird, *Contesting Home Defence: Men, Women and the Home Guard in the Second World War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

²⁴ Neil M. Gunn, *Wild Geese Overhead*, (Caithness: Whittles Publishing, 2002).

²⁵ National Archives, Home Intelligence reports, 1940-1948.

censuses reveals the main occupations in which men in Clydeside worked before and after the war:²⁶

Occupational Group	1931	1951
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	32,174	26,320
Mining and quarrying	71,622	36,872
Food, drink and tobacco	24,120	26,386
Coal and petroleum products	844	932
Chemical and allied industries	7,866	15,434
Metal manufacture	50,214	41,611
Mechanical engineering	51,753	69,052
Instrument engineering	2,226	4,109
Electrical engineering	5,130	6,716
Shipbuilding and marine engineering	65,884	55,450
Vehicles	19,461	27,302
Metal goods not elsewhere specified	9,337	15,030
Textiles	19,206	18,878
Leather, leather goods and fur	2,672	2,630
Clothing and footwear	10,657	6,716
Bricks, pottery, glass, cement, etc.	9,608	10,544
Timber, furniture, etc.	19,287	14,684
Paper, printing and publishing	12,486	12,603
Other manufacturing industries	5,328	5,132
Construction	48,174	68,439
Gas, electricity and water	9,703	12,637
Transport and communications	85,012	78,392
Distributive trades	100,695	70,107
Insurance, banking, finance and business services	12,577	10,356
Professional and scientific services	20,993	29,378
Miscellaneous services	31,066	38,377
Public administration and defence	35,551	44,056
Not classified	8,968	507
Total employed	772,614	748,650
Total Population	1,160,780	1,199,555

Source: Lee, *British Regional Employment Statistics*, pp. 6-29.

²⁶ C. H. Lee, *British Regional Employment Statistics: 1841 to 1971*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 3-5.

As well as the diversity of employment in the region, particularly notable in both 1931 and 1951 are the high proportions of men who were employed in heavy industrial work, such as mining, metal manufacture, mechanical engineering, shipbuilding and construction, all fields of employment in which high numbers of men were likely to have been reserved during the war.²⁷ These high proportions differentiate Clydeside from other highly populated areas of Britain such as London, Essex and Middlesex, where far fewer men were employed in these kinds of work.²⁸ Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor have also noted that Glasgow and Liverpool became the two chief wartime ports in Britain, together handling 80% of all the UK's merchant shipping, with Glasgow employing around 75,000 people in shipbuilding by 1944.²⁹ 70% of these were in shipyards on the Clyde.³⁰ In addition, the *Evening Times* reported in January 1939 on the distribution of 250,000 National Service guides to Glasgow households, asserting that 'large numbers of Glasgow's industrial population will come under the heading of reserved occupations', while Gerard Hutchison and Mark O'Neill also indicated that most of the skilled workers in the Springburn area were in reserved occupations during the Second World War.³¹ It can therefore be surmised from this evidence that more men in Glasgow and Clydeside, both proportionally and numerically, were likely to have been employed in jobs classified as reserved occupations than in many other British regions during

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 6-29.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Johnston and McIvor, 'The War and the Body at Work', p. 116.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ 'National Service Drive Begins', *The Evening Times*, 25th January 1939, p. 5; Hutchison and O'Neill, *The Springburn Experience: An Oral History of Work in a Railway Community from 1840 to the Present Day*, p. 68.

wartime. This makes the region an ideal location for a case study of the experiences and subjectivities of men who worked in reserved jobs.

Historians have also, as we have touched upon, argued that a distinct class identity existed in wartime Glasgow and Clydeside. The existence of workplace hierarchies of caste and class are extensively discussed in Katherine Archibald's book *Wartime Shipyard*, about her time spent working in a Californian shipyard during the Second World War, which asserted that class interests were more dominant in the formation of subjectivities than other facets such as gender, race and culture.³² A number of historians, including Sean Damer, William Kenefick, Arthur McIvor, William Knox and James Smyth, have, as we have seen, asserted that such dominance of class identity was relevant to Clydeside, which, they have argued despite their assertions that other parts of Scotland were also strike-prone in the first half of the twentieth century, was home to a very distinct and uniquely radical left-wing working class culture.³³ These historians have extensively discussed the origins and growth of left-wing radicalism and socialism in nineteenth-century Clydeside, including, as we have discussed, the concept of the 'Red Clyde' and the area's reputation for industrial militancy in the early twentieth century.³⁴ Diverse groups, organisations and parties, including cultural and leisure associations such as cycling and rambling clubs, were often involved in this militancy, and the historians

³² Katherine Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard: A Study in Social Disunity*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), p. 152.

³³ Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, p. 21; Kenefick and McIvor (eds.), *Roots of Red Clydeside 1910-1914?*; Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*; Knox, *Industrial Nation*; James Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow 1896-1936: Socialism, Suffrage, Sectarianism*, (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

³⁴ Kenefick and McIvor (eds.), *Roots of Red Clydeside 1910-1914?*; Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, p. 21; Knox, *Industrial Nation*.

mentioned have linked these political developments to the 'distinctive structure' of the Scottish economy and the country's endemic poverty, in particular the significantly above average unemployment figures in Clydeside in the inter-war period.³⁵ Many general histories of Scotland devote chapters to the issue of class antagonism in Clydeside and Tom Devine, for example, has argued that 'the conflict was about pay and conditions rather than the founding of a socialist utopia by means of a workers' uprising', implying that practical considerations were more important to workers than political ideals.³⁶ Work by William Kenefick and Arthur McIvor on the emergence of radical left-wing politics in Clydeside in particular and Scotland in general supports the notion that a variety of motivations contributed to workers' increased militancy in the region in the early twentieth century, including employer autocracy, religion and ethnicity, nationality and support for Irish and Scottish Home Rule, and political ideology. Their work also notes the distinctly regional nature of the experiences of industrial workers in Scotland, re-enforcing the notion of value in the retrieval of specific regional experiences.³⁷ As this chapter will go on to demonstrate, the 'lived' immediacy of the uniquely industrial and working class environment in wartime Clydeside meant that pressures on men in reserved occupations to join the armed forces were often weaker and attitudes of men and women to male civilian workers were at times less critical than in some other parts of Britain with lower proportions of men working in reserved occupations.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 314.

³⁷ Kenefick and McIvor (eds.), *Roots of Red Clydeside 1910-1914?*; Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*

Consideration of relevant historical research has, as we have seen, clearly revealed that studies of the regional subjectivities of men in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War are largely absent from the historical record. This chapter aims to address this lacuna and explore different levels of collective and individual regional subjectivity among male civilian workers in the area in wartime.

4.3 Nationality

It is useful to begin this regional study by discussing the feelings of national identity relevant to men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. Jeffrey Richards has noted, as we have observed, that war historically brings the question of national identity into sharp focus.³⁸ We have also seen in Chapter One that Benedict Anderson has defined the nation as an 'imagined political community', 'imagined' as inherently limited and sovereign.³⁹ Anderson has argued that the 'invention' of nationalism does not, however, equate to 'fabrication', discussing the origins of the 'imagined' community in ancient religion and culture.⁴⁰ Other definitions of national identity, based upon facets of subjectivity such as language and religion, have been widely discussed by historians.⁴¹ However, this thesis will not attempt to develop such definitions and instead focuses on the notion that

³⁸ Richards, *Films and British National Identity*, p. 14.

³⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 2006), p. 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ For example: Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, (London: Sage Publications, 1995); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

while men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside shared abstract, 'imagined' aspects of collective subjectivities with those in other parts of Britain, often centred on the notions of national unity and the 'people's war', 'lived' facets of existence in a particular locality were arguably most influential in shaping the subjectivities of these men.

A number of oral testimonies indicate that many male civilian workers in Clydeside subscribed to British nationality in wartime, although this statement does not include certain groups of men, such as Irish Catholics, as we shall see in Chapter Five. James Wilson, for example, noted that 'there was less of the Scottish' in wartime, while Henry Elder observed that: 'I was definitely more British [...] than I was Scottish [during the war].'⁴² Richard Finlay has argued with reference to the period 1850 to 1914 that many people in Glasgow adhered to a strong sense of British imperial identity and Unionist sentiment, as well as noting the popularity of Queen Victoria in Scotland and the success of her integration of Scottish history into British identity.⁴³ Moreover, in September 1945, A. P. Lee's radio broadcast on the Pacific Service entitled 'We Belong to Glasgow' repeatedly referred to Glasgow's status as the 'second city of the Empire'.⁴⁴ Despite fears that the twentieth-century decline of the British Empire would place the Anglo-Scottish Union under strain, and arguments from historians such as Angus Calder and Sonya Rose indicating the

⁴² James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010; Henry Elder, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th August 2010.

⁴³ Richard J. Finlay, 'The Scottish Press and Empire 1850-1914' in Simon J. Potter (ed.), *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), p. 65; Richard J. Finlay, 'Scotland and the Monarchy in the Twentieth Century' in W. Miller (ed.), *Anglo Scottish Relations From 1900*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 18-23.

⁴⁴ A. P. Lee, 'We Belong to Glasgow', (BBC Written Archive Centre, *From All Over Britain*, 3rd September 1943).

fragmented nature of wartime British identity, evidence from oral testimony indicates that the notion of a collective British nationality remained relevant to the masculine subjectivities of a number of men in reserved occupations on Clydeside during the Second World War.⁴⁵ It is notable too that the oral testimonies of James Wilson and Henry Elder, quoted in this paragraph, indicate that both men felt that their British nationalities had waned in the years after the end of the war and had been replaced by a greater sense of Scottish nationality. We have discussed the notion of 'the people's war' and wartime discourses of British unity, and it is clear that such discourses had some impact on the nationalities of men working in reserved occupations.

Scottish nationality in wartime, however, was often couched within Britishness when depicted in many official and cultural sources during the war. For example, a few days before the outbreak of war in September 1939, the *Glasgow Herald* printed an article expressing Scottish commitment to the war effort by discussing patriotism in the language of Scottish nationalism:

Scotland today, in common with the rest of the British Empire, is facing a crisis in her history. As the oldest of that group of nations, she can perhaps look back on more crises than any of her sisters [...] This, then, is a fitting moment in which to recall the spirit in which Scotsmen have faced previous days of darkness and menace, and to listen to some of the voices of our past for inspiration they can surely provide us today.⁴⁶

In this extract, Scottish history and nationalism are brought under the umbrella of the war effort 'in common with the rest of the British Empire', re-enforcing the

⁴⁵ Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz*, pp. 65-89; Rose, *Which People's War?*, p. 286; Devine, *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2007*, p. 618.

⁴⁶ 'The Week-End Page, The *Glasgow Herald*, 9th September 1939, p. 3.

notion that British nationality was particularly relevant to the subjectivities of many people in wartime. A number of men, including James Wilson and Henry Elder, both quoted above, notably also referred to their Scottish nationalities, but placed these firmly within their wartime feelings of Britishness and referred to this Britishness as superseding their sense of being Scottish. However, such collective subjectivities, both British and Scottish, were often expressed as abstract concepts. George Lightbody commented of his wartime nationality, for example, that 'I'm British because I have to be British' and: 'I'm British because it's the thing to do.'⁴⁷ He was aware of a sense of British nationality, but only because it was 'the thing' to be.

Most male civilian workers in Clydeside, moreover, gave little thought to their nationality, even when asked directly about it in interviews. Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone, although defining nationality as 'one of the most basic social identities', have asserted that most people think little of it and assume nationality as part of citizenship.⁴⁸ Supporting this theory, James Wilson commented that 'you'd probably feel reluctantly British' and observed that nationality was 'not something that we fostered' in wartime Britain, while John Wilkie responded when asked how he would have described his wartime nationality: 'It [nationality] didn't make any difference.'⁴⁹ While Benedict Anderson has noted the emergence of European nationalism between 1820 and 1920, suggesting that expressions of

⁴⁷ George Lightbody, interviewed by Alison Chand, 21st June 2010

⁴⁸ Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone (eds.), *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 1.

⁴⁹ James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010; John Wilkie, interviewed by Alison Chand, 5th August 2010.

nationality grew in strength during this time, Tom Nairn has discussed the failure of Scottish nationalism to emerge in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵⁰ In addition, Bechhofer and McCrone have noted the argument that nationality is a form of 'false consciousness', less 'real' than aspects of subjectivity such as class, gender and ethnicity.⁵¹ Michael Billig has additionally described the acceptance of assumed nationalities as 'banal nationalism'.⁵² The way in which the question of twentieth-century nationality is frequently dismissed in the oral testimonies of male civilian workers indicates that it was simply not as relevant to the lives of the men as their distinctive, 'lived', local subjectivities. Evidence from oral history sources thus re-enforces the assertions of historians such as Sonya Rose and Angus Calder that tensions existed within the notion of a unifying British nationality in wartime. Such tensions were clearly evident in Second World War Clydeside.

4.4 Solidarity with Other British Regions

Men working in reserved occupations in Clydeside also shared a number of aspects of subjectivity with men working on the home front in different regions of wartime Britain. As discussed in Chapter Three, male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside subscribed to the values of multiple masculinities. As we have seen, Clydeside was likely to have been home to a higher proportion of men in reserved occupations than many other areas of wartime Britain. However, some other British regions also

⁵⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 67; Tom Nairn, *The Breakup of Britain*, (London: New Left Books, 1977), p. 106.

⁵¹ Bechhofer and McCrone, *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change*, p. 3.

⁵² Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, pp. 5-6.

contained high proportions of men working in reserved occupations. For example, Sally Sokoloff has noted the relatively high proportion of male civilian workers in Birmingham and a Mass Observation report from the town of Middlesbrough in October 1940 noted that: 'The fact that the engineering trades include so many reserved occupations has meant that actually the proportion who have joined up has been lower than in many towns of comparable size.'⁵³ Meanwhile, statistics from the 1931 and 1951 censuses in C. H. Lee's survey of regional employment data show that before and after the war in the regions of Staffordshire, Warwick, Worcestershire, Derby, Lincolnshire, Cumberland, the North Riding of Yorkshire and Central Scotland and Fife, high proportions of men were employed in occupations in which large numbers were likely to have been reserved.⁵⁴ Some of these areas were dominated by specific categories of employment. For example, approximately 25% of the entire male workforce was employed in agriculture in Lincolnshire in 1931, while almost 20% of working men in Central Scotland and Fife, not including Clydeside, had mining occupations.⁵⁵ Evidence suggests that male civilian workers in Clydeside shared collective masculine subjectivities with men working in reserved occupations in other parts of Britain, particularly those likely to have had proportionately high numbers of reserved workers.

This notion that aspects of masculine subjectivities were shared between men working in different areas of wartime Britain is evident in oral testimony. A number

⁵³ Sokoloff, 'Soldiers or Civilians?', pp. 59-66; Mass Observation Archive, File Report 474, 'Middlesbrough', October 1940.

⁵⁴ Lee, *British Regional Employment Statistics*, pp. 3-5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

of men employed in reserved occupations outside Clydeside also wished to leave their jobs and join the armed forces. Archibald Stewart, for example, was born in Stanley in Perthshire in 1921 and worked in Perth as a fireman on the railways during the war. He remarked that 'everyone else was, more or less, in [military] uniform and you felt a bit that you weren't doing your duty to the country' and consequently felt that he needed to do his 'bit' and join the Home Guard.⁵⁶ Such remarks indicate that, like some reserved men in Clydeside, men such as Archibald Stewart who lived in areas of Britain outside Clydeside also adhered to a hegemonic masculine ideal linked to military service during wartime.

However, oral testimonies also reveal that men who worked in reserved occupations outside Clydeside in wartime also adhered to multiple alternative masculinities. For example, Douglas Gordon, born in Edinburgh in 1920, studied at Edinburgh University for a BSc in electrical engineering. On completion of his degree in 1940, he moved to Manchester to work as an electrical engineer in a factory, where he remained for the duration of the war. His testimony strongly asserts that he was not ashamed of being in a reserved occupation and he observed that: 'We were working very long hours. We were not getting the privileges that you would have got in the armed services and [...] as far as I could see their living conditions were rather better than ours.'⁵⁷ Although he was assessed for his suitability for the armed forces and informed that he should remain in work, asked whether he would have liked to enter military service he responded: 'To repair tanks? No [...] there's

⁵⁶ Archibald Stewart, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th August 2010.

⁵⁷ Douglas Gordon, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th June 2010.

mechanical engineers, tradesmen of all sorts who could do this sort of thing [...] We [engineers] were at the cutting edge of high frequencies.’⁵⁸ In defining his masculinity he therefore ascribed importance to the skill of his job rather than the contribution of the work to the war effort, and would have been reluctant to enter the armed forces, which he did not view as an appropriate arena to exercise his levels of skill and expertise. Like many Clydeside men, he was dismissive of the wartime roles undertaken by many men serving in the armed forces:

Thinking of the armed services, I mean there was a man in Edinburgh, he was in the Territorials, fair enough and, eh, his whole war, he was a signals man, his whole war was within a mile of where he lived and he went up the grade from second lieutenant to, to major, eh, and living at home, initially cycling to work and latterly by car, and then after the war they sent him over to Germany, and I think his worry then was getting enough cigarettes to swap for whatever, ah, so his war was an easy one.⁵⁹

These remarks and the assertive tone in which they were delivered further indicate Douglas Gordon’s security in his own wartime position in a reserved occupation. Similarly, George Elliot, who was as we have seen employed in the Scottish Borders as a shepherd for the first part of the war before moving to work for the Forestry Commission, remarked of his work that ‘all around us were the same in that part of the world’ and observed ‘I never thought about it really’ when asked if he considered joining the armed forces.⁶⁰ Male civilian workers in other areas of wartime Britain also therefore subscribed to the values of the multiple alternative masculinities evident in the oral testimonies of men in reserved employment in

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ George Elliot, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th October 2010.

Clydeside. These masculinities were usually not marginalised or subordinate, and were often not defined by ideals of militarism.

Oral evidence also indicates more clearly that solidarity existed between men in different areas of Britain with high proportions of employment in reserved occupations. For example, Douglas Gordon asserted that he was not aware of adverse feeling towards men not in the armed services, 'but of course, remember, it was an area that was solid with industry'.⁶¹ He also indicated his awareness of other areas of Britain where many men would have been working in reserved occupations, noting that: 'In other areas people are sweating it out in the fields, growing crops.'⁶² Notably, he observed that a number of men working in the Manchester area were young and of a similar age to himself. For example, talking about his experience in the Home Guard, he observed that: 'There were some men of my sort of age and my sort of background.'⁶³ Similarly, James Taylor observed that 'there was quite a lot of them [young, working men] in the same boat as me' in both Glasgow and Dundee, and when George Elliot left his job as a shepherd to start work in a different reserved occupation in the Forestry Commission, he noted of young men in the same job as him: 'Oh, there were a few.'⁶⁴ Outside Clydeside, Dennis Bancroft, employed in the Miles Aircraft Company in the English town of Woodley during the war, went so far as to say that 'every other man' in the area

⁶¹ Douglas Gordon, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th June 2010.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ James Taylor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th August 2010; George Elliot, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th October 2010.

where he lived was reserved.⁶⁵ Men in different areas were thus aware of the presence on the home front of relatively high numbers of young men, enabling them to develop collective subjectivities based on this solidarity. Oral evidence clearly suggests the existence of shared collective subjectivities between workers in different areas of Britain, particularly those with high proportions of men working in reserved occupations.

Labour mobility in wartime may also have contributed to the existence of shared collective subjectivities among men working in reserved occupations in different areas of Britain. It is significant that Douglas Gordon and James Taylor, whose testimonies are cited above, both moved from their home cities to work in new locations because of wartime labour requirements – Gordon from Edinburgh to Manchester (he then moved to Glasgow after the war ended), and Taylor from Dundee to Glasgow and back again in the course of the war.⁶⁶ In addition, Leonard Fifield, an Englishman born in 1921 who joined the Merchant Navy during the war, served on board a ship with an engine crew almost entirely made up of ‘people from the shipyards of Glasgow’ and also a group of men from the Western Isles, who he described as ‘seamen, pure and simple’.⁶⁷ Although the majority of men in my own interview sample and those interviewed as part of existing oral history projects originated from the Clydeside area, where they worked in wartime, it is

⁶⁵ Dennis Bancroft, interviewed on 22nd July 1997, Imperial War Museum Sound Archive, Accession Number 17573.

⁶⁶ Douglas Gordon, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th June 2010; James Taylor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th August 2010.

⁶⁷ Leonard Fifield, unknown interviewer, unknown date, Imperial War Museum Sound Archive, Accession Number 14147.

apparent that considerable movement of labour also took place during the war and probably enhanced awareness among reserved men of activities in other regions.

Evidence from oral testimonies also indicates that the masculine subjectivities of men working in different industrial areas during wartime were shaped to some extent by shared attitudes of industrial militancy and common experience as an industrial proletariat, a notion particularly relevant to this study given the history of such militancy in Glasgow and Clydeside. Mark Benney's book *Charity Main* is an account of a disguised visit by a middle-aged civil servant to a Durham pit village in 1944. An exchange between the civil servant and one of the pit managers is recounted as follows:

But you can't be surprised if they frequently get confused about which war they're trying to win! After all, the owners and the men have been fighting their own private war for a hundred years or more. It's been a more violent, bitter and exhausting war than most people realise. All the customs and traditions of the industry are those of warfare. It's instinct with the miner to oppose every move of the owner. It's instinct with the owner to oppose every move of the miners' union. The war hasn't brought anything new into the mining villages to help break down those deep rooted habits of thought – apart from a few Bevin Boys. The war with Germany just gives both sides the chance to give a new patriotic twist to their old fighting slogans.⁶⁸

This account suggests that the Second World War was merely a blip in an ongoing 'war' between miners and pit owners in which workers fought for better pay and conditions. It is also indicated that miners in different areas of Britain, including Scotland, shared in this fight, referring generally to 'the mining villages'. Indeed, Mass Observation reports referred to similarities between militancy in Clydeside and in South Wales, noting that 'the bitterness against employers and the general

⁶⁸ Mark Benney, *Charity Main: A Coalfield Chronicle*, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1946), p. 73.

economic system' and the 'leisurely way' in which work was carried out in these areas were 'very much the same'.⁶⁹ William Kenefick has also noted that although the west of Scotland was home to uniquely radical politics by the early twentieth century, a notion which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five, other areas of Scotland were also involved in and contributed to the growth of left-wing and socialist ideas in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁷⁰ It can consequently be inferred that attitudes of industrial militancy and opposition to officialdom shaped a form of collective masculinity that was held by men working in reserved occupations in different areas of Britain and particularly where mining was prevalent.

This notion that industrial militancy was part of some shared collective subjectivities between different regions is evident in oral testimonies of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside. James McMonigle, for example, employed in the drawing office of the Clanline Steamers during the war, noted when asked if men in reserved occupations minded their comparative lack of official wartime recognition that:

They were more interested in demarcation disputes and that, that raised more anger than anything else ever did [...] If you found somebody doing something that should have been your trade's job, there was all hell broke loose, but they didnae worry about anything else.⁷¹

These remarks indicate that his subjectivity and those of the men with whom he worked in wartime were shaped more by industrial disputes than a sense of

⁶⁹ Mass Observation Archive, File Report 781, 'The South Wales Waterfront', July 1941.

⁷⁰ Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*

⁷¹ James McMonigle, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010.

contribution to the war effort. Similarly, Alex Truten discussed his dislike of Winston Churchill and the interest of the mining community in politics and industrial disputes.⁷² Similar forces shaped the masculinities of male civilian workers on Clydeside to those indicated in Benney's *Charity Main*. Attitudes to industrial militancy were therefore shared between men working in reserved occupations in different areas of wartime Britain. Such attitudes were relevant before, during and after the war. Alan McKinlay has notably also detailed the events of Clydeside apprentice strikes in 1912, 1937, 1941 and 1952, which significantly took place before, during and after wartime.⁷³

To summarise, a number of collective facets of masculinity were shared between male civilian workers in different regions of Britain, particularly those with relatively high proportions of men employed in reserved occupations. As with men working in Clydeside, those in other areas often adhered to key aspects of a hegemonic masculine ideal linked to military service, while others defined their subjectivities independently of this notion, adhering instead to facets of multiple alternative masculinities. It is additionally apparent that male civilian workers felt some solidarity with men working in reserved occupations in other British regions and often shared ideas of industrial militancy. 'Imagined' collective subjectivities, both continuous and also associated with wartime, thus formed a key part of masculinities in Second World War Clydeside.

⁷² Alex Truten, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th September 2010.

⁷³ Alan McKinlay, 'Jimmy Reid: Fragments from a Political Life', in *Scottish Labour History*, Vol. 46, 2011, pp. 38-53.

4.5 Differing Clydeside Attitudes towards Civilian Men

Historians such as Catriona Macdonald have warned against the dangers of 'essentialising' nationalities and argued that global subjectivities must always be viewed through the prism of the local, recognising the fragmented nature of subjectivity. Macdonald has also noted that the sense of place expressed in much twentieth-century Scottish literature is regional and not national, and that in Glasgow and Clydeside, fierce community loyalties continued to exist in areas such as Govan, Partick and the Gorbals long after their loss of burgh status in 1912.⁷⁴ Clydeside was, as we have seen, home to a very distinctive industrial and working class environment, identified by historians such as Maver, Damer, Kenefick and Mclvor.⁷⁵ As well as demonstrating this distinct regional subjectivity, a number of sources also indicate that Glasgow civilians at times felt less involved in the war effort than those living in other parts of Britain. For example, a Mass Observation report on morale in the city of Glasgow in March 1941 stated that: 'We do not hesitate to say that the morale of Glasgow is at present not nearly so good as in other similar places, including even places like Liverpool and Birmingham.'⁷⁶ The report added that:

The most striking distinction between Glasgow and previous areas is the apparent lack of interest in much of what is going on in the war, and the very low degree of excitement or enthusiasm about war issues among the mass of the people. The war still seems to be looked upon here as largely a personal matter and an economic affair.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Macdonald, *Whaur Extremes Meet*, p. 104, p. 295.

⁷⁵ Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, p. 21; Maver, *Glasgow*; Kenefick and Mclvor (eds.), *Roots of Red Clydeside*; Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*

⁷⁶ Mass Observation Archive, File Report 600, 'Morale in Glasgow', March 1941.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

This evidence that Glasgow and Clydeside civilians could feel detached from the war effort perhaps explains why civilian men and women most often viewed men in reserved occupations as emasculated in parts of Britain which did not have high proportions of young men employed in civilian jobs or possess the distinct industrial and working class environment that existed in wartime Glasgow and Clydeside. For example, Mrs Trowbridge, a middle-aged housewife from Bradford who began her Mass Observation diary when a soldier arrived to lodge at her house in 1941, described men in the civil service as 'crusty old men' and did not consider the possibility that younger men might have worked in the civil service.⁷⁸ She made the assumption that all working men were too old to serve in the armed services, overlooking the presence of men in reserved occupations on the home front. Meanwhile, Nella Last, a married housewife with two sons living in Barrow-in-Furness in Lancashire who kept a diary for thirty years beginning in September 1939, notably did not refer specifically to the reserved occupations. Nevertheless, it is possible to glimpse her attitudes towards them in one entry dated March 1942, in which she recorded an argument with her husband over whether their son should join the armed forces and fight abroad. She countered her husband's suggestion that their son would be safer remaining in England and argued that remaining would have 'killed all that was fine and grand in him'.⁷⁹ She asked her husband 'what about honour and duty?' and therefore suggested that the only way for a

⁷⁸ Dorothy Sheridan, *Wartime Women: A Mass Observation Anthology – The Experiences of Women in War*, (London: Heinemann, 1990), p. 175.

⁷⁹ Richard Brand and Suzie Fleming (eds.), *Nella Last's War: A Mother's Diary 1939-1945*, (Bristol: Fallingwall Press, 1981), p. 191.

young man to be 'fine and grand', act with 'honour' and fulfil 'duty' was to fight abroad in the forces.⁸⁰ Her suggestion that no young man in civilian life could have these characteristics also overlooks the presence of men in reserved occupations. Associating language such as 'fine and grand' with armed service creates a stronger link between masculinity and militarism than is evident in the testimonies of the men and women of Clydeside. Similarly, a woman from the Yorkshire town of Huddersfield born in 1925 whose testimony is included as part of Helga Hughes's edited collection *Words on War*, remarked of men in the Home Guard: 'They were mostly old soldiers from the First World War or young men who were not of an age to go to the Forces.'⁸¹ Graham Dawson's arguments associating masculinity with military service in wartime are therefore in some cases given greater validity in the oral evidence of women from less industrial parts of Britain and from different class backgrounds.⁸² Class war on Clydeside was a concern for Home Intelligence, with a report from the Ministry of Information office in Edinburgh in February 1941 referring to 'difficulties in industrial relations on Clydeside' and strong class feeling.⁸³ It is also possible that different class backgrounds in other areas of Britain contributed to the emergence of more critical attitudes towards men in reserved occupations.

Evidence from oral testimonies of women from areas of Britain with lower proportions of men in reserved employment also reveals a perceived link between

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Helga Hughes (ed.), *Words on War: Memories of the 'Home Front' During the Second World War From the People of the Kirklees Area*, (Huddersfield: Kirklees Cultural Services, 1991), p. 43.

⁸² Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*, (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1-2.

⁸³ Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz*, p. 130.

masculinity and wearing a military uniform, supporting Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird's arguments discussed in Chapter Three that men sought to wear a uniform and use weapons to 'reclaim' masculinity.⁸⁴ One such testimony came from Charlotte Armstrong, born in the town of Larbert, near Falkirk, in 1922. Living in Gourock at the time of my interview with her, she spent the war years in London and Harrogate working for the civil service in the Air Ministry. She commented on a former boyfriend working in the civil service: 'I remember him hating not being in uniform and when he was asked to go to Iraq, I think he went very willingly. But I can imagine any young man who wasn't able to go...'⁸⁵ Although she tailed off before fully articulating her thoughts, her remarks imply support of her boyfriend in his hatred of not having a military uniform. Her comments on the Home Guard give further weight to the argument that she associated masculinity with wearing a uniform. She remarked that men in the Home Guard 'became equipped with [...] a khaki uniform, the same as a private soldier' and therefore suggested that being in the same uniform as a soldier was a trait which gave greater validity to the existence of the organisation.⁸⁶ Oral testimonies from women such as Charlotte Armstrong who lived outside Clydeside during wartime therefore lend support to Summerfield and Peniston-Bird's assertion that men sought to join the Home Guard to wear a uniform and consequently assert masculinity.⁸⁷

Much evidence therefore suggests that male civilian workers were overlooked outside Clydeside in less industrial parts of Britain with populations from different

⁸⁴ Summerfield and Peniston-Bird, *Contesting Home Defence*, p. 15.

⁸⁵ Charlotte Armstrong, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th May 2010.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Summerfield and Peniston-Bird, *Contesting Home Defence*, p. 15.

class backgrounds. Moreover, oral testimonies also reveal much more extensive evidence of feelings of emasculation among men who worked in reserved occupations in different areas of Britain than among reserved workers on Clydeside. A search of the Imperial War Museum Sound Archive for the phrase 'reserved occupation' produced 73 results, of which only a handful belonged to men from Clydeside, but 46 were accounts from men from different parts of England who had either joined, or tried to join, the armed forces despite their jobs having reserved occupation status.⁸⁸ Men often did not elaborate in their interviews on their reasons for this, but from other sources it can be surmised that resentment frequently existed towards them. Although not in a reserved occupation, Morris Pearce was a Bevin Boy in Doncaster during the war and observed that 'Often, we received verbal abuse or were spat at in the street and asked, "Why are you not in uniform?"', an experience which it can be assumed was also relevant to male civilian workers.⁸⁹ Another contributor to the BBC *People's War* Archive also discussed the experiences of his father, Bill Tomlinson, an aircraft fitter in Lancashire, noting that: 'Some ladies, and men, used to spit at my dad [...] questioning as to WHY! my dad was not on the front line.'⁹⁰ George Cooper, employed as a railway worker in Birmingham during the war, also remembered being stopped at the cinema because he was not in military uniform and asked why

⁸⁸ For example: interviews with Leonard Frank Bradfield and Arthur Naisbitt, Imperial War Museum Sound Archive, accession numbers 18481 and 29690.

⁸⁹ Elizabeth Lister, 'How I Became a Bevin Boy', BBC *People's War* Archive, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ww2peopleswar/stories/61/a7319261.shtml>, contributed 26th November 2005, accessed 2nd February 2011.

⁹⁰ Unknown contributor, 'Dick Kerr's Ladies', BBC *People's War* Archive, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ww2peopleswar/stories/17/a2750717.shtml>, contributed 16th June 2004, accessed 2nd February 2011.

he had not joined up.⁹¹ Such accounts of direct verbal and physical attacks on men not in military service indicate the possibility of stronger resentment towards these men in areas of Britain with different class backgrounds and where proportionally fewer men were likely to have been reserved than was evident in wartime Clydeside.

Notably, however, oral testimonies from women who lived in wartime Clydeside often give working men greater recognition. A Mass Observation report on British war production, published in July 1942, significantly asserted that 'those outside war industry more often considered workers' wages too high than those engaged in war production' and 'the tendency for people not directly engaged in war production to be more critical of it than those who are so engaged to some extent corresponds with the tendency for criticism to be very appreciably higher among B (middle class) people than among C (artisan) and D (unskilled-working).'⁹² Class consciousness on the wartime Clyde will be discussed more extensively in Chapter Five, but it is notable here that the wider presence of multiple masculinities in predominantly working class Clydeside, an area with high levels of war production, indicates a key reason for higher levels of recognition ascribed to men in reserved occupations there than in other parts of Britain with different class backgrounds. Oral evidence showing recognition for men in reserved occupations includes the testimony of Margaret Macaulay, born in Glasgow in 1913 and employed in the

⁹¹ George Cooper, 'Working in a Reserved Occupation in Birmingham', BBC *People's War* Archive, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/99/a4203299.shtml>, contributed 16th June 2005, accessed 5th May 2012.

⁹² Mass Observation, *People in Production: An Enquiry into British War Production*, (Middlesex: Penguin, 1942), pp. 43-45.

Royal Ordnance Factory in Bishopton during the Second World War. Asked whether she had only female work colleagues in the factory, she responded that: 'There was men there, they were reserved, in reserved occupations.'⁹³ Meanwhile, Betty Hodge, born in Glasgow in 1927, noted that 'fortunately my father didn't go [to war] because he was in a reserved occupation' and Jessie Cameron, born in Coatbridge in 1923 and a member of the Land Army in Ayrshire in wartime, observed of young male farmers that: 'They were reserved, they didn't need to go to the Army, aye there was quite a lot.'⁹⁴ Unlike a number of the women interviewed by Penny Summerfield, for example, the women of Clydeside frequently recognised that men of fighting age were working in different industries in the region during the war, thereby ascribing their roles with greater recognition.⁹⁵

4.6 Distinct Regional Subjectivities

While higher levels of recognition ascribed to male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside were also likely to have been directed towards men working in other areas of Britain with high proportions of men employed in reserved occupations, the oral testimonies of men working in Glasgow and Clydeside nonetheless showed evidence of distinctive yet diverse regional subjectivities. Arguably, men

⁹³ Margaret Macaulay, interviewed by Haydn Davies, 28th February 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁹⁴ Betty Hodge, interviewer unknown, 30th May 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC; Robert and Jessie Cameron, interviewed by Alison Chand, 6th August 2010.

⁹⁵ Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

demonstrated in their oral testimonies that they associated their wartime subjectivities with both urban Glasgow and the wider entity of Clydeside, sometimes simultaneously. Similarities between the masculine subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations in different areas of wartime Britain existed largely on an 'imagined', albeit highly significant, level. Male civilian workers also demonstrated both 'lived' and 'imagined' aspects of distinctly regional subjectivity, including pride in the industries of Glasgow and Clydeside. While some of this pride can be linked to the area's specific contribution to the war effort, it can mostly be connected to a deep knowledge, understanding and awareness of the city and region as a distinct locality, based on the immediacy and proximity of the region's industries to the day-to-day life of reserved men. Arguably, 'lived' facets of life in a particular locality were most relevant to the subjectivities of male civilian workers, further demonstrating the inevitable continuity of individual subjectivity and feelings of personal agency through the events and discourses of war.

A number of oral testimonies of male civilian workers expressed pride in industrial Glasgow and Clydeside. Jerry Moffat, for example, noted that many men liked to know about the progress of the ships which had originated in their shipyards: 'People enjoyed hearing about how, what the ships, what they had done, they took a bit o' pride. That was one thing, there was a lot o' pride in the shipyard, the work that you done, there was pride in it, and people took a pride in their work.'⁹⁶ Such pride was often linked to the role of the region in the war effort, and books such as John Drummond's *A River Runs to War* and Andrew Jeffrey's *This*

⁹⁶ Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

Time of Crisis indicate that people living on and around the river Clyde felt a close association with the military events of war.⁹⁷ Jerry Moffat also observed that: ‘There would be fifteen, fifteen or sixteen shipyards on the Clyde, so you had [...] all producing some type o’, building some type o’ ship. Stephens actually was doing Admiralty work and Merchant work.’⁹⁸ The pride that he had in the work of the shipyard in wartime was therefore connected to the contribution of the work to the war effort, reflecting the importance granted to shipbuilders in Sir Stanley Spencer’s *Shipbuilding on the Clyde* paintings, and also the assertions by V. S. Pritchett and Osborne and Armstrong that men working in British shipbuilding in wartime were highly aware of the ‘appalling damage’ inflicted on ships at sea by torpedoes, mines, bombs and U-boats, and the consequent loss of many ships such as the Glasgow-made *Athenia*, torpedoed 200 miles west of the Hebrides in September 1939.⁹⁹ For shipbuilders, wrote Pritchett: ‘To save a ship in wartime is everything.’¹⁰⁰ The *Glasgow Herald* also reported on the city’s distinctive part in the war effort – for example, in an article in April 1943 about the advanced wartime radio development taking place in Glasgow.¹⁰¹ It is notable that while many men referred to wartime industry as being specifically associated with Glasgow – James Wilson, for example, described Glasgow during the war as ‘an engineering city’ – many, including Jerry

⁹⁷ John D. Drummond, *A River Runs to War*, (London: W. H. Allen, 1960); Andrew Jeffrey, *This Time of Crisis: Glasgow, the West of Scotland and the North Western Approaches in the Second World War*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1993).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Sir Stanley Spencer, *Shipbuilding on the Clyde*, available at <http://www.rennart.co.uk/spencer.html>, accessed 29th November 2011; V. S. Pritchett, *Build the Ships: The Official Story of the Shipyards in Wartime*, (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1946), p. 47.

¹⁰⁰ Pritchett, *Build the Ships*, p. 47; Brian D. Osborne and Ronald Armstrong, *Glasgow: A City at War*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003), p. 154.

¹⁰¹ ‘Glasgow’s Part in War Effort’, *The Glasgow Herald*, 5th April 1943, p. 2.

Moffat, cited in this paragraph, also referred to the role played by the industries 'on the Clyde'.¹⁰² J. J. McCall commented in a 1946 essay about shipbuilding in the west of Scotland that 'Glasgow [...] made the Clyde and the Clyde made Glasgow', inextricably intertwining the entities of Glasgow and Clydeside.¹⁰³ James Kane, discussing his involvement with the ARP in the Govan area of Glasgow, notably referred to the useful skills of miners from Lanarkshire in helping out after the Clydebank Blitz in March 1941 and it is also evident in the testimonies of some men working in rural areas and occupations in Clydeside, outside the city, that their work had connections to Glasgow.¹⁰⁴ Stewart Halley, for example, described going to regular 'feeing days' next to the city's meat market during the war to recruit workers for the Lanarkshire farm near Larkhall where he was employed.¹⁰⁵ The economies of Glasgow and Clydeside were often closely intertwined and reserved men expressed varying and often co-existing levels of association with both the urban city and the wider Clydeside area.

Further demonstrating the notion that men were proud of the contributions made to the war effort by both Glasgow and Clydeside, Robert Martin asserted of the whole area that 'any foundry, any, any place that was manufacturing anything for the troops or for the Air Force or for the Navy, we're contributing' and John Scott, born in Motherwell in 1923 and employed as a mechanic, noted that: 'We

¹⁰² James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010; Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

¹⁰³ J. J. McCall, 'The World's Best Shipbuilder', in W. M. Ballantine (ed.), *Scotland's Record*, (Edinburgh: Albyn Press, 1946), p. 31.

¹⁰⁴ James Kane, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th May 2012.

¹⁰⁵ Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

were doing essential work.’¹⁰⁶ Barry Keenan also observed that: ‘The amount of work that was done in Glasgow for the war effort [was] even more than Coventry or Birmingham.’¹⁰⁷ Benedict Anderson has noted the significance of tombs and cenotaphs commemorating the achievements of soldiers in the formation of ‘imagined’ nationality.¹⁰⁸ The pride of many men in Glasgow’s and Clydeside’s specific link to the war effort indicates that, although this link was not commemorated with tombs and cenotaphs in the same way as the achievements of soldiers, Dawson’s notion that a hegemonic military masculinity existed in wartime to which men aspired thus remained relevant to the regional subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations in Glasgow and Clydeside. Distinctive regional contribution to the war effort was therefore a key element of their masculinities.

A number of oral testimonies of men in reserved occupations also linked Glasgow and Clydeside to the war effort through discussion of the impact of air raids on the region, particularly on the towns of Clydebank and Greenock. Penny Summerfield has noted that a number of her female interviewees linked their work to the ‘heroism’ of the war effort by referring to their proximity to danger, and this was also true of men working in reserved occupations.¹⁰⁹ In addition, Helen Jones has asserted that the bombing of Clydebank created a sense of partnership between Glasgow and other bombed British cities and pointed to the prominence given in Glasgow newspapers to statements by Cabinet ministers that the Clydebank raids

¹⁰⁶ Robert Martin, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th June 2010; John Scott, interviewed by Bowden Payne, 1st October 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁰⁷ Barry Keenan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th January 2011.

¹⁰⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women’s Wartime Lives*, p. 100.

were as severe as any elsewhere in Britain.¹¹⁰ John Allan noted that ‘it was just the two nights. Clydebank got it and we got it’ and commented extensively on the impact of the bombing on his home town of Greenock.¹¹¹ For men working in and closer to Glasgow itself, the Clydebank Blitz in March 1941 was also a common topic in their oral narratives of wartime. Henry Elder, for example, noted that: ‘There was quite a bit of bombing went on in Glasgow, not as much of course as you see happened to London, but it was still quite a lot [...] Clydebank was a shipyard area, they got bombed.’¹¹² We have seen in Chapter Three details of the extensive damage caused by the London Blitz and such remarks expressed solidarity with those working in industry and experiencing air raids in London and other areas of Britain, linking men working in reserved occupations in Clydeside to an ‘imagined’ collective subjectivity common to other male civilian workers in different areas of Britain home to important wartime industries and targeted by German air raids.

It is also significant that a number of reserved men referred to the presence of foreign servicemen in Clydeside during the war, particularly Americans associated with convoys coming and going on the Clyde. John Drummond’s book, *A River Runs to War*, notes the role of the Clyde in transporting ships bearing men of many different nationalities into Britain.¹¹³ In addition, John Allan, for example, recalled buying cigarettes and butter from American sailors in Greenock, and also the presence of American and Canadian servicemen in dance halls in the town, while

¹¹⁰ Helen Jones, *British Civilians in the Front Line: Air Raids, Productivity and Wartime Culture 1939-45*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 152; Mass Observation Archive, Air Raids, File Report 23/8, ‘Clydeside’, 13th April 1941.

¹¹¹ John Allan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 1st June 2010.

¹¹² Henry Elder, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th August 2010.

¹¹³ Drummond, *A River Runs to War*, p. 14.

John Mathieson, born in the Springburn area of Glasgow in 1924 and employed as an engineer in wartime, remarked that he and his brothers used to steal clothes from boats on the Clyde that were carrying American soldiers: 'There was clothes rationing then and all the boys [were] coming aff the boat wi' about four or five pairs o' troosers on at the one time and half a dozen shirts. You're walking up the road like a robot and [...] you couldnae sit doon, because you cannae sit doon wi' six pairs of troosers on.'¹¹⁴ Anecdotes such as these demonstrate that men working in reserved occupations were often aware of transitory groups of foreign servicemen in Clydeside during the war, perhaps a further indication that men did, to an extent, feel involved in the notion of the 'people's war'. However, it is notable that many of the comments about foreign servicemen in wartime Clydeside made by men who worked in reserved occupations refer more to commodities that men could buy or, in the case of John Mathieson, steal, for use in their own lives, rather than to the military reasons for the presence of the servicemen in the area.

Despite this evidence of awareness of the impact of war in Clydeside, however, we have also seen in Chapter Three that employment and earning were often central to the masculinity of male civilian workers in wartime Glasgow and Clydeside. Oral evidence also indicates that men in reserved occupations saw Clydeside's involvement in the war effort as a key reason for increasing wages and employment in the region. An extract from a report about Glasgow included in the Beveridge Manpower Survey, written in 1946, stated:

¹¹⁴ John Allan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 1st June 2010; John Mathieson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th March 2011.

There is no doubt that the Rolls Royce works act as a magnet to workpeople, partly on account of the nature of the work and partly by the prospect of high earnings [...] Barr and Stroud's had a similar experience. The high earning power of workers in certain shops is a factor of considerable importance in attracting labour in certain directions.¹¹⁵

Meanwhile, James Kane said of the 1930s in the Govan area of Glasgow that 'every day was an ordeal for survival' and John Wilkie, discussing the impact on his home town of Motherwell of the decade's depression observed:

We stayed in a street called West Hamilton Street, and further up the street there was the Labour Exchange, and [...] there were loads of men there wi' their bonnets and their scarves, getting their money, unemployed. It was a very very hard time. We were fortunate, but as I say, '38, '39, things started picking up again, and these guys got work, whether they were in the steel works, or engineering works, or wherever [...] Everybody had a job. They were crying out for men.¹¹⁶

The high impact of unemployment on areas such as western Scotland dominated by heavy industry during the interwar years of the 1920s and 1930s has been widely documented.¹¹⁷ We have discussed the depiction of these years in the film of George Blake's 1935 novel *The Shipbuilders* in Chapter Three, and other cultural sources, such as Edward Shiels's 1937 novel *Gael over Glasgow*, also clearly show unemployment as a key factor affecting masculinities. Alec Cameron, a central character in the novel, is depicted describing his departure from university and failure to find a job to financially support his mother and sister, commenting on the

¹¹⁵ National Archives, Beveridge Manpower Survey, LAB 76/46, 1946.

¹¹⁶ James Kane, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th May 2012; John Wilkie, interviewed by Alison Chand, 5th August 2010.

¹¹⁷ For example: in Martin Pugh, *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain Since 1870*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), pp. 181-193; Paul Johnson (ed.), *20th Century Britain: Economic, Social and Cultural Change*, (London: Longman, 1994), pp. 203-217; Sidney Pollard, *The Development of the British Economy 1914-1980*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1962), pp. 154-186.

'man's part' of his life which he felt unable to 'play out'.¹¹⁸ Margaret McCormack, born in the Springburn area of Glasgow in 1917, also made the following remarks about the 1930s in her oral testimony: 'It was a time of depression and all the working lads [...] just took any [job] that appeared and glad to get it. It was that sort of way.'¹¹⁹ William Kenefick has noted that fear of unemployment was often a significant motivating factor in encouraging Glasgow men to join up in the First World War and, as well as being proud of the specific contribution of Clydeside to the war effort during the Second World War, it is therefore also apparent that, for men in Clydeside, the levels of unemployment in the period prior to the war caused greater emasculation than the challenges posed by the notion of a hegemonic military masculinity during the war.¹²⁰ Male reserved workers therefore often saw the war as an important reason for increasing employment in the region's key industries.

Furthermore, Christopher Small, born in 1919 and employed by Mass Observation to assess household incomes in various British towns through the war before becoming a journalist at the *Glasgow Herald* newspaper, noted that 'women as the main earners of the house were quite common' in many northern English locations such as Bradford, a textile town with relatively large numbers of married women workers, while in Glasgow men were the primary earners in most households.¹²¹ He related this significant anecdote:

¹¹⁸ Edward Shiels, *Gael Over Glasgow*, (London: Sheed and Ward, 1937), p. 18.

¹¹⁹ Margaret McCormack, interviewed by James McKenna, 9th April 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹²⁰ Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, p. 134.

¹²¹ Christopher Small, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th January 2011.

As I said, I was quite used to women being among the, ah, level, equal or even sometimes principal earners in the family. This was uncommon in Glasgow, where there were many, of course many shipyard workers and engineers, and I remember one particular who was in a reserved occupation [...] a youngish man who was an engineer, [...] and he was on night shifts so he was in bed when I came in the morning, but as I interviewed his wife, and she answered several of my questions, but she said, well, 'you really need to speak to him', and, so I said I would come back at a convenient time. She said 'oh no, he's awake', so she took me into the box bedroom where he was in the box bed, I think he was smoking, em, ah, a strong fit young man, em, who was very friendly and [...] answered all the questions that I asked him about his work [...] and he told me, em, his wife was sort of leaning on the bedpost and, and chipping in when necessary. He told me, ah, a smallish, a good wage, I think it was three pounds a week. At the same time he did this to me. I didn't notice at first then he did this [Christopher Small holds up five fingers] em, and his wife either realising what he was saying or possibly, or she went to do something at the sink. Anyway she, she went out, and he said 'do you see what I'm doing? Five pounds, five pounds, but don't tell her. I've got to keep something for myself', and that was common enough I'm sure but it was so graphic, em, and he was, he, he wasn't hostile, his wife wasn't hostile to me. It was just, em, that was the natural way of life and I don't remember anybody else being so specific about it, but I did realise that it was often if one was speaking to the main earner, it was often a man, that he would, em, not be, he would either be hedging or else he would be, eh, yes, I think better off, he didn't say, because he would feel that it was letting somebody else know, possibly his wife. It was perfectly legitimate to conceal a part of one's wage. He paid, he paid his wife the means to keep the house going and he got, he didn't get his pocket money, he just kept the rest. In Yorkshire and Lancashire the, the husband got pocket money, which might be quite substantial but nevertheless he was handed it by the housewife, so this was a big change in circumstances.¹²²

These lengthy remarks are particularly relevant to this discussion of regional subjectivity, with a husband's control of household income denoted as specific to Glasgow and Clydeside and clearly differing from the situation in many other areas of Britain. James Taylor also noted the regional dominance of the male 'breadwinner' in Glasgow, discussing the importance to household income of

¹²² Ibid.

women's work in Dundee jute mills during spells of male unemployment.¹²³ He also identified the particular importance of earning to men in Glasgow as different from other regions. Christopher Small's remarks indicate his impression that society in wartime Clydeside was more patriarchal than in some other British regions, but research such as Pat Ayers's work on men in inter-war Liverpool also demonstrates the importance of the masculine role in household economics in other areas of Britain such as Merseyside, meaning that it is also accurate to describe Clydeside as sharing patriarchal characteristics with such areas.¹²⁴ Pride in the role played by Glasgow and Clydeside in the war effort was nonetheless also thus linked to increased levels of wartime earning and the notion that men adhered to facets of multiple alternative masculinities, including 'breadwinner' masculinity, before, during and after the war, and did not fully subscribe to a hegemonic masculine ideal connected to military service during the Second World War.

The notion suggested in testimonies such as that of Jerry Moffat that 'people enjoyed hearing about how, what the ships, what they had done' indicates that men's pride in their work also represented a wider concept than simply pride in the contribution of Glasgow and Clydeside to the war effort. Hugh Munro's novel *The Clydesiders*, set in inter-war Glasgow, depicts one of the central protagonists, Colin Haig, surveying the river Clyde from the shipyard where he is employed and noting to himself that: 'The view was familiar but never ceased to give him a queer

¹²³ James Taylor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th August 2010.

¹²⁴ Pat Ayers, 'The Making of Men: Masculinities in Inter-war Liverpool' in Margaret Walsh (ed.), *Working Out Gender: Perspectives from Labour History*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

sensation of personal pride.¹²⁵ Meanwhile, V. S. Pritchett noted that: 'Some men [on the Clyde] followed the ships they had built as you might follow the form of racehorses.'¹²⁶ Shipbuilding was presented as fundamental to the Glasgow economy, and wartime represented a boom period for the industry described in George Blake's 1935 novel *The Shipbuilders* as being a 'tradition, a skill, a glory, a passion'.¹²⁷ Indeed, the 1944 film of this novel, directed by John Baxter, extended the plot into wartime but emphasised the history of shipbuilding on the Clyde in repeated references to the 'splendid past' of the industry, with shipyard owner Leslie Pagan remarking: 'We built an Empire with ships.'¹²⁸ Such emphasis on the importance and continuity of Glasgow and Clydeside industry is clearly reflected in the oral testimonies of men who worked in reserved occupations.

Notably, oral accounts such as that of Jerry Moffat also highlighted shipbuilding as an industry that existed in Glasgow and Clydeside before the war and continued to exist after the war had finished. Jerry Moffat worked in shipbuilding until his retirement in 1985, eventually becoming a foreman and, as we have seen, it is not always clear whether the anecdotes related in his testimony took place in wartime or later. Shipbuilding represented his career and occupied a vast portion of his life, and he consequently invested it with deeper meaning for Glasgow and Clydeside than a contribution to the war effort. His assertion that welders were the 'lords of the shipbuilding' also reflects Martin Bellamy's remarks about the mystique of

¹²⁵ Hugh Munro, *The Clydesiders: A Novel of the Glasgow Shipyards*, (Suffolk: Corgi, 1961), p. 165.

¹²⁶ Pritchett, *Build the Ships*, p. 8.

¹²⁷ George Blake, *The Shipbuilders*, (Edinburgh: B&W Publishing Ltd, 1993 edition, first published 1935), p. 118.

¹²⁸ *The Shipbuilders*, 1935, shown at Glasgow Film Theatre, 20th March 2011.

riveters and welders, regarded as the 'kings of the shipyard workers'.¹²⁹ As is evident in Jimmy Reid's famous 1971 quote, 'they didn't just build ships on the Clyde, they built men', industry, and specifically shipbuilding, was widely understood as an iconic part of life in Clydeside and consequently formed part of a distinct regional subjectivity that arguably transcended the notion that masculine identity was primarily linked to militarism and the war effort.¹³⁰ James Wilson, as we have seen, referred to Glasgow as an engineering city with a variety of industrial trades, noting that: 'Most people in Glasgow did get into engineering because that was what was available.'¹³¹ He remarked on being born with 'the stench of the shipyard in my nostrils' and also on his consequent decision to pursue a career in naval architecture before the outbreak of war, indicating that his pride in Glasgow's shipbuilding was not wholly linked to the industry's contribution to the war effort, rather to its long term existence and association with the city and the region.¹³² Similarly, John Scott's observation that shipbuilding 'was the life blood of Glasgow actually and you were proud to come across any ship or anything that came from, you know, from Glasgow, you know, from Clydebank actually, Clydebank was the shipbuilding centre of the world' encompasses a wider span of history than just the Second World War.¹³³ Discussing a different kind of working life, Stewart Halley's anecdotes about his employment as a farmer cover a period beginning before the war and stretching to the present day – at the time of interview, he continued to

¹²⁹ Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010; Martin Bellamy, *The Shipbuilders: An Anthology of Scottish Shipyard Life*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2001), p. 22.

¹³⁰ Bellamy, *The Shipbuilders*, p. 199.

¹³¹ James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ John Scott, interviewed by Bowden Payne, 1st October 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

play an active role in managing the finances of the same farm in Larkhall where he worked in wartime.¹³⁴ The testimonies of all of these men demonstrate continuity of subjectivity centred upon life in the Clydeside region.

Continuity of regional subjectivity was also demonstrated in oral evidence in men's remarks about family employment traditions. Workers such as Dougie McMillan, an engineer in Springburn during the war, were employed in workplaces where their fathers and grandfathers were employed before them, a situation also depicted in the 1944 film *The Shipbuilders*, where Danny Shields determines to teach his son Billy to be a riveter despite evidence that the trade is outdated.¹³⁵ V. S. Pritchett wrote of the tendency of some shipbuilding jobs in Britain to run in families, while Alessandro Portelli has also noted that miners in Harlan County, Kentucky, were initiated into the industry under the family tutelage of a father, uncle or older brother.¹³⁶ Alex Truten also commented of mining that 'it's in your blood [...] your father was a miner, your grandfather was a miner', and Stewart Halley remarked that farming was the line of work followed by generations of his family before him.¹³⁷ Family 'tutelage' was also common in Clydeside before, during and after the war. Wendy Ugolini has described the family as an important agent in accepting and modifying state authority in her research into the experiences of the Italian community in wartime Scotland, and we have already explored in this thesis

¹³⁴ Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

¹³⁵ Dougie McMillan, interviewed by Martin Roberts, 15th April 1987; *The Shipbuilders*, 1935, shown at Glasgow Film Theatre, 20th March 2011.

¹³⁶ Pritchett, *Build the Ships*, p. 14; Alessandro Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County: An Oral History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 136.

¹³⁷ Alex Truten, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th September 2010; Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

the influence of family members on the masculinities of men working in reserved occupations.¹³⁸ It is clear from this discussion of ‘tutelage’ that the family was also an important agent in influencing regional belonging, and the association of male civilian workers with specific industries located in diverse communities.

Moreover, a number of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside felt their involvement in industrial militancy to be local. Duncan McLean, for example, born in 1918 and employed as a miner in Shotts during the war, remarked that ‘the Fife miner was a different miner from the Lanarkshire miner [...] because the Shotts miner was a fighter for his wages’, indicating that he identified with a sense of regional belonging based on fighting for better pay.¹³⁹ A number of male civilian workers had distinctive regional subjectivities shaped by Glasgow’s and Clydeside’s status as an area of industry. George Blake, in his novel *The Shipbuilders*, described Glasgow’s shipyards as a ‘roster of great names [...] Ferguson’s, Duncan’s, Murdoch’s, Russell’s, Hamilton’s’, and oral evidence indicates that such a specific geographic sense of industrial identity was highly relevant to many men working in the area in wartime.¹⁴⁰ Glasgow and Clydeside were both clearly described in the oral testimonies of male civilian workers as distinctive and intertwined communities with important industries. This distinctive regional environment was continuous, existing before, during and after the Second World War, and formed the backdrop to the ‘lived’ everyday existences of men working in reserved occupations.

¹³⁸ Wendy Ugolini, ‘Memory, War and the Italians in Scotland: Recovering Counter Narratives’, University of Strathclyde War Group seminar series, 28th March 2012.

¹³⁹ Duncan McLean, interviewed by S. Watt, September 1992, T066, Motherwell Heritage Centre.

¹⁴⁰ Blake, *The Shipbuilders*, p. 120.

On the contrary, 'imagined' collective subjectivity, common to different areas with proportionally high numbers of men working in reserved occupations, was presented in a more abstract way. For example, John Scott remarked that 'they say' the work done in Clydeside was 'essential work' for the war effort.¹⁴¹ Although indicating that Clydeside's industries were viewed as important to the war effort by official sources outside the region, the use of the pronoun 'they' granted a level of impersonality to the notion, and demonstrated the abstract nature of Scott's awareness of his shared collective subjectivity. Similarly, we have seen that men's comments about foreign servicemen were often concerned with commodities for their own everyday lives, and men's remarks about air raids were also often abstract in nature, with their awareness of the impact of air raids frequently very limited to their own local areas, giving little consideration to similar raids in other areas of Britain. Helen Jones has noted that the experience of aerial attack often enhanced a sense of local subjectivity and civilians' attachment to the area of their home, and this was often also true of parts of Clydeside.¹⁴² John Allan, for example, observed of the air raids on Greenock that: 'We were only concerned in our own area, we didnae know what was going on in other areas because we more or less stayed in our own area.'¹⁴³ Notably, the testimonies of two German women interviewed separately as part of the 2000 Glasgow Lives project indicate their feelings that residents in Glasgow lacked awareness of wartime events outside the city. Gertrude Black, who was born in the town of Elbing in East Prussia in 1912 and

¹⁴¹ John Scott, interviewed by Bowden Payne, 1st October 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁴² Jones, *British Civilians in the Front Line*, pp. 150-151.

¹⁴³ John Allan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 1st June 2010.

arrived in Edinburgh as a refugee in June 1939 before moving to the Scotstoun area of Glasgow after the outbreak of war, and Ursula Neville, a German Jew who was born in Berlin in 1920 and came to Glasgow also as a refugee in 1938, both indicate that residents of the city were only aware of the impact of the war in their own local areas. Neville, for example, observed that: 'I was surprised at the lack of information that people had.'¹⁴⁴ Referring to the contribution of different areas of Glasgow to the war effort, George Lightbody observed that 'you're all units and you all just do your wee thing', again indicating a very local awareness of the impact of war on the city.¹⁴⁵ In addition, a number of oral testimonies from men employed in Springburn in wartime indicate close identification with the industries of that particular part of Glasgow, with John McKee, employed as a railway worker in the area during the war, noting that 'the place was all black with workmen' at the end of the day and William Sancroft, born in 1905 and a joiner in wartime, describing Cowlairs Road as 'a beehive of industry'.¹⁴⁶ These oral testimonies all reflect the kind of attitude evident from the character of farmer Ewan Tavendale in Lewis Grassie Gibbon's novel, *Sunset Song*, set during the First World War in the Howe of the Mearns in the north east of Scotland, when he says that 'he didn't care a damn though Alaska moved under the sea the morn, when would [the rain] clear on

¹⁴⁴ Gertrude Black, interviewed by Fiona Hayes, 5th November 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC; Ursula Neville, interviewed by Fiona Hayes, 4th March 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁴⁵ George Lightbody, interviewed by Alison Chand, 21st June 2010.

¹⁴⁶ John McKee, interviewed by Alison Irwin, 18th October 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC; William Sancroft, interviewed by Sandra Kernahan, 6th August 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

Blawearie?', demonstrating a central focus on 'lived' events in his immediate local vicinity rather than the 'imagined' wartime notion of national and social unity.¹⁴⁷

Evidently, moreover, many male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside had only a limited knowledge of reserved occupations outside their own fields of work and were unaware of the wide variety of reserved work being carried out throughout Britain in wartime. This also suggests that the 'lived' local environment was more important and relevant in shaping the masculine subjectivities of reserved workers. For example, James McMonigle observed that: 'If you were on the ships you couldnae go into the Army or Navy or anything else, the same if you worked in the shipyards or the docks [...] The only other reserved occupation [...] was, like, the mines.'¹⁴⁸ His awareness extended to the existence of reserved occupations that provided employment in Glasgow, and his remarks gave no consideration to the fact that other jobs might also be reserved. Such testimonies complicate the notion that solidarity existed between different British regions in wartime and suggest that distinctive local subjectivities were often more relevant to the lives of men in reserved occupations in Clydeside than wider collective subjectivities. As we have seen in Chapter One, Joanna Bourke has argued that the allegiances of individuals within communities to neighbours, friends and kin were formed on an '*ad hoc*' basis, with choices guided by cultural norms and restrained by limited alternatives. This analysis is particularly relevant to the regional subjectivities of men who

¹⁴⁷ Lewis Grassie Gibbon, *A Scots Quair*, (London: Penguin, 1986), p. 134.

¹⁴⁸ James McMonigle, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010.

worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside, but such limited alternatives did not mean that these men did not maintain a sense of personal agency.¹⁴⁹

The existence of specifically local subjectivities that were rooted in 'lived' everyday existence and were continuous and relevant before, during, and after the war is also clearly evident in men's references in their oral testimonies to activities in which they participated outside work, including religious, political and leisure activities. These activities will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Five in relation to the wider subjectivities of male civilian workers. However, it is notable that sectarian divisions between Catholicism and Protestantism, for example, were commonly understood as being restricted in a specific way to Glasgow, Clydeside and western Scotland. Demonstrating this point, Jerry Moffat noted that, as a Catholic, his employment in a Glasgow shipyard was only possible because his English foreman was less 'biased' than local foremen and did not ask him which secondary school he attended, a piece of information which would have revealed his religion through the name of the school.¹⁵⁰ Sectarianism, the history and development of which in the west of Scotland and association with nineteenth-century Irish immigration is extensively detailed by historians such as William Kenefick, Steve Bruce et al., and Tom Devine, is noted here as being only of significance to people from Glasgow and Clydeside – the foreman, who came from England, did not see the issue of which school Jerry Moffat attended as relevant to

¹⁴⁹ Joanna Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain: 1890-1960*, (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 169.

¹⁵⁰ Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

his employment in the shipyard.¹⁵¹ David Sinclair has asserted a link between ‘Scottish’ nationality and Presbyterianism and also indicated the particular association of tension between Catholicism and Protestantism with the Clydeside region of Scotland, a link also made by Mark Boyle.¹⁵² In addition, a number of men referred in their interviews to the expressly local working class and left-wing political environment of the Glasgow and Clydeside area. For example, Andy McMahon, born in 1919 and employed as a boiler maker during the war, remarked on the ‘better standard of living’ in England and other parts of Scotland, indicating class differences between people living in Clydeside and those other parts of Britain.¹⁵³ In addition, decisions by reserved men to take part in leisure activities were often shaped by local availability. For example, the participation of a number of men, including Andy McMahon, in outdoor activities such as cycling, hiking and youth hostelling was possible because of the proximity of Clydeside to natural environments such as Loch Lomond and the western Highlands.¹⁵⁴ As has been stated, wider subjectivities involving religious and political beliefs, as well as leisure activities, are examined more extensively in Chapter Five. However, it is notable here that in their specifically local forms, these identities were both ‘lived’ and ‘imagined’ and were largely continuous in nature.

¹⁵¹ Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, pp. 13-15; Steve Bruce, Tony Glendinning, Iain Paterson and Michael Rosie, *Sectarianism in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994); Tom Devine (ed.), *Scotland’s Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2000).

¹⁵² David Sinclair, ‘The Identity of a Nation’ in Devine (ed.), *Scotland’s Shame?*, pp. 177-185; Mark Boyle, *Metropolitan Anxieties: On the Meaning of the Irish Catholic Adventure in Scotland*, (London: Ashgate, 2011), p. 75.

¹⁵³ Andy McMahon, unknown interviewer, 10th November 1989, Voices from the Yard, GMRC.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

It is significant, moreover, that local subjectivities often existed within regions and were centred upon individual towns, villages, communities and neighbourhoods rather than either the urban environment of Glasgow or the wider entity of Clydeside. David Lee and Howard Newby have identified three main ways in which the term 'community' has historically been used: a geographical expression for a fixed locality; a set of social relationships which take place within a locality, and a particular type of relationship, a sense of subjectivity, or a common interest within a group.¹⁵⁵ Local communities in all three senses were relevant to the subjectivities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside. For example, William Dewar, discussing his involvement in the apprentices' strike of 1940, remarked:

There was two works as I say, Hyde Park and Atlas, well, there was fewer apprentices in the Atlas works where I was, you see, so the men all contributed to a fund to help the apprentices to get some money, you see, but [...] the young shop steward, he amalgamated us into Hyde Park. He made it one lump sum [...] We should have kept the money we got divided amongst the few apprentices there, but the union boys said 'no, no, you don't, we get it in here' and they divided it between all the apprentices, so there was a wee bit of feeling between the apprentices in Hyde Park and the ones in [...] the other works.¹⁵⁶

These remarks about the divisions between two railways works indicate the existence of separate local subjectivities centred upon specific workplaces in Clydeside communities. Meanwhile, although Harry Scott served in the Army from 1944 to 1945, he was born and brought up in the mining village of Cumnock and we have seen in Chapter One his remarks that: 'I was trying to think what were reserved occupations and these were the only two that I could come up with,

¹⁵⁵ David Lee and Howard Newby, *The Problem of Sociology: An Introduction to the Discipline*, (London: Hutchison, 1983), p. 57.

¹⁵⁶ William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

miners and farmers [...] I cannae think of any others.¹⁵⁷ The industries prevalent in his own local region were the only reserved occupations of which he was aware during wartime. Barry Keenan, moreover, discussing his work as an engineer in the Bridgeton area of Glasgow, referred to the close proximity of the workplaces of most men to their homes: 'Communities then were more or less local, eh, they didnae have to look for labour, you know, the labour was just round about their doorsteps and they just opened the doors and then in they came.'¹⁵⁸ We have seen that the Springburn area was heavily associated with the railway industry, and the oral testimonies of men in reserved occupations also referred to associations between other particular areas and workplaces. A number of men, including Barry Keenan, remarked on the prevalence in the Hillington area of employment with Rolls Royce, while others, such as Andrew Fleming, remarked on the association of the town of Bishopton with munitions work.¹⁵⁹ Glasgow, and the entirety of Clydeside, incorporated a variety of urban and rural environments in wartime, and this is reflected in the different expressions of local subjectivity evident in oral testimonies.

To summarise, therefore, much pride in the industries of Glasgow and Clydeside could be attributed to the key contribution judged to have been made by the industries of the area to the war effort, adding validity to Graham Dawson's notion that men adhered to a hegemonic military masculinity in wartime. 'Imagined' collective subjectivity centred upon the war effort was fundamental to shaping the

¹⁵⁷ Harry Scott, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010.

¹⁵⁸ Barry Keenan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th January 2011.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid; Andrew Fleming, interviewed by Alison Chand, 2nd June 2010.

masculine subjectivities of reserved workers in both Glasgow and Clydeside, with men expressing belonging both to the urban city and to the wider region to varying extents. However, oral evidence often indicates the continuous nature of the way men experienced the region's key industries, suggesting that the pride of male civilian workers was more directed towards aspects of life in the region which existed before, during and after the war. Men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside often discussed the war effort in an abstract way and had a limited knowledge of reserved occupations outside their own fields of employment and local areas. The masculine subjectivities of reserved workers were shaped on different levels – while men were often highly aware of key aspects of 'imagined', albeit highly significant, collective subjectivity, their local and regional subjectivities also incorporated important 'lived' and often more continuous aspects of their everyday existences.

4.7 Conclusion

Oral evidence thus reveals a number of key issues about the regional subjectivities of men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. It is clear that male reserved workers were aware of 'imagined' collective subjectivity on a national level, and important similarities existed between the subjectivities of men who worked in different regions of Britain, particularly those with higher proportions of men working in reserved occupations. A number of men, often in these regions, subscribed to a hegemonic military masculinity, the existence of which in wartime

was asserted by historians such as Graham Dawson and Sonya Rose.¹⁶⁰ Meanwhile, men in other regions also adhered to multiple alternative masculinities not defined by military service, instead defining their subjectivities in relation to key factors such as earning power and skill levels.

However, distinctive regional aspects to worker subjectivity in Glasgow and Clydeside are also revealed in oral testimonies. Much evidence emerged of local pride in industries around the Clyde. While some of this can be linked to the specific contribution of the region to the British war effort, such pride can also be attributed to feelings of deep knowledge, understanding and awareness of the region as a distinct locality, based on the immediacy and proximity of everyday life in the area to the subjectivities of reserved men. Indeed, the majority of oral testimonies reflect the notion that men in reserved occupations in wartime were often indifferent to the idea of 'imagined' British nationality, adhering more to local regional subjectivities. The attitudes of women towards male civilian workers, and consequently the subjectivities of reserved workers themselves, were firmly rooted in the immediacy of the distinctive industrial and working class environment of Clydeside. However, such local subjectivity often had a narrower focus than the city of Glasgow or the entity of Clydeside and was restricted to the places and people best known and most familiar to men. Although different levels of collective, 'imagined' subjectivity existed during the Second World War and were highly

¹⁶⁰ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, pp. 1-2; Sonya O. Rose, 'Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain' in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 184-190.

significant, 'lived' and continuous local subjectivity was inevitably most relevant to the individual male civilian worker in wartime.

Collectively 'imagined' subjectivities, both continuous and shaped by wartime discourse, were highly significant to men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. However, 'lived' and continuous facets of local subjectivity were most relevant, with men most clearly influenced by the exigencies of daily life in a specific and immediate vicinity, and the people making up the 'reservoir of human life' surrounding them on an everyday basis.¹⁶¹ Men in reserved occupations in Clydeside therefore inevitably experienced the Second World War in a unique way despite having many aspects of their subjectivities in common with men living elsewhere in Britain. This research into the 'lived' and 'imagined' subjectivities of male civilian workers in a specific region of wartime Britain has revealed the continuity of a sense of individual and personal agency rooted in day-to-day necessity and has consequently complicated further the notion of the Second World War as a catalyst for social change by arguing that this was inevitably less integral to men's subjectivities than the requirements of everyday life.

¹⁶¹ Carswell, *Open the Door!*, p. 168.

Chapter Five

The Wider Subjectivities of Men in Reserved Occupations in Wartime Glasgow and Clydeside

We have seen in Chapters Three and Four that the gender subjectivities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside were shaped by an array of influences, including the attitudes of others towards them, cultural representations of the reserved occupations, and official pronouncements, but that the most formative influences on working men were those within their familiar local environments with most relevance to their everyday existences. We have also seen that although men subscribed to a diverse range of collectively 'imagined' subjectivities in wartime, 'lived' local and regional subjectivity was more strongly tied to the necessities of everyday survival and therefore arguably more integral to male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside. Many aspects of 'imagined' and 'lived' subjectivity have thus far been revealed to be continuous for working men, relevant before, during and after the war. However, the concept of subjectivity is wider and more encompassing than a study of gender or regional subjectivity can reveal. Although Chapter Four has examined some wider aspects of subjectivity in relation to regional belonging, such as class consciousness, industrial militancy and sectarianism, more extensive research into aspects of subjectivity other than gender is of key importance in ascertaining the extent to which the subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations were influenced by wartime discourses of social change. While men in reserved occupations subscribed to a range of highly significant 'imagined' subjectivities, particularly in the public sphere, this chapter will argue that 'lived'

and more private facets of life were also integral to the subjectivities of these men and were thus key factors in shaping their masculinities during and beyond wartime. The chapter therefore also argues that the continuity of masculinity inevitably superseded the changes wrought by the Second World War.

5.1 Historiography

A number of historians have developed arguments about gender identities centred upon artificial separations between women and men. For example, Higonnet and Higonnet's metaphor of the 'double helix' describes men's and women's lives as separate 'strands', arguing that although male and female roles have varied in different historical contexts, including war, the relationship between men and women in society has remained constant, with the status of women always subordinate to that of men.¹ The use of such metaphors in historical study has resulted in neglect of the wider subjectivities of men and women, including those of men who worked in reserved occupations during the Second World War. While historians of women such as Penny Summerfield, Dorothy Sheridan and Tessa Stone have moved to redress this neglect of wider subjectivities, examining the personal experiences of women working alongside men on the home front and in the auxiliary armed services and consequently transcending the depiction of artificial

¹ M. Higonnet and P. Higonnet, 'The Double Helix' in M. Higonnet, M. Randolph, J. Jenson, S. Michel and M. Collins Weisz (eds.), *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, (USA: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 34.

barriers within the self in previous historical work on gender and women, studies of wider masculine subjectivities are often absent from the historical record.²

Notably, Joan Scott has argued that discussion of gendered divisions has arisen from the emergence of 'new history' accounting for the experiences of women and other oppressed social groups and often informed by theories of social and cultural history and feminism. Such history has frequently neglected the experiences of men and Scott's difficulties with historical approaches taken by female researchers centre upon the reification of antagonism between men and women and the need to conceive of gender as constructed of interconnected processes.³ Bob Connell has also argued that masculinities and femininities are not constructed in vacuums, but are intricately connected in a 'gender order'.⁴ Although Higonnet and Higonnet's metaphor of the 'double helix' also calls for the study of men and women in relation to one another, their work pre-defines these relations and does not allow for the level of interconnection imagined by Scott. The collection of articles in Higonnet and Higonnet's edited collection *Behind the Lines*, which discusses subjects such as women's sexual identities and the construction of gender identities in wartime politics, centres upon the subjectivities of women and conflict between men and women, rather than fully exploring the fluctuating relationships

² Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Dorothy Sheridan, 'Ambivalent Memories: Women and the 1939-1945 War in Britain' in *Oral History*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Spring 1990, pp. 32-40; Tessa Stone, 'Creating a (Gendered?) Military Identity: The Women's Auxiliary Airforce in Great Britain in the Second World War' in *Women's History Review*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1999, pp. 605-624.

³ Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 5, Dec. 1986, pp. 1053-1075.

⁴ R. W. Connell, 'Masculinities and Globalisation' in *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1998, pp. 3-23.

between them.⁵ While it is important, as is evident in the work of historians such as Summerfield, Sheridan and Stone, to examine the subjectivities of women, it is also necessary to understand the wider experiences of men, particularly those such as the historically neglected male civilian workers of the Second World War, to grapple fully with the notion of gendered divisions in society.

D. H. Lawrence has stated that: 'The Deepest part of a man is his sense of essential truth.'⁶ The concept of inner subjectivity and 'essential truth' is highly complex. The notion of an 'essential self' has been, as we have seen, widely disregarded in historical research and historians such as Martin Francis, in his study of flyers in the R. A. F., have argued that gender, social class, nationality, ethnicity, religion and inner emotions all contribute to individual subjectivity.⁷ Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone have also defined subjectivity as a political, cultural and psychological phenomenon, and a number of historians, including Judith Butler and Joan Scott, have discussed some of these identified aspects of subjectivity, including nationality and class, in isolation.⁸ However, Bechhofer and McCrone have also noted that studies of subjectivity frequently focus on 'performed' rather than internal aspects of subjectivity.⁹ With the exception of Michael Roper's work on soldiers' emotions during the First World War, it is evident that inner subjectivities,

⁵Higonnet et al., *Behind the Lines*.

⁶ Cited in Ilana R. Bet-El, 'Men and Soldiers' in Billie Melman, *Borderlines: Gender Identities in War and Peace 1870-1930*, (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 73.

⁷ Martin Francis, *The Flyer: British Culture and the Royal Air Force 1939-45*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 3.

⁸ Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone (eds.), *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 7; Judith Butler and Joan Scott (eds.), *Feminists Theorise the Political*, (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 404-411.

⁹ Bechhofer and McCrone, *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change*, p. 8.

and the question of who individuals think they are, have often been neglected in studies of wartime.¹⁰ Such neglect is clearly apparent in the absence of historical research into the wider masculine subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside.

This chapter therefore aims to examine the construction of a range of subjectivities among men with a reserved status in wartime Glasgow and Clydeside, shedding further valuable light on a key neglected group in history. It does this by breaking down artificial barriers created between different aspects of subjectivity in history and developing a more nuanced understanding of the individual subjectivities of male civilian workers. This study of wider subjectivity re-enforces arguments made in Chapters Three and Four that wartime often did not represent a watershed in the lives of reserved workers in Clydeside and that continuity and everyday life were the most dominant forces shaping their masculine subjectivities.

A number of historians have undertaken studies of certain aspects of subjectivity in isolation, and Chapter Three has extensively discussed the concept of gender identity, particularly masculinity, as it relates to male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside, while Chapter Four discussed the regional subjectivities, including nationalities, of these men. However, many historical studies of masculinity examine the concept of subjectivity in a fragmentary way.¹¹ This chapter will extend

¹⁰ Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2009).

¹¹ For example: David French, "'You Cannot Hate the Bastard Who is Trying to Kill You': Combat and Ideology in the British Army in the War Against Germany 1939-45' in *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2000, pp. 1-22; Matthew McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 37.

the discussion of subjectivity begun in Chapters Three and Four and develop a more coherent picture of the subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, considering the impact of issues such as nationality, ethnicity, class, political and religious beliefs and involvement in leisure activities on the formation of masculine subjectivity among male civilian workers.

5.2 National Identities

John Tosh has noted the often explicit link between nationalism and history.¹² Indeed, many modern general works on Scottish history refer to Scottish nationality, concluding with discussions of the impact of devolution on this.¹³ A number of other historical studies have also, as we have seen, examined national cultures within Britain, noting the instability of British nationality.¹⁴ We saw in Chapter Four Benedict Anderson's definition of a nation as an 'imagined political community', which has been used to explore the national and regional subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. I argued in the chapter that male civilian workers incorporated elements of 'imagined' collective

¹² John Tosh (ed.), *Historians on History*, (Harlow: Pearson, 2009), p. 61.

¹³ T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, (London: Penguin, 2000); Neil Oliver, *A History of Scotland*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2009).

¹⁴ Richard J. Finlay, 'Changing Cultures: The History of Scotland Since 1918' in Ian Brown (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature Volume 3*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 9; Richard J. Finlay, 'Gaelic, Scots and English: The Politics of Language in Interwar Scotland' in William Kelly and John Young, (eds.), *Ulster and Scotland 1600-2000: History, Language and Identity*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 134-141; Richard J. Finlay, 'Scotland and the Monarchy in the Twentieth Century' in W. Miller (ed.), *Anglo Scottish Relations From 1900*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 17-33; Antonia Lant, 'Prologue: Mobile Femininity' in C. Gledhill and G. Swanson, *Nationalising Femininity*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 20; Jeffrey Richards, *Films and British National Identity: From Dickens to Dad's Army*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

subjectivities, including nationalities, within their individual selves, but that 'lived' and distinctive regional subjectivities were more relevant to such men.¹⁵

However, while Chapter Four explored the 'imagined' British and Scottish nationalities of reserved workers, it is also important to note that men of other nationalities, notably Irish and Lithuanian, were also working in wartime Clydeside. Edward Lookess, a furniture maker during the war, and Henry Smith, a joiner born in 1908, both referred in their interviews to the mixtures of different nationalities and ethnicities, including Irish, Lithuanians, and Jews, living in the wartime Gorbals, reflecting Lewis Grassic Gibbon's description of the area in the 1930s as 'lovably and abominably and delightfully and hideously un-Scottish'.¹⁶ Meanwhile, Catriona MacDonald has noted that the long-established Irish community in Glasgow was joined by increasing numbers of Lithuanians in the early twentieth century.¹⁷ Brian Harley, an Irishman born in County Donegal in 1917 and employed in Glasgow from 1942, remarked that 'it was like Ireland, Glasgow, especially the Gorbals and round there', referring to the high numbers of other Irish people living in the city.¹⁸ As with men subscribing to aspects of British and Scottish identity, however, those of other nationalities were often aware on a largely superficial level of their 'imagined' nationalities and were, as will be demonstrated, more pre-occupied with the continuity of 'lived' day-to-day existence.

¹⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 2006), p. 6

¹⁶ Edward Lookess, interviewed by Matthew McShane, 1st May 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC; Henry Smith, interviewed by James McKenna, 24th April 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC; Lewis Grassic Gibbon, 'Glasgow', in *A Scots Hairst*, (London: Hutchinson, 1967), p. 90.

¹⁷ Catriona M. M. Macdonald, *Whaur Extremes Meet: Scotland's Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2009), p. 168.

¹⁸ Brian Harley, interviewed by James McKenna, 9th July 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC.

A number of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside were of Irish origin. Historians such as Irene Maver, James Smyth and Tom Gallagher have noted that by 1851, the Irish-born presence in Glasgow made up over eighteen per cent of the population of the city, with many more arriving after 1846 to escape the potato famine and horrendous living conditions.¹⁹ Many male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside, particularly those of Irish Catholic origin, indicated that they experienced prejudice as a result of their nationalities. Jerry Moffat, for example, was born to Irish parents and came to Glasgow aged eleven. His testimony refers extensively to the 'Irish connection' and 'Irish clubs', particularly in the Govan area of the city. He also discussed the problems caused by his nationality:

Oh I had trouble. Every day was a fight. My name was Irish Paddy. That was my name [...] They used to make fun o' you and that because you spoke different from them. You did speak different from them, and I would say myself, there was a lot of Irish people the same, their fathers and mothers were Irish just the same as mine, but they would have been brought up in Glasgow, so they had Glasgow, the Govan accent, whatever it is, you know, and then because I'd come over, I was something different.²⁰

Jerry Moffat's testimony thus makes apparent that his Irish accent marked him out as 'different' in Clydeside, as well as indicating that men of Irish origin spent much social time in their own communities and clubs. Nicholas Bennett, born in Coatbridge in 1913 and employed as a miner during the war, noted of Irish miners that 'they knew how to drink', stereotyping those of Irish nationality and associating

¹⁹ Irene Maver, *Glasgow*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 84; James Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow 1896-1936: Socialism, Suffrage, Sectarianism*, (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p. 126; Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace: Religious Tension in Modern Scotland*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

²⁰ Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

them with particularly heavy drinking.²¹ Oral evidence thus suggests that Irish enclaves existed within Clydeside, meaning that men in reserved occupations of Irish origin were part of communities with different 'imagined' nationalities to others.

Wartime Clydeside was also home to a significant number of civilians of Lithuanian origin, often erroneously referred to as Poles. By 1914, approximately 8000 Lithuanians lived in the industrial counties of Fife, West Lothian, Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, with smaller numbers in Edinburgh and Dundee, and Catriona MacDonald has noted that many changed their surnames to blend in with the local communities.²² A number of men of Lithuanian origin had reserved status in wartime. Robert Sinclair, for example, was born to Lithuanian parents and discussed his mother's ability to pick up English quickly in a way that his father could not. Asked whether his Lithuanian origins caused any problems for him at work, he responded that: 'Being Lithuanian then [...] you were right down at the bottom of the heap at work.'²³ In addition, Mrs. Barclay, who grew up in the village of Cleland in North Lanarkshire, observed of immigrant Lithuanians that 'they were savages [...] they werenae like our own', indicating hostile attitudes towards workers of Lithuanian origin.²⁴ Similarly to reserved workers of Irish Catholic origin, those of Lithuanian heritage thus also experienced prejudice as a result of their different 'imagined' nationalities.

²¹ Nicholas Bennett, interviewed by Vincent Gillen and Margaret Walker, 19th September 1990, Motherwell Heritage Centre, T008 and T009.

²² MacDonald, *Whaur Extremes Meet*, p. 171.

²³ Robert Sinclair, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th August 2010.

²⁴ Mrs. Barclay, unknown interviewer, unknown interview date, Motherwell Heritage Centre, T005.

Men of Italian origin also lived and worked in Glasgow and Clydeside during the Second World War and Wendy Ugolini has extensively explored the experiences of the Italian community in wartime Scotland.²⁵ John Lindsay was born to a Scottish father and an Italian mother and related the following memory of his mother's experiences during the war in which his father was prepared to attack a policeman if he escorted his mother away from their family home:

A big policeman cam' up to the door and he says 'is there anybody here in?', so my father, very angry, a spanner in it, behind me wi' a big bit of lead you know, lead, if he was to touch my mother we were going to break his nut, you know, and he says 'I'm looking for a' the Italians', well, he said, my father said 'oh, there's an Italian there', my father, and he stood in between, him and the big cop and every time the cop moved to the right, he moved to the right and every time he moved to the left, he moved to the left. He says 'I'm not gonnae touch your wife, I'm just arresting a' the men, a' the Italian men.'²⁶

As well as this anecdote, he also referred to other Italians in the town of Gourrock, where he lived, having their shops raided, a consequence of Italy's entry into the war in June 1940. However, despite articulating a strong awareness of his links to Italian nationality, he described himself as 'a British citizen' when asked to define his own wartime nationality.²⁷ Wendy Ugolini has also described the often shifting and divided loyalties of wartime civilians with multiple nationalities and John Lindsay clearly saw both Italian and British nationality as relevant to his own sense of self.

²⁵ Wendy Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy "Other": Recovering the World War Two Narratives of Italian Scottish Women', in *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2004, pp. 137-158.

²⁶ John Lindsay, interviewed by Alison Chand, 24th August 2010.

²⁷ Wendy Ugolini, 'Memory, War and the Italians in Scotland: Recovering Counter Narratives', University of Strathclyde War Group seminar series, 28th March 2012; John Lindsay, interviewed by Alison Chand, 24th August 2010.

Other distinct groups of men living and working in wartime Clydeside included Highlanders. Pat McChrystal referred to the existence of Catholic housing areas where Gaelic was frequently spoken in Govan for Irish and Highland people, while both William Dewar and James McMonigle referred to men from the Highlands working alongside them during the war as 'teuchters'.²⁸ Meanwhile Archibald MacInnes, born in 1919 and employed at Scott's shipyard in Greenock during the war, remarked on being born on Skye before moving to Clydeside as a child.²⁹ Although those from the Highlands did not have distinct nationalities, they were differentiated from those with Clydeside origins and were aware of different kinds of 'imagined' collective subjectivity.

However, the day-to-day relationships of those of different national and regional origins with their co-workers and other men in their communities were often little affected by the evident existence of collectively 'imagined' nationalities. Oral evidence reveals that most men in reserved occupations felt themselves to be on good terms with those with whom they worked. William Dewar, for example, remarked that 'the Irish humour and the Scottish humour's pretty similar, so you would get quite a lot of joking with them', while Jerry Moffat observed of his fellow reserved workers that: 'They were all friendly, they were a friendly bunch of people [...] No matter where you went in Glasgow, dance halls, you always knew somebody

²⁸ Pat McChrystal, unknown interviewer, unknown date, Voices from the Yard, GMRC; William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010; James McMonigle, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010.

²⁹ Archibald MacInnes, unknown interviewer, 6th August 1998, Imperial War Museum Sound Archive, accession number 18536.

or somebody knew you.’³⁰ There is little indication that the diverse ‘imagined’ collective subjectivities co-existing in wartime Clydeside, national and regional, greatly impacted everyday social relationships. Although the complicating factor of sectarianism will be discussed later in this chapter, working men in reserved occupations largely gave little thought to ‘imagined’ subjectivities when interacting with their fellow workers on a day-to-day basis.

‘Imagined’ nationalities therefore varied among men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside but were present alongside their ‘lived’ and everyday personal relationships. Both ‘imagined’ and ‘lived’ subjectivities, however, were arguably continuous and therefore affected only superficially by the impact of war.

5.3 Class Consciousness and Political Identities

Jilly Cooper has defined the complex concept of social class as ‘a group of people with certain common traits: descent, education, accent, similarity of occupation, wealth, moral attitudes, friends, hobbies, accommodation and with generally similar ideas, who meet each other on equal terms, and regard themselves as belonging to one group’.³¹ Class also plays a crucial role in the formation of subjectivities, and we have seen in Chapter Four that it was central to the regional

³⁰ William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010; Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

³¹ Jilly Cooper, *Class: A View from Middle England*, (London: Mandarin, 1979), p. 14.

subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside.³² As we have also discussed in Chapter Four, Katherine Archibald, writing about her time spent working in a Californian shipyard during the Second World War, asserted that class interests were more influential in the formation of subjectivity than other facets such as gender, race and culture, and a number of historians, including Sean Damer, have argued that a distinct class consciousness existed in wartime Clydeside.³³ As we have additionally seen, historians have also noted the importance of the legacy of the 'Red Clyde' to the region, as well as the reputation of Clydeside for industrial militancy in the early twentieth century.³⁴ James Hinton, Keith Burgess and William Knox have all asserted that a definite surge in class consciousness took place in the region during the inter-war period and Sonya Rose has noted that class antagonisms in wartime Britain frequently undermined official visions of equality of sacrifice.³⁵ Strong evidence therefore exists to suggest that class consciousness and political identity were very apparent among civilians, including men in reserved occupations, in wartime Clydeside.

³² Francis, *The Flyer*, p. 3.

³³ Katherine Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard: A Study in Social Disunity*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), p. 152; Sean Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), p. 21.

³⁴ Ibid; William Kenefick and Arthur McIvor (eds.), *Roots of Red Clydeside 1910-1914?: Labour Unrest and Industrial Relations in West Scotland*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996); William Kenefick, *Red Scotland!: The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left c. 1872-1932*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

³⁵ James Hinton, *Labour and Socialism: A History of the Labour Movement 1867-1974*, (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1983); Keith Burgess, *The Challenge of Labour Shaping British Society 1850-1930*, (London: Croom Helm, 1980); William W. Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland 1800-Present*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999); Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939-45*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 29-70.

Willie Thompson has given a detailed analysis of the twentieth-century political ideologies to which many European civilians adhered, including liberalism, conservatism, communism and fascism, and a number of historians have, as we have seen, conducted research into the issues of class and politics in early twentieth century Scotland, particularly in the west of the country.³⁶ William Knox, for example, has undertaken research into working class culture and society in Scotland, focusing on class consciousness, and has discussed the origins of trade unions in Scotland, noting the highly localised and independent nature of their early organisation in the late nineteenth century.³⁷ Knox has also noted working class involvement in key Scottish political developments, including the Home Rule movement, while much of Richard Finlay's research has discussed the formation of nationalist political identity in Scotland, as well as the development of other key political identities.³⁸ Meanwhile, James Smyth has examined the breakthrough of Labour as a political entity in early twentieth-century Glasgow, noting the existence of the Communist Party as a permanent, if minority, left-wing alternative to Labour, while both Smyth and William Kenefick have noted the strength of the ILP in

³⁶ Willie Thompson, *Ideologies in the Age of Extremes: Liberalism, Conservatism, Communism, Fascism 1914-91*, (London: Pluto, 2011).

³⁷ Knox, *Industrial Nation*, p. 114.

³⁸ Knox, *Industrial Nation*; Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay, *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002); Richard J. Finlay, 'Review: Understanding Scotland: The State of the Nation 1707-1830 in *Scottish Affairs*, Vol. 37, Autumn 2001, pp. 129-136; Richard J. Finlay, 'New Britain, New Scotland, New History?: The Impact of Devolution on the Development of Scottish Historiography' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 2001, pp. 383-393; Richard J. Finlay, 'The Labour Party in Scotland 1888-1945: Pragmatism and Principle' in Gerry Hassan (ed.), *The Scottish Labour Party: History, Institutions and Ideas*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004); Richard J. Finlay, 'Scotland and Devolution 1880-1945' in Duncan Tanner, Chris Williams, W. P. Griffith, and Andrew Edwards (eds.), *Debating Nationhood and Governance in Britain 1885-1939: Perspectives from the Four Nations*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

Clydeside, particularly in Glasgow.³⁹ McKinlay and Morris's edited collection, *The ILP on Clydeside 1893-1932*, also extensively explores the distinct presence of the ILP as an effective operator representing working class identity in the region during that time period, and Morris noted the network of organisations associated with the party, including friendly societies, craft unions, literary societies, churches and temperance societies.⁴⁰ Class awareness on Clydeside is also evident in cultural sources, with Neil Gunn's only novel set in wartime Glasgow, *Wild Geese Overhead*, asking the rhetorical question: 'Did any city in the world ever put up such a fight for workers' rights as this city did?'⁴¹ Wartime Glasgow and Clydeside thus represented a distinct industrial and working class setting within Britain. Oral testimonies of men who worked in reserved occupations in that environment have also, as we shall see, revealed clear evidence that class consciousness and political beliefs were key components of their masculine subjectivities.

A Mass Observation report on Glasgow in April 1941 noted the existence of 'an aggravated situation of distrust between employers and men [...] aggravated by religious and political differences of opinion' in the city in wartime.⁴² Many men in reserved occupations also showed awareness of working class consciousness and expressed hostility towards their employers, who they saw as belonging to a different class.⁴³ For example, as we have seen, Andy McMahon observed of a

³⁹ Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow*, p. 110; Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, p. 184.

⁴⁰ Alan McKinlay and R. J. Morris (eds.), *The ILP on Clydeside 1893-1932*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991); R. J. Morris, 'The ILP 1893-1932: Introduction' in McKinlay and Morris (eds.), *The ILP on Clydeside*, p. 7.

⁴¹ Neil M. Gunn, *Wild Geese Overhead*, (Caithness: Whittles Publishing, 2002), p. 84.

⁴² Mass Observation Archive, File Report 631, 'Glasgow', April 1941.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

cycling trip to England that ‘you did see that in the South there was a better standard of living’ while George Lightbody, discussing his father’s work as a labourer in Glengarnock Steel Works in Kilbirnie, Ayrshire, also remarked that: ‘We were taught all the values of the working class which we [...] value to this day [...] tremendous.’⁴⁴ Such evidence of working class consciousness was often manifested in attitudes of hostility towards employers, and Andy McMahon referred to his bosses at Harland and Wolff shipyard as ‘evil’.⁴⁵ Meanwhile Barry Keenan proudly declared ‘I was a right rebel’ when relating an anecdote of an altercation between him and his foreman which resulted in him thrusting a pencil through the foreman’s bowler hat, and Alex Scullion referred to the ‘fear of management’ in Fairfield’s shipyard in wartime.⁴⁶ A number of men also indicated that they were extensively involved in trade union activity, with Andy McMahon remarking of workers’ enthusiasm for the unions that ‘if they didn’t speak out, there was never gonnae be any change’ and William Galloway commenting unquestioningly that: ‘I’ve always been a member, since I started my time I’ve been a member of the union.’⁴⁷ In addition, Tommy Stewart, a blacksmith during the war, described the shipyards where he worked as ‘one hundred per cent unionised’ by 1941, observing that: ‘In the shipyards if you had a strike you didnae even need to employ pickets, people just came on strike and that was it.’⁴⁸ Indeed, despite assertions from men such as

⁴⁴ Andy McMahon, unknown interviewer, 10th November 1989, Voices from the Yards, GMRC; George Lightbody, interviewed by Alison Chand, 21st June 2010.

⁴⁵ Andy McMahon, unknown interviewer, 10th November 1989.

⁴⁶ Barry Keenan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th January 2011; Alex Scullion, unknown interviewer, unknown date, Voices from the Yards, GMRC.

⁴⁷ Andy McMahon, unknown interviewer, 10th November 1989; William Galloway, interviewed by Hector Mackenzie, unknown date, 1989, Voices from the Yards, GMRC.

⁴⁸ Tommy Stewart, unknown interviewer, unknown date, Voices from the Yards, GMRC.

James Wilson that 'strikes would have been banned I think. They would certainly have been frowned upon during the war', a number of men, including Henry McGregor and William Dewar, discussed their involvement in wartime strikes, notably the apprentices' strike in 1941, and James McMonigle observed that: 'There was never any hassle wi' the people going on strike, no, and they were very solid with it.'⁴⁹ Oral evidence therefore makes very clear that for many men class consciousness, manifested in a variety of ways including hostility towards employers and involvement in trade union activities and strikes, was a key component of their subjectivities.

A number of men in reserved occupations also indicated their attachment to specific, mostly left wing, political parties, including Labour, the ILP and the Communist Party. Such attachment did not begin in wartime, but was frequently fostered in the backgrounds of industrial unrest in which men grew up. Frank Gray, for example, noted that: 'I grew up in an area [the Lanarkshire town of Larkhall] and a time [...] when there was a great deal of industrial unrest.'⁵⁰ James Wilson remarked that 'people in Glasgow have always been interested in politics [...] It has been a, a very Labour-orientated city because of the industrial aspects [...] If you were of the working class you must be Labour', while Christopher Small commented on his membership of the ILP, noting that Glasgow was 'a political city' in wartime

⁴⁹ James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010; Henry McGregor, interviewed by Alison Chand, 1st June 2010; William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010; James McMonigle, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010.

⁵⁰ Frank Gray, interviewed by Alison Chand, 17th May 2011.

with memories of the 'Red Clyde' and early twentieth-century rent strikes.⁵¹ William Dewar also commented that 'there was also quite a strong element of Communist, eh, in the works', while a Mass Observation report refers to relatively high polling by the Communist candidate in the Dunbartonshire by-election of February 1941, although Labour emerged victorious in the poll.⁵² Furthermore, James Phillips, born in 1917 and an engineer during the war, remarked on his membership of the Young Communist League and his involvement in selling a pamphlet entitled 'Why You Should be a Socialist' in James Howden's engineering workshop, as well as observing that 'there were other Communist party members in the factory' involved in selling the Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*.⁵³ Some men referred to a wide spectrum of political involvement among men in reserved occupations.

Tommy Stewart, for example, observed:

There was the Moderates, the ILP, the Progressives, the Communists, the Nationalists, the Labour, the Unionists, Tories and Independents. There was perhaps even more than that [...] Govan must have been a very political environment. Earywiggling into adult conversation was all about Spain and the Spanish Civil War, hunger marches and unemployment, but 'Tory' always seemed a derogatory term in Govan, especially in the shipyards.⁵⁴

A Mass Observation report noted in April 1941 that insecurity of employment, notably the fear of losing work after the war, meant that Glasgow was an 'ideal breeding ground' for left-wing propaganda.⁵⁵ Moreover, oral evidence suggests that

⁵¹ James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010; Christopher Small, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th January 2011.

⁵² William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010; Mass Observation Archive, File Report 593, 'Dunbartonshire By-Election', February 1941.

⁵³ James Phillips, interviewed by Fiona Hayes, 15th May 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁵⁴ Tommy Stewart, unknown interviewer, 2nd November 1989, Voices from the Yards, GMRC.

⁵⁵ Mass Observation Archive, File Report 631, 'Glasgow', April 1941.

there was widespread support in Clydeside for the Soviet Union.⁵⁶ In addition Nick Tiratsoo, in the 1995 BBC documentary *Myths and Memories of World War Two*, cited his research into official shipyard records of the Clyde, asserting that ‘old quarrels from the 1930s continued to scar the landscape’ in Clydeside, manifesting themselves in strikes and stoppages.⁵⁷ Angus Calder also noted that Glasgow was the only population centre in wartime Britain where the ILP remained a significant political force, boasting three MPs from the party.⁵⁸ A variety of evidence thus clearly demonstrates that reserved workers in wartime Clydeside held wide-ranging but mostly left-wing political beliefs not originating in wartime but continuing to be relevant through the period.

However, many male civilian workers often followed political parties out of habit, or for social reasons, reflecting Alessandro Portelli’s assertion that many people in Harlan County, Kentucky, voted for politicians according to family ties.⁵⁹ For example, discussing the strength of the Labour Party in wartime Glasgow, James Wilson commented: ‘I don’t think there was any great debate if you know what I mean about the merits of [...] the different parties. It was just almost bigotry (laughter), you know [...] It must be right, it’s Labour.’⁶⁰ A number of other oral testimonies support this statement, indicating that many male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside voted for political parties, particularly Labour but also other parties, because of tradition and family voting habits - it was something their

⁵⁶ Neil MacLellan, interviewed by Martin Roberts, April 1987, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

⁵⁷ *Myths and Memories of World War Two*, (London: BBC, 1995).

⁵⁸ Angus Calder, *The People’s War: Britain 1939-45*, (London: Pimlico, 1969), p. 59.

⁵⁹ Alessandro Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County: An Oral History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁶⁰ James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010.

fathers and grandfathers had done before them. John Allan, for example, remarked of voting patterns in Greenock that 'you put up a monkey up for Labour, they'd vote it in', while Edmund Campbell, born in 1924 and employed as a pattern maker during the war, commented 'I always voted Labour right enough, that was inbred, more or less', and John Wilkie remarked that: 'My father was a Tory [...] because his father was a Tory before him.'⁶¹ William Dewar also commented that: 'You had to more or less agree with [...] the union people because, eh, they could make it difficult for you.'⁶² Social activities were also key motivating factors for men in supporting political parties, with Stan Gilmore, born in 1929, voting Conservative because of his childhood attendances at Conservative and Unionist Association parties during the war.⁶³ Exploration of the key motivations behind the political associations of reserved men in wartime Clydeside thus reveals that everyday factors, such as social activities and the voting patterns of friends and family, dominated men's decisions to attach themselves to particular political and class outlooks. Sean Damer cited the testimony of a 1930s Communist Party activist in Glasgow:

But for those of us who were leading the strike, we were strike leaders, nothing more; we had forgotten we were revolutionary leaders of the working class and while we cheered the flying of our (red) flag, it had not for us the significant meaning it had for our enemies. They saw it as the symbol of an actual rising; we saw it as an incident in the prosecution of the strike. We were all agreed on the prosecution of the strike for the 40 hour week, but we had never discussed a general line

⁶¹ John Allan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 1st June 2010; Edmund Campbell, interviewed by James McKenna, 15th June 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC; John Wilkie, interviewed by Alison Chand, 5th August 2010.

⁶² William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

⁶³ Stan Gilmore, interviewed by James McKenna, 15th April 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

against capitalism, and never could have agreed on it, even if we discussed it.⁶⁴

The notion that men were involved in political causes while having ‘forgotten’ the potentially ‘revolutionary’ and symbolic nature of their activities is highly relevant to the political attitudes and class consciousnesses of men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, who displayed similar tendencies to support political causes often without real personal attachment. Joanna Bourke has noted that most definitions of class, often demarcated through economic indicators, as well as other factors including accents and jobs, ignore human components.⁶⁵ The way in which many men working in reserved occupations expressed their political beliefs and awareness of class consciousness arguably also lacked such ‘human’ components.

A number of reserved men also indicated that militancy and political activism in the workplace were the preserve of a minority. James McMonigle, for example, observed:

I don't know how many but there was teams of two or three that'd come into a place, and they were basically agitators, and without a shadow of a doubt, everywhere they went, within a couple of weeks there was a strike in the place, until the men got fed up and they went somewhere else [...] they came under various titles, lefties, Commies, Stalinists and all sorts of things, but they were very left wing [...] and they used to cause an awful lot of bother.⁶⁶

Meanwhile, Archibald MacInnes commented on his decision to go to his parents' house in Gatehouse of Fleet in Dumfries and Galloway ‘until they finished’ during the apprentices' strike at Scott's shipyard in Greenock, observing of the ‘Red Clyde’

⁶⁴ Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, p. 117.

⁶⁵ Joanna Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain: 1890-1960*, (London: Routledge, 1994).

⁶⁶ James McMonigle, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010.

tradition that he 'never really saw any of that'.⁶⁷ Such testimonies indicate that many reserved workers were not interested in being involved in political activity and that those who were very active represented only a small number and were often perceived as trouble-makers. A Mass Observation report from October 1941, for example, held one man, Jim Stewart, responsible for a series of strikes at Greenock shipyards.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, other men revealed that they were members of trade unions because of necessity. For example, Dick Johnstone, born in the Springburn area of Glasgow in 1917 and employed as a cable worker during the war, remarked of union membership that 'it's blackmail. If you hadnae a union card you wouldnae get started', indicating that his own membership was not the result of any deep-seated belief but instead a consequence of pragmatism, to allow to him to get a job.⁶⁹ While male civilian workers in Glasgow and Clydeside were therefore highly aware of developed class consciousness and political identities, such subjectivities arguably existed on an abstract and 'imagined' level and were motivated principally by factors rooted in everyday life.

Historians such as Arthur Marwick, Paul Addison and Derek Fraser have formulated arguments that Labour's 1945 General Election victory represented a 'swing' of public opinion to the Left, identifying the nature of the Second World War as a total war as a key cause of social change and the emergence of the 'welfare

⁶⁷ Archibald MacInnes, unknown interviewer, 6th August 1998, Imperial War Museum Sound Archive, accession number 18536.

⁶⁸ Mass Observation Archive, File Report 932, 'The Clyde Situation', October 1941.

⁶⁹ Dick Johnstone, interviewed by Alison Irwin, 29th July 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

state.’⁷⁰ However, oral testimonies of reserved workers on Clydeside indicate that, although left-wing political identities and working class consciousness continued to be evident among these men, war often had little impact on the long term continuity of their ‘imagined’ political identities or the influences of everyday existence which often superseded these subjectivities. It is consequently difficult to argue that a further sustained leftward shift in political outlooks took place in Clydeside during the war.

5.4 Religious Subjectivities

Religion also plays a key role in the formation of subjectivities.⁷¹ Intricately linked to the substantial Irish presence in wartime Clydeside was the problem of sectarianism, which we have already seen in Chapter Four was a regional issue with particular relevance to Clydeside. A number of historians, including William Knox, Tom Gallagher, and Steve Bruce et al., have extensively discussed the presence of Irish Catholics and Protestants in early twentieth-century Clydeside and the reasons behind this, noting that Irish Protestants usually experienced less resentment than Catholics and also that tensions between the two religious groups were particularly associated with urban, rather than rural, areas.⁷² As we have seen, oral evidence

⁷⁰ Arthur Marwick, *Total War and Social Change*, (London: Macmillan, 1988); Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy Since the Industrial Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1973); Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War*, (London: Pimlico, 1975).

⁷¹ Francis, *The Flyer*, p. 3.

⁷² Knox, *Industrial Nation*; Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace*; Steve Bruce, Tony Glendinning, Iain Paterson and Michael Rosie, *Sectarianism in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994).

indicates that a number of men who worked in reserved occupations were of Irish origin.⁷³ As we shall see, oral evidence also suggests that a number of Protestant men working in reserved occupations attended Orange walks and demonstrated resentment of Catholics, and evidence from Catholic men who worked in reserved occupations indicates that they felt themselves to have experienced religious discrimination. However, as shall also be revealed, many men linked such religious differences to football and other social activities, and churchgoing was often undertaken largely as a chore rather than because of any particularly deep spiritual or religious beliefs. Research into the religious beliefs of men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside again reveals that ‘imagined’ subjectivity often co-existed with and was superseded by the necessities and contingencies of day-to-day life.

We have seen in Chapter Three that the masculinities of male civilian workers could be affected by the level of skill involved in their particular employment. Historians such as William Knox and Joseph Devine have noted that, of Irish immigrants employed in late nineteenth-century Clydeside, Protestants dominated the skilled positions, with Catholics frequently employed as unskilled labourers and some Clyde shipyards openly operating policies of ethnic discrimination, employing only members of the Orange Order or Freemasons as core yard workers.⁷⁴ Harry McShane, born in 1891 and a Communist Party member from 1922, was, as related

⁷³ Knox has noted that although the majority of those of Irish origin in Clydeside were Catholic, a significant minority were Protestant in 1841 and this figure increased to around half of all Irish immigrants to Scotland between 1851 and 1881; *Ibid*, p. 37, p. 93.

⁷⁴ Knox, *Industrial Nation*, p. 142; Joseph Devine, ‘A Lanarkshire Perspective on Bigotry in Scottish Society’ in Tom Devine (ed.), *Scotland’s Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2000), p. 101.

in his autobiography, amongst the first generation of Catholics to gain an apprenticeship in Glasgow and therefore able to train as a skilled engineer, but by the Second World War Catholic men who were working in skilled positions still felt themselves to be in the minority.⁷⁵ Alexander Warren, for example, commented that: 'I seemed to get on and I was accepted, but there was very very few Catholics were promoted. I've only known one other than myself.'⁷⁶ Irish Catholics often retreated into their own communities centred on the Catholic Church.⁷⁷ Such patterns continued into wartime Clydeside and oral evidence demonstrates the difficulty Catholics could experience in entering skilled employment. We have seen in Chapter Four Jerry Moffat's remarks about his route to employment in Stephen's shipyard in Govan:

Whenever you went into these places, they asked you your religion, what religion you were, and there was definitely a religious bias in these different places and that [...] When I started my apprenticeship at Stephen's, I could honestly say that I didn't know another Catholic in the building, an RC. I'm not saying this because I'm an RC. There was, I mean, if people say it wasn't there, they're telling lies, it was this bias in it, but I would say I was about the only apprentice in it, but I was fortunate because when I started to serve my time, the head foreman was an Englishman and, Mark Hodgson, that was his name [...] English people weren't as biased as maybe the Scottish people, so I got started as an apprentice, and [...] all he asked was, did I go to a secondary school, that's all he asked me, he never said 'what school?' or any school, he says, 'did you go to a secondary school?'⁷⁸

Jerry Moffat was therefore, to his knowledge, the only Catholic apprentice in Stephen's shipyard when he started work there. Similarly, Alex Scullion commented that sectarianism 'went through shipbuilding, it went through industry [in wartime]'

⁷⁵ Harry McShane and Joan Smith, *Harry McShane: No Mean Fighter*, (London: Pluto Press, 1978).

⁷⁶ Alexander Warren, interviewed by Alison Chand, 24th June 2011.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

and remarked on trades being divided so Protestants had 'better jobs'.⁷⁹ It is clear from such testimonies that Catholic employment in skilled positions in shipyards and other places where reserved workers were employed usually only came about as a result of exceptional circumstances.

Oral evidence also indicates that Protestant men working in reserved occupations sometimes resented Catholics. Such resentment was often manifested in adherence to Orangeism. Iain Hutchison has discussed the growth of the Orange Order in Scotland since the emigration of Ulster Protestants in the 1870s, noting that by 1914 over a quarter of the 400 Orange Order branches in Britain were located in Glasgow, and Joan Smith has noted the particular strength of the movement in the coal and steel towns of Clydeside.⁸⁰ Asked about the existence of sectarianism in wartime Clydeside, Robert Martin, a Protestant, commented that: 'I'm ashamed to say but I got that way myself because there was a lot of Orangemen in the foundry and at one stage I thought I'd like to join the Orange Lodge.'⁸¹ Although now 'ashamed' and consequently reluctant to discuss his previous feelings, demonstrating, as we have seen in Chapters Two and Three, that oral historians must be aware of the important influence of the passage of time on oral narrative, such testimonies nonetheless indicate a tendency among Protestant men in wartime to resent those who followed the Catholic religion. Andy McMahon also observed of his experience in Harland and Wolff shipyard that:

⁷⁹ Alex Scullion, unknown interviewer, unknown date, Voices from the Yard, GMRC.

⁸⁰ Iain Hutchison, 'Glasgow Working Class Politics' in R. A. Cage (ed.), *The Working Class in Glasgow 1750-1914*, (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 128; Joan Smith, 'Taking the Leadership of the Labour Movement: The ILP in Glasgow 1906-1914', in McKinlay and Morris (eds.), *The ILP on Clydeside*, p. 77.

⁸¹ Robert Martin, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th June 2010.

Roman Catholics in Harland and Wolff were second class citizens. They were doing the most repulsive jobs, you know, and I really mean it. When the tide came in, not only did you have human waste, but also condoms and come what have you being washed down, and there were men working up to their knees in this, whereas the craftsmen, the electricians, the painters, the plumbers, the carpenters, what have you, they were just a little bit above them.⁸²

Although it has been argued by historians such as Tom Gallagher and Steve Bruce et al. that the Second World War muted sectarianism and, alongside other factors such as the internal fragmentation of the Scottish churches, represented a catalyst for declining religiosity in the second half of the twentieth century, others such as James Macmillan have asserted that sectarianism remains 'Scotland's shame' to the present day, and Tom Gallagher's book *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace*, as well as Tom Devine's edited collection of articles entitled *Scotland's Shame?*, present wide-ranging views on this debate.⁸³ Mark Boyle has also joined the debate, asserting that while objective conditions have improved for Catholics in modern Scotland, a 'pervasive and lingering presence' remains in society.⁸⁴ It is evident, however, that some male civilian workers still felt wartime Clydeside to be home to a clear sectarian divide, with men working in reserved occupations found on either side of this. An additional dimension to the division that often existed between men working in skilled and unskilled reserved employment, linked to their religious beliefs, was thus apparent.

⁸² Andy McMahon, unknown interviewer, 10th November 1989, Voices from the Yard, GMRC.

⁸³ Bruce et al., *Sectarianism in Scotland*, pp. 162-163; James Macmillan, 'Scotland's Shame', in Devine (ed.), *Scotland's Shame?*, pp. 13-24; Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace*; Devine (ed.), *Scotland's Shame?*

⁸⁴ Mark Boyle, *Metropolitan Anxieties: On the Meaning of the Irish Catholic Adventure in Scotland*, (London: Ashgate, 2011), p. 10.

For some men it is clear that religiosity, distinct from sectarian belief, was a fundamental factor in shaping their subjectivities. George Pirie, for example, born in Glasgow in 1921 and employed as a brass moulder during the war, related a story of his conversion to spirituality during a family holiday to Stonehaven, near Aberdeen, remarking: 'This is when I believe I came to know God.'⁸⁵ These remarks indicate George Pirie's deeply personal religious belief and spirituality. However, a number of men also indicated that their religious adherence was strongly linked to social activities, with actual church attendance often carried out relatively unthinkingly. Callum Brown has discussed the key role played by churches and religious organisations in providing cultural activities for the working classes in the late nineteenth century. Brown cited the example of St. Mary's Free Church in Govan, which by the end of the 1880s had 1137 children enrolled in Sunday School, 493 in Bible class and 58 in a company of the Boys Brigade.⁸⁶ The church also attracted 420 members to Gospel Temperance meetings and was home to a Penny Savings Bank, several YMCA branches and numerous 'missions' to different sections of the population.⁸⁷ Although Brown has argued that such links between churches and culture gradually declined during the twentieth century, numerous oral testimonies of male civilian workers linked social activities, particularly children's activities such as the Boys Brigade and youth clubs, with churches.⁸⁸ Meanwhile others such as George Syme, born in the Gorbals area of Glasgow in 1921 and employed as an

⁸⁵ George Pirie, interviewed by James McKenna, 3rd June 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁸⁶ Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730*, (London: Methuen, 1987) pp. 147-148.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Callum G. Brown, 'Popular Culture and the Continuing Struggle for Rational Recreation' in Tom Devine and Richard J. Finlay (eds.), *Scotland in the 20th Century*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1996); Stan Gilmore, interviewed by James McKenna, 15th April 1997.

engineer in wartime, commented on attending church because of liking the music.⁸⁹ In addition, men such as Barry Keenan remarked that going to church was ‘more like habit than anything else’.⁹⁰ Similarly, George Lightbody observed that he went because he was ‘brought up that way’ and John Allan commented that being religious was ‘the thing to be’.⁹¹ A number of men linked sectarianism specifically with football, and in particular matches between Rangers and Celtic, dismissing suggestions that the divisions found on the football terraces represented wider religious beliefs.⁹² For example, Pat McChrystal noted that sectarianism was ‘not religion’, rather a surface football rivalry between Rangers and Celtic.⁹³ Alex Truten, in addition, observed of miners in the Twechar area that: ‘Everybody worked together [...] if anybody was injured, everybody helped. There was no case of Catholic, Protestant, or nothing like that.’⁹⁴ As one of the few Catholics in his workplace, Alexander Warren remarked that: ‘I seemed to get on and I was accepted.’⁹⁵ Although set in inter-war Glasgow, the views of Catholic Terry O’Flanagan in Hugh Munro’s novel *The Clydesiders* reflect these notions of indifference revealed in some oral evidence. O’Flanagan remarked that ‘for a dry pound I’d’ve played tambourine for a tribe of South Sea cannibals’, justifying his

⁸⁹ George Pirie, interviewed by James McKenna, 3rd June 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC; George Syme, interviewed by James McKenna, 11th July 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁹⁰ Barry Keenan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th January 2011.

⁹¹ George Lightbody, interviewed by Alison Chand, 21st June 2010; John Allan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 1st June 2010.

⁹² Jimmy Conroy, interviewed by James McKenna, 22nd January 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC; Robert Cunningham, interviewed by James McKenna, 10th February 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC; Robert Young, interviewed by James McKenna, 7th and 16th March 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁹³ Pat McChrystal, unknown interviewer, unknown date, *Voices from the Yard*, GMRC.

⁹⁴ Alex Truten, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th September 2010.

⁹⁵ For example: Alexander Warren, interviewed by Alison Chand, 24th June 2011.

decision to join an Orange walk as a drummer.⁹⁶ Despite clear evidence of religious adherence among men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, the act of churchgoing frequently emerges from oral history testimonies as an activity undertaken without much thought and with the aim of taking part in everyday social activities rather than as a formative part of masculine subjectivity. Religion formed a component of 'imagined' subjectivity but many men remarked that it was 'never discussed' and was therefore usually superseded in importance by day-to-day social life.⁹⁷ Many men, including Henry Elder, refer to having 'just drifted away' from churchgoing in later life, when it became more socially acceptable not to attend, indicating that such 'imagined' subjectivity was not as durable as 'lived', everyday subjectivity.⁹⁸ Although this 'drift' away from churchgoing was also symptomatic of a wider wave of secularisation in twentieth-century Britain, experienced to varying extents by different churches, it is possible that the greater relevance of 'lived' existence and everyday survival to individual subjectivity identified here represented one reason enabling this secularisation to take place.⁹⁹

It is therefore further demonstrated that the individual subjectivities of men in reserved occupations comprised various interwoven levels of 'imagined' and 'lived' subjectivities related to their religious beliefs. Historians such as Callum Brown have asserted, as we have seen, that the Second World War was a factor in declining religious adherence in Scotland and Britain in the twentieth century, but many of

⁹⁶ Hugh Munro, *The Clydesiders: A Novel of the Glasgow Shipyards*, (London: Corgi, 1961), p. 169.

⁹⁷ Alexander Warren, interviewed by Alison Chand, 24th June 2011.

⁹⁸ Henry Elder, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th August 2010.

⁹⁹ Callum Brown, 'Religion and Secularisation', in Tony Dickson and Jim Treble (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland Volume III, 1914-1990*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), pp. 48-79.

the articles in Tom Devine's edited collection, *Scotland's Shame?*, indicate the continued relevance of religion and sectarianism to Scottish society in modern times.¹⁰⁰ I would argue that the prominent influence of the 'lived' immediacy of day-to-day life on the subjectivities of men in reserved occupations meant that this influence, and the impact of war on the contingencies and necessities of everyday reality, was as relevant to the decline of formal religion as the discourses of war themselves. Steve Bruce et al. have also argued that class was a more influential factor in Scottish society than religion and sectarianism, and that these issues were not as endemic as they have been portrayed.¹⁰¹ However, as we have seen, 'lived', everyday subjectivity was often more relevant to the everyday existences of male civilian workers even than class. This argument, however, does not negate the assertions of the many historians who wrote in Devine's collection of the continued existence of sectarianism because, as we have seen, 'imagined' and 'lived' subjectivities, although often contradictory, co-existed and were intricately intertwined within individual subjectivities.

5.5 Social Activities

Leisure time and social activities were also key components of the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside, re-enforcing the notion that their subjectivities were continuous and firmly rooted in everyday life.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid; Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000*, (London: Routledge, 2001); Devine (ed.), *Scotland's Shame?*

¹⁰¹ Bruce et al., *Sectarianism in Scotland*, p. 60.

Historians such as Tony Mason and Sue Bowden have noted that, although increased spending on leisure activities in the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by the middle classes, rising working class expenditure on leisure, particularly drinking in pubs but also on activities such as visiting music halls, going to the cinema and attending organised football matches, did also take place.¹⁰²

Andrew Davies has devoted particular attention to the emergence of cinema and broadcasting to occupy a central position in national life in Britain by the 1930s.¹⁰³

Davies has also argued that links existed between masculine subjectivity and leisure activities such as drinking, gambling and sport in early twentieth-century industrial towns and cities in Britain such as Salford and Manchester.¹⁰⁴ Callum Brown has discussed working class 'rough' culture such as drinking, gambling and sexual promiscuity in the first half of the twentieth century, as well as the rise after 1900 of commercial leisure such as theatre, cinema and dance halls following the decline of Victorian voluntary organisations, formerly the mainstay of popular entertainment.¹⁰⁵ Notably, he has argued that in Glasgow, a culture predicated upon community, pub banter and 'hard men', dance halls and football were particularly popular.¹⁰⁶ Sport, particularly football, was seen as a way of affirming loyalties to nation, social class, gender and religion, reinforcing many important

¹⁰² Tony Mason, 'Sport and Recreation' in Paul Johnson (ed.), *Twentieth Century Britain: Economic, Social and Cultural Change*, (London: Longman, 1994), pp. 111-118; Sue Bowden, 'The New Consumerism' in Johnson (ed.), *Twentieth Century Britain*, pp. 242-260.

¹⁰³ Andrew Davies, 'Cinema and Broadcasting' in Johnson (ed.), *Twentieth Century Britain*, pp. 263-279.

¹⁰⁴ Andrew Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working Class Culture in Salford and Manchester 1900-1939*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992), p. 30.

¹⁰⁵ Brown, 'Popular Culture and the Continuing Struggle for Rational Recreation' in Devine and Finlay (eds.), *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

'imagined' forms of subjectivity discussed in this chapter.¹⁰⁷ Daniel Wight has asserted that it was often important for working class Scottish men to differentiate between work and leisure, which represented a more personal part of their subjectivities, in their lives and, while some oral evidence does support the existence of links between social and cultural activities and 'imagined' forms of subjectivity, these activities primarily represented 'lived' everyday existence for male civilian workers before, during and after the war.¹⁰⁸

A number of oral testimonies demonstrate that men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside asserted different forms of 'imagined' subjectivity through social and cultural activities. Sectarianism, discussed earlier as a component of religious subjectivity, was most clearly in evidence on the terraces of football pitches, particularly at matches between Rangers and Celtic. Irene Maver, discussing the increasing enthusiasm of Glaswegians for watching organised sport, has detailed the emergence of Rangers Football Club in 1872 and Celtic in 1888, the latter originally founded to raise money for the Catholic poor in the East End of Glasgow.¹⁰⁹ She has noted that, following the formation of the Scottish Football Association (henceforth SFA) and the introduction of professional football in 1893, the two clubs developed ruthless and businesslike approaches, often exploiting religious and ethnic differences for commercial gain.¹¹⁰ Rangers came to represent primarily Scottish Protestants and Celtic the Catholic Irish, providing the roots for

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Daniel Wight, *Workers Not Wasters: Masculine Respectability, Consumption and Employment in Central Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), p. 136.

¹⁰⁹ Maver, *Glasgow*, p. 189.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 189-190.

the sectarianism that came to be associated with the image of the 'Old Firm' from the 1920s and 1930s.¹¹¹ Sectarianism also became a feature of inter-war gang rivalry in Glasgow. In the Bridgeton area of the city, for example, groups such as the Billy Boys, who claimed to adhere to Orangeism, regularly fought members of the Catholic Norman Conquerors.¹¹² Unemployed riveter Danny Shields, the central protagonist of George Blake's 1935 novel *The Shipbuilders* mused on the 'vivid, scientific devotion to football' in the city, noting that 'it was a passion shared by all of his kind', and Blake also described football fans in the novel as 'peerless and fearless warriors, saints of the Blue and Green'.¹¹³ Historically in Clydeside, football was often representative of religious and ethnic subjectivities.

Interest in football and other forms of recreation for such reasons is evident in the oral testimonies of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside. A number of men associated sectarianism primarily with football, particularly 'Old Firm' games, and expressed support for specific 'Old Firm' teams, Rangers or Celtic, while John Davidson, for example, born in the Ibrox area of Glasgow in 1922 and employed as a civil servant during the war, related a story of being made by his mother to wear a green suit as a child to fit in with the Irish Catholic neighbourhood in the city's Norfolk Street, where he lived.¹¹⁴ Others, including David Easson, born in the Ayrshire town of Largs in 1923 and working as a baker in wartime, also mentioned

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 190.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p. 254; Knox, *Industrial Nation*, p. 197.

¹¹³ George Blake, *The Shipbuilders*, (Edinburgh: B&W Publishing Ltd, 1993 edition, first published 1935), p. 19, p. 69.

¹¹⁴ Edmund Campbell, interviewed by James McKenna, 15th June 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC; Jimmy Conroy, interviewed by James McKenna, 22nd January 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC; John Davidson, interviewed by James McKenna, 8th October 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC.

the links between sectarianism and gang warfare, particularly in the Bridgeton area of the city.¹¹⁵ However, most oral testimonies from men who worked in reserved occupations suggested that the sectarianism associated with football was largely superficial. Robert Young, for example, born in the Anderston area of Glasgow in 1902 and employed as a labourer during the war, felt that sectarianism ceased with the final whistle, commenting that ‘we could always live with one another’, referring to his perception of easy mixing of Rangers and Celtic supporters after football games.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, men such as Colin McEwan, born in 1925 and employed as a marine engineer in various shipyards during the war, noted the wide participation in football among shipyard apprentices in wartime, listing football with other sports such as weight-lifting, boxing and body-building as enjoyable activities undertaken by young men.¹¹⁷ Jerry Moffat also discussed his involvement in a football team based at the shipyard where he worked, noting that: ‘Every place had their football team, every different department.’¹¹⁸ It is apparent that despite the evident links between football and sectarianism in wartime Glasgow, such links were often superficial and, while important to the subjectivities of a number of men, were superseded by the social elements of participating in and watching sport. Football was arguably more important to men as a source of personal and social enjoyment than as a way to assert ‘imagined’ subjectivities.

¹¹⁵ David Easson, interviewed by James McKenna, 23rd March 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹¹⁶ Robert Young, interviewed by James McKenna, 7th and 16th March 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹¹⁷ Colin McEwan, unknown interviewer, 4th October 1989, Voices from the Yard, GMRC.

¹¹⁸ Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th June 2010.

A number of other social activities also provided personal enjoyment to reserved workers in wartime Clydeside, and the most common to be discussed in oral testimonies included cinema-going, dancing, and drinking in pubs. A number of men talked extensively about visits to the cinema and dance halls during the war. William Dewar, for example, discussed his attendance at a dancing school, while Henry Elder noted that 'of course, Glasgow's a city of dancers, we had dance halls all over the place' and James Wilson described the city in wartime as 'the European capital of dancing'.¹¹⁹ Oral evidence reveals that such activities were often the domain of younger men. Henry Elder remarked that 'we enjoyed ourselves as young people' in the dance halls, while John Mathieson, discussing his interest in social activities such as dancing and his lack of interest in the war as a young man, commented: 'You like[d] to have a good time [...] you werenae interested in things like [the war effort]'.¹²⁰ Many men, such as James Baker, born in 1924 and employed as an engineer during the war, mentioned that they met their future wives at dance halls.¹²¹ Meanwhile, Edward Lookess referred to his enjoyment as a young man of getting drunk on cheap alcohol in pubs and James Perston noted that 'you were making plenty of money, money was very plentiful if you were a tradesman and you were working', enabling him to visit the cinema regularly.¹²² Leisure activities such as dancing, the cinema and visiting the pub were thus linked

¹¹⁹ William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010; Henry Elder, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th August 2010; James Wilson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 14th June 2010.

¹²⁰ John Mathieson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th March 2011.

¹²¹ James Baker, interviewed by Nancy Russell, 16th August 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹²² Edward Lookess, interviewed by Matthew McShane, 1st May 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC; James Perston, interviewed by Graham Clark, 3rd December 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

to personal enjoyment and social interaction on a day-to-day basis for men, particularly young men, in reserved occupations.

A number of reserved men in wartime Clydeside were also interested in participating in sports and physical activities other than football. For example, John Mathieson discussed his keen interest in swimming while William Dewar noted his enthusiasm for badminton.¹²³ However, the references made by many male civilian workers to their interest in cycling, hiking, camping and generally spending time in the outdoors were particularly notable. Robert Sinclair, for example, talked about his regular hiking habit, while men such as James Phillips and James Perston discussed their interests in both cycling and hiking, and Barry Keenan stated that he used to cycle 'from here [Glasgow] to Loch Lomond'.¹²⁴ A number of men referred to going on long cycling excursions, camping out overnight or staying in youth hostels.¹²⁵ Some men offered practical reasons for their involvement in these activities, such as the low cost involved. Henry Elder, for example, went cycling and camping because: 'It didn't cost you an awful lot of money.'¹²⁶ Others, however, suggested that they had more personal reasons for their participation and gained deeper enjoyment from being in the outdoors. Fred Holmes, for example, born in 1909 and employed as a railway worker in the Springburn area during the war,

¹²³ John Mathieson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th March 2011; William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

¹²⁴ Robert Sinclair, interviewed by Alison Chand, 4th August 2010; James Phillips, interviewed by Fiona Hayes, 15th May 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC; James Perston, interviewed by Graham Clark, 3rd December 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC; Barry Keenan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th January 2011.

¹²⁵ Esme Adams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010; William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010; Thomas Stewart, interviewed by Kirsty Devine and Elizabeth Henson, 10th June 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹²⁶ Henry Elder, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th August 2010.

described himself as an 'explorer' to explain his interest in hiking, while Charles McCaig, born in 1917 and working as a miner in wartime, described evenings on the Cobbler, a mountain north of Glasgow in south west Scotland thus:

We used to climb up a mountain called the Cobbler [...] Climb up the mountain wi' a banjo or a guitar. We used to sit and play it, after climbing the mountain and then you sit for a wee while and stop and for maybe about twenty minutes after you heard your tune all vibrating through all the mountain, you know, echoing. It was beautiful.¹²⁷

Neil Gunn's novel *Wild Geese Overhead*, set in wartime Glasgow, opens with the central protagonist, journalist Will Montgomery, catching sight of an arc of wild geese flying above the city, where: 'Watching, he was invaded by the feeling that he was seeing something [...] out of magic.'¹²⁸ Oral testimonies such as those of Fred Holmes and Charles McCaig suggest that a number of male civilian workers sought to spend time outdoors in the countryside bordering Clydeside to achieve such a sense of 'magic'. Oral evidence reveals that reserved men in wartime Clydeside largely lived from day to day seeking personal fulfilment and experiencing continuity on a deeper level of their subjectivities than the changes wrought by war could penetrate, although such fulfilment in these circumstances was notably dependent on the ability of the male body to undertake physical activity. As we have seen, Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor have, in their research, been particularly aware of the impact of industrial work on the health of the male body and the consequent effects on masculinity, and the outdoor activities described by male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside clearly required and assumed a healthy

¹²⁷ Fred Holmes, interviewed by Carolyn Fitton, unknown date, Springburn Collection, GMRC; Charles McCaig, interviewed by Carolyn Fitton, 5th August 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

¹²⁸ Gunn, *Wild Geese Overhead*, p. 3.

body.¹²⁹ Nonetheless, Andy McMahon, discussing his own interest in cycling and being in the outdoors, remarked that: 'I was able to see my country and able to see the beauties in Scotland here [...] because, eh, life in those days [...] was a bit of jungle, survival [...] men and boys [...] didn't live by month to month, they lived day by day, day by day.'¹³⁰ Such day-by-day living, evident in testimonies such as this, was arguably the most prominent influence shaping the social activities and interests of men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside.

5.6 Everyday Wartime Pre-Occupations

Continuity of wartime subjectivities, and the overriding preoccupation of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside with everyday concerns is also evident in frequent references in oral evidence to worries about day-to-day issues such as rationing and blackout conditions. 'Constant topics' listed in wartime Home Intelligence reports are dominated by everyday concerns such as these, while many of the motions listed in the Scottish Trades Union Congress Annual Reports during the war years are related to issues involving workers' welfare and working conditions.¹³¹ Home Intelligence reports also frequently refer to concerns about

¹²⁹ Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, 'Dangerous Work, Hard Men and Broken Bodies: Masculinity in the Clydeside Heavy Industries 1930-1970s' in *Labour History Review*, Vol. 69, No. 2, August 2004, pp. 135-146; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, 'Dust to Dust: Oral Testimonies of Asbestos Related Disease on Clydeside c. 1930 to the Present' in *Oral History*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Autumn 2001, pp. 48-59; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, *Lethal Work: A History of the Asbestos Tragedy in Scotland*, (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000); Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, 'The War and the Body at Work: Occupational Health in Scottish Industry 1939-1945' in *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2005, pp. 113-136; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, 'Voices from the Pits: Health and Safety in Scottish Coal Mining since 1945' in *Scottish Economic and Social History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2002, pp. 111-129.

¹³⁰ Andy McMahon, unknown interviewer, 10th November 1989, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

¹³¹ National Archives, Home Intelligence reports, 1940-1948; Scottish Trades Union Congress Annual Reports, Department of Employment, 1940-46.

post-war unemployment, particularly in the Clydeside region, indicating much thought about the need to continue to earn a living after the war, perhaps, as we have seen, stemming from the region's emasculating experience of unemployment in the 1930s.¹³² Helen Jones has also pointed to the importance of 'routine' in the lives of civilians during air raids and the contribution of this to people choosing to 'carry on' with their daily lives through siren warnings.¹³³ Such interest in the concerns of day-to-day life is frequently reflected in the testimonies of reserved men.

Numerous oral testimonies about wartime life return continually and, usually unprompted by interviewer questioning, to discussions of rationing and the blackout. For example, at the end of John Wilkie's testimony, on being asked if he had anything else to add about his time in a reserved occupation, he responded with the following lengthy anecdote:

I don't know if you've got any information about what the rations were like during the war? Have you? [...] Rations were tight, there was no doubt about it. It started off, there was plenty of food in the country, tinned stuff was on a points system. You got so much butter and so much margarine and so much sugar and so much tea. Potatoes weren't rationed early on [...] it got so bad you were down to one egg a month, that was, that was all you got, and I remember my mother getting up tight about the butcher's wife. She'd gone up there and got something, make up the rest, and corned beef, and the woman weighed it out 'that's over the weight, that'll be tuppence off your next week's ration' [...] My old mother was a bit of a scrounger sometimes. You knew an awful lot of people who came back to, managed to get this or managed to get that, but we did quite well out of it. My mother would always get a bone and make soup and all that sort of thing, and when I went on the first ship, and arrived in the afternoon, I went into the saloon for dinner, and there was two tables, their table and our table. The engineers ate

¹³²National Archives, Home Intelligence reports, 1940-1948. .

¹³³Helen Jones, *British Civilians in the Front Line: Air Raids, Productivity and Wartime Culture 1939-45*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 155.

with us because we were at anchor. They, they generally ate in their own mess room because they would come in with their overalls on, dirty, and I had my dinner, and the next morning at breakfast, eh, the steward came in, Big John, and he was Highland, and he bent down and he whispered in my ear, and he said 'will you have the porridge sir, or will you have the cornflakes?', and I said 'I think I'll have the cornflakes', finished that, 'you'll be having the bacon and egg sir?', 'yes please', and I hadn't quite finished it, you know, there was a little bit of yolk, mop it up, and he whipped it away, and another one was stuck under me, and he whispered to me 'don't you know sir, when a gentleman wants a refill, he leaves his knife and fork crossed like that.'¹³⁴

This unprompted expounding on rationing is representative of a number of former reserved workers, and others, such as John Mathieson and William Dewar, frequently discussed the difficulties of going to the cinema and dance halls and travelling around in blackout conditions.¹³⁵ Arguably, such testimonies demonstrate the centrality to men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside of issues with immediate impact on their everyday lives.

Basic day-to-day activities such as eating and travelling changed temporarily as a consequence of wartime conditions, but the centrality of such activities in the lives of male civilian workers arguably reflects the continuity of everyday subjectivity, more intrinsic to men than wider 'imagined' subjectivities. Civilian men working on the home front were in jobs and undertaking activities in the same way as they had been before the war, and continued to do so after the war, and everyday concerns therefore continued to be of key significance to them. As we have seen, John Mathieson remarked that he 'wasnae interested in the war [...] As a

¹³⁴ John Wilkie, interviewed by Alison Chand, 5th August 2010.

¹³⁵ John Mathieson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th March 2011; William Dewar, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th August 2010.

teenager [...] you're looking to have a good time'.¹³⁶ George Lightbody also remarked that: 'Actually you never thought about the war.'¹³⁷ It is therefore apparent that men did not always think about the 'bigger picture' and the military events of the Second World War and were able to maintain a sense of personal agency in their 'lived', day-to-day existences, even when confronted with the economic and political forces associated with wartime.

5.7 Conclusion

Continuity was thus fundamental to the masculine subjectivities of men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. As has been argued in Chapters Three and Four, the subjectivities of such men existed on different levels and reflected to varying degrees the concepts of 'imagination' and 'living'. Martin Francis has identified a variety of factors, including gender, social class, nationality, ethnicity, religion and inner emotions, as contributing to individual subjectivity.¹³⁸ While we have extensively discussed in Chapter Three the gender identities, particularly masculinities, of men in reserved occupations and Chapter Four has looked at their regional subjectivities, this chapter has made clear that the subjectivities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside comprised different national, ethnic, religious, class and political attributes, all integral and important to reserved men before, during and after the Second World War. Arguably, however, men were often aware

¹³⁶ John Mathieson, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th March 2011.

¹³⁷ George Lightbody, interviewed by Alison Chand, 21st June 2010.

¹³⁸ Francis, *The Flyer*, p. 3.

of these integral aspects of their subjectivities on an 'imagined' level, and many aspects of them were superseded by a pre-occupation with everyday living, also continuous and fundamentally unchanged by wartime.

In arguing for the continuity of different 'imagined' and 'lived' forms of subjectivity among men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, this chapter thus re-enforces the notion first discussed in Chapter Three that, although integral to masculinity, temporary wartime ideals did not fundamentally change the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers.

Chapter Six

Renegotiated Social Relationships: Women in Reserved Occupations in Glasgow and Clydeside

As we have seen in Chapter Five, a number of historians, including Joan Scott, have made the assertion that gender identities in history do not exist in vacuums and therefore should not be researched in isolation.¹ Indeed, Lynn Abrams has significantly pointed out that historians of Scottish history have traditionally portrayed men and women as occupying 'different worlds'.² My research project examining the masculinities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside brings men and women out of these 'different worlds' in this chapter and consequently takes account of the fact that men working in reserved occupations engaged with women on an everyday basis. James McMonigle remarked of women that: 'They were always there, you were always in and out of each other's houses.'³ We have already discussed extensively in Chapter Three the attitudes of civilian women in Clydeside towards men working in reserved occupations. However, female labour was also regulated during the Second World War, with adult women required to register for war service. The National Service (No. 2) Act in December 1941 made single women aged between twenty and thirty liable for enlistment and by 1943, 90% of single women aged between eighteen and forty and 80% of married women in Britain were engaged in either the auxiliary services or industry. In September

¹ Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 5, Dec. 1986, pp. 1053-1075.

² Lynn Abrams, "'There was Nobody like my Daddy": Fathers, the Family and the Marginalisation of Men in Modern Scotland', in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 78, No. 206, October 1999, p. 219.

³ James McMonigle, interviewed by Alison Chand, 11th June 2010.

1943, 7.5 million women were working in industry and 470,000 women were serving in the auxiliary forces.⁴ Ralph Assheton, M. P. for Blackburn West during the war, speaking in the House of Commons in December 1941, referred to a 'a list of vital industries and services from which women will not be taken [for the armed forces]', while Winston Churchill asserted in November 1941 that 'any women already engaged in one of the vital war industries' would not be called up to the auxiliary services, and although Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor have observed that Clydeside women continued to be excluded from working in heavy industries, a significant number of women in the region were nevertheless employed in reserved occupations and were therefore exempt from joining the women's auxiliary services.⁵

As we have seen, my advertisements to recruit men who had worked in reserved occupations for interview also attracted a number of women, indicating the frequent neglect of the experiences of these working Clydeside women in historical research. Cultural and official sources also illustrate this neglect. For example, Henry Raikes, M. P. for Essex South Eastern during the war, made the following remarks in parliament in October 1941:

Time and time again I have found that the great grievance in the Services is this: A man has left his work and joined up, and his wife is left at home living next door to people enjoying much the same standard of

⁴ H. M. D. Parker, *Manpower: A Study of Wartime Policy and Administration*, (London: HMSO, 1957), p. 113; Arthur Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War*, (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003), p. 292; National Archives, CAB 66/31/14, 'Man-Power Survey', 26th November 1942.

⁵ HC Deb 09 December 1941 vol 376 cc1412-500; National Archives, CAB 66/20/14, 'Man-Power', 27th November 1941; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, 'The War and the Body at Work: Occupational Health in Scottish Industry 1939-1945' in *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2005, p. 117.

life as they themselves used to enjoy; but the man next door is in a reserved occupation and remains at his work, and when bonuses arrive owing to the increase in the cost of living his wages increase— and I am making no attack upon that— whereas the soldier's wife finds her allowance failing to maintain her at the same standard as she had when the cost of living was lower and her husband was working at his occupation. That woman is constantly feeling the pinch. While the conditions of the workers in industry are constantly improving, her own conditions remain much as they were.⁶

These remarks express resentment towards men in reserved occupations and reflect critical attitudes towards them discussed in Chapter Three. However, the remarks also assume that the wives of both servicemen and civilian workers were reliant on maintenance and allowances from their husbands for survival. No consideration is given to women who were themselves working during the war. This chapter will therefore focus on the wartime subjectivities of these working women in Clydeside, noting the ways in which they interacted with the men around them. This research into the subjectivities of women in reserved occupations will reveal a more complete picture of the environment in which male civilian workers lived out their daily lives, delving beyond the direct attitudes expressed by women towards male reserved workers and exploring the subtle and complex influences intertwined within the wider subjectivities of the working women of Clydeside during the Second World War.

⁶ HC Deb 16 October 1941 vol 374 cc1531-98.

6.1 Historiography

During the second half of the twentieth century, much research into gender identities has extensively discussed the notion of femininity, arguing that official and cultural discourses propagated the existence of multiple feminine subjectivities in history.⁷ John Tosh and others have also noted the Victorian ideal of women as ‘angels’ in the home, maintaining the domestic sphere for working men in the late nineteenth century.⁸ Meanwhile, historians such as Peter Murphy have traced the emergence of feminist discourses, noting that the early twentieth century has been associated with ‘first-wave’ feminism and was dominated by political demands such as the franchise for women.⁹ Murphy and others have also discussed the emergence of ‘second-wave’ feminism, which regarded women’s reproductive rights as central to their oppression, focusing on issues such as birth control, childcare and parenting.¹⁰ Post-modern views of feminism, however, emerging in the later years of the twentieth century, have argued for the fragmented nature of feminine subjectivities, propagated by such wide-ranging discourses.¹¹ Historians such as Penny Summerfield have argued that, in the context of the Second World War, discourses directed towards women were particularly contradictory, and this

⁷ For example: Billie Melman, *Borderlines: Gender Identities in War and Peace 1870-1930*, (London: Routledge, 1998); Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent (eds.), *Gender and History in Western Europe*, (London: Arnold, 1998); Peter Murphy (ed.), *Feminism and Masculinities*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women’s Wartime Lives*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 13-15; Maggie Andrews, *The Acceptable Face of Feminism: The Women’s Institute as a Social Movement*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997); Denise Riley, *Am I That Name?: Feminism and the Category of ‘Women’ in History*, (London: Macmillan Press, 1988).

⁸ For example: John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England*, (Bath: Bath Press, 1999), pp. 1-2.

⁹ Murphy, *Feminism and Masculinities*, p. 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 9.

¹¹ Andrews, *The Acceptable Face of Feminism*, p. 1.

chapter will develop historical understandings of the extent to which these discourses affected feminine subjectivities.¹²

Historians such as Arthur Marwick have made a number of key assumptions about the effects of war on women, arguing that the conscription of women into industry and the auxiliary services resulted in significant social change and a reduction of gender inequalities.¹³ Meanwhile, Jessica Meyer has noted in her study of masculinity during the First World War that wartime literature often depicted women as gendered actors with new, more powerful social positions which played a key role in destabilising masculinities.¹⁴ However, pioneering work by historians such as Harold Smith and Penny Summerfield has demonstrated that changes to women's lives in wartime were often temporary and were not welcomed by all women.¹⁵ While Summerfield has argued that the notion of 'separate spheres' for men and women was not shaken in wartime, Smith has examined the issue of equal pay, arguing that the government was not committed to paying women the same as men, and trade union leaders argued for equal pay principally to protect the interests of men, not women.¹⁶ This notion is supported in

¹² Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 14.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 3.

¹⁵ Harold L. Smith, 'The Womanpower Problem in Britain during the Second World War' in *Historical Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 4, December 1984, pp. 925-945; Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp. 92-99.

¹⁶ Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield, *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in the Two World Wars*, (London: Pandora, 1987), pp. 1-2; Smith, 'The Womanpower Problem in Britain during the Second World War'; Harold L. Smith, 'The Problem of Equal Pay for Equal Work in Great Britain During World War Two' in *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 53, No. 4, December 1981, pp. 652-672.

Peter Bain's study of women's strikes on Clydeside in 1943.¹⁷ Indeed, in the Trades Union Congress annual report of 1942, one delegate noted while debating the issue of equal pay for women that: 'The future had to be guarded against, so that when the men came back to do jobs which were men's jobs they would not be looked upon as women's jobs and be paid for at women's rates.'¹⁸ Smith has also noted that 'in some areas the war was accompanied by increased sex differentiation', arguing that, far from being emancipated, women's positions in traditional sex roles were often strengthened.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Summerfield has argued that the Second World War was a time of conflicting discourses for women – government attempts to mobilise women for war work emerged reluctantly, out of necessity and alongside continued expectations that women would maintain their 'first' responsibilities to the home.²⁰ Similar arguments have emerged in the work of Denise Riley and Rose Kundanis.²¹ Summerfield's book, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, examines women's subjective understandings of their wartime roles and identifies 'heroic' and 'stoic' reconstructions of wartime experiences. While 'heroic' women portrayed their wartime lives as active and exciting, 'stoic' women looked forward to returning to more conventional domestic roles at the end of the

¹⁷ Peter Bain, 'Is You Is Or Is You Ain't My Baby: Women's Pay and the Clydeside Strikes of 1943' in *Scottish Labour History Society Journal*, Vol. 30, 1996, p. 38.

¹⁸ Trades Union Congress Annual Report (London: Congress and General Council, 1942), p. 199.

¹⁹ Smith, 'The Womanpower Problem in Britain', p. 936.

²⁰ Penny Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War: Production and Patriarchy in Conflict*, (London: Routledge, 1984), p. 5.

²¹ Denise Riley, 'The Free Mothers: Pronatalism and Working Women in Industry at the End of the Last War in Britain' in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Spring 1981, pp. 59-118; Rose M. Kundanis, "'Baby Riots' and 'Eight Hour Orphans': A Comparison of the Images of Childcare in British and US Popular Magazines During World War Two' in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1996, pp. 239-251.

war.²² In other work, Summerfield has argued that the post-war baby boom and the recruitment of women for more 'female-appropriate' work such as teaching and nursing after 1945 are evidence that women's entry into 'men's work' was often purely for the duration of the war. She noted that the figure of the housewife remained the ideological cornerstone of the family, arguing that gendered divisions in society were often further entrenched at the end of the Second World War.²³ Her ideas are supported in the work of Susan Carruthers, who has discussed the Government's reluctance to conscript women into factory work.²⁴

The notion that the war reinforced rather than challenged conventional gender divisions is given further credence by the apparent existence of a combat taboo. This 'sacred tenet' that women should not engage in fighting prevented women from being fully integrated into the military environment and relegated them to subsidiary or 'auxiliary' roles.²⁵ As a consequence, women in the A. T. S. who served in mixed anti-aircraft batteries were allowed to undertake a range of roles but were prevented from 'pulling the trigger' while there was official resistance to women's participation in the Home Guard.²⁶ Summerfield noted that the Women's Voluntary

²² Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp. 78-100.

²³ Penny Summerfield, "'The girl that makes the thing that drills the hole that holds the spring': Discourses of Women and Work in the Second World War' in C. Gledhill and G. Swanson, *Nationalising Femininity*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 49-50.

²⁴ Susan Carruthers, 'Manning the Factories: Propaganda and Policy on the Employment of Women 1939-1947' in *History*, Vol. 75, No. 1, January 1990, pp. 232-256.

²⁵ Di Parkin, 'Women in the Armed Services 1939-45' in R. Samuel (ed.), *Patriotism: the Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, Vol. 2 'Minorities and Outsiders' (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 158.

²⁶ Gerard DeGroot, "'Whose Finger on the Trigger?': Mixed Anti-Aircraft Batteries and the Female Combat Taboo' in *War and History*, Vol. 4, 1997, pp. 434-453; Gerard DeGroot, "'I Love the Scent of Cordite in Your Hair': Gender Dynamics in Mixed Anti-Aircraft Batteries During the Second World War' in *History*, Vol. 82, No. 1, January 1997, pp. 73-92; Penny Summerfield, "'She Wants a Gun, not a Dishcloth': Gender, Service and Citizenship in Britain in the Second World War' in Gerard DeGroot,

Services (W. V. S.), an organisation described by James Hinton as contributing to sustained class demarcation during and beyond the war, was given greater official support than the more radical Women's Defence Corps.²⁷ That women continued to be excluded from combat roles arguably reinforces the notion that elements of patriarchal culture were evident during wartime. The resurgence of patriarchal politics is examined in Susan Gubar's discussion of wartime propaganda and cultural depictions of women. Gubar has argued that a variety of images resurfaced during the war years depicting men asserting dominance over women.²⁸ Margaret Allen's assertions that the notion of the 'domestic ideal' of married life for women remained prevalent in wartime complement Gubar's work.²⁹ In addition, Arthur McIvor has asserted that throughout the twentieth century, many areas of manual employment, including shipbuilding, coal mining, metal production and heavy engineering, all of which dominated the Glasgow and Clydeside economy, continued to be monopolised by male workers, with women failing to penetrate these industries in any significant numbers.³⁰ McIvor has therefore implied the existence of a 'heavy and dangerous work taboo' affecting women before, during and beyond the war, as well as the wartime combat taboo. Considerable historical

and Corinna Peniston-Bird (eds.), *A Soldier and a Women: Sexual Integration in the Military*, (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), p. 120.

²⁷ James Hinton, 'Voluntarism and the Welfare/Warfare State: Women's Voluntary Services in the 1940s' in *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1998, pp. 274-305; Summerfield, 'She Wants a Gun, not a Dishcloth', p. 129.

²⁸ Susan Gubar, 'This is My Rifle, This is My Gun: World War Two and the Blitz on Women' in M. Higonnet, M. Randolph, J. Jenson, S. Michel and M. Collins Weisz (eds.), *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, (USA: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 231.

²⁹ Margaret Allen, 'The Domestic Ideal and the Mobilisation of Womanpower in World War Two' in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1983, pp. 401-412.

³⁰ Arthur McIvor, 'Women and Work in Twentieth Century Scotland', in Tony Dickson and Jim Treble (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland Volume III, 1914-1990*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), p. 143.

argument therefore challenges Marwick's assertion that war had a liberating impact on women's lives. This chapter builds on historical understandings of women's experiences during the Second World War through an examination of the complex subjectivities of Clydeside women working in reserved occupations.

Despite the existence of an extensive body of work researching the experiences of British women in war work, studies of women working in reserved occupations in specific regions of the country such as Clydeside are largely absent from the historical agenda. We have discussed in Chapter Three Joan Scott's arguments against 'reifying' antagonism between men and women in studies of gender identity, calling instead for a conception of gender as constructed of complex and interconnected processes.³¹ An understanding of the experiences and subjectivities of women working in wartime Clydeside is therefore fundamental to achieving a more nuanced sense of the experiences and subjectivities of men in reserved occupations in the area. Although statistics do not exist to show the numbers of women who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the war, it is notable that, of the 99 women interviewed as part of the 2000 Glasgow Lives Project and oral history of Springburn who were of working age in wartime, both held at Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, 37 indicated that they had worked in reserved occupations, a figure of approximately 37%. Census figures from 1931 and 1951 also show that women were employed in the following occupations in these years:

³¹ Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', pp. 1053-1075.

Occupational Group	1931	1951
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	4,402	4,195
Mining and quarrying	983	641
Food, drink and tobacco	20,948	20,667
Coal and petroleum products	147	117
Chemical and allied industries	2,309	5,669
Metal manufacture	1,396	2,591
Mechanical engineering	6,201	12,650
Instrument engineering	549	2,465
Electrical engineering	751	4,705
Shipbuilding and marine engineering	1,230	2,708
Vehicles	882	2,063
Metal goods not elsewhere specified	2,134	4,270
Textiles	42,366	36,806
Leather, leather goods and fur	1,068	1,511
Clothing and footwear	20,040	24,195
Bricks, pottery, glass, cement, etc.	1,902	1,632
Timber, furniture, etc.	3,504	3,671
Paper, printing and publishing	9,163	9,164
Other manufacturing industries	2,646	2,082
Construction	1,831	3,378
Gas, electricity and water	374	1,114
Transport and communications	8,332	16,112
Distributive trades	70,677	69,555
Insurance, banking, finance and business services	3,851	5,301
Professional and scientific services	28,505	48,166
Miscellaneous services	73,559	49,413
Public administration and defence	9,278	9,561
Not classified	5,066	245
Total employed	324,094	344,647
Total Population	1,228,687	1,307,618

Source: Lee, *British Regional Employment Statistics*, pp. 6-29.

Although these figures do not reveal ages or distinguish between single and married women, they demonstrate that approximately 26% of the female population of Clydeside were registered as employed in both 1931 and 1951, with particular

increases in the numbers working in engineering trades by 1951.³² In addition, prior to the First World War, around one third of the female population of Glasgow above the age of ten years were recorded as active in the labour market, while many women also did unrecorded paid work such as washing, child-minding and homework in sweated trades and others, particularly spinsters and single parents, having to work out of necessity.³³ A number of the women interviewed for Gerard Hutchison and Mark O'Neill's book *The Springburn Experience* also worked in other occupations before the war, including Agnes Muirhead, who moved to work in Hyde Park works from a previous job as a conductress on the trams.³⁴ However, from the numbers of women interviewed as part of the 2000 Glasgow Lives Project and oral history of Springburn who claimed to have been in reserved occupations during the war, it is apparent that a greater proportion of Clydeside women worked during, as opposed to before or after, the war.³⁵ Although statistics for the numbers of married women employed in the area in 1931 and 1951 do not exist, Arthur Mclvor has commented on the notable leap in the numbers of married women employed in Scotland between 1931 and 1951 – only 8.5% of the total female workforce in 1931 but rising to 23.4% in 1951.³⁶ It is therefore likely that the entry of more married women into workplaces accounted for a substantial part of the increase in the

³² C. H. Lee, *British Regional Employment Statistics: 1841 to 1971*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 6-29.

³³ J. H. Treble, 'The characteristics of the female unskilled market and the formation of the female casual labour market in Glasgow, 1891-1914', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, January 1986, p. 36; Eleanor Gordon, 'Women's spheres,' in *People and Society in Scotland 1830-1914 Volume II*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), p. 208.

³⁴ Gerard Hutchison and Mark O'Neill, *The Springburn Experience: An Oral History of Work in a Railway Community from 1840 to the Present Day*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), p. 69.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Mclvor, 'Women and Work in Twentieth Century Scotland', pp. 139-140.

proportions of women working in Clydeside during the war. Wartime work in reserved occupations evidently did not represent continuity for all women, perhaps especially not for married women. This chapter will nonetheless examine women's experiences in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the war, noting their relationships with the working men in their communities and discussing ways in which the wider subjectivities of women employed in reserved occupations, including their work subjectivities, affected those of male civilian workers during the Second World War. Jayne Stephenson and Callum Brown have noted that at a simple level, women's paid work in industrial society over the last two centuries has been distinguished from men's by historians such as Elizabeth Roberts as a temporary and economically necessitated interlude to a dominating domesticity, and have used oral histories from the Stirling Women's Oral History Archive to demonstrate that employment was often the source of positive and life-enhancing experiences for many women.³⁷ This chapter will demonstrate that work played a variety of different roles in the subjectivities of women employed in reserved jobs in wartime Clydeside.

³⁷ Jayne Stephenson and Callum G. Brown, 'The View from the Workplace: Women's Memories of Work in Stirling c. 1910-c.1950', in Eleanor Gordon and Esther Breitenbach (eds.), *The World is Ill Divided: Women's Work in Scotland in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), p. 7; Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working Class Women 1890-1940*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984).

6.2 Women's Experiences in Reserved Occupations

6.2.1 *The Appeal of the Auxiliary Services*

Penny Summerfield has noted the identification in official policy of the young woman as a crucial alternative source of wartime labour to that of the five million men conscripted to the armed forces, with citizenship for women during the war coming to mean taking up some kind of war work.³⁸ Women working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside held a variety of attitudes towards their employment. Oral evidence reveals that many working women in the region sought to leave, or not to enter, their jobs, and instead join the women's auxiliary services, seeing these as preferable to working in reserved employment in industries such as munitions. Mary O'Neill, for example, born in Cambuslang in 1920 and employed as a factory worker during the war, only reluctantly entered into work in a reserved occupation and commented on her desire to join the auxiliary services instead: 'I was longing, longing to join the WAAFs or the Wrens [...] and I very reluctantly agreed to go into war work.'³⁹ She remarked that she began her work in the factory because all her brothers had been called up, making the earnings from her work therefore necessary to maintain the income of her family household.⁴⁰ Asked to give her reasons for her desire to join the women's auxiliary services, she commented that 'I honestly think it would have been much more interesting', noting her brother's call up to the Navy and frequent receipt of free tickets to

³⁸ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 44.

³⁹ Mary O'Neill, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th September 2010.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

London and remarking: 'That sounded exciting, I would have loved that.'⁴¹ Her remarks reflect the sentiments expressed by a number of Penny Summerfield's interviewees who wished to undertake the same war work as their brothers or other young male family members.⁴² Meanwhile, Ursula Neville commented on turning down the chance to work in a clerical job that would have been a reserved occupation, remarking that she 'would rather work directly [...] well, in uniform'.⁴³ Neville's use of the word 'directly' implies that she felt being in uniform meant closer involvement in the war effort. Although she did not specify her reasons for wanting to join the W. R. N. S. in 1940, Betty Farmer, born in Glasgow in 1914, was eager to clarify in her testimony that she was not conscripted but volunteered to leave her job in a dairy and enter the service.⁴⁴ In addition, Margaret Houston, born in the town of Rutherglen in 1922, remarked: 'When my calling up time came, the three services were temporarily closed [...] and it would have been munition work, so I rushed and joined the Land Army [to avoid working in munitions]'.⁴⁵ Although she did not expand in her testimony on the reasons why she preferred work in the Land Army to a munitions job, it is clear that she would have chosen to join any of the women's auxiliary services rather than enter such employment. Similar feelings to those expressed in such testimonies were also indicated by other women in different parts of Britain in Mass Observation reports.⁴⁶ In addition, a number of the female characters in the 1943 film *Millions Like Us*, including the central protagonist

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 84.

⁴³ Ursula Neville, interviewed by Fiona Hayes, 4th March 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁴⁴ Betty Farmer, interviewed by James McKenna, 31st March 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁴⁵ Margaret Houston, interviewed by James McKenna, 5th March 1999, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁴⁶ Mass Observation Archive, File Report 1843, 'Tube Investments Ltd (Final Report on Industry)', June 1943.

Celia Crowson, are similarly opposed to going to work in industry, dreaming instead of joining the women's auxiliary services.⁴⁷ Such evidence demonstrates the evident desire of many Clydeside women to be part of the excitement of military activity during the Second World War.

Like male civilian workers, women working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside were exposed to a variety of external popular and official discourses about their positions as war workers, with a 1942 Mass Observation report on British war production referring to a 'chronicle of headlines' in newspapers directed at women workers.⁴⁸ Penny Summerfield has also noted that women in the auxiliary services were often depicted in glamorous uniforms in posters such as Jonathan Foss's 'Serve in the WAAF with the Men who Fly', produced in 1941, part of a series of government recruitment posters.⁴⁹



⁴⁷ *Millions Like Us*, Gilliat and Frank Launder, 1943.

⁴⁸ Mass Observation, *People in Production: An Enquiry into British War Production*, (Middlesex: Penguin, 1942), p. 132.

⁴⁹ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 77.

Source: Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 77.

Such images made life in the auxiliary services and in uniform appear glamorous and exciting. Oral testimonies clearly reveal that, as was the case for men in reserved occupations, social and cultural discourses often encouraged Clydeside women workers to seek out this glamour and excitement in the form of military involvement in wartime.

6.2.2 Contributing to the War Effort

Women not able to join the auxiliary services and forced to remain in reserved occupations were not, however, exposed to the belittlement we have seen displayed, particularly towards fit civilian men of fighting age, in both popular and official discourses. Penny Summerfield has noted that images of women in war work appeared frequently in wartime books such as *Women Go to War* (1943), written by broadcaster and writer J. B. Priestley to support the mobilisation of women, as well as advertisements and government recruitment posters.⁵⁰ Women were depicted as attractive and undertaking exciting roles in such sources, retaining their femininity despite being clothed in working apparel, although Summerfield asserts that such depictions were largely only of young, presumably single, women, rather than older married wives and mothers.⁵¹ An example of a poster which

⁵⁰ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 80.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

depicts women in this way is shown below, significantly showing women in working clothes in a more prominent position than those in uniform:



Source: Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 80.

The 'heroism' of these women was also tempered by their being in supporting roles to men.⁵² Nonetheless, a Mass Observation report into British war production published in July 1942 asserted that the crisis of man-power named by Winston Churchill in the early years of the war was 'more a crisis of woman-power', granting greater recognition to the work carried out by women on the Home Front than that undertaken by men.⁵³ Furthermore, the report added that women's motivations for working during the war included 'the feeling that they are doing something for the war, especially "to get it won and over with", plus the feeling of satisfaction at doing new sorts of jobs, has assisted women in keeping up their spirits'.⁵⁴ Many

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Mass Observation, *People in Production*, p. x.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 114.

women working in reserved occupations were proud of the contributions of their jobs to the war effort, despite not being part of the women's auxiliary services.

Despite the assertions of Mass Observation writer Celia Fremlin, whose book, *War Factory*, detailed women's work in an English munitions factory, that women often lacked interest and understanding in their wartime jobs, the oral testimonies of Clydeside women frequently reflect such pride.⁵⁵ For a number of women, including Margaret McCormack, war work was the dominant topic in their recorded life histories despite having represented a relatively short period in their lives.⁵⁶ In addition, Ellen Markey, born in Glasgow in 1921 and employed as a factory spinner during the war, frequently referred to her job as a 'government job' and extensively discussed her involvement in fire-watching, emphasising her proximity to the dangers of air raids – Helen Jones has noted that roof spotting and fire-watching during the war were transformed from 'fun hobbies' into 'serious jobs of national significance'.⁵⁷ May Martin, also born in Glasgow in 1926, meanwhile described her job at a beer factory in Bridgeton as 'quite a responsible job' and referred in detail to her work bottling beer 'for the troops'.⁵⁸ Such testimonies demonstrate that many women were eager to draw attention to the contribution of their work to the activities of the military services. These testimonies also indicate that the character of the 'heroic' woman defined by Penny Summerfield, proud of her contribution to

⁵⁵ Dorothy Sheridan (ed.), *War Factory: Mass-Observation*, (London: Cresset Library, 1987), pp. 42-54.

⁵⁶ Margaret McCormack, interviewed by James McKenna, 9th April 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁵⁷ Ellen Markey, interviewed by James McKenna, 4th June 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC; Helen Jones, *British Civilians in the Front Line: Air Raids, Productivity and Wartime Culture 1939-45*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 5.

⁵⁸ May Martin, interviewed by James McKenna, 21st February 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

the war effort and determined to 'do her bit', particularly in terms of taking on roles labelled as 'men's work', was reflected in the feelings of many working women in wartime Clydeside.⁵⁹

It must be noted, however, that as with men working in reserved occupations, women's ages may have impacted on their feelings about work. Joanna Bourke has noted that before the Second World War, two thirds of women in Britain aged between 15 and 34 were recorded as being in paid employment, but less than a quarter of women aged between 35 and 44 and only 5% of women aged over 60 were in work.⁶⁰ Although the numbers of older and married women in employment increased substantially during the war, Bourke, and other historians such as Elizabeth Roberts and Daniel Wight, have argued that employment still did not represent an ideal for such women after the war, with work usually being undertaken out of necessity and most women ultimately desiring a return to housewifery and domestic life.⁶¹ The women interviewed as part of this research and as part of the oral history collections held at Glasgow Museums Resource Centre were mostly young and single during the war, making it difficult to examine this notion in detail in this thesis. Notably, however, a number of women commented on the fact that their mothers left their jobs after getting married. Betty Connell, for example, remarked that her mother stopped work as a nurse

⁵⁹ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp. 77-114.

⁶⁰ Joanna Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain: 1890-1960*, (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 99.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 125; Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, p. 137; Daniel Wight, *Workers Not Wasters: Masculine Respectability, Consumption and Employment in Central Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), p. 39.

after marrying her father.⁶² However, Jessie MacPhail also remarked that women in the post office had to leave their employment after getting married because it was 'never allowed', indicating that many women would not have left their jobs if given the choice.⁶³ It is consequently unclear whether the feelings of women towards their jobs changed significantly with age, but it is certainly possible that older and married women were less likely to indicate that they enjoyed their work.

A number of Clydeside women also clearly recognised the contribution of men in reserved occupations to the war effort in making these evident links between their own employment and military activities. Jean McCallum, for example, born in 1927 in the Maryhill area of Glasgow and employed in a leather factory during the war, commented on the wartime requirement to work late and referred both to her work making soles for soldiers' shoes and knee pads for miners: 'During the war [...] it was a' soles and heels and things for the soldiers and knee pads for the miners, [I] did a lot of work like that.'⁶⁴ She did not differentiate between the value of the work carried out by soldiers and miners, who were often in reserved occupations, to the war effort. We have seen in Chapter Three the argument that many Clydeside women were less critical of men in reserved occupations than women in other parts of Britain, and Jean McCallum's oral evidence thus shows that she saw her own work and that of men in the military and reserved occupations as contributing significantly and equally to the war effort. Jessie Cameron also remarked on the

⁶² Betty Connell, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th May 2010.

⁶³ Jessie MacPhail, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th May 2010.

⁶⁴ Jean McCallum, interviewed by James McKenna, 28th April 1998, 2000 Glasgow Lives Project, GMRC.

easy social interaction that took place between herself and the other girls in the Land Army with the young reserved men on the Ayrshire farm where she was employed: 'All the farmers' sons [...] There was quite a lot and we used to go to the dances with them [...] It was good.'⁶⁵ Celia Fremlin, in her book of writings from her time working for Mass Observation, wrote of 'amused masculine superiority' towards women in the English munitions factory in which she worked.⁶⁶ However, Myra Baillie has asserted in her article about the dilution of women into the First World War workforce on Clydeside that there was more co-operation between men and women in the workplace than had previously been recognised.⁶⁷ Although not describing gender relations in the period as 'perfectly harmonious' and pointing in particular to the convincing nature of Eleanor Gordon's arguments about the strict demarcation of 'men's work' and 'women's work' before the war, Baillie nonetheless asserted that increasingly class awareness, and in particular working class solidarity, was often more important to men and women than gender differences.⁶⁸ My findings about women's views of their new gendered social positions support Baillie's notion that they did not always involve destabilising masculinity in the way historians such as Jessica Meyer have suggested.⁶⁹ However, I would assert that the primacy of 'lived' subjectivity and day-to-day survival, rather than class awareness in particular, meant that men and women often re-negotiated

⁶⁵ Robert and Jessie Cameron, interviewed by Alison Chand, 6th August 2010.

⁶⁶ Sheridan (ed.), *War Factory*, p. 63.

⁶⁷ Myra Baillie, 'A New View of Dilution: Women Munitions Workers and Red Clydeside', in *Scottish Labour History*, Vol. 39, 2004, p. 33.

⁶⁸ Ibid; Eleanor Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁶⁹ Meyer, *Men of War*, p. 3.

and accepted new situations and relationships in their everyday lives even where contradictions with 'imagined' discourses of class and gender clearly existed.

The attitudes of men themselves towards women working in their places of employment also indicate that men did not always feel threatened by the presence of women. Penny Summerfield has notably asserted that working women in wartime Britain often viewed the men working alongside them as less capable than they were.⁷⁰ However, in a similar way, men working in reserved occupations frequently emphasised women's work as being less skilled than their own. For example, Alexander Warren commented on female colleagues at North British Locomotive as follows:

The women were really good. They had the patience to stand at a machine [...] and that's where they were for eight hours, you know, other than going to the toilet and going for something to tidy up or something like that, you know. They were [...] very very very good friends and good strong steady workers.⁷¹

James Kane also remarked that 'men had respect for women [working in the shipyards in Govan]', and Jerry Moffat commented that women in the shipyards were 'just workers [like the men].'⁷² Men such as Alexander Warren and James Kane were able to accept working women easily by re-negotiating their workplace relationships. Henry Elder, meanwhile, referred in his testimony to women welders working alongside him thus: 'Some women were wonderful welders, they were great, because welding requires a sense of touch [...]. Some of the welding they

⁷⁰ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp. 116-149.

⁷¹ Alexander Warren, interviewed by Alison Chand, 24th June 2011.

⁷² James Kane, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th May 2012; Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 23rd August 2011.

produced was great.⁷³ However, he also remarked that: 'Women weren't taking the place of men. They were needed as, as extra workers.'⁷⁴ Henry Elder's comments therefore indicate that he accepted that women in his workplace were conducting skilled and useful work, but justified his acceptance of their presence by stating that: 'Women weren't taking the place of men.'⁷⁵ Although a division of labour still existed in wartime Clydeside, with men involved in heavier, more dangerous, and often more skilled work than women, Luisa Passerini has argued that oral narratives often show adaptation to new circumstances rather than definite conclusions and the views of both men and women working in reserved occupations demonstrate the wartime development of new and renegotiated social relationships between women and men.⁷⁶

6.2.3 Self Fulfilment in Work

Meanwhile, oral evidence also reveals that a number of women enjoyed working in reserved occupations during the war years for a variety of both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons not connected to the war effort, supporting the hypothesis asserted by Jayne Stephenson and Callum Brown, as well as Arthur McIvor, that work represented a source of identity, pride, camaraderie, job satisfaction and self-

⁷³ Henry Elder, interviewed by Alison Chand, 9th August 2010.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 26.

respect for Scottish women as well as men in the twentieth century.⁷⁷ Some women indicated their sheer enjoyment of work on a personal and intrinsic level without elaborating on the reasons behind this. Cathy McGregor, for example, born in the Bridgeton area of Glasgow in 1920 and employed as a fitter during the war, continually discussed her wartime work despite repeated attempts by the interviewer to draw the conversation onto other topics. She remarked 'I examined the machines [...] and I loved it', demonstrating her enjoyment of the work.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, Mary O'Neill remarked that 'I absolutely loved the girls I worked with, particularly the two [girls] I started with' and, as we shall see later in this chapter, talked extensively about her social life with them and involvement in activities such as dancing.⁷⁹ Her enjoyment of the camaraderie with the other women in her workplace reflects that felt by many of the women in Stephenson and Brown's study of women's work identities in Stirling, and also, as we have seen, by men such as Stewart Halley in their workplaces.⁸⁰

Other women, meanwhile, enjoyed the financial independence granted to them by the wide availability of employment for women during the war and consequently valued more extrinsic elements of work. Jean Melvin, for example, born in Govan in 1924 and employed as a machinist in wartime remarked that: 'There was plenty work [...] Oh, you could pick and choose [...] You could move from job to job as you

⁷⁷ Stephenson and Brown, 'The View from the Workplace'; McIvor, 'Women and Work in Twentieth Century Scotland', p. 156.

⁷⁸ Cathy McGregor, interviewed by James McKenna, 5th April 1996, 2000 Glasgow Lives Project, GMRC.

⁷⁹ Mary O'Neill, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th September 2010.

⁸⁰ Stephenson and Brown, 'The View from the Workplace', pp. 20-22; Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

wanted.⁸¹ Meanwhile, Amelia Newton, born in Springburn in 1924 and employed as a riveter in the area during the war, chose her shifts based on the wages available, observing that: 'The wages that we got were really high [...] and I went on to constant night shift because you got more wages.'⁸² While, Celia Fremlin, in her Mass Observation account of an English munitions factory, asserted that women's wages were 'mainly pocket-money', Clydeside women such as May McDougall felt pride in being able to give money to their parents.⁸³ McDougall, born in Bishopbriggs in 1919, stated while discussing her work as a confectioner in a bakery that 'I loved my work [...] with being the eldest in the family I felt a responsibility', while Jessie Telfer, born in Glasgow in 1918, remarked of her wartime employment as a machinist that: 'We [the family] couldnae afford not to be working.'⁸⁴ Her testimony indicates that the centrality of 'breadwinning' and day-to-day survival for a family was also of key relevance to women in wartime, reflecting the importance to households of wages indicated in the testimonies of many interviewees in Penny Summerfield's study of women's war work, as well as by women interviewed as part of Alessandro Portelli's research in Harlan County, Kentucky and Elizabeth Roberts's study of women in central and north Lancashire between 1890 and 1940.⁸⁵ However, it is also significant that the aspects of 'breadwinning' important

⁸¹ Janet Carruthers, Jean Melvin and Margaret Collins, interviewed by Kirsty Devine and Elizabeth Henson, 13th June 1996, 2000 Glasgow Lives Project, GMRC.

⁸² Amelia Newton, interviewed by Sandra Kernahan, 10th September 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

⁸³ Sheridan (ed.), *War Factory*, p. 119.

⁸⁴ May McDougall, interviewed by James McKenna, 1st August 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC; Jessie Telfer, interviewed by James McKenna, 23rd July 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁸⁵ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 68; Alessandro Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County: An Oral History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, p. 40.

to women were often more intrinsic than extrinsic – feelings of pride and independence were frequently as integral to female subjectivity as the practical task of earning money.

Significantly, May McDougall also referred to her husband's work in Harland and Wolff shipyard during the war. She did not discuss his work in detail, arguably indicating her acceptance of the work undertaken by men in reserved occupations and giving no indication of a belief that they should have joined the military services.⁸⁶ Again, it is apparent that rather than destabilising masculinity, women's new wartime positions represented re-negotiated social relationships with men - women and men often shared family breadwinning duties according to necessity rather than women being perceived as taking over these responsibilities completely.

Women thus gained enjoyment and satisfaction from their wartime work for varied reasons and their discussions of their reserved employment make clear that their focus was often on the nature of the work they were doing and the independence and ability to earn that the work engendered rather than the connection between their jobs and the war effort. It is therefore evident that for many women, the changes in their lives resulting from war work were important to them not so much because of the war itself but because of the meanings represented by these changes for their individual subjectivities and their everyday lives. As was the case for men in reserved occupations, the concepts of change and

⁸⁶ May McDougall, interviewed by James McKenna, 1st August 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

continuity were inseparably intertwined within the subjectivities of the working women of wartime Clydeside. However, the notion that the impact of change on everyday life, and therefore the ways in which wartime disruption affected the continuous threads of day-to-day activity, was the most significant feature of wartime work for women meant that the continuity of their subjectivities arguably superseded the changes wrought by war. It is also evident that, although wartime changes resulted in renegotiated social relationships between men and women during the period of conflict, the roles of many women as reserved workers generally did not destabilise the masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers. Although men and women were exposed to a variety of gendered social and cultural discourses in wartime, the pre-dominance in individual lives of the necessities of everyday activity meant that continuity was the most enduring feature of their relationships during the Second World War. Their lives were intricately inter-connected and men and women generally accepted and understood each other's changing social roles in a wider context of day-to-day living.

6.2.4 Dislike of Work and Lack of Attachment to the War Effort

However, many Clydeside women, like Penny Summerfield's 'stoic' women, did not wish to join the women's auxiliary services and also rejected 'heroic' representations of women working in wartime.⁸⁷ Much concern emerged during

⁸⁷ Ibid.

wartime about the 'loose' sexual morals of young women in the auxiliary services and many parents opposed the idea of their daughters joining up.⁸⁸ Mass Observation reports also indicate that much private opinion in Britain opposed the conscription of women into the auxiliary services.⁸⁹ Some women, such as Margaret McNair, born in the Springburn area of Glasgow in 1922 and employed as a statistician in wartime, deliberately moved into reserved occupations to avoid joining the women's auxiliary services.⁹⁰ Lily Miller, born in the Maryhill area of the city in 1925 and employed in Singers factory in Clydebank during the war, also remarked: 'You had to go to a job or you'd get called up.'⁹¹ Such testimonies indicate that the motivation of many women in entering reserved employment was to avoid joining the women's auxiliary services.

Other women expressed clear resentment of their jobs in reserved occupations. Patricia Havelin, for example, born in the Kinning Park area of Glasgow in 1929, described her job making military uniforms as 'a boring bloody job', remarking that: 'There's no way you could get out of it [...] I used to cry when I went to work in the morning.'⁹² Havelin also asserted that she went on strike during the war with other women at the factory, motivated by her hatred of the job, and was sent to a

⁸⁸ Gerard DeGroot, 'Lipstick on her Nipples, Cordite in her Hair: Sex and Romance Among British Servicewomen During the Second World War' in Gerard DeGroot and Corinna Peniston-Bird (eds.), *A Soldier and a Woman: Sexual Integration in the Military*, (Harlow: Pearson, 2000).

⁸⁹ Mass Observation, *People in Production*, p. 134; Mass Observation Archive, File Report 952, 'ATS Campaign', November 1941; Mass Observation Archive, File Report 766 'Bulletin and Directive', July 1941.

⁹⁰ Margaret McNair, interviewed by James McKenna, 8th January 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁹¹ Lily Miller, interviewed by James McKenna, 15th January 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁹² Patricia Havelin, interviewed by James McKenna, 28th November 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

tribunal.⁹³ In addition, Maimie Nimmo, born in Glasgow in 1928, commented on her work in an oilskin factory that: 'I absolutely hated it [...] hated it from the day I went in, tried to get out of it and it was during the war and I had to see a National Service Officer and he said no, I still had to work there.'⁹⁴ It is thus evident that many women strongly disliked their reserved wartime work, and attempted to leave their jobs.

A number of women were also directed away from Clydeside to work during the war. Elizabeth Maher, born in Glasgow in 1921, and Margaret McCormack, for example, both went to work in munitions factories in Birmingham and expressed their displeasure about their mobilisation.⁹⁵ Maher expressed clear resentment of her wartime work: 'I'd been taken away, which I didn't think was very fair.'⁹⁶ The displeasure of women such as these who had been directed into work in other parts of Britain generally superseded any idea that they were contributing to the war effort. When Jean Meehan, who was born in Neilston in Renfrewshire in 1921, was asked if she felt part of the war effort in her work in a munitions factory near Stoke-on-Trent, she responded: 'To be quite honest, no it never entered [...] I was just angry because I was there [...] I just didnae want to be there.'⁹⁷ She later commented on being 'glad to be home' when she returned to Glasgow.⁹⁸ Such

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Maimie Nimmo, interviewed by Matthew McShane, 13th May 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁹⁵ Elizabeth Maher, interviewed by Roberta McLennan, 2nd November 1999, 2000 GL, GMRC; Margaret McCormack, interviewed by James McKenna, 9th April 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Maher, interviewed by Roberta McLennan, 2nd November 1999, 2000 GL, GMRC.

⁹⁷ Jean Meehan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th November 2010.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

testimonies indicate that many women prioritised personal happiness over any notion of contribution to the war effort.

To summarise thus far, it is evident that external discourses from cultural and official sources had varying effects on Clydeside women working in reserved occupations during the Second World War. Some women were clearly dissatisfied with their jobs and sought to join the women's auxiliary services to be closer to military action, while others, like the 'heroic' women interviewed by Penny Summerfield, were proud of the contribution their work was making to the war effort.⁹⁹ In addition, a number of women gained personal fulfilment from their work for reasons independent of the war effort, including enjoyment of financial independence, while others still, like the 'stoic' women discussed by Summerfield, disliked and resented their employment in reserved occupations.¹⁰⁰ A Mass Observation report into British war production published in July 1942 summed up the opinions of 'women workers in all grades' about their jobs thus:

39% say they really like their present jobs.
36% are satisfied without being really enthusiastic.
11% are unenthusiastic, ranging through to definitely hostile.
4% condemn their jobs emphatically.
The remainder are undecided or vague or apathetic.¹⁰¹

Although this research has not revealed statistical findings of this nature, it is likely from oral evidence that women workers in Clydeside held a similar variety of opinions to these.

⁹⁹ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp. 77-114.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Mass Observation, *People in Production*, p. 117.

Social and cultural discourses affecting women in reserved occupations were often targeted towards women and thus defined by gender. However, arguably, the reactions of most female wartime workers in Clydeside were more clearly defined by the effects of their employment on their everyday lives and demonstrated continuity of experience with their pre-war lives. For some, these effects were positive, while others viewed work as a negative feature of their lives. It is evident that although the changes wrought by war on women's lives were often considerable, they did not consistently destabilise the masculinity of men working in reserved occupations and continuous day-to-day reality remained most integral to their subjectivities. This notion links the subjectivities of both men and women working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, binding them together in relationships and communities of long term continuity.

6.3 Working Women's Regional Subjectivities in Wartime

I have argued in Chapter Four that male reserved workers were aware of 'imagined' collective subjectivities on a national level, and subscribed to some shared subjectivities with men who worked in different regions of Britain, particularly those with higher proportions of men working in reserved occupations. However, we have also seen in that chapter that war often did not represent a watershed in the lives of these men, with distinctive and immediate regional aspects to worker subjectivity in Clydeside also evident in oral testimonies. In particular, much evidence emerged of local pride in Clydeside and its industries, some linked to the

specific contribution of the region to the British war effort and much attributed to deep knowledge, understanding and awareness of the area as a distinct locality. Most oral testimonies support the assertion that although nationality did not represent a 'false consciousness', an idea discussed by Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone, men in reserved occupations in wartime were frequently indifferent to the notion of 'imagined' nationality, demonstrating more specific regional attachments.¹⁰² Benedict Anderson has, as we have seen, defined nations as 'imagined political communities' and Chapters Three, Four and Five apply this notion of 'imagined communities' to wider subjectivities, arguing that gender, ethnic, religious, political and social subjectivities also incorporated significant 'imagined' elements.¹⁰³ Although different levels of collective, 'imagined' subjectivity existed in wartime for men, 'lived', local subjectivity was arguably most relevant to the individual male civilian worker in wartime. As is demonstrated in this chapter, this was also the case for women working in wartime Clydeside.

Historians have indicated that the distinctive industrial and working class environment with sometimes radical left-wing leanings identified, as we have seen, in early twentieth-century Clydeside, also incorporated the activities of women.¹⁰⁴ The radicalisation of women in the years before the outbreak of the Second World War, including their involvement in the militancy of the 'Red Clyde' and the reasons behind this, has been extensively discussed by a number of historians, including

¹⁰² Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone (eds.), *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 3.

¹⁰³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 2006), p. 6.

¹⁰⁴ For example: Sean Damer, *Glasgow Going for a Song*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990); William W. Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland 1800-Present*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

Eleanor Gordon, Esther Breitenbach, Neil Rafeek, Alan McKinlay and R. J. Morris.¹⁰⁵

During the war, Richard Croucher has also noted women's wartime agitations for pay increases in the region, discussing strikes by women at the Rolls Royce factory in Hillington, and at Barr and Stroud's factory in 1943, as particular examples of such disputes.¹⁰⁶ It is clear from oral evidence that elements of collective 'imagined' and local 'lived' subjectivity were also intertwined within the subjectivities of many working women in wartime Clydeside.

As was the case for men working in reserved occupations, a number of working women subscribed to collective, 'imagined', nationalities, including both British and Scottish nationalities. When asked how they would have described their nationalities in wartime, Mary Birch, born in 1922 and employed in the civil service during the war, responded 'oh, British, yes [...] I know I would say British', while Betty Connell remarked that 'we were all Scottish really' and Jessie MacPhail described her nationality as 'always Scottish'.¹⁰⁷ Although historians such as Sonya Rose have noted the varying levels of inclusion granted to different male and female citizens in wartime cultural sources, it is apparent that national belonging, to

¹⁰⁵ Gordon, 'Women's spheres'; Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland*; Gordon and Breitenbach (eds.), *The World is Ill Divided*; Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon (eds.), *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992); Neil Rafeek, *Communist Women in Scotland: Red Clydeside From the Russian Revolution to the End of the Soviet Union*, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008); R. J. Morris, 'The ILP 1893-1932: Introduction' in Alan McKinlay and R. J. Morris (eds.), *The ILP on Clydeside 1893-1932*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 12.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Croucher, *Engineers at War 1939-1945*, (London: Merlin Press, 1982), p. 284.

¹⁰⁷ Mary Birch, interviewed by Alison Chand, 3rd June 2010; Betty Connell, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th May 2010; Jessie MacPhail, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th May 2010.

both Britain and Scotland, remained integral to the subjectivities of many working women of wartime Clydeside.¹⁰⁸

However, oral evidence also makes apparent that the subjectivities of women working in reserved occupations in Glasgow and Clydeside were firmly rooted in the unique industrial and working class environment of the region. Like many male civilian workers, a number of women expressed obvious pride in the area's industries. We have already seen, for example, that Frances Doran remarked: 'Glasgow was a famous city.'¹⁰⁹ Patricia Havelin, meanwhile, described industry as 'what makes Glasgow the city that it is', while Jessie Telfer commented that 'Glasgow was the only city worth talking about' during the war.¹¹⁰ Women, like men, also expressed belonging to the wider entity of Clydeside. Jessie MacPhail, for example, commented on the importance of her work as a telegraphist and of the work undertaken in 'Greenock, Port Glasgow and Gourock' to notify the families of men whose ships had docked at the ports of their safety.¹¹¹ MacPhail also referred to the necessity of sending telegrams via Glasgow, demonstrating the often close association between Glasgow and the wider entity of Clydeside that we have seen in discussions of male regional subjectivity in Chapter Four. A number of women also expressed deep knowledge and understanding of very specific localities within the Clydeside region. Many women workers from the Springburn area commented on their familiarity with the daily patterns of the local workplaces. Margaret

¹⁰⁸ Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939-45*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Frances Doran, interviewed by Shona Sinclair, 28th November 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹¹⁰ Patricia Havelin, interviewed by James McKenna, 28th November 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC; Jessie Telfer, interviewed by James McKenna, 23rd July 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹¹¹ Jessie MacPhail, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th May 2010.

McNair, for example, noted that 'everybody knew the time of the horns going' in the streets around her home in the Springburn area.¹¹² Such viewpoints indicate that working women in wartime felt strongly linked to their immediate local vicinities.

For some women, such familiarity with the prevalent work of their areas and communities incorporated an awareness that many men were working in reserved occupations as a result of local industries. Cathy McIlroy, for example, born in Glasgow in 1918 and employed as a tram conductress in wartime, noted that her 'eldest brother was working in Cowlairs [railway works in Springburn] which saved him [from joining up]'.¹¹³ Such viewpoints certainly do not indicate a belief that men working in reserved occupations should have sought to join the armed forces and instead suggest that, for many women, the industries of Clydeside represented a welcome protection for local men against this. Many women dismissed any ideas of friction between men and women employed in the same workplaces during the war. For example, when asked about whether male colleagues at Cowlairs resented the presence of female riveters, Amelia Newton responded: 'No way, no way, they were a great crowd and we had a great canteen up there.'¹¹⁴ Mary O'Neill described the men working in her factory as 'very skilled men', commenting: 'They were kind of like royalty in the factory.'¹¹⁵ It is apparent that the notion of alienation between men and women was often dismissed by women in reserved

¹¹² Margaret McNair, interviewed by James McKenna, 8th January 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹¹³ Cathy McIlroy, interviewed by Margaret Lamb, 30th September 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

¹¹⁴ Amelia Newton, interviewed by Sandra Kernahan, 10th September 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

¹¹⁵ Mary O'Neill, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th September 1998.

occupations. When interacting with individuals in their local areas on a day-to-day basis, abstract notions of the ideal conventional roles of men and women became less relevant to reserved women workers.

Local subjectivities among women working in reserved occupations in Clydeside also often reflected the class backgrounds of such women. Marion Law, for example, born in Springburn in 1910, commented on the 'nice, honest to goodness working class people' living in the Springburn area in wartime, associating a sense of regional belonging with working class consciousness.¹¹⁶ Jane Lewis has argued that 'separate spheres' for women in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century England were more rigid for middle class than for working class women, with women's wages, however small, representing an essential part of many working class household economies.¹¹⁷ William Knox has also noted that the economic and social realities of working class life in early twentieth century Clydeside conflicted with the ideals of a patriarchal society, with, as we have seen, around one third of the female population of Glasgow above the age of ten being recorded as active in the labour market between 1891 and 1911 and many also in unrecorded paid work.¹¹⁸ The working class environment of wartime Clydeside arguably contributed to the lower importance attributed to such abstract 'spheres' by women working in reserved occupations in the region.

Like men working in reserved occupations, women wartime workers in Clydeside therefore subscribed both to 'imagined' national and regional collective

¹¹⁶ Marion Law, interviewed by Martin Roberts, October 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

¹¹⁷ Jane Lewis, *Women in England 1870 to 1950*, (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd, 1984), p. 75.

¹¹⁸ Knox, *Industrial Nation*, p. 144.

subjectivities, and to 'lived' aspects of local subjectivity rooted in the industrial and working class background of Clydeside. The co-existing and intertwined 'imagined' and 'lived' subjectivities of Clydeside women centred upon the notion of place and arguably meant that the continuous human relationships between men and women within a specific locality were more enduring in the region than awareness of abstract and temporary ideals during the Second World War.

6.4 Continuity and the Ascendancy of Everyday Life

We have already seen that continuity was integral to the wider masculine subjectivities of men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. The subjectivities of such men existed on different levels and reflected to varying degrees the concepts of 'imagination' and 'living'. We have also discussed Martin Francis's assertion that different national, ethnic, religious, class and political attributes were fundamental components of individual subjectivity, and a variety of such attributes made up the multiple subjectivities of male civilian workers in wartime Clydeside before, during and after the Second World War.¹¹⁹ Arguably, however, men were aware of these integral aspects of their subjectivities on an 'imagined', although highly significant, level, and they were superseded by a pre-occupation with everyday living, albeit one disrupted by wartime.

¹¹⁹ Martin Francis, *The Flyer: British Culture and the Royal Air Force 1939-45*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 3.

The subjectivities of women working in reserved occupations in Clydeside also comprised varying national, ethnic, religious, class and political attributes. Oral evidence reveals that a number of women were aware of collectively 'imagined' national and regional subjectivities not based on Britishness or Scottishness. Ursula Neville, for example, employed in a reserved office job before joining the women's Air Training Service in 1943, was, as we have seen, a German Jew, and recalled a young woman saying to her: 'You are the first foreigner I have seen in my life.'¹²⁰ Meanwhile, Rosa Smith, born in the Springburn area of Glasgow in 1922 and employed in a reserved position in a bakery prior to joining the W. R. N. S. in 1941, remarked on the Highland origins of her family, noting that her father used a Gaelic Bible and she spent time with her family attending a Gaelic choir and Highland gatherings in Glasgow.¹²¹ A variety of collective national and regional subjectivities were thus important to women working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside.

Chapter Five of this thesis has noted the significant Irish presence in wartime Clydeside and the problems of sectarianism between distinct Catholic and Protestant communities. A number of women were aware of 'imagined' collective nationalities centred upon being Irish, Catholicism and Protestantism. Celia Cowan, for example, born in the town of Barrhead in 1929 and employed as a typist during the war, commented on the Irish origins of her parents and being thought of as 'strange' for her Irish name in a Protestant school as a child, while Margaret

¹²⁰ Ursula Neville, interviewed by Fiona Hayes, 4th March 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹²¹ Rosa Smith, interviewed by James McKenna, 6th December 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

Callaghan noted that she was marked out as different because of her Northern Irish accent.¹²² Many women also discussed prevalent problems of sectarianism in wartime Clydeside.¹²³ Irene Williams, for example, remarked that: 'You just knew who was Catholic and who was Protestant.'¹²⁴ A number of women also remarked on watching or attending Orange marches.¹²⁵ As was the case for male civilian workers, Irish nationality and sectarian divisions were therefore also important to the subjectivities of many women working in reserved occupations in the region.

Religion in general was also a significant part of the subjectivities of women working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. Many working women attended church regularly. May Cleland, for example, born in the town of Cambuslang in 1925 and employed at the Clyde Paper Company during the war, remarked on her regular attendance at the Baptist Church and Band of Hope, while Mary Darling, born in the Lanarkshire village of Leadhills in 1908 and employed in the operations department of a Glasgow warehouse, commented that: 'Your life was spent in the Church.'¹²⁶ A number of women indicated deep attachment to their religious beliefs, with Josie Livingston, born in the Pollokshaws area of Glasgow in 1920 and employed in a shop in wartime, commenting that: 'I don't think I could have done without my faith.'¹²⁷ Callum Brown has asserted that piety in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was an overwhelmingly feminine trait,

¹²² Celia Cowan, interviewed by Douglas Ferguson, 4th June 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC; Margaret Callaghan, interviewed by James McKenna, 23rd September 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹²³ Jessie Telfer, interviewed by James McKenna, 23rd July 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹²⁴ Irene Williams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 30th September 2010.

¹²⁵ Ibid; Jean Hammond, interviewed by James McKenna, 7th August 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹²⁶ May Cleland, interviewed by James McKenna, 26th February 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC; Mary Darling, interviewed by Elizabeth Henson and Kirsty Devine, 6th June 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹²⁷ Josie Livingston, interviewed by James McKenna, 20th March 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

with women dominating church membership, and the oral testimonies cited indicate that many women in Clydeside possessed religious faith before, during and beyond the war.¹²⁸

A number of women workers also expressed political attachments. Irene Williams, employed in an office during the war, recalled her father telling her that 'remember, in this lifetime [...] you vote Labour, always,' while Josie Livingston remarked of her family: 'Traditionally we've always voted Labour.'¹²⁹ For several women, such beliefs were deep-seated. Margaret McCormack, for example, commented that:

My Dad always believed in Labour. The working class believed in Labour because my Dad didn't like Churchill. I remember the miners were on strike. I don't remember it but my Mum and Dad told me about it. A time of high depression, the miners were on strike and I remember my Dad saying Churchill stood up there on a platform and said 'Hold out! Hold out! Don't give them the rise they want. The rats will crawl back to their holes.' My Dad remembered him for that [...] I remember my Dad telling me about that. Men should never be called rats, they are human beings. No way was he superior to call anyone that.¹³⁰

In likening the labour movement to a more 'human' dimension of history, such testimonies indicate that political beliefs were rooted deep within the subjectivities of a number of working women.

Membership of trade unions, however, was not so prevalent among working women as among men. In 1931, only 7.2% of working women were members of trade unions in Scotland, accounting for 19.7% of STUC membership, although by

¹²⁸ Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000*, (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 156-161.

¹²⁹ Irene Williams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 30th September 2010; Josie Livingston, interviewed by James McKenna, 20th March 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹³⁰ Margaret McCormack, interviewed by James McKenna, 9th April 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

1945 these figures had risen significantly to 20.5% and 22.3% respectively.¹³¹ Arthur Mclvor has provided an insightful context to this substantial increase in female trade union membership during the Second World War, noting the return of many women to more traditional forms of women's work such as domestic service after the First World War, as well as the often poor working conditions, long hours, and endemic sexual inequalities women experienced in the inter-war years.¹³² Although the Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC) set up a Women's Advisory Committee in 1927, Arthur Mclvor has asserted that men in the inter-war years were twice as likely as women to be members of trade unions, and the STUC Annual Report from 1944 noted that while several unions had special Dilutee or War Emergency sections for women substituted for male labour, they did not expect the employment of women to last after the war.¹³³ While reporting increases in female membership in wartime, a number of unions also emphasised the difficulty of organising women employed on a part-time basis, with the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers stating that: 'The majority of married women have no interest in the industry or in the future of the wages conditions of the industry.'¹³⁴ A number of women also mentioned in their oral testimonies that they were not members of trade unions despite working in reserved occupations during the war, while Mary O'Neill commented on an incident in the factory where she worked when she was asked to be a union representative:

¹³¹ Scottish Trades Union Congress Annual Reports, Census of Scotland, Interim Report of the Standing Commission on the Scottish Economy, February 1988.

¹³² Mclvor, 'Women and Work in Twentieth Century Scotland', pp. 138-173.

¹³³ Knox, *Industrial Nation*, p. 231; Mclvor, 'Women and Work in Twentieth Century Scotland', p. 153; Scottish Trades Union Congress Annual Report, Department of Employment, 1944, p. 46.

¹³⁴ Scottish Trades Union Congress Annual Report, 1944, p. 47.

One time I was approached, ah, by, I don't know whether this man was a turner or a miller, and he came up to me and asked me would I like to be the union representative. There were things going on in the background, we were doing work that skilled men were doing, and it was something to do with wages, something to do with the hourly rate, and we were so naive, I mean, we didn't ever question anything, so different, and he coaxed me to do this, and it was something, big things went on with the AEU, Amalgamated Engineering Union [...] and I had no confidence, and I said no, I couldn't.¹³⁵

Such testimonies, demonstrating clear reluctance to be a part of union activities, indicate that some aspects of subjectivity were divided by gender, with women and men exposed to different and often conflicting external discourses. Although Arthur McIvor has noted that the Second World War marked a significant turning point in the relationship between women and paid work, with more women maintaining waged employment than after the First World War and increasing numbers becoming trade union members - 34% of the female workforce by 1971 - women during the war itself still identified differently from men with certain particularly gendered aspects of collective subjectivity such as trade unionism.¹³⁶

However, like male civilian workers, women frequently depicted the various aspects of their subjectivities in abstract ways. Neil Rafeek has extensively discussed the involvement of women in the Communist Party in Scotland and their attachment to the cause and, as well as the influence of the Socialist Sunday School, set up to educate young people on the ideas of socialism, on both male and female children, noting the particular strength of the party and Sunday School in the west

¹³⁵ Mary O'Neill, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th September 2010.

¹³⁶ McIvor, 'Women and Work in Twentieth Century Scotland', pp. 157-161; Scottish Trades Union Congress Annual Reports, Census of Scotland, Interim Report of the Standing Commission on the Scottish Economy, February 1988.

of the country and Clydeside.¹³⁷ Nonetheless, Irene Williams, for example, remarked on her membership of the Communist Party that ‘before we knew where we were we’d signed the papers and become members of the Communist Party’ after being approached by a young man with a pamphlet in the street.¹³⁸ Patricia Havelin voted Labour because her grandmother had done the same but commented: ‘I’m no’ interested in politics.’¹³⁹ Such remarks indicate that women sometimes gave little thought to their involvement with political parties.

Abstract depictions of religious subjectivities were also evident in oral testimonies. Margaret Callaghan, for example, born in 1913 and employed as a shop assistant in wartime, went to church because as a child: ‘You got your wrist slapped if you didnae go.’¹⁴⁰ Meanwhile Mary Darling remarked on going on rambling trips with her Bible class, indicating that her social life was linked to church attendance.¹⁴¹ Women such as Jean Hammond, born in the Bridgeton area of Glasgow in 1916 and employed in the Rolls Royce factory at Hillington during the war, remarked on attending church or adhering to religious belief because their parents did.¹⁴² Marion McGinnigle, born in the Gorbals area of Glasgow in 1921 and employed as a coil taper during the war, remarked that she was ‘saved and [she] was baptised’ aged sixteen and discussed undertaking missionary work in her late teens and early twenties, initially indicating deep religious belief. However, she later

¹³⁷ Rafeek, *Communist Women in Scotland*.

¹³⁸ Irene Williams, interviewed by Alison Chand, 30th September 2010.

¹³⁹ Patricia Havelin, interviewed by James McKenna, 28th November 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁴⁰ Margaret Callaghan, interviewed by James McKenna, 23rd September 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁴¹ Mary Darling, interviewed by Elizabeth Henson and Kirsty Devine, 6th June 1996, 2000 GL Project, GMRC.

¹⁴² Jean Hammond, interviewed by James McKenna, 7th August 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC.

commented that on meeting her husband, she gave up this missionary work, remarking that: 'I just left it, that was it [...] I wasn't interested.'¹⁴³ Such comments do not indicate deep-seated spiritual belief and it is evident that in the everyday lives of many working women in wartime Clydeside, abstract subjectivities were often of little importance to everyday 'living'. Women such as Catherine Robertson, born in the Partick area of Glasgow in 1914 and employed as an administrator for the Ministry of Food in wartime, were dismissive of the differences between people of different nationalities and religions, and when Robertson discussed her memories of Catholics in Anniesland during the war she remarked that: 'We're all the same.'¹⁴⁴ Jean Buchanan, meanwhile, born in Glasgow in 1909 and employed as a teacher during the war, commented that she had 'no time for religion'.¹⁴⁵ Although women and men therefore often subscribed to different gendered 'imagined' and collective subjectivities, these were frequently depicted as abstract by both male and female reserved workers.

In addition, like a number of men working in reserved occupations, many women indicated that their decisions were often shaped by friends and members of their families. Jean Meehan, for example, indicated that her decisions were strongly influenced by her parents. She initially planned to enter the W. A. A. F. but, with her father's encouragement, she began work in a munitions factory instead: 'You wouldnae have gone against your father.'¹⁴⁶ Margaret Houston also indicated the

¹⁴³ Marion McGinnigle, interviewed by James McKenna, 3rd March 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁴⁴ Catherine Robertson, interviewed by James McKenna, 22nd January 1997, 2000 GI, GMRC.

¹⁴⁵ Jean Buchanan, interviewed by James McKenna, 10th February 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁴⁶ Jean Meehan, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th November 2010.

key influence of her mother in encouraging her to join the Land Army rather than work in munitions.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, as we have seen, Penny Summerfield has noted that the decisions of many women as to whether or not to enter war work or join the auxiliary services were influenced by their parents.¹⁴⁸ A Mass Observation report into British war production published in July 1942 also observed that 'in a large percentage of cases women's lives are twined around the lives of their families and friends' in attempting to explain the upset caused to some women by their conscription into the auxiliary services or reserved occupations.¹⁴⁹ Other Mass Observation reports have also indicated the importance to women of remaining in their home towns.¹⁵⁰ The fundamental relevance to their lives of people in their local communities, living alongside women on a day-to-day basis, was evident among working women in Clydeside.

As was the case for men working in reserved occupations, oral evidence also indicates that many reserved women were primarily concerned with everyday interests such as rationing and the blackout. For example, women such as Mary Smith, born in 1922, and May Cleland, discussing their wartime work in a munitions factory and the Clyde Paper Company respectively, spent more time discussing the effects of blackout conditions on their lives and the impact of these conditions on leisure activities such as dancing than any contributions of their work to the war

¹⁴⁷ Margaret Houston, interviewed by James McKenna, 5th March 1999, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁴⁸ Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp. 43-76.

¹⁴⁹ Mass Observation, *People in Production*, p. 136.

¹⁵⁰ Mass Observation Archive, File Report 766, 'Bulletin and Directive', July 1941.

effort.¹⁵¹ Some evidence emerged of equivalent interest with male civilian workers among women working in reserved occupations in outdoor activities such as hiking, cycling and camping.¹⁵² Meanwhile, other leisure activities such as dancing and going to the pictures were extensively discussed by a large number of women, particularly in relation to meeting boys, and were evidently central to their wartime subjectivities.¹⁵³ Mary O'Neill, for example, remarked that she and her fellow women workers used to go dancing at the weekend, commenting: 'We would all agree to go, get out of bed round about one o'clock or two o'clock [after night shift], and go to the afternoon dancing in the Playhouse ballroom, which was a magnificent place, top of Renfield Street, and this was so important to us, and I can remember doing it once or twice, and the excitement of that ballroom.'¹⁵⁴ Some women such as Mary Ellis, born in Glasgow in 1917 and employed as a weaver during the war, met husbands in dance halls.¹⁵⁵ In addition, several women also commented on the importance to them of the radio programme 'Music While You

¹⁵¹ Mary Smith, interviewed by Martin Roberts, 15th December 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC; May Cleland, interviewed by James McKenna, 26th February 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁵² For example in the oral testimonies of May Cleland, interviewed by James McKenna, 26th February 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC; Marion Edington, interviewed by Hector Mackenzie, 1993, 2000 GL, GMRC; Amelia Newton, interviewed by Sandra Kernahan, 10th September 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

¹⁵³ For example: Patricia Havelin, interviewed by James McKenna, 28th November 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC; May Cleland, interviewed by James McKenna, 26th February 1998, 2000 GL, GMRC; Janet Carruthers, Jean Melvin and Margaret Collins, interviewed by Kirsty Devine and Elizabeth Henson, 13th June 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC; Frances Doran, interviewed by Shona Sinclair, 28th November 1996, 2000 GL, GMRC; Marion Edington, interviewed by Hector Mackenzie, 1993, 2000 GL, GMRC; Margaret Macaulay, interviewed by Haydn Davies, 28th February 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC; May Martin, interviewed by James McKenna, 21st February 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC; Elizabeth Maher, interviewed by Roberta McLennan, 2nd November 1999, 2000 GL, GMRC; Amelia Newton, interviewed by Sandra Kernahan, 10th September 1986, Springburn Collection, GMRC.

¹⁵⁴ Mary O'Neill, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th September 2010.

¹⁵⁵ Mary Ellis, interviewed by James McKenna, 13th May 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

Work'.¹⁵⁶ Such evident pre-occupation with leisure activities, entertainment and amusement indicates clearly that enjoyment of life continued, albeit in a disrupted manner, for the majority of working women in Clydeside during the war.

In the same way as continuity of both 'imagined' and 'lived' subjectivities was evident in the oral testimonies of men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, women workers also adhered to varying levels of 'imagined' and 'lived' subjectivity. Arguably, although various 'imagined' forms of subjectivity were integral to the subjectivities of such women, their 'lived', individual existences, rooted in their immediate local communities, were the most enduring aspects of their subjectivities. It is apparent that these complex subjectivities, comprising both 'imagined' and 'lived' aspects intricately intertwined, were imbued with continuity and survived the disruptions caused by new wartime discourses about the subjectivity of the female worker. For example, Margaret Macauley, born in 1913, remarked of her wartime direction into factory work that: 'When these things happen, you just get on with life, you don't think about it much, you know.'¹⁵⁷ Meanwhile, Cathy McDonald, born in the Maryhill area of Glasgow in 1922, worked in factories for most of her working life and was representative of a number of women in not distinguishing between her time spent working during the war and the remainder of her employed career.¹⁵⁸ Testimonies such as these make evident the notion that many women, in the same way as men in reserved jobs, often

¹⁵⁶ Mary O'Neill, interviewed by Alison Chand, 10th September 2010; May Martin, interviewed by James McKenna, 21st February 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁵⁷ Margaret Macauley, interviewed by Haydn Davies, 28th February 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

¹⁵⁸ Cathy McDonald, interviewed by James McKenna, 18th July 1997, 2000 GL, GMRC.

viewed wartime as a temporary feature of their daily lives that would ultimately pass. A Mass Observation report into British war production published in July 1942 also asserted that very similar numbers of women and men thought of their wartime work as important. These findings support the notion that although the external discourses impacting the subjectivities of men and women were often defined by gender, the effects, in reality, were limited, with influences in day-to-day life proving to be more persuasive and formative.¹⁵⁹ The discourses of both war and other 'imagined' subjectivities were, while undeniably significant for the subjectivities of both women and men, often less relevant than day-to-day 'living' and survival.

Jessica Meyer has noted that men and women both explored symbolic spheres in personal narratives of the First World War, but multiple points of contact nonetheless existed between them, more complex than implied by the imagery of the 'double helix' and the separate strands of male and female subjectivity discussed by Higonnet and Higonnet.¹⁶⁰ The gender identities of men and women working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside were, although different in a number of ways, not rigidly separate or exclusive. Their subjectivities reflected the separate discursive traditions of both wartime and earlier periods. However, these separate discursive traditions arguably did not form the most enduring aspects of subjectivity, found instead in ultimate attachment to everyday life in their own

¹⁵⁹ Mass Observation, *People in Production*, p. 79.

¹⁶⁰ Meyer, *Men of War*, p. 167; M. Higonnet and P. Higonnet, 'The Double Helix' in M. Higonnet, M. Randolph, J. Jenson, S. Michel and M. Collins Weisz (eds.), *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, (USA: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 34.

communities. As we have seen, Luisa Passerini has noted that oral history has played a fundamental role in understanding gender as part of human subjectivity but argued that the methodology is no longer as 'avant garde' as it was in the 1970s and 1980s. Her research therefore poses the question of how oral history and gender should relate to one another in modern historical research.¹⁶¹ Having been at the vanguard of developing an understanding of the separate gender identities of men and women in history, oral history can arguably now be a fundamental tool in developing a more nuanced understanding of these subjectivities. Men and women in history existed in 'living' communities and human relationships. Oral history, through this research, is beginning to 'undo' the 'antagonism' identified by Joan Scott between men and women and explore these communities and relationships.¹⁶²

6.5 Conclusion

In exploring the wider subjectivities of women working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, this chapter has therefore moved towards understanding the separate subjectivities of men and women as existing in 'living' communities and relationships in history, where the abstractions of social and cultural discourse are inextricably intertwined with the physical realities of day-to-day existence.

Historians such as Sonya Rose have identified the often contradictory obligations of

¹⁶¹ Luisa Passerini, 'Is Gender Still a Useful Category for Oral History?', University of Glasgow Centre for Gender History seminar series, 10th May 2011.

¹⁶² Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', pp. 1053-1075.

wartime citizenship for women and men in Britain and it is true that women workers in Clydeside during the Second World War were exposed to a number of influential external discourses found in cultural sources and official pronouncements, often clearly defined by gender.¹⁶³ In response to such discourses, a number of women were disappointed to be working in reserved occupations and expressed a clear desire to join the women's auxiliary forces, while others were proud of their contribution to the war effort in their wartime employment. However, several women also indicated that their reasons for working stemmed from a desire for personal fulfilment, rather than a need to contribute to the war effort, while others still expressed dislike of their work and lack of attachment to military activities. Like men in reserved occupations, although the subjectivities of women workers were undoubtedly shaped by numerous social and cultural scripts, they responded to these wartime discourses in a variety of ways dependent on their everyday activities. Indeed, of those Clydeside working women indicating that they enjoyed their jobs because of contribution to the war effort or for other more personal reasons, the majority clearly recognised and accepted the work undertaken by men in reserved occupations. Women's wartime work in Clydeside was representative of re-negotiated relationships with the men in their communities rather than destabilising masculinity.

In addition, as was also the case for male civilian workers, although the subjectivities of women in reserved occupations were substantially defined by a variety of 'imagined' national and regional subjectivities, the day-to-day events of

¹⁶³ Rose, *Which People's War?*, p. 122.

their immediate local vicinities and the uniquely industrial and working class background of Clydeside were arguably the most enduring influences on their everyday behaviour. Working women in Clydeside therefore adhered to distinctive regional subjectivities in wartime, which meant that most women were clearly aware of and accepted the activities of local men working in reserved occupations, diluting the importance of abstract connotations of gender identities derived from social and cultural discourses. It is evident that the inextricably linked 'imagined' and 'lived' subjectivities of Clydeside's working women were centred upon ideas of place and their immediate local surroundings.

A range of wider subjectivities were also relevant to women working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, including nationality, religion, ethnicity, political beliefs and social subjectivities. Like men in reserved occupations, however, women often expressed such aspects of their subjectivities in abstract ways. Their decisions, everyday activities and leisure time were more clearly defined by their relationships with the people around them in their communities, including family members and friends. It is again evident, moreover, that the intricately intertwined 'lived' and 'imagined' subjectivities of women workers were continuous, with wartime often representing only a temporary, albeit highly significant, disruption in their lives.

To conclude therefore, although men and women working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside had clear gender identities shaped by different social and cultural discourses, they existed in 'living' communities and relationships, where the plurality of subjectivities was notable. In developing an understanding of

how these gender identities inter-related within such 'living' communities, oral evidence has in this chapter revealed a fluid and nuanced picture of the continuity of the lives of civilian men and women in wartime Clydeside.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

Scottish novelist Neil Gunn, referring to Ellen Sutherland, the mother of the central protagonist Kenn, in his novel *Highland River*, described ‘something in her that transcended the religious observances in which she believed [...] because it recognised the inexorable nature of the needs of daily life’.¹ Research into the experiences of men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside during the Second World War reveals that plurality was undoubtedly a highly significant feature of their masculine subjectivities, and also that ‘the inexorable nature of the needs of daily life’ represented a fundamental and arguably overriding influence on their subjectivities. A range of ‘imagined’ subjectivities, both continuous and shaped by wartime events and discourses, were highly relevant to male civilian workers on and around the Clyde, but the influence, prominence, and immediacy in their lives of the people and places of their everyday existences, often contradictory and yet relevant to men before, during and after the war, meant that they possessed an inevitably continuous, ‘inexorable’ sense of personal agency. Indeed, the frequently contradictory nature of interviewees’ narratives arguably exposed the ‘living’ relevance of this sense of agency. Historian James Joll has described ‘the helplessness of man in the face of the inexorable processes of history’, but this research rejects this notion of ‘helplessness’ and has argued instead for the capacity

¹ Neil M. Gunn, *Highland River* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), p. 37, p. 88.

of individual human beings to survive such 'inexorable processes' intact.² V. S.

Pritchett wrote in 1946 of the wartime shipbuilder that:

He sees, with bewilderment, that he is caught up in some world process, larger than his town or trade; the war was part of it. He could see the necessity of building ships to win the war; he was glad of the good money that helped him to make up the arrears of the slump – the impoverished home and the spoiled chances; but he glowered at the thought of being thrown on the scrapheap again.³

The question of how the experiences of men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside relate to discourses of wartime national and social unity has been at the heart of this research, and I would assert that lack of a completely free choice of environment, and being 'caught up' in a 'world process' did not, for male civilian workers, ultimately mean that individuals also lacked a sense of personal independence and agency.

Shelley Trower has argued that voices, as revealed in oral testimony, were once far more closely bound to particular localities than they are in the present day, and also noted that sense of place is rarely stable and unchanging.⁴ Regional subjectivity and the relationship between individuals and the places and communities where they lived have been central to this study of male civilian workers in wartime Glasgow and Clydeside. Despite the evident importance to men of 'imagined' national, and regional, subjectivities, sometimes continuous and sometimes specific to wartime, it is clear that the 'lived' nature of the immediate localities in which

² James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*, (London: Longman, 1984), p. 203.

³ V. S. Pritchett, *Build the Ships: The Official Story of the Shipyards in Wartime*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946), p. 11.

⁴ Shelley Trower (ed.), *Place, Writing and Voice in Oral History*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

men lived alongside other men and women on a day-to-day basis formed the bedrock of their subjectivities. Civilians living in Glasgow and Clydeside experienced the Second World War in unique ways, and, as a consequence of the centrality of everyday life in local regions to individual subjectivities clearly revealed in this research, I would confidently assert that there will be much value in future research into regional experiences of historical events.

To summarise the arguments made in this thesis, masculinity was asserted in a range of ways by male civilian workers on Clydeside. Although historians such as Angus Calder have noted that the Second World War saw little of the jingoism which had 'disfigured' public life during the First World War and women only rarely handed white feathers to 'shirkers', some men experienced feelings of guilt and emasculation caused by their inability to join the armed services, validating Graham Dawson's argument that a hegemonic military masculinity existed in wartime.⁵ Others, meanwhile, adhered to 'alternative' masculinities, and valued capabilities such as the ability to earn, a key facet of 'breadwinner' masculinity. Collectively 'imagined' subjectivities, both continuous and shaped by wartime discourse, were also fundamental to the existences of many men in reserved occupations, and collective subjectivities were also shared between men who worked in different areas of Britain, particularly similar industrial regions. Finally, a wide variety of other facets of the subjectivities of male civilian workers existed, including social class,

⁵ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*, (London: Routledge, 1994); Angus Calder, *The People's War*, (London: Pimlico, 1969), p. 52.

religion, nationality, ethnicity and political belief. Such facets, often 'imagined' but nonetheless highly significant, were also very relevant to the lives of women working in reserved occupations in the region.

However, 'lived' and continuous facets of local subjectivity were arguably most relevant to male civilian workers on the Clyde, with men most clearly influenced by the exigencies of daily life in a specific and immediate vicinity, and the people making up the 'reservoir of human life' surrounding them on an everyday basis. Stewart Halley, for example, commented thus on the outbreak of war in September 1939:

Anyhow, eh, 1939, we were on holiday, eh, in Ayr for a fortnight, the school always started on the first of September, and we came back and my mother wasn't too well and, eh, war was declared a few days after that, and my mother died on the 13th of September, so the whole world was turned upside down in that fortnight.⁶

His voice broke while speaking of the death of his mother, and it is clear that the emotion of this event, affecting his family and the people close to him in his life, stayed with him in a more powerful way than the outbreak of war, a more obviously significant historical event, could ever do. This research into the subjectivities of male civilian workers in a specific region of wartime Britain has revealed the continuity of a sense of individual and personal agency rooted in day-to-day necessity and has consequently complicated the notion of the Second World War as a catalyst for social change.

⁶ Stewart Halley, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th December 2011.

7.1 Continuity and Change

This thesis has filled a number of key lacunae in historical research, revealing through study of personal testimonies, primarily oral histories, key findings relevant to the field of gender history and also the extent to which the Second World War represented a catalyst for social change. The experiences of men in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside have reinforced the arguments of a number of key historians such as Graham Dawson that a hegemonic military masculinity existed during the war and was extremely important for male civilians, contributing to feelings of guilt and emasculation.⁷ Oral evidence has also revealed that a number of other key discourses of masculinity were highly relevant to men working in reserved occupations, including 'breadwinner' masculinity and the notion that men should be earning money to support their families and households. Discourses of gender, both continuous and specific to the war, were also important to the subjectivities of women in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. Many, attracted by the perceived excitement of the military, sought to enter the women's auxiliary services during the war. Others, meanwhile, enjoyed the independence and earning capacity of their reserved work, for both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons.

However, other aspects of subjectivity, in addition to gender, some continuous and some shaped by wartime discourse, were also highly important to both men and women during, as well as before and after the war. Nationality, ethnicity, class consciousness, political belief and religion, among other things, all went to make up

⁷ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*.

a wider concept of subjectivity than the notions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' encompass. Gender identities, and many of these wider aspects, could often be defined as 'imagined', shaped by social, cultural and official discourses. However, the prominence of social activities, and everyday life, shaped by the necessities and contingencies of day-to-day tasks and relationships, in the memories and oral testimonies of both men and women working in reserved occupations, indicates that the subjectivities of such men and women also existed on a more 'lived' level, although in fluid and inseparable alliance with their 'imagined' subjectivities.

Although wartime relations between men and women working in reserved occupations in Clydeside were therefore shaped by a range of gender discourses, oral evidence does not support the notion that women and men existed in a relationship akin to the 'double helix' identified by Higonnet and Higonnet.⁸ Instead, I would argue that although the relationships between men and women were, undoubtedly, continually being renegotiated, shifting and changing throughout the war, the ultimate relevance of 'lived' existence and the everyday to individuals meant that gender boundaries were never fixed or truly separate, as often constructed in discourse.

This picture therefore complicates the notion propagated, as we have seen, by numerous historians that the Second World War was a catalyst for social change in

⁸ M. Higonnet and P. Higonnet, 'The Double Helix' in M. Higonnet, M. Randolph, J. Jenson, S. Michel and M. Collins Weisz (eds.), *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, (USA: Yale University Press, 1987).

Britain.⁹ The masculine subjectivities of male civilian workers on the Clyde were evidently shaped by a number of wartime discourses, which were particularly influential for 'imagined' subjectivity and highly significant to the lives of these men. Wartime did, therefore, represent to some extent a notable change in the way men in reserved occupations perceived their own lives. However, wartime discourses frequently had less influence on the 'lived' existences of Clydeside's working men during the war, and often did not significantly impact their everyday activities or relationships with their families, friends and others close to them in their immediate local communities. These 'lived' existences, and indeed many of the 'imagined' aspects of their masculine subjectivities, were at the core of life for male civilian workers before the war and continued to be central to their subjectivities after the war. This meant that war was not always a watershed in the lives of men in reserved occupations and a continuous and inevitable feeling of personal agency remained relevant to them despite the changes wrought in their lives by the temporary, albeit highly significant, circumstance of war. Neil Gunn referred in his novel *Highland River* to 'the inner native self that could never be deceived by the idealisms of war'.¹⁰ This statement is arguably universally relevant to young men living through a time of warfare. While I do not argue that men were necessarily being 'deceived' by the 'idealisms' of war, the notion of an 'inner native self', not essential or innate but rather rooted in everyday 'lived' existence, lay at the core of

⁹ For example: Richard Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy*, (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1950); Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy Since the Industrial Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1973); Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War*, (London: Pimlico, 1975).

¹⁰ Gunn, *Highland River*, p. 37.

masculine subjectivity for men working in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside.

This research has taken a post-modernist view of history, asserting that individual subjectivities, in particular the masculine subjectivities of men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside, were often contradictory and not definable. John Tosh has asserted that no historian seeking to understand major historical changes can ignore social theory.¹¹ However, I would argue that no historian seeking to understand such major changes can ignore their effects on individuals. The research presented here does not reject the notion of a highly significant 'bigger picture' or 'macro history', but has rather argued that the often conflicting influences of everyday life have meant throughout history that, despite this 'bigger picture' and its undoubted relevance to individual subjectivity, human beings have continued to survive and lead their own lives, retaining an inevitable and continuous sense of personal agency.

7.2 Post-War Lives

These arguments can be reinforced through a brief discussion of the experiences of men in reserved occupations after the war. Post-war events such as Britain's decision to develop its own atomic bomb led to the extension of conscription after the end of the Second World War, and although reference is made in some official documents to men who had worked in reserved occupations in wartime being

¹¹ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, (Harlow: Pearson, 2002), p. 205.

called up into the armed forces after the end of the war, evidence also reveals that a number of men continued to be exempt from military service.¹² Statistics for the numbers of male civilian workers called up and for those with continued exemption unfortunately do not exist, but conscription in Britain, and the designation of reserved occupations, did not end until 1960.¹³ George Isaacs remarked in the House of Commons in May 1946 that: 'In general, no men are called up [from coal mining or agriculture and] deferment is granted by district man power boards on the ground of the importance to the national effort of the work on which individual workers are engaged.'¹⁴ An article in the *Daily Record and Mail* in December 1945 also referred to 'the scheduled essential industries [which] include coal-mining, iron and steel, engineering, railways and passenger road transport', employees of which would not be required to undertake national service.¹⁵ Uncertainty therefore continued to surround the status of those in reserved occupations after the war, with many suggestions made in official sources that male civilian workers should be called up to the armed forces to relieve those who had served in the military during the war. Anthony Eden, for example, remarked to the Prime Minister Clement Atlee in the House of Commons in November 1946 that:

There were many reserved occupations which had to be created for the purpose of winning the war. It is not easy to persuade serving soldiers who have served a long time that these reserved occupations must remain exactly as they then were. Can anything be done to ensure that those in reserved occupations are reduced to the absolute minimum for

¹² Martin Pugh, *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain Since 1870*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), pp. 311-312; National Archives, LAB 25/150, 'Manpower Committee', November 1946.

¹³ Ibid, p. 313.

¹⁴ HC Deb 23 May 1946 vol 423 cc533-4.

¹⁵ 'Big Surprise for 3,000,000 Women', *Daily Record and Mail*, 14th December 1945, p. 4.

national needs, and that those who need not be retained for that purpose can go and do their service, as others did in the war?¹⁶

The Prime Minister responded that:

We naturally do not want to call up people for longer periods than are necessary. It is inevitable that people who are called up now will not be serving for periods as long as some of those who had to be kept serving during the war. With regard to the second point, I will look into it to see if anything can be done in regard to reserved occupations. We are trying to get relief for the people who have served for a long time by calling up everybody except those who are absolutely essential at the present time.¹⁷

As was the case during the war, it is apparent from exchanges such as this that many people in official positions and, it can be assumed, in civilian life, continued to question why men in reserved occupations were not in the armed forces and undertaking national service after the war.

Oral evidence from men in reserved occupations called up to the military services after the end of the war makes apparent that those whose employment remained reserved after the war often continued to be misunderstood. George Elliot, for example, called up to the Army after the war from his formerly reserved position working for the Forestry Commission, remarked that: 'The reserved occupations thing had gone, the war had finished.'¹⁸ Although others remained in reserved occupations, this assertion that 'the reserved occupations thing had gone' indicates that, as during the war, their roles were often overlooked or misunderstood.

¹⁶ HC Deb 26 November 1946 vol 430 cc1417-23.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ George Elliot, interviewed by Alison Chand, 20th October 2010.

It is also apparent from oral evidence that a number of male civilian workers in post-war Clydeside continued to be influenced by externally imposed discourses. Andrew Cameron, for example, born in 1930 and employed as a miner from 1946, exempt from undertaking national service, remarked that 'it [national service] would have broadened my outlook on life possibly' and that: 'I might have liked to go away down to London [...] and see a bit of life.'¹⁹ Evidently, he felt that being in a reserved occupation, even after the war, deprived him of the chance of a young man's adventure. The notion of a hegemonic military masculine ideal therefore continued to be relevant to the masculine subjectivities of men in reserved occupations after 1945.

However, as was the case during the war, men working after 1945 also adhered to 'alternative' aspects of masculine subjectivity. Although Eric Liddell, born in 1930, was called up in 1951 from his work on the river ferries in Greenock, he was far more interested in discussing his career working on the ferries, spanning a twenty-year period before and after his two years spent in national service.²⁰ Anecdotes from his longer career were more important to his subjectivity than a brief spell in the military. Moreover, although Andrew Cameron expressed a wish that he had completed his national service in a military capacity, he also indicated the influence of his family and the people around him in his everyday life on his decisions, remarking of the mining profession that: 'You found that the son followed in father's footsteps and [...] it was always a family affair. It was a father and son and

¹⁹ Andrew Cameron, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th September 2010.

²⁰ Eric Liddell, interviewed by Alison Chand, 25th May 2010.

uncle and cousins.²¹ His remarks suggested that such family influences, and consequently day-to-day life and survival, were ultimately more important to him than thoughts of joining the armed services.

Oral evidence therefore reveals that men working in reserved occupations after the war were also influenced to varying extents by cultural and official discourses associating masculinity with military service. However, it remains clear that continuity and everyday life were more important to their subjectivities than the changes introduced by temporary and fleeting, albeit significant, external discourses. An article in the *Daily Record and Mail* newspaper in May 1942 expressed the sentiment that ‘Scotland is not to be left a derelict industrial area after this war, as was the case in 1918’, indicating a focus on everyday life after the war.²² As we have seen, although Andrew Cameron briefly expressed regret at the loss of the ‘adventure’ of military service from his life, his oral testimony largely focused on anecdotes of people and places associated with his longer working life and he remarked of his decision to pursue his career in mining that: ‘It’s like crossing the road, it’s familiarity.’²³ ‘Lived’, everyday existence was ultimately the most influential force behind subjectivities after the war, as it had been during and before the war. However, my pool of interviewees did not primarily include men whose jobs were reserved after the war and their experiences and subjectivities have also been much neglected in historical research. Further study of their lives

²¹ Andrew Cameron, interviewed by Alison Chand, 29th October 2010.

²² ‘New Industries Already Piling Up in Scotland, says Mr. Johnston’, *Daily Record and Mail*, 13th May 1942, p. 4.

²³ Andrew Cameron, interviewed by Alison Chand, 27th September 2010.

and personal testimonies, perhaps through an additional oral history project, would be beneficial to reinforce the conclusions made in this research.

7.3 Oral History Methodology

This thesis also has potential to contribute to the literature about the use of oral history methodology in historical research. Prominent oral historian Alessandro Portelli has argued that: 'Oral sources [...] are not always fully reliable in point of fact. Rather than being a weakness, this is however, their strength: errors, inventions and myths lead us through and beyond facts to their meanings.'²⁴ As we have seen in Chapter Two, oral history is a highly appropriate methodology for exploring the individual subjectivities of men who worked in reserved occupations in Clydeside.

Arguably, the passage of time between the war and the undertaking of the oral histories used in this research has not had as much impact on the testimonies of the men as would have been the case if studies of the reserved occupations had been more visible in historical research, as well as cultural discourse, after the war. Although other groups of wartime civilians, including women workers, have frequently been apparent in cultural representations since the war, depictions of the reserved occupations in official and cultural discourse have changed relatively little since 1945 and, although it remains important to be aware of the possibility

²⁴ Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories*, (Albany: University of New York Press, 1991), p. 2.

that men may have been influenced by events and discourses in the intervening years since the war, it is unlikely that such influence was significant. Alessandro Portelli has also argued that oral sources can compensate chronological distance with much closer personal engagement with events, a notion highly relevant to this research.²⁵ Moreover, Portelli has asserted that repetition of interviews can help to ‘fight time’, and repeat interviews were conducted on film as part of this research with three interviewees: John Allan, Jerry Moffat and John Mathieson.²⁶ Following these film interviews, I asked these three interviewees to complete a short questionnaire, included in appendix five, asking how they felt about the different experiences of being digitally recorded and filmed, and all three indicated that they enjoyed both experiences equally. Indeed, all three were also equally vocal on film and repeated a number of the same or similar stories. However, these particular three interviewees were selected because of their confidence and willingness to speak in their first digitally recorded interview, and it is likely that men more reluctant to have their words recorded might be less forthcoming on film. The three pilot interviews undertaken have nonetheless re-enforced the value of repeating interviews to ‘fight time’, either in digitally recorded format or on film depending on the interviewee, with the repetition of similar interview questions often yielding more developed answers from the interviewees. For example, we have discussed in Chapter Three the implication within Jerry Moffat’s testimony that the continuity of his career in shipbuilding was more relevant to his subjectivity than temporary discourses propagating the existence of a hegemonic masculinity linked to military

²⁵ Ibid, p. 52.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 62.

service in wartime. In his second interview on film, he expanded on the reasons behind the importance of this career longevity to his life:

Everybody was looking for apprenticeships in those days [the 1930s], you know, that's what it was. Even if, eh, you had a job with reasonably good money, your parents always wanted you to have an apprenticeship, have a trade, get a trade, that was the main thing in those days.²⁷

It is apparent from these comments in the repeated interview that the views of his parents and the difficult financial circumstances of the 1930s in Clydeside contributed strongly towards Jerry Moffat's decision to find and start an apprenticeship, and imprinted the importance of security of employment into his subjectivity at an early age, with security having priority over 'good money'. The comments re-enforce a number of the arguments made in this thesis about the influence of the family and friends of men in reserved occupations on their daily lives and also about the emasculating nature of 1930s unemployment over-riding that of pressures to enter military service in wartime for male civilian workers. In the second interview, Jerry Moffat also told again of some of the same events he discussed in the first interview, including the story of being able to become employed in a shipyard as a Catholic and a story of losing his rifle while in the Home Guard.²⁸ Repeated interviews therefore demonstrably have the potential to yield more developed and in-depth testimony, thus 'fighting time', and could be used more often in future historical research.

²⁷ Jeremiah Moffat, interviewed by Alison Chand, 23rd August 2011.

²⁸ Ibid.

7.4 Other Future Areas for Research

Scope exists for continued historical research into the notion of ‘lived’ and ‘imagined’ subjectivities, and the consequences of this for continuity of subjectivity and the resultant impact of social change on the individual. Neil Gunn, depicting a visit by the central protagonist, Tom, to the slums of Second World War Glasgow in his novel *The Serpent*, has argued that ‘what was important in social change was the effect on the individual’, and further study of this relationship between individual subjectivity and social change would be of considerable historical value.²⁹

Focusing on personal experiences of everyday life such as leisure activities represents one key way to continue such research. As we have seen, historians such as Callum Brown have detailed the development of recreational activities, including among the working classes, in twentieth-century Britain.³⁰ Alessandro Portelli has also noted of workers in twentieth-century Italy that they ‘identified with sports because they recognised in them meanings which they considered their own’.³¹ Oral testimonies demonstrate the wide range of leisure activities undertaken by men who worked in reserved occupations in wartime Clydeside. As discussed in Chapter Five, these activities, for example attendance at social groups such as church sports clubs and rambling groups run by political organisations, were often linked to ‘imagined’ subjectivities, political and religious. However, enjoyment of social

²⁹ Neil M. Gunn, *The Serpent*, (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), p. 266.

³⁰ Callum G. Brown, ‘Popular Culture and the Continuing Struggle for Rational Recreation’ in Tom Devine and Richard J. Finlay (eds.), *Scotland in the 20th Century*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1996).

³¹ Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, p. 159.

activities was often also integrally related to 'lived' elements of everyday existence and interaction with other people in their immediate vicinities.

Further exploration of the motivations of individuals for undertaking particular activities is essential to research more extensively the relationship between the concepts of continuity and change within individual subjectivities. In particular, as we have seen, a number of men discussed their involvement in outdoor activities such as hill walking and cycling, often staying in youth hostels. Motivations behind participation in such activities have developed from their origins as leisure recreations to the present day, and exploration of this development would shed new light on the influence of 'imagined' cultural discourses and 'lived' existence on individual subjectivities and consequently the continuity of individual subjectivity and personal agency through history.

Re-enforcing this notion of value in further study of individual subjectivities within the context of everyday life, a recent article by Anna van der Goltz has argued that some historical research has focused too much on political events as formative experiences. However, she also noted that such research has usefully highlighted individual consciousness of communal character. Historians working with oral sources are particularly aware, she has argued, that locating biographical experience within the framework of historical events is part of making and remaking an identity – while an element of fiction is therefore always attached to the notion of claiming group membership of a generation, there can never be a flawed generation consciousness. She therefore highlights the importance of why

people saw themselves belonging to a particular group or generation. It is therefore essential to look at meanings behind group subjectivities and the existence of 'imagined' communities.³² However, it is arguably impossible to examine such group subjectivities without exploring the everyday life at the core of individual subjectivities.

Oral history will be a highly useful methodological tool in exploring these concerns. Alessandro Portelli has warned against turning off attention during oral history interviews and asserted the importance of always listening with respect to what people have to tell.³³ Much material is therefore yet to be gleaned from oral history interviews that have been conducted by others and deposited in archives.

7.5 Conclusion

To conclude, challenges to the notion that the Second World War was an agent of social change by historians such as Penny Summerfield and Harold Smith have often focused on different aspects of everyday living.³⁴ The effects of these aspects on individual subjectivities have garnered less attention. My research, using oral testimonies of individual workers as its central focus, has argued that individual human beings retained an inevitable sense of personal agency, even during events of major social disruption. While the 'bigger picture' is inevitably an important

³² Anna van der Goltz, 'Generation of 68ers: Age-related Constructions of Identity and Germany's "1968"' in *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 68, No. 4, December 2011, pp. 473-491.

³³ Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, p. x.

³⁴ Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Harold L. Smith (ed.), *War and Social Change: British Society in the Second World War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

background to historical study of the individual in everyday life, it is impossible to uncover complete and rounded historical narratives without examining the effect of events on individual subjectivities. Bessie Raeburn, a central character evacuated during the Second World War from fictional Gowburgh, widely understood to represent Glasgow in Robin Jenkins's novel *Guests of War*, stated that: 'War or no war [...] we've got our lives to live in the best way we ken.'³⁵ Despite the inevitable impact of the processes of history on individual subjectivity, men in reserved occupations in wartime Glasgow and Clydeside similarly had their lives to lead, in their local communities, 'in the best way [they] ken'.

Geoffrey Tweedale, in his research about industrial health and safety in the twentieth century, has argued that even when workers' deaths and injuries are mentioned in historical research, they are presented as 'the unintentional results of industrialisation – regrettable perhaps but not really a factor in the outward and upward march of the economy'.³⁶ This research has taken an arguably post-modernist approach and delved beyond the notion of male workers and their experiences simply as such 'unintentional results of industrialisation' and away from a focus on 'the [...] march of the economy', instead exploring the plural and frequently contradictory individual subjectivities of men working in reserved occupations in Second World War Clydeside. Alessandro Portelli has described a 'sense of fluidity, of unfinishedness, of an inexhaustible work in progress, which is inherent to the fascination and frustration of oral history – floating as it does in time

³⁵ Robin Jenkins, *Guests of War*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1956), p. 149.

³⁶ G. Tweedale, *Magic Mineral to Killer Dust: Turner and Newall and the Asbestos Tragedy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. ix.

between the present and an ever-changing past, oscillating in the dialogue between the narrator and the interviewer, and melting and coalescing in the no-man's land from orality to writing and back'.³⁷ In understanding subjectivity in this way as a fluid concept, 'oscillating' in a dialogue, unable to be fully defined and with different elements running and mixing together simultaneously, this research has thus further complicated the picture of the Second World War in historical research. In particular, it challenges in a new and more fundamental way assumptions about gender identities in wartime and also the notion that the war represented a wave of social change within which all individuals and their highly complicated 'lived' and 'imagined' subjectivities were swept along.

³⁷ Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, p. vii.

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1.0 Oral History

1.1 Oral History Interviews Conducted by Alison Chand (see appendix six for further detail)

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- Allan, John, 1st June 2010.
- Armstrong, Charlotte, 27th May 2010.
- Birch, Mary, 3rd June 2010.
- Cameron, Andrew, 27th September 2010.
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- Connell, Betty, 20th May 2010.
- Dewar, Willie, 10th August 2010.
- Elder, Henry, 9th August 2010.
- Elliot, George, 20th October 2010.
- Fleming, Andrew, 2nd June 2010.
- Gordon, Douglas, 9th June 2010.
- Gray, Frank, 17th May 2011.
- Halley, Stewart, 20th December 2010.
- Halloway, Frank, 12th August 2010.
- Hodge, Robert, 29th November 2011.
- Kane, James, 25th May 2012.
- Keenan, Barry, 25th January 2011.
- Lang, John, 25th August 2010.
- Liddell, Eric, 27th May 2010.
- Lightbody, George, 21st June 2010.
- Lindsay, John, 24th August 2010.
- MacPhail, Jessie, 27th May 2010.
- Martin, Robert, 4th June 2010.
- Mathieson, John, 9th March 2011.
- McGlenn, Patricia, 19th August 2010.
- McGregor, Henry, 1st June 2010.
- McMonigle, James, 11th June 2010.
- Meehan, Jean, 10th November 2010.
- Moffat, Jeremiah, 10th June 2010.
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- O'Neill, Mary, 10th September 2010.
- Scott, Harry, 11th June 2010.
- Sinclair, Robert, 4th August 2010.
- Small, Christopher, 4th June 2011.
- Stewart, Archibald, 11th August 2010.
- Taylor, James, 20th August 2010.

- Truten, Alex, 27th September 2010.
- Turnbull, Tony, 17th June 2010.
- Warren, Alexander, 24th June 2011.
- Wilkie, John, 5th August 2010.
- Wilson, James, 14th June 2010.
- Williams, Irene, 30th September 2010.

1.2 Glasgow Museums Oral History Archive (see appendix six for further detail)

1.2.1 2000 Glasgow Lives Project

- Baker, James, interviewed by Nancy Russell, 16th August 1996.
- Black, Gertrude, interviewed by Fiona Hayes, 5th November 1997.
- Buchanan, Jean, interviewed by James McKenna, 10th February 1998.
- Callaghan, Margaret, interviewed by James McKenna, 23rd September 1997.
- Campbell, Edmund, interviewed by James McKenna, 15th June 1998.
- Carlin, Gerald, interviewed by James McKenna, 5th February, 1998.
- Carruthers, Janet, Melvin, Jean and Collins, Margaret, interviewed by Kirsty Devine and Elizabeth Henson, 13th June 1996.
- Cleland, May, interviewed by James McKenna, 26th February 1998.
- Conroy, Jimmy, interviewed by James McKenna, 22nd January 1998.
- Cording, Bert, interviewed by James McKenna, 30th April 1998.
- Cowan, Celia, interviewed by Douglas Ferguson, 4th June 1996.
- Cunningham, Robert, interviewed by James McKenna, 10th February 1997.
- Darling, Mary, interviewed by Elizabeth Henson and Kirsty Devine, 6th June 1996.
- Davidson, John, interviewed by James McKenna, 8th October 1998.
- Doran, Frances, interviewed by Shona Sinclair, 28th November 1996.
- Easson, David, interviewed by James McKenna, 23rd March 1998.
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- Farmer, Betty, interviewed by James McKenna, 31st March 1998.
- Fyfe, Jim, self-recorded interview, 1992.
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- Grundy, Marion, interviewed by Nancy Russell, 18th July 1996.
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- Harley, Brian, interviewed by James McKenna, 9th July 1998.
- Havelin, Patricia, interviewed by James McKenna, 28th November 1996.
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Appendix One: Project Information Sheet (sent to interviewees prior to interview)

Alison Chand,
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (History),
McCance Building
University of Strathclyde,
16 Richmond St,
Glasgow, G1 1XQ

Tel: 01357 528766 or 07734322119
E-mail: alison.chand@strath.ac.uk

Dear XXX,

Thank you very much for your interest in my project. I have provided some information about the study below, as well as enclosed a pre-interview consent form (which I am required to do by my university) for you to sign and return to me in the pre-paid envelope provided if you are willing to participate. If you decide that you do not want to participate, there is no need to reply to this letter.

A study of men in the Reserved Occupations during the Second World War

I am a PhD student based at the University of Strathclyde and I am currently involved in a project about men working in the Reserved Occupations in Glasgow during the Second World War. The aim of the project is to examine the hitherto under-researched identities of Glasgow's working men in wartime. As part of this research, I will be carrying out interviews with men working in a diverse range of occupations, including agriculture, metal manufacture, shipbuilding, mining, railways, shipping, pharmacy, civil service and many more.

I would therefore like to talk to men willing to share their memories of their pre-war life, wartime work, leisure interests, community life and post-war life. In addition to these interviews, my research will also include extensive work amongst the Oral History collections at the Glasgow Museums Resource Centre in Nitshill.

If you are willing to be a participant in the research, I must ask you to sign a pre-interview consent form. The purpose of the form is to ensure that your contribution to the research project is in strict accordance with your wishes at all times. The interview, a one-to-one informal discussion focusing mainly upon your wartime experiences and lasting between one and two hours, can take place at a time and venue of your choosing. It will be sound recorded and then transcribed exactly as spoken on to paper. The interview transcripts will be saved in electronic form and a paper copy, along with the interview recordings, will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Strathclyde. The recordings will be retained unless you request that they are destroyed after use. The full transcript of your interview will

be sent to you for checking, giving you the opportunity to indicate if you wish anything to be taken out or changed. You will also be able to decide whether you would like the recordings and transcripts to be deposited at the Glasgow Museums Resource Centre for use by other researchers who might wish to consult the interviews. You will be able to withdraw from the interview and project at any time without having to give a reason.

Should you have any questions about any of this I am only too willing to answer any queries.

Yours sincerely,

Appendix Two: Pre-Interview Consent Form

Alison Chand
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (History),
McCance Building
University of Strathclyde,
16 Richmond St,
Glasgow,
G1 1XQ
Tel: 01357 528766 or 07734322119
Email: alison.chand@strath.ac.uk

PRE-INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

A study of the Reserved Occupations during the Second World War

I have read the information sheet and understand the purpose, principles and procedure of this research to my satisfaction. I understand that I may request further details and information should I wish.

I am aware that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I have the unconditional right to withdraw from the research project at any stage.

I confirm that any questions I have had have been answered satisfactorily.

I understand that I will be interviewed about my experiences of work in wartime and that I can refrain from answering any question.

I agree for the interview to be sound recorded and transcribed by the researcher and for the material to be used in the preparation of articles, chapters, conference papers and a book.

I am aware that I can ask for the sound recording of the interview and all the notes relating to information given by me to be destroyed.

I understand that my name will only be used in publications in accordance with my wishes and I can choose to be anonymised at any time in order to protect my identity.

I understand that all information provided by me will be stored in a secure location and kept confidential within the framework of this research.

Signed:..... Date.....

Name:.....

Address:.....

.....

Tel No:.....

Appendix Three: Sample Interview Questions

Introductory Questions

What is your date of birth?

What are your memories of your childhood?

What are your memories of school life?

Where did you live?

What did your parents do?

When did you leave school?

Questions on work

Can you describe the work that you did in wartime?

What are your memories of your workplace?

How did you start off in this work?

What were conditions like?

How did you get on with your co-workers?

Were there any disagreements between workers? What caused them?

Were you aware of sectarianism in the workplace?

Did you enjoy your work?

Did you want to join the Services when war broke out?

Were you successful in joining the Services?

Did you find it difficult to leave your job or did you think it would be difficult?

Why did you want/not want to join the Services?

If you joined the Services, how did this compare to your work at home?

Did you support and feel part of the war effort?

Were you aware of any resentment because you were not in the Services?

How did your family feel about you being in a Reserved Occupation?

Did this impact on your feelings about work and the Services?

Were you in the Home Guard or the Auxiliary Fire Service?

Why did you/did you not join?

How did you feel about being/not being in the Home Guard?

Were there women in your workplace? How did you feel about their presence?

Did you talk much to the women? What were their attitudes towards you and the other men?

Do you remember any songs from your workplace?

Do you remember any jokes told in your workplace?

Were you involved in strikes?

Were you aware of any anti-war feeling in the workplace?

Did you read any newspapers or books while you were working? What did you read?

Were you aware of government propaganda directed towards people working in the Reserved Occupations?

Personal Identity Questions

What were your hobbies? Did you enjoy sport?

Did you play football?

Did many men in the Reserved Occupations play football?

Were you religious? Did you go to church?

Were many of your co-workers religious? Go to church?

Do you remember any industrial chaplains in your workplace? How did you feel about them?

Were you involved in politics? Trade unions?

Was your workplace political? Were many workers involved in politics?

Were you married? Did you have a family?

Were most other workers married? With families?

Did you originally come from Glasgow?

If not, where did you move from? How did you feel about living in Glasgow?

If you are from Glasgow, were there many workers from elsewhere?

What did you do in your spare time?

What did your fellow workers mostly do?

How would you describe your national identity?

Appendix Four: Consent Form After Final Interview Recording Approved

Alison Chand
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (History)
McCance Building
University of Strathclyde,
16 Richmond St,
Glasgow,
G1 1XQ
Tel: 01357 528766
Email: alison.chand@strath.ac.uk

A study of the Reserved Occupations during the Second World War

CONSENT FORM

The purpose of this form is to ensure that your contribution to this research project continues to be in strict accordance with your wishes.

May your recording(s) and transcript be used in the Department of History/Scottish Oral History Centre at Strathclyde University and Glasgow Museums Resource Centre for authorised research or consultation?.....

May a copy of the recording/transcription be made for the use of authorised researchers and other interested parties?.....

May the stated recording(s)/transcription be used for educational purposes: educational publications, talks or broadcasts?.....

May the stated recording(s) be used for broadcast and/or publication?.....

May the stated recording(s)/transcription be used for publication on the internet?.....

May the name of the contributor be used (you can choose to be anonymised)?.....

Would you like to limit the public's access? (For example, to be released in ten years, twenty years etc.)

.....
.....

Other
instructions.....

.....
.....

Signed:.....
Date.....

Name:.....

Address:.....

.....

Tel No:.....

Appendix Five: Short Questionnaire Used to Assess Effectiveness of Film

Interviews

As a follow up to my interviews with you on XXX and XXX about your experiences working in a reserved occupation, I would be grateful if you would answer the following short questions to help me in my future research.

It would be great if you could return this questionnaire in the enclosed pre-paid envelope. Thank you!

1. Did you prefer being interviewed with or without a camera filming you?

2. Why do you think you felt this way?

Thank you very much for your time!

Appendix Six: Information About Project Interviews

Project Interviewees

Name	Year of Birth	War Role/Reason for interview (with dates if known)	Interview Date
Esme Adams	1923	Glass worker Barr and Stroud 1939-1942 Merchant Navy 1942-1945	3 rd June 2010
Charlotte Armstrong	1922	Civil servant	27 th May 2010
Mary Birch	1922	Civil servant	3 rd June 2010
John Burns	1924	Royal Navy	31 st May 2010
Andrew Cameron	1930	Mining Surveyor (reserved occupation after war)	27 th Sept. 2010
Jessie Cameron	1923	Land Army	6 th August 2010
Robert Cameron	1922	Farmer 1939 Army 1940-1945	6 th August 2010
William Dewar	1924	Drawing Office North British Loco. 1939-1940 Workshops North British Loco. 1940-1945	10 th August 2010
Henry Elder	1926	Engineering apprentice	9 th August 2010

George Elliot	1925	Shepherd 1939-1943 Forestry Commission worker 1943-1945	20 th Oct. 2010
Andrew Fleming	1923	Munitions worker	2 nd June 2010
Douglas Gordon	1920	Electrical engineer (Manchester)	9 th June 2010
Frank Gray	1921	Civil servant	17 th May 2011
Stewart Halley	1924	Farmer	20 th Dec. 2011
Frank Halloway	1918	Army 1939-1942 Welder 1942-1945	12 th August 2010
Robert Hodge 2011	1924	Miner	29 th November
James Kane	1918	Shipyard worker	25 th May 2012
Barry Keenan	1925	Engineer 1939-1940 Army 1940-1945	25 th January 2011
John Lang	1921	Army officer	25 th August 2010
Eric Liddell	1930	Boatman on Gourock river Ferries	25 th May 2010
George Lightbody	1926	Joiner	21 st June 2010
John Lindsay	1920	Engineer	24 th August 2010
Robert MacKinlay	1921	Engineer	14 th Dec. 2010

Jessie MacPhail	1924	Post office telegraphist	27 th May 2010
Robert Martin	1919	Army 1939-1940 Moulder 1940-1945	4 th June 2010
John Mathieson	1924	Ship engineer	9 th March 2011
Patricia McGlinn	1944	Daughter of spinner in mill.	19 th August 2010
Henry McGregor	1922	Engineer	1 st June 2010
James McMonigle	1929	Shipyard drawing office worker 1942-5	11 th June 2010
Jean Meehan	1921	Mill worker 1939-1941 1943-1945 Munitions worker 1941-1943	10 th Nov. 2010
Robert Meikle	1917	Army	13 th August 2010
Jeremiah Moffat	1920	Welder	10 th June 2010
Mary O'Neill	1920	Factory worker	10 th Sept. 2010
Ken Rowland	1924	Merchant seaman	19 th Oct. 2010
Harry Scott	1926	R. A. F.	11 th June 2010
Robert Sinclair	1923	Factory worker	4 th August 2010

Christopher Small	1919	Mass Observation employee 1939-1941	4 th January 2011
		Journalist 1941-1945	
James Taylor	1916	Engineer Dundee 1939 Renton 1940 Dundee 1940-5	20 th August 2010
Alex Truten	1924	Miner	27 th Sept. 2010
Tony Turnbull	1918	Chemist September 1939	17 th June 2010
		Army 1939-1945	
Alexander Warren	1924	Engineer	24 th June 2011
John Wilkie	1928	Merchant seaman	5 th August 2010
Irene Williams 2010	1929	Office worker 1942-1945	30 th September
James Wilson	1924	Naval Architect	14 th June 2010

Glasgow Museums Resource Centre Interviewees

Name	Year of Birth	War Role (dates if known)	Date of Interview (where known)	Project
James Baker	1924	Engineer	16 th August 1996	2000 Glasgow Lives (2000 GL)
Gertrude Black	1912	Housekeeper Shop worker	5 th November 1997	2000 GL
Jean Buchanan	1909	Teacher	10 th February 1998	2000 GL
Margaret Callaghan	1913	Shop assistant	23 rd September 1997	2000 GL
Edmund Campbell	1924	Pattern maker	15 th June 1998	2000 GL
Gerald Carlin	1926	Metal worker Army	5 th February 1998	2000 GL
Janet Carruthers	1929	Typist	13 th June 1996	2000 GL
May Cleland	1925	Mapping worker Clyde Paper Company	26 th February 1998	2000 GL
Jimmy Conroy	1914	Coppersmith	22 nd January 1998	2000 GL
Bert Cording	1925	Central heating engineer	30 th April 1998	2000 GL
Celia Cowan	1929	Office worker	4 th June 1996	2000 GL
Robert Cunningham	1919	Electrical engineer Fitter	10 th February 1997	2000 GL
Mary Darling	1908	Warehouse worker	6 th June 1996	2000 GL
John Davidson	1922	Civil servant	8 th October 1998	2000 GL
Frances Doran	1907	Warehouse worker	28 th November 1996	2000 GL
David Easson	1923	Baker	23 rd March 1998	2000 GL
Marion Edington	1928	Factory worker	1993	2000 GL

Peter Edington	1925	Engineer 1939-1943 Royal Navy 1943-1945	21 st October 1996	2000 GL
Mary Ellis	1917	Weaver	13 th May 1997	2000 GL
Jim Fyfe	1922	Shipyard apprentice	1992	2000 GL
William Galloway from the Yard	1914	Plumber	1989	Voices
Stan Gilmore	1929	Message boy	15 th April 1997	2000 GL
Marion Grundy	1927	Factory worker	18 th July 1996	2000 GL
Jean Hammond	1916	Munitions worker	7 th August 1996	2000 GL
Brian Harley	1917	Irish agricultural worker	9 th July 1998	2000 GL
Patricia Havelin	1929	Factory worker	28 th November 1996	2000 GL
Betty Hodge	1927	Teacher trainee	30 th May 1996	2000 GL
Margaret Houston	1922	Typist	5 th March 1999	2000 GL
Fred Holmes	1909	Railway worker	Unknown	Springburn
Dick Johnstone	1917	Cable worker	29 th July 1986	Springburn
Marion Law	1910	Housewife	October 1986	Springburn
Josie Livingston	1920	Shop worker	20 th March 1997	2000 GL
Edward Lookess	1922	Furniture maker	1 st May 1997	2000 GL
Margaret Macaulay	1913	Factory worker	28 th February 1997	2000 GL
Neil MacLellan	Un- known	Boiler maker	April 1987	Springburn
Elizabeth Maher	1921	Munitions worker	2 nd November 1999	2000 GL
Ellen Markey	1921	Factory worker	4 th & 17 th June 1998	2000 GL
May Martin	1926	Factory worker	21 st February 1997	2000 GL
Charles McCaig	1917	Miner	5 th August 1986	Springburn

Jean McCallum	1927	Leather worker	5 th March 1997	2000 GL
Pat McChrystal	Un- known	Shipwright	Unknown	Voices from the Yard
Margaret McCormack	1917	Munitions worker	9 th April 1997	2000 GL
Danny McCready	1923	Labourer	24 th October 1996	2000 GL
Cathy McDonald	1922	Factory worker	18 th July 1997	2000 GL
May McDougall	1919	Confectioner	1 st August 1997	2000 GL
Colin McEwan from the Yard	1925	Marine engineer	4 th October 1989 27 th September 1989	Voices Glasgow University Archives
Marion McGinnigle	1921	Coil taper	3 rd March 1998	2000 GL
Cathy McGregor	1920	Fitter	5 th September 1996	2000 GL
Cathy McIlroy	1918	Tram conductress	30 th September 1986	Springburn
John McKee	Un- known	Railway worker	18 th October 1986	Springburn
Andy McMahon	1919	Boilermaker and shipwright	10 th November 1989 27 th September 1989	Voices from the Yard Glasgow University Archives
Dougie McMillan	1924	Engineer	15 th April 1987	Springburn
Margaret McNair	1922	Statistician	8 th January 1997	2000 GL
Jean Melvin	1924	Factory machinist	13 th June 1996	2000 GL
Lily Miller	1925	Factory worker	15 th January 1997	2000 GL
Ursula Neville	1920	Office worker 1943-1944 ATS 1944-1945	4 th March 1997	2000 GL
Amelia Newton	1924	Telephonist Riveter	10 th September 1986	Springburn

Maimie Nimmo	1928	Factory worker	13 th May 1997	2000 GL
James Perston	1916	Vehicle builder	3 rd December 1996	2000 GL
James Phillips	1917	Engineer	15 th May 1997	2000 GL
George Pirie	1921	Brass moulder	3 rd June 1997	2000 GL
Catherine Robertson	1914	Civil servant	22 nd January 1997	2000 GL
Margaret Rogen	1928	Trainee teacher	27 th May 1997	2000 GL
William Sancroft	1905	Joiner	6 th August 1986	Springburn
John Scott	1923	Mechanic	1 st October 1996	2000 GL
Alex Scullion	Un- known	Shipwright	Unknown	Voices from the Yard
Henry Smith	1908	Joiner	24 th April 1997	2000 GL
Mary Smith	1922	Munitions worker	15 th December 1986	Springburn
Rosa Smith	1922	Cake decorator W. R. N. S.	6 th December 1996	2000 GL
Thomas Stewart	1925	Blacksmith	10 th June 1996	2000 GL
Tommy Stewart	Un- known	Shipyards blacksmith	2 nd November 1989	Voices From the Yard
			27 th September 1989	Glasgow University Archives
George Syme	1921	Engineer	11 th July 1997	2000 GL
Jessie Telfer	1918	Machinist	23 rd July 1997	2000 GL
Robert Young	1902	Labourer	7 th & 16 th March 1997	2000 GL

Other Oral History Collection Interviewees

Name	Year of Birth	War Role	Date of Interview (dates if known)	Collection
Dennis Bancroft	1915	Aerodynamicist	22 nd July 1997	Imperial War Museum Archive (IWM)
Mrs. Barclay	Un-known	Unknown	Unknown	Motherwell Heritage Centre (MHC)
Nicholas Bennett	1913	Miner	19 th September 1990	MHC
Leonard Frank Bradfield	1922	Builder 1939-1941 R. A. F. aircrew 1941-1943 P. O. W. Germany 1943-1945	Unknown	IWM
Leonard Fifield	1921	Merchant Navy	Unknown	IWM
Jim Kane	Un-known	Shipyard worker	27 th September 1989	Glasgow University Archives
Archibald MacInnes	1919	Shipbuilding apprentice	6 th August 1998	IWM
Duncan McLean	1918	Miner	September 1992	MHC
Henry McGregor	1922	Engineer	13 th July 2009	Misc.
Arthur Naisbitt	1923	Merchant Navy 1945	Unknown	IWM

