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Historical tradition and community mobilisation: Narratives of Red Clydeside in memories of the Anti-Poll Tax Movement in Scotland, 1988-1990

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Contemporary labor history scholarship has seen a shift of focus from the traditionally limited concerns of 'labor history' to a more comprehensive view of 'working-class' history. Labor history, at least in Britain, has tended to focus on industrial movements and disputes, whereas working-class history can illuminate an understanding based on community and industrial struggles unified in material interests and consciousness. Recently, international labor history has exhibited "willingness to rethink inherited definitions of labor, labor movements, and labor activism" with a particular focus on interconnected workplace and community mobilisation which sustained a "permanent and durable grassroots organizational repertoire."¹ Mattos' research on Rio de Janeiro shantytown residents' response to forced clearances over the first three decades of the twentieth century uncovered the repeated deployment of the re-erection of dwellings, and on occasion public demonstrations to pressure politicians.² Williams has similarly emphasised the longevity of traditions of housing struggles amongst African American public tenants in Baltimore. Although such activism had its origins in the civil rights and black power movements of the 1960s, its influence was still apparent in 1978 when tenants at the O'Donnell Heights estate undertook a rent strike which resulted in 'victory' through securing millions of dollars of public investment.³

As the connection between the civil rights movement and housing mobilisations in Baltimore demonstrates, working-class community mobilisations over housing and social amenities were shaped by broader contingencies. Within the 'motor cities' of Detroit and Turin, revolutionary socialist organisations undertook a shift in their politics from an exclusive focus on the factory floor to a wider conception of class struggle that extended to social reproduction and consumption during the 1970s. In Detroit this saw activists from the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement campaign with black power and civil rights organisations over housing, police harassment and education policy. In Turin the 'general struggle' included support for the non-payment or 'self-reduction' of transport fares and electricity prices as well as the occupation of dormant public housing.⁴ The most significant of these was the occupation of the Falchera estate by 650 families in 1974 which resulted in all occupiers being allocated public housing provision. As in Baltimore these community struggles saw women play 'a key role at the grass-roots of these campaigns' when the 'spaces of mobilisation were widened' beyond male-dominated workplace activism.⁵ These examples share parallels with earlier mobilisations from Canada during the 1930s where women led 'politicised consumer' campaigns which demanded state regulation of food prices through methods including boycotts and the picketing of shops. This was part of a broader movement to improve working-class living standards; women activists were also involved in demonstrations which 'blocked evictions and demanded work for the unemployed.'⁶

Community mobilisation on Clydeside in Scotland exhibited similar features, including the centrality of women and a moral economy view of housing and social amenities which pressurised the state to remove them from the control of the market. During the 1980s scholars of housing protests on Clydeside developed an understanding that viewed such mobilisations in the early twentieth century as class struggles in the 'sphere of social reproduction'. This is to say outside of industrial production in the area of wider social life where labor power is reproduced.⁷ Johnstone referred to the 1915 rent strike as 'a classic example of working class struggle outside the sphere of production', typical of the broader tendency where communities mobilised outside the point of production itself on the basis of class interest.⁸ In 1915 and on other occasions industrial action complemented such mobilisations. The 'community' and 'industrial' were not counterpoised but rather avenues of a

fundamentally connected struggle which often involved the same political forces. Rafeek, for instance, found a sense of class consciousness was 'equally clear to [women] Communists dealing with housing problems or fighting for amenities in their locality where poverty was often widespread' as it was to industrial workers.⁹

The history of community mobilisation over housing and social amenities on Clydeside saw responses to shared circumstances in the form of a similar repertoire of activism as international examples, exemplifying the claims of proponents of 'global' social movement theory. However, as in Nehring's comparative analysis of anti-nuclear movements in Germany and Britain, 'national, regional and local forms remained important.'¹⁰ The establishment and evolution of Clydeside's tradition of community mobilisation confirms that 'the spatial is integral to the production of history, and thus to the possibility of politics.'¹¹ This is particular resonant in terms of activist narratives which demonstrate the centrality of 'territorial attachments' in constructing a perspective which draws on the legacy of struggle within a historically framed sense of place.¹² Mobilisation against the Community Charge, or 'poll tax' as it was routinely characterised appealed to this tradition. Stewart has described the measure, which replaced a property based rates charge with a flat tax payable by all adults as 'a direct assault on consensus politics, the Labour Party, trade unionism and the values of socialism.'¹³ The charge was implemented a year earlier in Scotland than the rest of the UK, in 1989. It was bitterly resented as a highly unpopular measure which lacked a democratic mandate in Scotland and amounted to a regressive redistribution of wealth. The poll tax was also a continuation of the Thatcherite assault on public ownership through constraining local authority budgets and enforcing payment of local government taxation onto council house tenants who had traditionally paid rates within their rent.¹⁴

Non-payment of the poll tax was the largest act of civil disobedience in recent Scottish history, in terms of the number of people directly involved, but was led by political forces in conflict with the leadership of the labor movement and had little basis in workplace action. This makes it a relatively exceptional social movement in late twentieth century Scotland and arguably an episode in 'working-class' rather than 'labor' history. This article explores the confluence of community, industrial and political forces in the campaign of non-payment of the poll tax on Clydeside. It demonstrates a long and continuous tradition of struggles over housing and amenities from 1915 to the early 1990s. It is based chiefly on the testimony of twelve interviewees, including representatives from all the major political trends that were present in the Anti-Poll Tax Federation (APTF) which led the non-payment campaign, as well as one respondent from the Scottish Trades Union Congress' (STUC) All Scotland Anti-Poll Tax Committee, which campaigned against the poll tax but opposed non-payment. Given that non-payment was illegal, and activism included confrontations with the police and sheriff officers, court officials charged with debt collection, the interviewees have been assigned aliases to protect their identities

The first section outlines the emergence and evolution of a moral economy of housing and social amenities from the 1915 rent strike onwards. This advances an understanding of the development of the moral economy through several episodes of community mobilisation on Clydeside and the influence this had on the utilisation of historical narratives by those who were involved in the anti-poll tax movement. The analysis links the poll tax non-payment campaign to a longstanding tradition of struggles over housing and amenities extending into the late twentieth century. The second section focuses on activists' deployment of interpretations of the period classically associated with Red Clydeside during and after the First World War and a keenness to associate the poll tax non-payment campaign with this. The use of narratives of Red Clydeside by the interviewees and differences between their perspectives will be interpreted with consideration of the opportunities and constraints imposed by the political tensions and divisions of the late 1980s and early 1990s on those involved in the anti-poll tax movement. Thus, alongside its parallels with twentieth century

community struggles in a wide range of differing local and national contexts, experiences on Clydeside also reveal the 'importance of place' in activist' framing of mobilisation.¹⁵

Historical Parallels and Traditions

The moral economy of housing and amenities originates from the failure of the housing market on Clydeside. The 1917 Royal Commission on housing found the majority of Glasgow's population lived in houses with two or more people per room and over a quarter, 200,000 people, were officially classified as living in overcrowded conditions of three or more people per room.¹⁶ Community struggles reinforced a moral economy status for housing, which was understood as a social entitlement. This has parallels with Thompson's explanation of the moral economy of the poor consumers that made up the eighteenth century 'English crowd', which counterpoised their traditional 'rights' to have bread at a 'fair' price to the principles and operation of laissez-faire economics. The moral economy sustained food riots which saw crowds enforce the selling of foodstuffs at a 'fair price' and aimed to compel authorities to enact paternalist marketing practices.¹⁷ Phillips' research on deindustrialization in the Scottish coalfields demonstrates the utility of a Thompsonian approach to analysing attitudes towards economic and social resources in working class communities during the twentieth century. Collieries and the employment they sustained were viewed as the property of the community, with closure and redundancy requiring legitimization through negotiation with trade unions and the provision of alternative employment.¹⁸ Housing similarly became a matter popularly understood as a 'right' outside market concerns on Clydeside during the early twentieth century. A moral standpoint is articulated by the politics associated with these events. The Glasgow Communist, Harry McShane, recalled being arrested attempting to resist an eviction in Govan, in the south west of the city, in 1922, after a series of street meetings which mobilised the support of neighbours who supplied food via a pulley system. He shouted from the window of the house that if the unemployed had to choose between paying for food or rent they 'should let the factor [agents of the landlord] go to hell.'¹⁹ The moral economy of housing and amenities was visible in slogans of the interwar period such as 'pay no rent' which was used along with others including 'fight or starve' on National Unemployed Workers' Movement (NUWM) demonstrations.²⁰ These slogans demonstrate that the moral economy of housing and amenities stood alongside the struggle against unemployment and was therefore part of the more generalised battle to increase working class living standards.

Much of the historiography of Red Clydeside is concerned with a long-running debate over the revolutionary potential of the period between 1914 and 1922. This was given impetus by the emergence of revisionist critiques in the 1980s which emphasised a clear division between industrial and community struggles. McLean and Harvie argued that industrial action by engineers was conservative and the rise of the Labour Party marked by a strengthening of reformism via an alliance with the Irish Catholic community. Housing agitation and the rent strikes played a key role in this but were separated from the industrial action of a 'labor aristocracy'.²¹ Responses to this have sought to reinvigorate an argument for a strong and distinctive strand of revolutionary socialism on Clydeside that encompassed workplace and housing struggles.²² Baillie's research has undermined the revisionist contention that the trade union activism of skilled male engineers was sectional, noting the role played by the unofficial shop stewards body, the Clyde Workers' Committee (CWC), in supporting the unionisation and industrial action of women munitions workers.²³ Savage, perhaps overlooking the involvement of women in workplace activism, saw the industrial action and rent strike of 1915 as a case where 'male economic campaigns could co-exist with female statist ones.'²⁴ The struggle for housing legislation and those within the shipyards and engineering shops were, in this sense, component parts of local working-class politics.

Gender historians including Smyth and Hughes have emphasised the part played by women in organising community struggles and the role of the Independent Labour Party (ILP). By 1913 the Labour Party in Glasgow had formed a housing committee and stood at the head of Glasgow Women's Housing Association. These organisations would prove vital in the events that followed when a 'housewives campaign', in the form of a rent strike, was organised against sharp increases in 1915.²⁵ This was reliant on kitchen meetings, and revolved around barricading closes and throwing flour and peasemeal at factors.²⁶ These events evolved in close proximity to working-class industrial activism. On 17th November 1915, when eighteen non-payers were threatened with a court summoning, the CWC called out shipyard workers who threatened to make their strike indefinite if their conditions were not met. Their demands included the freezing of rents at pre-war levels. This was used as a justification by the government for the passing of the Rent Restrictions Act in December 1915 which instituted a price cap. McLean notes the interaction between social and industrial activism, while perhaps perversely insisting that Red Clyde-era protests were sectional and unconnected.²⁷ Swenarton has argued that the freezing of rents and the Housing Act of 1919 which contained a commitment to council housing was viewed by government as an "insurance against revolution", and the product of both community and industrial mobilisation.²⁸ Jones has posited this amounted to "a victory for working-class action" but was also the product of the political isolation of landlords and the failure of the private housing market.²⁹ This was particularly apparent in Scotland where the radical liberal tradition, the context of appeasing an industrial workforce given the needs of war production and a later perceived threat to social order favoured this solution.³⁰

The mobilisations that followed 1915 make it clear that methods and tactics associated with the rent strike embedded themselves on Clydeside through the establishment of a tradition of struggle around social reproduction. In keeping with Tarrow's claim, 'contentious politics has to be learned and once forms of contention are seen to be viable, they diffuse rapidly and become modular.'³¹ Following the establishment of such traditions social movements are more able to deploy tactics and an ideological outlook which has a basis in the history of past mobilisations. Traditions of community and workplace mobilisation on Clydeside were accompanied by claim-making in the form of a moral economy on housing. This allowed for the mounting of a series of struggles which appealed to this outlook and adapted established methods.³² Crossley argues a limited number of tactics are considered by social movements at any time and these constraints are reflective of established traditions within a given locality and ideological heritage.³³ Non-payment of rent and the poll tax, resistance to attempts to enforce payment and eviction of individuals involved in non-payment, mobilisations against the property of agents enforcing the interests of landlords and the legal systems, as well as strike action, were all means of struggle deployed on Clydeside. Yet, these 'collective-action routines' were not simply cherry picked by activists.³⁴ Their usage reflected the circumstances of the period alongside the influence of historical tradition and collective experience.

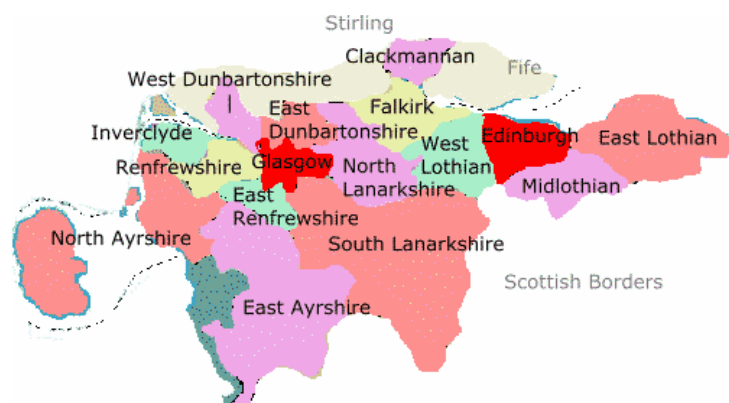


Figure 1 'Central Scotland' *Unison* accessed 30th September 2014 < <http://www.unison-scotland.org.uk/contacts/contact5.html>>.

The moral economy of housing and amenities had been strengthened after the First World War, in keeping with the 'social movements' literature perspectives articulated by Crossley and Tarrow. This is particularly apparent when taking account of the geographically broader definition of Red Clydeside used by McIvor and Kennefick which entails the whole of the Clyde basin rather than simply Glasgow itself.³⁵ A rent strike was sustained in Clydebank, in West Dumbartonshire, between 1920 and 1927 without trade-union backing.³⁶ This was a period of labor movement decline, particularly after the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) lock-out of 1922 affected the shipyards, which were the main source of local employment.³⁷ Despite this the Clydebank Labor Housing Association led a struggle which lasted for seven years and was triggered by amendments to the Rent Restrictions act after the First World War, which allowed for the raising of rents by 15%.³⁸ The campaign was led by housewives and the Communist-influenced NUWM whose bicycle-mounted patrols looked for sheriff officers. As in 1915, closes, entrances to tenement apartments, were blocked and landlords denounced as evictions were attempted. The ILP was supportive through local MP David Kirkwood who stated he would personally put evicted families back in 'their' houses.³⁹ Although exceptional in its length, this was far from an isolated set of events. Kirkwood, a CWC member and shop steward at the Parkhead Forge, also recalled his efforts in representing the cases of tenants who could not afford rent in Glasgow after the First World War when he was a councillor. The moral element was clear 'I was not concerned with legal principles. It was the human problem that appealed to me.'⁴⁰ This is poignant given Kirkwood was identified by McLean and Harvie as a prime example of a sectionalist trade unionist who lacked a broad sense of working-class interest.⁴¹

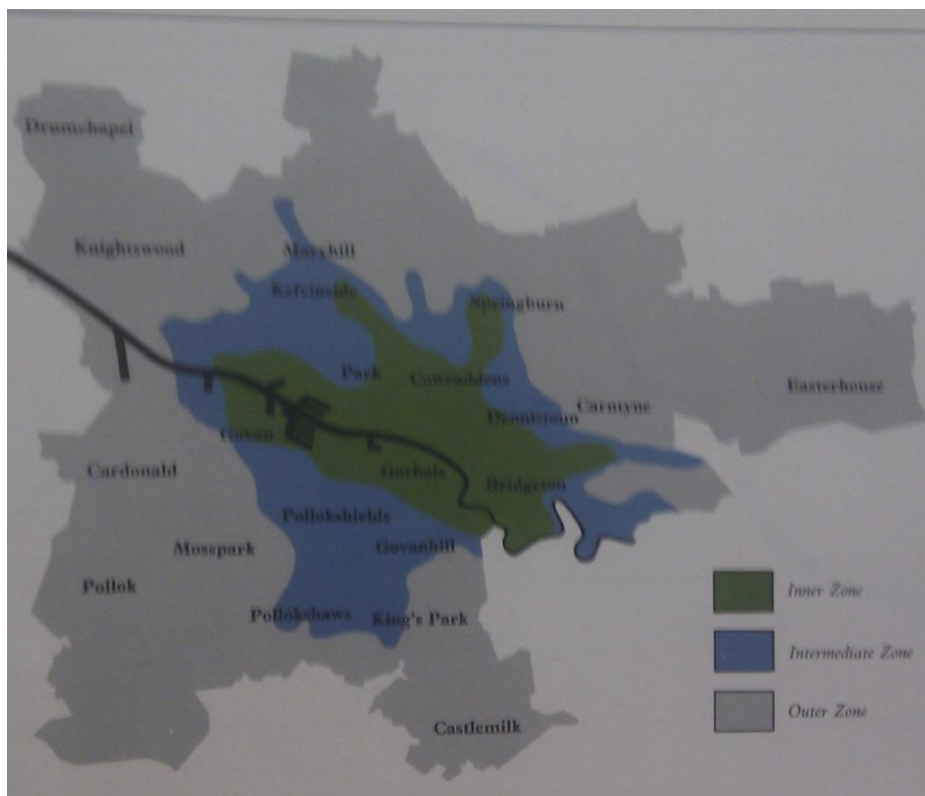


Figure 2 'Glasgow's 3 Zones', Glasgow Corporation Housing Committee, *Farewell to the Single End : A History of Glasgow's corporation housing 1866-1975* (Glasgow: Glasgow Corporation, 1975) p.58.

The interwar period was characterised by a series of struggles over housing, and not just in Glasgow, but in Clydeside's hinterland too. Agnes Paterson Hardie, the ILP Provost of Cumnock, in the East Ayrshire coalfields to the south of Glasgow, succeeded in enforcing a slum clearances project that

saw 75% of the population re-housed by 1945. As in 1915, when thousands gathered outside court, public buildings associated with the enforcement of landlord's authority were targeted. In 1924 in Cambuslang, to the south-east of Glasgow in South Lanarkshire, there were demonstrations at a police station after those involved had successfully resisted an eviction and put goods, a woman and her children back into the property.⁴² Involvement in community mobilisations was a major feature of left-wing activism during the interwar period. All of those who were active during this time in Rafeek's extensive oral history of Communist women in Scotland had taken part in struggles over housing and amenities.⁴³

These traditions of linked industrial and community activism lived on into the post-Second World War period yet are less visible in the literature. Their geographical location and emphasis was altered in the new environment of slum clearances and public sector housing. A greater level of expectation developed as living standards rose whilst public sector housing was seen as the norm given that rents were subsidised by rate payers. Broad layers of skilled workers and relatively high earners whose counterparts were homeowners in England were public tenants in Scotland.⁴⁴ This was an element of the moral economy of housing and amenities, in particular the demands for housing provision at a reasonable price. Where the market was unable to satisfy the state had to intervene; 85% of houses built from 1945-1968 in Scotland were public sector compared to just over half in England and Wales. The state in Scotland assumed responsibility for housing much of the working class and replaced the market which had failed in the early decades of the twentieth century. Vast swathes of slum clearance demolitions took place in areas traditionally associated with housing struggles in Glasgow such as Maryhill and Govan. Between 1945 and 1970 over 640,000 houses were built in Scotland, concentrated in New Towns and peripheral estates.⁴⁵

In the immediate post-Second World War context of national reconstruction and the Labour government's commitment to 'high-quality homes that met the general needs of the entire population' housing mobilisation articulated raised expectations and an attitude of urgency towards the needs for new house building.⁴⁶ During 1947 the Communist Party urged voters at municipal election to 'Organise on Housing! Fight on Housing! Vote on Housing!' In the Gorbals their material highlighted rat infested and overcrowded conditions and condemned a system of subcontracting that saw 'principal tenants' obliged to collect the rent of others for the landlord.⁴⁷ Communists supported the squatters' movement on Clydeside and across Britain which developed as a result of families not being prepared to remain on waiting lists squatting empty dwellings. The Communist candidate, Peter Kerrigan, gained over 4,000 votes, over 16% of the total, in the 1948 Gorbals by-election. This was opposed to victorious Labour's 13,000, in a campaign largely fought on housing and was a significant gain given the Communists had not stood there during the general election in 1945 and called for a Labour vote.⁴⁸

There was an evident continuance of social and industrial protest, converging on housing, indicating that the influence of the Red Clydeside era's traditions of community mobilisation endured into the post-1945 period along with the moral economy of housing and amenities. As Johnstone highlighted, this was a period when workers were willing to take industrial action over housing issues. This was demonstrated in 1951, when the Progressive controlled Glasgow Corporation attempted to sell municipal housing in Merrylee. The Progressives were effectively a local government wing of the Conservative Party in Glasgow. A demonstration of housewives against the proposal ensued, it was joined by shop stewards from engineering shops and shipyards as well as striking municipal building workers and attempted to storm the City Chambers. The selling off of council houses in a desirable area alongside a high waiting list was not tolerable to the moral economy of housing and amenities.⁴⁹ This was indicative of the later pronounced differences in attitude towards housing tenure and building between Scotland and England outlined above. Thus, on Clydeside, the Conservative strategy of designating a 'residual' status for council housing, in part through the sale

of the most desirable units to more affluent sections of the working class, was successfully resisted and public housing was predominant.⁵⁰ A 1974 Tory policy document identified public housing on Clydeside as exceptional within the British context and a key facet of an 'iron curtain' social divide which had contributed towards strengthening working-class consciousness in West Central Scotland.⁵¹

Glasgow retained its prominence as a centre of housing agitation, yet the development of these struggles reflected changes in circumstance. In 1958 action which lasted until 1960 started against the Scottish Special Housing Association's (SSHA) decision to raise rents. It originated in and was strongest on the Arden estate in the south-west of Glasgow. This campaign was based around not signing leases as well as large meetings, rallies and an illegal demonstration which targeted the SSHA's headquarters in Edinburgh.⁵² The language of class was deployed in a campaign directed against the Conservative government that insisted on the rent increases. It was led by Communist activists in the Scottish Council of Tenants' Associations who used their strength in the Clydebank housing schemes of Faifley and Linnvale to build the struggle in Arden.⁵³ The four largest peripheral estates constructed after the Second World War, Pollok, Easterhouse, Drumchapel and Castlemilk, accounted for 141,466 people, 24% of Glasgow's population, in 1978, yet were constructed with limited social and commercial amenities. The tenants' movement developed in Pollok and Castlemilk over the question of schools in the area whilst matters of social reproduction were 'a frequent source of conflict and struggle.'⁵⁴ These struggles were differentiated from earlier protests in their location but also in their target. Unlike earlier mobilisations against private landlords and, anticipating the poll tax non-payment campaign, it was public authorities, especially local government landlords, which were the main target of post-Second World War community mobilisation. As in similar cases in Manchester these protests acted to pressurise for improved facilities on newly built estates and improvements in place of demolition within areas characterised by older dwellings in disrepair. They also acted to challenge the bureaucratic distancing characteristic of councils' management of housing.⁵⁵

Many of the activists from the non-payment campaign had a background of involvement in struggles over housing and social amenities. William Grant recalled that in Easterhouse street committees ran football teams and activists organised a community centre that laid the basis for APTF led activities.⁵⁶ Eddie May was involved in occupying the main housing office in Castlemilk following the refusal to re-house families who had suffered an unexplained petrol bomb attack that had burned a building down.⁵⁷ Johnstone alluded to this incident, which saw forty eight arrests; twelve people were arrested three times. Yet ultimately the campaign was victorious and the families were appropriately rehoused.⁵⁸ Community mobilisations around housing also continued where they had traditionally. Neil Martin recalled rent strikes in Govan in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as campaigns against proposals for housing demolition without the provision of new housing for tenants in the area. He highlighted the continued interconnectedness of industrial and community struggles referring to 'core' Trades Council members who had been shop stewards in the shipyards and engineering shops in Govan that lay at the centre of these mobilisations. This also worked vice-versa, in reference to the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' 'work-in', of 1971-2, Martin stated, 'The local base was very important. The link between the shop stewards and the local community was important; the shop stewards largely led the local community organisations, which gave that strength in depth.'⁵⁹

The anti-poll tax movement had a basis in such mobilisations through an active appeal to historical tradition as well as the involvement of activists who had led more recent community struggles. The testimonies are analysed in terms of the role that the mobilisation of this tradition played in the non-payment campaign and how this history has framed reflections on the poll tax struggle. Stizia's life-story interviews with Arthur Thicket, an ex-British soldier who became a Communist and sought to fight in a 'just war' modelled on his view of the Spanish Civil War, exemplify the role that historical

memory can play in moulding political activism.⁶⁰ The reflections of Tommy Sheridan who served as the dominant public face of the APTF and was a member of the Militant Tendency, a Trotskyist tendency within the Labour Party, demonstrate both that an active appeal was made to the traditions of the 1915 rent strike and that these events also shaped his subsequent understanding of the APTF's activities. Writing in 1994, shortly after the poll tax had been revoked, he stated:

Again and again during our campaign we returned to the Clydeside rent strikes. Every pouncing [the legal seizure of goods under Scots law] we stopped was inspired by those wartime women. They would hang out the windows, banging their pots and pan when they saw the sheriffs coming. Our eyes and ears had proved just as keen. We had succeeded in reviving the tradition of struggle.⁶¹

Sheridan's emphasis on the connection that Militant's politics had in the traditions of the labour movement parallels those of other activists during a period when the tendency was facing growing hostility and expulsion from the Labour Party under the newly-consolidated right-wing leadership of Neil Kinnock. For instance in his 1988 autobiography, Derek Hatton, the former Militant leader of Liverpool council who was surcharged after a struggle with the Thatcher government and subsequently expelled at the behest of Kinnock, claimed that "What Militant says now is little different from the things said by Keir Hardie when he founded the Labour Party."⁶² Notably, in relation to the poll tax, Sheridan's line was far from idiosyncratic within the Militant. In the organisation's official history its foremost public leader Peter Taaffe favourably quoted a May 1988 edition of the *Militant* newspaper which reported that in Cowglen in South Glasgow "a comrade of the late Red Clydesider Harry McShane" had condemned Labour councillors supporting the payment of the tax by stating that they "don't seem to know anything about our history."⁶³

Thus, Clydeside's history provided a stock of traditions actively deployed by anti-poll tax activists and firmly established the moral economy status of housing and social amenities. The literature of groups involved in the anti-poll tax campaign appealed to this, emphasising the CWC's industrial mobilisation in support of the 1915 rent strike which was put forward as a model to be replicated by trade unionists in the struggle against the poll tax.⁶⁴ An awareness of this background was evident in the activists interviewed. George Anderson was a Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) member who organised for the non-payment campaign in Pollokshields and was a trade unionist who worked for a housing association. He related the campaign against the poll tax to the experience of this period. In 2011 he said:

The community committees led by the likes of the ILP and John Maclean through the housing associations as they were called then, networks of people who were fighting for better housing conditions and eventually the folk that led the fight the Rent Restrictions Act was passed in November 1915 cause of that and the threat of a strike in Clyde munitions.⁶⁵

Anderson saw the differences as well as the parallels between the mobilisations in 1915 and those of the late 1980s. Chief amongst the former was the relative absence of workplace activism as economic and social changes associated with deindustrialization took affect:

No so much the Clyde Workers' Committee type thing, it would of been great if we could have had a neo-Soviet in Glasgow... You're talking about the time of the First World War, just before the Russian Revolution, class consciousness wasn't as high as that in Britain 1988-89, wasnae quite there.⁶⁶

Although deindustrialization weakened the long established connections between industrial workplace action and working-class community mobilisation it also reinforced the moral economy arguments against the poll tax. The perceived injustice of the poll tax was amplified by the intensified rate of workplace closures and job losses over the period of the Thatcher government. Following the election of the Conservatives in 1979 the contraction of employment in nationalized

heavy industries increased as their budgets were squeezed and they were increasingly subject to market forces, whilst regional policy was also scaled back. Alongside recession and faltering economic growth the latter contributed to the decline of employment in assembly goods industries which government had directed towards Scotland after the Second World War.⁶⁷ Between 1981 and 1991 Glasgow alone lost 65,000 manufacturing jobs, 10% of its total employment.⁶⁸ By 1981, 29% of 16-24 year olds in Pollok were out of work and male unemployment was 26.9%, with overall unemployment standing at over 20%. Glasgow's overall unemployment was 16.5% and Strathclyde's 13.4%, which was itself above the national rate of 12.2%. Compounding the severity of these figures was the fact that well over 50% of the jobless in the large peripheral housing schemes of Drumchapel, Pollok and Castlemilk in 1983 were long-term unemployed.⁶⁹ Hugh McFarlane, who worked in St Rollox railway works, emphasised the impact of mass layoffs and unemployment in terms of a growing anger against the government in communities that had been built around employment in Clydeside's heavy industry:

People took one hell of a tanking sort of thing. The industry I worked in, the railway works shops in Springburn, all through my working life it was shutting. Certainly I'm talking maybe two, three thousand people lost their jobs in a period of four or five years. It does demoralise people but there comes a point where people say well y'know say by '86, '87 how much more are they gonnae take. There comes a point where people say 'well they took everything else aff us there's nothing more to give, let's get intae it.'⁷⁰

These observations parallel Atzeni's considerations of the interconnections behind collective action between the consciousness created by capitalist production and broader societal conditions.⁷¹ In the sphere of community rather than the workplace, changes to local government tax policy provided the opportunity to organise collectively. This built on the wider consciousness of anger associated with the policies of the Thatcher government and mass unemployment in particular. However, the conditions of the late 1980s also delimited the scope for the activities of the anti-poll tax movement, in particular weakening potential for industrial action.

While reflecting on the distinct features of the 1980s the respondents also articulated a sense of history and parallels between the 1915 rent strike and the campaign of poll-tax non-payment. The connections drawn between the two spurred their left-wing critique of the Labour-led Strathclyde Regional Council. This emphasised the role of the moderate Labour administration in targeting the same communities and in some cases individuals for poll tax non-payment that had been involved in struggles with landlords earlier in the century. Neil Martin recalled that the same tenement on Hutton Drive in Govan which is depicted in a famous picture of a sheriff officer being 'mobbed' by supporters of the 1915 rent strike was again defended by hundreds of anti-poll tax protestors who successfully prevented a poinding.⁷² This historical consciousness was given a high-profile status by events such as the first attempted poinding of the house of Janette McGinn, wife of the famous political folksinger Matt McGinn, in Rutherglen on July 4th 1989. James McGhee remembered that a banner bearing a slogan from the 1915 rent strike in Govan, 'God Help the Sheriff Officers Who Enter Here', was unfurled.⁷³ This sense of historical awareness is indicative of the 'conceptual and definitional effects' of a 'cultural circuit' through which the collective memory of past mobilisations and the consciousness associated with the moral economy of housing and amenities informed contemporary perspectives and political activity.⁷⁴

The interviewees articulated different interpretations of the extent to which the events and individuals associated with Red Clydeside had entered popular memory. Hugh McFarlane's recollections of his father's memories were demonstrative of the cultural circuit's role in embedding an understanding of this period in anti-poll tax activists:

My father was brought up in the Calton where Maxton was the MP for. 'We used to follow Maxton about and we used to sing this song "vote for Jimmy Maxton" and we used to call

him “the mint imperial man” because he used to carry this packet of mint imperials and always stopped and gave all the weans a sweetie.’

James McGhee stressed that Janette McGinn and others gave strength to the movement by providing a layer of people ‘with actual memories of Red Clydeside.’⁷⁵ Other interviewees put particular stress on the inspiration Red Clydeside provided for those playing key roles in the non-payment campaign. Tom Brown referred to:

This tradition in Glasgow of em eh sorta auto-didactic working class people y’know. I mean they’d read a few books, intrinsically had a good grasp of what was right and wrong and were the very people who would gravitate naturally towards groups like the Anti-Poll Tax Federation. They were aware of the history of Red Clydeside.⁷⁶

This was reinforced by Jim Rankin, who was a Commercial and Public Services Association (CPSA) shop steward and a sympathiser of Militant. Rankin clearly articulated his own understanding of Red Clydeside and its relevance to the anti-poll tax movement:

These references from history, recent history and perhaps the turn of the century and up to 1919 when there was a general strike in Glasgow, when workers returned to find that women had had to fight against rent increases they were promised would never happen, there was no land fit for heroes. When they came back it was unemployment. The red flag was raised above the City Chambers and they brought tanks up from England and actually locked the Scottish soldiers in their barracks. This is not a new thing from history it’s actually a common thing. And people saw that.⁷⁷

This understanding was linked to his political sympathies:

There were societies like the John Maclean Society that had a cultural relevance, relevant contemporary groups like Militant who had been successful in Liverpool and elsewhere were able to show the greatest leadership in terms of showing an understanding of history and showing that political inevitability is something that doesn’t exist. That people have the power to change it, by empowering people they showed them they actually could change it. There was a lot of people understanding history and the ability that gave them to resist.⁷⁸

Other Militant supporters such as Helen Cormack highlighted the role the organisation played in transmitting the cultural circuit through emphasising the traditions of Red Clydeside yet was sceptical of its wider appreciation in the non-payment campaign:

In Militant we were taught about the traditions, about John Maclean, the CP, the 1930s, the ’16 rent strike [sic]-Govan, Partick and Clydebank. We were taught about it as part of ’16 and the Easter Rising, and ’17, the Russian Revolution. I loved the history of the Russian Revolution. The history of the rent strikes and the role of women we learned about that, it was given a place although perhaps not enough. But that was amongst Militant, I wouldn’t say it had as much influence generally in the campaign.⁷⁹

Cormack’s view of the generally limited understanding of these traditions were mild in comparison to Eddie May’s, an anarchist and community activist who played a leading role in organising the poll tax non-payment campaign in Castlemilk, a large peripheral estate in the south-east of Glasgow. May commented that ‘generally speaking the working class population [that] there is doesn’t have a great remembrance of Red Clydeside y’know.’⁸⁰ Eddie May’s interpretation was shaped, perhaps, by the position of anarchism more generally in the UK in the 1980s, and summarised by Danny Burns, a prominent member of the All Britain APTF and persistent critic of Militant. He counterpoised its stress on the traditions of 1915 rent strike with anarchist community activists’ tendency to emphasise the contemporary example of the revolt in South African townships. In his view this was

part of what led to friction between an emerging central apparatus and leadership in the APTF and his supporters' demands for local autonomy.⁸¹

Activist Memories and Community Mobilisation

The activist memories used in the analysis can be understood as the outcome of a meeting between two subjectivities and therefore the interaction of aspects of two identities. Oral history makes the historian 'part of the source.'⁸² Interviews are meetings between two individuals and the relationship between them affects the outcome. This can be related to a variety of factors; in these cases generation and political standpoint were of key importance.⁸³ The dialogue was shaped by elements of my identity, including the generational aspect given that I was born in 1990, during the period when the non-payment campaign was approaching its peak. I was known to the interviewees as a Glasgow University student originally from Edinburgh which also had an impact given its middle-class connotations and sense of distance from the subject matter and interviewees. There were similarities to Young's experience whose presence as a middle class young woman invited suspicion from older working class men in discussions over changing gender relations through arousing generational differences.⁸⁴ However, the fact I was known to interviewees as a socialist activist also affected dialogue in the opposite direction, as this established a familiarity with their politics and activism in Glasgow. These intersubjectivities had contradictory effects. Hugh McFarlane, a Scottish Socialist Party member, who is politically influenced by an interpretation of events in Glasgow during and after the First World War, asked where I was from and was keen to tell me about the importance of the history of Red Clydeside. Eddie May in contrast whose anarchist politics focus on 'direct action' and oppose navel-gazing warned against a 'romanticised' view of Glasgow's history held by 'middle class intellectuals or lefties.'⁸⁵

My status as an activist also interacted with generational distinctions. There was an eagerness to emphasise differences and continuities in activism between the late 1980s and early 2010s. Alex Macalister highlighted what he saw as a similar political climate, 'Like the now the Con-Dem government they're doing as much as possible, take away the assets and things like that.'⁸⁶ This reflected the fact these interview took place less than a year after the formation of the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition committed to implementing austerity measures. These comparisons were also given weight by the fact I was identified as representative of a student protest movement which had opposed the implementation of tuition fees in England and Wales and course cuts at higher education institutions over late 2010 and 2011. Jim Rankin emphasised technological differences that had emerged over the subsequent two decades, 'Communication cannae be perfect, mobile phones weren't even around in those days. We never had those things, we never had Facebook.'⁸⁷

Interviewees' responses were also mediated by the needs of composure. Involvement in the anti-poll tax movement fitted into the construction of their identity. This entailed an interaction of 'subjective and collective memory'. Cultural frameworks surrounding aspects of identity including gender, class and in this case politics were deployed in the individual's construction of their life story to create composure through a confluent narrative.⁸⁸ Such a process is not guaranteed to be successful particularly when the individual's experience falls outwith the dominant contemporary narrative of the events and identities associated with them.⁸⁹

The anti-poll tax movement was counterpoised to dominant historical narratives of the late 1980s and early 1990s but interviewees created composure by appealing to 'particular publics'.⁹⁰ Many respondents constructed a sense of composure within narratives couched in the history of community mobilisation and socialist organisation, often linked to traditions of Red Clydeside. James McGhee referred to an 'audit trail' whereby the anti-poll tax movement laid the basis for subsequent

campaigns against Value Added Tax on fuel and the establishment of the Scottish Socialist Alliance.⁹¹ Peter Dennett struggled to create composure. As a leading figure within the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) in Scotland he had sat on the STUC's anti-poll tax committee which opposed non-payment. He referred to the 'romanticism and ultra-leftism' of those who advocated non-payment, arguing Communists had a history of leading non-payment campaigns which had collected money in case the campaign was defeated but could not name any cases of this.⁹² This discomposure reflects that on this occasion the Communists acted in opposition to their at least rhetorical historical position as well as the broader climate surrounding the CPGB's decision to dissolve in 1991. Dennett struggled to fit his understanding into a political tradition which McGhee could readily use to articulate his narrative. Political differences were key in determining the aspects of Red Clydeside emphasised by activists, or indeed if they were at all. Thus, Eddie May's prioritisation of the practicalities of organising in working class communities and Peter Dennett's adherence to the CPGB's opposition to non-payment both led to a desire to distance the non-payment campaign from this history. Members of both the CPB and Militant on the other hand were keen to frame their activities through these traditions but in clearly distinct ways. Communists tended to stress non-payment as a case of continuity of recent community struggles that their members had played a prominent role. Militant adherents foregrounded the history of the period classically associated with Red Clydeside during and after the First World War, presenting the campaign as a parallel groundswell of activism.

Therefore in respondents' narratives the tradition of Red Clydeside intersected with their political alignment during the anti-poll tax movement, the influence of events since then and their need for composure. As Portelli has argued, oral history is characterised by the 'active creation of meaning', and as such life stories are created through the active arrangement of facts combined with the use of public narratives to attempt to achieve composure.⁹³ Just as Peter Dennett's failure to achieve composure was illustrative of these concerns accounts from supporters of the non-payment campaign also contained differences of emphasis which demonstrated the influence of these concerns. The differences between Communist and Militant activists' narratives crystallised around issues surrounding the geographical and political basis of support for the non-payment campaign which reflected the relative strengths of the organisations the activists were part of. The key distinction was between older, established communities on the one hand, where Communists predominated, and younger, post-Second World War housing schemes on the other hand, where Militant enjoyed greater influence.

Neil Martin left the CPGB with supporters of the *Morning Star* newspaper who ultimately went on to establish the Communist Party of Britain (CPB). He sees the poll tax non-payment campaign as a decisive episode. It drew a line between those who continued to adhere to a Marxist conception of 'class struggle' and those who would ultimately go on to 'liquidate' the CPGB in 1991.⁹⁴ Martin's account of the success of the non-payment campaign emphasised an enduring tradition of community organisation in Govan. He was a longstanding activist in the Govan Community Council and Central Govan Tenants' Federation which had been at the head of community mobilisation including rent strikes in the relatively recent past. The tenants' federation established 'Govan Against the Poll Tax', which affiliated to the APTF. He stressed the role of CPB whose members were prominent activists within tenants' federations in Rutherglen, Cambuslang and Renfrewshire which had grown out of housing struggles and that it was these groups through which the non-registration campaign originated. Militant did not call for a non-registration campaign and was not involved heavily until later when a strong core of organisations which mobilised widely in areas long synonymous with community mobilisations had been set in place. In this sense his account underlines an emphasis on the importance of the role of Communists and the organisations they had traditionally worked in following a period when they had suffered severe setbacks. In the public domain CPB supporters have made the same point, that 'pre-existing organisations of working class

people' were central to the campaign.⁹⁵ Alex McAlister, who also went onto become a founding member of the CPB, emphasised the role of the Dunterlie Tenants' Action Group, which he chaired, in forming the basis of resistance to the poll tax in Barrhead in East Renfrewshire. The Dunterlie estate was one of the first to be targeted by Strathclyde Region, with resistance starting from the first attempts at door to door registration in early 1989.⁹⁶

This interpretation is counterpoised by those who saw the anti-poll tax movement in terms of a locally based upsurge which reflected the traditions of Red Clydeside in terms of working-class defiance and ingenuity. Martha Black felt that in the Haghill area of the East End of Glasgow a sense of this tradition provided the 'backbone' for a movement which was based on the 'grassroots'. She felt that the 'the working class community is quite a strong community especially if their livelihoods are threatened by government action.'⁹⁷ James McGhee who was a full-time organiser for the Militant commented that:

Really what happened... is that this concept of organising which was a concept from the early Red Clydeside not waiting to book the hall, see who agrees, waiting for one thing or another. But by groups just organising street meetings, direct action in some respect just making sure these events take place to inform people.⁹⁸

Unlike Neil Martin, James McGhee was keen to highlight the creation of new local organisations, Anti-Poll Tax Unions (APTUs), which were affiliated to the APTF. He saw the APTF and the non-payment campaign it led as having drawn its strength on Glasgow's largest peripheral estates, Pollok, Easterhouse, Drumchapel and Castlemilk as well as traditional areas of working-class community mobilisation such as Shettleston and Govan. His account stressed the role of community organisation through street meetings and impromptu demonstrations, often in opposition to traditional representatives and organisations. For instance he recalled a protest rally in Pollok in the summer of 1988, the day after three large street meetings, which saw local Labour MP Jimmy Dunnachie 'shouted down' by 'women and young people' after he attempted to 'lecture' them on the dangers of poll tax non-payment, underlining the threat that non-payment presented to vulnerable individuals, especially to funding local authority services that they depended on. Helen Cormack recalled that in Drumchapel the local tenants' association was 'quite reactionary'. She emphasised the role of politically unaffiliated local residents who in the summer of 1988 called a meeting which the local Labour MP and Shadow Secretary of State for Scotland Donald Dewar, reluctantly attended. He was challenged to support non-payment and failed to clearly articulate his position of favouring payment of the poll tax.⁹⁹ As with the case of the two CPB activists above, composure is attained through the deployment of an emphasis on particular aspects of the traditions of Red Clydeside. In this instance a working-class spirit of defiance and rank and file organisation is prized. This is particularly important for McGhee and Cormack who were members of Militant. During this period it faced a raft of expulsions from the Labour Party. Both would go on to become founding members of a new political party, Scottish Militant Labour (SML), in 1991, and ultimately the Scottish Socialist Party in 1999. In recognition of the distinct Scottish political dynamics which were emphasised during the poll tax struggle, SML was organisationally distinguished from the remainder of Militant in England and Wales. The announcement by the SML executive in 1998 that it supported Scottish independence further strained relationships between SML and Militant. The establishment of the SSP saw the majority of SML, including McGhee and Cormack, breaking with Militant.

The differences between accounts which stressed an upsurge of grassroots militancy and those which emphasised the leading role of existing community organisations reflect not just the needs of composure but also material differences in the political activity of those involved in the non-payment campaign, and between different geographical areas on Clydeside. A relatively small number of CPB cadres had a significant influence in some areas with a longstanding tradition of

community organisation, where they had long played a leading role in tenants' organisations. On the other hand Militant had a larger presence in the peripheral housing schemes which had weaker community organisation but where the influence of deindustrialization and mass unemployment had created the potential for a vigorous non-payment campaign. This led to the construction of strong APTUs there and allowed Militant to play a significant role in their leadership. In this sense both Communist and Militant activist narratives accurately recalled their organisations role within the non-payment campaign which reflected them operating within different settings.

Despite these differences in interpretation of the history of the non-payment campaign activist narratives commonly conveyed a sense of how class consciousness framed the moral economy of housing and amenities. This was based on historical and family based memories as well as to mobilisations that individuals had themselves been involved in. In particular an understanding of a longstanding hatred of sheriff officers was articulated. George Anderson recalled instances of warrant sales from his youth:

Poundings were something that happened then and had disappeared, the other word for it in Lanarkshire was a roupe which was when folk couldnae pay their debts the sheriff officers came and their stuff was sold off and taken away. And that had been part of working class communities in the west of Scotland for a long time. And it was barbaric. And that was part of the poll tax it fed the opposition it was a method they would try and use to frighten people. And there was a business a growing business in sheriff officers.¹⁰⁰

Tom Brown similarly remembered a widespread hatred for these practices:

The ultimate humiliation, people traditionally don't like. I mean there's a big stigma attached to the idea of the warrant sale and the sheriff officer over hundreds of years. It was something you'd hear your grandmother talking about 'oh we sae a family getting evicted and there was a warrant sale' it was regarded as a real humiliation it was stigma to have this inflicted on you.¹⁰¹

This consciousness was mobilised into forms of action which drew on similar methods of industrial crowd behaviour evident in the struggles of the interwar period. Alex McAlister recalled that in the Dunterlie estate in Barrhead when officials from Strathclyde Region came to collect registration details all the gates in the estate were tied shut and the official was followed round by a crowd with a megaphone. Some days later:

We went to Strathclyde Regional Office wi' all the unfilled forms and just asked for the Chief Executive of the Regional Council in Paisley and we just dumped them on the floor in front of them, they didn't know what to do.¹⁰²

The persistence of the 'rough music' tradition of earlier industrial protest is evident in these events. Hughes has noted that during the 1926 general strike strike-breakers were mocked and threatened by crowds led by and largely made up of women.¹⁰³ Officials administering the tax were targeted by local tenants in comparable terms. Neil Martin recalled similar activities when 'Govan Against the Poll Tax' was able to 'prevent the [registration] process entirely' through surrounding and outnumbering Strathclyde Region officials. Following Jim Sillars' victory in the 1988 Govan by-election, in which he stood as a Scottish National Party anti-poll tax candidate in support of non-payment, he joined Martin and others in publicly burning registration forms.¹⁰⁴ Through mobbing officials and burning registration forms the legitimacy of the measures and the necessity of adhering to them were questioned. This reflects the history of the moral economy of housing and amenities. Just as it was morally wrong for rents to exceed what working class families could bear to pay so it was to charge a tax which was directed against the interests of the poorest in society that could not be afforded by many. It was therefore acceptable to challenge this with community-based collective action. Senior political scientists concerned with the development of government policies and the

measurement of popular responses to them, Adonis, Butler and Travers, criticised the Conservative government from a soft left rather than class-conscious socialist position. They nevertheless characterised the poll tax as a policy failure and emphasised the success of moral economy arguments against the poll tax in terms of their impact on Scottish public opinion. In particular they highlighted Militant's use of the slogan 'It's better to break the law than break the poor!' to counter the fear of illegality put forward by the Labour Party leadership. Although originating in Poplar, East London, this had a resonance with traditions on Clydeside which emphasised a willingness to break laws judged to be unjust and directed against the interests of working-class communities.¹⁰⁵ The perseverance of this tradition was reflected in Neil Martin's statement that despite having people from different political affiliations in the Govan campaign:

These political divisions weren't particularly important. All of these people came from that kind of a background. Whether you were a Communist, Labour or SNP didn't really matter as long as you came from the organisations, particularly the tenants' associations and Community Council.¹⁰⁶

Thus, the strength of the consciousness surrounding the tradition of the moral economy of housing and amenities allowed for APTF activists to present their actions as being in defence of their community against forces hostile to its interests upholding immoral measures. Jim Rankin explained, 'Whatever they were prepared to dish out in the community was directed back to them.' He gave the example of a sheriff officer being forced to undress after 'the humiliation of a young single mother'. Tom Brown recalled a sheriff officer's car being forced to leave Castlemilk having had all its handles removed whilst James McGhee recollected 'local resistance' in Arden smashing sheriff officer's cars' windows with screwdrivers.¹⁰⁷

Alongside the consciousness associated with the non-payment campaign it is also clear that there were strong parallels in terms of the social forces involved in the other struggles associated with the moral economy of housing and amenities. In particular women's involvement remained paramount. The mobilisation of women and unemployed young men was noted in many of the interviews. These were among the people most affected most by cuts in welfare provision, and best placed to participate in direct action, such as opposing poindings which mostly happened during the hours of the working day. The presence of young unemployed men highlighted the social and political context of deindustrialization, which strengthened the moral economy sentiments against the tax; they were also a vital material resource in the campaign to defeat it, blocking sheriff officers and their confederates from entering closes to prevent poindings. The unemployed were part of the longer history of community mobilisations, especially in earlier periods of mass joblessness. The Clydebank rent strike of the 1920s, for instance, featured unemployed men alongside housewives at the centre of community protest. Accounts such as Helen Cormack's make it clear that during major mobilisations against sheriff officers this was also the case in the poll tax non-payment campaign. She emphasised that it was women neighbours and young men, including some from an unemployed workers' centre, who provided the forces which successfully prevented twelve poindings on Cally Avenue in Drumchapel in late 1989. Industrial crowd tradition was also reflected in the presence of school children who joined the protestors from St Pious High School.¹⁰⁸ The involvement of women and children reflected the basis of these mobilisations in traditions of protest in industrial communities which had recently been visible in the 1984-5 miners' strike.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

The traditions of Red Clydeside were not simply a rhetorical device mobilised by activists involved in the non-payment campaign. They were living forces that saw the moral economy of housing and amenities evolve through interlinked industrial and community mobilisation over the period from 1915. The consciousness and struggles associated with the moral economy's expectations, focus and

geographical location changed over time, in particular reflecting the post-Second World War shift towards public housing and slum clearances. The connection to these traditions, through a series of mobilisations stretching into the 1970s and 1980s, which many of the leaders of community resistance to the poll tax had been involved in was combined with a strong historical consciousness. In particular the strength of the cultural circuit of collective memory marked an awareness of the history of industrial and community struggles during and following the First World War. This provided an important historical reference point and was deployed by members of various political tendencies in order to achieve a state of composure. Within these narratives there were admittedly some important differences, chiefly ideological in nature, with one activist in particular, an anarchist, denying that the Red Clyde era had a significant bearing on the anti-poll tax movement whatsoever.

Analysis of the community mobilisations around the non-payment campaign is nevertheless indicative of a strong historical continuity between the Red Clyde period and the struggles of the late 1980s and early 1990s. This was articulated by the vast majority of the interviewees. The tactics embedded in 1915, including non-payment and mobilisations defending households from the threat of sheriff officers, were deployed once again. The striking similarities and presence of those who remembered and had been involved in community struggles earlier in the twentieth century was recalled by many of the interviewees. The continuation of industrial crowd protests was also significant, in particular the involvement of women, but also that of unemployed men. Although indicative of the impact of deindustrialization and the welfare policies of the Thatcher government, their involvement was also reflective of other community mobilisations during periods of mass unemployment and of the tradition of organisations like the NUWM.

The poll tax non-payment campaign clearly had a basis in the traditions and collective memory of Red Clydeside. Organisations such as Militant which played a prominent role in the APTF looked to the history of the 1915 rent strike and wider political traditions of that period for inspiration. Many of the activists interviewed appealed to the memory of these events and justified their own actions in terms of these traditions. This legacy extended to a tactical repertoire deployed through a series of community struggles over the twentieth century which reinforced the consciousness of the moral economy of housing and amenities. In both appealing to the memory of the period classically understood as constituting 'Red Clydeside' and to the legacy of subsequent community struggles activists were provided with a coherent resource which was used to mobilise the struggle against the poll tax. The activists' experience of the successes of the non-payment campaign in defeating the poll tax reinforced the salience of this resource, further securing its transmission through the cultural circuit of collective memory of community mobilisation on Clydeside.

Notes

¹ Van der Velden and Varela, 'Introduction: Strikes and Social Conflicts', 35; Cobble, Nolan and Winn, 'Senior Editors' Note', 1.

² Mattos, 'Shantytown Dwellers' Resistance', 56-61.

³ Williams, "'We're Tired of Being Treated like Dogs'", 38-9.

⁴ Pizzolato, 'Transnational Radicals', p28-9; Pizzolao, *Challenging Global Capitalism*, 196-199.

⁵ Bracke, 'Building a 'Counter-Community of Emotions'', 227-229; Hyland, 'Plague in This Town';

Williams, 'Nonviolence and Long Hot Summers', 18; Williams, 'Black Women', 80-82.

⁶ Guard, 'A Mighty Power against the Cost of Living', 29-32.

⁷ Damer, *State, Local State and Local Struggle*, 1.

⁸ Johnstone, 'Early Post-War Housing Struggles in Glasgow', 8.

⁹ Rafeek, *Communist Women in Scotland*, 40-1.

¹⁰ Nehring 'National Internationalists', 561.

¹¹ Massey, 'Politics and Space/Time', 84.

¹² Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 277.

¹³ Stewart 'Legislative Pacemaker or Guinea Pig?', 183.

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- ¹⁴ McCormick, 'A Tax too far', 3-4, 337; Perchard, "'Broken Men" and "Thatcher's Children"', 80-1.
- ¹⁵ Phillips, 'Histories of Labour', 123.
- ¹⁶ Butt, 'Working-Class Housing in Glasgow, 1900-39', 152.
- ¹⁷ Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd', 83; Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 64-73.
- ¹⁸ Phillips, 'Deindustrialization and the Moral Economy of the Scottish Coalfields', 101-2.
- ¹⁹ McShane and Smith, *Harry McShane*, 137.
- ²⁰ Hughes, *Gender and Political Identities in Scotland*, 192.
- ²¹ McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, 79, 181; Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes*, 20-23
- ²² Brotherstone, 'Does Red Clydeside Really Matter Anymore?', 67; Foster, 'Strike Action and Working-Class Politics on Clydeside', 41-2, 61.
- ²³ Baillie, 'The Women of Red Clydeside', 131-133, 141-144.
- ²⁴ Savage, *The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics*, 53.
- ²⁵ Smyth, 'Rents, Peace, Votes', 178-180; Hughes, *Gender and Political Identities in Scotland*, 35-43.
- ²⁶ Melling, 'Work, Culture and Politics', 108.
- ²⁷ McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, 18-26.
- ²⁸ Swenarton, *Homes Fit for Heroes*, 82.
- ²⁹ Jones, 'Slum Clearance, Privatization and Residualization', 511-2; Jones, *The Working-Class in Mid-Twentieth Century England*, 80-81.
- ³⁰ Smout, *Century of the Scottish People*, 269.
- ³¹ Tarrow, *Power in movement*, 5.
- ³² Traugott, 'Recurrent Patterns of Action', 3; McAdam "'Initiator" and "Spin-Off" Movements', 219.
- ³³ Crossley, *Making Sense of Social movements* 128-9.
- ³⁴ Tilly, 'Contentious Repertoires in Great Britain', 26-7.
- ³⁵ McIvor and Kenefick, 'Introduction', 4-7.
- ³⁶ Damer, *State, Local State and Local Struggle*, 1-2.
- ³⁷ Knox, *Industrial Nation*, 222.
- ³⁸ Damer, *State, Local State and Local struggle*, p6-7.
- ³⁹ Ibid, 25, 28, 42.
- ⁴⁰ Kirkwood, *My Life of Revolt*, 176.
- ⁴¹ McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, 157; Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes*, p20-3.
- ⁴² Hughes, *Gender and Political Identities in Scotland*, 110, 195.
- ⁴³ Rafeek, *Communist Women in Scotland*, 41.
- ⁴⁴ Finlay, *Modern Scotland*, 251, 254; Knox, *Industrial nation*, 262.
- ⁴⁵ Foster, 'A Proletarian Nation?', 228-30.
- ⁴⁶ Davies, 'Right to Buy', 423.
- ⁴⁷ McShane, 'Glasgow's Housing Disgrace', 38; McShane, 'The Gorbals is not Paradise', 47.
- ⁴⁸ Savage, *Born Up a Close* .216; Ramsay, *A Guide to Post-War Scottish By-Elections*, 11.
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- ⁵⁰ Davies, 'Right to buy', 425.
- ⁵¹ Foster, 'The Twentieth Century', 484.
- ⁵² Johnstone, 'The Tenants' Movement and Housing Struggles in Glasgow', 273-4.
- ⁵³ Ibid, 275-6.
- ⁵⁴ Mooney, 'Living on the Periphery', 407, 248, 670.
- ⁵⁵ Shapely, 'Tenants Arise!', 69-72.
- ⁵⁶ William Grant, interview with author GEMAP Scotland, Easterhouse, 24 Aug 2011.
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- ⁵⁸ Johnstone, 'The Tenants' Movement', 352.
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- ⁷² Neil Martin, interview.
- ⁷³ 'In pictures: The poll tax 20 years on' *Scotsman* 26/3/09 accessed 23rd May 2012 <<http://www.scotsman.com/news/in-pictures-the-poll-tax-20-years-on-1-1305321>>; James McGhee, interview with author, University of Glasgow Library, 8 Aug 2011.
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- ⁷⁵ James McGhee, interview.
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- ⁷⁸ Ibid.
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- ⁸⁰ Eddie May and Tom Brown, interview.
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- ⁸² Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', 40.
- ⁸³ Yow, "'Do I Like Them Too Much'", 59.
- ⁸⁴ Young, 'Hard Man, New Man', 73.
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- ¹⁰⁴ Neil Martin, interview; Barker, 'Legitimacy in the United Kingdom', 528.
- ¹⁰⁵ Adonis, Butler, and Travers, *Failure in British Government*, 130.
- ¹⁰⁶ Neil Martin, interview.
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