Depth and surface: women's style as memorial, resistance and reverie in late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow

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Abstract

This thesis examines women's use of style as a tool of expression in late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow. Drawing together a cross-section of recent critical theoretical perspectives, it aims to demonstrate that a consideration of style as an instrument of marginal biography can allow researchers to draw new historical knowledge from existing visual sources. In doing so, it intends to address the problem of women's absence, reduction and subjugation in dominant narratives of Glasgow in this period, and lay the foundation for style's use as a critical historical lens in new contexts.

Depth and Surface proceeds in four, illustrated case studies. In the first case study, it examines the development of women's style as a reaction to experiences of slum clearance in Glasgow over the course of the 20th century, acting as a way to bear witness, with one's body, to lost material landscapes and ways-of-life. In the second, it looks at the decline of public wash-houses in Glasgow in this period, investigating how forms of dress and comportment developed in these spaces came to have a bearing on the late-1970s and early-1980s phenomenon of 'Glasgow style'. In the third, women's patronage of two second-hand clothes markets in Glasgow's East End is viewed as a symbolic, subversive reclamation of the heavily stigmatized trade, and an acknowledgement of marginalised women's role in creating and sustaining it. In the fourth, the rise of the Glasgow-borne, low-cost department store What Every Woman Wants over the course of the 1970s and 1980s is taken as an insight into women's reveries for new political futures in the period.

Together, these case studies chart women's surfacing as subjects in the changing political, social and economic landscape of late-1970s and early 1980s Glasgow. It finds, here, that style is worthy of further historical attention both as a subject and method: presenting a way of interpreting the dressed body as a harbinger for complex, unseen narratives of marginal urban life.

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Student Declaration

I, Esther Draycott declare that the enclosed submission for the degree of PhD by Thesis and consisting of a digital copy of ‘Depth and surface: women’s style as memorial, resistance and reverie in late 1970s and early 1980s’ meets the regulations stated in the handbook for the mode of submission selected and approved by the Research Degrees Sub-Committee.*

I declare that this submission is my own work, and has not been submitted for any other academic award.

Signed: 

Date: 01.07.2024.

Student: Esther Draycott

Introduction: ‘A difficult action into a graceful gesture’: Women’s style in Glasgow

Brief summary

Depth and Surface examines the use of style as a tool of resistant biography among women living in Glasgow in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Drawing on a broad cross section of recent scholarship, it aims to demonstrate how style can act as a lens through which to gauge a richer, more complex understanding of women’s lives in Glasgow in this period.

Focusing mainly on documentary photography, social reportage, and other forms of visual representation, it addresses the problem of women’s absence or reduction in historical discourse around Glasgow by using style to glean narratives from forms of evidence which are often either simplistically read or overlooked entirely. It seeks to go beyond readings of style as a masculine, subcultural gesture of dissent, or a shallow form of postmodern spectacle, to situate it as a resistant ‘process’, in theorist Carol Tulloch’s words, of ‘self-telling’,[1] which assumes its greatest meaning among those who are subjugated in dominant regimes of representation.

The thesis takes the late 1970s and early 1980s as a hinge moment in which the changing economic, social, political and architectural landscape of Glasgow – and of Britain as a whole – provided new forums for women’s stylistic expression, loosening the regimes that once judged and restrained their bodies in the public sphere. In many cases, these regimes had been in place since the late-19th century, folding women into political ideologies that had a significant bearing on their everyday lives. In the thesis images taken in particular contexts in this period are compared to images of women taken in the same context over the previous century. The sartorial, gestural echoes between these images act as a basis to chart the evolution of women’s style not only as a form of biographical expression, but of ‘social and cultural enunciation’,[2] an art of living cultivated by these subjects over generations in order to live beyond the compromising terms offered up to them. It considers this period in Glasgow, one generally described as that of industrial decline, urban decay, and neoliberal redevelopment, as one fraught with possibility for women, who stood, for the first time in decades, to be able to change their relationship to the city. Far from being a superficial or

[1] Carol Tulloch, *The Birth of Cool: Style Narratives of the African Diaspora*, (Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 5.
[2] Tina Campt, *Image Matters: Archive, Photography, and the African Diaspora in Europe*, (London: Duke University, 2012), p. 196.

superfluous phenomenon, women's style, it argues, holds vital, unseen histories of this paradigm shift to their lives in its folds.

In the first study, 'Steel hammers: demolition, dereliction and the development of women's style in Glasgow', the thesis considers the emergence of style as a reaction to routine experiences of loss bought about by slum clearance since the late 1800s. Here, the broken remains of old homes become the basis for imagining women's creative strategies of becoming. The second, 'Mother Glasgow's succour: Glasgow style and the embodied citations of the steamie', examines the decline of public washhouses in the late 1970s, looking at how women resisted expectation at this time by wilfully embodying an old stereotype of the dowdy 'steamie' woman. The third, 'Outsiders by choice: Paddy's Market, the Barras and the roots of subcultural style in Glasgow', examines photographs of two female-run second-hand markets in Glasgow's East End taken in the late 1970s, asking how their legacies of non-conformism may have helped to ground the resistant identities of a new generation of women in the city. In the fourth, 'What Every Woman Wants: consumption and desire in Glasgow's 'New Times'", the local success story of department store What Every Woman Wants (What Everys), which supplied low-cost, fashionable clothing to women in this period using rag-market methods and lenient credit systems, comes under scrutiny. It takes the popularity of What Everys in the context of working-class women's historic exclusion from the mainstream consumer landscapes of the city, taking note of the abiding connotations of new clothing among these women as a vehicle of social mobility and an agent of disguise.

Considering the fragmented material, social and political landscape of late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow, the thesis explores how style made space on the surface of women's bodies for complex, contradictory narratives: allowing them to piece together fragments of bygone landscapes and give shape to their desires for the future. Together, these case studies evidence women's use of style as a tool of subjective expression in three major ways: as a form of memorial, allowing them to re-animate bygone figures and effaced ways-of-life; as resistance, offering up a means to negotiate and deflect enduring social stigma; and reverie, presenting a way of tendering speculative, imaginative and often otherwise inarticulable visions of new times ahead.

The hope is that this thesis' conceptual framing of style can provide a blueprint with which to look anew at images of marginal figures of the city, and use them to draw more detailed, nuanced stories of urban life. It aims to demonstrate that style can provide a critical language to name and analyse some of the intangible excesses found in these images, and an interpretive framework to treat those excesses as historically meaningful. Ultimately, it is motivated by three major research questions: What can style do to challenge

the orthodoxies, reductions and erasures of historical narrative? How can style act as an insight into the lives of women living in late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow? How can style allow for the drawing of critical historical narratives from visual sources?

The context: women, style and social change

Late 1970s and early 1980s Britain: the dawn of the 'freed consumer'

Before entering into a discussion of how women's style will be theorised here, it is necessary to outline why late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow emerged as the chosen timeframe and location of this study. This period in Britain witnessed a shift in popular understanding around the meaning of self identity, its mediums of expression, and its relationship to the brofader social and political landscape. This coincided with a widely-held belief that the post-war period, characterised by major municipal building projects, investment in welfare, and an ideology of social unity, had come to a close.[3] The so-called 'Winter of Discontent' in 1978, a series of major industrial disputes between public and private sector unions and their employers, was framed as a turning point in this respect, described in the 1979 Conservative Party Manifesto as shifting the balance of society 'in favour of the State at the expense of individual freedom'.[4] The ascendancy and eventual election of Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1979 heralded a new direction for the country, signifying a controversial shift toward a lower-investment, smaller-state, neoliberal society geared less toward once-prominent ideas of commonality and consensus and more toward the freedom and enterprise of the individual.[5]

More broadly, new forms of media technology, a globalising trade in consumer goods, and the decline of heavy industry across Western Europe had given rise to what the critic Fredric Jameson called a 'new type of social life and a new economic order', borne of the febrile, entangled processes and phenomena of 'modernisation, postindustrial or consumer society, the society of the media or spectacle' and 'multinational capitalism'.[6] Faced with the fragmentation of post-war, democratic social contract on the one hand, and unprecedented consumer choice on the other, Jameson declared this period of 'postmodernity' as one in

[3] Stephen Brooke, 'Living in "New Times": Historicising Britain', *History Compass*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 20-32.
[4] 'Conservative General Election Manifesto 1979', Margaret Thatcher Foundation, 11.03.1979, accs. 15.05.24, https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/110858.
[5] Aled Davies, Ben Jackson and Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite (eds), *The Neoliberal Age? Britain since the 1970s*, (London: University College London Press, 2021).
[6] Fredric Jameson, 'Postmodernism and Consumer Society', in Hal Foster (ed), *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture,* (Port Townsend: Bay Press, 1987), pp. 118.

which 'life-style' – a vista of life you curate through consumer choice, rather than one that is already determined by historic infrastructures of place, class, gender or race – had become the supreme form of life.[7]

The extent to which 'postmodernity' is a useful category to apply to the social, economic, political and consumer landscape of the late 1970s and early 1980s, particularly in the context of women's lives, has been the subject of longstanding debate.[8] However, this slippery and distended social landscape, in which the rollback of the state was met with a sharp increase in new materials and mediums of representation, undeniably witnessed a proliferation of ways for those in Britain who had previously been submerged into the category of the 'masses' to identify themselves. As Angela McRobbie observes, this did not necessarily signify, as some Marxist critics claimed, the ascendancy of once-marginal people to the fore, but the general development of a new, popular understanding of the self as something communicable from the outside, mutable, buildable and distinguished by detail.[9] By embracing these new regimes of representation and objects of consumption, there was a sense individuals now had unprecedented agency over the way they were seen and defined in public, and that the right consumer goods could work to create a 'new or different and potentially mobilising identity, the new you'.[10]

In Britain, these structural shifts had the effect of placing heavy emphasis on the power of women from lower socio-economic backgrounds to lever appearances to re-shape their economic position. As Valerie Walkerdine notes, this period witnessed the rise of the concept of the 'makeover' as a construct of social agency, used to corral women in new forms of casualised, low-paid employment 'to improve or remake themselves as the freed consumer, the "entrepreneur of themselves"'.[11] In wake of the collapse of Britain's heavy industries, the symbolic construction of this new, flexible, 'female worker' subtly undermined values of class solidarity and collective resistance that underpinned industrial communities with the idea women could simply remake their destinies, and shake off their class background, through style.[12] In the hollowed-out centres of formerly industrial cities, many of which were making a painful transition into service, administration and retail economies, many women seemed to be faced with a difficult choice: restyle

[7] Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), p. x.
[8] See, for example, Sara Ahmed, *Differences that Matter: Feminist Theory and Postmodernism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Nancy Fraser and Linda Nicholson, 'Social Criticism without Philosophy: An Encounter between Feminism and Postmodernism, *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2-3, (June, 1988), pp. 373-394.
[9] **See** Angela McRobbie, 'New Times in Cultural Studies', in Angela McRobbie, *Postmodernism and Popular Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 33.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Valerie Walkerdine, 'Reclassifying Upward Mobility: Femininity and the Neo-liberal Subject', *Gender and Education*, Volume 15, Issue 3, (2003), pp. 237-248.
[12] Ibid. See also Caroline Evans and Minna Thornton, 'Introduction', in Caroline Evans and Minna Thornton, *Women & Fashion: A New Look* (London: Quartet, 1989), pp. 1-12.

themselves and get on in the new world, cutting their ties to class and place, or remain the same, condemning themselves to become pariahs of the neoliberal world, like their working-class male counterparts.

Late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow: 'miles better' than before

Depth and Surface investigates Glasgow as a crucible of these tensions. Here, the destabilising effect of industrial downturn, the pivot away from state intervention and the changing landscapes of retail, representation and employment were thrown into particularly sharp relief. This city had been among the hardest hit in Britain by industrial decline. Shipbuilding, steelwork and other forms of manufacturing had propped up the urban economy since the late 19th century, which meant that the collapse of these industries was particularly devastating to the local population, and recovery from that blow was both more urgent and less likely than elsewhere.[13] Here, between 1971 and 1988, male unemployment more than doubled,[14] with British census data from 1971-1991 revealing the severity of this rise compared to the rest of the UK.[15] While employment rates were slowly climbing across the rest of Britain by 1980, in Glasgow they had tumbled to over 20 per cent beneath the national average.[16] Having embarked some decades ago on an ambitious programme of post-war redevelopment, much of the city's built landscape, whether on its vast overspill estates, its new towns on greenbelt land further afield, or its patchwork network of high-rise flats built on the site of demolished tenements in the city centre, were now wracked with structural decay, exacerbated by a population that was struggling financially.[17] Huge, formerly bustling industrial structures, such as the 'three sisters' cranes at General Terminus Quay, hung empty over the city, awaiting demolition, while major unfinished postwar building works, such as the final portions of the Glasgow Inner Ring Road, hung in the balance, the wisdom of their design now in question.

Together, these signs of accelerated social decline seemed to reinforce Glasgow's existing reputation as a place of poverty, substandard housing and poor employment prospects. The post-war project, which had aimed to bring health and order to the population with sleek, modernist municipal developments, had demonstrably failed to fulfil its promises. Now many of these buildings and the ruins they left in their wake

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[13] 'The Deindustrialisation of Glasgow', *Scottish Affairs* Vol. 1, No. 1, (May, 1995), pp. 73-95.
[14] W. F. Lever, 'Deindustrialisation and the Reality of the Post Industrial City', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 6, (December, 1991), pp. 988.
[15] Arthur McIvor, 'Blighted Lives: Deindustrialisation, Health and Well-Being in the Clydeside Region', *Revue d'histoire*, Vol. 144, 'Désindustrialisation', (October-December 2019), p. 322.
[16] Neil Fraser and Adrian Sinfield, 'The Scottish Labour Force in Recession: Trends in Employment and Unemployment', *The Scottish Government Yearbook*, (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1987), p. 147.
[17] Andrew Gibb, 'Brave New World – The Planned City: 1918-1982', in *Glasgow: The Making of a City*, (London: Routledge, 1983), pp. 192-2010; Seán Damer, *Scheming: A Social History of Glasgow Council Housing*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020); Lynn Abrams, Ade Kearns, Barry Hazley and Valerie Wright, *Glasgow: High-Rise Homes, Estates and Communities in the Post-War Period*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2020).

instead stood as monuments, like the abandoned dockyards on the waterfront, to the city's lost hopes for the future.

With all this considered, in 1975, Glasgow Corporation, the ruling council that had overseen the complete transformation of the city over the course of the 20th century, was dissolved, and replaced by Glasgow District Council and Strathclyde Regional Council. A new agenda was set, which, in light of a sharp downturn in funding for municipal housing and industry subsidy on a national level, would pour focus into ameliorating the 'look' of the inner-city, in the hopes of securing some economic stability from outside sources.[18] By tidying up some of its most visually obvious signs of decay, the council hoped it might rebrand Glasgow as a new corporate base, encourage tourism, and pivot the city's damaged economy away from dying industries and toward the retail, culture, leisure and administration sectors.[19] This 'tidying-up' of Glasgow's image manifested in a number of ways, from a run of spectacular arts and culture festivals, beginning with the Clyde Fair International in 1972, to boosterist PR campaigns like Glasgow's Miles Better, launched in 1982, to large-scale public restoration projects such as the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal project, officially launched in 1981. Inner-city areas such as Merchant City and the Prince's Dock were 'revitalised', while the remaining construction on major post-war building projects, such as Glasgow's Inner Ring Road and the final new town of Stonehouse, were formally abandoned.[20] In the midst of this period, 'Glasgow style' became a strapline for the city's pivot toward design, fashion and culture, where, despite widespread poverty, people still seemed to retain a verve for appearances.[21] New boutiques, bars, nightclubs and restaurants animated small pockets of the city: breathing new life into derelict buildings, finding inspiration in desolate spaces.

To some, this period signalled an existential threat to Glasgow's working-class population and their history. The Workers City Group, a collection of left-wing activists who came together to protest Glasgow's nomination as European City of Culture in 1986, railed against the city's attempts to rid itself of its industrial image, arguing that work was intent on erasing all trace of the working-class from the city and ignoring the increasing urgency of **its** social need. In a series of written anthologies, Workers City pitched the council's 'obsessive drive to make the centre of the city attractive to tourists' as the ultimate betrayal of this 'real' population, making them pawns in the shallow, performative spectacle it was making of its industrial

[18] Mark Boyle, Christopher McWilliams, and Gareth Rice, 'The Spatialities of Actually Existing Neoliberalism in Glasgow, 1977 to Present', *Geografiska Annale*r, Series B, Human Geography, Vol. 90 no. 4 (2008), p. 316.
[19] Keith Kintrea and Rebecca Madgin (eds), *Transforming Glasgow: Beyond the Post-Industrial City*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019).
[20] Boyle, McWilliams, and Rice, 'The Spatialities of Actually Existing Neoliberalism in Glasgow, 1977 to Present', p 320.
[21] See for example, *The Glasgow Style*, directed by Ken Macgregor, BBC (Spectrum Productions), first aired n.d.,1984, accs. 22.03.24, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5-DqqwXb0jM.

landscape.[22] According to editor Farquhar McLay, an anarchist and former Scottish infantryman, these rebranding schemes were a 'camouflage business',[23] concealing the real, perhaps sometimes unsavoury city of strikes, squalid housing and abandoned factories with an aesthetically-pleasing gloss, quelling native unrest with the opiates of consumption and wine bars. Jennifer Kerr and Paula Jennings, critiquing the 'stunted growth' of radical feminism in Scotland in the 1980s, similarly blamed 'a climate where novelty and style are paramount', in which women had been encouraged to abandon their class and gender solidarities in favour of the new, bourgeois-feminist adage, drawn from the pages of *Spare Rib* magazine, that 'if you want it, go for it (regardless of what it is)'.[24]

Described by geographers Mark Boyle and George Hughes as Glasgow's contested 'representation of the real',[25] this kind of language set up an opposition between the contemporary, made-over, 'miles better' Glasgow of culture and retail on one hand, and the gritty, authentic, working-class Glasgow on the other. This conflict was a potent source of tension in the city which would unfold on many different platforms and spheres of discourse. However, this perceived binary between new and old, superficial and authentic, bourgeois and proletarian Glasgow concealed a much more complicated picture of what these changes to the fabric of the city actually meant to the working-classes, and in particular, what they meant to working-class women.

It is fair to say that, in this period, the integrity of some of the most recognisable aspects of Glasgow, distilled into the mythic symbols of the shipyard, the labourer and the run-down tenement, were under threat. However, the bearing this threat had on working-class women, who had always been on the periphery of these dominant images of the city's working-class culture, was more complicated. Glasgow's 'makeover' may have imperilled their former ways-of-life, but new landscapes of employment, representation and consumption also bought unprecedented opportunities through which these women might fashion themselves anew.

To many of these women, this kind of makeover was not a new phenomenon, but a well-worn strategy of survival. Since the late 19th century, Glasgow had been reinvented multiple times, and had compelled women to reinvent themselves along with it. In an effort to tackle its perennial issues with slum housing,

[22] Farquhar McLay, 'Introduction', in Farquhar McLay (ed), *Workers City: The Real Glasgow Stands Up*, (Glasgow: Clydeside Press, 1988), pp. 1-11.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Jennifer B Kerr and Paula Jennings, 'Scottish feminism in the eighties', in Shirley Henderson, and Alison Mackay, *Grit and Diamonds: Women in Scotland Making History 1980-1990,* (Glasgow: Stramullion, 1990), pp. 4-11.
[25] Mark Boyle and George Hughes, 'The Politics of the Representation of 'the Real': Discourses from the Left on Glasgow's Role as European City of Culture, 1990', *Area*, September, 1991, Vol. 23, No. 3 (September, 1991), pp. 217-228.

public health and poverty, over the course of the 20th century, the famously iconoclastic municipal policies of Glasgow Corporation had long been dependent on the ability of working-class women, as the linchpins of the average labouring household, to populate and sustain its grand visions for the city's future. In turn, women had long been heavily policed by this paternal city council and a broader urban inspectorate for any visible sign of their failure to move with the times. For over 100 years, every element of these women's appearances, from their dress, their comportment, the state of their home, and even their washing on the line, had been cast as 'legitimate areas of interest',[26] captured and dissected across multiple spheres of urban social discourse. Given the dissolution of Glasgow Corporation in 1975, and its replacement by two regional urban councils, if anything, this moment witnessed the release of women from this architecture of surveillance, bringing with it a moment of reckoning with who, now, they could choose to become.

The sense of women's capacity for style, and its power to change their circumstances, is reflected in the enduring stereotype of women in Glasgow up to this time as shallow, superficial figures who were quick to betray their roots. Neil Livingstone McMillan's study of the West of Scotland's tradition of macho 'realist' literature outlines the pervasiveness of these malevolent female figures in Glasgow novels: noting how the authentic, working-class protagonists of H. Kingsley Long's *No Mean City*, George Blake's *The Shipbuilders*, William McIlvanney's *The Big Man* and James Kelman's *The Busconductor Hines*[27] were situated directly in opposition to a supporting cast of vain, consumerist and malcontented wives, daughters and sisters. Margaret Reid, in a study of a community ante-natal clinic in a notorious (unnamed) Glasgow housing scheme in 1979, studied feedback from medical staff that female patients, subject to close behavioural monitoring, were deemed to be 'deficient in the art of looking after themselves, opting instead for the basic pleasures of life': failing to budget for their household and instead spending money on clothing and glamorous things for the home.[28] In his live-in study of the Moorepark housing scheme in Govan in the early 1970s, Seán Damer observed the 'disapproving looks and comments' directed specifically at 'younger wives' when they dressed, as they often did, in 'extremely smart clothes'.[29]

While these tendencies were demonised or ridiculed by some observers, they were a pragmatic reaction to a lifetime's worth of being watched, judged, and found wanting. This level of care for appearances was a defence mechanism passed from one generation of women to the next: with bygone experiences of

[26] Ann McGuckin, 'Moving Stories: Working-class Women', in Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon (eds), *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945*, (Edinburgh University Press, 1992), p. 200.
[27] Neil Livingstone McMillan, *Tracing Masculinities in 20th Century Scottish Men's Fiction*, PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, (December, 2000), https://theses.gla.ac.uk/5190/1/2000McMillanPhD.pdf. accs. 15.01.2024, p. 98.
[28] Margaret Reid, 'Helping those mothers: antenatal care in a Scottish peripheral housing estate', in Glasgow Women's Studies Group, *Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences, 1850-1982*, (Harrow: Pressgang,1983), pp. 163-185.
[29] Seán Damer, *From Moorepark to Wine Alley: The rise and fall of a Glasgow housing scheme*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), p. 134.

humiliation and exclusion giving rise to a feminine tradition ever more fixated on the principles of dignity, agency and deflection. Many women in Glasgow have described to historians the terror and shame, for example, of being forced to stoop to dressing in clothes from the local Parish. When families were unable to afford anything else, this immediately recognisable garb of police boots, branded, ill-fitting stockings and corduroy trousers showed the world 'right away you were hard up', with blame automatically directed to the impoverished, irresponsible mother of the household.[30] Many have also spoken of the anxiety inducing effects of constant inspection of one's home, a practice which began with the invasive, surprise night inspections from Sanitary Officers in the late-19th century and continued as standard practice in municipal housing until at least the 1960s: the terror of ticketed doors, and crosses marked on dirty stairwells, designed to attract the condemnation of neighbours as well as superiors.[31] Lives were played out in constant anticipation – whether real or imagined – of this damning, branding judgement from an authoritative figure. Mythic stories of women's heightened attention to the care of their clothes, their efforts to maintain a 'good washing', their relentless regimes of cleaning so tenement homes of one or two rooms that might be 'made to gleam', refer to strategies which won some control in this culture of surveillance and shame.[32] It is perhaps for these reasons that in her book *Tears that Made the Clyde*, an interdisciplinary study of the impact of Glasgow's industrial rise and fall on the urban psyche, sociologist Carol Craig observes that 'Glasgow women have always been much more interested in clothes and fashion than their sisters in other cities': bodies were an extension of homes, a site of judgement, fiercely claimed and vigorously defended.[33]

This thesis holds that the postmodern tagline of 'Glasgow style' – referencing the near-belligerent enthusiasm and verve people seemed to show for appearances in the city, no matter their social circumstances – drew on an approach to dress as a tool of resistance which was honed by women in Glasgow over the course of the 20th century. Subject to constant judgement by their superiors, suffering real-life consequences from appearing shabby, unmoored or out-of-time in the public sphere, style was one of the few tools in these women's armoury that could allow them to deflect further attention, adapt to new environments, and dignify difficult circumstances. It offered up mental and physical agency in situations where it was otherwise completely removed: allowing them to stake out space on the surface of the body for complexity and ambiguity, to prevent their easy or deleterious reading. It allowed them to ape the look

[30] Quote from Mabel Dawson in Helen Clark and Elizabeth Carnegie (eds), *She was aye workin': Memories of tenement women in Edinburgh and Glasgow*, (Glasgow: White Cockade Publishing, 2003), p. 153.
[31] Ann McGuckin, 'Moving Stories: Working-class women in Scottish society', in Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon (eds), *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), pp. 199-217.
[32] Jean Faley, '*Up Oor Close': Memories of Domestic Life in Glasgow Tenements*, 1910-1945, (Glasgow: White Cockade Publishing, 2004), p. 49. See also
[33] Carol Craig, *The Tears That Made the Clyde: Well-being in Glasgow,* (Glasgow: C.C.W.B Press, 2019), p. 170.

of those who were wealthier or better-respected, living out fantasies of alternative circumstances. In a city constantly subject to overhaul, it also provided a means by which these women could remember parts of their lives unceremoniously altered by the state: holding on to foreclosed elements of the past, righting past wrongs, gathering fragments of lost worlds close and imbuing them with new meaning.

From one perspective, women's style in late 1970s and early 1980s appeared to be a shallow, superficial construct used as part of a wider, neoliberal agenda set on ridding the city of the unsightly elements of its working-class identity. However, this view relies on a narrow, masculine conception of style as a foreign, top-down political phenomenon. Instead, *Depth and Surface* aims to outline style as a form of embodied, resistant, biographical expression, demonstrating that, rather than a mere zeitgeist of neoliberal policy, it was a deeply historical, grassroots feminine aesthetic strategy which merely found new forums for expression in the changing consumer and representational landscape of this period. The dissolution of Glasgow Corporation in 1975 signified the end of an era for women in Glasgow, during which a number of aspects of their private or intimate lives had been reframed as an issue of public concern, with major ramifications for how they were seen and how they moved through public space. This thesis looks at how the slum, the public washhouse, the second-hand market, and the city street were all transformed by the onset of this ideology in the late 19th century. It examines the development of certain formations of women's style via each of these sites over the next 100 years, which gives context to new iterations of women's style during the period in question.

Bringing together examples of visual representations of women in Glasgow during this time, the thesis examines how style was cultivated in order to break up powerful urban typologies imposed on their bodies by dominant powers via each of these contexts, which were channelled from medical, reformist and legal discourse into the popular imagination via documentary photography and equally graphic forms of prose.[34] Overrepresented in the visual landscape, and underrepresented as citizens, it observes how style became a way for women to reclaim agency over their bodies, exceed**ed** their co-option into wider state or social narratives, and ringfence their status as complex, critical citizens of the city. Calling on a range of theories

[34] For a general view of how this was manifest in late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow see Eveline Hunter, *A Scottish Woman's Place: Practical and Critical Comment on Women's Rights in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1978); for insight into the patriarchal nature of municipal housing allocation and surveillance see Ann McGuckin, 'Moving Stories', in Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon, *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) and Sean Damer, 'Engineers of the Human Machine: The Social Practice of Council Housing Management in Glasgow, 1895-1939', *Urban Studies*, (October 2000), pp. 2007-2026; for women's treatment in the realm of public health, see Margaret Reid, 'Helping those mothers: antenatal care in a Scottish peripheral housing estate', in Barbara Littlejohn (ed) and Glasgow Women's Studies Group, *Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences, 1850-1982*, (Glasgow: Pressgang, 1983); for policing, see Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the 19th Century*, (London: Routledge Library Editions, 2012); and Linda Mahood, 'Family Ties: Lady Child Savers and Girls of the Street, 1850-1925', in Breitenbach and Gordon, *Out of Bounds*, pp. 42-53.

around other examples of the use of style among the marginalised and the dispossessed, to this end, it considers how dress and body language became a way for women to live through compromising regimes of representation, cultivating resistant ways-of-seeing themselves that were passed, furtively, from one generation to the next.

These studies take the late 1970s and early 1980s as a moment in which the ideology of state intervention that had overseen these women's lives for so long disintegrated: heralding the end of slum clearance, a state-led programme which had started in 1866, of public washhouses, which were first established in 1875, the recognition of stigmatised, female-run second-hand markets, heavily policed since the 1840s, as protected urban institutions, and the return of working-class women, after multiple rounds of displacement, to the folds of the inner-city. It uses these examples to contextualise the zeitgeist of 'Glasgow style' that came to the fore at this time, arguing that taking this phenomenon in isolation from the long century that preceded it would be to fail to see women's style in full dimension. In her book *Doing Time: Feminist Theory and Postmodern Culture*, Felski proposed that we do better justice to the variety of people's experiences of the era known as 'postmodern', outside of the universalised white, male view, by thinking of 'difference as vertical rather than horizontal, slicing across time rather than being closed in a particular epoch'. [35] *Depth and Surface* carries that approach forward by theorising women's style in late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow as a vertical phenomenon, slicing across time and evolving through it. Looking at how other groups have endured parallel dynamics of visual over-representation and political under-representation, it situates women's style in Glasgow in a broader tapestry of marginal subjects' use of dress and gesture as a way to bear witness to their humanity, gesturing toward the unseen – or overlooked – depths of their personal and collective experience, both in the present, and across the past. Images of women captured over the decades act as the basis of this investigation: an inventory with which to evidence and explore the development of women's style through their routine moments of capture.

Glossary of terms

Style

It is now necessary to define some of the key terms used in this thesis, beginning with style. This definition takes account of style as a bodily aesthetic and as a writerly concern. It works at the intersection of these

[35] Rita Felski, *Doing Time: Feminist Theory and Postmodern Culture*, (London: New York University Press, 2000), pp.2-3.

spheres to formulate women's style in late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow as both the subject of this study and a historiographical methodology.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, there are 27 definitions of style as a noun.[36] The focus here is on the relationship between the term's etymological root, from the Latin stylus, referring to the nib of any instrument used for writing and drawing,[37] and its later definition, introduced in the 18th century, as a 'mode of deportment or behaviour; a mode or fashion of life'.[38] It finds these definitions heavily interrelated in that style can connote the use of the body to author personal narratives: channelling certain qualities of the inner psyche to the outside world with care and attention, relaying elements of one's memories, values and aspirations into a rich surface aesthetic.

This form of style distinguishes itself from, while being related to, the concept of fashion. Moving in seasons and proscribing rigid rules, fashion was described by Georg Simmel as a means to impose urban order, marking out visible intersections between classes and distinguishing a vision of the present from that of the past or the future.[39] Although often shaped by an avant-garde, fashion is also generally seen as a trickle-down phenomenon working in-line with the capitalist economy, in which 'styles, trends and garment ranges', in the words of Joanne Entwistle, make their way imperfectly through the promotional channels of advertising, PR events and journalism into 'the everyday consumption choices and practices of ordinary women'.[40]

By contrast, style has often been defined, in the context of dress, as a form of authentic self-communication: people 'have style' when they appear compelling or beautiful regardless of their adherence to current trends. Rather than coming from above, style is seen to come from within: as Nick Riggle observes, it is commonly understood to demonstrate 'the expression of those features of personality that are one's own'.[41] Rather than moving with the times, it is seen as impervious to the times: evolving, if at all, on a more shadowy, hidden trajectory of personal growth. For these reasons, style has been the subject of less explicit academic attention than fashion, as it is a slippery, subjective term, requiring significant attention to the life and values of the subject in question to act as meaningful frame of analysis. However, it is also for these reasons that style has such potential as a way of seeing and understanding marginalised subjects in the city: shedding

[36] 'Style (n.)', *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, (March, 2024), accs. 27.02.24.
[37] 'Style (n.), Sense I. 1. a', *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, (March, 2024), accs. 27.02.24.
[38] 'Style (n.), Sense III. 24. a', *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, (March, 2024), accs. 27.02.24.
[39] Peter McNeil, 'Georg Simmel', in Agnès Rocamora and Anneke Smelik (eds) *Thinking Through Fashion*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016), pp. 63-80.
[40] Joanne Entwistle, *The Aesthetic Economy of Fashion: Markets and Value in Clothing and Modelling*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), p. 1.
[41] Nick Riggle, 'Personal Style and Artistic Style', *The Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 261, (October, 2015), pp. 711-731.

light on the syncopated rhythms, grassroots values and unique tastes of those who cannot or will not conform to a western, capitalist bodily ideal and the trends that coalesce around that. In her essay 'Style-Fashion-Dress: From Black to Post-Black', the historian Carol Tulloch advanced a crucial definition of style as a 'construction of the self through the assemblage of garments, accessories and beauty regimes that may, or may not, be "in fashion" at the time of use'.[42]

Tulloch was the first theorist to bring together some of these concepts of style which conceive of it specifically as a mode of resistant, marginal form of 'auto/biography'.[43] Developing that theory in her subsequent book *The Birth of Cool: Style Narratives of the African Diaspora*, Tulloch coined the term 'style narratives' to describe the way the style of African migrants and enslaved people across the globe provide a means by which to read the place of their 'bodies in time and in a moment of history', assembling an identity through their own aesthetic choices, rather than accepting the structures and terms of identification imposed on them from above.[44] Mounting a wide-ranging study of 'visual and textual images of Black people',[45] Tulloch presented style here as a rich, complex form of historical evidence, an open language from which the meaning, emotion, intention and situation of subjects otherwise compromised by dominant regimes of representation could be located and interpreted. Cultivated in response to experiences of stigma, oppression and marginality, meaningful precisely because it is illegible by established academic methods, her theory of style as a form of resistant, embodied 'self-telling'[46] forms the bedrock of this thesis.

Another crucial view of style to this project is found in sociologist Beverley Skeggs' *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable*, a study of the 'subjective constructions' of 83 white working-class women living in the North West of England conducted in the 1990s. Here, Skeggs traces the development of style as a principle passed down among generations of white British working-class women to define themselves against their historic classification as 'dangerous, polluting, threatening, revolutionary, pathological and without respect'[47] in the British popular imaginary. Built directly out of these experiences of stigma, Skeggs found here that, among her respondents, style was seen to be a specifically 'working-class competence'[48] that their middle-class counterparts had no innate knowledge of or access to, a creative

[42] Carol Tulloch, 'Style-Fashion-Dress: From Black to Post-Black', *The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 3, (2010), pp. 273-303.
[43] Carol Tulloch, *The Birth of Cool: Style Narratives of the African Diaspora,* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 5.
[44] Tulloch, *Birth of* Cool, p. 10.
[45] Tulloch, *Birth of Cool*, p. 8.
[46] Tulloch, *Birth of Cool*, p. 5.
[47] Beverley Skeggs, *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable*, (London: Sage, 2012), p. 1.
[48] Skeggs, *Formations of Class and Gender*, p. 104; for further relevant discussion of the meaning of dress and the role of styling practices among working-class women in Britain see Cheryl Roberts, *Consuming Mass Fashion in 1930s England*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022); Angela Partington, 'Popular Fashion and Working-Class Affluence', in Juliet Ash and Elizabeth Wilson (eds), *Chic Thrills: A Fashion Reader*, pp. 145-161.

idiom borne directly out of a relation to the public sphere in which 'their lives, their bodies, their appearance, their caring practices and their emotional attachments to others'[49] were subject to critical dissection on a daily basis. Among those marginalised in this way, the 'practice of looking good', Skeggs concludes, 'should not be dismissed as a trivial activity'.[50] Rather, it is a central concept by which these subjects protected their bodies against historically entrenched, systematic instances of 'degradation', asserting their status and dignity as complex human beings.[51]

Depth and Surface brings these notions of style as an instrument of marginal counter-narrative into conversation with Stuart Ewen's concept of style as an embodied, blue-collar politic. Observing its ubiquity among poorer citydwellers in major cities in the USA, living cheek-by-jowl with the urban elite, Ewen referred to style as an actively performed 'desire for material change in one's life', mobilised by the principle of 'beautification' as a way of elevating your perceived status.[52] Lingering on the surface of the body, to be read and in turn performed by the passerby, in his book *All Consuming Images: The Politics of Style in Contemporary Culture*, Ewen described style specifically as a phenomenon of proletarian city life emerging after the onset of the industrial revolution.[53] Among a rapidly-expanding urban labouring population, he noted that style was a way to counteract the anonymity newly imposed on one's body, responding to people's ability to 'make quick judgements,' about your identity 'based, largely, on immediate visual evidence'.[54] Tracing its development in America from the 18th century to the mid-1980s, Ewen observes the evolution of style in this time as a marketable idea, calling endlessly on the trappings of wealthy urban elites to parade a 'dream of identity' to the consumer living in their proximity, whereby 'having' the garment or object, whether a suit or a bottle of perfume, is equated to living the dream-like city life they connote.[55] This commercial world of style is never fully translated into the real world, it simply hangs in the air as a possibility, shaped, consumed and performed by marginal urban subjects with the aim of using the 'evanescence' of surface appearances to transcend the force of social circumstance. As a 'utopian' world of marketing on the one hand, where anything is possible and everything is beautiful, and a pragmatic means of self-expression on the other, where subjects lever 'surface appearances' to grasp at a

[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Stuart Ewen, 'Marketing Dreams: The Political Elements of Style', in Alan Tomlinson (ed), *Consumption, Identity & Style: Marketing, Meanings and the Packaging of Pleasure*, (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 41-51; See also Reina Lewis, 'Taste and Distinction: The Politics of Style', in Malcolm Barnard (ed), *Fashion Theory: A Reader*, (London: Routledge, 2021), pp. 361-373.
[53] Stuart Ewen, 'Goods and Surfaces', in Stuart Ewen, *All Consuming Images: The Politics of Style in Contemporary Culture*, (New York: Basic Books, 1984), pp. 24-40.
[54] Ewen, *All Consuming Images,* p. 72; For more discussion on the symbiotic relationship between style and urban life, see Ted Polhemus, *Streetstyle: From Sidewalk to Catwalk*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994); Cheryl Buckley and Hazel Clark, *Fashion and Everyday Life: London and New York*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).
[55] Ewen, *All Consuming Images*, p. 108.

life they lack, Ewen presents style as a 'provocative typology'[56] of social need which becomes ever more dynamic and varied in the age of mass-media. Using style, disempowered citydwellers could manipulate their subordinated position in the strong visual hierarchies of the city: evoking 'conformity, opposition, a negotiation, *mood.*'[57]

Thinking through how style may have come to bear on the bodies of women in Glasgow, whose subjugated class position was reinforced by their subjugated position in the home, it is looked at as an embodied phenomenon, connoting the streamlining of movement, the embrace of repetition, and the furnishing of onerous, unseen labours with artful value.[58] It defines 'women's style' as a social rather than biologically determined category, emerging out of gendered bodily choreographies which have been perfected by subjects over time. Underpinning this understanding of style is Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity,* in which they famously defined gender performativity as a 'stylised repetition of acts'.[59] These acts of 'stylised repetition' of gender, Butler argued, allow the categories of 'male' and 'female' to garner the appearance of a compelling, stable articulation of identity, but also evolve alongside new social mores.[60]

Building on Butler's work, style is situated in this thesis as an act of repetition, shaped by trans-generational social forces.[61] It is also, however, situated as an act of citation, in which women refer back to the dress and comportment of earlier generations and imbibe them with new meaning. This is influenced by queer conceptions of the body as a harbinger of past, foreclosed ways-of-life, particularly Elizabeth Freeman's concept of 'temporal drag'.[62] Here, Freeman extended Butler's theory of 'stylised repetition' to think about the conceptual power of clothing and self-presentation as forms of embodied 'allegory'.[63] Through a number of examples of queer performance, Freeman posed that the re-animating of bygone figures through style was a hallmark of queer subjectivity: using dress and gesture to allow their bodies not only to pay

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[56] Ewen, *All Consuming Images*, p. 106.
[57] Ibid.
[58] This contention partly builds on a line of scholarship within fashion and dress studies, spearheaded by theorists such as Jennifer Craik, that takes the social meaning of dress as animated by the ritualised movements of the body, situating style at the intersection 'between a particular body and its lived milieu' and in 'the space occupied by bodies and bodily actions'. Jennifer Craik, *The Face of Fashion*, (London: Routledge, 1993); see also Caroline Evans and Minna Thornton, *Women & Fashion: A New Look*, (London: Quartet, 1989); Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Social Theory*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015).
[59] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 179. It is also worth noting that Butler was influenced by Michel Foucault's theory of the body as 'the inscribed surface of events' in his essay 'Nietzche, Geneaology, History', which has also been important to this work, in Paul Rabinow (ed), *The Foucault Reader*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), p. 83.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Judith Butler, 'Melancholy Gender – Refused Identification', *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, Vol. 5, Issue, 2, (1995), pp. 165-180.
[62] Freeman, *Time Binds*, pp. 59-95.
[63] Ibid.

tribute to past loss or pain, but act as living maps of queer resistance, hope, memorial and liberation. When working like this, 'style', writes Freeman, 'neither transcends nor subsumes culture but pries it open a bit', using the materials of contemporary culture to create subversive new bodies with the detritus of past political movements, providing 'glimpses of an other-wise being'.[64] These forms of embodied citation then work to cathect resistant social bonds: José Muñoz, in 'Gesture, Ephemera and Queer Feeling', for example, discusses the way the 'ephemeral history' embedded in queer gestures, read and recognised by others, act as 'an index to a shared aesthetic and a communal structure of feeling'.[65] They also act as a way to surface unseen, cross temporal aspects of the self: creating what Amber Jamilla Musser calls a 'mode of inhabitation that shifts the dimensions of selfhood'.[66]

Each of these thinkers pitch the queer body as a site of struggle, able to alter or challenge convention with gestures that resist codified norms of class, gender and temporality. In the case of Musser and Muñoz, those acts of citation also negotiate racial otherness: reviving bygone Black and brown bodies whose own lives were foreclosed, using that to negotiate depth and dimension for one's own racial identity. The thesis looks at the ramifications of these theories beyond the subjects with which they are initially concerned: demonstrating how they advance a framework to understand style as a negotiation of otherness, and of marginality. It takes style as a negotiation of the politicised concept of a bodily ideal among those Othered by its dominant forms. In his essay 'What is Sport?', Roland Barthes wrote that style 'makes a difficult action into a graceful gesture, introduces a rhythm into a fatality',[67] creating an elegant choreography out of everyday movement, turning the negotiation of judgement into an art form, and finding small flourishes that may exceed, negate or invert what is expected of you, to move the viewer in an unexpected way. Looking at style's use among working-class women in Glasgow in the period in question, with the guidance of these theories, *Depth and Surface* intends to demonstrate style's significance as a political gesture which turned some of the necessary rituals, unavoidable experiences, and social duties imposed on these subjects into opportunities for bodily subversion, creating alternative social bonds and elaborating resistant identities.

Working-class womanhood

[64] Freeman, *Time Binds*, p. xix
[65] Muñoz, 'Gesture, Ephemera and Queer Feeling', p. 70.
[66] Musser, 'Surface-Becoming'.
[67] Roland Barthes, *What is Sport?*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 9.

Across this thesis, the term 'working-class woman' is used to describe a diverse grouping of individuals who may or may not have identified with that label. It does so to highlight the paucity of more nuanced terminology available to identify women on this end of the socioeconomic spectrum. By keeping with the term, the thesis intends to highlight the ways women, in lieu of more detailed or expansive ways to identify themselves in language, used style to exceed the narrow terminology imposed on them. These gestures could just as often seem to work with, as well as against, some of the perceived trappings of working-class womanhood, riffing on the historic romanticisation and pathologisation of that figure in the public sphere.

The historian Carolyn Steedman wrote extensively on the tensions inherent in the label of working-class womanhood in Britain in her book *Landscape for a Good Woman*. It is a keystone text for the definition and application of the term here. In the book, Steedman lays out women's exclusion from concepts of British working-classness laid out in the cultural theory of figures such as E. P. Thompson, Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams, advanced in the 1960s.[68] While complex in their interpretation of the spatial, affective, cultural and material constructions of class in Britain, Steedman noted that these men had failed to advance a model that could accommodate the particularities of how these constructions of class were experienced by women. Tracing some of those specifics via a biography of her late mother, a Lancashire-born nail technician, she considers how working-classness was experienced, for many women and girls, as a set of unarticulated emotions and relationships to the social world, passed furtively from one generation of women to the next. Employing a blend of historical and psychological analysis, Steedman presents her mother's stories, her outpourings of desire for material things or envy for those better off, as a more powerful, relevant measure of her position in the world than the received wisdom of class consciousness.[69] Using the example of her mother, and later herself, Steedman demonstrates how the conventional markers of working-classness, such as participation in the labour sphere, position in industrial 'community' life, or political alignment, were faulty and rudimentary constructs for the conception of a female working-class identity, framing a profoundly 'ahistorical' social landscape which bore little trace of their lived reality.[70] By recording the details of her own, difficult becoming as a working-class subject, Steedman set out to define working-class womanhood not as a catch-all concept but a harbinger of affective responses to inequality and exclusion: of desire for what one does not have.

[68] Carolyn Steedman, 'Stories', in *Landscape for a Good Woman*, (London: Virago, 2005), pp. 3-25.
[69] Steedman, 'Exclusions', *Landscape*, pp. 110-125; A discussion of Steedman's work as a postmodern of a feminist search for concepts of selfhood can be found in McRobbie, 'Feminism, Postmodernism and the "Real Me"', in McRobbie, *Postmodernism*, pp. 60-74; For another view of the difficulties of articulating working-class experience among women in the post-war period see Elizabeth Wilson, *Only Halfway to Paradise: Women in Post-war Britain 1945-1968*, (London: Tavistock Press, 1980).
[70] Steedman, *Landscape*, p. 16.

In industrial Britain, working-classness was, in Steedman's view, generally defined by a male experience of manual labour. If anything, this tendency deepened in the post-industrial, neoliberal landscapes of late-1970s Britain, when these masculine, industrial working-class cultures came under siege. This period is commonly described as witnessing a 'crisis in masculinity' as men were displaced in droves from the dangerous, repetitive, intensely physical forms of labour common to earlier generations, and the forms of tribal affiliation and pride imbued in that work.[71] In a study of the downturn of the iron, steel and coal industries in South Wales, sociologist Valerie Walkerdine and Luis Jiminez note how working-class masculinity had historically defined itself against all that was feminine, not only discursively, but in a bodily sense, in a fantasy of hyper-masculinity that was used to leaven meaning and connection through a 'sensual enjoyment of hard labour and its bodily consequences'.[72] In this masculine matrix, needed to cathect a sense of social pride in dirty work and translate 'painful experiences into pleasure',[73] Jiminez and Walkerdine observe that femininity acted as a 'central container for anxiety and an object of desire',[74] a locus of alterity around which grassroots expressions of working-classness rotated. The daily routines of women – whether in domestic work, or the official, non-industrial workplace – were cast as the polar opposite of authentic working-classness: avoided and castigated by men anxious to maintain some semblance of their former identity.

For many women, rather than presenting a landscape of new possibilities, the collapse of heavy industry in Britain reinforced their sense of duty to subjugate themselves in service of a broader effort to keep this embattled, masculine vision of working-classness alive. This sense of duty, Jiminez and Walkerdine note, was particularly pervasive among 'older women', who were familiar with the concept of self-sacrifice in favour of the survival of their communities in periods of social and economic duress. Among these women, there seemed to be 'one story', hewn over generations: 'you get round it, you manage, you cope, you get by',[75] erasing parts of oneself to survive under new circumstances, knowing there was no option to refuse them. It was a feminine obligation to adapt that had ensured the survival of their communities through centuries of economic change, and that continued, in this period, to witness their own invisibility as working-class subjects.[76]

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[71] Tim Strangleman, 'The World We Have Lost: Reflections on Varieties of Masculinity at Work', *International Labour and Working-Class History*, No. 105, (2024), pp. 9-25.
[72] Luis Jiminez and Valerie Walkerdine, *Gender, Work and Community After De-Industrialisation: A Psychosocial Approach to Affect*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 103.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Jiminez and Walkerdine, *Gender, Work and Community*, p. 165.
[76] Jiminez and Walkerdine, *Gender, Work and Community*, p. 166.

To glean a concept of working-classness that does better justice by female experience, Beverley Skeggs is among a number of theorists to have turned from a Marxist, labour-based definition of working-classness to the bodily, materialist view of social class advanced as part of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus.[77] In his essay 'Structures, Habitus, Practices', Bourdieu conceived of an individual's social position as defined by their 'practical relation to the world'.[78] He used habitus to name the physical and psychological 'dispositions' which translate the past effects of interactions with the world into habitual behaviours which dictate subjects' everyday decisions around 'what to do or say'.[79] Unfolding across generations, constrained by social fields, Bourdieu explored how habitus can operate on both individual and collective levels, reflecting 'the active presence of past experiences'[80] in shaping behavioural, bodily or aesthetic norms, as well as in individual articulations of taste.[81]

Habitus is a helpful concept for the theorising of working-class womanhood here because it focuses on how class might manifest as a certain appearance or bodily disposition, rather than basing class on conceptions of sociality or labour which tends to privilege male experience. As Diane Reay states, habitus also makes room for women's ambivalent relationship to class labels, capturing 'complex sociological and psychological processes that encompass far more than materiality and social location'.[82] Looking at class as translated through the prism of gender and other forms of social positioning, such as race or ethnicity, habitus makes room for the playing out of these different markers on the surface of the body, creating the possibility of ambiguity, contradiction and interplay in how they manifest.[83] As Skeggs has pointed out, Bourdieu could have problematic views of working-classness-as-habitus, depicting it in *Weight of the World* as an 'absolute and complete lack'[84] determining the fatal prospects of a subject from the outset of their life. In her critique of this notion of habitus, Skeggs presents the possibility that working-class women have

[77] Skeggs, *Formations of Class and Gender*, pp. 41-55; Skeggs, *Class, Self, Culture*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2003); Beverley Skeggs and Lisa Adkins (eds), *Feminism After Bourdieu*, (Oxford: Blackwell/The Sociological Review, 2004); Beverley Skeggs, 'Exchange, value and affect: Bourdieu and "the self", *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 52, No. 2, (2004), pp. 75-95; Beverley Skeggs, 'Imagining personhood differently: person value and autonomous working-class value practices: The politics of imagination', *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 59, No. 3, pp. 496-51. See also Diane Reay, 'Feminist theory, habitus and social class: Disrupting notions of classlessness', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 225-233; Nickie Charles, 'Feminist practices: Identity, difference, power', in Nickie Charles and Felicia Hughes-Freeland (eds), *Practicing Feminism: Identity, difference, power*, (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 1-37; Meg Maguire, 'Missing links: Working-class women of Irish descent', in Pat Mahoney and Christine Zmroczek (eds), *Class Matters: 'Working-class' Women's Perspectives on Social Class,* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1997), pp. 91-104.

[78] Pierre Bourdieu, 'Structures, Habitus, Practices', in James D. Faubion (ed), *Rethinking the Subject: An Anthropology of Contemporary European Social Thought*, (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 31-46. In

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] See also Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (London: Routledge, 1984); Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).

[82] Reay, 'Feminist theory, habitus and social class', pp. 225-233.

[83]Ibid.

[84] Skeggs, 'Exchange, Value and Affect: Bourdieu and "The Self"', pp. 75-95.

in fact, over time, found a number of different ways to 'tell themselves',[85] negotiating dominant and compromising social structures by bending their bodies into new forms, adopting and manipulating the trappings of different backgrounds. As Carol Tulloch has since argued, style is a theoretical term that can name one of those critical modes of 'self-telling',[86] setting the habitus of working-class women on a trajectory of change and evolution, rather than fixing it as 'complete lack'.

Together, these concepts of working-class womanhood outline it as a necessarily problematic term, a bodily disposition, and a past that continues to unfold into, and disrupt, the present. As late 1970s and early 1980s Britain witnessed manifold 'crises' of identity, with the dissolution of formerly stable markers of class, gender and location, this thesis looks at how working-class womanhood lingered on in Glasgow as the inexorable contradiction it had always been, situating women in a liminal space between visibility and invisibility, past and present, continuity and change. Style captured the physical reverb of past experience on the dress and comportment of the working-class woman – outlining how feelings of shame, desire, pride and envy experienced by mothers and grandmothers could continue to surface decades later, not as words but as performative modes, a 'fashion of life'[87] which translated those lesser-articulated experiences of class into a mutable bodily aesthetic.

Depth, surface and the self: leaking containers of expression

Depth and surface is concerned with how identity comes to be communicated on the surface of one's body. Historically, depth and surface have been characterised as opposing, gendered spheres of expression in this sense: depth pertaining to an authentic, raw, masculine infrastructure of the self and surface to a superficial, superfluous plane of feminine outer expression.[88] As a binary, it took shape in art criticism of the late 19th century and later became a paradigm of the modernist movement via the architectural polemics of figures like Le Corbusier, Adolf Loos and Walter Gropius, as well as the psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud.[89] While, for these figures, it was often the interior that was held up as a sensual, primal feminine world, ordered by an exterior of straight lines and hard edges, there was nonetheless in these tracts a suspicion of

[85] Ibid.
[86] Tulloch, 'Style-Fashion-Dress: From Black to Post-Black', pp. 273-303.
[87] Fiona Anderson, 'Fashion: Style, Identity and Meaning', in Matthew Rampley (ed), *Exploring Visual Culture: Definitions, Concepts, Contexts*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), pp. 67-84.
[88] For discussion of the emergence of this construct in Victorian, modern and post-modern culture, see Llewelyn Negrin, 'Ornament and the Feminine', *Feminist Theory,* Vol. 7, No. 2, (August 2006), pp. 219-235. Naomi Schor introduced the prospect of a feminist reclamation of 'the small, the finely wrought' in surface aesthetics in Schor, *Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine*, (London: Methuen & Co, 1987).
[89] See Adolf Loos, *Ornament and Crime*,

surface ornament as a veil of femininity, a 'sediment of signification',[90] in the words of Anne Anlin-Cheng, to be cleared or conquered by masculine experts in order to become a more truthful plane of expression. It was still apparent in the postmodern era, during which Jameson famously announced depth's 'replacement' by surface,[91] collapsing the world and its histories into shallow, superficial, patchwork spectacles for human consumption.

This thesis draws on recent rehabilitations of the surface across different modes of critical disciplinary scholarship, which have played on its dominant characterisation as a misleading veil or shallow simulation, to reclaim it as a vital plane of marginal self-expression.[92] In a special issue of *Women and Performance* published in 2018, entitled 'Skin, Surface, Sensorium', the theorist Uri McMillan summarised the recent development of the surface into 'a form of embodied perception for pondering alternative visions of the social'.[93] These resistant, experimental takes on the surface as a mode of perceiving the world are influenced by Gilles Deleuze's concept of 'the fold'. In his book *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, Deleuze posited an extension of Leibnizian philosophy of the Baroque into a theory of all matter as one plane arranged into a series of infinite folds, situating the supposedly divergent realms of interior and exterior in constant, flexible relation to one another.[94] A line of 'infinite inflection', Deleuze's theory of the fold situated the self as 'moving across outer material pleats to inner animated, spontaneous folds', constantly unfolding rather than split between authentic inner self and superficial outer presentation.[95]

Laced through disparate fields such as literary criticism, affect studies, subaltern photographic practice, and particularly the expanded field of Black cultural studies, McMillan notes that the surface as a folding plane of the self has become a paradigmatic concept in the theorising of race, gender and sexuality from a minoritarian perspective, acting as a frame to analyse how those who endure oppression have historically deployed and manipulated surfaces in order to negotiate the structures that define and condition their bodies in the public realm.[96] As Amber Jamilla Musser writes in an essay on the performative self-portraits of Lyle Ashton Harris, these modes of surface-expression are not so much about insisting on psychic depth, but

[90] Anne Anlin-Cheng, *Second Skin: Josephine Baker and the Modern Surface*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 8.
[91] Jameson, *Postmodernism*, p. 12.
[92] See José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Colour and the Performance of Politics*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Cheng, *Second Skin*; Giuliana Bruno, *Surface: Matters of Aesthetics, Materiality and Media,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), Amber Jamilla Musser, *Sensual Excess: Queer Femininity and Brown Jouissance*, (New York: NYU Press, 2018); Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus, 'Surface Reading: An Introduction', *Representations*, Vol. 108, No. 1, (Autumn, 2009), pp. 1-21; Uri McMillan, 'Introduction: Skin, surface, sensorium', *Women and Performance*, Vol. 28, No. 1, (March, 2018), accs. 10.02.24.
[93] McMillan, 'Skin, surface, sensorium'.
[94] Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, (London: Continuum, 1993), pp. 1-29.
[95] Ibid.
[96] McMillan, 'Skin, surface, sensorium'.

disrupting the 'scientific/pornographic drive toward locating knowledge in an 'objective' image' by placing parts of the self on a pourous, flexible, ever-changing surface, thereby embracing the 'mutability' of the concept of selfhood, and the agency of the subject in creating and revealing it.[97] An imperfect, creative, pliable vessel for the 'inner' self, on the one hand these marginal conceptions of the surface situate it as a site of subjective imagination, excess and alterity: a way to express complex personhood without recourse to inherently compromising language.[98] But on the other, just as importantly, these acts of surface-play are treated as a subjective defence mechanism, gesturing toward the possibility of a complex, dark, unknowable interior while protecting that interior from further scrutiny.[99]

Depth and Surface draws on this line of scholarship by dwelling on the surface of visual representations of its subjects. In doing so, it does not to try and glean their hidden depths, and thereby 'know' them, but, instead, yield a richer understanding of the marginal, performative strategies of selfhood they capture: mapping what subjects choose to expose at certain moments, the marks and experiences that linger there regardless, and the unseen dimension of their identities they have acted to conceal, in these moments of capture, from harm.[100] It follows Peggy Phelan's intention, set out in *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*, that in analysing subjects through these forms of close-reading, critical writing should not attempt to locate and expose the 'real', but instead 'disable the possibility of a Real-real': outlining ambiguities which linger around the subject rather than seeking to uncover what lies beneath the surface.[101]

The thesis deploys some of these contemporary concepts of the surface in the context of the evolution of popular ideas of selfhood in late 1970s and early 1980s Britain, in particular the emergence of the late-modern 'narrative self'. In his book *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Anthony Giddens noted that selfhood, in this period, became a 'reflexive project', bought together by narrative, in which the individual makes continuous moves to form a legible 'trajectory of development' from their past to their 'anticipated

[97] Amber Jamilla Musser, 'Surface-becoming: Lyle Ashton Harris and brown jouissance', *Women & Performance*, Vol. 28, No. 1, (Nov, 2018), accs. 14. 01. 24, https://www.womenandperformance.org/bonus-articles-1/28-1-harris?rq=billie.
[98] Examples include Musser, *Sensual Excess*, Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories,* Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); Uri McMillan, *Black Avatars: Genealogies of Black Feminist Art and Performance*, (New York: NYU Press, 2015); Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affectivity, Pedagogy, Performativity*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
[99] This protective role of the surface has been discussed in Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*, (London: Routledge, 1993); Tina Campt, *Listening to Images*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017); Simone Browne, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015); Sarah Stefana Smith, 'Surface play: rewriting black interiorities through camouflage and abstraction in Mickalene Thomas's oeuvre, *Women & Performace: a journal of feminist theory*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 46-64.
[100] For further discussion of this category of expression and its relationship to marginalised subjectivity, see Jośe Esteban Muñoz, 'From surface to depth, between psychoanalysis and affect', *Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory*, Vol. 19, No. 2, (2009), pp. 123-129.
[101] Phelan, *Unmarked*, p. 3.

future'.[102] The destabilisation of old concepts of identity such as gender, race or class had put the individual, Giddens argues, in a state of constant self-questioning. In the shards of the post-war consensus and the proliferation of mass-media, each moment or period of one's life was now challenged for how it legibly builds toward a moment of 'self-actualisation', where the fragmented parts of the individual become a unified, autonomous whole.[103] Examining how this narrative self might be articulated through consumer goods or work, Giddens looked at how, in both cases, these narratives seemed to play out primarily on *'the body'*.[104] Where before, the body seemed to be a passive object in relation to concepts of selfhood – a superficial entity concealing the true, innate self that lay beneath – here, it was recognised as a page on which statements of identity were written, and subsequently subject to constant editing to achieve the look of coherence and an arc of progress. A proliferation of choice in the consumer landscape and the loss of tradition's hold on everyday life had repositioned the body as a site of self-construction, working in tandem with other instruments of narrative to bring about a coherent story of one's life.[105]

Giddens' theory has resonance here for thinking through the role of women's style in Glasgow in this period as a form of 'self-telling' which drew, in part, from the matrix of late capitalism to cohere the fragmented shards of former class, gender and place-based forms of identity.[106] Rather than treat spheres of 'past' and 'future' self purely on an individual level, however, this thesis contends that women used dress and gesture as a form of autobiography that drew on a shared past stretching back through generations, and worked toward an 'actualised future'[107] that limned social, as well as individual dreams.

Thinking through recent, resistant concepts of the surface, this thesis conceives of women's style as a 'vernacular' tool of subject-formation hewn by overlapping forces of present circumstance and past injury.[108] It considers how the dismissal of 'style' by neo-Marxist perspectives in this era as 'corrosive consumerist message',[109] geared to encourage individuals to betray their class solidarities and numb their feelings of loss or political dissatisfaction through consumer goods, was also rooted in a patriarchal, imperial dismissal of the surface as a meaningful plane of self-expression.[110] It notes that this reading failed

[102] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, pp. 70-108
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, p. 210.
[106] Tulloch, *Birth of Cool*, p. 8.
[107] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, p. 75.
[108] Lynn Abrams, Barry Hazley, Valerie Wright and Ade Kearns, 'Aspiration, agency and the production of new selves in a Scottish new town, c. 1947-2016', *20th Century British History*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 576-604.
[109] James E. Cronin, 'Politics, Class Structure, and the Enduring Weakness of British Social Democracy', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 16, No. 3, (Spring, 1983), p. 134.
[110] For evidence of this view see Jeremy Seabrook, *What Went Wrong? Why Hasn't Having More Made People Happier?*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

to recognise how, for so many working-class women, the consumer landscape of the late 1970s and early 1980s provided unprecedented avenues by which to materialise, in the words of Ben Highmore, 'a range of social desires and demands'[111] which were deeply, inextricably connected to the self.

Traces: creases, folds and stains

Finally, instrumental to this thesis is the concept of the trace. Style, it argues, not only offered up new ways women could claim agency over their bodies in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but also weave the traces of unresolved histories into those acts of self-telling, recalling past injuries and exclusions, animating bygone figures, and memorialising ungrieved loss. It conceives of traces of surface-phenomena that bear witness to experiences, ways-of-life, figures and tastes that leave their mark on the lives of marginal subjects yet are seldom included in the purview of history. To do so, it calls on Herman Gray and Macarena Gómez-Barris' concept of the trace as a way to challenge the academic rendering of subjects in ways that 'reify, disdain, and flatten their social worlds and individual subjectivities in the desire for a resolution of impoverishment, victimization, and normalisation'.[112]

In this case, traces appear in the form of details and excesses that complicate how we read the visual representation of a subject. It may be in the form of wear, in creases, folds, fading and tears that bear witness to past lives. Alternatively, it might be in unexpected flourishes: bright colours, reflective surfaces, unusual combinations that betray signs of refusal to comply with what is expected. It considers how these traces can disrupt an otherwise smooth surface of the body with small instances of ambiguity and excess. With these surface-disruptions, subjects could prevent their total capture in the discourses imposed by mediums such as the documentary photograph or tabloid newspaper article. In *Surface: Matters of Materiality and Media*, theorist Giuliana Bruno remarks on how surface texture, by bearing these traces, can show otherwise unseen 'patterns of history, in the form of a coating, a film, or a stain': [113] the tussled surface of an unmade bed, for instance, revealing a world of 'residual' affect and invisible intimacies. As Renu Bora explains, surface-traces can also gesture toward the leaking of a 'knotty, ambiguous interior'[114] into outer material. Referring specifically to the textural characterisations animating queer literature, Bora's concept of 'texxture', naming the affective and physical ways one 'transforms the materials one would like to know, assess, love',[115] acts

[111] Ben Highmore, 'Taste as Feeling', *New Literary History*, Vol. 47, No. 4, (Autumn, 2016), pp. 547-566.
[112] Herman Gray and Macarena Gómez-Barris, *Toward a Sociology of the Trace,* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p. 4.
[113] Bruno, *Surface*, p. 24.
[114] Renu Bora, 'Outing Texture', in Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (ed), *Novel Gazing: Queer Readings in Fiction*, (New York: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 94-127.
[115] Ibid.

as a way to describe how subjects may trouble at the exterior of their bodies to refuse their easy reading, as well as the way a knowing viewer may trouble academic convention by recognising and describing that act of surface-disruption.

Depth and Surface treats the dressed body of each of its subjects as an index of traces: bearing the sediment of collective experience, the damage wrought by old pressures, the chimera of what might be or could have been. It looks at how the rich sensory and visual properties of cloth combine with the movements of the body to become a register of how women lived beyond a narrow historical and sociological gaze.[116] It treats these traces as significant because they indicate how much physical material relating to working-class women's lives in Glasgow was discarded over the course of the 20th century. The dispersal of the population of the inner-city from the mid-Victorian period onwards ushered in the unceremonious exit of feminine ways-of-life that were lost yet never fully mourned. The poor treatment of the women in state and social discourses meant any recognition of their complex humanity, and with it the importance of their bygone ways-of-life, had to come from within. In each of the case studies to come, women's style is framed as a tribute to these lost worlds, which pulled their fragments close to the body and gave them new meaning, and new value, in the political present.

Style is defined in this way partly as an extension of Avery Gordon's mission, set out her book *Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, to produce critical languages that are better able to capture the full, imaginative, speculative dimension of the lives of the 'poor, uneducated, disenfranchised' in academic discourse.[117] Calling on its early usage by Jacques Derrida in *Specters of Marx*,[118] Gordon conceived of hauntology as a way to recognise the material, affective and social worlds these subjects inhabit, and describe how these worlds are rendered immaterial by a conventional sociological or historical gaze. Naming her project as one of 'following ghosts',[119] Gordon takes the 'bare trace' as a form of ghostly record, too ephemeral, too unreliable, to command historical attention: yet the starting point to 'putting life back in'.[120] Through the frame of Gordon's 'hauntology',[121] women's style in late 1970s and early 1980s

[116] This attention to the surface traces of images, noting their subjective excesses, is related to Roland Barthes' notion of the punctum: an affective, unintentional detail in a photograph that 'pricks' the reader. However, it differs in the sense Barthes' punctum is instinctive, and has an explicitly erotic dimension, whereas these surface readings can be intentional, and are academic in scope.
[117] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, (University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 17.
[118] Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, (London: Routledge, 2006).
[119] Gordon, *Haunting*, p. 48.
[120] Ibid.
[121] There have been many other writers and theorists of hauntology, notably Mark Fisher, in *Ghosts of My Life: Writings on Depression, Hauntology and Lost Futures*, (London: Zer0 books, 2022). Gordon's notion of hauntology is most relevant here because it engages directly with the sociological gaze through which the subjects of this thesis have most often been rendered.

Glasgow becomes etched with the traces of people, experiences, material and architectures which have gone beyond the purview of historical memory, and have thus far exceeded the frame of sociological relevance or worth. It takes the vital surfaces of clothing and the ephemeral instances of gesture as remnants of a vast network of experiences, people, values and systems that lingered in the city in this period, yet were no longer formally recognised. As Barthes wrote, style is what happens when a difficult gesture is made seamless or elegant – a description that could also apply to the way someone 'with style' wears clothing, concealing its defects of age, value or provenance by the panache with which it is assembled and worn. Style, therefore, both conceals and reveals the dimension of the wearer: as Sara Ahmed writes of the body, 'this paradox – with effort it becomes effortless – is precisely what makes history disappear at the moment of its enactment'.[122] By attending to these traces ethically, they become prompts for the evocation of complex, ineffable aspects of the subject which would otherwise go unrecognised.

Expanding the purview of what is considered significant: the gap in scholarship

Depth and Surface tackles three gaps in current scholarship: addressing a contemporary dearth in experimental studies of gender history in Scotland, a lack of critical attention paid to street and documentary photography as historical sources, and the lack of alternatives to subcultural style as a framework for interpreting style as a mode of resistant, embodied expression.

Regarding the first, the need for greater experimentation is a gap in research which has appeared as the result of a broader, sustained effort to correct women's erasure in Scottish historiography. In 1994, feminist historians Alice Brown, Fiona Myers and Esther Breitenbach published an essay in the journal *Scottish Affairs* outlining the ongoing lack of academic attention afforded to women and gender relations in Scotland, arguing that their 'considerable inequality and disadvantage in economic, social and political terms' had been compounded by the lack of research conducted into their lives, particularly when it came to those women who were most socially and economically disadvantaged.[123] In 1998, Brown, Breitenbach and Myers gave further detail to the issue in an article for *Feminist Review*, arguing that the lack of attention paid to female experience in Scotland was not merely a result of 'Scottish male chauvinism and misogyny', but also the issue of Scottish women's marginality in feminist discourses in Britain, which tended to focus on English experience.[124] The dual operation of these forces – of the patriarchal tendencies of Scottish

[122] Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), p. 56.
[123] Brown, Breitenbach, Myers, 'Researching Women in Scotland', pp. 71-85.
[124] Alice Brown, Esther Breitenbach and Fiona Myers, 'Understanding Women in Scotland', *Feminist Review*, No. 58, (Spring, 1998), pp. 44-65.

scholarship and popular culture, and Scottish women's lack of recognition in British feminist discourse – had rendered Scottish women 'doubly marginalised'. In 2013, Katie Barclay, Tanya Cheadle and Eleanor Gordon published an article which reflected on the evolution of Scottish women's history in the intervening period.[125] Here, they praised the groundswell of complex, considered feminist historical inquiry that had emerged since the 1990s, noting how research areas that once seemed like voids in Scottish historiography, such as female participation in the economy, their household work, and their political lives, had since been addressed.[126] However, they also noted that space remained for more experimental research on gender, claiming women's history continued to stand to benefit from creative solutions to what Brown, Myers and Breitenbach called a 'difficulty in obtaining data' relating to the full breadth of women's lived experience in Scotland. Barclay, Cheadle and Gordon concluded that this perennial problem could be resolved by a more radical, critical 'consideration of institutions, social formations and sources that were not previously included in the purview of history'.[127]

The thesis addresses the gap in research outlined above by using experimental, interdisciplinary research methods to analyse photographs and forms of social reportage concerning women in Glasgow, some of which have never before been subject to sustained critical attention. Despite being heavily photographed and vividly rendered in other forms of imagery, these have seldom, as yet, been taken as primary evidence in the context of women's history in Glasgow.[128] While much has been written about the pernicious effects of social reportage and inspection on working-class subjects in the city, rarely has this form of evidence been viewed alongside the photographs this kind of discourse also relied on. The absence of images in Scottish historiography reflects a broader 'tentativeness and even distrust about the use of visual materials as historical sources', in the words of Jenny Tucker, compared with 'straighter' historical documents.[129] For a special volume of *History and Theory* published in 2009, Tucker noted that the use of images as sources

[125] Barclay, Cheadle and Gordon, 'The State of Scottish History', pp. 83-107.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Exceptions include Lionel Gossman, *Thomas Annan: Pioneer of the Documentary Photograph*, (Cambridge: Open Book Publisher, 2015); Aaron Andrews, 'Multiple Deprivation, the Inner City and the Welfare State: Glasgow, c. 1968-1978', *Modern British History*, Vol. 29, No. 4, (Dec. 2018), pp. 605-624; Leah Leneman, *Into the Foreground: A Century of Scottish Women in Photographs*, (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1993); Ben Reiss et al, *'Ways of Seeing': Women and Photography in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Studies in Photography, 2020).
[129] See Jenny Tucker, 'Entwined Practices: Engagements with Photography in Historical Inquiry', *History and Theory*, Vol. 48, No. 4, Theme Issue 48: Photography and Historical Interpretation, edited by Jenny Tucker, (Dec. 2009), pp. 1-8. Here, Tucker observes the current debate around photography as a form of historical evidence as emerging out of an earlier 'pictorial turn' established by theorists such as Roland Barthes, John Berger, Susan Sontag, Raphael Samuel and John Tagg. This special issue of *History and Theory* marked the development of visual evidence from a widely neglected source into a 'keystone of historical explanation' among historians of marginalised people or complex sociological phenomena who were interested in challenging 'historical inquiry as an intellectual project'. In more recent years, these engagements with photography have branched out into a number of different avenues of critical historiography, especially in relation to the transatlantic African diaspora.

of historical evidence was coming to the fore in certain areas of critical historical inquiry, but much work was still to be done to make the study of these sources an institutional norm.

In the case of Glasgow, what Tucker called historians' 'flat-footedness'[130] in calling on this rich, relatively untapped source of evidence has been compounded by the city's complex relationship to documentary representation over the course of the 20th century. From the 1860s to the 1980s, the medium was used time and again to reveal the city's issues of social decay, violence, disease and anti-social behaviour to a wider audience. The extent to which these images have been encoded with propagandist or compromising narratives has seemingly precluded them from being taken as reliable evidence of their subjects' lives – instead, they are more often used to lever discussion of the intention of the photographer, or the nature of the visual tradition they are grounded in.[131] While this is also the case for written evidence, whether social reportage or otherwise, historians seem to feel more comfortable using their institutional training to deconstruct written historical documents, and are less well equipped to apply those techniques to images. However, those who have recognised the value of images as unique historical sources pertaining to marginal life have addressed that academic discomfort by deploying techniques of image-reading drawn from a wider set of disciplines, discourses and backgrounds. Considering these broader advances in critical, historiographical scholarship,[132] this thesis intends to call on that knowledge to (re)read images of women in Glasgow. In doing so, it intends to demonstrate these images are historical documents that are both as rich and laden with tension as any other representational form.

Depth and Surface also contends with women's absence in the most well-established area of scholarship on personal style: that found in studies of subculture. The characteristic example of this is Dick Hebdige's *Subculture: the Meaning of Style*, published in 1979, which articulated a more general view of style as a form of youth leisure associated with the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS)

[130] Ibid.
[131] There are many examples of studies of historic photography and photographers in Scotland that adopt this approach, including Roddy Simpson, *The Photography of Victorian Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012); Tom Normand, *Scottish Photography: A History*, (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2007); A. D. Morrison-Low and Sara Stevenson, *Scottish Photography: The First Thirty Years*, (Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 2015); John Hannavy, *A Moment in Time: Scottish Contributions to Photography 1840-1920,* (Glasgow: Third Eye Centre, 1983).
[132] Salient examples of this avenue of scholarship to this thesis include Raphael Samuel, 'The Eye of History', in Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of* Memory *Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture,* (London: Verso, 1994), pp.315-337; John Berger, 'Ways of Remembering', *Camerawork*, No. 10, (July, 1978), pp.1-2; John Tagg, *The Burden of* Representation, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988); Patricia Holland and Jo Spence (eds), *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography,* (Virago Press, 1991); Ariella Azoulay, *Civil Imagination: A political ontology of photography*, (London: Verso, 2015); Saidiya Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval* (London: Serpent's Tail, 2019); Tina Campt, *Listening to Images*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017); Tulloch, *The Birth of Cool: Style Narratives of the African Diaspora*.

in that period.[133] Focusing on typologies of resistant style found among self-identified (mostly) male groupings, such as mods, punks, hippies or skinheads, the rare mention Hebdige makes of women and girls in *Subculture* is either in the instances they parade diminutive copies of styles pioneered by their male counterparts,[134] or when they are invoked to signal the death knell of the subcultural group via its entry, via female interest, into 'mainstream consumption': ie, by the mention of Punk style in *Woman's Own* magazine.[135]

In their essay 'Girls and Subcultures', Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber noted that the problem of girls' invisibility in theories of subcultural style seemed to be the centring of 'male membership, male "focal concerns" and masculine values' in the encoding and definition of subculture both by the media and in existing academic research.[136] As a result of this framing, women and girls' peripheral relationship to subcultural style becomes inevitable: as their engagement in these performances, as females, will always be secondary. Yet despite these structural flaws, subcultural style continues to dominate understandings of style as a mode of embodied resistance, particularly in the temporal context of the late 1970s and early 1980s: with Hebdige's study critiqued and elaborated in David Muggleton's well-known 2000 study *Inside Subculture: the Postmodern Meaning of Style*, and subsequently in disparate pieces that have 'continued their [Hebdige and Muggleton's] lineage, paid homage to it, contrasted their themes, and developed new angles.'[137] Christine Feldman-Barrett remarked in her recent essay 'Where the (untypical) girls are: Inscribing women's experiences into Dick Hebdige's *Subculture: The Meaning of Style'* that Hebdige's work, while ignoring women, has nonetheless acted as a potent 'source of inspiration' for female academics to instead 'write women's experiences into subcultural history'.[138]

Depth and Surface does not intend to add to this line of scholarship, but demonstrate an alternative to the analytical framework of style as a mode of subcultural resistance offered up by the CCCS. It does so in the belief that only a marked departure from the framing and language Hebdige used to theorise style in *Subculture* can situate women as the protagonists of this study. While it does acknowledge a debt to Hebdige

[133] See Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, (London: Routledge, 1979); Paul Willis, *Profane Culture*, (Falmer: Routledge, 1978); John Clarke, 'Style', in Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (eds), *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 147-161.
[134] Hebdige, *Subculture,* p. 43.
[135] Hebdige, *Subculture*, p. 99.
[136] Jenny Garber and Angela McRobbie, 'Girls and Subcultures' in Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 177-188. See also Angela McRobbie, 'Settling Accounts with Subculture: A Feminist Critique', in Angela McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture*, (London: Palgrave, 1991), pp. 16-34.
[137] Sklar, Strübel, Freiberg and Elhabbassi, 'Beyond Subculture', p. 721.
[138] Christine Feldman-Barrett, 'Where the (Untypical) Girls Are: Inscribing Women's Experiences into Dick Hebdige's *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*', in K. Gildart et al. (eds), *Hebdige and Subculture in the Twenty-First Century*, (London: Palgrave, 2020), pp. 93-111.

for his analysis of the 'typification' of working-class subjects via Victorian social documentary in his essay 'Posing…Threats, Striking…Poses: Youth, surveillance and display';[139] and his analysis of the importance of style to notions of postmodern, subjective reinvention in 'The Bottom Line of Planet One: Squaring up to The Face',[140] it moves decisively away from his conceptualisation of style as a form of youth leisure and a gesture of oppressed masculinity, not to invalidate this conceptualisation, but to demonstrate it is just one strand of a much broader field of activity regarding style in this period. Having made this departure, it looks instead to feminist and marginal approaches to style published since the late 1970s to conceive of it as a feminine biographical medium, a product of repetitive labour, and a manifestation of class-based desires for the 'betterment and beautification' of one's life.

By pushing at the boundaries of established historical inquiry and drawing on methods that better attend to visual evidence, *Depth and Surface* argues that these sources can provide new insight into their subjects and give rich context to their attendant histories of gender, class and place. From the proliferation of scandalised social reportage on slums at the turn of the 20th century, to the photographic studies of Glasgow's East End taken in the late 1970s, it takes the affective, romantic dimension of various forms of visual evidence, their perceived distance from the 'truth', as a measure of their potential to glean new forms of historical knowledge, and destabilise those which are more established. In doing so, the project situates itself within a growing field of historical inquiry which uses visual evidence of the dressed body, in all its knotty, ambiguous, compromising forms, as a departure point in (re)constructing critical histories of the marginalised.

Literature review: 'hidden histories'

As a critical, experimental, interdisciplinary study, *Depth and Surface* draws on many different fields of literature. In order to define style and situate it as both subject and critical lens, it has drawn on much of the work outlined in the index of terms listed above, interrelating works of feminist and experimental historiographical critique which emerged in the late-20th century with more contemporary discussions of the surface as a vector of marginal expression.

[139] Dick Hebdige, 'Posing…Threats, Striking…Poses: Youth, surveillance and display', in Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton (eds), *The Subcultures Reader,* (Routledge: London, 1997), pp. 393-405.
[140] Dick Hebdige, 'The Bottom Line of Planet One: Squaring up to The Face', in *Hiding in the Light*, (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 155-180.

It situates these earlier works in the context of what Carolyn Steedman called a turn away from the practice of 'academic History' in the late 1970s onwards, and toward more democratic, creative 'work of Memory'.[141] Movements such as the emergence of post-colonial thought and second-wave feminism **had** bred a wider disillusionment with the totalising narratives of historical discourse, Marxism included. These new perspectives had rendered memory – fragmentary and led by emotion – better able to bring purpose to the sea of bygone events, people and phenomena that had thus far been neglected by the discipline. In her essay 'The Space of Memory', Steedman announced that 'a new way of thinking and feeling has emerged,'[142] whereby the grand narrative, linear time framework of history as an academic discipline had been replaced by a sense of the past as a place to be mined for prior evidence of one's identity. Catalysed by the History Workshop movement of the 1970s, in which founder historian Raphael Samuel sought to place the practice of history into the hands of 'ordinary people',[143] strands of a once-rigid, elitist discipline had extended into a popular search for 'ideas, times and images' that might complete the story of one's arrival in the present, creating a 'well-spring of the modern self'.[144] Some of the works that fall directly into this category, including Raphael Samuel's *Theatres of Memory Vol. I*; Steedman's *Landscape*; Elizabeth Wilson's prolific critiques of working-class women's experience of the city; Jo Spence and Annette Kuhn's photography theory; and the prolific memory-work of bell hooks, all form the foundation of this research.

The thesis sees echoes – or perhaps values shared – between the work of these writers in the 1970s and in the more recent practices of queer theory, Black cultural theory, literary criticism and performance studies mentioned in the index of terms above. These disciplines have turned the past into a living organism, doing away with the logic of linear time and scientific objectivity and bringing it to the service of the bodies this discipline once made abject.[145] In *Landscape for a Good Woman*, Steedman sets out a field in which historians may no longer universalise their ideas, but particularise them 'so the people in exile, the inhabitants of the long streets, may start to use the autobiographical "I", and tell stories of their life'.[146] In connecting past and present discussions around style, surface and the uses of the past, this thesis situates style as an intersectional, historical methodology which seeks to particularise the lived experience of marginal citydwellers.

[141] Carolyn Steedman, 'The space of memory in an archive', *History of the Human Sciences*, Vol.11, No.4, 1998, pp. 65-83.
[142] Ibid.
[143] See Sophie Scott-Brown, *The Histories of Raphael Samuel: A Portrait of the People's Historian*, (Acton: Australian National University Press, 2017), p. 42.
[144] Steedman, 'The space of memory in an archive', p. 74.
[145] Pollock, 'The Performative I', p. 74.
[146] Steedman, *Landscape*, p.17.

In terms of content and context, it has drawn on a wide range of histories and sociological studies of Glasgow, building on their findings and locating their blind spots. Broader histories have historically tended to focus on three main themes – industry, housing and governance – pinning the arc of Glasgow's development as a city to its rise and fall as an industrial power. Within that field, housing has been a particular site of interest because of the scale of construction that took place over the course of the 20th century and its effects on the lives of the population. It is this area of research that has been most influential here. This research ranges from broader surveys of municipal planning to more in-depth, sociological and critical analyses of its human effects and political failures. Of the former, texts such as Irene Maver's *Glasgow*, and Michael Pacione's *Glasgow: The Socio-Spatial Development of the City*, and Andrew Gibb's *Glasgow: the Making of a City*, have provided useful sketches of the scope and direction of the city's urban planning over the course of the 20th century. Seán Damer's *Scheming: a social history of Glasgow Council Housing*, as well as his earlier studies on housing schemes of Moorepark and Govan, provide insight into the Foucauldian systems of discipline and surveillance that were engendered by Glasgow Corporation's system of council housing in the interwar period, and the afterlives of these regimes in the architecture and grassroots culture of the schemes that remained.[147] More recently, Lynn Abrams, Valerie Wright, Ade Kearns and Barry Hazley have published work which has sought to dismantle the roundly negative views of Glasgow's urban planning, particularly that which was done in the post-war period, by taking a more holistic, human-centred view heavily reliant on first-hand testimony of council house residents. In their book *Glasgow: High-Rise Homes, Estates and Communities in the Post-War Period*, and shorter studies such as 'Isolated and dependent: women and children in high-rise social housing in Glasgow' and 'Aspiration, agency and the production of new selves in a Scottish new town', these historians have argued municipal housing in Glasgow was a vital forum for the expression of individual and collective identity, engendering forms of experience that were far more complex than more straightforward critiques had so far allowed.[148]

[147] Seán Damer, 'Engineers of the Human Machine: The Social Practice of Council Housing Management in Glasgow, 1895-1939', *Urban Studies*, (October 2000), pp. 2007-2026; Seán Damer, *From Moorepark to Wine Alley: The rise and fall of a Glasgow housing scheme,* (Edinburgh University Press, 1989); Damer, *Scheming*.

[148] Lynn Abrams, Barry Hazley, Valerie Wright, and Ade Kearns, (2018) 'Aspiration, agency, and the production of new selves in a Scottish new town, c.1947–c.2016', *20th Century British History*, 29(4), pp. 576-604; Lynn Abrams, Ade Kearns, Barry Hazley and Valerie Wright, *Glasgow: High Rise Homes, Estates and Communities in the Post-war Period*, (London: Routledge, 2020); Valerie Wright, 'Housing problems…are political dynamite': Housing disputes in Glasgow c. 1971 to the present day, *Sociological Research Online*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 976-988, Barry Hazley, Lynn Abrams and Valerie Wright, 'Place, memory and the British high rise experience: negotiating social change on the Wyndford Estate, 1962-2015', *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 72-99; Lynn Abrams, Linda Fleming, Barry Hazley, Valerie Wright and Ade Kearns, 'Isolated and dependent: women and children in high rise social housing in post-war Glasgow', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 28, No. 5, pp. 784-813; Ade Kearns, Valerie Wright, Lynn Abrams and Barry Hazley, 'Slum clearance and relocation: a reassessment of social outcomes combining short-term and long-term perspectives', *Housing Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 794-813.

Alongside studies of the city's housing, this project pays close attention to a strong line of feminist historiographies of Glasgow, which began in the late 1970s and gathered pace from the 1990s onwards. A milestone for this field was Elspeth King's *The Hidden History of Glasgow's Women*, a response to influential Women's Liberationist and founding History Workshop Movement member Sally Alexander's landmark feminist text *Hidden from History*. Here, King bemoaned the 'male dominated historiography' that had so far shaped processes of archiving and writing the city's past.[149] Tracing the emergence of patriarchal historical narratives back to Glasgow's founding myth of St Mungo, King noted that, by the 20th century, the folkloric legacy of these patriarchal narratives had been sustained by the disproportionate attention paid to Glasgow's 'business and industrial history' over any other facet of the city's culture – seemingly because of the patriarchal perception of these fields as the most historically significant, and the power of these economies to cultivate scholarly attention and thus foster their own legacy.[150] While institutional archives seemed replete with the records necessary, by extension, to write a history of Glasgow's heavy industry, overseas trade, and the male-dominated aspects of its trade union activity, King was the most prominent voice to raise the issue that there seemed to be no official 'parallel mechanism for the preservation of sources relevant to the writing of women's history'.[151]

Due in no small part to the work of activists such as King, in response to the perceived male dominance of the field, a wide range of feminist research was conducted into women's labour, political activism, class struggle and social movements in the city. These did not just seek to foreground women's history, but filter those histories through the prism of 'consciousness-raising' principles of Women's Liberation, placing their findings in a broader narrative of women's efforts to achieve freedom and equality in Scotland. Among them were Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon's *The World is Ill-divided: Women's Work in Scotland in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, a collection of studies into different aspects of women's labour in Scotland between 1875-1950, and *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society*, which explored various spheres of women's political resistance and social activism. Other texts, such as *Grit and Diamonds: Women in Scotland Making History* and *Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Glasgow Women's Studies Group*, sought to preserve women's recent history for posterity, emphasising their role as active agents of community building and political resistance in lesser-studied domestic or social arenas.[152]

[149] King, *Hidden History of Glasgow's Women*, pp. 1-3.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Barbara Littlewood, 'Foreword', in Glasgow Women's Studies Group (eds), *Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences, 1850-1982*, (Glasgow: Pressgang), p. 1.

As Barclay, Cheadle and Gordon later observed, since that point, attention to women's history in Scotland has continued,[153] producing a wide range of work centred on Glasgow that has moved beyond 'masculine historiographies' of its heavy industries to more complex, gender-based studies of working-class labour, politics and social life. Recent examples include as Ewan Gibbs' study of gendered effects of deindustrialisation on industrial Lanarkshire;[154] Andy Clark's work on female trade unionism and factory occupations in the West of Scotland;[155] Arthur McIvor's research on public health and embodiment;[156] Annmarie Hughes' broad-ranging research into women's political identities in Scotland;[157] Lynn Abrams' research not only into social housing but gender and everyday life;[158] and Carol Craig's studies of the emotional landscape of Glasgow and its effect on gender relations.[159] Much of this work has been crucial to the writing of this thesis. Less well addressed up to this point, however, is the potential of alternative, experimental approaches to enunciate new, more radical historical narratives which do not so much address existing gaps in scholarship as push at the contours of the scope, methods and aims of the writing of women's history in this region. Also missing in this scholarship, as discussed earlier, is the use of images as a primary source.

This study also builds on a line of historical inquiry which investigates the imaginative landscape of Glasgow. In his study of gang violence in Glasgow, sociologist Alistair Fraser highlighted the 'deeply storied and mythologised' popular culture that underpinned everyday life in the city.[160] In lieu of stable work, the fabric of Glasgow's patriarchal, labouring identity was sustained here by the interweaving of folk tales and images of 'hard men' into the city's everyday vernacular – suffused with 'legend' status, these

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[153] Barclay, Katie, Cheadle, Tanya, and Gordon, Eleanor, 'The State of Scottish History: Gender', *The Scottish Historical Review*, April, 2013, Vol. 92, No. 234, Supplement: The State of Early Modern and Modern Scottish Histories (April, 2013), pp. 83-107, P. 85.

[154] Ewan Gibbs, *Coal Country: The Meaning and Memory of Deindustrialisation in Post-war Scotland*, (London: University of London Press, 2021).

[155] Andy Clark, *Fighting Deindustrialisation: Scottish Women's Factory Occupations, 1981-1982*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2023).

[156] Arthur McIvor, 'Toxic city: industrial residues, the body and community activism as heritage practice in Glasgow', in E. Kryder-Reid and S. May, *Toxic Heritage: Legacies, Futures and Environmental Injustice*, (London: Routledge, 2023); Arthur McIvor, 'Blighted lives: Deindustrialisation, health and well-being in the Clydeside region,' *Revue d'Histoire*, Vol. 144, No. 4, (Sept, 2019), pp. 98-113; Arthur McIvor, 'Rebuilding "real men": work and working-class male civilian bodies in wartime', *Men, Masculinities and Male Culture in the Second World War*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

[157] Annmarie Hughes, *Gender and Political Identities in Scotland, 1919-1939*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 180.

[158] Lynn Abrams and Callum G. Brown (eds), *The History of Everyday Life in Twentieth Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Lynn Abrams, Ade Kearns, Hazley, Barry, and Wright, Valerie, *Glasgow: High-Rise Homes, Estates and Communities in the Post-War Period*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2020); Lynn Abrams, Linda Fleming, Barry Hazley, Valerie Wright, & Ade Kearns, 'Isolated and dependent: women and children in high-rise social housing in post-war Glasgow', *Women's History Review,* 28:5, (2019), pp. 794-813.

[159] Carol Craig, *The Tears That Made the Clyde: Well-being in Glasgow*, (Glasgow: C.C.W.B Press, 2019); Carol Craig, *The Scots' Crisis of Confidence*, (Glasgow: Argyll Publishing, 2011).

[160] Alistair Fraser, *Urban Legends: Gang Identity in the Post-Industrial City*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. xxi.

stories echoed 'across generations and around the world' to provide an 'anchor of continuity'.[161] Myth and legend have provided a crucial foundation to allowing the population of Glasgow to forge elements of national identity, reacting to their compromised status as a devolved power in the United Kingdom. In his book *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory*, Andrew Blaikie observes how, since the 1707 Treaty of Union, Scotland forged its own development as an evocative 'landscape of the mind', produced discursively by the 'images that are evoked and the emotions that belonging conjures up'.[162] Blaikie further states that the late 1970s and early 1980s were a crucial moment in this process because they marked the rise of post-modernism, during which the myths of public memory became ever more fractured, atomised and attenuated by media representation, producing reductive 'icons of identity'[163] which evoked distant impressions of bygone ways of life as evocative, complex symbols of belonging.

As Lynn Abrams and Callum G. Brown remark in *A History of Everyday Life in 20th Century Scotland*, some of these '(stereotypical) myths'[164] such as 'tenement overcrowding', 'poor housing conditions', and 'the wash-day routine of women at the steamie',[165] have provided historians with a bridge between their research into women and popular understanding of Glasgow's past. However, they have also tended to simplify the complex, multiplicitous nature of the everyday as it was experienced by these subjects. These approaches often succeed in making women visible, but that visibility continues to be elaborated on masculinist terms: pitching women either as legible participants in a male-dominated culture – for example as heavy labourers, trade unionists or political activists – or as supporting characters, alien forces or insurgents into it. The late 1970s represented a historical juncture in which the grip of the organising metaphors of myth and industry seemed to loosen their hold over Glasgow: more creative historiographical methods, as well as new sources, are needed to capture the scope of women's emergence into this fractured landscape of the city, and their role as constitutive of, rather than peripheral to, the city's working-class history.

Approach: style as performative principle

Depth and Surface invokes style as an analytical frame for four case studies, each of which focus on a different aspect of women's day-to-day lives which plays out between the dominant spheres of home and work. Some of these theories use the term style explicitly, and others gesture toward the definition of style

[161] Ibid.
[162] Andrew Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 8-12.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Abrams and Brown, *Everyday Life in 20th Century Scotland*, pp. 9-10.
[165] Ibid.

laid out earlier in this chapter. The thread drawing these theories together is their sense of style as a site of feminine political expression: an elegance drawn from everyday necessity, a way of recognising oneself as a subject, and claiming agency over how one's body is seen and interpreted by those in positions of power.

The thesis will focus on visual representations of women in this period. It will take these images as a kind of visual inventory with which to take stock of the historical and political resonances of the forms of dress and embodiment they capture. The specific type of visual evidence used throughout this thesis is often that which has been taken, collected and analysed by people who figure some power over the women they depict. Spanning documentary photography, social reportage, press reportage and other kinds of 'visual and textual images',[166] to use Carol Tulloch's parlance, the project draws specifically on these forms of evidence to illustrate style's use in this context as a tool of resistance, destabilising the narratives they impose on subjects. It looks at forms of documentary photography, rather than examples of family or amateur photography, for example, because it intends to illustrate how style operates to subvert the power dynamic embedded in 'documentary' as a supposedly neutral, record-taking discipline.[167] This model is directly inspired by historian Tina Campt's approach in her book *Listening to Images*. Here, Campt deals explicitly with photographs of Black subjects intended 'to delineate differential or degraded forms of personhood or subjection', asking how a closer, critical reading of such images can demonstrate how subjects can both comply with compromising forms of representation, while enunciating 'alternate accounts' of themselves within that frame.[168]

This is an interdisciplinary study, because it has been necessary to draw from a range of disciplinary fields to form the view it takes of style as a critical lens, as well as identify style as a subject. In his essay 'Case Studies in Interdisciplinary Research', Rick Szostak referred to interdisciplinarity as actively compelled 'to embrace a freedom to explore any theory or method or phenomenon that the researcher(s) think appropriate to the question being asked'.[169] In that spirit, this study does not merely engage a range of critical approaches, it actively embraces and reflexively compares a broad range of fields and positionalities as the 'basic non-negotiable principle of interdisciplinary research'.[170] Proceeding in four, descriptive case studies, it has adopted this format because it allows for a vivid, thematic organisation of visual sources which allow them to build into a comparative survey rather than one that proceeds by linear chronology.

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[166] Tulloch, *The Birth of Cool*, p. 4.
[167] See Tagg, 'Introduction', in *The Burden of Representation*, pp. 1-33.
[168] See also Ariella Azoulay, *Civil Imagination: A political ontology of photography*, (London: Verso, 2015); Christopher Carter, *Rhetorical Exposures: Confrontation and Contradiction in US Social Documentary Photography*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2015); Christopher Pinney, *Citizens of Photography: The Camera and the Political Imagination*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2023).
[169] Rick Szostak, *Interdisciplinary Research: Process and Theory*, (London: Sage, 2020), p. 8.
[170] Ibid.

Case studies, as John Gerring writes, 'if well-constructed, allow one to peer into the box of causality to the intermediate causes lying between some cause and its purported effect'.[171] In this project, the headline of each case study acts as a departure point to chart the evolution of women's style in a particular context. Brought together, they are intended to highlight the reverb between discrete historical experiences and their shared difficulties of categorisation, positing style as a way to address the need for more expansive critical languages to make sense of how these subjects have exceeded the dominant terms and frames imposed on them.[172]

Style operates here as a performative principle, in which the subject matter guides and interrupts the writing used to describe it. That approach builds on Eileen Joy and Anna Klosowska's 2013 anthology of critical writing *On Style: An Atelier*. Drawing mostly on new experiments in Medievalist historiography, *On Style* sets out the broader aim of using style to disrupt the 'false binaries' in conventional academic method between 'affect and rigour, poetry and history, attachment and critical distance, enjoyment and discipline'.[173] Style, they argued, refers to the 'hopeless entanglements' of works of critical theory between 'self and Other', 'observer and observed' and 'past and present'[174] which, far from rendering academic research invalid or insufficiently rigorous, acts as an ethical, representative model, ensuring the researcher has had the rules and formulas of their methods shifted by the affective resonance of the subject.

This approach to style is also intimately linked with Della Pollock's concept of 'performative writing'.[175] Pollock conceives of 'performative writing' as a mode of narration that intervenes on academic discourses on identity with expressions of human vitality, shaking loose of any intention to identify, unpack or master their subject and to instead move with, alongside and through, 'the fluid, contingent, unpredictable, discontinuous rush' of their '(performed) experience'.[176] Pollock's notion of performative writing does not simply challenge the orthodoxies of academic writing, but its objective: rather than producing a history of what is known, and may be taught to others by way of digestion and replication, she revels in the idea of a mode of academia that is able to limn a history of absence, interiority and unknowing. Pollock states that

[171] John Gerring, 'What is a Case Study and What is it Good For?', *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (May, 2004), pp. 341-354.
[172] In *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, Saidiya Hartman 'elaborates, transposes and breaks open archival documents so they might yield a richer picture of the social upheaval that transformed black social life in the 20th century' – her aim to dismantle archival documents so they might 'yield a richer picture' of the subjects they portray has inspired the approach of this thesis. Hartman, *Beautiful Experiments*, p. xiv.
[173] Eileen Joy and Anna Klosowska (eds), *On Style: An Atelier*, (New York: Punctum Books, 2013), 'Prefatory Note'.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Della Pollock, 'Performing Writing', in Peggy Phelan and Jill Lane eds., *The Ends of Performance*, (New York: NYU Press, 1997), pp. 73-103.
[176] Ibid.

this process has a sensual dimension, best described as an entanglement or seduction.[177] Similarly, this thesis holds that capturing the full dimension of imaginative, complex, citational modes of style encountered in these sources requires a bending of academic form and an unseating of the researcher's distance: unsettling these orthodoxies with the vital presence of the dressed body. Thus, each chapter employs modes of close, fragmentary reading of the photographs and other sources it gathers, intending that these passages act as a measure of style's capacity to sway the viewer, across times and contexts, in unexpected directions.

Findings:

Case study one: 'Steel Hammers: demolition, reconstruction and the development of women's style in Glasgow'

Case study one traces the emergence of style as an aesthetic sensibility among women affected by Glasgow's slum clearances over the course of the 20th century. Memoir, film and photography shed light on the bearing ongoing demolition had on women's bodies and emotions, and the creative methods of living they adopted, over generations, to make themselves resilient to these forms of destruction. Here, metaphors of the cohering, memorialising power of clothing and textiles found in women's memoir frame women's style in Glasgow as an instrument of becoming through the constant, manifold forms of social rupture that would take place in this city over the course of the 20th century. Bringing together a broad selection of documentary photography and social reportage, the study investigates the role these had to play in elaborating perceptions of women in Glasgow as troubling spectres of slum life. Drawing on Elizabeth Wilson's conception of urban women in *The Sphinx in the City*, representing 'what is feared and desired at the heart of the maze'[178] it finds that these representations of women affected by slum clearance at once erased, subjugated and stigmatised them while also gesturing toward aspects of their lives in the city that persistently evaded capture.

Among the images under consideration in this study are a selection from Thomas Annan's *The Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow*, commissioned by the Glasgow City Improvements Trust to capture some of the poorest, oldest enclaves of the city before they were demolished in 1866. The study considers the strong visual relationship of these forms of social record, and their representation of Glaswegian women, to examples taken in the 1970s and 1980s, such as photographs by Nick Hedges as part of a campaign against

[177] Ibid.
[178] Wilson, *Sphinx*, p. 157.

slum housing for the charity Shelter. Using Tina Campt's method of 'listening to images', the study contextualises all of these forms of 'evidence' of women's lives as slumdwellers with various works of memoir. Tracing the visual, rhetorical and conceptual echoes between these examples, the study argues the destruction, loss and stigma caused by slum clearance engendered critical, creative worldviews in these women which saw them turn to dress and other forms of material as a means to (re)build their complex, resistant, resilient identities. It finds that dress was a major strand of the cultural life of many women living in Glasgow, but had never been fully recognised as such because it fell just beyond the purview of the social gaze. Instead, style was deployed here as a set of mysterious, unknowable feminine qualities Wilson positions as the 'riddles' of the sphinx.

Case study two: Mother Glasgow's succour: Glasgow style and embodied citations of the steamie

Case study two, 'Mother Glasgow's succour: Glasgow style and embodied citations of the steamie', looks at the evolution of the city's most enduring female stereotype: that of the long-suffering, stoic housewife. In particular, it addresses the focal role of steamies, Glasgow's public washhouses, in the construction of that stereotype. The chapter will look at washing as a lesser acknowledged vector for working-class culture in the city with its own potent set of symbols and values. Fundamental in shaping the spatial, temporal and visual landscape of many women's lives for over a century, the chapter will examine the demands of washing among the poorest women in 20th century Glasgow as a form of habitus that would outlast the machinery used to sustain it. The chapter considers the dowdy, some out-of-date dress and comportment of the woman at the steamie in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a consciously unruly, citational mode of embodiment: unsettling fragile distinctions between the Glasgow's past and present, reminding the population of its roots, and in turn becoming an unlikely pillar of the postmodern phenomenon of 'Glasgow style'.

The images used here trace the evolution of the spectacle of the manual laundress from the late Victorian era to the period in question. Drawing on documentary photography of steamies over the course of the 20th century, it charts working-class women's reclamation of an institution that was once used to contain and condition their bodies into socially-useful workforce. Gathering press reportage around the surprising persistence of steamies in the late 1970s and early 1980s, it finds that these immediately-recognisable women now symbolised the persistence of the old city in the landscapes of the new, making their resilient, rebellious bodies an inspiration for 'Glasgow style'.

Case study three: ‘Outsiders by choice’: Paddy’s Market, the Barras and the roots of Glasgow subculture

Case study three looks at the development of the second-hand clothes trade in the East End of Glasgow and its use as a source of subcultural style in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It investigates how dominant conceptions of ‘subcultural style’ failed to take account of the forms of embodied resistance cultivated here by generations of stigmatised, impoverished, predominantly Irish Catholic women. It positions the female hawkers at Paddy’s Market and the Barras as figures who haunted Glasgow’s commercial centre for over a century, creating and sustaining a disruptive, informal economy which fed off the waste matter of the city’s development. Examining the patchwork, irreverent styles of Glasgow’s late 1970s and early 1980s counter-cultural scenes, so often sourced from Paddy’s Market and the Barras, it makes a direct link between the gestures of subversion to which they were attached and the practice of aesthetic subversion cultivated by these hawkers by sourcing and selling these goods over generations.

The main source of evidence used here is two case photographic surveys of Glasgow’s East End conducted by Partick Camera club in the late 1970s. Mounted in response to planned developments taking place in the area, it examines these photographs for evidence of the elements of resistant, working-class urban culture that appeared to be under threat from creeping privatisation in the city. Putting these photographs side-by-side with other examples of street photography from the period, and historic images of female hawkers in Glasgow, it argues that this period witnessed the surfacing of Paddy’s Market and the Barras, for the first time, as mainstays of the city’s working-class identity, situating these women as living examples of the city’s longstanding proclivity for style. Concluding with poetry by Maud Sulter and Liz Lochhead, it finds that these markets offered up a story of female nonconformism that a new generation of women could call on to leaven their contemporary identities as ‘outsiders’.

Case study four: What Every Woman Wants: consumption and desire in Glasgow’s ‘New Times’

Case study four, ‘What Every Woman Wants: consumption and desire in Glasgow’s “New Times”’, examines the development of Glasgow’s working-class consumer landscape in late 1970s and early 1980s with particular attention to the success of its home grown, cut-price department store What Every Woman Wants (What Everys). It examines how What Everys’ offering of fashionable, affordable clothing allowed

women to create looks that concealed or turned away from traditional signifiers of class, fashioning themselves into mainstream visions of urban life. Here, the misogynist eye of press photography laces through a story of working-class women's desires to participate in a fantasy of city life which had historically been predicated on their exclusion from it. Looking at the rise of neoliberalist ideology in Glasgow, the success of the store is taken as both part of the camouflaging effect of consumerism over its fracturing economy and an articulation of deep, complex desires on the part of its target market, whose relationship to working-classness was never as straightforward as certain voices suggest.

What Every Woman Wants, it argues, is the product of what theorist Stuart Hall dubbed the 'New Times':[179] a political phenomenon coming to prominence in the 1980s whereby class and political affiliation was supplanted by 'lifestyle' and 'consumer choice' as the dominant means to express identity. Taking note not just of the globalised landscape of clothes production, but the flexible forms of credit and semi-illicit market operation taken advantage of by What Every Woman Wants, the chapter investigates how some of the most previously marginalised women living in Glasgow were able to include themselves in the landscape of the 'New Times', and the political narratives they unsettled as a result.

This chapter draws heavily on images drawn from popular media, in particular advertising and tabloid press. It also draws on the results of a focus group interview session conducted with six participants in February 2021, as well as extracts from an email interview conducted with one participant in spring 2023. For both feminist historians and for those of working-class or labour history, oral histories have proved to be an essential method of shifting some of the power dynamics and methods of interpretation that otherwise seem inherent to the practice of making history itself: giving 'back to the people who made and experienced history, through their own words, a central place'.[180] However, in this instance, the focus group interview acted as a supplementary form of evidence because the general focus of this thesis is on visual forms of evidence: the non-verbal, bodily techniques subjects adopt to enunciate narratives of their lives in the instances they cannot speak or are not listened to. In the focus group, a broad discussion was used to signpost shopping habits, brands, memories of shopping and care of clothing which could then lead to more concentrated research on the visual aspects of the appeal of What Every Woman Wants and the kind of images women were fashioning themselves toward, against or alongside. A subsequent appeal on social media to find former employees or customers of What Every Woman Wants in the relevant time period led to a further email interview with a former employee at a Glasgow branch, who answered questions about

[179] Stuart Hall, 'The Meaning of New Times', in Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques (eds), *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990).
[180] Paul Thompson, 'The Voice of the Past: Oral History', in *The Voice of the Past*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 22.

the nature of the work, the store's products and typical customer base, and the atmosphere of ambition and fantasy the store engendered.

Neither of these interviews were drawn from a representational sample. The focus group interview was conducted with various members of the Scottish Women's History Network, aged between 35-75, all living or having lived in the West of Scotland during the period in question. Participants came from a range of class backgrounds and occupations, and had a range of relationships to Glasgow during that time. Their responses were intended to direct the sourcing of evidence, rather than provide it first hand. Participants were encouraged to bring in an image as a prompt to thinking about why and how they dressed the way they did at that time. This proved a fascinating way of redoubling attention toward the visual aspects of their lives: helping to tease out the composite parts, in cut, fabric, detail or construction, of style as they had defined it then.

1. Case study one: Steel Hammers: demolition, reconstruction and the development of women's style in Glasgow

1.1 Introduction

Over the course of the 20th century Glasgow's inner-city was transformed by policies of slum clearance, relocation and construction, displacing working-class communities and exhuming their material remains. While comparable approaches to slum housing were adopted across the UK, the scale of the issue in Glasgow, and the policies adopted to resolve it, were both unmatched.[1] Here, slum clearance created an urban landscape that, by the late 1970s and early 1980s, was littered with signs not only of historic clearances but the decline and dereliction of post-war housing developments, 'monuments of misery' which revealed the failure of utopian, modernist planning to solve the city's perennial social problems.[2] Slum clearance stopped, but still Sociologist Seán Damer notes that moving to a new council house had, by this time, become a 'major experience for the working-class' in Glasgow:[3] a feature of popular experience that had a significant bearing on people's sense of self.

This chapter is a tentative exploration of how style emerged as a way for women to negotiate experiences of stigma, dispersal and loss that were tied into the experience of slum clearance between 1871, when the city's first major demolitions took place, to 1975, when the policy was symbolically abandoned. It demonstrates how the common absence of a fixed, secure or familiar home encouraged the cultivation of creative ways-of-seeing that were shaped by the loosening effects of the city's ongoing dereliction, demolition and redevelopment. Looking at a selection of images of slumdwelling women and girls captured at the beginning of this process, and toward the end of it, it marks the fleeting resonances between them as the basis for this exploration. Using Tina Campt's method of 'listening to images', these resonances outline style as a 'lower frequency' to the dominant discourses of slum clearance which powerfully framed women

[1] A wealth of literature exists regarding the scale and severity of Glasgow's demolition programme, including Damer, *Scheming*; Michael Keating, *The City that Refused to Die: Glasgow - The Politics of Urban Regeneration*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University, 1988); Frank Wordsall, The City that Disappeared: Glasgow's Demolished Architecture, (Glasgow: Molendinar, 1981); Andrew Gibb, *Glasgow: The Making of a City*, (London: Routledge, 1983); Michael Pacione, *Glasgow: The Socio-spatial Development of the City*, (London: Routledge, 2021).
[2] John MacCalman, 'End of the line for E blocks', *The Glasgow Herald*, 03.05.1987.
[3] Seán Damer, *From Moorepark to Wine Alley: The rise and fall of a Glasgow housing scheme,* (Edinburgh University Press, 1989), p. vii.

as unmoored, out-of-time, and a problem to be solved. A selection of women's memoir, which refers in vivid detail to the lived experience of slum clearance, is used to draw out these 'lower frequencies', and position the late 1970s and early 1980s as a key moment in which women sought to restore some of what was lost and reclaim their humanity.

In the first section, there is an exploration of the fevered pursuit of the slumdwelling woman in Glasgow in the late 19th century, evidenced in some of the earliest works of social reportage and documentary photography. Using Elizabeth Wilson's concept of the 'sphinx in the city' – her vision of the 'half woman, half animal' who roams the 'cities of modernity and postmodernity',[4] as a figure of fear and also desire – it investigates the perceived threat these women posed to order in Glasgow. The ragged, barefoot girls in Thomas Annan's *The Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow*, captured between 1868 and 1871, are taken as 'knowledge figures' of the city, icons of its failure to ever fully pin down the problems with which it contends.

Surveying the development of municipal housing over the subsequent decades, which constantly, failingly, tried to attend to perennial issues of overcrowding and disorder, the chapter then arrives at the 1970s, during which a 'rediscovery of poverty' in Britain's inner-cities witnessed the revival of Victorian attempts to map and dissect its slums. Here, the chapter introduces Tina Campt's concept of 'listening to images', arguing that by placing some of these documents side-by-side it is possible to take note of details within them that are not immediately obvious. Style, it argues, constitutes one of these 'lower frequencies'. Garments and postures subtly disrupt the script imposed on the image by the context in which it was first circulated, demanding closer attention, and sensitive methods of interpretation. Vignettes from women's memoir in Glasgow further contextualise these images: mapping the unmoored, ragged women they present from a personal perspective. With this writing, tools are provided to assist in the process of 'listening to images' to discern their 'quiet but resonant claims to personhood'.[5]

This analysis lays the groundwork for reading images of women in Glasgow in the late 1970s and early 1980s for evidence of style, and for explaining why those traces of style are historically significant. Bringing in Stuart Hall's notion of 'reconstruction work',[6] Daniel Miller's notion of style as a reaction to precarity,[7] and Carolyn Steedman's interpretation of clothing as a 'boundary'[8] it takes this expanded method of

[4] Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City, Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women,* (Virago Press, 1991), p. 157.
[5] Tina Campt, *Listening to Images*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), p. 11.
[6] Stuart Hall, 'Reconstruction Work: Images of Post-War Black Settlement', in Ben Highmore (ed), *The Everyday Life Reader*, (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 251-61.
[7] Daniel Miller, 'Why clothing is not superficial', in *Stuff*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), pp. 12-22.
[8] Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press), p. 112.

'listening' for style to a final set of images. With photographs by Mike Abrahams and Homer Sykes, and stills from *Clyde Film*, the chapter considers the emergence of women into the shattered landscapes of the city from 1975 onwards, armed with the clothes they wear. Style, it concludes, allowed these women to remember lost worlds and disrupt their framing in the present, wearing corners of the city that authorities continually tried and failed to exhume.

1.2 'Herself ruined, she ruins others': Glasgow's earliest slum clearances

Over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, the rationale of slum clearance relied on evocative images of women taken from within the folds of slums.[9] Women were potent symbols of the moral and physical threat of slums to the city because they represented the potential degradation of the contained, harmonious domestic sphere, which was taken as the backbone of Britain's success as an industrial power. As Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff assert, by the mid-19th century, a concert of political, religious, literary and urban discourses had converged to produce a domestic female ideal in Britain, whose 'virtuosity lay in her containment, like the plant in the pot, limited and domesticated, sexually controlled, not spilling out into spheres in which she did not belong nor being overpowered by "weeds" of social disorder'.[10] Her rootedness in the home was not only seen as incumbent to the reproduction of the industrial workforce, but the preservation of a nascent, rapidly developing, yet fragile industrial urban body politic: maintaining anxious spatial boundaries between ever-more stratified neighbourhoods, preventing the spread of disease from the poor to the rich, precluding the sexual temptation of men and the potential for cross-class breeding.

Home to the densest concentration of urban population in Europe by the interwar period,[11] and conducting its first major programme of slum clearance via the City Improvements Trust in 1866, Glasgow would prove particularly fertile ground for shaping Britain's popular imaginative landscape of the slum. As labourers arrived in droves from the Highlands and Ireland in the mid-19th century, the inner-city became replete with unplanned, hastily built tenements to accommodate new workers, built privately with little available light and no real sanitary infrastructure.[12] The condition of these enclaves first earned nationwide notoriety in social reformer Edwin Chadwick's *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, published in 1842, in which Chadwick concluded that the slums of Glasgow and Edinburgh were

[9] James Donald, *Imagining the Modern City*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 1-19.
[10] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class,* (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 191-192.
[11] Maver, *Glasgow*, p. 256.
[12] See Anthony S. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public health in Victorian Britain,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 98-119.

the 'most wretched of the stationary population of which I have been able to obtain any account, or that I have ever seen'.[13] The American novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne's *English Notebooks* noted that 'The poorer classes of Glasgow excel even those of Liverpool',[14] while Friedrich Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, published in Britain in 1891, similarly reinforced a recent newspaper article that the city's 'abject wretchedness exceed the lowest purlieus of St Giles or Whitechapel, the liberties of Dublin, or the wynds of Edinburgh'.[15] Dark, dank and situated in the heart of the city, these slums were emblematic of the perceived dangers of urban miasma, a favoured theory of Chadwick, in which frequent mass outbreaks of cholera and typhus were said to be spread, impervious to barriers of class or occupation, through bad smells in the air.[16] Suffering repeated outbreaks of both diseases in the Victorian period, the fear of disease in Glasgow mingled with more general fears of the contagion of the urban slum.[17]

Alerted to the gravity of the issue by a succession of epidemics, Glasgow's city fathers were early adoptees of drastic measures to tackle the worst of its inner-city housing, concentrated to the east and south in the regions of Calton, Saltmarket and the Gorbals.[18] Victorian Glasgow's unique prevalence of private lodging, in which rooms or even beds in single households were rented out to improve household income,[19] made overcrowding in these areas a particular concern. In 1863, Dr William Gairdner was made the city's first Medical Officer for Health, overseeing a dedicated urban sanitary department. Gairdner's most well-known policy was that of 'ticketing' overcrowded houses, which would see all city dwellings over the occupancy limit branded with a persons limit nailed to the front door.[20] Unusually, Gairdner's ticketing policy mandated surprise inspections of suspected dwellings at night, giving rise to sensational, often salacious press reports of the disordered sleeping arrangements of Glasgow's urban poor.[21] Images of beds shared by strangers mingled fears of medical and social contagion – of corrupted women and girls, liable to reproduce those same conditions for their children. With sleeping bodies often so crowded they were 'secreted between the bedboards and the mattress',[22] these households rendered, in Gairdner's own words,

[13] Chadwick, *Report*, p. 23.
[14] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The English Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne, (edited by Randall Stewart)*, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962), p. 667.
[15] Engels, *The Condition of the Working-class*, p. 52.
[16] Laura Vaughan, 'Disease, Health and Housing', in *Mapping Society: The Spatial Dimensions of Social Cartography*, (London: UCL press, 2018), pp. 24-60.
[17] W. W. Knox, 'Health in Scotland 1840-1940', in *A History of the Scottish People*, (Glasgow: Scran, 2004), pp. 1-9.
[18] Gossman, 'Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow', p. 89.
[19] Geoffrey Best, 'The Scottish Victorian City', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Symposium on the Victorian City, (March, 1968), pp. 239-358.
[20] C. M. Allan, 'The Genesis of British Urban Redevelopment with Special Reference to Glasgow', *The Economic History Review*, 1965, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1965), p. 604.
[21] Best, 'Scottish Victorian City', p. 338.
[22] *London Daily News*, 9 April 1912.

slumdwelling women's 'state of degradation' liable to be passed 'from generation to generation'.[23] By the 1880s, night visits remained, in England, an unacceptable breach of privacy, yet in Glasgow, these concerns prompted a special team of sanitary inspectors to make up to 40,000 a year.[24] Garnering a nationwide reputation for 'the excellence of its inspection', writes Christopher Hamlin,[25] the city's ticketed housing policy framed the inner-city slum as a weed-like growth in need of constant pruning to keep it under control. Young girls, often found wandering the streets or sleeping in alleyways to escape abuse in overcrowded lodgings, were sent to reformatories: penal institutions geared to restore a Victorian 'familial ideology'.[26]

In her book *The Sphinx in the City*, theorist Elizabeth Wilson considers the centring of women in these anxious discourses. A new tradition in 19th century urban reports presented, she argues, a 'new version of Hell', which set a symbolic mandate for future urban planning to aim for the removal of 'women and children, along with other disruptive elements – the working-class, the poor, and minorities' from the public sphere altogether, allowing for the smooth application of the 'over-rationalistic control and authoritarian order'[27] of an increasingly patriarchal, moralising urban authoritative regime. The wandering, corrupted woman was taken as a symptom of the slum's impunity to forces of patriarchal control, 'symbolising the menace of disorder' posed to 'all spheres' with every further step she took across the city.[28] These women seemed too at home in the dark, winding alleys of the metropolis, too comfortable in spaces authorities were yet to map and route. A popular book by printmaker Alexander Brown, penned under the pseudonym 'Shadow', *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs: Being Sketches of Life in the Streets, Wynds and Dens of the City*, evidences the mingling of fear and pleasure projected onto the female subject that strayed from these dwellings in Glasgow.[29] Like Gairdner's inspectorate, 'Shadow' conducted his studies exclusively at night, capturing the prosperous industrial city's 'alter ego'[30] in its most notorious neighbourhoods from sundown across the period of a week. Written while working undercover, vividly evidenced by eye-witness observation and interviews, it was an early example of a growing tradition of middle-class, vigilante-style

[23] W. T. Gairdner, 'Preface', A. K. Chalmers (ed), *Public Health Administration in Glasgow: a memorial volume of the writings of James Burn Russell*, (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1905), pp. vi-vii.
[24] Christopher Hamlin, 'Nuisances and Community in Mid-Victorian England: the Attractions of Inspection.', *Social History*, Vol. 38, No. 3, (2013), pp. 346–379.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Linda Mahood, 'The "Vicious" Girl and the "Street Corner" Boy: Sexuality and the Gendered Delinquent in the Scottish Child-Saving Movement, 1850-1940', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (April, 1994) p. 559.
[27] Wilson, *The Sphinx*, p. 12.
[28] Wilson, *The Sphinx*, p. 157.
[29] Shadow, *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs: Being Sketches of Life in the Streets, Wynds and Dens of the City,* (Glasgow T. Murray&Son, 1858).
[30] William Findlay, 'Glasgow's oppressive nightmare: midnight scenes from the "metropolis of puritanism", in Rosie Findlay and Tri Tran (eds), *Towns and Town Life in Scotland*, (Tours: François Rabelais Press, 2019), pp. 135-158.

reports into Britain's slums which pitched them as exotic territories, explored and thereby conquered by a heroic protagonist.[31]

While some of Brown's portrayals of women were warm, they nonetheless appeared to animate the leaking borders of Glasgow's sprawling, mysterious slums. The 'backlands' of Calton, for example, were condemned by the presence of vulnerable women in what should have been male-only lodgings.[32] The area's problems with alcoholism, while mainly a male affliction, were underscored by the occasional presence of 'drunken women' stalking the streets in 'thin dirty rags'.[33] The danger of the Bridgegate area was summed up by the ubiquity of its 'low shebeens', 'untraversed caverns' replete with prostitutes who were 'too disfigured' to walk the streets in the light of day.[34] Unmoored from the civilising order of the home, likely sullied by the 'promiscuous mixing of the sexes'[35] in overcrowded lodgings, females appeared to embody the spectre of social decay as they wandered away from the myriad abuses, indignities and laviciousness of their own broken homes: 'Herself ruined**,**' Brown concluded, 'she ruins others'.[36]

The cumulative effect of these works of policy and literature was to create the sense that the demolition of the city's slums – and thereby the destruction of the disorder within – was the only logical, realistic solution to the problems they posed. In 1866, the Glasgow Improvements Act stipulated the destruction of 40 sections of an area of the inner-city, 'Ancient Glasgow', believed to be worst affected by issues that had become typical of slum life, such as the poor 'character and occupation of the population'; the 'impurity of the atmosphere'; and 'population and overcrowding'.[37] In this first rote of total demolition, around 20,000 people were displaced.[38] According to William Smart, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Glasgow, since this first Act had come into force, 'the public mind had become thoroughly awake to the danger of letting things alone' and allowing the city to evolve again without the proper oversight.[39] In light of this, he advised that an ambitious rollout of carefully-planned municipal housing, better able to impose order on the household, was the only route forward, regardless of the potential increased cost to displaced

[31] Other examples include Jack London, *The People of the Abyss*, (London: MacMillan, 1904); Octavia Hill, *Homes of the London Poor*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); George Godwin, *London Shadows: A Glance at the 'Homes' of the Thousands (The Rise of Urban Britain)*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 1985).
[32] Shadow, *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs,* p. 17.
[33] Shadow, *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs*, p. 114.
[34] Shadow, *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs*, p. 54.
[35] Mahood, 'The "Vicious" Girl', p. 554.
[36] Shadow, *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs,* p. 69.
[37] 'Glasgow Improvements Act 1866', 1866 c. lxxxv, https://vlex.co.uk/vid/glasgow-improvements-act-1866-808480229, accs. 15.01.24.
[38] James Morrison, *A few remarks on the high rate of mortality in Glasgow: with observations on the measure taken by the municipal authorities to reduce same, under "The Glasgow Improvements Act, 1866" and other public acts*, (Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1874), p. 20.
[39] William Smart, 'The Problem of Housing', *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 56, (Dec, 1904), p. 527.

tenants. ‘It seems to me that fresh air, and quiet sleep at nights, and surroundings which would react on the character and conduct upon whom so much depends – the wife –’, Smart assured readers, ‘might easily add far more than sixpence to the earning power of the household’.[40]

Among the most influential works of social reportage to Glasgow’s subsequent approach to council house building was Medical Officer for Health James Burn Russell’s *Life in One Room* (1888). Here, Russell levered the sympathy of concerned, middle-class audiences to make alarming statistics on the poor sanitation and overcrowding of inner-city Glasgow feel like a romance. While appeals to emotion were a common feature of late-Victorian social reportage,[41] here, Russell made the unusual decision of encouraging audiences to actively take up the position of the female slumdweller. A long, speculative passage, addressed entirely in second person, alerted listeners to her situation in a rousing call to action. ‘How would *you* deport yourself,’ he asked,

> ‘in the racket and thoughtless noise of your nursery, in the heat and smells of your kitchen, in the steam and disturbance of your washing-house, for you would find all these combined in a house of – one room?’.[42]

Among the legacies of Russell’s *Life in One Room* was, as James C Smyth reports, its extensive use in a later Royal Commission on working-class housing in Scotland, mounted in 1917.[43] Smyth writes that this report provoked the radical decision to call ‘a working-class housewife’,[44] Mary Burns Laird, ‘to give evidence to an official enquiry for the first time’.[45] In her witness report, Laird, who was later an active leader of Glasgow’s 1918 rent strikes, described in detail the ‘exhausting routines of arranging the house around the different need of father, mother, children’,[46] all of which were made harder and more deadening in the restricted space of a one or two-room Glasgow tenement. Her report ended with a painful description of dealing with the death of a child, its ‘still pale form’[47] ever present in her never ending run of tasks, the disorderly house as tragedy rather than threat. Two years later, the 1919 Housing & Town Planning Act, a law introduced across Britain stipulating the building of new homes to meet the increasing needs of the

[40] Smart, ‘The Problem of Housing’, p. 534.
[41] E. P. Thompson and Eileen Yeo, *The Unknown Mayhew*, (London: Random House, 1971), p. 51.
[42] James Burn Russell, *Life in one room, or, Some serious considerations for the citizens of Glasgow: a lecture delivered to the Park Parish Literary Institute*, (Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons, 1888), p. 13.
[43] James J. Smyth, ‘The Power of Pathos: James Burn Russell’s *Life in One Room* and the Creation of Council Housing’, *Scottish Historical Review,* Vol. 98, No. 1, (2019), pp. 123 – 124.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Industrial Population of Scotland Rural and Urban*, (Edinburgh: Stationary Office, 1917), p. 95 (point 670).
[47] Ibid.

urban working-classes, was made into law. In Glasgow, the building of an estimated 57,000 new state-owned and state-funded homes, with 'light and air and space' as a basic requirement,[48] was written into the Corporation's plans.[49]

1.2.1 Barefoot girls in the photography of Thomas Annan

Fig. 1. T. & R. Annan & Sons, 'Close no. 11 Bridgegate', 1897, The Scottish National Gallery.

[48] Quote from another landmark lecture on housing for the 'respectable' working-class from Glasgow Municipal Housing Commissioner William Smart, in 'The Problem of Housing', *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 56, (Dec, 1904), p. 535.
[49] Seán Damer, *Scheming: A Social History of Glasgow Council Housing: 1919-1956*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), p. 3.

In cities across the western world, Wilson observes how moves to replace the organic, winding slums that had cropped up during the early industrial revolution with rationalised, modern developments cultivated a melancholic, romantic form of urban consciousness which made a muse of the unruly woman at their centre.[50] The continuing demolition and redevelopment of the modern city dramatised the irony of state attempts to better know and locate this subject, which often ended up creating yet more unmappable space for her to occupy, guises for her to adopt, more borders for her to trouble. In tune with these impulses, this female 'sphinx of the city', in Wilson's words, was a feature of early documentary photography.[51]Across Europe, early adoptees of photography were drawn to these unknowable subjects, in the hopes it could capture what other forms of urban documentary constantly failed to grasp, and distil the camera into a didactic form of art. In his essay 'On Photography', Walter Benjamin captured the tensions of these images in a passage on the 'Newhaven Fishwife' photographs, which were taken in the 1840s by Scottish artist David Octavius Hill.

> 'In every fishwife from Newhaven,' he speculated, 'who gazes at the ground with such nonchalant, beguiling modesty there remains something that, as testimony to the artistry of the photographer Hill, is not completely absorbed, something that cannot be silenced, obstreperously demanding the name of she who has lived, who remains real here and will never consent to enter fully into "art"'.[52]

These subjects, Benjamin asserted, appeal to society's compulsion, faced with the losses incumbent to urban progress, to 'find the inconspicuous place in which, in the essence of that moment which passed long ago, the future still nestles today'.[53] *The Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow* (1868-71), a collection of photographs by Thomas Annan which were commissioned by the Glasgow City Improvement Trust to capture parts of Glasgow which were soon to be demolished by their Act of 1866, was a prime example of the genesis of this impulse. Carried out under the auspices of a mere record-taking enterprise, these were 'perhaps the first comprehensive collection of photographs ever made of slum properties',[54] and a pioneering example of the 'social documentary' category of photography. Women often feature in these images: standing at the edges of dark alleyways, barefoot and dressed in rags. Occasionally, little girls are seen carrying babies in threadbare shawls (see fig. 1), forced too soon into adult silhouettes. 'In surveying

[50] Elizaebeth Wilson, 'Into the Labyrinth', in *The Sphinx in the City*, pp. 1-12.
[51] Wilson, 'Into the Labyrinth', *Sphinx in the City*, pp. 1-12.
[52] Walter Benjamin, *On Photography,* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), pp. 64-66; see also Martha Rosler, 'In, around, and afterthoughts (on documentary photography), in Martha Rosler, *3 works*, (Halifax: Nova Scotia, 2006), pp. 61-93; Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).
[53] Ibid.
[54] Gossman, *Thomas Annan of Glasgow*, p. 25.

them, we instinctively feel that human life born, bred or led within their shades is sorely handicapped,' as historian William Young introduced the 1900 edition of Annan's study, 'and that the day of their extinction is more than due'.[55] First published in 1878, republished as a narrated, photogravure edition in 1900, then re-released almost a century later in 1977, Annan's photographs proved to be timeless, betraying some hidden truth of women's ability to evade the city's constant attempts to exhume the problem of its slums.

Fig. 2. T. & R. Annan & Sons, 'Close No. 37, High Street', 1868-1871, Albumen print, 29.2cm x 21.8cm, The Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

[55] William Young, 'Introduction', in T. R. Annan & Sons, *The Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow*, (Glasgow: J.Maclehose & Sons, 1900), pp. 1-3.

Raphael Samuel writes that photography in this period quickly developed into a scopophilic medium,[56] making a fetish of the slum, holding captive, in the work of a moment, the beauty and cessation of primitive, disordered ways-of-life and, in turn, their survival as fragments in certain iterations of the urban female body. Where, in the photographs Eugene Atget similarly took of Paris in 1911, theorist Molly Nesbit claims he registered that fetish by the *absence* of the Parisienne in his images,[57] Annan's photographs distilled it into the ghostly, dirty, barefoot girls of Glasgow's old closes and wynds, who would survive almost all attempts at the destruction of their material world. Nesbit has referred to the Parisienne, found in paintings by Manet or poetry by Baudelaire for example,[58] as a 'knowledge-figure', someone that enables the viewer a sense of access to the city's effects on people and vice versa – meaning that when she was removed in Eugene Atget's photographs of Paris, that absence creates a sense of mystery, of erotic shadow: the essence of the city.[59] Across these images of Glasgow, the unavoidable *presence* of these women, always baring the smallest trace of raggedness, always turned away or beyond, offered up a sense of access to Glasgow's deepest wounds: embodying the pathos of its losses, the disorientation of its changing geographies, the persistent threat of its failure as a municipality.

Women appeared as tantalising knowledge-figures here because they were conjured through an 'essentially male consciousness',[60] Wilson comments, anxious about the breakdown of the patriarchal systems that extended a limited order over city streets and domestic interiors. So often published with overtures to public inquiry or interest, in that sense the evolution of slum photography in Glasgow worked in tandem with that of literary or political discourse, incessantly evoking the threatening, yet romantic spectre of a woman who evaded her proper location in the fabric of the urban landscape. The more this woman was captured, the greater the scrutiny heaped onto her appearance, the more her mysteries seemed to multiply. 'The reformers and sociologists come in search of the truly disadvantaged', as Saidiya Hartman writes in *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, a critical intervention on discourses of slum reform around Black women living in the cities of post-emancipation America. 'Failing to see her and her friends as thinkers and planners, or to notice the beautiful experiments crafted by poor black girls'.[61]

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[56] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p. 253.
[57] Molly Nesbit, 'In absence of the Parisienne', in Beatriz Colomina (ed), *Sexuality and Space*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), p. 310.
[58] See Édouard Manet, 'La Parisienne', 1876, 2648 x 3775, National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm Sweden; Charles Baudelaire, 'Rêve parisien', *The Kenyon Review*, Vol. 30, No. 4, (Autumn, 2008), pp. 34-36.
[59] Nesbit, 'In Absence of the Parisienne', p. 310.
[60] Wilson, *Sphinx in the City*, p. 5.
[61] Saidiya Hartman, Wayward Lives, *Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval*, (London: Serpent's Tail, 2019), p. 4.

Fig. 3. Thomas Annan, ‘The Back Wynd’, 1899-1900, The Old Closes and Wynds of Glasgow, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Programme.

1.3 Listening to images, locating echoes

In the interwar period, Glasgow Corporation embarked on the construction of a number of highly stratified schemes, beginning with upmarket 'garden suburb' type estates such as Mosspark or Knightswood, featuring cottages with ornamental interiors on tree-lined streets, and ending with the 'rehousing' category of scheme, such as Blackhill or Moorepark, which were bare, tenement-style dwellings assigned en-masse to the poorest slumdwellers. The kind of close surveillance once conducted on an ad-hoc basis by concerned social reformers and surprise night inspectors was written into the architecture of this latter category, in the hopes of preventing their 'backsliding' into slum conditions once again.[62] After the Second World War, during which the city's housing needs had worsened, Glasgow Corporation's programme of slum clearance and council house building intensified. 29 Comprehensive Development Areas were assigned across the inner-city. The aim of Comprehensive Development, realised in areas such as Anderston, Cowcaddens, Springburn and the Gorbals, was the complete destruction of residences and a total reorganisation of their layout around a choice remainder of municipal buildings such as churches and schools.[63] Large, modernist overspill estates – Castlemilk, Drumchapel, Pollok and Easterhouse – were established on the city's fringes to accommodate those displaced, while new towns, self-contained municipalities often built to a higher standard,[64] were erected further afield.

By the late 1970s, the wisdom of Glasgow Corporation's quest to exhume the city of slum life had come under question. A range of factors, including social 'residualisation',[65] a declining urban economy and a combination of poorly-judged building materials and architectural design had, once again, seen Glasgow's haunting landscape of disordered dwellings, isolated women, and sprawling, unmapped ghettoes return to public consciousness.[66] Here, the hunt for the 'problem tenant' remained feverish,[67] yet she remained

[62] A roster of housing inspectors, nurse inspectors and sanitary inspectors were assigned to the four 'rehousing' schemes built in this period to conduct regular patrols of flats, ensuring that standards of hygiene were maintained, proper use of facilities was upheld, and disorderly behaviour did not spill into common areas. The cleanliness of households was graded from 'clean', to 'fair', to 'dirty', with lower marks stipulating a punishment of more regular inspections and, in the worst circumstances, eviction.
[63] Ronald Miller, 'The new face of Glasgow', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 86, No. 1, (1970), p. 9.
[64] See Lynn Abrams, Barry Hazley, Valerie Wright and Ade Kearns, "Aspiration, agency, and the production of new selves in a Scottish new town, c.1947–c.2016", *Twentieth Century British History*, 29(4), pp. 576-604;
[65] For an explanation of slum 'residualisation', see Ben Jones, 'Slum Clearance, Privatisation and Residualisation: the practices and politics of council housing in mid-twentieth-century-England', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (December, 2010), pp. 510-539.
[66] Vikki McCall and Gerry Mooney, 'The repoliticisation of high rise social housing in the UK and the classed politics of demolition', *Built Environment (1978-),* Vol. 43, No. 4, High-Rise Urbanism in Contemporary Europe, (2017), p. 643.
[67] The notion of Glasgow's 'problem tenants' is explored by Seán Damer in his study of the Moorepark 'rehousing' scheme in Govan, *From Moorepark to Wine Alley*. The study offers a compelling account of the 'top-down' typification of slumdwelling people in Glasgow.

elusive. For example, in a BBC documentary on Glasgow's post-war scheme of Lilybank, aired in 1977, sociologist Kay Carmichael took up residence in the scheme for three months, vividly rendering a 'fourth world: people in the cities of the affluent West,' in the words of narrator Magnus Maggnusson,

> 'who are slipping *back* into deprivation. They aren't conspicuous, they don't go around in rags, but they are among us.'[68]

The next section of this chapter examines how the traces of Victorian discourses of the slum, and particularly the slumdwelling woman, survived into the late 1970s and early 1980s, as a symbol of the state's failure to exhume her from Glasgow. Bringing together some of these images, it identifies the seeds of women's style, arguing that it is through these endless attempts to frame women in the discourses of the slum that style as a method of breaking up expectation, evading capture, and mounting a counter narrative of one's body, began to emerge.

It seeks style in these images by drawing on historian Tina Campt's approach of 'listening' for the sensorial, narrative and emotional registers of visual representations of compromised subjects that we may not always feel we can perceive through sight.[69] In her book *Listening to Images*, Campt considered various collections of 'historically dismissed' photographs of diasporic Black subjects, and conceived of 'listening to images' as a way to dismantle and disrupt the 'degraded forms of subjecthood' inherent in their conventions of presentation.[70] Interested in gauging a view of life within the limits of a single poor, diverse urban community, Campt 'listened' to images found in the Dyche collection, an archive of photographs and ephemera taken from the Dyche Studio in Balsall Heath, Birmingham. Situated in a deprived area to the south of the city centre, the Dyche Studio was a popular place for new migrants (largely from the West Indies and later South Asia) to have photographs taken, either to send home to family or to use in official documentation. Campt compared the visuality of passport images of Black people held within this archive against contemporaneous imagery of subjects in the local neighbourhood, such as in Janet Mendelsohn's *Varna Road*, a photographic essay of a nearby street in Balsall Heath known for housing sex workers, taken shortly before it was demolished in the 1970s.[71]

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[68] *Lilybank – The Fourth World*, first aired on BBC 1, 14.11.1977, accs. 02.05.24, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mXws_9JiKlk.
[69] Campt, *Listening to Images*, p. 11.
[70] Campt, *Listening to Images*, p. 32.
[71] For further discussion see Kieran Connell, 'Photographing Handsworth: photography, meaning and identity in a British inner city', *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 128-153.

Putting one image side-by-side with another, Campt attempted to discern how their subjects signalled quiet refusals to accept the bare terms of subjectivity offered up to them by dominant powers.[72] The 'sartorial echoes'[73] in the dress and gesture of subjects in the looser, freer context of Janet Mendelsohn's Varna Road images gave context, in this way, to the quieter, more formal composition of those in the Dyche Collection, gesturing toward a more fulsome picture of the lives of those captured, their 'strategies of survival'[74] in certain contexts. Campt described 'listening' to these images as an expanded practice of attunement, moving beyond the desires of those who take the photograph or the discourses in which it first exists and attending instead to an expanded, critical 'ensemble of seeing, feeling, being affected, contacted, and moved beyond the distance of sight and observer'.[75] Her methodology broadly assigns the researcher a position of ethical responsibility to discern the contours of the dispossessed subject beyond what can be seen, what is made visible, in regimes of power. Using Campt's method, the mysteries, problems and echoes of images of the 'slumdwelling' woman across time, what Elizabeth Wilson might call the 'sphinx in the city', highlight the minor 'strategies of survival' of their subjects. Fleeting echoes in the detail of images, the context for which is elaborated from a broader range of sources, lays the groundwork for style as among the 'ambient frequencies' communicated by women here to negotiate a compromising regime of representation: allowing them to refuse their total capture in these pictures, no matter how detailed or intrusive, and maintain a shared 'refrain' of complex, autonomous personhood.

[72] Campt, *Listening to Images*, p. 4.
[73] Campt, *Listening to Images*, p. 41.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.

1.3.1 ‘A Life Worth Living’: Nick Hedges for Shelter

Fig. 4. One of a series taken in the Gorbals. Nick Hedges, ‘Mrs H’, c. 1970, A Life Worth Living. Courtesy of Nick Hedges.

Figures four, five and six, for example, were taken by Nick Hedges between 1968 and 1972, as part of a campaign entitled ‘A Life Worth Living’ commissioned by the housing charity Shelter. The campaign was intended to expose the squalid living conditions still endured by inner-city slumdwellers, a problem many believed had disappeared in the Victorian era. ‘A Life Worth Living’ was mounted in the aftermath of a succession of nationwide reports conducted in the 1960s, such as Brian Abel-Smith and Peter Townsend’s *The Poor and the Poorest: A New Analysis of The Ministry of Labour’s Expenditure Surveys*,[76] which had revealed, contrary to received wisdom about the benefits of post-war investment in urban housing and welfare,[77] that poverty in British cities was in fact, once again, on the rise. This ‘rediscovery of poverty’, as sociologist Rodney Lowe described it, provoked renewed focus on the inner city as the ‘locus of urban problems’ Britain could not seem to exhume.[78] With a greater density of post-war building development

[76] Brian Abel-Smith and Peter Townsend, *The Poor and the Poorest: A New Analysis of the Ministry of Labour’s Family Expenditure Surveys of 1953-54*, (Gravesend: Bell, 1966).
[77] Rodney Lowe, ‘The rediscovery of poverty and the creation of the child action group, 1962-68’, *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (1995), pp. 602-611.
[78]Aaron Andrews, ‘Multiple Deprivation, the Inner City, and the Fracturing of the Welfare State: Glasgow, c. 1968-78’, *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 29, No. 4. pp. 605-624.

than anywhere else in Europe, and greater levels of deprivation than almost any other urban conurbation,[79] Glasgow was the ultimate symbol of this lapsed attempt at post-war recovery. Nick Hedges was sent there, among cities such as Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds and Bradford, to document the haunting persistence of Victorian problems in Britain's inner cities.[80]

Fig. 5. Nick Hedges, 'Mrs H', A Life Worth Living, c. 1970. Courtesy of Nick Hedges.

In Glasgow, Hedges was particularly drawn to the Gorbals area. Sitting just south of the river, here, the last remaining tenements, which had been built in the 1870s to replace the medieval 'Gorbals Village' destroyed in the clearances of 1866, were now being cleared. A notorious area of 'slum' life, the Gorbals was among

[79] Chick Collins and Ian Levitt, 'The policy discourses that shaped the "transformation" of Glasgow in the later 20th century: "overspill", "redeployment" and "the culture of enterprise", in Keith Kintrea and Rebecca Madgin (ed), *Transforming Glasgow: Beyond the Post-Industrial City*, (Bristol: Polity Press, 2019), p. 28.

[80] Writing in the first issue of *Camerawork*, a magazine founded in the late 1970s to articulate a new tradition of aligned, leftist photography, Nick Hedges expressed his ambivalence around the use of his images by charity Shelter to convey a particular narrative of poor, urban life. Emerging out of the Half Moon Photography Workshop, established in 1972 'with the specific aim of showing documentary photography and discussing its role', *Camerawork* reflected a growing critical awareness of how documentary photography had used its subjects as vessels for the projection of social desires, anxieties and prejudices of authoritative forces, as well as a new, leftist impulse to demonstrate how, with the right tools, those same photographs might be interpreted differently.

the first to be targeted by Glasgow's post-war Comprehensive Development Area clearance policy. These tenements sat in the shadow of an area called 'Hutchesontown' which had seen Victorian slums demolished and replaced with an ambitious modernist scheme, designed by architect Basil Spence, in the early 1960s.[81] Massively overbudget, subject to frequent delays, and almost immediately suffering widespread complaints of damp and condensation from tenants, Spence's development had been controversial.[82] Fabricated from materials poorly suited to the Glaswegian climate, composed largely of high-rise buildings that seemed to render residents isolated and vulnerable, it was seen by some as 'the prime example of a prestige project'[83] which gave more credence to the architect's vision than the reality for those who had to live in the subsequent design. Hutchesontown C would join a roster of post-war modernist council schemes in Glasgow's inner city which, by the 1980s, were mired in signs of failure, with 10% unoccupied entirely.[84]

Fig. 6. Nick Hedges, 'Mrs H', A Life Worth Living, c.1970. Courtesy of Nick Hedges.

[81] Joe Moran, 'Imagining the Street in Post-war Britain', *Urban History*, Vol. 39, No.1, (February, 2012), pp. 166-186.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Lynn Abrams, Ade Kearns, Barry Hazley and Valerie Wright, *Glasgow: High Rise Homes, Estates and Communities in the Post-war Period*, (London: Routledge, 2022), pp. 10 – 15.
[84] Ibid.

The above image, figure six, shows a woman, Mrs H, crossing the vast expanse of a tenement back court that had mostly been vacated in preparation for its pending demolition. At this time, she and her family were still trapped in their flat as their rental contract had not yet finished. She wears a rumpled mini dress and barely perceptible shoes. The baby is immaculate in white, sitting in an Allwin pram, silver frame glinting in the low afternoon light. The court is strewn with rubble and broken wood: what appears to be the remains of a building, situated beyond the frame. Hedges recalls that their family had recently been woken 'by the noise of a huge demolition ball being swung from a crane against the wall of their tenement'.[85] The crew were unaware the building was still occupied. Where, across the rest of Hedges' commission, he tended to focus on slum interiors, here he made the choice to capture his subject in the open (**air)**. The resulting photographs draw unmistakeable echoes with Annans' study of 1866. In both cases, dimly-lit, isolated, poorly-shod female figures appear in parts of the slum which have succumbed to dereliction, soon to disappear ('twilight was the ideal hour' for the earliest examples of street photography, as Raphael Samuel wrote, evoking a sense of introspection).[86] Situated at eye-level, with a baby almost luminescent in white, there too are traces of the 'still pale form' of the deceased baby in the corner of the tenement room, described by Mary Burns Laird to the Commission on Housing in 1917. Captured walking, face turned, tights laddered and dress rumpled, and even in the anonymous pseudonym of 'Mrs H', there are the ghosts of the disordered, ruined women of Brown's *Midnight Sketches*, albeit more humanely rendered. 'Sartorial echoes' slice not only across space, but time: together, they redouble attention to the importance of clothing as the one element in these portraits that is under some semblance of the subjects' control. In these sites of constant demolition and reconstruction, newness and decay, it is a constant – disrupting the 'abstracted dark forms' of the urban inspectorate's gaze with the vital presence of the body, broadcasting, in the words of Saidiya Hartman, the 'clandestine arrangements, wayward lives, and carnal matters'[87] that persistently evade their view.

[85] Email exchange, 17.03.2021, used with the permission of Nick Hedges.
[86] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p. 365.
[87] Hartman, *Wayward Lives*, p. 6.

Fig. 7. Trousers hanging from a washing line. Thomas Annan, 'Close No. 101, High Street', 1868-1871, albumen print, 28.4 x 22.5cm, The Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

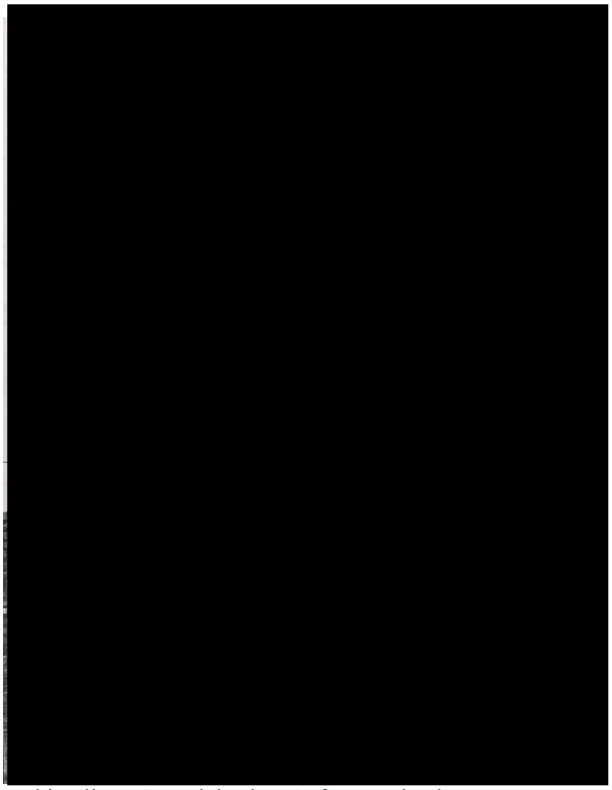

Fig. 8. Trousers hanging from a washing line. 'Sartorial echoes' of Annan in clearances as part of Gallowgate Comprehensive Development Area. Keith Ingham, 'Bricked upside of demolished tenement, and washing lines, 13 Bellgrove St', June, 1976, Calton Survey collection, People's Palace Archives/Glasgow Life, Ref: PP1977.15.46, K1-2G/26.

1.3.2 *Born to Fail?* The National Children's Bureau Report

The 'rediscovery of poverty', charted through a proliferation of evocative images,[88] situated women once again as figures who occupied a liminal, shadowy space between past and present, affluence and poverty, evolution and decay. More intricate mechanisms of understanding around poverty were developed in an attempt to pin down the figure that, in Wilson's words, posed an 'irruption in the city, a symptom of disorder, and a problem'.[89] These concerns were laid out in a richly-illustrated major report from the National Children's Bureau published in 1973 entitled *Born to Fail?*. The report set out to capture what it described as 'dimensions of disadvantage', a new, more nuanced conception of poverty centred around the manifold constraints of inner-city life.[90] It found that one in ten Scottish children were multiply disadvantaged, the vast majority of those in Glasgow, compared to one in 47 children in the south of England.[91] Each section was separated with graphic, monochrome photographs of 'multiple deprivation' which centred almost exclusively on mothers and their children. Among these images, young girls also appear alone, seemingly in a state of premature adulthood, holding babies or supervising prams. In one photograph, a young girl walks down a deserted street: 'SMASH BOREDOM AND ISOLATION' graffitied on the wall to her right.[92] Chief among the 'dimensions of development', the report fed back, was the site of the home itself, cited as 'a vitally important part not only in the formation of character, but in influencing children's physical development and most aspects of their ability to learn'.[93] Children's skin wounds, stunted growth and bed wetting were identified as common symptoms of an overcrowded, disordered household.[94] Once again, the prospect of urban poverty's contagion was laid out to concerned audiences in the form of vivid, disquieting, poignant renderings of its accumulation on the corrupted body, and once again, fears about its transmission through time and space were re-routed to the figure of the working-class woman, as the perennially corrupted cipher of the broken home and the living site of poverty's sexual and social reproduction.

Over waves of slum clearance, middle-class professionals continued to author narratives of working-class plight which were ratified as reality, providing a limited structure through which the experience of the slumdweller was located and made legible in the public domain. Visual and rhetorical inquiry surrounding Glasgow's slum clearances were conducted in an increasingly well-meaning pursuit of truthful disclosure, but often ended up with an authored version of women as subjects that disguised or distorted the complex

[88] Andrews, 'Multiple Deprivation', p. 606.
[89] Wilson, *Sphinx*, p. 9.
[90] Wedge and Prosser, *Born to Fail?*, p. 21.
[91] Peter Wedge and Hilary Prosser, *Born to Fail? The National Children's Bureau reports on striking differences in the lives of British children*, (London: Jessica Kinglsey Publishing, 1973), p. 19.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Wedge and Prosser, *Born to Fail?*, p. 35.
[94] Wedge and Prosser, *Born to Fail?*, pp. 39-45.

picture it aimed to represent. The vista of the slum – composed of long streets, back courts and scenes of harried domesticity – was presented as contiguous with the inhabitants themselves, the material dilapidation of the former seeping into the identity of the latter. With reappraisals of the success or failure of new schemes of municipal housing, female subjects were continually perceived as unmoored from and against the modern city, rather than people who were constitutive of it. Yet this liminal area was not only a space of alienation, but possibility: raising the question of how women might see and define themselves when dispossessed of any conventional political means.

1.4 ‘Steel hammers’: scenes of demolition and resolve in women’s memoir

By the late 1970s, the built environment of central Glasgow was characterised not so much by buildings as empty space: the erosion of its Victorian topography into demolition sites, brownfields, abandoned buildings, construction sites ‘combining the worst of the 19th century with the worst of the 20th’, write Keith Kintrea and Rebecca Madgin.[95] Since 1945, the population had fallen by about 200,000.[96] Two thirds of housing in Glasgow was now owned by the council in ‘overspill’ estates, almost the highest proportion in the country,[97] and an eighth of the population lived in one of the city’s high rise flats, riddled with issues of broken lifts and poor transport connections.[98] In 1976, the construction of the sixth and final new town of Stonehouse, part of the nationwide post-war development scheme established under the New Towns act of 1946, was abandoned, with funds diverted to the Glasgow Eastern Area (GEAR) renewal project, to try and address the problems of blight that had taken hold there just as they had over century before.[99] It marked the symbolic end of Glasgow’s century-long slum clearance policy. Those who remained reckoned with its aftermath of displacement, dispersal and loss.

[95] Keith Kintrea and Rebecca Madgin, ‘Introduction: transforming post-industrial Glasgow — moving beyond the epic and the toxic’, in Keith Kintrea, Rebecca Madgin and Vitantonio Muscatelli (eds), *Transforming Glasgow: beyond the post-industrial city,* (Bristol: Polity Press, 2020), p. 8.
[96] https://www.understandingglasgow.com/indicators/population/trends/historic_population_trend
[97] Ibid.
[98] Maver, *Glasgow*, p. 277.
[99] Urlan Wannop, ‘The Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Project: a perspective on the management of urban regeneration’, *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4, pp. 455-471.

Fig. 9. Aerial shot of Townhead in the 1960s, during CDA clearances and preparation for M8 motorway. Note Baird St underpass to centre. Photographer Unknown, 'Townhead Interchange – Baird St – Aerial', 1967, The Scottish Roads Archive.

This section considers several examples of women's written accounts of slum clearance in Glasgow, asking how they might allow for a more complex apprehension of the images displayed throughout this chapter, and help to discern, in the latter, the 'lower frequencies' of women's style as a strategy they used to persist through the routine destruction of their environment. In the early 20th century, the life-writing of the urban poor was understood as fundamentally confined by the psychic simplicity of the author, lacking the imagination, complexity and registers of 'self-revelation' more broadly used as yardsticks for literary quality or creativity.[100] As Regenia Gagnier writes, the form was generally 'relegated to illustrating the psychological effects of social deprivation on rhetorical self-expression', its most popular examples taken by cultural critics as little more than an index of material hardship.[101] In *Landscape for a Good Woman*,

[100] Regenia Gagnier, 'Social Atoms: Working-Class Autobiography, Subjectivity, and Gender', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Spring, 1987), pp. 335-363.
[101] Ibid.

Carolyn Steedman describes this view – the popular imaginary surrounding the urban poor – as the 'refusal of a complicated psychology to those living in conditions of material distress'.[102] Where their male counterparts had some recourse to other forms of self-identification as protagonists of working-class identity, this perception had a particularly heavy bearing on women, who were the most deeply imbricated in the symbolic landscape of the bare, disordered urban dwelling. In Glasgow, the damage of slum clearance meant working-class women in Glasgow were seen to lack the 'possessions of culture'[103] fundamental to their development as complex subjects, reduced, instead, to occupying the limited, ghostly typologies of the slum.

The first task for the working-class women erased, subjugated and misrepresented in the 'central interpretive frameworks' of a culture, writes Steedman, is to 'particularise' the landscape in which they grew up.[104] This provision of detail can act as the foundation of richer, more representative understandings of the dimension of the subject: 'so that the people in exile, the inhabitants of the long streets, may start to use the autobiographical I, and tell the stories of their life'.[105] The following accounts of slum clearance, at first glance, seem to adhere to an authoritative view of working-class Glasgow's poorest enclaves as sites where the development of complex subjectivity was foreclosed by the incessant decay of their built environment. However, together, composite parts of this vista of ruined living rooms, smashed brick and empty wastelands together become metaphors for the collective feelings of loss, displacement and alienation shared among generations of women whose lives were marked by policies geared to rehome – and therefore erase – people like them over the course of the 20th century. They gesture toward the rich material landscapes out of which they emerged, and outline the efforts of women to keep the scattered remains of that which has disappeared as close to their bodies as possible. They provide a foundation on which to conceive of the meaning of style among women in Glasgow as an instrument of self-expression which drew directly on the intimate, unseen arrangements of their lives in the city. Style allowed their bodies to continue on as liturgies of that loss, as the unmoored, mysterious, sphinx-like women captured by social documentarians, who could never quite seem to bring those images into full view.

[102] Steedman, *Landscape*, p. 12.
[103] Steedman, *Landscape*, p. 13.
[104] Steedman, *Landscape*, p. 16.
[105] Ibid.

Fig. 10. Photographer Unknown, 'Clearances on Northpark St., Maryhill, 1976', 1976, Glasgow City Archives, Ref: C8392.

In *Finding Peggy*, author Meg Henderson reflects on her impoverished post-war childhood spent in council flats in Townhead, the notorious Blackhill estate, the post-war overspill scheme of Drumchapel, and finally the brutalist Wyndford Estate in Maryhill. Early on in the book, Henderson recalls being bundled up by her older brother and taken from her crumbling tenement on Balmano Brae in Townhead in the early 1950s, just before its outer wall collapsed due to a structural defect. She recalls staring into her eight or nine-year-old brother's eyes as he held her, watching the scene unfold.

> 'He looked totally lost, as though whatever was happening was targeted at him personally. I remember it so well because it was a look I was to see often as we grew up; the night the building collapsed was the first time I registered it. He was a beautiful child, with hair so fair it was silver and big brown eyes, but always that look, as though life had dealt him a massive, unfair and irreversible blow the rest of the world had somehow escaped.'[106]

[106] Henderson, *Finding Peggy*, p. 37.

The passage marks a pivotal scene in Henderson's girlhood. It is here that she not only realises her home is not a place of stability, but that she must find a way of continuing on in the wake of it without becoming 'lost', like her brother. Throughout the rest of the book, Henderson turns her attention to the two most important women in her life – her aunt and her mother – and the methods they together adopted to survive this and subsequent attempts at their destruction. From watching her childhood home crumble before her eyes, Henderson credits her later flourishing as a young woman to the efforts of her mother and aunt to cushion the blows of a difficult world: providing her 'with a blanket of love and caring' that 'touched every corner' of her life, and continued to protect her after their deaths.[107] While each of the schemes Henderson was forced to relocate to posed their own litany of injuries to human dignity, this 'blanket of love' allowed her to glean, from those experiences, a wholly resistant perception of her identity as a working-class woman, propped up by a set of values inherited from women in her life that ensured 'despite everything that happened, they weren't destroyed'.[108]

In her memoir of the same period, *The Wee Yellow Butterfly*, Cathy McCormack recalls being relocated from 'old' Gorbals to the post-war housing scheme of Cranhill as a small child. Searching back through her memories, McCormack notes how her mother's arrival in Cranhill had been particularly significant. After years of waiting to escape their small, unplumbed flat in the Gorbals, these were promised homes for 'working-class heroes'.[109] Her mother had been on the waiting list for one for over a decade. On arrival at their new flat on Bellrock Street, McCormack's mother kept the place 'spotless', seemingly determined to use their new beginning to compose a better life for her family. Full of hope, she would dress Cathy 'like a wee princess with coats and hats and kilts and mittens out of Fisher's Market', as if the promise of their home and the ideology of fresh beginnings behind it might transfer directly onto her daughter's skin.[110] Quickly, however, McCormack describes how the hastily assembled, poorly-built scheme, with its constant noise, creeping cold and cheap, leaking concrete walls, became too much for her mother to bear, or rather fend off. Plunged into silence, detached from her children, McCormack thereafter only remembers the tensile atmosphere of family meals, the 'shivers' that ran through her body as the sirens from nearby Barlinnie prison bled through the windows,[111] and her mother's constant tears – not only of anguish, but disappointment – sitting alone at the kitchen table.[112]

[107] Henderson, *Finding Peggy*, p. 17.
[108] Henderson, *Finding Peggy*, p. 9.
[109] McCormack, *The Wee Yellow Butterfly*, p. 13.
[110] McCormack, *The Wee Yellow Butterfly*, p. 19.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.

Later shunted, as a young mother herself, into another council scheme in Easthall, Easterhouse, McCormack finds herself in a similar 'concrete bunker'[113] to her childhood. Its damp, porous walls begin to affect the health of her child. Galvanised into action, she becomes a successful campaigner on behalf of the Easthall Housing Association, pursuing, through her work, a lifelong search of 'what it means to be human',[114] her mother's hopes for Cranhill echoing through her mind.

These stories marked an impulse among women affected by slum clearance to gather and preserve memories of their shattered homes, and hopes for the future, and keep them near. In *Up Oor Close: Memories of Domestic Life in Glasgow Tenements*, Jean Faley introduces herself with the story of how, as a teenager in 1958, she emigrated from her childhood home in Springburn, an industrial area in the north of Glasgow, to the USA. Full of unresolved grief for the 'clannish identity'[115] of her hometown, Faley states that she yearned to return to Springburn for decades into her adult life. However, when she finally did make it back, during a visit to the city in 1981, she found a place that bore almost no resemblance to the childhood memories she had taken such care to preserve. Her childhood home had been flattened after Springburn was successfully approved as a 'Comprehensive Development Area' in 1973, with much of it subsequently cleared to make way for the A803 Springburn Expressway, a seven-lane motorway laid through along the neighbourhood's heart of Springburn Road. As a result of these changes, Faley described the once-thriving community as 'ravaged', with inhabitants laced, now, with the same sense of 'painful longing' for home she had felt as a girl.[116]

[113] McCormack, *The Wee Yellow Butterfly*, p. 43.
[114] McCormack, *The Wee Yellow Butterfly*, p. 264.
[115] Jean Faley, *'Up Oor Close': Memories of Domestic Life in Glasgow Tenements*, *1910-1945*, (Glasgow: White Cockade Publishing, 2004), p. 11.
[116] Michael Pacione, 'Housing Policies in Glasgow since 1880', *Geographical Review,* Oct. 1979, Vol. 69, No. 4, (Oct, 1979), p. 403.

Fig. 11. A woman crosses the road running parallel to the construction of the A803 Expressway. Photographer Unknown, 'Springburn Rd, 1981', September, 1981, Glasgow City Archives. Ref: C8726.

Against the backdrop of its looming destruction, Faley begins the book with a brief, vivid, evocative account of the one room – known as a 'single end' – in which she was raised. Here she describes electroplated dish covers that hung on hooks above her wooden dresser – her own account of what James Burn Russell would have called 'life in one room':

> 'There were four of them, never, ever used. But they were a prized wedding present. The shelves above, two shelves, held a blue and white dinner service, a wedding present from the firm my mum worked for, hardly ever used, and a tea set, which my mother was so proud of; it had pansies on it, hand painted, my mother told us.'[117]

[117] Faley, *'Up Oor Close'*, p. 27.

These surfaces, from the 'pretty rose-coloured bedspread and matching curtains' and the sideboard, 'with its doilies and ornaments', to the shining trinkets made by her brass moulder father in the local steelworks, to the gentle chime of 'the little gong grandly used to summon visitors',[118] speak of the deep value of material things to the culture and community Faley is attempting to recall. The subsequent text consists of a series of fond interviews with over fifty former residents of Springburn, recounting various rituals of care and affection lavished on the tenement interiors later condemned as slums. Through visions of the careful arrangement of folding beds, glistening ornaments on mantlepieces, polished stoves and linoleum floors, here, an intricate material world is re-rendered. Together, these accounts mount a counter-narrative of the place of Springburn in Glasgow's history: outlining the richness of what was lost, and its continuing potency as a marker of identity among those who live on in its wake. 'For Glaswegians over fifty (or even forty) their city has changed almost as much as if they had moved to Chicago', she reflects.[119] The 'resilience' of Springburn's dispossessed is grounded in these memories: armed with them, these people, despite everything, proceed with 'greater control' into the present, in which they maintain the essence of the area 'they would have liked to preserve'.[120]

[118] Faley, *'Up Oor Close'*, p. 25.
[119] Faley, *'Up Oor Close',* p. 19.
[120] Ibid.

Fig. 12. Photographer Unknown, ‘Springburn Road Realignment: construction at railway bridge’, October, 1982, Glasgow City Archives. Ref: C8726.

Fig. 13. Photographer Unknown, ‘Springburn Road Realignment: railway bridge’, August 1982, Glasgow City Archives. Ref: C8731.

While Faley's account is steeped in longing, elsewhere, the scene of demolition is met with rage. Evelyn Cowan begins her 1974 memoir *Spring Remembered: A Scottish Jewish Childhood* with a walk through the streets of her birthplace of 'old' Gorbals, just before the area was cleared in preparation for the new Hutchesontown development area in the late 1950s. She recounts looking at tenements that neighboured her own in various states of ruin – outer walls stripped from bedrooms and kitchens, empty skeletons of chimney breasts and staircases, 'shells of half-grown buildings' that 'seemed to contain the aching emptiness of all adolescents'.[121] Her description of the site is echoed in passages of Ralph Glasser's *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, published 1986, in which the author returned to his childhood home after the same round of demolition that saw Cowan's destroyed. 'All points of reference gone,' he writes, 'I threaded my way among great piles of fallen stone, builders' debris, isolated lumps of blackened masonry'.[122] To Cowan, these piles of fallen stone are a form of theft: robbing her of a frame of reference to build her adult life on, forcing her into the stark profile of the brutalist housing scheme that would replace her much-loved home.

> 'In the place of those cherished days lies heap after heap of rubble soon to rise again in multi-tiered heights of grey, characterless modernity. The juggernaut of the demolishers' steel hammers desecrates a world which, like childhood itself, will never return.'[123]

In *Shoes Were for Sunday* (1970), Molly Weir's memoir of a childhood spent in Victorian Springburn, she renders a world now lost not so much through buildings, but garments: from her 'long-legged boots' of 'rigid leather' worn every weekday, the 'fine navy gabardine jacket' that hung, barely touched, in her mother's wardrobe, to the woollen jumper, replaced with a new handmade collar each year by her grandmother for school.[124] Weir reminisces about a childhood neighbour, Mrs McCorbie, who lingers strangely in her mind, all semblance of their shared tenement building now erased. Against the more 'shabbily dressed' in the area, Weir recognised in Mrs McCorbie an impulse, shared by herself, her mother and her grandmother, to 'triumph over the drabness of their surroundings' and lift themselves, by way of style, 'above the commonplace'.[125] It is her recognition of this shared impulse, Weir concludes, that makes her remember Mrs McCorbie with such 'an anguished pang'.[126]

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[121] Cowan, *Spring Remembered*, p. 11.
[122] Ralph Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, (Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing, 2006), p. 45.
[123] Cowan, *Spring Remembered*, p. 4.
[124] Weir, *Shoes Were for Sunday*, pp. 99-104.
[125] Weir, *Shoes Were for Sunday*, p.19.
[126] Ibid.

Fig. 14. Demolition of Old Gorbals and construction of Hutchesontown C. Photographer Unknown, 'Hutchesontown, 1962', 1962, Glasgow City Archives. Ref: C3325.

This is where a discussion of the uses and function of women's style in late 1970s and early 1980s begins: as an effort to memorialise what was lost, to create, for the body, reserves of beauty, richness and dignity which allowed women to persist through the deterioration of their homes and refuse the dismissal of their bodies in the public sphere. The scenes recalled in these memoirs marked out these women's transitions from childhood to adulthood as moments of destruction: framing their reluctant entry into a fractured and fracturing social world. In doing so, however, these moments were also earmarked as the beginning of subsequent attempts to cultivate new strategies by which they would preserve and re-assert their personhood, refusing to allow the parts of their lives tied up in these vanished landscapes to be wrested away from them entirely. By writing these moments of demolition, these women demonstrated their critical significance: symbolising their position not only as victims of an injurious social system, but also as outliers to its logic, primed to adopt critical, creative and resistant strategies of inhabiting a new Glasgow.

1.5 Reconstruction work: picturing style

What are the alternative readings 'listening to images' could bring to the evidence presented here? Campt's method calls for a closer reading of the photographs of Glasgow's slumdwelling women and a refusal of the narrative imposed on them in these moments of capture. It places Thomas Annan's barefoot girls, and Mrs H, in the darkened hallway of her abandoned tenement, in conversation with the anguished memories of Evelyn Cowan, observing the walls stripped from her home, asking how experiences of displacement may have informed how these women appeared in the public sphere. Together, each of these forms of evidence can exceed the narrow interpretive frameworks assigned to them, affording the dressed body excesses in the form of memories and dreams. With it, the rumpled mini dress worn by Mrs H becomes an entry point to thinking of her past: of her refusal, in the face of a wrecking ball to one's home, to disintegrate along with it. It explains the right these women claimed to walk through the city, unmoored, with nothing but their clothing for protection. It puts the narrative of the image in the hands of those captured, rather than those doing the capturing. This groundwork can then carry forward into a broader discussion of how style as a 'quotidian practice' of resistance can be gleaned from a roster of visual documents of women in the late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow: taking dress and gesture as a register of biography, an assembly of traces from the fragmented material landscapes of their lives which are hidden from view. It demonstrates how, by taking attending to the 'lower frequencies' of these images, and treating them as worthy of critical interpretation, portraits of subjects that at first appear irredeemably compromised can act as entry points to assembling 'alternative accounts' of their lives.[127]

In his essay 'Reconstruction Work: Images of Post-War Black Settlement', Stuart Hall considered a photograph of Caribbean migrants arriving to a London train station in the late 1950s. '*Style*' – emphasis his own, seen in the form of smartly-dressed figures with their hats tilted sideways, eyes straight to camera – was a way of 'breaking up impressions' of their bodies in public space.[128] Going in search of these details is a necessary task in interpreting documents of the marginalised, Hall argues, because it is here that subjects contend with the expectation of how they will be read by those in a position of greater power. Rather than gesturing toward some more authentic 'truth', style cuts through the narratives of identity imposed on these subjects to insist on a multiplicity of readings, as a reminder the agency of the subject can never be fully discounted. It reads as a gesture of intent: proof of investment by the subject in how they are seen in this moment, a claiming of control, fleeting and felt. For any historian invested in reconstructing the histories

[127] Ibid.
[128] Stuart Hall, 'Reconstruction Work: Images of Post-War Black Settlement', in Ben Highmore (ed), *The Everyday Life Reader*, (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 251-61.

of those at the margins, style is among what Hall calls the 'cultural signposts and multiaccented traces'[129] they must begin with, and learn to read.

Because of style's emphasis on 'individual construction' – as opposed to the 'collective following of a trend' inherent to fashion – the anthropologist Daniel Miller argues that it can be a potent strategy of self-expression among those who endure systemic injustice.[130] When what shelters, comforts or sustains you is liable to persistent 'violence, disappearance or abuse', the act of maintaining aspects of the self on the outside, rather than deep in the folds of the psyche, can 'minimise one's sense of loss', Miller writes.[131] Using style, clothing can act as a fetish for the things most important to an individual when those things are easily wrested away: as the clothing can be replaced, but its meaning, imbued by style, is forever. Miller related this principle to Toni Morrison's dictum in her novel *Beloved* of enslaved people 'loving small':[132] protecting themselves from 'extreme degradation' by ensuring the deepest parts of one's identity were kept shallow, material, and thus replaceable. Looking at the importance of style among waves of Mexican, Italian and Jewish immigrants in early 20th century New York City, Stuart Ewen similarly observes how it emerged as a 'defensive' means to construct a self among those lowest down the social hierarchies of the city, offering up a rare way of 'saying who one was,' by assembling a material portrait of 'who one wants to be'.[133] Charting the emergence of style as a political phenomenon borne, on the one hand, of inequality, and on the other, individual desire and imagination, Ewen spoke of it as a 'utopian way of life' that was embodied by the wearer as a space of alterity, soothing the potential pain, conflict or failure of their bodies to 'read' in the way they had intended.

In the eyes of these theorists, style is a way of allowing the body to tell a resistant story: bringing elements of one's life to the surface while preserving other parts of it from scrutiny. In the case of working-class Glasgow, these functions of style relate to Steedman's constant return to clothing in *Landscape for a Good Woman*. Retracing the lives of she and her mother, two working-class women living in Britain in the 20th century, she describes clothing as the 'best boundary between you and a cold world',[134] a constant companion through changing fates, forming not only the content of their desires and aspirations, but providing necessary protection against hostile systems who most often judged working-class women through sight.

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[129] Ibid.
[130] Daniel Miller, 'Why clothing is not superficial', in *Stuff*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), pp. 12-25.
[131] Miller, 'Why clothing is not superficial', p. 16.
[132] Toni Morrison, *Beloved*, quoted in Miller, 'Why clothing is not superficial', p. 15.
[133] Ewen, *All Consuming Images*, p. 79.
[134] Steedman, *Landscape*, p. 112.

1.5.1 Mike Abrahams' Possilpark

The remainder of this chapter will now 'listen' to the following set of images of Glasgow in the 1970s and 1980s, just at the point the rationale of slum clearance, that had dominated poor areas of the city for over a century, was beginning to come into question. The image below was captured by photojournalist Mike Abrahams while working on a newspaper story on the decline of Glasgow's Possilpark in 1986. An enclave to the north of the city centre, for most of the 20th century Possilpark had been an area of mixed fortunes, economically reliant on the Saracen Foundry, an ornamental ironworks which fell into decline after the Second World War. Along with regions to its south and east, Possilpark had been the site of Glasgow's pilot scheme for the lowest category of council housing, Hamiltonhill, where many of those displaced from the city's Muse Lane slums, among the most notorious of the late Victorian period, were relocated under the 1921 Housing Act.[135] By the mid-1980s, the landscape of Possilpark was dominated by four 19 storey tower blocks which had been erected as part of the North Kelvin Comprehensive Development Area in 1967,[136] the same year the Saracen Foundry closed for good.[137] In 1983, it was, once again, singled out as a 'priority area' by Glasgow's Director of Planning James Rae after finding here that 'the scale and concentration of deprivation in local authority housing' was getting worse.[138]

[135] Damer, 'Hamiltonhill: A Pioneering Slum-Clearance Scheme', in *Scheming*, pp. 30-55.
[136] Pacione, *Glasgow*, p. 212.
[137] *The Daily Mirror*, 'Di gives backing to drug addicts', 01.09.1987, (London, England), p. 5.
[138] *The Glasgow Herald*, 4.10.1983.

Fig. 15. Mike Abrahams, 'Woman on a Walkway, Possilpark, Glasgow', 1986, Mike Abrahams/Document Scotland.

Seen alone, Abraham's photograph captures a melancholic scene not unlike the many others of women trapped in condemned or failing schemes taken before. Against the backdrop of a run-down estate, she is mournful and isolated, her far-off gaze suggestive of a more profound kind of dislocation. Alone on a long walkway in front of her home, prison-like griddled wire visible over the entry to the gangway, her presence figures the palpable absence of friends and neighbours, old communities replaced by protective structures that are feeble and profoundly inhuman. Her tightly clasped hands and pained, drawn expression speak of the entreaty of James Burn Russell from a century before: the more powerful observer is encouraged to imagine themselves in this woman's position, to be moved by her misery, perhaps galvanised into action.

Looking at Birmingham's Balsall Heath, Campt advocated for an 'intersectional topography'[139] of the area which would allow the researcher to recognise and counterbalance the imperfect representational system of any single source. Taking that approach here, placed alongside the accounts of Faley, Cowan or Henderson, the assumed narrative of loneliness or displacement in Abrahams' photograph turns to one of reckoning with her position in the embattled landscape of Possilpark, insisting she exceeds the story told of these

[139] Campt, *Listening to Images*, p. 35.

routinely condemned buildings. It is clear this woman takes care of her appearance in a way that already contradicts received ideas of the poverty and ruination of the slum mentioned earlier in this chapter: a form of attention borne, perhaps, of the kind of scrutiny enshrined in the architecture of this neighbourhood, beginning with that first municipal scheme.

However, this careful composition of clothing, hair and jewellery also destabilises the temporality of the image, something underpinned by Abrahams' evocative use of monotone. In the cowl neck of the subject's sweater, the box pleats of her skirt, the elegant curves of her sleeves, she is out of time: as much connected to the fashions of the 1950s as the mid 1980s. The crafting of her outfit, in this context, bears witness to her dimension as a subject of taste, borne of memories the viewer will never be party to. Her posture and clothes, bearing witness to the past, exhibiting assiduous care, in turn calls to mind Faley's fevered gathering of memories of her Springburn tenement interior, or Cowan's rage at the nihilism of progress when faced with the bare remains of her Gorbals childhood home. Old-fashioned, she refuses the political conditions of the present, and orients herself toward a bygone world that may have better accommodated her body. In a sea of archetypal images of unmoored Glaswegian women and girls – ragged shawls, bare feet, '*herself ruined, she ruins others*'[140] – Abraham's portrait harbours dimension, outlining, when placed side-by-side with these other accounts, the political resonances of the 'put-together', so commonly applied to a woman's dressed body when unexpectedly elegantly dressed. She is composed, and composes herself, against the backdrop of 1980s Possilpark. From this assemblage of garments, we see the careful (re)construction of a self.

1.5.2 Homer Sykes' Blackhill

'Stigma isn't an attribute, it's a relationship',[141] as Saidiya Hartman writes in *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, an ongoing negotiation that can compel, in those who endure it, the creation of new architectures to protect the body. In this study, she describes the black women she encounters in the slums of Baltimore, New York and Chicago as in possession of the 'will to adorn, a proclivity for the baroque, and the love of *too much'*, impulses which helped to 'create possibility in the space of enclosure' of the 'black undercommons'.[142] A transfiguration of the given, a will to adorn: armed with these phrases, we may return to a passage of Meg Henderson's *Finding Peggy*, when Henderson recalls being sent to get a pair of school shoes under her Aunt Peggy's supervision, and returning home with a pair of bright red, patent Mary

[140] Shadow, *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs,* p. 77.
[141] Hartman, *Wayward Lives*, p. 58.
[142] Hartman, *Wayward Lives*, p. 28.

Janes. Meg is delighted, while her mother, Nan, is furious: the shoes are an extravagance and not fit for purpose. Henderson elsewhere describes the relationship between she, her mother and her aunt as symbiotic – 'prick one and we all bled'[143] – so when Peggy later dies of a botched home birth, a result of gross medical negligence, she and her mother suffer in untold ways. Nan later attempts to bribe Meg into attending her Aunt Peggy's funeral with a pair of black patent shoes, like the ones Peggy had bought her years ago. Henderson refuses, grief stricken at what she feels she has lost forever: a woman who saw her, who recognised the importance of living beyond the bare minimum required to survive. 'Peggy was the only one who understood,' Henderson concludes, 'that just once in every girl's life she needed bright red, patent shoes that clicked when you walked'.[144] It was not enough to answer to the bare needs of the barefoot girl of the old slums. Bright red, patent shoes were a statement of intent: a demand for more.

In this way, women's style acts as a refrain: sometimes barely uttered, sometimes loudly announced, but nonetheless returned to by these subjects, again and again, as a way of disrupting the visual regimes that threatened to subsume them. The photograph below (fig. 16) was taken by Homer Sykes for a feature on Glasgow in *Mail on Sunday*'s 'You' magazine in the early 1980s, in Blackhill. With the chemical works to the right, the M80 motorway overhead, and the dilapidated 1930s housing scheme to the left, the image captures a layering of past and present visions of Glasgow that have come to be familiar in photographs of this period. When it was developed in the 1930s, Blackhill was one of the first schemes specifically assigned to this 'lowest' category of slumdweller, with residents who mostly heralded from one of the poorest, predominantly Irish-Catholic areas of Glasgow known then as 'Garngad' – as well as Meg Henderson of *Finding Peggy*. A collection of cheaply built, low-rise tenement replacements, stripped of the ornament, the idea, discussed earlier in this chapter, was that a minimal, easily surveillable environment would build these tenants anew, denying them all possibility of the 'disorderly' tendencies which had ravaged the old slums.

Seán Damer and Ann McGuckin have both described the efforts women would make in the early years of this scheme to furnish bare living arrangements and deflect the judgement of housing and nurse inspectors.[145] Given none were provided, women would make pillowcases and curtains out of flour bags and spare cheese muslin, bleached and dyed to rid them of their old labels.[146] Group occasions like marriages, funerals and baptisms provided vital opportunities for families to trade old clothing to avoid recourse to the free, immediately recognisable garb provided by the local Parish.[147] Often blacklisted for

[143] Henderson, *Finding Peggy*, p. 9.
[144] Henderson, *Finding Peggy*, p. 56.
[145] Damer, 'Blackhill: Out of the Slums', in *Scheming*, pp. 73-102; Ann McGuckin, 'Moving Stories: Working-Class Women', in Breitenbach and Gordon (eds), *Out of Bounds*, pp. 199-217.
[146] Damer, 'Blackhill', in *Scheming*, p. 87.
[147] McGuckin, 'Moving Stories', in *Out of Bounds*, p. 212.

credit at local shops, and barred from membership at co-operative stores[148] – both of which helped slightly better-off women manage the weekly cost of necessities – women here would organise 'menages', informal syndicate schemes women would religiously pay into, often using the dividend to finance the purchase of clothing.[149] In this way, reports McGuckin, these women resisted the notion that their poverty should equate to their powerlessness over how they were seen. One's own clothes and old flour bags symbolised protection, control, a way of 'loving small'. These gestures and materials are recalled in this photograph by Sykes, taken decades after Blackhill was completed in 1935. At this point, much of the estate, deemed in a state of disrepair, faced demolition to make way for the construction of the north eastern branch of the M8 motorway. The practice of patrolling schemes had supposedly died out, but lived on, as evidenced by the fact of this photograph alone. A woman walks across the scheme in a pair of pink, open toe stilettoes, which are matched by the neon pigment of her blouse. Her hair is permed, her baby resplendent in a white woollen hat and blue pea coat. Her clothes sharp, vivid and carefully assembled, free of any impression of wear or age, her silhouette recalls former attempts to 'break up impressions', to exceed what is expected, to continue to anticipate a scrutinising gaze.

[148] Esther Breitenbach and Valerie Wright, 'Women as Active Citizens: Glasgow and Edinburgh c. 1918', *Women's History Review*, pp. 402-420.
[149] See McGuckin, 'Moving Stories', pp. 199-217.

Fig. 16. Homer Sykes, ‘Black Hill Estate Glasgow’, c.1980s, Homer Sykes.

1.5.3 Red Road in *Clyde Film*

Fig. 17. Opening credits from Clyde Film (00:05). Ian Venart, Charlie Tracy, Ian Miller, Mandy Merrick, Alistair McCallum, Ken Currie (dir.), ‘Clyde Film’, 1985, 16mm, National Library of Scotland Moving Image Archive, Glasgow.

These details are also quietly present in the brief snapshots of women found in *Clyde Film*, which was produced by Cranhill Arts Project, an arts collective based in a post-war scheme in North Glasgow, in 1984. A series of collaged footage of past and present versions of the city, *Clyde Film* chronicled the fracturing of Glasgow's built landscape and the emergence of a new generation of citydwellers in its remains. The film begins with the claw of a demolition truck, tearing down the façade of an old building. What looks like Sighthill towers, ten high rise slab blocks erected along with a rash of others at the peak of Glasgow's post-war building boom in 1964,[150] are visible through the empty window frames, separated from the façade by an 18th century graveyard. This staggered scene of the city's past and present then collapses into piles of rubble to the sound of an adaptation of local anthem 'I Belong to Glasgow' by local folk singer Gordeanna McCulloch.

> 'I belong to Glasgow,
> dear old Glasgow toon.
> But there's something the matter wae Glasgow, fer,
> They're pulling the whole place doon.
> Let Glasgow flourish yer emblems say
> that disnae seem right tae me
> fer its hard tae see what can flourish when
> they're clearing it all away'.

[150] Maver, *Glasgow*, pp. 252-272.

Fig. 18. Still from Clyde Film (01:15). Ian Venart, Charlie Tracy, Ian Miller, Mandy Merrick, Alistair McCallum, Ken Currie (dir.), 'Clyde Film', 1985, 16mm, National Library of Scotland Moving Image Archive, Glasgow.

Over the course of the film, the clatter of old industries – weavers at looms, stonemasons chipping at statues, and the vital rush of the Clyde – is overlaid with photographs of Victorian labourers in a montage redolent of revolutionary Soviet film.[151] True to that style, there is no single protagonist here: yet occasionally the sight of faces in dark windows can be glimpsed before the camera pans out into broad horizons of isolated schemes and brownfield sites. As Roland Barthes wrote of Sergei Eisenstein's cinematography, these snapshots of individuals, brief and haunting, do not disrupt the sense of a shared working-class class narrative in *Clyde Film*, but accentuate it, gesturing toward the material specificities of the 'great proletarian circumstance'.[152] The flash of people in these otherwise emptied montages of demolition and megalith modernist schemes accuses the viewer: demonstrating the presence, between these incidents of clearance and development, of those forced to live through them. McCulloch's elegiac voice laces between this footage, accompanying the looming structure of one of the Sighthill towers as it floods the camera lens, impossibly high and wide, to the lyrics 'They're pullin' doon the buildings next to yours/And they're sending us to green belts, trees and flowers'. The creaking echoes of an old industrial building drowns out McCulloch's elegy as the camera pans to an elderly woman, standing in the window on one of the upper floors of the immense building. She is dressed in red. It is a vivid, fleeting flash of colour which cuts through

[151] David Bordwell, 'The Idea of montage in Soviet Art and Film', *Cinema Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 2, (Spring, 1972), pp. 9-17.
[152] Roland Barthes, 'The Third Reading: Image notes on some Eisenstein stills', *Images Music Text*, (London: Fontana Press, 1977), pp. 52-68.

the brick dust and dreary, rain-filled air to identify a demand, momentarily, to be seen. She peers over the railing to catch sight of the street below, fading away again as the camera retreats.

Fig. 19. Still from Clyde Film (16:52). Ian Venart, Charlie Tracy, Ian Miller, Mandy Merrick, Alistair McCallum, Ken Currie (dir.), 'Clyde Film', 1985, 16mm, National Library of Scotland Moving Image Archive, Glasgow.

Fig. 20. Still from Clyde Film (16:56), Ian Venart, Charlie Tracy, Ian Miller, Mandy Merrick, Alistair McCallum, Ken Currie (dir.), 'Clyde Film', 1985, 16mm, National Library of Scotland Moving Image Archive, Glasgow.

Between clouds of dust, rubble and concrete, *Clyde Film* charted the journey of those who were raised in the midst of Glasgow's post-war clearances into the 1980s: reckoning, like these works of memoir, with how a body emerges though those experiences, how the visual records of slum clearance typified those bodies as problems, and the quiet, quotidian means by which those typifications were resisted. In the final few frames of the film, the sun sets, the dust from demolished buildings seems to settle, and what looks like a new dawn emerges. Sonorous sounds of crushing and rumbling break into a clean guitar melody: then, there is a montage of people striking on Glasgow's historic George Square under a blue sky. A woman sits behind an electric typewriter, wearing matching gold jewellery and a white knit vest, designing a poster that reads 'Let Glasgow Flourish' – less, now, the city's motto, more an invocation on the part of its people.

In *Listening to Images*, Campt seeks to demonstrate the 'endlessly generative space of counterintuition'[153] which can come from placing compromising images side-by-side with sources drawn from other perspectives. Bringing these documents together makes it possible to read these images for more than what they have set out to portray, locating the subject in the 'fissures, gaps and interstices'[154] of visual regimes of power. Here, listening to images of slum clearance raises the question of how quotidian values and rituals – like the purchase of a pair of patent red shoes, in a world that had long pictured you barefoot – emerged hand-in-hand with the forces of demolition, engendering critical aesthetic strategies that allowed them to reimagine themselves in the wake of dispossession. The red outfit of the isolated figure in *Clyde Film* acts as a coordinate for a counter history of women in the city, who reacted to the shattering of home by enacting, with dress, 'quiet but resonant claims to personhood'.[155]

[153] Campt, *Listening to Images*, p. 6.
[154] Campt, *Listening to Images*, p. 8.
[155] Campt, *Listening to Images,* p. 65.

Fig. 21. Still from Clyde Film (26:29). Ian Venart, Charlie Tracy, Ian Miller, Mandy Merrick, Alistair McCallum, Ken Currie (dir.), 'Clyde Film', 1985, 16mm, National Library of Scotland Moving Image Archive, Glasgow.

1.6 Conclusion: 'Muffled, we march'

Searching these images for style does not merely entail a close eye on surfaces: it demands a suspicion of visibility, an examination of the kinds of absences, disjunctures and indignities that form the starting point for style as a tool of marginal expression to develop. In the evolution of Glasgow's landscape of the slum over the course of the 20th century, the home was made a vexed, unreliable structure through which to locate one's identity as a working-class woman, creating the possibility of the use of clothing as a fleeting form of shelter, a new marker of depth, and a way of leavening connections across time. For those entangled in the landscapes of slum housing, style was agency, marking the difference between wresting free of the grip of a rupturing city and succumbing to it. Elizabeth Wilson closes her book *The Sphinx in the City* with a passage about how the modern metropolis acted as a cloak for women as they walked its streets. Wearing the raw, troubling, contradictory aspects of the industrial city on the surface of their bodies was a defence mechanism: a way of keeping it on the outside, while also keeping it close.

> 'We who live here wear this corner of the city like a comfortable old coat, an extension of our personalities, threadbare, yet retaining a personality of its own. This is the intimacy of cities, made more precious and more secret by our knowledge that it is one of many cells or corners in a great city that is not so much a labyrinth as a web or a shawl. We wrap ourselves in the city as we journey

> through it. Muffled, we march, "like Juno in a cloud", drawing it around us like a cloak of many colours: a disguise, a refuge, an adventure, a home'.[156]

In late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow, women's style could still be said to perform something akin to this function, presenting an expression of the marginal female self that narrativized her becoming not so much in spite of, but through the forces of urban change, remembering the resistant strategies of bygone generations as she continued to contend with the machinery of clearance and redevelopment. The end of the slum clearance policy in Glasgow marked the broader dismantling of an approach to municipal policy that had offered up so many aspects of these women's daily routines to public scrutiny and made loss a central feature of their lives. Style, as it occurred here, began not with the choice of what to wear or how to wear it, but with walking through the shattered remains of the tenement in which one was raised, asking how it might be retrieved as a feeling, a sensibility, an aesthetic, a way to protect the body and allow it to continue on in memory of a different world.

[156] Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City*, p. 159.

2. Case study two: Mother Glasgow's succour: embodied citations of the steamie

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the decline of public washhouses in Glasgow, known as 'steamies', in late 1970s and early 1980s. It explores how, over the course of the 20th century, the typical style of women at the steamie was symbolic of the lingering presence of vernacular forms of working-class life in Glasgow. Charting the rise of 'Glasow Style' as a cultural zeitgeist in this period, it looks at the bearing of these women's bodies on broader notions of 'style' as catch-all term for the city's persistence, boldness and grit in the face of all-consuming urban change. It suggests that, far from the forward-facing, progressive, rebellious phenomenon it seemed to be, 'Glasgow style' was shaped by the belligerent presence of old tradition, a look, aura and attitude potently symbolised by the dress and comportment of these women, who persisted on in a landscape that no longer seemed to accommodate them.

2.1.1 Steamies: their demise and persistence

In March, 1970, Malcom Reid wrote an article for Glasgow's *Evening Times* entitled 'Farewell to the steamie'. It marked the gradual closure of steamies, an institution that had long demanded significant strength and energy from the women who used them, shaping a weekly routine that, in the words of historian Lynn Abrams, consumed 'body and soul'.[1] 'Gather round, housewives of Glasgow', Reid wrote. 'Switch off, for a moment, those fully automatic, programmed washing machines, those spin and tumble driers, and lend your ears to a sad, sad tale'.[2]

At that time, Glasgow Corporation was midway through a three-phase plan to update Glasgow's 24 remaining steamies, which then still served a fairly large proportion of the city's working-class population. Largely unchanged since the Victorian period, their current appearance was 'like something out of Dickens',[3] wrote Reid – a strange relic of an increasingly distant landscape. The Corporation's first phase, rolled out from 1955 onwards, had been to replace the traditional boilers and sinks at each 'station', where

[1] Lynn Abrams, 'Keeping a Clean House: Gender and Status in the Scottish Home', in Lynn Abrams and Callum G. Brown (eds), *The History of Everyday Life in 20th Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 61.
[2] Malcolm Reid, 'Farewell to the Steamie', *Evening Times*, 13.03.1970.
[3] Ibid.

women would have scrubbed and muddled clothes by hand, with manually-operated washing machines. Manual wringers would, at this point, also be replaced by spin dryers. Already, this signified a major change to women's lives: sparing them from the 'rough business' of washing by mechanising their labour, signifying the symbolic replacement of the housewife's duties by an 'automaton', ushering in an unfamiliar new world.[4]

Phase two, happening at the time of writing some 15 years later, was the gradual replacement of manual washing machines with semi-automatics, which, while requiring supervision, could clean clothes without the user's intervention. The ramifications of this stage were even greater: seeming to genuinely 'free' women of the rough, demanding, intense labour of laundering clothes that had punctuated their lives for centuries. Phase three, what Reid called 'the final insult',[5] was the proposed introduction to these institutions of fully automated washing machines. This, it seemed, would signify the total emancipation of women from the burden of laundry – creating free time to pursue other things. 'Liberation' was a familiar tagline for these fully-automatic, front-loading machines, used by brands such as Moulinex (who across the 1960s and 1970s adopted the straplines 'Moulinex Liberates Women' and 'The Tool of Your Liberation')[6] and Hotpoint, who, in the 1960s, named their popular front-loading washing machine 'The Liberator'. As in much of the media discussion around these planned modernisations to steamies, Reid's article pitched them as doomed vestiges of a world and a class of people who were, in the 'liberated', automated landscapes of the present, fast becoming obsolete.[7] Revealing the story of steamies to 'today's brigade of modern, mini-skirted mums'[8] as if it was a piece of exotic curio, Reid cast the 'Dickensian' scenes of demanding, industrial-scale washing facilities, and the rolled-sleeves, overalled, labouring bodies that populated them, as completely out-of-step with contemporary times.

The late 1970s and early 1980s undeniably seemed to mark the noticeable retreat of a certain way of life for women living in inner-city Glasgow. The intensification of slum clearance and council house building in the post-war period meant ever more working-class households were provided with the capacity to do laundry at home and with significantly less bodily exertion.[9] The increasing ubiquity of domestic washing

[4] Discussion of this in Siegfried Giedion, 'The Mechanisation of Cleaning: Laundering', in Siegfried Geidion, *Mechanisation Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), pp. 565-570.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Jackie Clarke, 'Work, Consumption and Subjectivity in Post-war France: Moulinex and the Meanings of Domestic Appliances 1950s-1970s', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 47, No. 4, (Oct., 2012), pp. 838-859.
[7] For further discussion of this credo see Ben Highmore, 'But isn't that a class thing?', in Ben Highmore, *Lifestyle Revolution*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2024), pp. 166-181.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Yvonne McFadden, 'Creating a modern home: homeownership in post-war suburban Glasgow 1945-1975', PhD thesis, (University of Glasgow, 2016), https://theses.gla.ac.uk/7410/, pp. 230-236.

machines,[10] a rise in local laundrettes, and the displacement of large tracts of the city's population to overspill estates meant that steamies, for many women, were no longer a convenient option. However, in spite of these shifts, the institution retained a loyal following, outlasting the grim predictions of its death that had proliferated since the Second World War.[11] This persistence signalled a kind of embodied rebellion among women of a certain age against the supposed 'liberation' the contemporary landscape of private, automated domestic technology seemed to offer them. Immediately recognisable in their dress and body language, in this period, steamie women seemed to embody the lingering traces of these bygone spaces, cultures and forms of sociality in the present city. The attention they garnered was a demonstration of their affective pull on Glasgow as a whole as it attempted to countenance its recent past with a dramatically altered present.

Gathering discussion around the strange persistence of steamies in Glasgow's local newspapers, the chapter uses these as a starting point to examine the bearing women at the steamie had on the local popular imaginary, and how, by the late 1970s, the appearance of these women signalled a form of public, performative transgression. Immediately recognisable as a dowdy, out-of-date, 'ordinary housewife wearing a headscarf and pushing a shabby pram',[12] it asks how women's unsettling or striking modes of bodily comportment in this period were hewn by generations of manual labour and unseen forms of sociality, the legacies of which, in an age of automated domestic technology, lingered on the surface of the body, disrupting claims Glasgow had shaken free of its history as a place of overcrowded, under-served, working-class tenement life. It concludes by investigating how that assemblage of garments and gestures might be defined as a 'style', and how that styling allowed women to connect to bygone ways-of-life and exert agency over their futures. Looking at the qualities that made these women appear 'dowdy', archaic and unfashionable in the late 1970s and early 1980s, it argues these characteristics – which were once imposed on these women, and were latterly embraced by them – situated them at the symbolic heart of 'Glasgow style' as it came to be defined in this period.

2.1.2 Critical framework: Carol Tulloch's style narratives

[10] Yvonne McFadden notes that, although washing machines were 'slow to infiltrate' Scottish homes, by 1980 80% of households had washing machines and 40% of these were automatic. McFadden, 'Creating a modern home', p. 236.
[11] A relevant survey of the rise of mechanised laundry and its social effects can be found in
Arwen Palmer Mohun, 'Women, work and technology: The steam laundry industry in the United States and Great Britain', PhD thesis, (Case Western Reserve University, 1992),
https://etd.ohiolink.edu/acprod/odb_etd/etd/r/1501/10?clear=10&p10_accession_num=case1056135864.
[12] Helen Martin, 'Talk of the steamie', *Evening Times*: The Big Read, 12.04.1985.

This chapter takes a view of women's style as a meeting point between the individual body and broader social experience. To do so, it takes up Carol Tulloch's notion of 'style narratives', which she coined in her book *The Birth of Cool: Style Narratives of the African Diaspora*. Looking at the practices of dress adopted by subjects of the African diaspora, Tulloch described 'style narratives' as a means to plot the development of personal style in relation to its entangled history with place, identity and communities of people.[13] Taking style as a form of embodied 'self-telling',[14] Tulloch theorised style narratives as a means of tracing the journey of style between different subjects, cutting through boundaries of space and chronology, grafting strands of culture drawn from different generational experiences onto the surface of the body. Style, Tulloch explains, can hold multiple disparate histories and hopes in its folds, and 'style narratives' is a means by which those threads might be disentangled, acting as a frameworks by which the self-presentation of individuals may be connected to broader socio-political phenomena and unseen, unacknowledged facets of marginal history.[15] Tulloch situates personal style among the broad repertoire of 'aesthetic strategies' adopted by stigmatised or oppressed people to elaborate counter-narratives of their identity, instrumentalising their bodies as harbingers of memory, speculation and social critique.[16]

The chapter explores the evolution of the 'style narrative' of the steamie with particular attention to women's comportment. Taking account of the heavy burden of manual washing on working-class women's bodies – the 'sweated labour of the laundress'[17] – it considers how the forms of body language this produced persistently clashed with images of the ideal woman as a delicate, feminine, modern figure, unmarked by her role as a mother or housekeeper.[18] Using critiques of female comportment that emerged in the later stages of second-wave feminism, it asks how steamie-women's evidently labouring form presented a lesser-appreciated feminist politic, a lens onto women's resistant practices that fell beyond the purview of Women's Liberation as an intellectual project. Bringing this into the context of Glasgow in the late 1970s and early 1980s, it considers how, by this point, women at the steamie actively engaged their bodies to resist the erasure of the ways-of-life this institution had harboured for so long. With assistance from Elizabeth Freeman's concept of temporal drag, it re-reads the anachronistic styling of these women's bodies as 'a mode of bodily adornment or even habitus'[19] that articulated a political message of their stalwart presence in a city and an epoch geared to write them out of existence. It concludes that this gesture, in turn, became

[13] Tulloch, *The Birth of Cool*, p. 17.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Tulloch, *The Birth of Cool*, pp. 171-198.
[16] Love, *Feeling Backward*, p. 6.
[17] Patricia Malcolmson, *A Social History of English Laundresses, 1850-1930*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 5.
[18] For a powerful first-hand account of this idea, see SG, 'The Housewife', *New Left Review*, No. 43, (May, 1967), p. 45-54.
[19] Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), p. 65.

an inspiration to the postmodern 'Glasgow style' phenomenon, as a concept which tried to tally the resistant material and cultural legacies of working-class Glasgow with a hopeful vision for the future of its populace.

2.1.3 Context: the steamies that refused to die

First, it is necessary to briefly explain the disjuncture of steamie with the changing social, political and economic landscape of late 1970s and early 1980s Britain. Public washhouses had been established in Britain in the late 1800s as a way of bringing order and cleanliness to the urban, working-class population. The principles of their founding had been 'philanthropic', as Francis Worsley writes,[20] a show of municipal power to tend to the poorest in industrial cities and ensure better health to their population as a whole. While, as the decades wore on, these institutions saw less investment in their design – no longer assuming the grand, decorative architecture they had had in their Victorian prime – their symbolism as monuments to social democracy remained. Throughout this period, there was a common understanding that they were a superior facility for washing clothing than anything available domestically: an important principle among communities of women for whom clean clothes and sheets were a measure of social worth.[21] In Glasgow, the crowded, communal tenement living arrangements of so many of the city's poor made this principle of particular social importance: here 'the clothes-line of immaculately laundered articles in the communal back court was a public beacon of domestic competence', Abrams writes, and 'a woman who was absent from the steamie on her allocated day would set tongues wagging'.[22]

By the 1970s, many of the social and physical conditions that underpinned the importance of the steamie to working-class women had since fallen away. No longer did the majority of the population live in tenements, with washing lines strung out under the scrutiny of neighbours. Even among those of poorer backgrounds, private washing facilities were now the norm, with over 77% of households in possession of a washing machine by 1980.[23] More broadly, the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 was commonly held up to symbolise the collapse of the dominant post-war ideology of Keynesian social democracy – promoting social equality, economic interventionism and public investment – on which heavily publicly-

[20] Francis Worsley, *The Public Washhouse in Manchester and its importance for working-class women, 1850-1980*, Masters Dissertation, (Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University, 2013), p. 62.
[21] There is evidence for this principle across multiple different studies and accounts of working-class life in Glasgow, including Jean Faley, '*Up Oor Close': Memories of Domestic Life in Glasgow Tenements*, 1910-1945, (Glasgow: White Cockade Publishing, 2004), p. 49, Helen Clark and Elizabeth Carnegie, *She was aye workin': Memories of tenement women in Edinburgh and Glasgow*, (Glasgow: White Cockade Publishing, 2003), p. 14; Molly Weir, *Shoes Were for Sunday,* (Hutchinson & Co, 1970), p. 145.
[22] Abrams, 'Keeping a clean house', p. 62.
[23] McFadden, 'Creating a modern home', p. 287.

subsidised institutions such as the steamie relied.[24] Alongside this breakdown of so-called post-war 'consensus',[25] the Women's Liberation Movement had recently mobilised to bring about new legislation in the UK such as the Equal Pay Act of 1970 and the Employment Protection Act of 1975,[26] securing the rights of women in the workplace for a new economic era, and challenging their assumed role as the caretakers of the home. The increasing affluence of the average industrial household also saw what Vernon Bogdanor and Robert Skidelsky called the 'weakening of class feeling' in British society,[27] calling into question the idea that these places could continue to appeal to the sense of working-class unity they once did.

The persistence of steamies in the midst of these changes was surprising. The women who used them were out-of-time with the paradigm shifts in working-class women's lives that were purported to have taken place over the past decade. Inhabiting the silhouette of their mothers and grandmothers, theirs was a style narrative turned away from the nation's heralding of a new era of technological progress and individual freedom, from their supposed future in Glasgow as liberated, classless, affluent subjects. The surface of these bodies told a story of female experience that lingered on in Glasgow as the infrastructure in which it was once embedded faded away. They told of the values, skills and forms of sociality of the steamie; the hollows and flaws of the contemporary built environment; and of cynicism toward what this new, atomised landscape of consciousness-raising, domestic technology and casual employment truly offered to women lower on the social scale. The persistence of these women in public presented its own political story. Simply by continuing as they had before, they became icons of an old city that 'refused to die', in the words of geographer Michael Keating:[28] part of a topography of old Glasgow that unsettled totalising visions of its present.

[24] David Lane, 'The Decay of Social Democracy', in David Lane, *Global Neoliberal Capitalism and the Alternatives*, (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2023), pp. 96-114.
[25] See Stuart Hall, 'The Great Moving Right Show', *Marxism Today*, (January, 1979), in Sally Davison, David Featherstone, Michael Rustin and Bill Schwarz, *Stuart Hall's Selected Political Writings: The Great Moving Right Show and Other Essays*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), pp. 172-187.
[26] Binard, 'The British Women's Liberation Movement in the 1970s: Redefining the Personal and Political'.
[27] Robert Skidelsky and Vernon Bogdanor, *The Age of Affluence, 1951-1964*, (London: MacMillan, 2007), p. 114.
[28] Michael Keating, *Glasgow: The City that Refused to Die: Glasgow and the Politics of Urban Regeneration*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988).

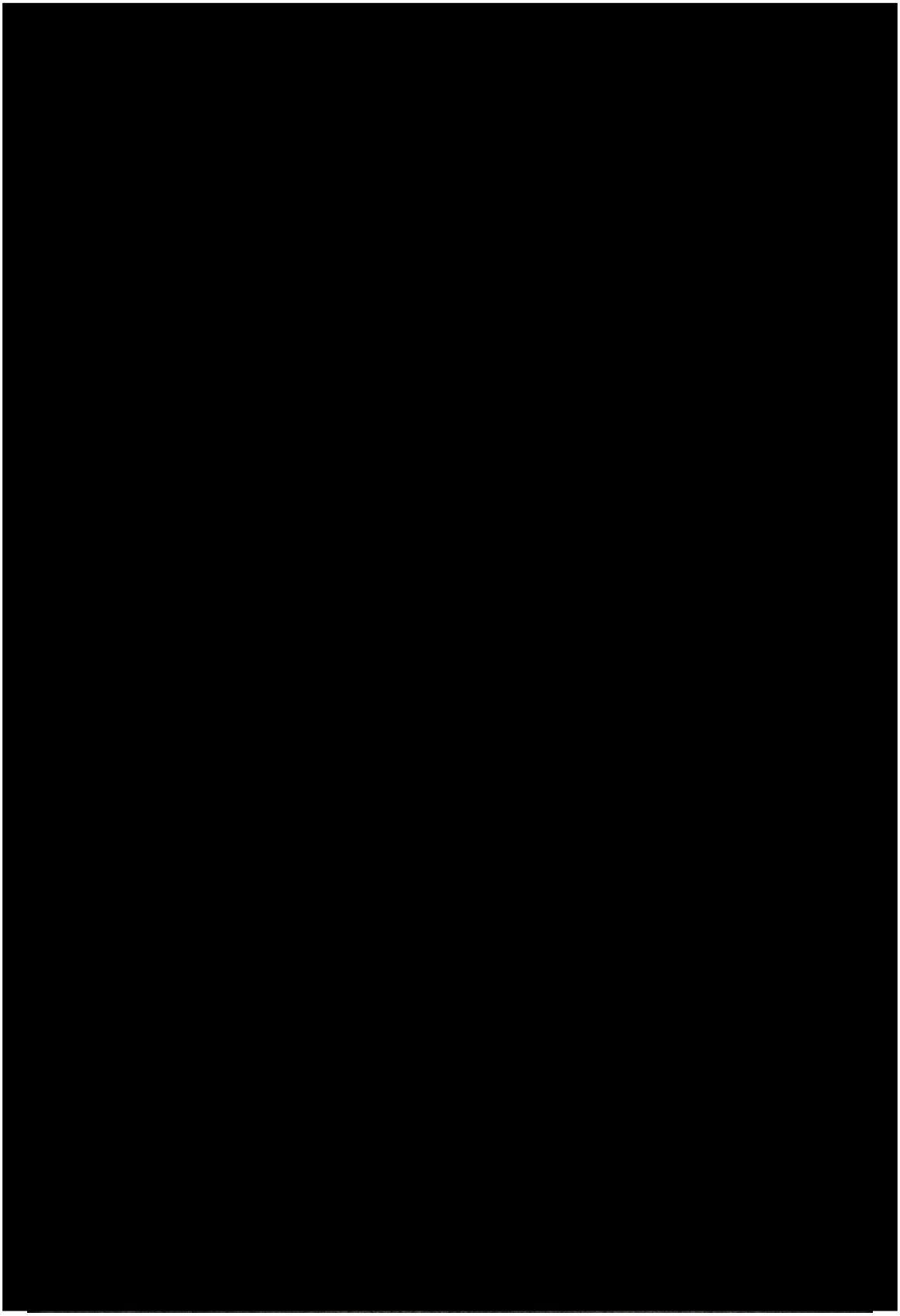

Fig. 22. Douglas Corrance, ‘The last day at Partick steamie’, 1982, courtesy of Douglas Corrance.

2.1 Image study: Style narratives of the steamie

To begin, the study charts the development of a style narrative of the steamie using three photographs of women in public washhouses in Glasgow taken between the period 1920 to 1981. These photographs demonstrate the social context in which steamies first emerged, and how their meaning shifted over time from sites of working-class discipline to sites of women's resistance. The first, taken at 37 Dale Street, Bridgeton in 1920, was taken as part of data collection recording conditions of Glasgow's slums before the rollout of further municipal housing. The second was taken in 1946 by Humphrey Spender, a well-known documentary photographer, as part of a series on Britain's industrial cities in *Picture Post* magazine, between 1938 and 1939. The final image was captured for a news article on a washhouse in the Gorbals in June, 1981. Grounding the selection of these images is their capture, in each instance, by those in a position of power, demonstrating the position of the steamie as a site of working-class women's everyday lives authorities consistently felt compelled to document, scrutinise and thereby control. Together, these images reveal visual echoes in the clothing and comportment of subjects across time, illustrating how style narratives of the steamie evolved in opposition to the dominant spatial, class, gender and temporal codes of successive periods of Glasgow's history.

Fig. 23. Photographer Unknown, '37 Dale St, Bridgeton, Woman with wash-tub at door of wash-house', c.1920, Glasgow City Archives.

2.1.1 'Woman with wash-tub at door of wash-house', c.1920.

In the first, figure 23, we witness a woman heavily embedded in the visual language of the slum: a woman, in the words of Carl Chinn, 'whose appearance and habits were commensurate with the miserable, squalid districts in which she lived'.[29] Taken in 1920, at the door of a dilapidated washhouse in the back court of a soon-to-be-demolished tenement, she is already an anachronism. Situated a short walk from Greenhead Washhouse, the site of Glasgow's first Victorian steamie, erected in 1878, here was a symbol of the threat the unregulated, jerrybuilt backlands of Glasgow's 'old' East End continued to pose to the rest of Glasgow.

[29] Carl Chinn, *They worked all their lives: Women of the urban poor England 1880-1939*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 18.

Spurred by the frequent outbreaks of cholera and typhus that had ravaged the population in the mid-1800s,[30] Glasgow was one of the earliest of all industrial cities in Britain to introduce coal-powered, freshwater-supplied public washhouses.[31] Often, tenements were built with common washhouses for the building, situated in the back court, but in instances where they were unavailable, steamies were offered up as an alternative: equipped with a much larger set of facilities for boiling, washing and drying clothing. These acted, along with a concert of other measures, in part to redeploy the labouring capacity of the city's poorest working-class women in the somewhat urgent service of the sanitary health of the municipality. Glasgow Corporation's baths and washhouses were first commissioned under the significantly named Police Act of 1866,[32] much of which did not come into being until Alexander McCall, best known for his mission to suppress 'prostitution'[33] in the city, became chief Constable in 1870.[34] The Police Act of 1866 provided the legislative foundation for the policing of Glasgow in the second half of the 19th and the early 20th century:[35] weaving a relationship between cleanliness and the chastened woman into the core of its development as a civic power.[36] The woman at the centre of this image, semi-dressed in a grubby pinafore, standing in the doorway of a dilapidated, half-built washhouse next to a wash bucket kept in the open air, brings the convergence of these concerns into sharp relief.

Although stripped of some of their ornamental design by the interwar period, Glasgow's washhouses had developed out of a time when industrial advancement had converged with a rash of anatomic, medical discoveries and ambitious urban sanitary reform to 'forge a fantasy' about the kind of renewed, disciplined and purified bodies a fully mechanised society might be able to produce.[37] The municipal architecture of

[30] R. E. M Lees, 'Epidemic Disease in Glasgow during the 19th Century,' *Scottish Medical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 1, pp. 24-27.
[31] Sally Sheard, 'Profit is a Dirty Word: The Development of Public Baths and Washhouses in Britain, 1847-1915', *Social History of Medicine*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 63-85.
[32] *Glasgow Police Act 1866*, Clause 387.
https://www.scotlawcom.gov.uk/files/4112/7989/6878/rep150.pdf.
[33] Prostitution did not have a clear definition at this point, meaning it could range between anything from sex work to anti-social behaviour. See Sandra Stanley Holton, 'State Pandering, Medical Policing and Prostitution: The Controversy within the Medical Profession concerning the Contagious Diseases Legislation, 1864-1886,' *Research in Law, Deviance, and Social Control*, 9:149, (1988).
[34] Mahood, *The Magdalene's Friend*, p. 51.
[35] *Statute Law Revision: Fifteenth Report Draft Statute Law (Repeals) Bill*, The Law Commission and The Scottish Law Commission, Law Com No. 233, Scot Law Com No. 150, (January, ,1995), p.98.
[36] Vladimir Rizov notes that the Glasgow Police Act was 'focused on criminalising sex work' and allowing police 'greater powers' to target women on the street, in a 'solidification' of an ongoing process of the 'state exercising control over its spaces and inhabitants'. Vladimir Rizov, 'A Walk in Thomas Annan's Glasgow: Documentary Photography, Class and Urban Space', *The Urban History Association*, Vol. 50, No. 3, (2024), pp. 583-600.
[37] Anlin-Cheng, *Second Skin,* p.8, see also Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*, (London: Wiley, 2012).

the late Victorian period was often described as a demonstration of 'self-mastery', using the achievements of the industrial revolution to respond to urban needs with artful, ambitious municipal design.[38]

Opened in August, 1878, Bridgeton's Greenhead Washhouse was the first fully sheltered, mechanised washhouse to be introduced to the city. It was one of a series of baths and washhouses geared at 'securing cleanliness within the reach of East-enders',[39] particularly those of the impoverished, largely Irish migrant populated Bridgeton and Calton areas. The Greenhead steamie was built on the site of a much earlier, open air washhouse on the green, erected in the early 18th century. Complete with 48 washing compartments, each with a boiler, a sink with cold water and a drying frame, these facilities were intended to allow women to complete a full cycle of dirty laundry in the space of an afternoon.[40] This would, local Councillor William Rae Wilson (who was responsible for the introduction of Greenhead, London Road and Townhead steamies in the late 1800s) announced on opening day, relieve housewives of the miserable, unsanitary process of completing it in the cramped, damp conditions of the home, and allowing the 'working man's household' to better define itself as a space of rest for the breadwinner.[41] The building was also, like many of those rolled out before the First World War, a work of municipal pride: intended to replace the 'primitive' facilities of the old washhouse not only with a fully equipped and enclosed space for laundry, but grand exterior design features, such as an 'elegant iron verandah'[42] complete with seats so park walkers could rest and sightsee on the old working space for drying and bleaching linen.

By 1920, the priorities of Glasgow Corporation had changed. The First World War, the Glasgow Rent Strikes of 1915, and the introduction of the Housing act in 1919, had ushered in a new era of more sombre municipal planning, in which Glasgow's modernisation was no longer a principle of imperial pride but principally 'determined by "social needs"'.[43] Given the sustained efforts of the local council by this point to alleviate the risk of disease and the 'evils' of slum-landlordism,[44] the persistence of women forced to use tenement washhouses in this condition, less than 15 minutes' walk from the longest standing washhouse in the city, was damning. No longer, notes Rae Harris Stoll, were these figures of documentary reportage seen as exceptional, titillating examples of the city's 'underside' – rather, with measures to identify and tackle

[38] Elana Shapira, 'Adolf Loos and the Fashioning of "the Other": Memory, Fashion and Interiors', *Interiors: Design*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (2011), pp. 213-237. See also, Lauren M. E. Goodlad, 'Beyond the Panopticon: Victorian Britain and the Critical Imagination', *PMLA*, Vol. 118, No. 3, Special Topic: Imagining History, (May, 2003), pp. 539-556.
[39] 'Public Baths and Washhouses in Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 11.11.1875.
[40] Ibid.
[41] 'The Baths and Wash-Houses on the Green', *Glasgow Herald*, 20.08.1878.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Miles Glendinning et al. '1880-1914: The Search for Order', in *A History of Scottish Architecture*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 384.
[44] C. M. Allan, 'The Genesis of British Urban Redevelopment with Special Reference to Glasgow', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, (1965), p. 598.

urban poverty now under the purview of an expanded municipal infrastructure, the 'presence of the oppressed' in 1920s photography merely exposed the failings of the current system to answer to the growing needs of the masses.[45] At this point, in the wake of Glasgow's major, female-led Rent Strike of 1915, in which the government had been forced to accede to their demands and impose a Rent Restriction Act in the same year, Annmarie Hughes argues that quality of housing in Glasgow had become a 'feminist issue': bought, from years of women's organised campaigns via the Women's Guild and socialist organising, to the forefront of the agenda of the ascendant Independent Labour Party (ILP).[46] In the documentary photograph of the woman on Dale Road, seemingly of another time, there was a latent political threat – a female, working-class body, ill served by the current system, that could or would not disappear into the faulty machinery of the state.

[45] Rae Harris Stoll, 'The Poor in Edwardian Writing', *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 4, (December, 1982), p. 30.
[46] Annmarie Hughes, 'Socialist Women, the ILP and the 'Politics of the Kitchen', and 'Socialist Women, Feminists and Feminism' in Annmarie Hughes, *Gender and Political Identities in Scotland, 1919-1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 38-60 and 103-128.

Fig. 24. Humphrey Spender, 'Women in a Public Washhouse, Glasgow, 1939', 1939, Gelatin silver print, 18.9 x 28.0 cm, National Galleries Scotland.

2.1.2 'Women in a Public Washhouse, Glasgow,' 1939

In Humphrey Spender's photograph (fig. 24), we see the same broad category of subject in a different political context. Here, figures appear firmly secured in the workings of the steamie: confined to their individual stations, bodies moving in machine-like harmony. Commissioned to conduct a photo-essay of Glasgow for *Picture Post* in 1939, Spender had a garnered a reputation for his work both in *Picture Post* and the research organisation Mass Observation (M. O.) as a chronicler of everyday life in industrial areas of Britain.[47] In this period, 'the search for affirmative images of labour and citizenship' characterised the mission of documentary photography,[48] channelling a moralist 'social eye' on British society, in the words of Stuart Hall,[49] which gained ever more currency as the nation entered into the Second World War. Here,

[47] See Jennie Taylor, 'Pennies from Heaven and Earth in Mass Observation's Blackpool', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 1, (January, 2012), pp. 132-154.
[48] David Mellor, 'Mass Observation: The Intellectual Climate', *Camerawork*, No. 11, (September, 1978).
[49] Stuart Hall, 'The Social Eye of Picture Post', in Charlotte Brunsdon (ed) *Writings on Media: The History of the Present*, (New York: Duke University Press, 2021), pp. 34-53.

we see the forces of that gaze at work, with a portrait of a set of working-class women who appear fully in-time with the efficient rhythms of a nation in crisis. Bodies fully turned over the washtubs, the gentle light and smooth, a-line silhouette of these women's skirts are signs of feminine respectability: deployed to dispel, or rather forget the 'detrimental cultural stereotypes' of the 'image of the violence prone slum' so pervasive in dominant representations of Glasgow.[50] Each poised in broadly the same position, Spender captures their work as if it were on a factory floor. It is a portrait that appeals to the explicit aims of *Picture Post* to capture portraits of forms of British social life which 'people were familiar with, but had never consciously observed'.[51] These bodies are filtered into a grander narrative of British unity, in which the novelty of peering behind the veil of a closed institution is counterbalanced by the familiar image of working-class production, servility and self-sacrifice contained within.

Beneath this artfully composed image was the subtle sense the British state had conquered these semi-private spaces and quelled the power of those who worked within them. Honing in on poised silhouettes and slender frames, Spender seemed to emphasise the compliance of these women to a feminine bodily ideal. Here, in the words of Arwen Palmer Mohun, the 'appeal of behaving in a manner' that allowed for their maximum efficiency, rough, vigorous and dominant, so often parodied or eroticised in popular culture, had been vanquished in favour of 'cultural definitions of appropriate behaviour for women', in body language that was delicate, feminine and servile.[52] The overall effect, however, is not so much a feeling of control but of tension or anxiety. For an essay in *Camerawork* magazine, Tom Picton noted that Germany and Russia's allyship in the first years of the Second World War had rendered British authorities 'afraid of the working-class',[53] helping to cultivate a documentary tradition geared toward using photography as a form of data collection to glean greater insight into working-class behaviour. Picton wrote that Mass Observation, for whom Spender was official photographer in the 1930s, acted as 'civil spies' for the British government, providing documentary information on their 'civilian morale' in order to guide future policy.[54] In postures of submission, faces turned, bodies excised of the rough, masculine connotations of the East End Glaswegian washerwoman, this is an image intended to reassure those in power – showing them harnessed to the full support of the state. Yet, in the furious movement of arms, the tussled clothes at the foot of the wash stands, and the cross of apron straps over broad shoulders, there remains the shadow of

[50] Andrew Blaikie, 'Image and Inventory: Picture Post and the British View of Scotland, 1938-57', *International Review of Scottish Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 11, (October, 2013), p. 24.
[51] Tom Allbeson and Bronwen Colquhoun, 'Page, Print, JPEG: Researching and Curating Picture Post, its history and publics', *The Journal for Media History*, Vol. 25, No. 1, (2022), p. 7.
[52] Arwen Palmer Mohun, 'Women, work and technology: The steam laundry industry in the United States and Great Britain', PhD thesis, (Case Western Reserve University, 1992), https://etd.ohiolink.edu/acprod/odb_etd/etd/r/1501/10?clear=10&p10_accession_num=case1056135864., p. 315.
[53] Tom Picton, 'A very public espionage', *Camerawork*, No. 11, (September, 1978), pp. 2-3.
[54] Ibid.

this other, undisciplined figure of the dissatisfied slum woman, poised to break free of the expectation laid on her body.

Fig. 25. Trinity Mirror, 'Glasgow Steamies: General scenes of women doing the laundry in steamies in the Gorbals area of Glasgow', 1981, Alamy.

2.1.3 'General scenes of women doing the laundry', 1981.

The final photograph (fig. 25) captures a sense of how these legacies eventually came to accrete on the bodies of steamie users in a thoroughly transformed society. Taken in 1981, the ceramic tiles and broad, stainless steel sinks of the Victorian public washhouse are unmistakeable. These subjects, similarly turned away from the lens and engaged, fully, in the demands of a manual wash, are redolent of Spender's wartime portrait. The sight of bins full of rumpled, dirty clothing, a perennial feature of this category of photograph, reinforces a sense of the relentless demands of domestic work and the failure of an ever-evolving technological landscape to lessen that burden. Moving in tandem, limbs almost joined, these women do more than recall the apparent solidarity and conviviality of earlier, more familiar portraits of the steamie: they exaggerate it, performing a closeness unseen in Spender's historic image of women tied, separately, to

their cleaning stations. In heeled court shoes, aprons and rolled sleeves, their clothing also recalls a familiar tension between femininity, utility and the rough physicality of the work. What it decidedly ignores is the conventions of 1980s British fashion, instead referencing styles, if they can be dated, more reminiscent of the 1950s or 60s – as if subjects are frozen in a more appropriate era. In the jagged path laid by water set around the building, and the forceful grip of hands as they drag the baskets back and forth, there also remains the haunting impression and accusing eye of the images of the washerwoman on Dale St, Bridgeton.

These photographs chart the development of the steamie as a style narrative, as an embodied 'comment on a contested self', as Tulloch writes, 'in contested situations and contested spaces'.[55] Harked by a turn of phrase, a movement of hands, the knot of a silk scarf or the bulk of an overcoat, this was an embodied, biographical narrative construct working-class women could consistently call on through Glasgow's endless rounds of re-invention, using dress and gesture to at once critique, survive, and define themselves through those transformations. To appear as they did at this juncture in British history was a meaningful political statement, just as it had been at many junctures before. It was an unruly, embodied citation of the past: a sartorial, gestural embrace of the labels routinely imposed on these women as out-of-time, archaic, 'a race apart'[56] from the typical female progeny of the city. These forms of embodiment had the power to affect critical feelings of nostalgia or longing in others:[57] demonstrable in the proliferation of press articles on the institution's demise. At just the point the old structures of working-class life seemed to be disappearing once again, the gestures seen here demonstrated the latest iteration of a subversive cultural tradition to refuse, as a working-class woman, to bend the body into the new shapes the state expected of it.[58]

With style narratives, women at the steamie could use their dressed bodies to engage with 'unsettling air of unfinished business left over from the past',[59] as Tulloch described it, and in turn forge a path for their arrival as complex, self-defining subjects into the political present. In the process, the traces of vanishing communities, locations, routines and values were drawn close to the skin, becoming their own form of self-protection. By clutching at the figures of the past, languishing in the obsolete machinery of the state, and reclaiming the very images or stereotypes once used to chasten these women into obedience, they posed living contradictions to the dominant narratives that frequently announced the disappearance of women of

[55] Tulloch, *Birth of Cool*, p. 4.
[56] David Gibson, 'Glasgow's washhouses are alive and well', *Evening Times*, 13.02.77.
[57] Svetlana Boym discusses the political resonances of nostalgia as a critique of progress in *The Future of Nostalgia*, (New York: Basic Books, 2002).
[58] Elizabeth Freeman discusses at length the 'embodied synchronic and diachronic organisation of class' in 'Junk Inheritances, Bad Timing: Familial Arrhythmia in Three Working-Class Dyke Narratives', *Time Binds*, pp. 21-58.
[59] Tulloch, 'The Haunting Joy of Being in England', *The Birth of Cool*, pp. 171-198.

their kind. Faced with a choice to either assimilate into the new social and political conventions of the city or disappear altogether, style narratives of the steamie gave women the opportunity to do neither: instead, they would proceed into the present while also keeping the past close, ensuring the contemporary landscape would always be haunted, as Rita Felski writes, 'by the history it seeks to transcend'.[60]

2.3 'My mother came here before me': civic attachments to the steamie

Fig. 26. Jimmy Gillies, 'Women and machines at the District Council Washhouse, Stevenson Street', 1976, Glasgow Museums Archives. Ref: 1977.13.82 JCG/614.

In Malcolm Reid's article 'Farewell to the steamie', chief among the reasons current users gave for their loyalty was the sense of steamies as a site of consistency in personal lives otherwise blighted by displacement and change. Interviewing several steamie users, their full names and addresses were given: a seemingly innocuous detail that pointed to these spaces as valued archives of local memory in the face of

[60] Felski, *Doing Time: Feminist Theory and Postmodern Culture*, p. 24.

generations' worth of social dispersal, ghettoised interwar rehoming, Comprehensive Development Areas and failed post-war housing projects. 'My mother came here before me,'[61] explained 31-year-old user Mary Muirhead of Govanhill: a statement that gains new meaning with a consideration of her given address, which, at 248 Aikenhead Road, can be traced as among the first of Glasgow Corporation's attempts at council house development after the clearances of the late 19th century. 'This is the place for me. It hasn't changed a bit,'[62] reported Annie Shields of 487 Cumberland Street, one of four 24 storey tower blocks constructed as part of the Hutchesontown project in the Gorbals, a series of vast, modernist hamlets which occupied the largest of all of Glasgow's Comprehensive Development Areas.

Elsewhere, for *The Glasgow Herald*, journalist Helen Martin investigated the unlikely popularity of Partick steamie in 1985 by making a visit there undercover, assisted by regular user Jessie Graff. 'An unlikely looking conspirator,' Graff was able to show Martin the 'real business of the steamie' via her usual gossipy interactions with friends, the quirks and rituals of manual washing, and the glimpses of social distinction between user's uniforms of aprons, headscarves and boots.[63] Across a number of similar articles reporting, with surprise, on the persistence of steamies despite their lessening practical necessity, the ubiquity of these narrative details spoke to the underlying function of these spaces as helping to root the collective and individual biography of those who used them.

Observing the visual landscape of working-class life to emerge from post-industrial Britain, theorist Jeremy Seabrook observed that a 'sentimental iconography of motherhood' rested at its foundation.[64] The seemingly endless 'images of all the saintly women, arms folded, clutching their elbows on the back doorstep' that had proliferated through both amateur and professional documentary photography throughout the 20th century now served to 'anchor and generalise a distinctive working-class sensibility' and 'affirm a shared predicament'[65] as the reality of working-class experience became more atomised. Looking at the particular significance of the family photograph in mapping the contours of class identity during that period, Seabrook observed how working-class women were not only the focus of much of that imagery – appearing as symbols of constancy, intimacy and care – but custodians of it: charged with providing their social narrative and emotional context, situating them in a broader 'celebration of…the overcrowded experience of those who lived in the streets and terraces',[66] preserving a cultural tradition that now seemed to be

[61] Reid, 'Farewell to the Steamie'.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Martin, 'Talk of the Steamie', p. 4.
[64] Jeremy Seabrook, 'My Life is in that Box', in Patricia Holland & Jo Spence (eds), *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography*, (London: Virago Press, 1991), p. 171.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Seabrook, 'My Life is in that Box', p. 173.

diminishing. Reid's article joined a much broader roster of media representations of Glasgow that similarly treated women at the steamie as comforting 'living maps',[67] in Rosi Braidotti's words, of the city's recent history, both protagonists and custodians of a vision of working-class life that had elsewhere all but disappeared.

Fig. 27. Survey photograph taken on 58 Millroad St, Calton, just before the area was cleared as part of a scheme of Comprehensive Development. Jim Gillies, 'Miss Letitia Muir in Kitchen. Aged 70', 1976. Glasgow Museums Archives. Ref: PP1977.13.136 JCG/985.

The more of Glasgow that was destroyed, the more it seemed to encourage a nostalgic, melancholic sensibility in the population, underpinned by a fantasy of home to which most could no longer return. While, across Britain, historian Claire Langhamer notes, wartime experiences had 'intensified a longing for home' among the British populace,[68] Glasgow's ambitious attempts to rehouse much of the working-class population ended up producing unprecedented social and infrastructural instability, unseating many from

[67] Rosi Braidotti, *Metamorphoses: Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), p. 5.
[68] Claire Langhamer, 'The Meanings of Home in Post-war Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 40, No. 2, (April, 2005), pp. 341-362.

'home' as it was typically understood. The boom and subsequent downturn of heavy industry, the dramatic losses wrought by Glasgow Corporation's Comprehensive Development Area (CDA) policy,[69] and the destructive effects of the construction of the M8 motorway,[70] culminated in the sense in Glasgow of a population orphaned, turning images of bygone landscapes and figures into particularly potent symbols of both shared and individual experience.[71] 'If there is a Glasgow gaze,' historian Andrew Blaikie writes in *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory*, 'it tends to look backwards':[72] situating the steamie both as a cherished relic of a lost world, its users literal mother figures for which many felt tangible, personal grief.

The vivid, eye-witness accounts of public washhouses conjured in the press in this period were accompanied by a growing number of documentary photographs intended to capture women in place at the steamie before the practice of communal washing died out: exemplified in the work of Brian Scotchburn Snell and Ron O'Donnell in Edinburgh, and Allan Bovill and Douglas Corrance in Glasgow. Together, these representations acted not unlike family photographs – capturing scenes of idealised, intimate domesticity, in public sites, in the words of Edwina Atlee, where 'homely things take place'.[73] Warm, unthreatening, entangled in prevailing ideologies of time, progress and the family, theorists Annette Kuhn and Jo Spence have analysed the 'domestic photograph' as a visual source which holds 'a profusion – a confusion – of pleasures and pains', that offer themselves up with 'deceptive innocence'.[74] Those ambiguities, Spence and Kuhn separately observed,[75] are liable to intensify after moments of rupture or estrangement. Popular documentary photographs of the steamie show these dynamics at work on a macro level**:** stories of coming-of-age, grief and family breakdown entangling themselves in moments of broader systemic collapse, creating a direct correlation between the affective comfort of the image and the depth of the rift it conceals. The seeming innocence rosy images indicate a deep rupture that burgeons beyond the frame. Annie Shields' remark that 'this is the place for me' may, at first, have appeared to signify nothing more than a sense of nostalgia for childhood memories of her mother, but her address, in a deteriorating tower block in the Gorbals' doomed Hutchesontown development, revealed its true complexity: the steamie was a home, where many others had failed.

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[69] See Jean Forbes and Isobel Robertson, 'Changes in population distribution in Glasgow 1958-1975, *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 95, No. 3, (1979), pp. 155-158.
[70] See Florian Urban, 'Moderinising Glasgow – tower blocks, motorways, and new towns – 1940-2010', *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 265-309.
[71] Andrew Blaikie, *Scots Imagination and Modern Memory: Representations of Belonging*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), p. 214.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Edwina Atlee, *Strayed Homes: Cultural Histories of the Domestic in Public*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), p. 4.
[74] Patricia Holland and Jo Spence (eds), *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography*, (Virago Press, 1991), p. 1.
[75] Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination,* (London: Verso, 2002); Jo Spence, *Cultural Sniping: The Art of Transgression*, (London: Routledge, 1995), Jo Spence, 'The Politics of Photography', *Camerawork*, No. 1, (February 1976), p. 1.

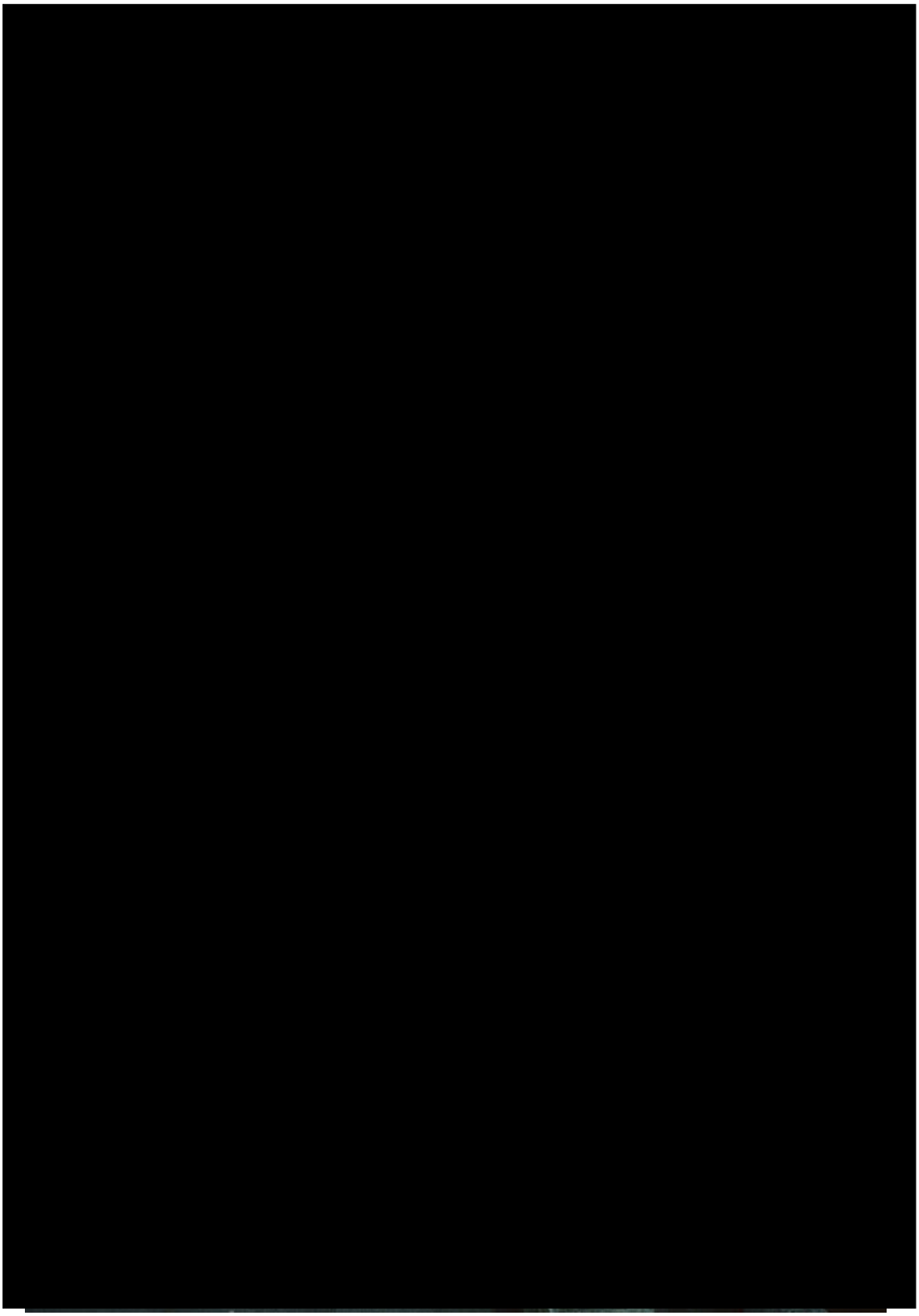

Fig. 28. The deteriorating home of Annie Shields, interviewee in the Malcolm Reid article. Photographer unknown, ‘1981: Entrance to 487 Cumberland Street’, Miles Glendinning, University of Edinburgh Tower Block UK project.

In 1982, the Glasgow-based newspaper photographer Douglas Corrance captured the final days of Partick steamie in vivid technicolour (see fig. 29 below). The washhouse had first opened in 1912, before Partick, an bustling area on the Clyde home to multiple shipyards and engineering works, was incorporated into the city of Glasgow. In the photograph below, we see its interior in full scale, matching what Reid described as the archaic scene of Victorian, wipe clean tiles and vast boilers for the steeping of soiled overalls. At the centre of this image is a set of women who were similarly unchanged from how they may have been captured in the same setting twenty, thirty or forty years ago. Draped in long overcoats and pinafores, hair cropped in tight perms, these women's outfits mirror their seemingly archaic forms of embodiment: turned to the attention of a specific physical task, the shape and direction of their limbs are borne of a pre-automated world. Whether laying out clothing on large steam-heated clothes horses, or pushing an old pram laden with clean linen, these bodies told of the endurance of laundering as a haptic, socialised and memory-laden ritual.

Fig. 29. Douglas Corrance, 'The last day of Partick steamie, 1982', 1982, courtesy of Douglas Corrance.

Anachronism, writes queer theorist Elizabeth Freeman, demonstrates a form of attachment to the past that can be disruptive and unsettling.[76] When that anachronism is displayed on the body, it betrays a stubborn, yet conscious 'lingering of pastness' that can constitute a kind of gestural 'revolution in the old sense of the word': resistance as regression, a turn backward, in the face of systems that demand the body's onward movement.[77] The dowdy dress and outmoded gestures of these women made them ripe for dismissal in the public eye as, at best, quaint curios of urban life, and at worst, embarrassing symbols of the city's failure to bring itself up to date. While spoken of fondly in the city's newspapers, their battle to preserve the institution itself was losing. Across Britain, public washhouses were subject not only to tightening city council budgets, but a new generation of women more likely to opt for the fully-automated machine, most likely living in more modern estates which had cultivated the view that respectable washing was that done in the privacy of one's own home.[78] Historian Patricia Malcolmson remarks that the scant representations of laundresses in Britain tended to conceal the realities of washing in favour of a titillating, romanticised view of a working-class woman in a hot, concealed space. [79] In fig. 29, Corrance captures a different vision: a view of laundry as quasi-industrial labour, as ritualised, machinic and as laden with pride as the male-dominated industries the city had so recently lost. Aprons, headscarves and competent, working bodies compounded these subjects' distance from the way women were usually rendered in the public eye, i.e. as young, fashionable subjects, unencumbered by any marker of difference. Theirs was a 'look' that seemed to offer dimension to their identities in the present: surfacing the ghosts of former generations with everyday gesture and materials to create a social 'space of alterity'[80] on the surface of their bodies, cathecting a grassroots historical narrative of work and everyday life through 'both physical sensation and emotional response'.[81]

The closure of steamies was often met with significant protests from regular users, including, on many occasions, their mass gathering outside those threatened or condemned to make their presence known. In October 1982, a number of women in Edinburgh came together to protest the closure of the city's Murdoch Terrace steamie in a mock funeral procession. It featured a sealed coffin emblazoned with the slogan 'public laundries', which was slow-marched through the city by a group of women wielding banners and signs with the slogans 'we will remember', 'we want to wash our dirty linen in public'.[82] In Dumfries, 40 housewives marched through the streets to the City Chambers to protest the pending closure of Greensands Laundrette,

[76] See Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds*, and Elizabeth Freeman, 'Packing History, Count(er)ing Generations', *New Literary History*, Vol. 31, No. 4, (Autumn, 2000), pp. 727-744.
[77] Freeman, *Time Binds*, p. 21.
[78] Worsley, *The Public Washhouse in Manchester*, p. 71.
[79] Malcolmson, *English Laundresses*, p. 8.
[80] Musser, 'Surface-becoming'.
[81] Freeman, *Time Binds*, xx.
[82] Derek Douglas, 'Black day as steamies close', *The Glasgow Herald,* 02.10.82.

a local institution which had opened as a public washhouse in 1898, after which they handed the council a petition signed by 500 users demanding they change their plans.[83] Elsewhere, after a dogged, year-long protest campaign by the Royston Community Council and the Roystonhill Tenant's Association, Glasgow's Townhead steamie was finally demolished in 1987.[84] A crowd of women gathered to watch it fall: noting, with their attendance, their objection to its departure for the final time. The washhouse had stood there for 60 years.

These efforts were significant because they suggested a critical awareness, among these women, of the allegorical power of their anachronistically-styled bodies when situated in the public realm. As Freeman writes, 'culturally enforced rhythms or timings shape flesh into legible, acceptable embodiment'.[85] In this case, those rhythms and timings had been the all-consuming routines of the weekly wash using public facilities, and now, the out-of-timeness of those bodies were railing against the dominant culture. When paraded in public during the steamie's demise, these bodies signified the errant lingering of those routines, their marks on the surface of present subjects. As Pat Johnston reported for *The Glasgow Herald* as early as 1963, 'There survives in these hot, wet echoing monuments to the Glasgow housewife's never-ending battle against dirt, one of the last truly communal enterprises in this age of compartmentalised living'.[86] Enveloped in a structure once designed for the discipline and rationalisation of the working-class, female slumdweller, the steamie had created opportunities to appropriate its rituals and its uniform as symbols of resistant identity: creating 'a consciousness of class rather than a class consciousness' that had deep emotional resonance with the city at large, presenting, in 'broad patient faces, red, steaming wrinkled hands and sore feet', a living map of old Glasgow.[87]

[83] '"Steamie"' runs out of steam', *The Glasgow Herald*, 25.07.1970.
[84] Iain Gray, 'Tenants make last stand as "steamie" goes', *The Glasgow Herald*, 03.08.1987.
[85] Freeman, *Time Binds*, p. 12.
[86] Pat Johnston, 'Up to their elbows in hot water', *The Glasgow Herald*: Women's Topics, 17.06.1963.
[87] Ibid.

Fig. 30. Jimmy Gillies, 'Council Washhouse – ironing the curtains, Stevenson Street', 1976, 50mm, Calton Survey, People's Palace Archives/Glasgow Life. Ref: PP1977.13.204 JGC/769.

2.4 'Womanpower': the class and gender politics of rough comportment

As well as coming up against dominant visions of the urban present, women's attachment to the steamie also seemed to jar with dominant discourses of women's liberation in the period. Laundry had been a significant symbolic battleground for the second-wave feminist movement of the 1960s and 70s. Betty Friedan, in *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) famously referred to the 'slow death of mind and spirit' incumbent to the housewife's domestic routine, while observing the 'walking corpses' of women trapped in these roles in the American suburbs.[88] Gayle Rubin, in her essay 'The Traffic in Women' (1975), had set out women's assumed duties of care to the family as the 'translation of female labour into male wealth':[89] the sacrifice of women's bodies to cultivating and sustaining male labourer's participation in the capitalist

[88] Betty Freidan, *The Feminine Mystique*, (London: Penguin Classics, 2010), p. 53.
[89] Gayle Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women', in Rayna R. Reiter (ed), *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 18-21.

economy. Within the Women's Liberation movement, the repetition and monotony of rotes of domestic labour, its diminishing effects not only on the body but the intellect, were interpreted as a primary instrument of patriarchal oppression: something it was incumbent to the 'sisterhood' to recognise, theorise and ultimately resist.[90] As Vivian Gornick wrote in her introduction to Erving Goffman's *Gender Advertisements*, analysing the gendered nature of body language in the commercial sphere:

> 'What Erving Goffman shares with contemporary feminists is the felt conviction beneath the surface of ordinary social behaviour innumerable small murders of the mind and spirit take place daily. Inside most people, behind a socially useful image of the self, there is a sentient being suffocating slowly to death in a Kafkaesque atmosphere, taken as natural, that denies not only death but the live being as well'.[91]

Embodying a perceived role as relics of bygone industrial communities, the women at the steamie seemed prime for feminist critiques of women's mental and physical imprisonment through state-mandated domestic labour. Yet, in the period in question, their attachment to the steamie could not simply be read as a symbol of their continued patriarchal oppression, as their visits to the steamie were now, commonly, an active choice. Presenting, in the media, an image of 'peculiarly Glaswegian gaiety and toughness, that sense of a city's solidarity',[92] the bodies of women at the steamie instead told a story of female resistance unique to their class and circumstances of place. It was a refusal of the more 'modern' options available to complete domestic routines, which had bought with them a cynical 'media fantasy of women's liberation', as Elizabeth Wilson reports;[93] it was a refusal of the city's utopian urban planning, which had broken up old neighbourhoods and mandated a more private, independent way of living; and it was a refusal of a prevailing political narrative that because the city no longer 'needed' the steamie, it should be abandoned. Their persistence arrested the gaze of journalists and photographers because it inverted the 'socially useful image' expected of them: by sticking to old habits and routines, these women refused to conform to what Elizabeth Freeman calls 'the "performative" time'[94] of the present, and instead, pivoted their bodies to reach across into 'other eras', seeking liberation in the past rather than the future. The anachronism of these women demonstrated their transformation of a space once intended for their discipline into one of conviviality,

[90] See Linda J. Nicholson, *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*, (Hove: Psychology Press, 1997); Sarah Browne, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Scotland*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Kristina Shulz, *The Women's Liberation Movement: Impacts and Outcomes*, (Oxford: Berghahn, 2019).
[91] Vivian Gornick, 'Introduction', in Erving Goffman, *Gender Advertisements,* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1979), pp. i-ix.
[92] Pat Johnston, 'Up to the Elbows in Hot Water', *The Glasgow Herald*, 17.06.1963.
[93] Elizabeth Wilson, *Only Halfway to Paradise: Women in Post-war Britain 1945-1968*, (London: Tavistock, 1980), p. 38.
[94] Freeman, *Time Binds*, p. 62.

community and nostalgia, which now communicated a broader longing for bygone worlds that produced, in users, resistant 'modes of belonging and also "being long", or persisting over time'.[95]

These women presented forms of body language that did not conform to expectations around how women should appear in public space. In that way, they presented a kind of feminism that was, at the time, yet to be fully theorised. In 1979, the German feminist artist Marianne Wex took several thousand photographs of unsuspecting male and female subjects, mostly as they waited at train platforms, to capture and deconstruct the 'movements that we make in our daily lives'.[96] Telling a story of her own pursuit of an expanded feminist consciousness, through these photographs Wex attempted to catalogue the repeated attempts of patriarchal society to harness and subjugate a mode of competent, labouring female embodiment she referred to as 'womanpower'.[97] Overwhelmingly, Wex found that the women she photographed arranged their bodies in public space, consciously or unconsciously, to signal their acquiescence to patriarchal ideals, keeping 'her arms and legs close to her body,' for example, 'thereby making herself thin, small, dainty and submissive'.[98] Particularly of interest to her were the distinction between male and female hands, both in contemporary advertising and in the unconscious positions of her eye-witnessed subjects. Where images of rough, strong male hands were actively deployed in advertising to demonstrate men's visceral physical ability, their capacity to 'get a grip on things', the feminine hand was 'weak, delicate, preferably small', and 'should never disclose any strength or ability to work'.[99] For women, it appeared any visible gesture of strength or physical capability was a sign of her failure to perform, legibly, as a woman: directly connecting 'the manner in which women move' and the 'narrow psychic and economic room which is allotted to them in the male dominated society'.[100]

[95] Freeman, *Time Binds*, p. 13.
[96] Marianne Wex, *Let's Take Back Our Space: 'female' and 'male' body language as a result of patriarchal structures*, (Munich: ComposerSatz, 1979), p. 6.
[97] Wex, *Let's Take Back Our Space*, pp. 182-202.
[98] Wex, *Let's Take Back Our Space,* p. 8.
[99] Wex, *Let's Take Back Our Space*, p. 298.
[100] Wex, *Let's Take Back Our Space*, pp. 318-326.

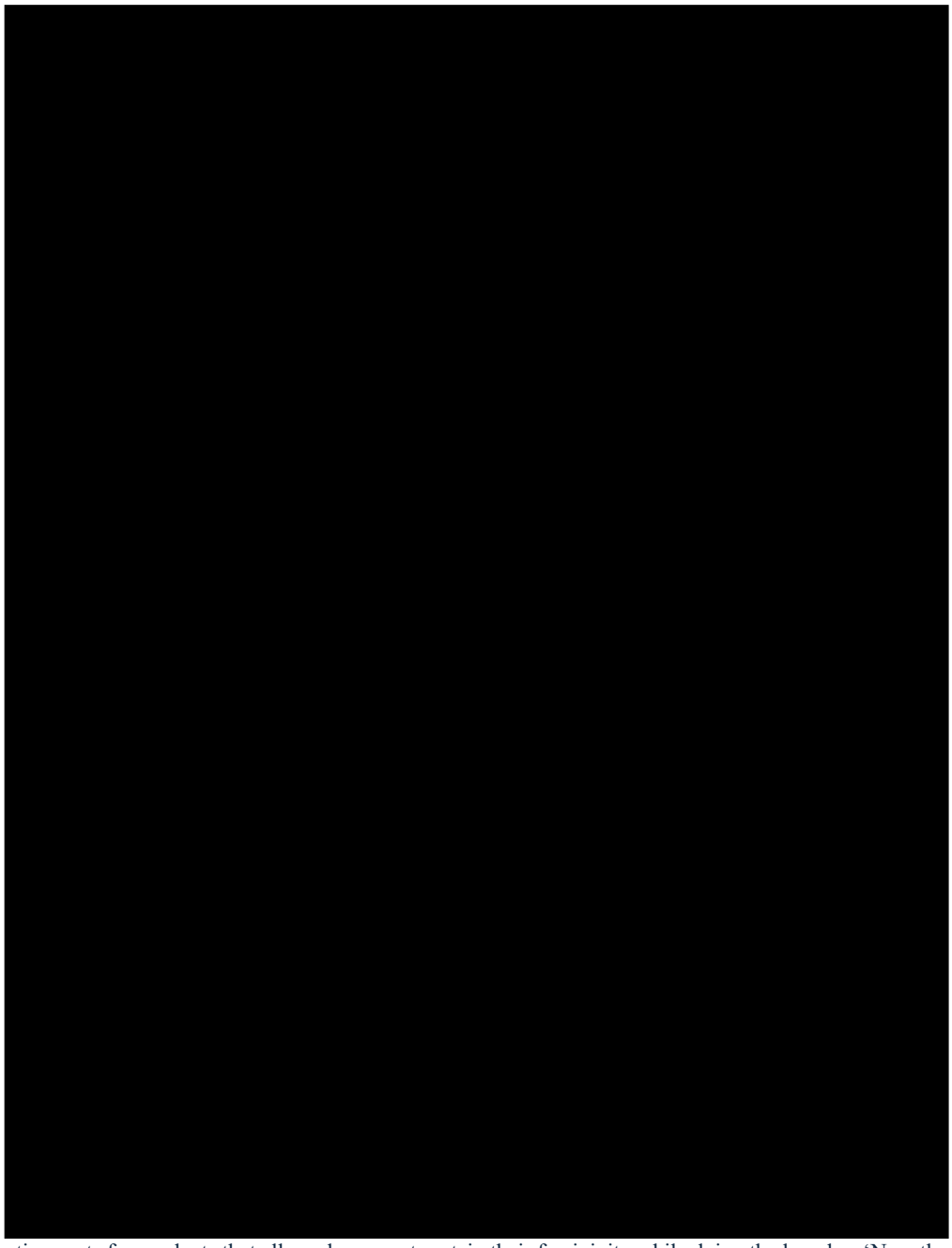

Fig. 31. Advertisements for products that allowed women to retain their femininity while doing the laundry: ‘Now there’s no need to rough it. Ever’. Advertisement for Comfort fabric softener, 1983, History of Advertising Trust Archive. Ref: HAT62/10/1848.

In the instances women took up male postures – for instance by widening their gait, raising their heads and straightening their torsos, as if in preparation to undertake a physical task – Wex observed it was generally to create a sense she was offering herself to the male gaze, making her body more visible not out of dominance, but for the purposes of consumption. There were, however, some exceptions to that rule. Wex

identified these individuals almost exclusively as 'older women of the "lower" classes'.[101] These women often sat 'more sprawled out, wide-legged, holding their arms more loosely,'[102] assuming natural, restful positions of dominance. Wex observed this body language was particularly noticeable when these women were alone, or with other women: 'Only in social situations, family reunions and other kinds of parties,' she writes, 'did they "behave" themselves again'.[103] These were bodies who wore traces of heavy labour the patriarchal public realm did not allow: something Wex identifies as a sign of radical departure from the social norms of the period. Their gestures provided feminist inspiration for Wex, the white, middle-class, female artist, by then in her early forties, to unlearn the postures of deference, frailty and incompetence her body had learned to assume since adolescence. Observing, among others, the freer movements of these 'older women of the "lower" classes,' Wex considers a world where her own body was similarly resistant to submission – where she chose to extend her body in ways that 'collided with the areas which men reserve for themselves'.[104] Wex finished her study with the process of her own unlearning, as a hopeful gesture toward the next stage of the feminism in the late stages of the Women's Liberation movement, by sitting with legs akimbo on the train, arms loose, shoulders back, eyes straight ahead, in a mode of comportment adopted directly from women who were in a position of greater structural oppression.

In her 1977 essay 'Throwing Like a Girl', the philosopher Iris Marion Young described femininity as a kind of bodily programming which detached subjects from 'expressions or enactments of authority', aiming 'to mask or subordinate the raw facts of a body's operation', concealing sweat, vigorous movement, the natural texture or colouring of skin and hair.[105] The patriarchal gaze had trapped women in a tension between subjectivity and objecthood, meaning any act of watching was always mired by the simultaneous sensation of being watched. The prospect of completing a task in the most effective way possible was foreclosed by a self-consciousness around the way the body looked while doing so – how it might be read or received by others, an operation that, done 'wrong', risked pariah status or even physical harm.[106] To be feminine was to shield oneself from such judgement, direct everything inwards, to wait for assistance to do something practical. To approach any kind of physical task 'like a girl' was to use only the limb immediately connected to that task, retreating as quickly as possible into a more normative, submissive position.[107]

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[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Wex, *Let's Take Back Our Space*, p. 355.
[105] Iris Marion Young, *On Female Body Experience: "Throwing Like a Girl" and Other Essays*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 27-40.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.

Young was an early proponent of feminist phenomenology, which centred on the idea that gender identity was created through the repetitive performance of conventionally gendered acts.[108] Judith Butler famously advanced on that theory in 1988 with questions of what it might mean when those repetitive acts are changed or disrupted: the ways in which bodies could create new political landscapes through the radical deployment of what Butler called, to paraphrase Jean Paul Sartre, an alternative 'style of existence'.[109] Yet, if as Butler also claimed via Michel Foucault, 'the body *is* a historical situation…and is a manner of doing, dramatizing and reproducing a historical situation',[110] the social transgression of the working-class woman, her 'roughness', assurance and physical strength, the grip of her hands and the strength of her arms, gestured toward a possibility of resistantly 'doing' gender that was not new but instead deeply citational, re-animating the bodies and 'style of existence' of generations of women before them. Gathered outside to watch the steamie fall, women in Glasgow at this time allegorised the loss of a social institution, and embraced the latent, oppositional force it had produced in their bodies. Their classed, gendered 'habitus of hidden gestures'[111] were worn in public as a political statement: these were women that refused to submit to political change offered up on dominant terms.

2.5 Glasgow style vs the myth of 'Mother Glasgow'

In 1967, there were 517,105 attendances recorded at steamies in Glasgow for the year.[112] By 1977, that figure had dropped to 301,500,[113] but given the city's total population had also dropped from over one million to just under 800,000 in that time,[114] that number was still considerable. As these institutions became more at odds with the surrounding landscape, their users ever more unmoored from the modern world, they appeared to garner more social pathos. The protective qualities of their clothing, and even the shape of their bodies, could speak to a time before the automated present, where many aspects of life that used to be sustained by the (lower class) human body were now either outsourced to other countries, as in the case of industrial labour, or carried out here by machines.[115] In representations of the changing city, steamie users became poignant relics of 'old' Glasgow, the medium through which child-like memories of bygone ways of life might be retrieved, and the contemporary landscape might be read for its failings.[116] All in all,

[108] See the edited volume by Linda Fisher and Lester Embree (eds), *Feminist Phenomenology*, (London: Springer, 2000).
[109] Jean Paul Sartre, *No Exit*, (New York: Vintage International, 1989).
[110] Judith Butler, 'Performative acts and gender constitution: an essay in phenomenology and feminist theory', *Theatre Journal,* Vol. 40, No. 4, (Dec, 1988), p. 525; Foucault
[111] Freeman, *Time Binds*, p. 58.
[112] David Gibson, 'Glasgow's washhouses are alive and well', *Evening Times*, 13.02.77.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Census data for Glasgow City, 1981.
[115] See Roy E. Allen, 'Financial globalization since the 1970s', in Roy E. Allen, *Financial Crises and Recession in the Global Economy*, (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016), pp. 1-35.
[116] See Svetlana Boym, 'Nostalgia and its discontents', *The Hedgehog Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2, (Summer, 2007), pp. 7-21.

'Steamie people' as Townhead steamie attendant Duncan Balfour called them in an interview in 1977, 'were a race apart, a tougher race of women than the modern housewife'.[117]

In the gesture of attending the steamie, dressed much as she would have been generations before, she could form a living symbol of the loss and displacement suffered by many citydwellers on an individual level, and help to turn those into a collective narrative: acting as a supporting character in an elegiac vision of Glasgow most often hewn from the perspective of the male 'Clydesider', both in and out of work.[118] As Michael Marra wrote for a song featured in *A Wee Home from Home*, a play about the city's 'high kicks and pit falls of memory land',[119] this was 'Mother Glasgow', whose 'succour is perpetual', bringing comfort and coherence to the unmoored population of the 1980s city.

2.5.1 Mother Glasgow's succour

'Mother Glasgow', later immortalised in a well-known cover by Glasgow-based band Hue and Cry, might be described as a popular Glasgow myth: a grassroots narrative construct through which people in the city filtered their personal experiences through symbols of popular memory. Subject to subjugation in dominant historical narratives of British history, historian Andrew Blaikie traced the unusual survival of the storied oral and visual folkloric traditions of agrarian Scotland through the new, working-class social formations wrought by the industrial revolution.[120] Looking at Glasgow's particularly dramatic battle between the destruction wrought by the changes to the city in the 20th century on one hand, and the ties to mythic tradition it managed to sustain on the other, Blaikie describes how the myth of the 'bustling city tenement' became an extension the village folklore of pre-modern Glasgow.[121] Much like that of the clannish 'big man', called on by labourers to counter the debasing hierarchies written into heavy industry,[122] Blaikie wrote that the busy tenement sustained by the tireless work of a long-suffering housewife was an 'iconic extreme'[123] that many came to cling to in the face of the manifold 'social trauma'[124] of deindustrialisation and mass displacement, demonstrating the dearth of official critical language by which to describe the effects of these forces on the collective psyche, and the lingering power of myth to cathect deep, trans-generational forms of belonging. Historian Lynn Abrams has unpacked the bearing of this myth on the

[117] Gibson, 'Glasgow's washhouses'.
[118] Phillips, Wright and Tomlinson, 'Being a 'Clydesider' in the age of deindustrialisation', p. 10.
[119] Mary Brennan, 'Shadow play', *The Glasgow Herald*: entertainment/reviews, 02.03.1988.
[120] Blaikie, 'Among the wee Nazareths: myths of moral community', in *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory*, pp. 97-136.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Craig, 'Macho City', in *Tears that Made the Clyde*, pp. 130-151.
[123] Blaikie, 'Among the wee Nazareths', p. 98.
[124] Ibid.

realities of Scottish, working-class women's history. The 'wash day at the steamie myth',[125] as Abrams called it, helped to cultivate discourses of women's solidarity and community in tenement life that were often far from statistical reality – noting, for example, a survey taken in the 1940s showing that only 1% of 1500 respondents would have preferred a communal washhouse over private, individual washing facilities.[126]

2.5.2 Tony Roper's *The Steamie*

Rosy depictions such as those in Tony Roper's *The Steamie*, a much-loved play set in 1950s Glasgow debuted at Jordanhill College in 1987, affirmed the institution's status as an icon of Glasgow's recent past. Set in a Glasgow steamie on Hogmanay, *The Steamie* featured four female characters, Dolly, Margrit, Doreen and Mrs Culfeathers, as they completed a wash in time for the celebrations in the evening. Here, each character was immediately recognisable as a Glasgow 'type': Dolly, an older, cheerful housewife, happy for the company the steamie bought, Margrit, younger, overworked and bitterly resentful about her treatment by her alcoholic husband; Mrs Culfeathers, a frail, grief-stricken elderly woman forced to take in neighbours' washing to survive and care for her dying husband; and Doreen, a naïve young newlywed whose song 'Drumchapel' captured, with wry humour, Glasgow housewives' innocent hopes of a home in the since-decayed modernist overspill estate 'where dreams come true'.[127] Debuted as part of Glasgow-based art festival Mayfest in 1987, the play toured 17 community venues across the city in locations such as Easterhouse, Govan (where the play was staged in a recently closed steamie), Househill in Springburn, and Drumchapel itself, to immensely popular acclaim.[128] The play later embarked on a sellout three month tour across the country, and was televised on Hogmanay in 1988.

After a sellout run at Mayfest, *The Steamie*'s critical reception at the time suggested its popularity was less because of its relationship to the present, and more because of its sentimental, unchallenging depiction of a time in the city now definitively passed. It won *The Glasgow Herald*'s Spirit of Mayfest award, for example, for its 'warmly affectionate look-back' at the 'hard lather and rerr patter of a turn at the public washhouse'.[129] Bridgeton Reverend Bill Shackleton wrote a satirical letter to *The Glasgow Herald* in response to the play, in which he mocked the city's seeming grief for a banal, somewhat oppressive

[125] Abrams, *The History of Everyday Life*, p. 3.
[126] Abrams, 'From the Scullery to the Conservatory: Everyday Life in the Scottish Home', in *The History of Everyday Life*, p. 62. See also Helen Clark and Elizabeth Carnegie (eds), *She was aye workin': Memories of tenement women in Edinburgh and Glasgow*, (Glasgow: White Cockade Publishing, 2003).
[127] Tony Roper, *The Steamie*, (Kirkintilloch: Field Illeray, 1987), Glasgow City Archives, 822.914 ROP 3/STE.
[128] Tom Shields, 'Full steam ahead', *The Glasgow Herald*: diary section, 22.06.87.
[129] 'Looking back in affection', *The Glasgow Herald*, 25.05.1987.

institution serving the deprived – 'I will never forget the night the cries for more hot water hushed into a prayer,' he joked, 'as Kenneth McKellar sang "You in Your Small Corner, and I in Mine", as he mopped out the gents'.[130] Similarly, while Dorothy Paul, long-time cast member playing character Margrit, often spoke of identifying with her character, she also claimed to treat the play decisively 'as a historical document, revealing the life and times of women in the fifties, long before the feminist revolution, when women were tied to the sink'.[131]

2.5.3 'The vibrant, stylish, go-ahead lives of Glasgow's women': leaving the steamie behind

One the one hand, the popularity of *The Steamie* captured Glasgow's seeming inability of its population to escape the hold of their memories of now obsolescent ways of life. On the other, it marked the place of these relics at the heart of the city's recent ascendancy as a centre for dynamic, critical cultural production.

In 1988, filmmakers Seona Robertson and Diana Tammes released a four-part series on Channel Four entitled *Glasgow, By The Way*, geared at charting Glasgow's recent emergence out of the shell of its old, industrial landscape. One episode of the documentary, named 'The Steamie', spoke of Robertson and Tammes' intention to demonstrate the sharp 'difference between Glasgow women in the past, and now'.[132] Interviewing local fashion designer Lesley Robeson; Irvine and Rita Rusk, avant-garde hairdressers based in Hamilton who, by then, had earned international acclaim; and major restauranteur Ken McCulloch, among others, Robertson and Tammes deconstructed the legacy of the steamie: situating it as a site women could now abandon to take hold of the new, commercial offerings of the 1980s and build new, more liberated lives for themselves. Previously, director Tammes had worked closely with feminist critic Laura Mulvey and Peter Wollen on *Riddles of the Sphinx* (1977), a landmark in feminist cinema which was borne out of Mulvey's essay 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' in which she coined and dismantled the construct of the 'male gaze'.[133] With Tammes and Robertson turning their attention to women in Glasgow, seen as suffering in manifold ways from the classed, patriarchal, paternalist systems that had ruled their lives since the industrial revolution, they presented style as an instrument by which these systems might be unravelled, untying the binds on women's bodies and charting their transfiguration into self-possessed, contemporary citydwellers. 'It's called "The Steamie"', as one newspaper reported after the documentary was aired, 'but

[130] Bill Shackleton, 'Warm memories of the steamie', *The Glasgow Herald*, 23.10.1987.
[131] Andrew Young, 'Steamie success for actress and singer', *The Glasgow Herald*: Weekender arts section, 20.01.1990.
[132] Rosemary Long, 'What is Glasgow?', *The Glasgow Evening Times*, 08.07.88.
[133] Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Screen*, Vol. 16, No. 3, (Autumn, 1975) pp. 6-18.

while memories of yesteryear's hard times are recalled, the vibrant, go-ahead, stylish lives of today's Glasgow women are publicly laundered for all to see'.[134]

Robertson and Tammes' *Glasgow, By the Way* emerged out of a movement in the 1980s which saw style come to prominence in Glasgow as a catchline for the city's much-needed rebirth. Riffing on the 'Glasgow Style' movement of the turn of the 20th century, during which time the city became internationally recognised not just for the worldwide export of its ships or steelwork, but the beauty of its style, characterised by its art-nouveau art and furniture design, its unique architecture, modish department stores and ambitious world exhibitions.[135] Although much of this old, artistic legacy had since disappeared, the survival of the Glasgow School of Art, the rising acclaim of Glasgow-based fashion designers and boutique concept stores, and the city's burgeoning counter-cultural scene of vintage clothing shops, bars and record stores, offered up 'Glasgow style' as a convenient byword pointing to where the ruins of the old, industrial inner-city were burgeoning with new shoots of cultural life.

2.5.4 'Possessed of invention': the historic roots of Glasgow style

Among the earliest signs of this movement were in 1981, when fashion and product designs by students Remo Avella, Fraser Taylor and Lesley Robeson from the Glasgow School of Art degree show featured in *Cosmopolitan* magazine in an editorial entitled 'Gutsy Glasgow'.[136] In 1984, the BBC then aired 'The Glasgow Style', a documentary directed by Ken MacGregor, about a burgeoning movement of designers, hairdressers and stylists arriving from the city onto the commercial world stage.[137] It was presented by Peter Capaldi, Glasgow School of Art graduate who was himself among a recent set of graduates from the GSA, like John Byrne and Robbie Coltrane, who had recently collaborated with each other on the *Slab Boys Trilogy* (1978) and the TV series *Tutti Frutti* (1987). The documentary opens with wide-angle shots of Glasgow in the early 1980s: a hazy vista of derelict industrial sites, run-down Victorian avenues and rainy shopping streets. Against this backdrop, Capaldi interviews Gerry Taylor, GSA graduate designer for famous Italian design company Memphis, and the Rusks, Hamilton hairdressers both raised in Glasgow, to chart (**reflect on)** the city's influence on their work. The outlandish, architectural hairstyles by the Rusks, such as their trademark 'liberated bob' (fig. 33), are resonant of the harsh lines and sweeping hills captured

[134] Marian Pallister, 'Why the Scots are Big News', *Evening Times*, 16.08.88.
[135] Juliet Kinchin, 'The Glasgow Style', in Jude Burkhauser (ed), *Glasgow Girls: Women in Art and Design*, (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2001), p. 29; Perilla Kinchin and Juliet Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, (Glasgow: White Cockade Publishing, 1998); Laura Euler, *The Glasgow Style*, (Atglen: Schiffer Publishing, 2008).
[136] *Instant Whip: The Textiles and Papers of Fraser Taylor 1977-87 Revisited*, Exhibition at The Glasgow School of Art, 16.03.24 to 20.04.24.
[137] 'The Glasgow Style', dir. Ken MacGregor, BBC (Spectrum Productions), running time 24:50, first aired 1984.

in the documentary's opening scenes of the city's changing landscape. 'You do something and you think God, I remember that came from just walking down Buchanan street',[138] reflects Castlemilk-born Rita Rusk (fig. 32). Glasgow is not a 'gentle' place, Memphis designer Taylor concludes in his interview with Capaldi.[139] Instead it is somewhere his 'extreme' avant-garde furniture, rendered in tough, pliable neon plastic, would feel 'at home'. Rather than the violent, melancholy place often represented in the media,[140]'The Glasgow Style' inferred that the city had developed a unique cultural, creative identity which was characteristically resistant to damage, much like the materials until very recently produced in its factories and exported across the world. It demonstrated how the city's old landscapes and ways of life flowed into its people, allowing them to make brash, powerful design statements which were drawn directly from their shared spirit of resilience.

[138] 'The Glasgow Style', 13:08.
[139] 'The Glasgow Style', 7:43.
[140] Aaron Andrews, 'Multiple Deprivation', pp. 605-624.

Fig. 32. Still of Rita Rusk. Ken MacGregor (dir.), ‘Glasgow Style’, 1979. Courtesy of Ken MacGregor.

Fig. 33. Still of Irvine and Rita Rusk’s ‘The Liberated Bob’. Ken MacGregor (dir.), ‘Glasgow Style’, 1979. Courtesy of Ken MacGregor.

In 1986, Glasgow's Third Eye Centre then hosted 'The Glasgow Style Month', a fashion show and touring exhibition of local designers in association with Amsterdam's European City of Culture designation for that year. Presented by Alison Forsyth, using material written by Glasgow poet Liz Lochhead, the show paraded over 170 garments by ten Glaswegian designers which showcased 'a day in the life of a city wardrobe',[141] with dresses of slick, black vinyl and repurposed purple tweed. In the image below, there is evidence of the inspiration some designers took from the dereliction of the local landscape: with designs by Spencer Railton setting swathes of white fabric and feathers, dove-like, against the backdrop of a crumbling manor house in what looks like nearby Garnethill. 'And the image of Glasgow that comes across?' concluded critic Mary Brennan after seeing the show, 'Outgoing, classy, possessed of invention'.[142] Described as a feeling, not so much an aesthetic, 'more to do with attitude than details', as historian Elizabeth Arthur would later describe it,[143] 'Glasgow style' was a neatly ambiguous term to capture the bodily, cerebral persistence and even growth of Glasgow's working-class culture in the hollowed-out, fragmented landscapes of the present. Taken up as a tagline by festival directors, city curators, the Chambers of Commerce and the tourist board, it was an acknowledgement of 'a certain character, a certain raw vitality, a certain way of approaching life'[144] which defined the city against others in the UK who had been blighted by similar economic and social decay.

[141] Mary Brennan, 'Glasgow Style', *The Glasgow Herald*: arts/review section, 24.10.1986.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Elizabeth Arthur, 'The Glasgow Style', in *Keeping Glasgow in Stitches*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1991), p. 134.
[144] Quote from Glasgow City of culture Cirector Robert Palmer in Bill Bryson, 'Glasgow isn't Paris, But…', The New York Times Magazine, 19.07.1989, accs. 16.08.23, <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/07/09/magazine/glasgow-isn-t-paris-but.html>.

Fig. 34. Page from ‘Glasgow Style – Third Eye Centre’ pamphlet, 1986, courtesy of Alastair MacDonald.

2.6 Conclusion: from Agnes to Senga

Fig. 35. Alan Wylie, 'The first performance of The Steamie by Wildcat Productions, Govan Steamie, Glasgow', 1987, gelatin silver print, 21.00 x 29.50cm, Scottish National Gallery. Ref: PGP 942.16.

The fifth iteration of Glasgow's arts festival Mayfest, during which Tony Roper's The Steamie was debuted, fell under the leadership of new director Di Robson. Robson had previously worked as programmer for the Edinburgh Festival in 1984, bringing Judy Chicago's controversial feminist artwork 'The Dinner Party' to Scottish audiences for the first time. As director of Mayfest, Robson increased the proportion of funding for the festival from local trade unions. The 18-part tour of Tony Roper's *The Steamie*, staged in community centres in working-class enclaves of Glasgow, was sponsored by the National and Local Government Officers' Association (NALGO)'s *Make People Matter* campaign.[145] *Make People Matter* was part of the Union's coordinated propaganda against the Conservative Party's dismantling of the public sector prior to the coming general election in June 1987. The NALGO campaign sought to co-ordinate the causes of

[145] Mark Ironside and Roger Seifert, 'Privatisation and the Retreat from National Bargaining', in *Facing Up to Thatcherism: The History of NALGO 1979-93*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 204-241.

'women's, anti-racist and peace movements' to secure the allied support of the progressive left against Margaret Thatcher's re-election.[146] Elsewhere, the People's Palace would stage an exhibition on the Calton Weavers, the 'city's first trade union martyrs' to coincide with Mayfest, while the Collins Gallery at Strathclyde University would present the tongue-in-cheek photography exhibition 'Glasgow – a New Look', featuring the work of land artists and photographers who 'responded' to the city's built environment (as one critic reflected, 'perhaps it is just too soon').[147] Under the tutelage of Robson, the meteoric success of *The Steamie* may partly have been the product of community nostalgia, but it was also the linchpin of a creative programme intended to allegorise the losses suffered by the city under Thatcherite regimes of privatisation, and to use the image of 'mother Glasgow' to raise questions of how their legacy might be sustained. Whether captured within the steamie, in ragged aprons and chapped hands, arms thick from the demands of outdated machines; or out, on the street, watching in loud, unmoving crowds as they were torn down, the more antiquated these figures appeared, the greater they seemed to intrude on the assumption that the future for women here was incumbent on a complete, somewhat embarrassed forsaking of the city's recent history.

2.6.1 A past which 'needed to be claimed': Liz Heron's 'Dear Green Place'

These ideas were considered in a short autobiographical story, 'Dear Green Place', Glasgow-born Liz Heron contributed to her edited anthology of feminist writing entitled *Truth, Dare or Promise: Girls Growing Up in the Fifties* (1985). In it, Heron recalls visiting her grandmothers on each side of the family as a young child, both of whom lived in Glasgow. Seeing her grandmother on her father's side, a disabled widower in a one-room flat in Parkhead, she noted how she would always welcome her grandchildren, smiling, to her spotlessly clean tenement home.[148] Bowlegged from a bout of rickets as a child, this grandmother had supported eight children with no additional income through the depressions of the 1930s, falling confidently into a category of working-class woman 'who endured hardship and self-sacrifice with something of themselves intact'.[149] Being at this grandmother's house, Heron remembers feeling an overwhelming sense of her presence, purposeful and strong, the tidiness of her appearance and her home smoothly translating her body into a comforting, socially familiar story of persistence in the face of circumstances that, for other women like her, were too much to endure.

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[146] Ibid.
[147] Alice Bain, 'Glasgow Backdrop', *The List*, 15.05.1987, accs. 17.01.24, http://archive.list.co.uk.s3-website.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/the-list/1987-05-15/44/.
[148] Liz Heron, 'Dear Green Place', in Liz Heron (ed.), *Truth, Dare or Promise: Girls Growing up in the Fifties*, (London: Virago, 1985), pp. 156 - 168. This book is a vital exploration of the beginnings of the feminist movement in Britain through the prism of class experience.
[149] Ibid.

Heron contrasts these fond, vivid memories of her father's mother with patchwork recollections of the squalid home kept by her maternal grandmother, who also lived in Glasgow's East End. Immersed in her own world, this grandmother would ignore Heron and her other grandchildren for days at a time.[150] Here, 'layers of dust coated the jumble of furniture and holy pictures and pious bric-a-brac', objects that piled up on surfaces, untouched.[151] Where Heron's memories of her paternal grandmother seemed to hold a clear narrative, this grandmother only ever appeared to Heron 'like a ghost', failing, even at the time, to fully materialise.[152] The burdens imposed on this woman as a wife, mother and housekeeper had arrested her in one, circular motion – a turning away from the world. Occasionally staying with her on weekends, Heron remembers the 'time-stopped flavour' of those visits, watching out of the window as her grandmother 'slumped into forgetfulness' on a chair behind.[153]

Looking back, in an attempt to make sense of the maternal, generational, class-based rifts sown by the evolution of the feminist movement in Britain and the changing demographic makeup of British society, university-educated Heron, who on leaving Scotland became a founding member of the radical Hackney Flashers photography collective, concluded that she found herself drawn to the story of this second, 'bad' grandmother: how she seemed to carry all the weight of the prospect of an unchanged future on her cowed body, how she could not seem to bear the idea of fulfilling the endless, circular rote of domestic duty imposed on her from all angles. Growing up, Heron remembers the debt she and other, working-class girls like her – those blessed by the major rollout of the post-war welfare state, investments in education, and the liberation of contraceptives – seemed to owe their mothers for allowing them to seize the opportunities a vastly altered political landscape had offered. Moving through grammar school, attending university, Heron believed there was a reckoning this younger generation of 'liberated' women had still to do with their disconnect to older generations of women, forced to find ways of resisting which were now not as legible as a politic. 'Women of my generation were the first to have the chance to refuse debts that just couldn't be borne,' Heron reflects, 'to understand that it was possible to refuse them without censure'.[154]

In the midst of that reckoning, Heron realised there was no future for the languishing feminist movement in Britain without a consideration of how it had been hewn by the experiences of previous generations, before the critical language and framework of feminism was ever widely applied. Exploring her past

[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.

allowed Heron to look beyond the parlance of the Women's Liberation movement she had been a part of to seek broader definitions of how her grandmothers might have engaged in gestures of opposition that lingered on, by force of bodily and habitual inheritance, in her own life.[155] Acknowledging this 'narrower image' women had to abide by up to the late 1950s presented new, generative challenges to the intellectual project of feminism: opening out an expanse of ungraspable, ambiguous histories of female bodies that presented speculative, challenging visions of what refusal looked like, demonstrating that stories of the lives of older generations of women, however shadowy and tainted their impression of feminism was, in Heron's words, 'needed to be claimed'.[156]

[155] Liz Heron, 'Introduction', in Liz Heron (ed), *Truth, Dare or Promise*, pp. 1-15.
[156] Ibid.

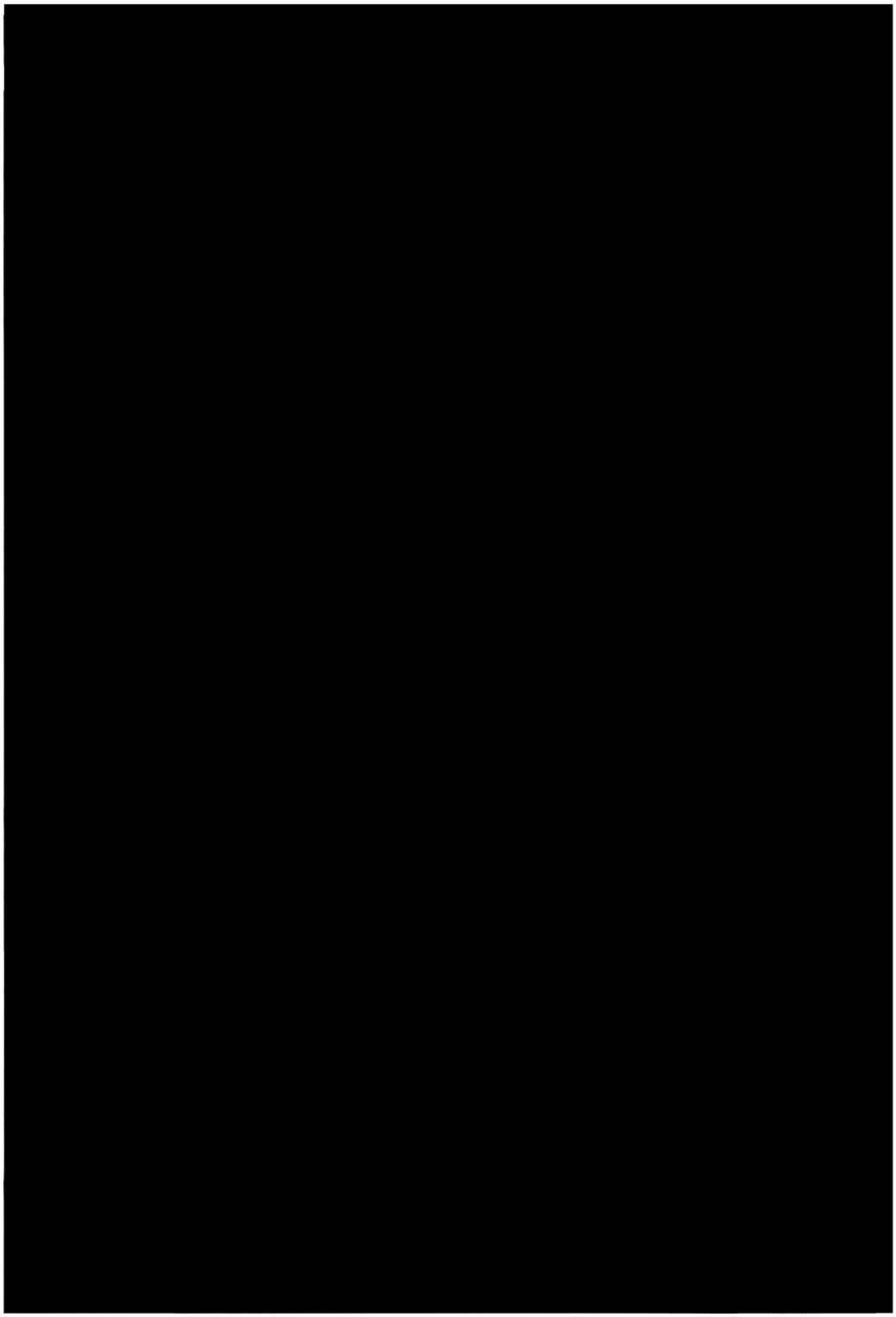

Fig. 36. Photographer Unknown, ‘General scenes of women doing the laundry in a steamie in the Gorbals’, 1981, Trinity Mirror, 22.5 x 33.5cm, Alamy.

Heron suggested in her introduction to the *Truth, Dare or Promise* anthology that the stories of post-war, feminist becoming it contained were not those of decisive triumph over their authors' 1950s girlhoods, nor amnesiac escape from them.[157] Instead, they recalled their formative shaping by previous generations of women, mothers in particular, reckoning with their legacy, perhaps even their importance in charting a more nuanced, fulsome idea of what the project of women's liberation truly meant, and with whom it began.[158] Over the course of the 20th century, working-class womanhood was a vexed social category with little psychic, intellectual or narrative depth afforded to those who fell within it.[159] But by taking on these former figures, looking for the echoes between one body and another, there seemed to be a way to cohere 'complex histories' of women's class and gender resistance from one generation to the next.

The charge often laid at women of the older generation, bodies accustomed to a bygone landscape, was that they were frumpy, dowdy, and socially irrelevant to the young. Dowdiness: deriving from two possible etymological roots, the first from the Middle English 'doue', meaning a poorly dressed, unattractive woman, the second from the Scots 'dow', meaning to dull or fade.[160] It worked as a form of dismissal: deployed to signal women's failure to exhume the signs of age and the trappings of domestic labour from their bodies and thus make themselves palatable to the male gaze. Glasgow had long been home to a 'vast legion of dowdy Glasgow women', as Charles Gillies wrote in an open letter to the *Evening Times* in 1953, so 'dog-tired after cooking and cleaning and tidying and making a home comfortable home for you', as Women's Editor Meg Munro offered in response, 'that we couldn't care less how we look'.[161] However, by the late 1970s, the descriptor perennially deployed to describe the fading, unfashionable Glasgow woman indicated the unsettling capacity of women's dress and comportment to hold memories of the city elsewhere done away with. Wearing the trappings of bygone eras, the dowdy style of the woman at the steamie signalled a refusal to exorcise the ghosts of the past or to tune themselves into a more contemporary, more socially desirable, less disquieting form. The attention they garnered while doing so represented their resonance to the hopes, fears, memories and desires of a younger generation of women.

[157] Ibid.
[158] Esther Breitenbach discusses the narrowness and class division of the Women's Liberation Movement in Scotland in Esther Breitenbach, "'Sisters are doing it for themselves": The Women's Movement in Scotland', in The Scottish Government Yearbook 1990, (Edinburgh: Unit for the Study of Government in Scotland, 1990), pp. 209-225.
[159] Valerie Walkerdine, 'Affective History, Working-Class Communities and Self-Determination', *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4, pp. 699-714.
[160] 'dowd (n.1)', *Oxford English Dictionary*,Oxford UP, (March, 2024), https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/8393384519.
[161] Charles Gillies and Meg Munro, 'He doesn't think much of our dowdy damsels!', *Evening Times*, 04.12.1953.

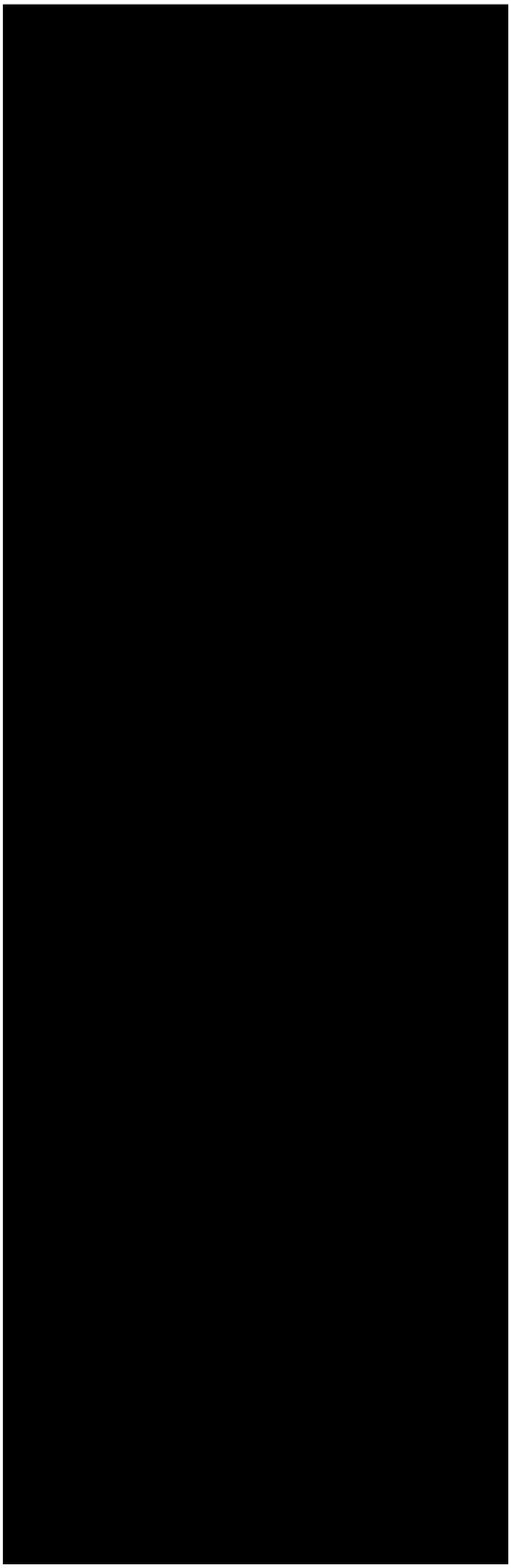

Fig. 37. Lex McFayden, ‘Keeping Glasgow in Stitches: August – Glasgow Style’, 1990, CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection.

2.6.2 A tapestry of Glasgow style

The above image is a tapestry belonging to a 12-part fabric art installation entitled 'Keeping Glasgow in Stitches', made for Glasgow's year as European City of Culture in 1990. Sewn by hundreds of local, skilled volunteers, the installation was composed of a tapestry for each month of the year representing an aspect of Glaswegian culture. This tapestry, for August, was on the theme of 'Glasgow Style'.[162] It was composed of a row of Glasgow 'types', fanned out like playing cards, headed up by an elderly woman named Agnes, Aggie for short. Standing in an apron, silk scarf and slippers, a lit cigarette hanging from her lips, and an unsuccessful bingo card tucked underfoot, Aggie was immediately recognisable as a woman of the steamie.[163]

Behind her stood five other typical Glasgow characters, which, in 1990, were more commonly associated with recent times: a young punk, with shaved eyebrows, a mohican and patent doc martens; a haughty, upper-class 'kelvinside lady'; a 'slick spiv-type' in a sharply-tailored pinstripe suit; and a 'hip hop fan' brandishing a skateboard in wide-leg jeans and a baggy silk shirt.[164] Finally, there was 'Senga' – Agnes, spelled backwards – a name which had recently become pinned to a stereotype of a younger, lower-class woman in the city. Senga is shown here wearing white high heels and fishnet tights. Hair permed, chest laden with gold chains, her patent white handbag is spilling open, allowing makeup and perfume to tumble across the floor. In a ra ra skirt and bubblegum lipstick, her body is firmly placed in the early 1980s, a Madonna-like 'fashion victim', wrote Elizabeth Arthur in the corresponding monograph entry.[165] Bookending this row of Glasgow types, Aggie and Senga are set up as opposites, yet also implicit in the weave of this tapestry is their relationship to one another. They could be mother and daughter, sisters or neighbours. A girl who enjoys a good time, but 'definitely not a good time girl',[166] Senga could be some lost version of Agnes herself: the one she sacrificed to get married, care for her family, become the dowdy figure the city knows so well.

To accompany the tapestry, Liz Arthur wrote an essay entitled 'What is Glasgow style?'. 'Glasgow is not regarded as a great innovator of fashion', it begins. 'Rather, it follows the main trends but with its own

[162] Other tapestries were also tightly thematically tied to the figure of Agnes: March, 'A Woman's Life', depicting a shiva-like figure of a woman juggling multiple different female icons and responsibilities under an outstretched washing line, and November, 'Remembrance', depicting a dark sea embroidered with fireworks and a white tulle stream containing relics of buildings and industries the city had lost over the course of the 20th century.
[163] Elizabeth Arthur (ed), *Keeping Glasgow in Stitches*, (Glasgow: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1991), p. 129.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Elizabeth Arthur, 'August: Glasgow Style', in Elizabeth Arthur (ed.), *Keeping Glasgow in Stitches*, p. 130.
[166] Ibid.

inimitable stamp'.[167] Agnes acted as a powerful symbol of Glasgow's particular version of women's style as bearing an imprint, a 'stamp', of the city's history. In her, it is possible to see how style had come to act a metaphor with which to chart the population's flourishing through popular experiences of loss, displacement and development. 'The wee woman in a headscarf, curlers and square coat, carrying a shopping bag, is surely a universal figure recognised everywhere from Glasgow to Gdansk,' writes Arthur. 'It is not the style that is different but the Glaswegian attitude to it'.[168] Unique to this moment was the idea that such a figure could be conceived as one of style at all. To do so betrayed an arrival, via years of women's dowdy appearances in the public sphere, at a more complex understanding of the term 'style' than the anxious attempts to rebrand the city had once wrought. It demonstrated an acknowledgement of the place from which Glasgow style emerged, what it was haunted by, and its power as a complex, multiplicitous instrument of grassroots social narrative. Agnes' unlikely place heading up a story of Glasgow style in this public artwork was a tacit acknowledgement of her longstanding role as a linchpin of the Glaswegian landscape, real and imagined. Behind her, figures appear in diminishing states of stability, falling backwards, toward the edge of the frame. Senga – the 'fashion victim' to Agnes' 'Glasgow style' – demonstrated how Mother Glasgow~~,~~ would live on among the first generation of women to step out into the unstable ground of the 1980s.

[167] Liz Arthur, 'What is Glasgow Style?', in Liz Arthur (ed), *Keeping Glasgow in Stitches*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1991), pp. 134-141.
[168] Ibid.

3. Case study three: Outsiders by choice: Paddy's Market, the Barras and the roots of subcultural style in Glasgow

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the relationship of Paddy's Market and the Barras, two historically female-run, second-hand markets in the East End of Glasgow, to women's style in the city between 1975 and 1985. It charts the evolution of these markets as make-shift, 'penny capitalist'[1] enterprises which would survive the destruction of successive rounds of urban development and the onset of neoliberalism because of the skill, tastes and persistence of their female hawkers and punters.[2] It takes the popularity of these markets among members of Glasgow's counter-cultural generation in the late 1970s and early 1980s as one strand of a broader, more profound movement in this period, in which a much broader cross-section of women aligned themselves to the markets' legacies of female abjection, resilience and subversion to mount a more subtle, profound, narrative rejection of the prevailing 1980s political status-quo.

The chapter first considers the dominant association of second-hand clothing with subcultural style. Dick Hebdige's famously defined subcultural style as a gesture of subversion, appropriation and bricolage in his 1979 exposition of the subject *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. He later expanded on this theory to situate subcultures as a revival of distinctions made in the Victorian social imaginary between upstanding, contained citizens and roaming, deviant others. Considering Angela McRobbie's essay 'Second-hand dresses and the role of the ragmarket', the chapter follows her view that these analyses of subcultural style tended to ignore the instrumental role of second-hand clothes markets in supplying the garments and inspiring the ethos on which such subcultures were based. McRobbie drew attention here to the broader appeal of second-hand markets in the landscapes of 'postmodern' urban Britain as operations which had managed to preserve, maintain and evolve their historically subversive appeal. Not only did these in turn provide raw material for subcultural style, but a repository for a broader cross-section of citydwellers looking to ground identities in opposition to the commercialised, neoliberal landscapes of the present.

[1] For a discussion of womens' penny capitalist enterprise in second-hand clothing, see Carl Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives: Women of the urban poor in England, 1890-1939*, (London: Carnegie, 2007), pp. 113-116.
[2] For discussion of this see Moira MacAskill, *Paddy's Market*, (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Centre for Urban and Regional Research, 1987).

Using this critical frame, the chapter looks at early examples of photography and press reportage to examine the founding and development of Paddy's Market and the Barras in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, charting their development as improvised, female-run economies developed to clothe the most stigmatised sections of the working-class population. It considers how, at this time, these markets quickly began to threaten class-based hierarchies of space, consumption and leisure in Glasgow's stratified inner-city, proving resistant to authoritative attempts at their regulation, and establishing the trade in second-hand clothing as a subversively accessible, ungovernable, potentially even pleasurable pastime for the impoverished.

The subsequent sections of the chapter consider the renewed popularity of Paddy's Market and the Barras in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Considering the city's vogue for second-hand style in the late 1970s and early 1980s, it compares the meaning of the markets' popularity with male subcultural stylists in this period to their evolving popularity among an expanding cross-section of women. It argues that where, in the case of the former, Paddy's Market and the Barras acted as a shallow spectacle of feminine abjection men could parade in opposition to the stereotypical rough, male 'Clydesider' image, for women, shopping and wearing clothes from these markets marked a political reclamation, and a reanimation, of their histories as sites of women's autonomy and subversive joy in the face of ongoing stigma and deprivation. Bringing together photographs of Paddy's Market and the Barras taken by Partick Camera Club and Peter Degnan, as well as poetry by Liz Lochhead and Maud Sulter, it considers these markets as crucibles for the development of a form of women's style in the late 1970s and early 1980s which opposed the commercial, neoliberal offerings of the inner city and sought, instead, to find deeper meaning for their bodies by aligning them to earlier iterations of women's resistance and outsiderness.

3.1.1 Beyond the 'magnificent gestures' of subcultural style

As Dick Hebdige explained in his book *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, the purpose of subcultural style was to pose a 'symbolic challenge' to the political status quo in worn ensembles that could also be enjoyed, exchanged and elaborated by distinct groups of subjects. In the frame of subcultural style, this cultivation of a certain look – whether punk or mod, skinhead or hippie in style – acts, among its youthful proponents, as an embodied articulation of disaffection with the political status-quo.[3] This bending of sartorial and bodily convention may be a futile, even leisurely expression of rebellion against the social order, Hebdige

[3] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 1979), p. 87.

argued, but nonetheless it functions as a rupture in the visual and semantic apparatus of the everyday:[4] scrambling codes of identity, articulating, in ways more powerful than words, a feeling of alienation and disenchantment that was particularly salient to a generation of young men growing up in the deindustrialised, commercialised landscapes of the 1970s.

In his essay 'Posing…Threats, Striking…Poses: Youth, surveillance and display', Dick Hebdige traced the evolution of these contemporary, deviant 'youth cultures' back to the typification of certain groups of urban citydwellers in Victorian social reportage.[5] Through their 'construction of a concerned polemic',[6] centred around identifying and controlling an increasingly diverse industrial sprawl, Hebdige argued this discourse witnessed the first, concentrated separation of the urban population into the categories of upstanding, conformist citizen and deviant, roving, non-conformist other. The latter was pitched as a threat to civic order because they did not live by the fragile social contract laid out in these cities, and rather than being cowed by their pariah status in those systems, they seemed liberated by it. Hebdige alights on an example of East End costermongers in Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*, fruit and vegetable hawkers who adopted strange, elaborate forms of dress. Mayhew's costermongers were, he argues, one of the first 'potentially delinquent juvenile' crowds: subject to constant policing, with their practices of mismatched, resplendent dressing, known among them as 'stunning flash', betraying an unsettling 'politics of pleasure' that signalled, to authorities, an imperviousness to the moral codes of the urban landscape.[7] The construction of this foundational set of positions, Hebdige argued, between

> 'us and them, us as concerned and voyeuristic subjects and them as brutalised and wayward objects – have persisted in documentary photographs of contemporary victims, contemporary culprits, the new criminal class, the new undeserving poor. After the other Victorians have come the other Elizabethans, the Roundheads, the Skinheads, and the Punks, the Rockabillies, the Mods, the Rastas, and the Rest – the black and white trash of Britain's declining inner cities'.[8]

Hebdige subsequently describes the outlandish styles of young, disaffected men in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a revival of these 'subcultures' of the Victorian period, which bore witness to their 'dead and buried traditions'[9] of resistance to signal their resistance to new iterations and injuries of urban control.

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[4] Hebdige, *Subculture*, p. 3.
[5] Dick Hebdige, 'Posing…Threats, Striking…Poses: Youth, surveillance and display', in Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton (eds), *The Subcultures Reader, (Routledge: London, 1997),* pp. 393-405.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

With this in mind, Hebdige conceptualises subcultural style as a reclaiming of deviant history – reviving the bygone ways-of-life of the vilified, stylised urban poor to mount a continuing 'declaration of independence, of Otherness, of alien intent, a refusal of anonymity, of subordinate status'.[10]

While Hebdige's 'Posing…Threats, Striking…Poses' is a compelling analysis of the underlying constructs of subcultural style, it seems to overlook the central role of women in these Victorian typifications and their legacies. This chapter uses some of the themes of his essay – namely the idea of subcultural style as a revival of bygone, aesthetic strategies of resistance, an embrace of old characterisations of urban nonconformism, and a threatening 'politics of pleasure'[11] – to situate female hawkers and punters at Paddy's Market and the Barras as both primogenitors of masculine-coded subcultural style, and agents of their own particular iteration of style, called on by women in the late 1970s and early 1980s to ground their own contemporary narratives of nonconformism.

In her essay 'Second-hand dresses and the role of the ragmarket', McRobbie argued, in this vein, for more attention to be given to the role of often female-sustained second-hand clothes market in anchoring and enlivening the consumer landscapes of post-industrial cities in Britain.[12] Here, she asserted that analyses of subcultural style laid too much focus on the macho, 'magnificent gestures' of transforming or subverting the meaning of a garment by the wearer rather than the 'more modest practices' of buying or trading these garments. Such 'modest' practices remained in the female domain, and were therefore incompatible with the masculinist model of 'youth cultural resistance' through style that figures like Hebdige proposed. On further inspection, McRobbie found these markets were the lifeblood of this kind of 'subversive consumerism', operations which involved a 'refined economy of taste',[13] hewn by practices of sourcing, restoring and peddling passed down through generations of hawkers and punters. The broader groundswell in the popularity of such markets in the postmodern period, McRobbie concluded, lay in their 'celebration of what seem to be pre-modern modes of exchange', their 'oasis of cheapness', and their storied, historic role as unofficial economies 'in dressing…the urban working-classes'.[14] While subcultural stylists would commonly call on second-hand garments to compose their irreverent, bricolaged, often poverty-parodying ensemble, it was here, among these hawkers, before the garments were purchased, that those gestures of subversion and appropriation truly took place.

[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Angela McRobbie, 'Second-hand dresses and the role of the ragmarket', in Angela McRobbie, *Postmodernism and Popular Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 130-150.
[13] McRobbie, 'Second-hand dresses', p. 135.
[14] Ibid.

Using this critical frame, the chapter will now consider the early development of Paddy's Market and the Barras, considering how generations of marginalised women nurtured a highly successful trade in second-hand clothing and in doing so transformed their assigned label of 'outsider' into a viable, resistant style of living. Following that, it will look at how the markets' popularity among members of Glasgow's counter-cultural scene of the late 1970s and early 1980s, who co-opted aspects of these markets' reputation as places of poverty, marginality and vilified femininity into their own regional taxonomies of subcultural style. Then, it examines how the Calton and Fishmarket photographic surveys, taken in the late 1970s, captured the popularity of these female-run, marginal, working-class operations not just among a particular set of subculturists, but a much broader cross section of the population, who flocked there in search of an alternative to the de-historicised, commercialised offering of the inner-city. With the assistance of Shehnaz Sutterwalla, it treats these markets' contemporary popularity among women as a profound reclaiming of the histories of shame and stigma endured by women at these sites for over a century, and a deliberate cultivation of their irreverent, eclectic style.[15] Closing with analysis of poetry by Liz Lochhead and Maud Sulter, it considers the place of these markets as sites women could comb the fractured landscapes of the postmodern inner-city for signs of deeper meaning.

[15] Shehnaz Suterwalla, 'Cut, Layer, Break, Fold: Fashioning Gendered Difference, 1970s to Present', *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly,* Vol. 41, Issue 1&2, (Spring/Summer 2013), pp. 267-284.

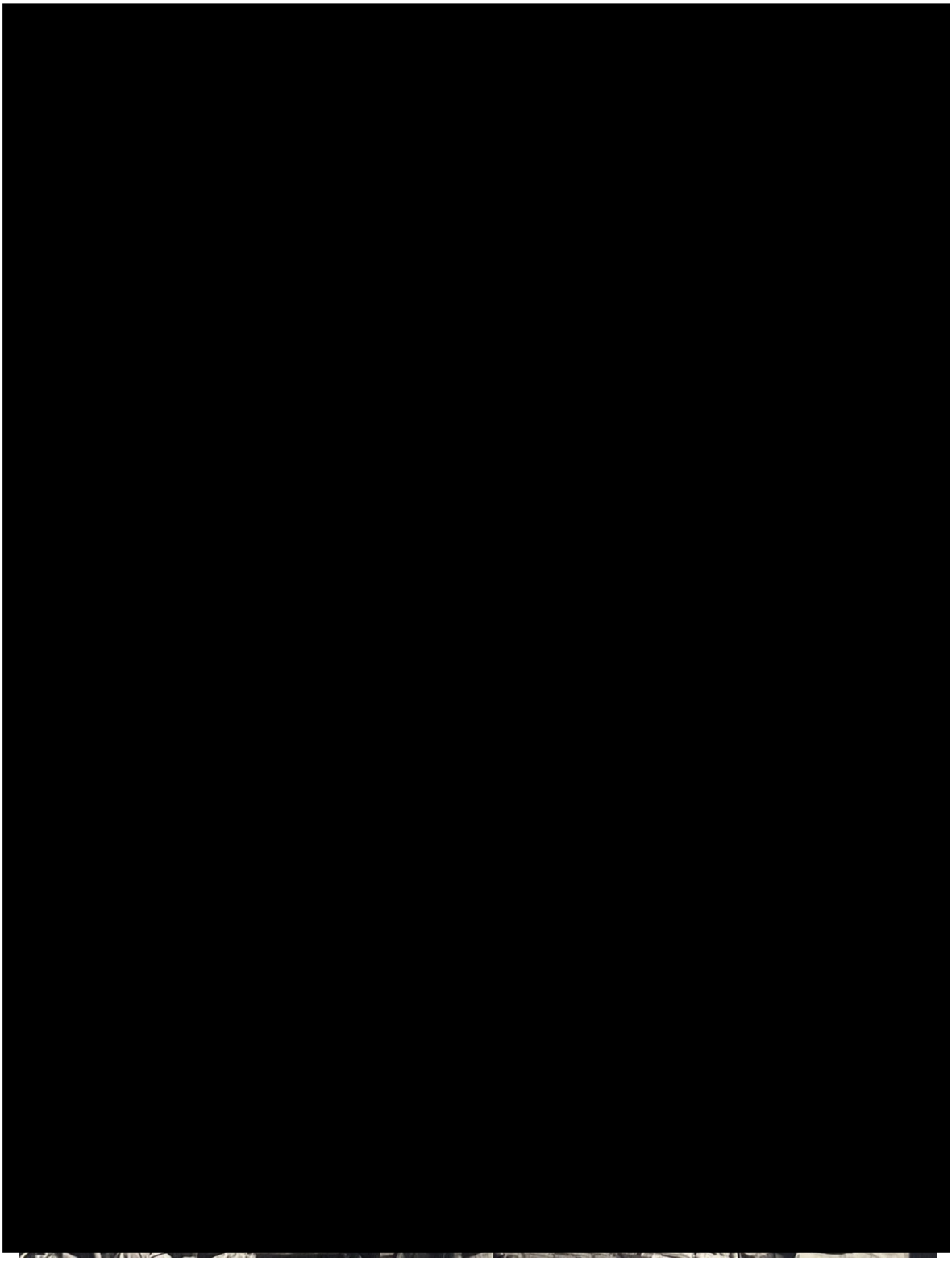

Fig. 38. Malcolm Hill, ‘Paddy’s Market, looking north from railway’, July, 1978, Fishmarket Survey, People’s Palace Archives/Glasgow Life. Ref: PP1978.103.70 MRH573/44.

3.2 ‘The underworld of this city’: the development of Paddy’s Market and the Barras

3.2.1 Beginnings

First, it is necessary to look at the beginnings of each of these markets, which before the late 1970s primarily served a deprived population either living in or connected to the east of central Glasgow. Founded some time in the early 1800s, Paddy’s Market started as an informal network of second-hand clothes and rag sellers who gathered on pavements surrounding the entrance to Glasgow Green, a large park stretching across the North-Eastern portion of the city.[16] The market was predominantly Irish Catholic in origin, founded by the wives of Irish agricultural labourers who came to Glasgow in search of work over the course of the industrial revolution.[17] This area was a short distance from the ferry ports at Broomielaw, which is where Irish migrants would arrive at a rate of around 1000 a week at the peak of migration in 1842.[18] Over the course of the next century, the size and location of Paddy’s Market would shift slightly, expanding, retracting and moving with the ebb and flow of council legislation and social need. By the mid 1930s it would come to occupy the curved flank of Shipbank Lane, next to the historic fish market, and some of the adjoining areas next to Glasgow’s High Court (see fig. 39, a portion of a map which contains both that location and its temporary location, labelled ‘clothes market’, at the intersection of Greendyke and Lanark Street). Paddy’s Market in Glasgow was not the only operation of its kind. Many of Britain’s major cities, including Liverpool, Newcastle, London and Dundee, all had Paddy’s Markets in which Irish hawkers would similarly ply second-hand trade as a way to survive in the face of systemic anti-Irish Catholic stigma among ‘official’ employers.[19] Unique to Glasgow, however, was the evolution of the market for over 150 years under the purview of women.

The Barras was also a second-hand market operating in the same region of Glasgow, slightly further into the East End at the intersection of Gallowgate and Kent Street (see map, fig. 39, below). Made an official operation by Maggie McIver, a fruit hawker, in 1926, it initially consisted of 300 barrows hired out to local traders to avoid local police clampdowns on street selling.[20] In 1928, McIver had the market covered to protect vendor’s wares, from which point The Barras remained at the same location, and continues to

[16] MacAskill, *Paddy’s*, p. 5.
[17] Seán Damer, *Glasgow: Going for a Song*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), p. 56.
[18] Knox, ‘Migration: Scotland’s Shifting Population 1840-1940’, in *A History of the Scottish People*, p. 7.
[19] See Roger Swift, ‘The outcast Irish in the British Victorian city: problems and perspectives’, *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 99, (May, 1987), pp. 264-276; Damer, *Going for a Song*, pp. 56-67.
[20] Elspeth King, *Barrapatter: An Oral History of Glasgow’s Barrows,* (Glasgow: The Friends of the People’s Palace, 1984), p. 3.

operate to this day.[21] The Barras was a step or two higher on the social scale than Paddy's Market, owing to the slightly more formal operation (Paddy's was largely run in the open air, often from makeshift stalls laid out over the floor), its lesser connotations of Irish Catholicism (Calton was a predominantly Catholic area, but Bridgeton, neighbouring The Barras , had a strong history of Irish Protestant settlement),[22] and its permanent location in purpose-built premises. Nonetheless, they were in most ways highly comparable and often overlapping operations: both founded by women, both dealing in second-hand clothing, both of which would survive multiple overhauls to Glasgow's inner city across the 20th century to eventually feed the counter-cultures that burgeoned in Glasgow between 1975 and 1985.

Fig. 39. Detail from John Bartholemew & Co. Ltd, 'Bartholemew's pocket plan of Glasgow: reduced by permission from the Ordnance Survey', (Edinburgh: John Bartholemew & Co, c. 1930), map, 59 x 97cm, National Library of Scotland. Ref: EMS.b.1.111.

3.2.2 Relocations and restrictions

The beginnings of Paddy's Market were met by the authorities and the broader public with a mixture of curiosity and disapproval. The sight of women hawking rags from the pavement was closely tied to negative

[21] King, *The Hidden History of Glasgow's Women*, pp. 140-141.
[22] For discussion of Irish immigration and sectarianism in the area, see Andrew Davies, 'Street Gangs, Crime and Policing in Glasgow during the 1930s: The Case of the Beehive Boys', *Social History*, Vol. 23, No. 3, (Oct, 1998), pp. 251-267; for discussion of the development of anti-Irish Catholic sentiment in Glasgow, see Gallagher, *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*.

feeling around untrammelled Irish immigration to the city. Forming over 18 per cent of the urban population by 1851,[23] the Irish were widely blamed for 'the evils afflicting Glasgow' as it expanded, such as overcrowding, disease and crime.[24] The majority of Irish migrants being Catholic, cultural differences fuelled broader resentments about the competition they posed to indigenous, largely Protestant Scottish labourers for industrial work.[25] Those migrants who stayed in the city, (many others used Glasgow as a springboard to greater opportunities across the Atlantic),[26] tended to stick within their communities in ghettoised portions of the East End, 'concentrated on the bottom rungs of the occupational ladder and huddled into their cramped quarters in the chief urban centres'.[27] The Irish population thereafter composed a considerable proportion of the poorest population of Central-Eastern Glasgow. Old clothing was characteristic of a stereotype of the Irish migrant in this era: in cartoons and newspaper reports, they were immediately recognisable for their 'ragged' dress, described by one writer as 'so many varied fragments' barely held 'by various threads'.[28]

Situated around the foot of the Irish-dominated Saltmarket (see map),[29] by the mid-1800s Paddy's Market sprang up directly in the view of a local prison to one side and the gallows of Glasgow Green on the other. Spurred by necessity, because hawking was one of the few sources of income available to Irish women, and demand, with a rapidly expanding local and Irish market, [30] Paddy's came to occupy an open space in the city akin to a 'small town', with hawkers of all kinds spreading along pavements across the northern edge of Glasgow Green.[31]

The public, disorderly nature of second-hand clothes hawking, and the relationship of the trade to the area's burgeoning Irish population **(,)** drew the scandalised attention of authorities and journalists alike.[32] Many took the operation as a symptom of the city's ever widening gap between rich and poor, native and foreign, legitimate and illegitimate citizens as industrialisation seemed to spiral out of control: 'One is led to wonder who are so terribly low in social condition as to be driven to the extremity of purchasing these motley off-

[23] Gallagher, *An Uneasy Peace*, p. 8.
[24] Mary Edward, *Who Belongs to Glasgow? 200 Years of Migration*, (Glasgow: Strathclyde Regional Council, 1993), p. 102.
[25] Gallagher, *An Uneasy Peace*, p. 10.
[26] David Fitzpatrick, 'Irish Emigration in the Later 19th Century', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 86, (Sept, 1980), pp. 126-143.
[27] Gallagher, *An Uneasy Peace*, p. 15.
[28] J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, (Cork: Cork University Press), p. 172.
[29] Paul Maloney, 'Flying down the Saltmarket': the Irish on the Glasgow Music Hall Stage', *19th Century Theatre and Film*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (Summer, 2009), pp. 11-32.
[30] Peter Fyfe, 'A Tour in the Calton', *Old Glasgow Club Transactions*, in Simon Berry and Hamish Whyte (eds), Glasgow Observed, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1987), pp. 196-197.
[31] 'Paddy's Market', *North British Daily Mail*, 02. 07. 1853.
[32] It was reported in *The Glasgow Herald* in 1872 that the 'relocation of the Old Clothes Market on the Green' had caused 'a good deal of discussion during the past week at ward meetings and elsewhere'. 'The Old Clothes Market', *The Glasgow Herald*, 14. 10. 1872.

castings', as it was put by the *North British Daily Mail* in 1853.[33] Public complaints were made to authorities about the 'noxious vapours' of the markets,[34] about the obstructive presence of hawkers on the streets, and the 'great quantity of stolen property'[35] believed to be entangled in its sprawling remit. In 1845, the Memorial Board of Commissioners headed up a petition that 'the sale of old clothes and rags, is not only unseemly in itself, and detrimental to the amenity of the locality, but injurious to public health, causing a gathering of persons in a place necessary for ventilation of the dense population of Bridgegate and the neighbourhood'.[36] It was signed by 60,000 local residents.[37]

Fig. 40. Thomas Annan, 'Clothes Market, foot of Saltmarket.', 1868-1877, carbon print, 22.5 x 31.1cm, in The Old Closes and Wynds of Glasgow, The J. Paul Getty Museum, courtesy of the Getty Open Content Program.

Between 1845 and 1875, a succession of government measures attempted to contain and outlaw the more unsightly elements of second-hand clothes trading in the area in tune with a broader programme of

[33] Ibid.
[34] 'Scotland – Glasgow', *Glasgow Courier*, 26.10.1848.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Moira MacAskill, *Paddy's Market*, (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Centre for Urban and Regional Research, 1987), p. 28.
[37] Ibid.

municipal reform. A partial shelter was erected for hawkers in 1845 (see fig.40),[38] for example; a Glasgow Improvement Bill of 1853 banned the unlicensed sale of 'old clothing' on Glasgow's streets;[39] and the 1866 City Improvements Act drew up a railway line through the centre of the surrounding Bridgegate slums in the hopes it would stamp out the activity of the open-air pavement sellers beneath.[40] Given the persistent demand for second-hand clothing in the area, a purpose-built Old Clothes Market was eventually established in 1875, as part of an ambitious 'moral clean-up campaign' of the area surrounding the Saltmarket which, by then, was believed to have succumbed completely to the wanton practices of Irish slumdwellers.[41] With so many slums flattened in the City Improvements Act of '66, by 1875 Paddy's Market was not only a place of perceived sordidness but an evocative vestige of past disorder, full of ghosts that threatened to pull the East End back to its former state of depravity.[42] The sale of old clothes in the area, however, was begrudgingly acknowledged by authorities as 'an institution of the city'.[43] With a gleaming, white-tiled interior, a rigid set of by-laws, and separate departments for wholesale and retail, Glasgow Corporation hoped the enclosed, Romanesque architecture of the Old Clothes Market could update the trade into a clean, regulated, certified industry, seizing control of the so-called 'flotsam and jetsam of the city district'.[44]

[38] MacAskill, *Paddy's Market*, p. 45.
[39] Glasgow Improvement Bill XCIII: 'Prohibiting Old Clothes being exposed for Sale on the Streets', Glasgow City Archives, ref. MP2/520v.
[40] 'Epitome of the Glasgow Improvement Act', *The Glasgow Herald*, 26.11.1866.
[41] Senex and John Carrick, *Glasgow: Past and Present: Vol I,* (Glasgow: David Robertson & Co, 1884), p. 104.
[42] HC debate, 17.6.1869, vol. 183, cc. 1053-126, available at https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1866/may/17/second-reading, accs. 25.3.22.
[43] 'The Old Clothes Market', *The Glasgow Herald*.
[44] John M Carson, 'Bird and Dog Market – Old Clothes Market', *Winning Foreign Markets Special Consular Reports*, Volumes 41-42, (Washington Government Printing Office, 1908), p. 90.

Fig. 41. Photographer Unknown, ‘Women with bundles of clothes, sitting in front of a brick building’, undated, Glasgow City Archives.

Fig. 42. Photographer unknown, ‘Old clothes dealers, Greendyke St, Calton’, August, 1916, Glasgow City Archives. Ref: C1598.

By the turn of the century, however, both punters and hawkers at the purpose-built Old Clothes Market had dwindled, and the building finally closed its doors in 1925.[45] By then, hawkers had already resumed trading in between the railway arches of Shipbank Lane and the surrounding streets heading into Calton, either on sheets spread out on the floor, or on barrows rented from local vendors. Given the volatile nature of Glasgow's economy by that point, an unrelentingly high demand for second-hand clothing had played into the hands of women wanting to avoid the high rents and punishing regulations of the market in favour of the 'unregulatable' practices of street selling.[46] Often raking for goods through the many demolition and waste sites across Glasgow, the female hawkers of both markets garnered a somewhat symbiotic relationship to the city's constant rounds of slum clearance and redevelopment, collecting 'the toggery in all parts of the city during the day,' according to one undercover correspondent, to 'repair in the evening' to ply the next day.[47] In the city's poorer municipal housing schemes, the practice of hawking was well-known: as Seán Damer reports in his study of Blackhill, women would knock on doors in search of 'rags and woollens', often taking the bus to other schemes and miner's villages to source more goods.[48] Other sourcing practices, surviving through the decades, included 'midgie raking' – raking through bins and refuse heaps in tenement back courts for a 'lucky', anything of value – and the more mythical 'thowan snatching' – the theft by children of wet clothing as it was hung out on shared clothes lines to dry.[49]

Paddy's was deemed the 'lowest' second-hand market of Glasgow, largely reserved for the 'lowly phases of life'.[50] Yet, as an article in the *Daily Mail* reported, here it was possible to find 'a neat little straw hat', trimmed 'with blue satin ribbons', or a 'light green surtout' and pink bow tie: [51] garments with no relationship to the 'lumpenproletariat' class it was deemed to serve, interrupting the usually stark line of division between the fashions and tastes of the stratified, industrial urban orders. In their surprise at the quality of some of the clothing on offer, newspaper reports betrayed a grudging respect for the trade as it developed, with female hawkers seeming to further soften the image of a deeply stigmatised practice, the nefarious origins of the market tempered by their 'overflowings of a kindly heart'.[52] It also obliquely revealed the sense of possibility the markets harboured – the chance of finding quality items drawn from

[45] 'Valuation Court – The Rentals of Glasgow Markets', *The Glasgow Herald*, 5.10. 1925, p. 3.
[46] MacAskill, *Paddy's Market*, p. 36.
[47] J. Pagan, *Glasgow, Past & Present: Reminiscences and Communications of Senex*, Vol. 1, (Glasgow: D. Robinson, 1884), p. 778.
[48] Seán Damer, 'Blackhill: Out of the Slums', in Seán Damer, *Scheming: A Social History of Glasgow Council Housing 1919-1956*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), p. 88.
[49] Damer, *Going for a Song*, p. 83. For extensive discussion see Caroline MacAfee, *Some Studies in the Glasgow Vernacular*, PhD thesis, (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1988). https://theses.gla.ac.uk/77801/.
[50] 'Paddy's Market and the Traffic in Old Clothes', *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 4th March, 1869, p. 5.
[51] A Special Correspondent, 'A Saturday Night in "Paddy's Market"', *North British Daily Mail*, 08.11.1872.
[52] Ibid.

the waste material of wealthier neighbourhoods. As a verse of 'Paddy's Market' went, a street song published by the local Poet's Box:

> 'At the foot of the Bridgegate Street,
> You'll get rigged out quite handy,
> For fifteen pence you'll be complete
> A second-handed dandy'.[53]

3.2.3 Troubling divisions between the East End and the West End

In Victorian Britain, the female hawker was a ghostly presence haunting early visions of the modern city as a place respectable women could shop, in safety, as a form of leisure. Occupying the fringes of town, they marked the outer boundary between official and unofficial, proper and improper, feminine and unfeminine modes of consumption in the city. Erika Diane Rappaport describes how shopping in London's West-End was turned from a subversive act in the 1850s into a respectable, laudable aspect of middle-class identity through the relentless ideological positioning of the modern department-store shopper against the roving, uncontrollable masses of its eastern enclaves.[54] Through the careful branding of the city's upmarket thoroughfares, middle-class women were encouraged to contradict social assumption that their proper place was in the home: but this could only come with the assiduous zoning of urban space into 'respectable' and 'unrespectable' halves.[55] Judith R. Walkowitz has similarly discussed the way works of urban reportage such as Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* divided mid-Victorian London into 'a West End of glittering leisure and consumption and national spectacle to an East End of obscure density, indigence, sinister foreign aliens, and potential crime'.[56] That division between the official, upmarket commercial centre of the West and the unofficial, salacious marketplaces of the East was mirrored in Glasgow's Victorian geographies via Shadow's forays into the East End in *Being Sketches and Midnight Photographs*,

[53] Chaunting Benny, 'Paddy's Market', *Old Glasgow Street Songs etc,* chapbook held in the Glasgow City Archives at the Mitchell Library, ref: GC 398.5 GLA.
[54] Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 6.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 20.

popularised sanitary reports for 'socially concerned' audiences,[57] and anonymous dispatches to the mysterious regions of Calton and the Saltmarket by 'special correspondents'.[58]

[57] Examples include Peter Fyfe, including Peter Fyfe,'Common Flock Beds in Relation to the Public Health', *The Royal Society for Public Health*, Vol. 27, No. 12, (Dec. 1906), pp. 714-722; Peter Fyfe, *On the Sanitary Work of a Great City (Glasgow),* (Glasgow: Glasgow Philosophical Society, 1888).
[58] Examples include The Rambling Reporter, 'Paddy's Market and the Traffic in Old Clothes', *The Glasgow Herald*, 27.02. 1887; reports from 'correspondents' on crime and disorder in this region in *The Glasgow Herald*, Thursday 19. 08. 1870, and Senex's *Glasow: Past and Present*.

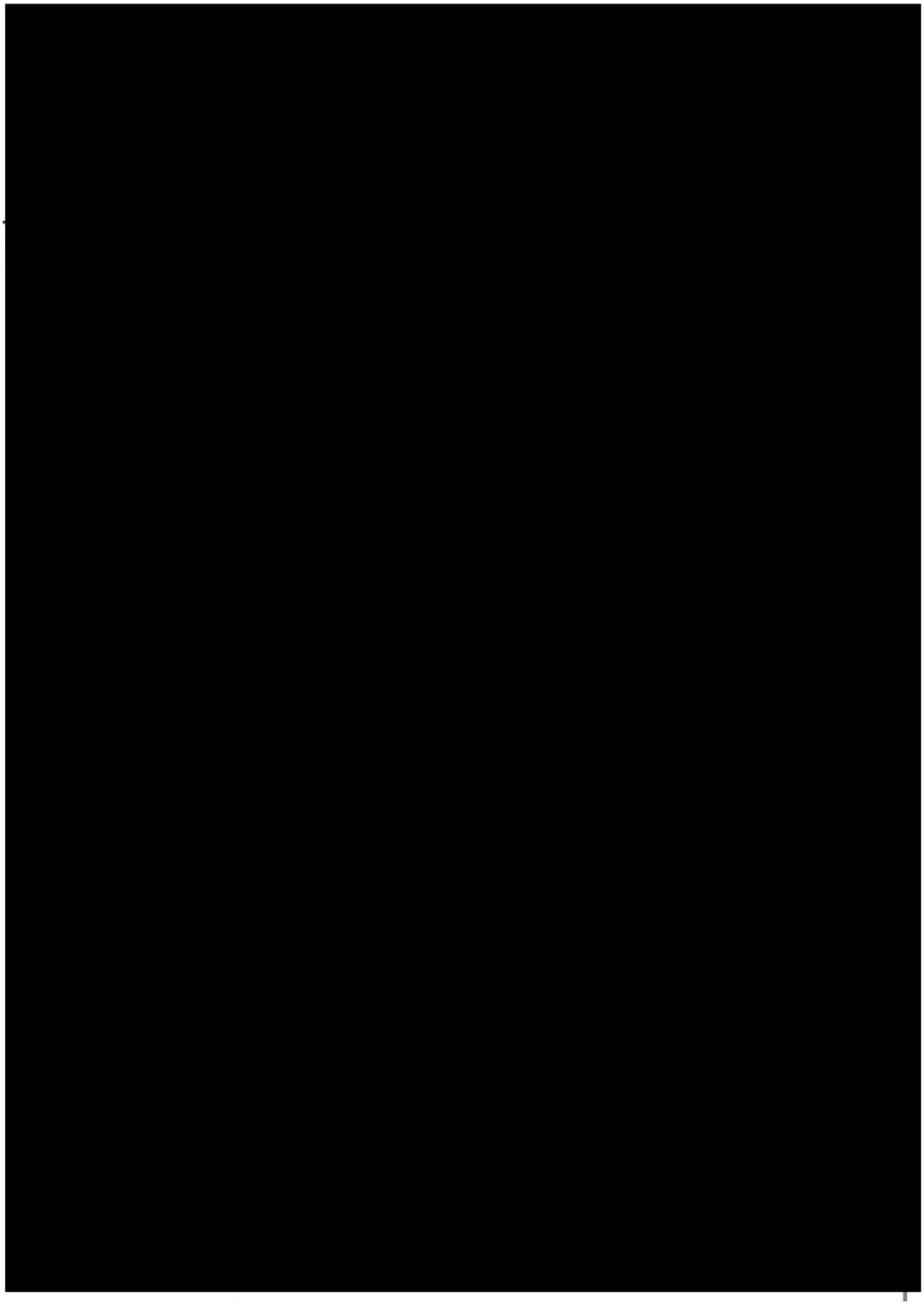

Fig. 43. Artist Unknown, ‘Paddy’s Market’, The Bailie – Cartoon Supplement, 06.03.1889, Spirit of Revolt Archive.

Places like Paddy’s Market, borders unclear, blithely situated at the foot of Glasgow’s High Court, troubled at cautious divisions between upmarket western portions of Glasgow city centre and its downtrodden

eastern fringe.[59] A cartoon in *The Bailie* magazine from 1889, in which Paddy's Market is reimagined as an upmarket department store, captures the heightened anxiety around the proximity of these two worlds. Ragged stallfronts are here reimagined as 'galleries', as bedraggled customers visit the wryly named makeshift 'millinery department'.[60] As outlined by Rappaport, the success of Victorian business owners in tempting middle-class women into their stores unaccompanied was predicated on their persuasion that to do so was an act of distinction, allowing them a token of the aristocratic life they craved.[61] Yet this cartoon highlights the capacity of hawkers to encroach on that same space and even appropriate its wares: offering the same stock, dirtied and disorderly, for a fraction of the price, in places stripped of all the magical, protective properties of the department store or boutique. Ellen Rosenman Bayuk writes that fashion, in the Victorian era, threatened social order by producing a 'confusing array of social actors'[62] who intruded on the male dominions of commerce with their own visions of beauty and good taste. The threat posed by hawkers, in this case, was twofold. Exhibiting the same interest in 'clothing for its own sake'[63] as their department store, shop-girl counterparts, they not only disrupted patriarchal norms, but class-based ones too. Combined with growing awareness about the relationship of old clothing and other material – in particular second-hand flock, commonly traded as filling for mattresses – to contagious diseases such as typhus,[64] efforts to contain and police second-hand hawkers spoke to the threat they posed to the fragile social contract of Victorian Glasgow. Not only was it nearly impossible to regulate the sourcing and selling of goods – Chief Sanitary Inspector Nicholas Fyfe called the operation 'one of the great mysteries of the underworld of the city'[65] – it was impossible to prevent hawkers from maintaining an operation that quietly undermined the distinction of the 'glittering leisure' of its central shopping avenues.

3.2.4 The typification of Glasgow hawkers

Early photographs of clothes hawkers concentrated around the Saltmarket and further down the Gallowgate demonstrate the careful methods of display cultivated by hawkers, as well as the close attention, through sight and touch, that punters would pay to the clothing on offer. Echoed heavily in photography based around the same locations from the 1970s and 1980s, it is clear that the traditions instigated in this period

[59] Senex and Carrick, *Glasgow: Past and Present: Vol I,* p. 102.
[60] 'Paddy's Market', *The Baillie*, Wednesday 6th March, 1889, p. 4.
[61] Senex and Carrick, *Glasgow: Past and Present*, p. 106.
[62] Ellen Bayuk Rosenman, 'Fear of Fashion; or, How the Coquette got her Bad Name', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews*, Vol. 15, (2002), p. 13.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Fyfe, 'Common Flock Beds in Relation to the Public Health', pp. 714-722.
[65] Fyfe, 'Paddy's Market', in *Glasgow Observed*, p. 196.

would remain popular among women through all of the social, physical and economic changes that would take place in the area in the intervening years.

In a 1910s' Glasgow Corporation series of several photographs taken along London Road (see fig. 44, 45, 46 and 47), a bustling avenue stretching south of the Gallowgate, female hawkers are immediately identifiable in busy scenes that depict the everyday lives of the East-End poor – 'their appearance must be familiar to every reader', as *The Glasgow Herald* once concluded.[66] Pictured in long, plaid shawls and heavy woollen skirts, their dress is that of an almost dandiacal scruffiness, a succession of uneven pleats, folds and creases which bear witness to long lives of wear and tear. Behind them are old gowns hung off the fencepoles to protect their hems, seeming to contain the half-life of a previous owner, and in front of them, 'coats, vests, petticoats and ladies dresses which have seen better days'[67] stacked in loose piles. These women and their customers are shown poring over the mess, backs turned, knees bent and necks craned, as if deep in study. Others stand over their wares in white aprons, talking to fellow sellers and rearranging their guerrilla window displays, next to a barrow inscribed with the name 'Maggie McIver', who would found the official Barras market ten years later.

[66] 'Paddy's Market and the Traffic in Old Clothes', *The Glasgow Herald,* 4th March 1869.
[67] Ibid.

Fig. 44. Photographer Unknown, ‘London Rd, The Barrows (market)’, c. 1916, Glasgow City Archives. Ref: C7899.

Fig. 45. Photographer Unknown, ‘Clothes Stall’, c. 1916, Glasgow Museums Archives. Ref: C7888.

The layered, almost cocoon-like arrangements of cloth draped on sheets over muddy pavements creates, here, a strange inversion of the Victorian domestic interior, in which all the intimacy of a closed room is re-staged, evocatively and ephemerally, in the street. Fanned, folded and tussled, the old garments give the titillating impression of a well-used wardrobe, former wearers alive in their stains and dents. Female subjects, stooped, turned and locked in conversation, appear indifferent to their photographer, their gestures and expressions given over to closed, vernacular routines of exchange. There is a disordering of class, as the material trappings of the genteel are woven, grubby and isolated, among less valuable bric-a-brac, tracing the spectre of lost fortunes and the promise of new guises. In one image, an ornate wooden coat stand is topped with an old briefcase to form a fanned display of men's braces, in another, three hawkers in a dilapidated, sooty waste ground take shelter, hands on hips, under a pristine white lace parasol, casting dappled light over their heads.

In a speech delivered to the Glasgow Union of Women Workers in 1917, Glasgow's Chief Sanitary Inspector Peter Fyfe described these women as 'the waste-preventers of the city', who 'not only serve themselves with a humble living', but serve their community with 'still serviceable articles of clothing',[68] creating a penny-capitalist economy that presented, to users, objects and articles of dress that would have been impossible to access by any other means. 'Many people imagine that it is simply an emporium of rags and ragamuffins', a reporter for *The Glasgow Herald* concluded after a lengthy investigation of the markets in 1869. 'But this is a popular mistake, founded on prejudice and even-down ignorance'.[69] Negotiating a shop-like operation where they had no legal right to do so, Fyfe captured these women enacting a gesture characteristic of what would later be recognised as subcultural style – 'winning space' in the public realm through practices of subversion, and commanding attention with sartorial techniques of bricolage, cut-and-paste, and appropriation of a dominant visual regime.[70]

[68] Fyfe, 'A Tour in the Calton', pp. 196-197.
[69] Ibid.
[70] John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson and Brian Roberts, 'Subcultures, Cultures and Class', in in Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, (London: Taylor&Francis Group, 2006), p. 34.

Fig. 46. Photographer Unknown, ‘The Barrows (street market)’, c. 1900, Glasgow City Archives. Ref: C7899.

Fig. 47. Photographer Unknown, ‘The Barrows (market): Women looking through clothes’, c. 1916, Glasgow City Archives. Ref: C7898.

3.3 ‘Probably from Paddy’s Market’: Second-hand subcultural style in Glasgow

Many years later, the ragged, bedraggled outsiderness historically associated with these markets had come into vogue. Bobby Gillespie, the Glasgow-born founding member of rock band Primal Scream, recalls that the mid 1970s onwards saw the insurgence of new, shocking forms of subcultural style in Glasgow. Here, the prevailing look was ultra-nostalgic, vintage and often feminine.[71] Composed of pastiches of fifties rock-n-roll or dreamy sixties ‘poetic paisley haze’,[72] Glasgow subcultures were uniquely identifiable, as historian Sam Knee writes, for their eclecticism: the pairing of leather trousers paired with battered PVC anoraks, v-neck cardigans with old court shoes and puff-ball skirts. Attending The Clash’s infamous White Riot tour with Richard Hell and the Voidoids at Glasgow’s Apollo in 1977, Gillespie recalls encountering a crowd of teenagers waiting to be admitted, ‘girls in ripped tights/suspenders/’60s stiletto heels/in oversized men’s white shirts with punk slogans hand written’.[73] These were punks – the archetypal subculture which used torn, reinvented and rearranged clothing as a seeming reflection of the current ‘atrophied condition of Great Britain’.[74]

> ‘Everywhere I looked people had reconstructed/deconstructed themselves. They had slashed through the screen of consensual reality and placed themselves outside the realm of the prevalent seventies cultural conformism. Outsiders by choice.’[75]

Socially and physically desolate, largely isolated from the cultural gravitational force of London, Glasgow proved fertile ground for the breeding of postmodern counter-cultures, producing a roster of popular underground bands with retro, dilletantish styles which garnered recognition across the UK. The teddy-boy, Americana-inspired aesthetic and lilting 1960s melodies of the band Orange Juice, signed by local independent label Postcard Records, gave rise to its own category of subculture Knee dubs ‘the Postcard Look’,[76] shared by the donkey-jacketed Aztec Camera, The Pastels, The Vaselines and more. There was

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[71] For discussion of subcultural style in Glasgow, see Sam Knee, *A Scene in Between: Tripping Through the Fashions of UK Indie Music, 1980-1988,* (London: Cicada Books, 2013); Sam Knee, *The Bag I’m In: Underground Music and Fashion in Britain, 1960-1990,* (London: Cicada Books, 2015) Sam Knee, *Untypical Girls: Styles and Sounds of the Transatlantic Indie Revolution*, (London: Cicada Books, 2017); Martin McClenaghan, *Post Punk City: Glasgow*, (Glasgow: Brickley Books, 2023), Chris Brickley, *Saints and Sinners: Punk and After, Glasgow & Paisley*, (Glasgow: Brickley Books, 2022); Bobby Gillespie, *Tenement Kid*, (London: Hachette, 2022).
[72] Knee, *A Scene in Between*, p. 4.
[73] Bobby Gillespie, ‘Introduction’, in Sam Knee (ed), *The Bag I’m In: Underground Music and Fashion in Britain, 1960-1990*, (London: Cicada Books, 2015), p. 6.
[74] Hebdige, *Subculture,* p. 87.
[75] Gillespie, *The Bag I’m In*, p. 6.
[76] Knee, *The Bag I’m In*, p. 188.

also Clare Grogan, of Altered Images and the film *Gregory's Girl*, whose saccharine performances of baby-voiced pop songs were synonymous with her ill-fitting 1950s tea dresses and jagged cropped hair. Jill Bryson and Rose McDowall of Strawberry Switchblade, best known for their hit single *Since Yesterday*, created the much-imitated look of thick cleopatra-style eyeliner, polka dot petticoats, outsize dirndls and huge, plastic rose hairpieces in a gothic, childish parody of ultra-feminine heroines of the silver screen, while The Sensational Alex Harvey Band paraded a mish-mash of theatrical ensembles, from neon boiler suits to silk kimonos, studded leather jackets to ragged baby tees.

The source for much of this clothing, writes Gillespie, was Glasgow's second-hand clothes trade. He would go to Paddy's Market in search of 'old men's baggy suits and white shirts and thin striped ties': clothes that punned on the 'conformism' of the 1970s and aped his icons, the band Public Image Ltd.[77] Sourcing and styling this kind of clothing, he writes, 'could make you feel heroic'.[78] The 2014 online archival series 'What We Wore: A People's History of British Style', published in *Dazed and Confused* magazine, also sees both Paddy's Market and the Barras cited as sources for the mismatched aesthetics of Glasgow's radical underground scene in the 1970s and 1980s. 'You could get a whole outfit from Paddy's Market and you'd be the only one wearing it',[79] as one member of the BMX Bandits claimed, a pop band from nearby Bellshill, photographed in their trademark ensemble of 1950s-Americana distressed denim. Photographs contained in the archive show Jill Bryson of Strawberry Switchblade in a tea dress and oversized men's bomber, as well as Stephen Robbie of The Pastels in a ragged wool duffel coat, in front of what looks like the arched entrance of Paddy's Market on Shipbank Lane. Annabel Wright, also of the Pastels, is captured in a battered leather coat, 'probably from Paddy's Market', she remarks.[80]

This 'was a varied crowd, united by an overarching punk-ness, bound together by energy and 'otherness'' archivist Eve Dawoud observes.[81] Cheap, ragged and bound to histories of social stigma and deprivation, Paddy's Market and the Barras were explicitly referenced by these artists as the source of their clothing, as if this was essential to the ensemble's meaning. In that sense, these markets were not only practically useful for those looking to bring together a rebellious look, they were also symbolically useful to artists like this looking for ways to ground and strengthen their identity as 'outsiders'. Unusually, the feminine practice of shopping seemed to underscore this irreverent aesthetic strategy, helping to set young Glaswegian men

[77] Gillespie, in Knee, *The Bag I'm In*, pp. 6-7.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Eve Dawoud/Various Contributors, 'What We Wore: 80s Glasgow', *Dazed & Confused: Fashion Gallery*, accs. 14.01.24, https://www.dazeddigital.com/fashion/gallery/18814/18/what-we-wore-80s-glasgow..
[80] Dawoud/Contributors, 'What We Wore: 80s Glasgow', https://www.dazeddigital.com/fashion/gallery/18814/11/what-we-wore-80s-glasgow.
[81] Eve Dawoud, 'What We Wore: 1980s Glasgow', *Dazed & Confused*, 19.11.2014, accs. 22.11.23, https://www.dazeddigital.com/fashion/article/22655/1/what-we-wore-80s-glasgow.

apart from the dominant, hyper-masculine image expected of earlier generations, and providing alternative means to ally themselves with the cultural fabric of the working-class city. As Jim Demuth explores in his documentary *The Outsiders*, about 1980s counter-cultural Glasgow club night *Splash One*, femininity was invoked by a number of male scenesters here as a way to signal their heroic rejection of social expectation – with the (perhaps unintended) effect of demonstrating the stigma working-class women had long endured in this area by living out the lives they now invoked as ironic pastiche. Duglas T Stewart of the BMX Bandits, for example, tells Demuth about painting his nails and nicknaming himself Nancy on nights out: 'by daring to be different' in that way, he claimed 'you really were setting yourself up as a target'.[82] 'Try being an effeminate, fay waster in 1979 Glasgow', as Stuart Murdoch, lead singer of Glasgow band Belle and Sebastian, attests: 'that's pretty daring, y'know?'.[83]

Here, historic stereotypes of the ragged, pilloried, tainted Glaswegian woman offered up an aesthetic men could try on, a narrative they could inhabit. The similarly vintage styles of their female bandmates helped both to reinforce the wider scene's claims to radical androgyny, providing heightened, nostalgic performances of 1960s girl-power men could, in turn, embrace to bolster their position as socially and politically critical. However, as will be explored later, for the women themselves, there was a more situated, embodied form of critique at play in their use of these markets as cultural muse.

3.4 The Partick Camera Club Surveys: preserving Calton for posterity

3.4.1 The camera as a tool

The following section of this chapter looks at two photographic studies of Paddy's Market and the Barras conducted by Partick Camera Club in the late 1970s. The first of these, the Calton survey, was conducted in partnership with Glasgow's People's Palace to capture Calton before it underwent major redevelopment as part of the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal project (GEAR). The second, the Fishmarket Survey, was conducted by three members of the club to gather evidence of work at the old Fishmarket in the Briggait building before it closed, also capturing the activity of Paddy's Market, the second-hand clothes market that ran along the eastern wall of the building. Under the leadership of Malcolm Hill, Partick Camera Club had repositioned itself in this particular moment to capture unseen facets of working-class Glasgow and 'use the camera as a tool to document social change'.[84] Consisting of hundreds of photographs taken by amateur

[82] *Glasgow: The Outsiders*, Jim Demuth (dir), first aired 20th November, 2014 on *Music Nation*.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Fiona Hayes, *1970s' Glasgow: Through the Lens*, (Catrine: Stenlake Publishing, 2011), pp. 6-7.

photographers Roy Smart, Malcolm Hill, Jimmy Gillies and Keith Ingham, the Calton and Fishmarket studies captured the traders of Paddy's Market and the Barras in a way no other medium could, evidencing their unique offering to the city by visual means. Partly facilitated by Elspeth King, radical young curator at the nearby People's Palace, these studies were folded into a broader, grassroots cultural campaign to dignify and protect the integrity of Glasgow's working-class enclaves against neoliberal policy, preventing encroachment on their land or operation by private developers.[85]

The studies bought attention to the success of these traders in preserving the integrity of these operations over a long period of time. They also captured, in a way no other medium could, their appeal to an ever broader range of people alienated and dispossessed by the changes that had taken place in Glasgow since the Second World War. Commissioned by curator Elspeth King, as part of a broader campaign to preserve the working-class, cultural history of this area from threats posed by future development,[86] the photographs revealed a trade that could sometimes ply jumbles of rags, but just as often carefully-arranged selections of beautiful, vintage clothing, presenting an attractive alternative to the homogenised offering of late-capitalist commercial retail. Showing a selection of the photographs from each study as part of two exhibitions at the People's Palace, as well as purchasing several hundred of them to reside in the permanent collection at Glasgow Museums,[87] King set out to demonstrate that style as a form of embodied resistance had existed at this site long before the emergence of late-1970s counter-culture.

3.4.2 'Trusting, Thatcherite, "new" Glasgow': the threat from GEAR

In the changing landscape of late-1970s Glasgow, as the city sought to rebrand itself as an attractive place for foreign investment, the markets' offering to citydwellers had become ever more politically salient. As well as demonstrating their value to a new generation of shoppers, these photographs also captured the depth of the markets' ties to the past: outlining their need for protection as wholly intact, 'pre-modern',[88] working-class operations in a landscape that elsewhere had witnessed the total degradation of working-class ways of life.

As previously discussed in other chapters, at the time these photographs were taken (between 1977-1982), it was believed Glasgow was suffering from 'urban blight of a severe nature', which could only be tackled

[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] McRobbie, 'Second-hand dresses', p. 135.

by fixing the blots on the urban landscape made by decades of economic decline.[89] Inspired by the recent 'makeover' of desolate rust-belt cities in America such as Pittsburgh and Detroit, from 1975 – when Glasgow Corporation was reorganised into two regional councils – local Government had embarked on a full-scale pivot from prioritising state-led municipal housing development on Glasgow's outer limits, in the form of overspill estates and new towns, to focusing on public-private investment fed into making-over its unattractive inner-city.[90] With the formation of Glasgow's Economic Development Committee, and the public-private think tank Glasgow Action, attention was newly devoted to 'marketing' Glasgow in order to encourage business investment, in the belief the regional council could no longer afford to prop up failed housing schemes and that the city must, instead, find ways to support itself.[91]

The Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal project was the apotheosis of that step-change in attitude. Involving eight local authorities and agencies of central government, the project was allocated £200 million to rejuvenate the East End of Glasgow, spanning from Calton to Tollcross.[92] Since the Second World War, this area had witnessed a population decline of over 53.5 per cent, accommodating several Comprehensive Development Areas and witnessing the dispersal of its impoverished population to the 'big four' overspill estates of Drumchapel, Castlemilk, Pollok and Easterhouse.[93] In the meantime, the abandonment of large tracts of land that ensued from population decline meant that 18 per cent of GEAR's target area was empty or derelict.[94] With a mixture of public-private partnerships, and a focus on improving the 'look' of the area, there was a hope by its supporters that GEAR would be capable 'restoring not only habitations but also morale to a place almost beyond hope'.[95] With The Barras market at the heart of its target area, planners promised to make a showpiece of its authentic working-class roots rather than expunging them.[96] However, GEAR, to Elspeth King and others, formed one prong of a wider set of initiatives which threatened to commercialise the trade, thereby ridding it of its integrity and its sacred relationship to its core customer

[89] Political concerns over Glasgow's poor image have been discussed in a number of texts, including Kintrea and Madgin, *Transforming Glasgow*, Mark Boyle and George Hughes, 'The Politics of the Representation of "the Real"', pp. 217-228; Boyle, McWilliams and Rice, 'The Spatialities of Actually Existing Neoliberalism in Glasgow, 1977 to Present', pp. 313-325; Gerry Mooney, 'Cultural policy as Urban Transformation? Critical Reflections on Glasgow, European City of Culture, *Local Economy*, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 327-340; Gerry Mooney and Mike Danson, 'Beyond "Culture city": Glasgow as a "dual city"', in Nick Jewson and Susanne MacGregor (eds), *Transforming Cities: Contested Governance and New Spatial Divisions*, (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 73-86.
[90] Boyle, McWilliams and Rice, 'The Spatialities of Actually Existing Neoliberalism', p. 317.
[91] Ibid.
[92] For discussion of the GEAR project in Glasgow, see Michael Pacione, 'Inner City Regeneration: Perspectives on the GEAR project', *Planning Outlook*, Vol. 28, No. 2, (1985), pp. 65-69; Donald Draffan and Roger Leclerc, 'The Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Project', *The Town Planning Review*, Vol. 55, No. 3, (July, 1984), pp. 335-351; The Scottish Development Agency, *GEAR Strategy and Programme*, (Glasgow: The Scottish Development Agency, 1980).
[93] Draffan and Leclerc, 'The Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Project', p. 338.
[94] Aaron Andrews, 'Dereliction, decay and the problem of de-industrialisation in Britain, c. 1968-1971', *Urban History*, Vol. 47, No. 2, (2020), pp. 236-256.
[95] 'Glasgow's East End – A Place of Dreams', *Scottish Field*, (February, 1979), pp. 11-12.
[96] David Donnison (ed), *Gear Review: Social Aspects*, (Glasgow: Department of Town and Regional Planning and Housing Research Group, 1982), p. 15.

base of dispossessed working-class people. In 1982, for example, as a result of its involvement in GEAR, the Barrows Enterprise Trust formed with the aim of developing a 'coherent overall strategy' for the commercial development of the area, securing £1 million from the Scottish Development Agency fund.[97] This intervention, Moira MacAskill remarks, turned the market 'into a slightly more upmarket and "legitimate"' operation, complete with police-controlled pedestrianisation, a creche, and free entertainment.[98]

In *The Hidden History of Glasgow's Women*, King, an vocal supporter of Paddy's Market and the Barras, outlined the threat this 'trusting, Thatcherite, "new" Glasgow'[99] posed to the few remaining vestiges of the city's grassroots, resistant, working-class cultures. The Calton and Fishmarket Surveys helped to ground the Barras and Paddy's Markets as places whose existing operations had to be ringfenced if they were to retain their true value to the city. Itself under threat from 'creeping privatisation' wrought by GEAR and other initiatives,[100] the nearby People's Palace, under King, sought to place the preservation and autonomy of operations such as Paddy's Market and the Barras at the centre of its curatorial mandate. As curator, King held exhibitions of the Partick Camera Club survey photographs – first, in 'Calton, past and present' in 1977, then 'Glasgow Fishmarket' in 1979 – and later published *Barrapatter*, a popular 'oral history of Glasgow's barrows', published in 1983. Here King gathered testimony on what seemed to be a 'gentrifying' trade at The Barras, having old punters describe the 'beautiful' female traders of living memory, whose mothers and grandmothers had started generations before by selling 'dishes in exchange for rags'.[101]

[97] 'Chief Executive, Salary + Benefits Negotiable, "The Barrows Enterprise Trust"', *The Glasgow Herald*, 11.06.1982.
[98] MacAskill, *Paddy's Market*, p. 53.
[99] King, *Hidden Histories*, p. 165.
[100] Tom Shields, 'Diary: Private Gardens', *The Glasgow Herald*, 23.03.1987.
[101] Elspeth King, *Barrapatter: An Oral History of Glasgow's Barrows,* (Glasgow: The Friends of the People's Palace, 1984), p. 9.

Fig. 48. Keith Ingham, 'View of the entrance to the Barrows from London Road', February, 1977, Calton Survey, People's Palace Archives/Glasgow Life. Ref: PP1977.15.229 KI-4B-12.

As illustrated in the image above, with punters at the Barras snaking around the corner of the street, the Calton and Fishmarket surveys captured the draw of these sites to old and new audiences alike. In visual documents of the markets' wares; the intimate exchanges between hawkers and customers and the makeshift, crowded arrangement of stalls on the street, the images offered up a form of 'civil imagination', in the words of Ariella Azoulay,[102] showing the city how it might still be occupied resistantly, from the point of view of some of its most marginal subjects. The composite parts of these images – the stalls, the wares, the hawkers and the punters – gestured toward centuries of women's labour, adaptation and resistance that had ensured their survival, and the widening cross-section of citydwellers who were drawn there for a taste of the 'alternative lifestyle' these women had staked out hundreds of years ago and continued to maintain. As Paul Gilroy writes in *Black Britain: A Photographic History*, a turn toward street photography in this period reflected the broader insurgency of vernacular narratives, such as oral history or experimental film,

[102] Ariella Azoulay, *Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography*, (London: Verso, 2015).

into mainstream discourse, reaching toward the possibility of capturing 'aspects of social life' which lay 'beyond or behind the headlines'.[103] By lingering on these photographs' surfaces, the traces of political, social and cultural histories, compressed into the postures of hawkers, the creases of garments or the thickness of crowds, begin to emerge, allowing them to situate a grassroots 'civil discourse'[104] about their cultural significance to a generation of people in Glasgow who came to these sites in search of , situating Glasgow's subcultural 'return of the repressed' in a broader social context.

Fig. 49. Keith Ingham, 'Woman at table with coat, Paddy's Market', June, 1978, 24mm, Fishmarket Survey collection, People's Palace Archives/Glasgow Life. Ref: PP1978.104.66.

[103] Paul Gilroy, *Black Britain: A Photographic History*, (London: Saqi Books, 2011), p. 17. See also Jennifer Tucker, 'Eye on the Street: Photography in Urban Public Spaces', *Radical History Review*, Vol. 2012, No. 114, pp. 7-18.
[104] Azoulay, *Civil Imagination*, p. 10.

Fig. 50. Keith Ingham, 'Two women, Paddy's Market', June, 1978, 24mm, Fishmarket Survey Collection, People's Palace Archives/Glasgow Life. Ref: PP1978.104.65 KI.FM7-28.

3.4.3 Making space, choosing goods: the magic of the market stall

The images that resulted from the Calton and Fishmarket Surveys were deeply evocative of those taken at the same area over a century ago. In the case of those taken at Paddy's Market, women sit in the same way as the rag wives of the 19th century, almost buried in their wares which are arranged in piles across the cobblestone floor. In the two images above by Keith Ingham we see a typical view of these stallholders, and the fact of their preservation of this practice, snaking up the side of the wall like weeds, seems miraculous. Often strung behind them is the best of the stock: vintage furs, wool suits and 1960s shift dresses, all with the imprints of fold marks and wear which seem to bear witness to more intimate histories of the city (see fig.50). In the below image by Malcolm Hill, a stall is rendered in cinematic style, picturing the contents of women's second-hand clothes stalls in moody chiascuro, the details of buckles and rumpled crinoline picked out in a gentle half-light. In it, a pair of white leather court shoes overlaid with small, gold, snaffle-bit buckles gleam in the centre of a tightly-packed arrangement of light leather handbags, gloves and coats made of wool and suede. The sense here is less of an open market than the wardrobe of a glamorous older woman, left ajar: each item lovingly maintained, a row of garments turned to profile to give a full impression of the outfit that might be shaken of its dust and assembled at any moment. In

capturing the market like this, Hill underscored the role of hawkers as choice curators of this makeshift space, as well as its appeal to a new generation of punters as a source of stylish, quality vintage goods.

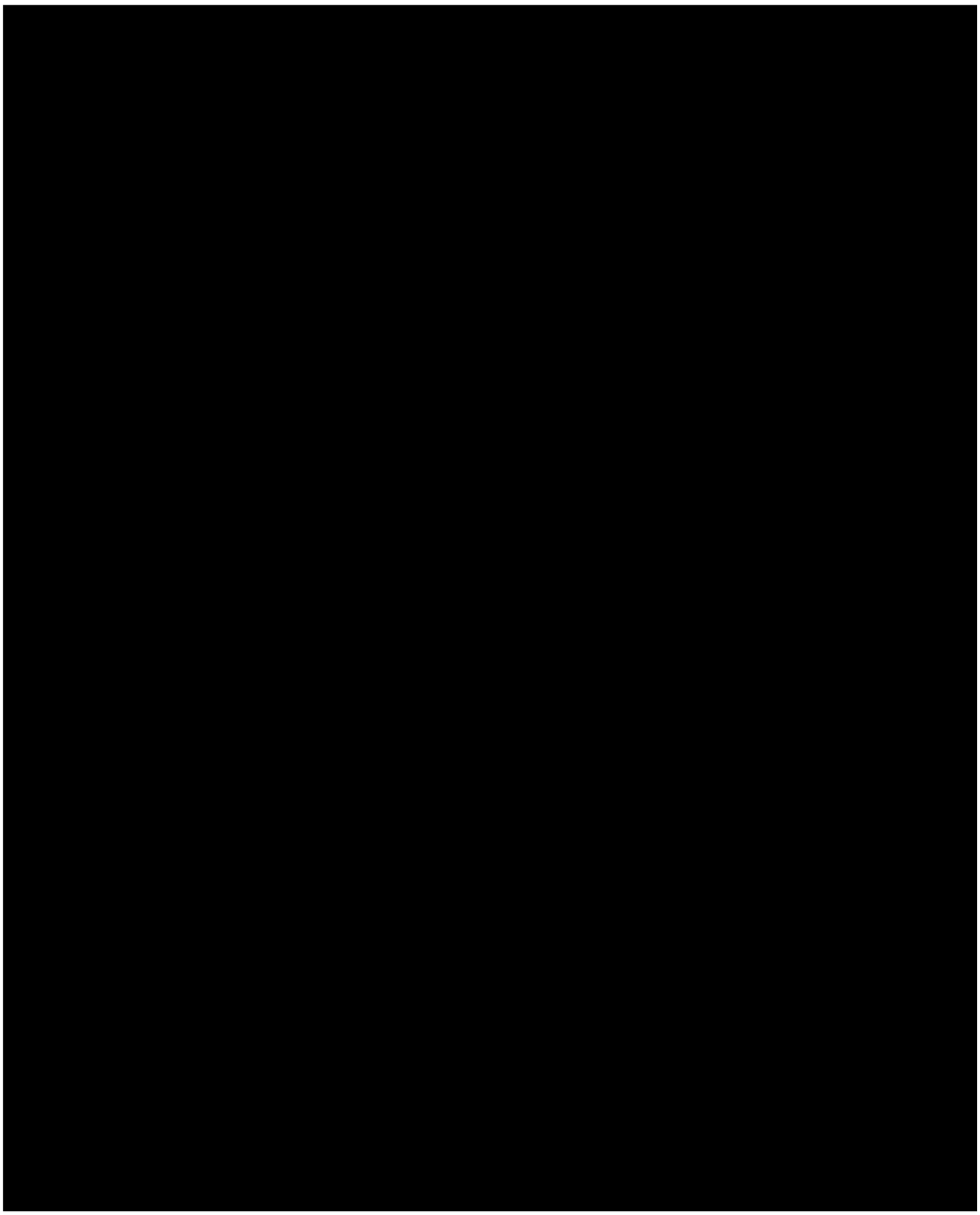

Fig. 51. Malcolm Hill, 'Clothing stall, Paddy's Market,' June, 1978, Fishmarket Survey Collection, People's Palace Archives/Glasgow Life. Ref: PP1978.103.61 MRH572/4.

In others, older women are shown rooting through wares, feeling fabrics for their quality, unfolding them to gauge detail and size. In the below image (fig. 52), the shot is taken from the hawker's point of view, table covered in clothing spread out before her like machinery on a factory floor. The old clothing seen here, the image suggests, is not laid there by chance: it is the result of generations' worth of these women's

'refinement' of their sourcing practices[105] to distinguish between the waste of the city and the objects and materials that still had value. In this image and beyond, the hunched shoulders, bent knees, the downward glances of both traders and customers also tell of the bearing of this way of life on the body, the combined marks of age, poverty and strain. They insist on an acknowledgement of these women as agents of the contemporary cultural landscape, who have evolved through centuries of over-policing to find a place in the annals of Glasgow's working-class culture. These postures and expressions also redouble attention to the narrative capacity of the second-hand clothing itself – its power to shelter, mask, tell and transform bodies that were otherwise fated to a basic reading of poverty. Where the ragged denims or donkey jackets drawn by Glasgow's young 'Postcard-look' bands from these markets had a magic, irreverent quality, here, the source of that magic and irreverence is mapped out: woven into the rich arrangements of stalls, the casual insouciance of women perched on the pavement, just as generations before them would have, the rudely carnivalesque atmosphere in a neighbourhood so routinely cast as barren, desolate and destitute. What Hebdige called 'going out of bounds, of dressing strangely',[106] is laid out as a product of the marginal feminine labour played out at this site for over a century.

[105] McRobbie, 'Second Hand Dresses', p. 135.
[106] Hebdige, 'Posing…Threats, Striking…Poses', p. 402.

Fig. 52. Malcolm Hill, ‘Stall – Paddy’s Market’, June, 1978, Fishmarket Survey Collection, People’s Palace Archives/Glasgow Life. Ref: PP1978.103.60 MRH571/29.

Fig. 53. Malcolm Hill, ‘Bicycles, Paddy’s Market’, June, 1978, Fishmarket Survey Collection, People’s Palace Archives/Glasgow Life. Ref: PP1978.103.62 MRH572/7.

These themes are reinforced in Hill's photograph of Paddy's Market in figure 54. Here, the walls of the market are barely visible through the sea of bodies packed between the narrow alleyway, with subjects' backs and faces mostly turned. Nonetheless, it is possible to pick out details of garments worn by customers as they pore over wares that line the chain-link fence and railway arches to either side. Tucked between the black arches of a railway line – the one constructed over a century ago in an attempt to break up the slums of the Saltmarket – the bustling energy of the photograph, in which throngs of people compete for room in front of overflowing stalls, suggests it is precisely their makeshift, weed-like character that appeals to the current customer base. Taken from above, at the top of the lane, from here we are reminded of Paddy's Market's historic location under the constant surveillance of police, just beyond the outer walls of the High Court. Tucked between infrastructure intended for some other purpose, this is a site that does not assume the right to exist but wrests that right from the ground itself. The overwhelming togetherness of the subjects, backs turned, holds the possibility of stories and ways-of-life to which the viewer does not have access and cannot easily assume the content of. Heads turned just-so, women appear to prepare for their journey through the stalls that line either side of the narrow path, ready to inspect the wares as knowingly as the subjects that can be seen ahead.

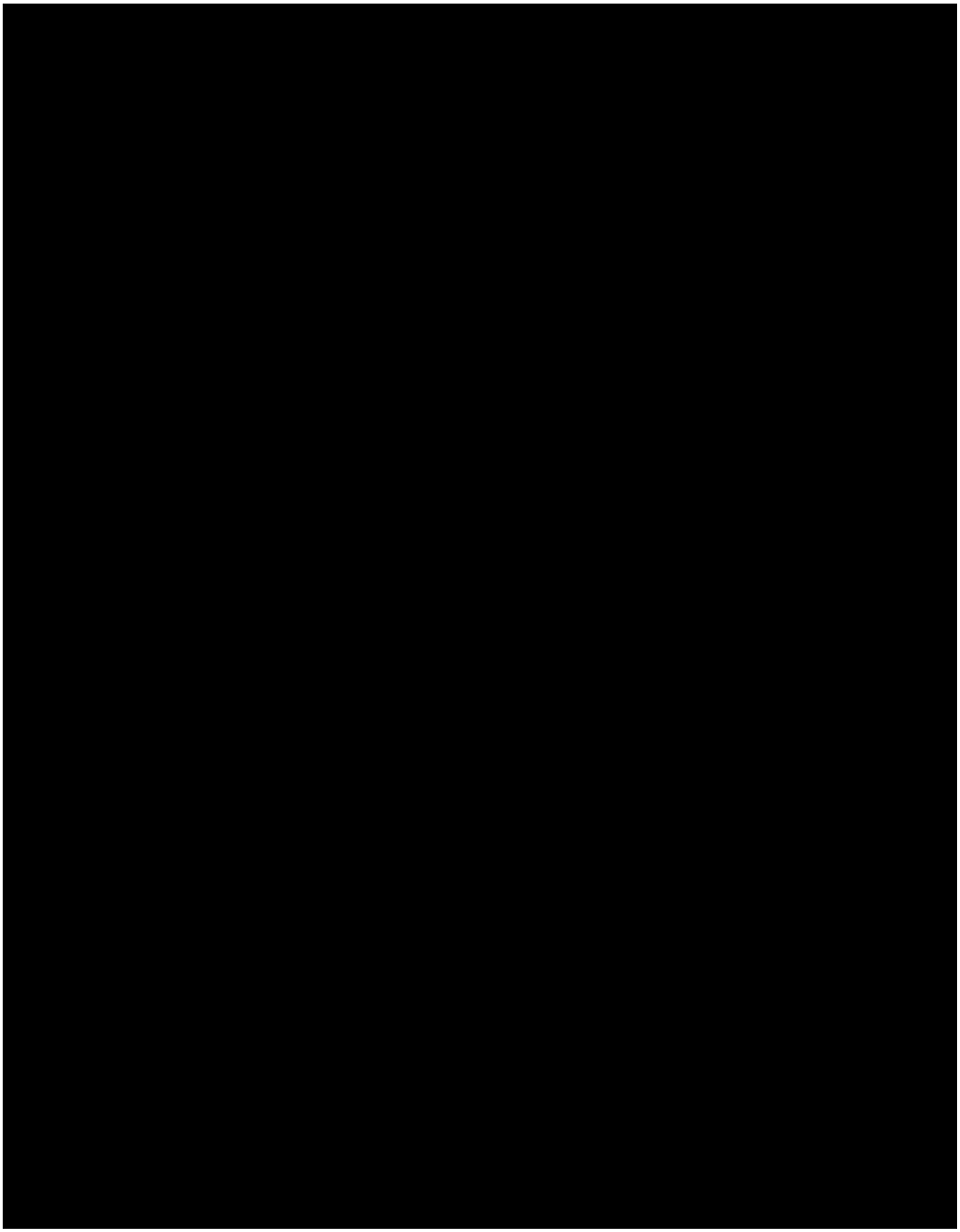

Fig. 54. Malcolm Hill, ‘Bridgegate entrance to Paddy’s Market facing King Street, Paddy’s Market’, July, 1978, Fishmarket Survey Collection, People’s Palace Archives/Glasgow Life. Ref: PP1978.103.72 MRH 573/50.

3.5 Contending with a history: women's style at the markets

By capturing punters and hawkers in this way, Degnan and the Partick Camera Club were, perhaps subconsciously, bearing witness to women's reclaiming of a lifestyle that had once been mired in shame. As McRobbie reflects, as recently as the 1960s, 'markets for old clothes and jumble sales…remained a terrifying reminder of the stigma of poverty, the shame of ill-fitting clothing, and the fear of disease through infestation, rather like buying a second-hand bed'.[107] In Glasgow, while the occupation of hawking was respected among those in impoverished communities, the purchase of second-hand clothing was often done in secret. 'I know of people who went shopping at Paddy's Market in disguise, covering themselves with hats and scarves' as Colin McFarlane writes in his memoir *The Real Gorbals Story*.[108] 'You could be taunted by other kids shouting at you, "I saw your maw at Paddy's Market yesterday!"'.[109] Maria Fyfe, in her memoir of life in post-war Gorbals, similarly describes her mother begging her 'never to tell anyone' that her gift of a beautiful coat, with 'green loden wool,' a 'velvet collar' and 'cloth covered buttons', had been purchased at Paddy's.[110] Trips to Paddy's Market and The Barras with her father were, to Meg Henderson in *Finding Peggy*, painful memories. Pushed into 'one of the poorest areas in a very poor city', she was 'appalled' to find people 'selling the kind of things others would throw away'.[111]

With the echoes of old reports of typhus-ridden cloth and ragged street sellers of the 19th century, up to now, these markets may have provided the source of affordable, and possibly beautiful clothing, but the pariah status of the women who ran them and those who flocked there by necessity remained. Photographs by Degnan and Partick Camera Club, often taken face-on, with women handling their wares, eyes straight to camera, illustrated a shift in this attitude. By capturing and contextualising women's dressed bodies in these spaces, they laid bare a process of shopping and dressing which was now voluntarily being claimed and performed by women of all generations. The photographs did not just illustrate this, they betrayed it with the fact of their existence, which demonstrated punters were not only unashamed to be seen there, but that a camera was welcome, greeted with smiles. Where macho subculturists may have found, here, a spectacle that was ripe for appropriation and pastiche, to the women who also openly flocked to the Markets in contemporary times, it was an acknowledgement of their social acceptability in a changed landscape. As one of the few remaining sites of the city to retain the 'values of familiarity, community and personal

[107] McRobbie, 'Second-hand dresses', p. 138.
[108] Colin McFarlane, *The Real Gorbals Story*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2007). p. 120.
[109] Maria Fyfe,
[110] Ibid.
[111] Henderson, *Finding Peggy*, p. 111.

exchange',[112] where Paddy's Market and The Barras were once visited in shame, they now offered up a rare connection to an esoteric institution, a way of rejecting the change that was elsewhere taking hold. Far from rendering the second-hand clothes market 'obsolete', the ravages of post-war urban planning had allowed them to answer to the needs of a broader cross-section of urban residents searching for a sense of community, hoping to connect with vanishing roots, and find unique, affordable ways to style themselves against an ever more monolithic commercial retail offering.[113]

3.5.1 A female subject 'coming into view': Peter Degnan's portraits of the Barras

McRobbie writes that during this period, a working-class woman experimenting with second-hand clothing could render an entirely different, stylistic statement to the macho gestures of subculture. Using the same techniques of bricolage and pastiche, they might call on the squalid histories of second-hand clothes to align themselves to an existing narrative of women's resistance: to engage in histories of women who nurtured, whether as hawkers or punters, an operation that had long been cast as dirty, outmoded and incoherent, to make a contemporary critical comment on the 'norms, conventions and expectations of femininity'.[114] Where McRobbie used the example of X-Ray Specs' 'ragmarket' suits, her reading could just as easily be applied to portraits of Strawberry Switchblade or Annabel Wright of the Pastels, whose mismatched, Paddy's and Barras'-sourced garb acted as a similarly 'celebratory' rather than cynical pastiche of once-vilified forms of womanhood. Where masculine subcultures could often be accused of taking up 'stylised images of poverty' to distinguish their aesthetic – flocking to Paddy's Market to look for strange, 'cool clothes' – among women, the same act involved an inevitably more profound reckoning with the feminine histories of stigma and shame laced into act of second-hand clothes buying.

In her essay 'Cut, Layer, Break, Fold: Fashioning Gendered Difference, 1970s to Present', Shehnaz Suterwalla examines the ways women used style in this period to consider 'the body as the critical site of resistance' in ways wholly distinct from the male-coded practices of subculture.[115] Calling on Julia Kristeva's notion of the abject, conceived as the 'in-between, ambiguous, the composite' elements or presentations of the body that do not 'respect borders, positions, rules',[116] Suterwalla situated abjection at

[112] Sarah Mass, 'Cost-Benefit Break Down: Unplannable Spaces in 1970s Glasgow,' Urban History, vol. 46, no. 2 (2019), pp. 309-330.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Shehnaz Suterwalla, 'Cut, Layer, Break, Fold: Fashioning Gendered Difference, 1970s to Present', *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2013), pp. 267-284.
[116] Julia Kristeva, 'Approaching Abjection', in Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2024), p. 4.

the foundation of the emergence of women's oppositional dress in the 1970s as a practice which played with 'ideas of abjection associated with the female body, to re-present them as tactics of subversion'.[117] With the stigma attached to the second-hand still fresh in the British popular imagination, many of the women pictured at these Markets in the Calton and Fishmarket surveys appeared to be trading and buying with intent and, even more disruptively, with pleasure, reclaiming rather than merely encountering those painful, shameful histories by chance. In this period, masculine, subcultural style was commonly interpreted as an embodiment of the nihilist message of 'no future' for the younger generation – the phrase with which 1970s and 80s punk subculture would become somewhat synonymous.[118] Suterwalla notes that, by contrast, women in this period were adopting subversive styles of all kinds to express 'agency and desire', creating 'new futures that manifested their subjectivity and creativity'.[119] Across these photographs, capturing an operation hidden from outsiders for decades, second-hand clothing allowed women to play with visions of modern femininity by calling on, bringing forth, the histories of female abjection these markets conjured, not as a heroic gesture of youth leisure, but to align themselves with and celebrate to these women's continuing efforts to live differently.

[117] Suterwalla, 'Cut, Layer, Break, Fold', p. 272.
[118] Kenneth J. Bindas, '"The Future is Unwritten": The Clash, Punk and America, 1977-1982', *American Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, (Spring, 1993), pp. 69-89.
[119] Suterwalla, 'Cut, Layer, Break, Fold', p. 272.

Fig. 55. Peter Degnan, 'The Barras, Glasgow, 1977', courtesy of Peter Degnan/The British Culture Archive.

Fig. 56. Peter Degnan, 'The Barras', April, 1985, courtesy of Peter Degnan.

Among several other photographers drawn to Glasgow's second-hand clothes markets in this period was Peter Degnan.[120] A self-taught, Glasgow-born photographer, his images captured the change and continuity of the market since its founding, moving from a female-dominated trade in second-hand wares to one also dealing in deadstock goods, hawked by men whose performative 'patter' could draw crowds of dozens, even hundreds of people.

Among these images of men stood aloft on makeshift platforms, plying towels, curtains or linoleum (fig. 55), there are several in which the long history of the market, as a female-run operation dealing in second-hand clothes, intrudes. In figure 56, we see one of the market's more traditional stalls, used furniture arranged neatly along the street and second-hand clothes piled up in old trunks or hung on railings. Dressed in wool coats, one with a patchwork leather handbag, the other, a fur pillbox hat, the women pictured at the centre are contiguous with their surroundings, rooting through wares, weighed down with purchases already made. Their positions – whole bodies interconnected to the market stall, expressions drawn and focused –

[120] Other examples include Oscar Marzaroli, whose photographs of Paddy's Market can be seen in the archives of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and Jos Treen, who took photographs of Paddy's Market and the Barras which can be seen in his book *Glasgow 1978*, (Southport: Café Royal, 2021).

highlight the contrast between the embodied connection these women hold to the markets over the crowds of spectators that gather in the open air. Their backs are mostly turned from Degnan: this is an encounter not only between him and the viewed, but the viewed and the goods on offer. Here, we see active buyers, not passive spectators, pursuing transactions that are shaped and deepened by memory. The battered goods to the foreground have stories: their blemishes tell of depth where elsewhere the boxed, immaculate, neatly folded trade in new stock tells of surface. This is where women stand in this market, Degnan's image seems to suggest: as living connections to its roots, and gatekeepers of its practices.

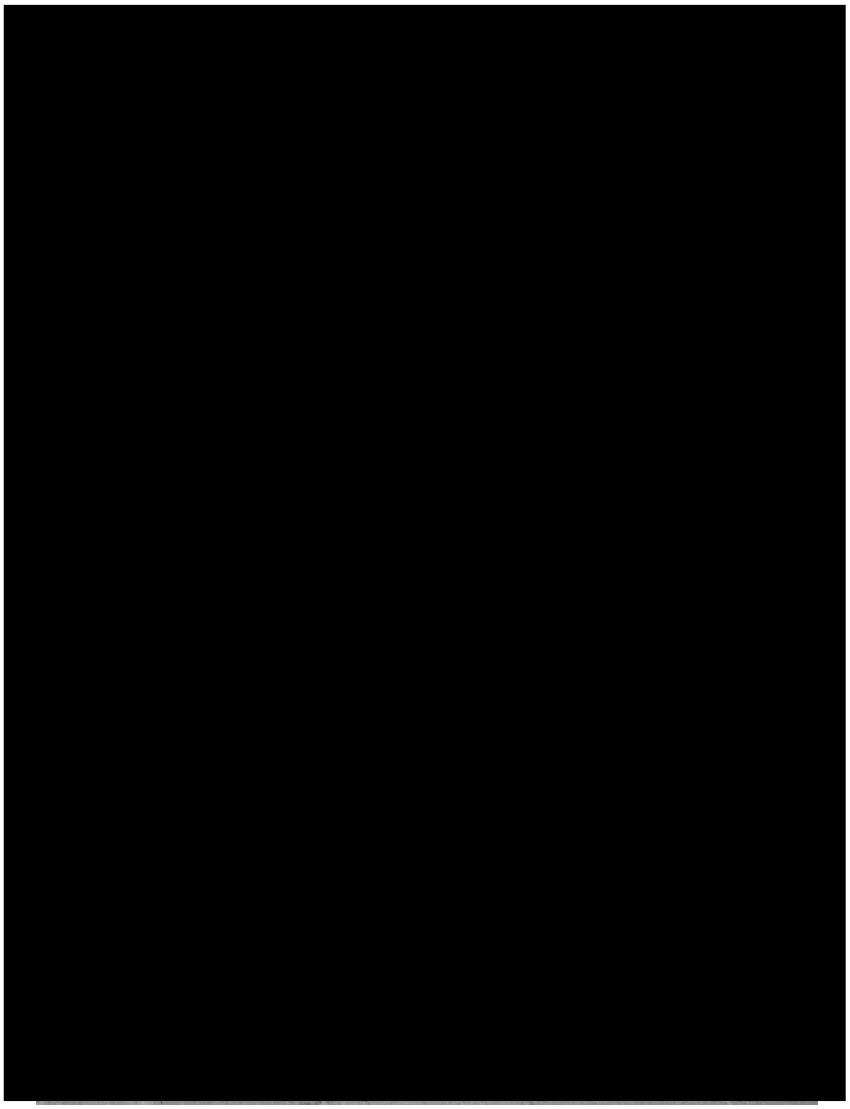

Fig. 57. Peter Degnan, 'The Barras', April, 1985, courtesy of Peter Degnan.

In fig. 57, we see two young people standing next to a pile of heaving shopping bags. He, donning a 1950s, 'Postcard Look' ensemble of a battered corduroy jacket and white, high waisted trousers, she, Strawberry Switchblade-style in black patent brogues, silver costume jewellery and a dark, ruffled two piece. The

echoes between the cut, detail and mismatch of clothing worn by this girl and that of so many of these other portraits suggest her style is more than a gesture of 'mindless nostalgia' or irony. In the sartorial overlap between her outfit and those of hawkers and punters across these photographs, there is also a sense of their shared investment in alternative clothing. In their creases, folds, silhouettes and patinas, cut, pasted and bought to life by successive generations, the evolution of resistant women's style is bought into view.

3.6 The Bargain: Liz Lochhead, Maud Sulter, and the poetics of Glasgow's unofficial economies

The final section of this chapter looks at poetry by Liz Lochhead and Maud Sulter, both of whom wrote on this area of Glasgow in the period in question, to further investigate how the city's continuing trade in second-hand clothing may have anchored women's resistant identities in this time period. Citing Henri Lefebvre's view of the poet as giving voice to 'a way of living (loving, feeling, taking pleasure or suffering)' in the city,[121] the sociologist Nicholas Fyfe noted that poetry had a capacity to capture the kind of affective, embodied aspects of urban experience seldom represented in Glasgow's official records of urban planning and legislation.[122] In the late 1970s and early 1980s, with policies such as GEAR signalling the end of a century-long policy of wholesale demolition and reconstruction, these art forms provided a way to express the hopes and disappointments of the modern period, and tentative feeling about the neoliberal era rising in its place, imagining how those sandwiched between these eras might proceed intact. In these poems, Sulter and Lochhead bore witness to Glasgow's fortified East End: drawing its legacies of women's stigma, endurance and resistance throughout Glasgow's modern history to anchor their own, critical identities in the city.

Maud Sulter was born in the Gorbals in 1960 to a Scottish mother and a Ghanaian father. Living in Glasgow until her late teens, she would later become a prolific artist meditating on themes of feminism, queerness and her working-class, mixed-race, urban Scottish girlhood. Glasgow featured in many of Sulter's poetry collections, which were peppered with low Scots vernacular. While she never referred to Paddy's Market or the Barras directly, a number of her poems, including 'Thirteen Stanzas' published in her collection *As a Blackwoman: Poems from 1982-1985*, conjured the spirit in which these markets survived. Cleaved into short, staccato lines, here we find the fringes of the city in a series of observations, glimpsed at trudging pace.

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[121] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 19.
[122] Nicholas R. Fyfe, 'Contested Visions of a Modern City: Planning and Poetry in Post-war Glasgow', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, vol. 28, no. 3, (March, 1996), pp. 387–403.

> ‘trips tae the local. shoapin centre. dogshit . boarded up businesses . capital before people . profit before need . . hustle . bustle . cheery *hullos* . *how's it gawin?* . *how ra wains?* . n the damp? . auld school pals’[123]

With precision, Sulter establishes an opposition between the city to which she is emotionally connected and the one that threatens to destroy it: ‘capital before people . profit before need .’ Words from passersby seem to realign her – the ‘cheery *hullos*’ a sign of life that cuts through a desolate view. There is a feeling of Sulter’s desire to orient herself in these words: the poem sprawls, looking, as a ‘black working class girl’,[124] for points of return. Disorientation emerges as a condition spread through the city by commerce, one only the gentle patter of women around her can work to correct, their own presence being a vulnerable one. ‘The poor n the needy n the spiritually lost are still here,’ she elsewhere writes in her poem ‘Flight’.[125] Quick lines of vernacular speech work to understand what that continuing presence of the working-class means – the things that keep people going, and connect them to days gone by, make space for them in the folds of a commercialising city.

Sulter left Glasgow at 17 years old to study at the London College of Fashion. Across her collection *Sekhmet: a decade or so of poems*, clothing weaves itself into her introspective, autobiographical verse as an instrument of resistance and a harbinger of social narrative: ‘Even the casual observer will have taken note by now,’ she notes in ‘Yvonne and Linda’, ‘that dress is an important signifier of status, identity and decorum’.[126] In this collection, clothing marks a point of grounding intersection between her two disparate lines of ancestry: ‘Kente cloth and Tartan are not dissimilar in the rhythm of their weaves and colourings’.[127] As ‘Clan-based societies with long memories’, the vernacular traditions of Scotland and Ghana both liberate Sulter and weigh heavy on her body, with both lending ‘inordinate’ attention to the ‘keeping up of appearances’.[128] In ‘C’est Moi!’, the poet charts her appearance as a young girl through a beautiful arrangement of clothing: ‘Patent leather t-bar shoes/pristine white ankle socks’, yet the poem ends with the scene of the death of her grandfather, a ‘poet and photographer’,[129] as if this rigid image of her girlhood must be shaken loose with his death. Over and over again, Sulter situates herself in these poems as a young girl on the brink of an altered, adult world, hoping to find ways of refusing it, of plundering the material

[123] Maud Sulter, ‘Thirteen Stanzas’, *As a Blackwoman*, (London: Akira Press, 1985), pp. 13-15.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Maud Sulter, *Zabat: Poetics of a Family Tree: Poems 1986-89*, (London: Akira Press, 1989), 42.
[126] Maud Sulter, ‘Yvonne and Linda’, in Maud Sulter, *Sekhmet: a decade or so of poems*, (Dumfries: Dumfries and Galloway Council, 2005), p. 30.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Sulter, ‘C’est Moi!’, in *Sekhmet*, p. 32.

trappings of her childhood to navigate the present in new ways: 'When I was six/I thought that money was elastic and dreams a free commodity'.[130]

The writer, playwright and poet Liz Lochhead wrote her poem 'The Bargain' in the early 1980s. The daughter of a government clerk, born shortly after the Second World War, Lochhead arrived in Glasgow as a student to study at the Glasgow School of Art in the mid 1960s. As a lower middle-class woman, raised outside of the city, her view of Glasgow's east end was more that of an outsider than Maud Sulter. Yet the tone and intent of her encounters with the area are similar: exhibiting the same tender sense of recognition, a similar comfort taken in its old-fashioned or dissident ways. In 'The Bargain', Lochhead describes a day that begins at Paddy's Market, using a series of interactions with hawkers to reflect on the hurried transformation of the surrounding area.

> 'January, and we're
> looking back, looking forward,
> don't know which way'[131]

Constant changes in direction place Lochhead in the disordered temporality of the market's crowded stalls. She abandons 'January' as a marker of beginnings in acknowledgement that these are places where time instead stretches, repeats and folds. The poet continues:

> 'Oh even if it is a bargain
> we won't buy.
> The stallholder says we'll be the death of her
> she says see January
> it's been doldrums the day.'[132]

Here, again, there is the interplay of two voices. Lochhead's language, like Sulter's, is sharp and economical, compounding something of the interplay of need and want that inflected transactions at this site for over a century. Dithering over a purchase, the back-and-forth Lochhead engenders creates a rare intimacy between author and audience – 'we' – who are positioned at the centre of a negotiation. Lochhead takes instruction from the historic 'patter' of the market trader, a lexical term generally understood to be

[130] Sulter, 'Learning to Count', in *Sekhmet*, p. 36.
[131] Liz Lochhead, 'The Bargain', from Liz Lochhead, *A Choosing: the Selected Poems of Liz Lochhead*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2011) p. 56.
[132] Ibid.

conversation honed to amuse or impress – but also, as the Scottish National Dictionary explains, 'any kind of insider's language'.[133] By adopting these cadences, we as readers become confidantes of the hawker, her customers, the invisible currents that pass between them. Settling on the 'wetdog reek' of old clothes, the 'bugle-beaded the real antique dirt/cheap/among the rags and drunks',[134] Lochhead reminds audiences of the mechanisms by which this place closes itself off to the rest of the world – in vivid, sensory description, we see it as corrupting, contagious, alive with histories of the abject. Lochhead impresses her half-cognition of its history as a lower-middle class woman from nearby Craigneuk, but also an awareness of her arrival to it as a newcomer, who allies herself, in the words of Suterwalla, with its feminine 'tactics of subversion'.[135] She is not a regular, but a 'connoisseur', who alights on this world and must abide by its lore to find what she is looking for. To 'deserve a bargain' takes strength, she intones – forsaking the possibility of keeping one's 'hands clean' of the hawker's world.[136]

In his paper, Fyfe refers to artists of all kinds as 'lyrical sociologists'[137] able to capture human experience that exceeds the grasp of conventional academic method. In this case, the photographs of the Partick Camera Club and Degnan, and the words of Sulter and Lochhead, bore witness to the survival of the pre-modern world of Glasgow's East End and its bearing on a contemporary generation of citydwellers who identified with its legacies of women's resistance, and had overcome its connotations of shame. The typifications that proliferated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries of these markets as places reserved for those 'terribly low in social condition', and of the rag-wives who ran them as the 'waste-pickers' of the city, had now been turned on its head. The 'politics of pleasure'[138] that had made these sites unique, unsettling distinctions between the officially-fashionable districts of Glasgow's West End and these Eastern Enclaves, was now being revived, as throngs of people came to the same makeshift stores, openly now, in search of a bargain. In faces, turned toward the camera, and clothes, etched with a patina of creases and stains, women came into view here as 'outsiders': allying themselves against the commercial and dehistoricised developing Glasgow and toward the 'alternative lifestyles'[139] sustained on its fringes. They provided a story of style that flew beneath the radar of Glasgow's macho subcultures: whereby women routinely gathered fragments of painful histories and used them to dress their bodies into oppositional forms.

[133] 'Patter', *Scottish National Dictionary Online Supplement*, (2005), accs. 16.05.22, https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/snd00090529.
[134] Lochhead, 'The Bargain', p. 56.
[135] Suterwalla, 'Cut, Layer, Break, Fold', p. 281.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Fyfe, 'Contested Visions', p. 388.
[138] Hebdige, 'Posing…Threats, Striking…Poses', p. 402.
[139] Hebdige, 'Posing…Threats, Striking…Poses', p. 403.

3.7 Conclusion: a tattered lace shawl

Both Paddy's and the Barras were featured in a 1983 BBC documentary named *The Broo* (slang for 'bureau', the source for welfare payments in Scotland).[140] Broadcaster Eric Robson begins on a curved lane flanked by a railway line and a patch of waste land which, since the mid-1850s, has been known as Paddy's Market. Along the lane, *The Broo* shows hawkers' stands, which are often composed of little more than haphazard piles of clothing across a cobbled floor, knotted and furled in tight clumps. Coats and sheets are draped over hanging ropes to form something akin to tent walls, a temporary shelter from the elements and prying eyes. Foldout tables, chairs and camp beds compose the fleeting foundations of more delicate goods, displays chosen for their flexibility, the ease with which they can be hidden away. 'Has it changed a lot?' Robson asks one passerby, perched on a crumbling wall in a tight headscarf and thick, horn-rimmed glasses. She has used the market since before the Second World War, has friendships here, feels woven into the fabric of the place. 'No,' she replies, instantly. 'No, no, no.'[141]

The segment begins with a woman investigating a tattered lace shawl, reminiscent of those worn by women in the same spot over a century ago.[142] Here, the shawl is a symbol not so much of the same struggle but its continuing pull on the present – of the continuing relevance of these relics in the disordered landscape of post-industrial Britain. For marginal groups of all description, but particularly for women on the social, geographic and economic fringes of cities, finding ways to live as outsiders, underneath the surveillance of authority figures, was often necessary. For over 100 years, Paddy's Market and the Barras survived under the purview of these women, who created their own theatrical take on the department store window with rags on the floor, under the nose of the city's high court. By dealing exclusively in the seemingly waste matter of the city, and embracing their own abject status in the hierarchies of civil society, these women managed to preserve their operation, and maintain their claim to urban space, even as the buildings that surrounded them were torn down and the population dispersed. They did so by pursuing the deviant idea that the purchase of second-hand clothing might not only be a necessity, but a pleasure, a process invoking all the senses, reliant on intimate personal exchange, and always promising new guises of identity.

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[140] *Glasgow*, five part documentary series, 'The Broo', directed by Dennis Jarvis, first aired 24.03.1983 on BBC 2, uploaded 7.10.2020, accs. 15.11.2023 https://fb.watch/askAz6xmJ8/.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Elspeth King noted the trademark 'big Spanish Combs and shawls' of hawkers in *Barrapatte*r, p. 9. In a study of the Moorepark housing scheme in Govan, Seán Damer found some tenants associated lace shawls of this kind with 'really low kind of people…common and scruffy…making no effort to improve themselves'. Seán Damer, *From Moorepark to Wine Alley: The rise and fall of a Glasgow housing scheme,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), p. 107.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the pull of these markets to an expanding cross-section of women remained, in part, the same as it had always been: offering up garments once worn and purchased by those who had experienced a wholly different life, garments that vowed to dress and define the body in unexpected ways. In 1977, Damian McGregor opened Forgotten Dreams, a fashionable vintage boutique at 191 Sauchiehall Street that dealt exclusively in garments that were, in his words, 'not second-hand – more like 22nd hand'.[143] The old clothes markets of Glasgow's East End were the first port of call for sourcing. Like the hawkers before him, McGregor would rake the stalls for quality, old-world glamour, and all of it would be taken to 'boil in a steamie in Maryhill' before it was brushed down for selling once again.[144] Eventually the exact qualities of these markets that once made them repulsive to the majority of the population were sought out by mainstream fashion, as growing social disenchantment with the notion of 'modernisation' saw a currency made of the discarded, the spent and the abandoned, the stories of the city that old clothing could hold in its folds.

As the East End was made-over once again by the GEAR project, and the city as a whole witnessed redoubled efforts to tidy up its most historic enclaves, these markets gained ever more poignancy, whether among their existing clientele or a younger generation. Plying a successful trade out of worn, outmoded clothing, familiar to Glasgow for over a century, they presented spaces a cross-section of women in Glasgow who were disillusioned with Glasgow's latest political direction could call on to anchor and elaborate identities born of another set of values. Here, among the 'rags and the drunks',[145] they could bring together fragments of an operation that had always flourished on Glasgow's fringes and wear them, in techniques of pastiche and bricolage, to anchor their own identities as 'outsiders by choice'.[146]

[143] 'Forgotten Dreams', *The Glasgow Herald*, 02.12.1978.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Lochhead, 'The Bargain', p. 56.
[146] Gillespie, *The Bag I'm In*, p. 6.

Fig. 58. Jimmy Gillies, ‘Clothing Stall, Barrows’, 1976, 50mm, Calton Survey, People’s Palace Archives/Glasgow Life. Ref: PP1977.13.57 JGC/4O3.

4. Case study four: What Every Woman Wants: consumption and desire in Glasgow's 'New Times'

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is about women in late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow who dressed fashionably. They were arguably less visible than the pinafored, overcoated elderly woman ubiquitous in street photography of the time, or the 'postcard look' women who would go to Paddy's Market at the weekend. They were less visible, even, than the hawkers who ran the stalls, or the women seemingly confined to the slums across the inner city and beyond its borders. It considers the mechanisms and ideologies by which these sorts of women were rendered invisible, investigating why they were considered anathema to the 'real' post-industrial Glasgow, for example, and how that conception was cultivated over centuries on behalf of a left-wing, labouring class that until recently made up the majority of Glasgow's population. It explores how fashion and consumption were gestures that threatened the patriarchal, hierarchical cultures of solidarity on Glasgow's left, because they acted as vehicles of fantasy and desire, both of which were essential means by which women could imagine themselves outside of structures that still situated their bodies and their labour at the bottom of society. It seeks definitions of style at the intersection of politics and aesthetics that recognise its function as a vessel for dreams and a means of articulating a longing for change. A 'highly visible corridor between the world of things and human consciousness',[1] as theorist Stuart Ewen writes, it challenges the often arbitrary binary made between style and fashion, arguing one could act as an articulation of the other, and that both were tied together by an underlying desire to transform, and beautify, one's everyday life.

4.1.1 The demonisation of desire in leftist narratives of working-class life

Across the twentieth century, both popular and academic perceptions of Glasgow were dominated by its stereotype as a rough, masculine place of shipyards and slums. Since the 1930s, when Alexander MacArthur and H. Kingsley Long's *No Mean City* became a national bestseller,[2] the spectre of industrial decline has cast a long shadow over the population, only to be reinforced in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when its heavy industries seemed to enter into economic freefall. Captured in the novels of William McIlvanney and

[1] Ewen, 'Marketing Dreams', p. 43.
[2] Alexander MacArthur and H. Kingsley Long, *No Mean City*, (London: Corgi, 1984),

James Kelman; the plays of John Byrne and Peter McDougall; the art of Ken Currie, Peter Howson and Adrian Wisniewski; and scandalised documentaries such as BBC's five-part series *Glasgow* (1982) and *Lilybank – The Fourth World* (1976), Glasgow was positioned as a place fundamentally defined by the fate of its male, labouring workforce.[3] It is not that women did not figure in Glasgow's visual, cultural landscape, more that in order to do so they either had to exhibit certain masculine traits, defer to a culture that positioned them as carers, housekeepers, or outcasts, or else be positioned as enemies to it.

Much has been written on the strength and shape of Glasgow's working-class culture, across multiple intersecting fields of study: with recent examples from Andrew Blaikie's significant work on the mournful, masculine Scottish imagination,[4] to *Deindustrialisation and the Moral Economy in Scotland*, a major study by Jim Phillips, Valerie Wright and Jim Tomlinson,[5] to Alistair Fraser's study of the culture of gang activity in the city.[6] Less well addressed is who, or what, that schema rendered invisible – the men and women who did not fit the narrative of this left-wing, masculine, patriarchal construction of the city's history, despite operating within its confines. While there has also been significant contemporary research into the history of women's labour in Glasgow,[7] questions remain around which aspects of their lives should be considered worthy of study. For all of the sustained, radical work taking place to uncover the shared experiences of certain kinds of working-class women, or certain ways they may have engaged in broader Scottish culture, ways of life that do not comfortably fit into established definitions of feminism, feminine labour, or political radicality have been less thoroughly addressed, or perhaps even avoided, in case of polluting efforts to regain historical visibility for these subjects on already difficult terms. The aim of the following discussion is not to negate that work, but build on it, allowing space for the kind of ambiguous relationship between women in Glasgow with their class identity and their sense of morality that other studies have been forced to leave aside.

[3] Examples include William McIlvanney, *The Big Man*, (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 1986); William McIlvanney, *Laidlaw*, (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 1977); James Kelman, *Not Not While the Giro*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1983), *The Busconductor Hines* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1984); Alasdair Gray, *Lanark: a Life in Four Books*, (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1981); John Byrne, *The Slab Boys Trilogy*, (London: Faber, 2003); Peter McDougall, 'Just a Boys' Game', *BBC Play for Today*, first aired 08.11.1979; Susan Mansfield, Matthew Flowers and David Patterson, *Peter Howson: A Retrospective*, (Bristol: Sansom and Company, 2023); for more discussion of popular representations of Glasgow see Seán Damer, *Glasgow: Going for a Song*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990).
[4] Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination*, p. 126.
[5] Phillips, Wright and Tomlinson, *Deindustrialisation and the Moral Economy*.
[6] Fraser, *Urban Legends*.
[7] See Clark, *Fighting Deindustrialisation in Scotland,* Gibb, *Coal Country*; Esther Breitenbach, Linda Fleming, Karly Kehoe, Lesley Orr, *Scottish Women: A Documentary History 1780-1914*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Abrams and Brown, *The History of Everyday Life.*

Fashion, consumerism, and yearning for material things, have been consistently left out of popular narratives around left-leaning, working-class life in Britain.[8] This kind of materialism was seen as a threat to solidarity: undermining the integrity of already fragile communities, born of a mentality that simply did not fit with fundamental working-class principles of community, hospitality, care and co-operation. While that is not the whole reason for the persistently 'scant attention' paid to women's lives in Scotland, as it was described by historian Esther Breitenbach,[9] it does point to how and why the full breadth of their habits and tastes, desires and beliefs may have escaped the attention of historical researchers. As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, Carolyn Steedman writes extensively about the ways leftism 'failed' her working-class mother in this way, finding in it no language to describe her endless yearning for 'that which one can never have',[10] despite those yearnings being characteristic, in Steedman's view, of a 'working-class girlhood'.

In Glasgow, with a working-class so consistently embattled and displaced over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, there was perhaps no greater perceived betrayal than a woman who wanted more from her household income, or who wished to distinguish herself from other members of her community. Carol Craig investigates those dynamics in *Tears that Made the Clyde*, a socio-historical study of the city's poor 'well-being' in the post-industrial era. Investigating the things that could so often trouble marital relationships in the city, she points to the historic sanctity of codes of honour among working-class men in the city's tight-knit communities, the deeply hierarchical nature of heavy industrial work engendering a need to reassert one's dominance on the street and, most of all, at home.[11] An atmosphere of constant vigilance against perceived slights not only fostered a pernicious, accepted culture of domestic violence against women but also helped to popularly characterise Glaswegian, working-class wives as 'bourgeois, corrupting, materialist':[12] their desires for more the greatest possible insult to a patriarchal community already insecure about what it could provide. Craig points to the shallow, materialist female characters in famous novels such as George Blake's *The Shipbuilders* or William McIlvanney's *No Mean City*, but the trend is also identifiable in the popular fondness for the symbolic 'mother Glasgow' figure: those women relatively uninterested in fashion or looks, performing housework readily, stoic in the face of difficulty, older, not sexually attractive, and therefore unthreatening to those who may feel inadequate in the face of any of the opposite qualities. These were not just values seemingly held by men, more a patriarchal, watchful world view commonly adopted by the working-class urban population: what Deborah Orr, in a memoir of her

[8] See for example Raymond Williams, 'Culture is Ordinary', in Imre Szeman and Timothy Kaposy (eds), *Cultural Theory: An Anthology*, (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), pp. 53-59; Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life*, (London: Penguin, 1990); Jeremy Seabrook, *Working-Class Childhood*, (Worthing: Littlehampton Book Services, 1982).
[9] Esther Breitenbach, Alice Brown and Fiona Myers, 'Understanding Women in Scotland', *Feminist Review*, No. 58, International Voices (Spring, 1998), p. 44.
[10] Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman,* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), p. 8.
[11] Craig, *Tears that Made the Clyde*, *Well-being in Glasgow*, (Glasgow: C.C.W.B Press, 2019), p. 164.
[12] Ibid.

childhood in Motherwell, called a form of Scottish 'civic pride' in which 'everyone keeps everyone else in line'.[13] Perhaps, then, the reason for Breitenbach's charge that there are so few 'female icons' of Glasgow[14] is the difficulty in keeping to this mould while also gaining popular recognition. To be a good Glasgow woman was also to be conventional, unambitious, to want for nothing more than one had.

4.1.2 The vexed role of shopping in Glasgow's 1980s rebranding campaign

The 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign, launched by the city's Lord Provost Michael Kelly in 1983, demonstrated a groundswell of feeling that Glasgow needed to shed its rough, masculine image in order to attract the outside investment it so sorely needed.[15] Conceived by Struthers Advertising, the campaign was fronted by an immediately recognisable smiling Mr Happy logo, which was plastered on billboards across the city. A relatively low-budget, low-intervention campaign, reliant mostly on advertising gimmicks,[16] it became the face of a range of other changes happening in Glasgow directed toward improving the city's poor image. Among the most important of these was the Scottish Development Agency's Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) project to improve, redevelop and restore the city's East End. Here, a combination of the building of new homes, the landscaping of vacant or abandoned ground, and the modernisation of interwar tenements and the restoration of pre-1914 tenements were made priorities.[17] While much of this was supposedly directed at improving quality of life for the existing population, some new housing was explicitly aimed at attracting 'potential immigrants to the area'.[18] In other areas, the 1980s bore witness to a concentrated campaign to 'revive the tenement', in the words of Miles Glendinning, gaining a renewed appreciation as pieces of Glasgow's heritage. Grants were given to Housing association-led projects to convert existing tenement dwellings into viable homes for the future, while mass-sandblasting saw a century's-worth of soot stripped from their facades.[19] Merchant City, an area of the city centre mostly owned by the local authority, was targeted as an area for redevelopment, with the Scottish Development Agency

[13] Deborah Orr, *Motherwell: A Girlhood*, (London: Hachette, 2020), p. 43.
[14] Breitenbach, 'Understanding Women in Scotland', p. 45.
[15] George Boyle and Mark Hughes, 'The Politics of the Representation of 'the Real': Discourses from the Left on Glasgow's Role as European City of Culture, 1990', Source: Area, September, 1991, Vol. 23, No. 3 (September, 1991), pp. 217-228.
[16] Kintrea, *Transforming Glasgow*, p. 12.
[17] M. Barke and S. Sim, Getting into Gear – Urban Renewal in the East End of Glasgow, *Geography*, Nov. 1981, Vol. 66., No. 4, (Nov, 1981), accs. 30.11.23, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/40570441, p. 319.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Miles Glendinning, 'The New-Old Tenement: 19th Century Leitmotiv of 20th-Century Housing', paper presented at *The New Tenement: Tradition and Modernity* conference, Glasgow School of Art, 10.05.2013, (Glasgow: Glasgow School of Art, 2013), accs. 23.03.24, https://blogs.ed.ac.uk/docomomoiscul/wp-content/uploads/sites/8300/2015/01/New-Tenement-Conference_Full-Proceedings_secured.pdf. p. 5.

(SDA) investing in pedestrianisation and granting planning permission for experimental redevelopments of 18th century mansion houses into new residential dwellings, bars and restaurants.[20]

In 1984 a major report was commissioned by neoliberal thinktank Glasgow Action into the city's economic position and prospects, which concluded that its fate was dependent on a rapid, highly visual transition to a predominantly 'service economy'.[21] Comparisons were made to the Upas tree – the vast remnants of its identity as an industrial city as a poison inhibiting the growth of everything in its shadow.[22] Empty or disused buildings were seen as carcasses, in desperate need of re-enlivening or complete destruction to stop acting as reminders of whatever had ceased to operate within their folds. Efforts to better Glasgow's reputation in light of that urgent need were met with some success. Across the 1980s, major multinational firms such as IBM and Honeywell International took up offices in Glasgow,[23] and many of the abandoned buildings of the city centre were either restored or built over. The Briggait, for example, the once thriving fish market which suffered a downturn due to slum clearance,[24] was revived as a '50 shop one-stop shopping complex',[25] the Savoy Centre, a brutalist building containing shopping units, offices and a nightclub, was redeveloped out of an old cinema on Renfrew Street.

As discussed in case study two, on 21 October 1986, Glasgow's Third Eye Centre launched Glasgow Style, a season of events, exhibitions and performances celebrating the 'vitality and originality of Glasgow design' to 'the trade and other professionals'.[26] Sponsored by Wrygges, the chain of youth-centred fashion stores owned by the established Glasgow department store Goldberg's, the event reflected a more general effort to celebrate, rather than ignore, the imagination, tastes and consumer power of a new generation of women in the city, and instrumentalise them as part of Glasgow's efforts to rehabilitate its downtrodden image. It reflected a dominant view that the gender balance of the city's employment was shifting: the female labour force increasing by 17% between the period 1975-1985, with a particular explosion between 1975-79.[27] However, as jobs in certain areas increased, others in more traditional areas were hollowing out. The widespread closure of textile factories across the west of Scotland, for example the Singer Sewing Machine

[20] James T. White, 'What once was old is new again: placemaking and transformational regeneration in Glasgow', Keith Kintrea and Rebecca Madgin (eds), *Transforming Glasgow: Beyond the Post Industrial City*, (Bristol: Policy Press, 2020), p. 224.
[21] E. C. Cunningham-Sabot, 'Research Documentary: Glasgow's Turnaround', *UMR 6590 CNRS*, University of Rennes, (2010), pp. 1-7.
[22] S. G. Checkland, *Upas Tree: Glasgow, 1875-1975*, (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1976).
[23] Andy Pike, 'Structural Transformation, Adaptability and City Economic Evolutions, Case Study Report: Glasgow', ESRC Urban Transformations Initiative, Nov. 2017, accs. 11.12.22, pp. 1-63.
[24] 'Regional Report: Glasgow – Miles Better but a Long Way to Go, *The Architects Journal*, Vol. 185, Iss. 24, (June, 1987), p. 13.
[25] Advertisement for The Briggait Shopping Centre, 1982, source unknown, accs. 21.11.22. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HD4Gum3xxSk&t=1981s
[26] 'The Glasgow Style: Third Eye Centre', (Glasgow: Third Eye Centre, 1986), p. 1.
[27] Neil Fraser & Adam Sinfield, 'The Scottish Labour Force in Recession', *The Scottish Government Yearbook 1987*, (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 1987), p.147.

factory in Dumbarton in 1980, or the Lee Jeans factory in 1985,[28] constituted women's 'slow bleed'[29] from steadier, more reliable work in ways less obvious or remarked upon than for men. Faced with a volatile economic situation, the 'miles better' Glasgow became its own camouflage: giving the impression of women's upward mobility or security even as their existing livelihoods continued to fracture.

That, at least, was the view of Workers City, who in 1988 published their first anthology of writing against these and other nascent neoliberal investments in Glasgow's post-industrial future. Gathering in response to an announcement of Glasgow's bid to become European City of Culture in October 1986, Workers City was a coordinated campaign by local writers, trade unionists and other political figures to highlight the continued 'social, cultural and economic deprivation in working-class areas of Glasgow',[30] and their belief that, in light of the city's obvious social issues, recent attempts to improve its reputation internationally were acts of 'blatant and cynical mockery'.[31] In a series of publications, members did not only aim to critique the European City of Culture campaign, and the broader regeneration movement it signalled, but feminise it – setting up a binary contrast between the looks-obsessed, alien, consumerist landscape being set in place by public-private urban partnerships and the real, masculine, downtrodden and anti-consumerist people of working-class Glasgow being pushed out by them. Across three publications –*The Real Glasgow Stands Up, The Reckoning*, and bi-monthly newsletter *The Glasgow Keelie*, Workers City pictured the Glasgow of recent years as the 'chamber of Lady MacBeth,' as Jack Withers wrote in his poem 'Creativity in Culture City', manipulated by a strange, womanly force, with 'nowhere to go for me and you/nowhere to go for Macho Glasgow'.[32]

Introduced by Farquhar McLay, an anarchist writer from the Gorbals, *The Real Glasgow Stands Up* drew a line in the sand between 'the "culture" tag' imposed on Glasgow's inner city and the 'poverty ghettoes on the outskirts'.[33] Investments in the former, particularly the Merchant City district, were at best 'just camouflage' and at worst agents in the dramatic breakdown of 'renowned working-class social-cultural cohesion' and 'shopfloor solidarity' which had been set in motion from the post-war period onwards. With vignettes of everyday Glasgow life drawn from the eyes of 'The Orra Man', (a poem by well-known local

[28] Andy Clark, *Fighting Deindustrialisation: Scottish Women's Factory Occupations, 1981-1982,* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021).
[29] House of Commons debate, 'The Economy and Industry (Scotland), HC Deb, 29 March 1985, vol 76 cc811-72, accs. 15. 10. 22, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1985/mar/29/the-economy-and-industry-scotland>.
[30] Farquhar McLay (ed), *Workers City: The Real Glasgow Stands Up*, (Glasgow: Clydeside Press, 1988), p. 2.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Jack Withers, 'Two Poems', in Farquhar McLay (ed), *The Reckoning: Public Loss Private Gain*, (Glasgow, Clydeside Press, 1990), pp. 86-88.
[33] Farquhar McLay (ed), *Workers City: The Real Glasgow Stands Up*, (Glasgow: Clydeside Press, 1988), p. 2.

poet Freddy Anderson), 'fae a Clydeside Lad', (by Bill Sutherland, a historian raised in Dumbarton), or the suicidal narrator of Janette Shephard's 'Christmas Party', Workers City voices pitched the city's current excesses of culture as a malevolent screen for the struggles of its native, true population. Material desire emerged in these stories as a middle-class, late-capitalist, decadent phenomenon that was not only unreflective of real working-class need, but dangerous to it – an agent of distinction at a moment where the same-ness and solidarity of Glasgow's dispossessed population needed reinforcing at every juncture. These sentiments were particularly powerfully evoked in the two opening entries by Anne Mullen and Janette Shephard, who make a mockery of the offering of Glasgow's developing city centre with harrowing stories of familial struggle. As Anne Mullen writes in her poem *To Whom It May Concern*:

> 'ENTERTAINMENT CITY. To the exclusive few.
> 40 grand houses, a shopping mall, an opera
> house or two. ENTERTAINMENT CITY…….
> For who?
>
> William needs new shoes, the window's needing
> fixed, the roof is letting in water and the
> settee's needing stitched.
>
> Can you read between the lines. Have you ever
> really tried….Don't you really want to know
> what it is they're trying to hide.'[34]

Here, the 'shopping mall' stands alongside the 'opera house' as monuments to the neoliberal excesses of the present: nice, for those who have the time or money to afford them, ridiculous to those with nobler pursuits or more difficult circumstances in mind. Jennifer Kerr and Paula Jennings similarly lament the decade as engendering 'a climate where novelty and style are paramount', stunting the growth of Scottish feminism in favour of a consumer landscape that promised women's individual freedom, in a survey of Scottish women's history between 1980-1990.[35] With reports from women supporting the miner's strike, or the successful Lee Jeans work-in in Greenock, feminism was seen here through the framework of the militant, radical activism more commonly associated with Glasgow's masculinist 'Red Clydeside'

[34] Anne Mullen, 'To Whom it May Concern', in *Workers City: The Real Glasgow Stands Up*, pp. 5-6.
[35] Jennifer B Kerr & Paula Jennings, 'Scottish feminism in the eighties', in Shirley Henderson, and Alison Mackay (eds), *Grit and Diamonds: Women in Scotland Making History 1980-1990,* (Glasgow: The Cauldron Collective, 1990), p. 17.

movement,[36] defining women's advances by their relationship to an already existing narrative of class-based, trade unionist politics. Conspicuously absent, then, were the changes to the consumer landscape, such as the introduction of cut-price, mass produced clothing or shifts in the labour market that would have had a significant effect on the everyday lives of women, their outlook and sense of themselves as well as the rituals, activities and tastes that cleaved their landscape. These, it seemed, fell into the category of 'novelty and style': phenomena too superficial to be of political consequence.

In many senses, this radical suspicion of style was, more broadly, born of a neo-Marxist idea of postmodernity – the phenomenon Fredric Jameson famously described as 'depth replaced by surface'.[37] A latter-day religion, consumer culture was seen as an obstacle to class-consciousness, the transient pleasures offered by shopping offering a narrative of escape, salvation or joy that in turn actively impinged people's capacity to recognise their own oppression, echoing Emile Zola's anxious branding of Paris' Bon Marché as a 'cathedral of modern commerce, light but solid, for a nation of customers,' in *The Ladies' Paradise*.[38] This sentiment is echoed in Simon Charlesworth's *A Phenomenology of the Working-Class*, a haptic, auto-ethnographic study of his hometown of Rotherham in the wake of its industrial collapse. Charlesworth focuses his attention on Meadowhall, a vast shopping centre on the border of Sheffield and Rotherham which was erected on the site of the Hadfield's East Hecla steelworks, a major employer for the town which closed its doors in 1984. Charlesworth wryly refers to Meadowhall as the 'promised land' – a place where people's daily rhythms, shaped by decades of industrial life, have been 'replaced by their reconstitution as shoppers',[39] drawing people back to the same sites in the hollow ambition of experiencing some meaning again. He notes the way people in the town seem to move toward and around these shopping precincts, their cowed bodies and lowered gazes implying defeat or submission.[40] It is impossible, in Charlesworth's view, that these places would ever deliver the economic progress or at least post-industrial healing assumed to accompany their popularity – instead, to flock to these places was to become complicit in one's own defeat, to satiate one's desires for material things was a gesture that could only ever be one of vanity, mindlessness, class betrayal.

4.1.3 Female consumer desire as a form of political experience

[36] See William Kenefick and Arthur McIvor, (eds), *The Roots of Red Clydeside, 1910-1914?: Labour Unrest and Industrial Relations in West Scotland*, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1996).
[37] Jameson, *Postmodernism,* p. 12.
[38] Emile Zola, *The Ladies' Paradise*, (London: Vitezelly & Co, 1886), p. 170.
[39] Simon Charlesworth, *A Phenomenology of Working-Class Experience*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 33.
[40] Charlesworth, *Working-class Experience*, p. 275.

While these accounts were in many ways a reaction to contemporary realities, they also dismissed or minimised elements of women's experience, making any material desire or proclivity for fashion incompatible with the narrative structure by which working-class subjects could identify themselves. A real working-class woman, it seemed, had no space in her mind for the frippery of clothing: it was, instead, consumed by care, committed to aspects of culture that knitted the working-classes together rather than distinguished them as individuals. These narratives have proved incredibly potent, writes Carolyn Steedman.[41] They are what has determined what is popularly 'known' of a British working-class woman: the parts of her legible in public, her labour, courage and self-sacrifice, and the parts that are shrouded in secrecy, her desires, resentments and ambivalences, shared only among those close by, sometimes reaching only as far as her clothing. It is these latter parts, perhaps, that Carol Craig describes as cleaving apart husbands and wives in Glasgow, the parts that historically saw women flock to the cinema in greater numbers here than anywhere else in the UK, just to get a taste of another life, another way to be seen.[42]

Tracing her mother's seemingly bewildering conservatism back to the late 19th century, Steedman notes how, over and over again, she found poor and working-class women and girls trying to 'indicate the significance of clothes to social investigators who did not understand…and hurried the children on from their triviality'.[43] This, despite the fact it was so universally understood that 'decent clothing' was necessary for girls' access to the conventional, social world of the city, and that a life without it was one of deep, persistent alienation from it. Gathering evidence of these ignored and foreclosed desires for beautiful, good quality clothing over generations, Steedman comes to understand her mother's desire for a New Look skirt cut from twenty yards of cloth as rooted in these same longings for access: a political phenomenon, in short, dismissed as vanity and class betrayal. In Gareth Stedman Jones' reflection on Labour's loss to Margaret Thatcher in 1979, he notes the way the party had for too long overlooked the essential character of class consciousness as summed up by 'distinctions of accent, residence and dress' over those of 'chapel, trade unionism or labour politics'.[44] Analyses like these are mistakenly assumed as exclusive to England – the West of Scotland occupying a mythic status as a Labour stronghold throughout the years of Thatcher's rise and eventual tenure as Prime Minister. However, Scotland's local council elections of 1977 saw a large, unexpected swing toward the Conservative party, unseating Labour in parts of Glasgow for the next three years.[45] In that time, while observing Margaret Thatcher's obvious sway with disillusioned working-class

[41] Steedman, *Landscape*, p. 100.
[42] Craig, *Tears that Made the Clyde*, p. 169.
[43] Steedman, *Landscape*, p. 114.
[44] Gareth Stedman-Jones, 'Why is the Labour Party in a Mess?', Gareth Stedman-Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working-Class History 1832-1982*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 246.
[45] Boyle, McWilliams, and Rice, 'The Spatialities of Actually Existing Neoliberalism in Glasgow, 1977 to Present', pp. 313-325.

voters, Labour formulated a plan to recover Glasgow's fortunes by 'anticipating'[46] the moves of her government: abandoning hopes of the region's industrial recovery, tidying up the city centre and using that makeover to attract private investment, in policies that mirrored some of her central campaign promises. While the Labour Party won back control of the city in 1980, it was only after an ambitious electoral campaign focused on de-toxifying Glasgow's image of abandoned factories and wastelands and attracting corporate investment in new industries.[47] Inspired by the so-called 'renaissance' of former rustbelt cities such as Pittsburgh and Baltimore,[48] it was clear this surface-deep revamp of Glasgow would gain enough support from its working-class population to re-secure their vote. While opinions would no doubt change over the course of the next decade, it was wrong to dismiss the turn to a consumer landscape proposed by the local authority as one against the desires of 'real' Glasgow, nor one they were manipulated into. Instead, it was the product of the search that crossed generations in the city: for a language that articulated individual desire, that provided a richer, more nuanced view of the imprint deprivation can leave.

4.2 What Every Woman Wants: the birth of a Glasgow phenomenon

What Every Woman Wants (What Everys) opened in 1971 as a small outlet on Argyle Street selling mass-produced women's clothing many found, for the first time, they could afford. Offering Glasgow 'London fashion at bargain prices',[49] by 1985 the Glasgow business was a substantial commercial success, boasting an ever-increasing annual turnover of over 20 million pounds, and over 130 branches across the UK.[50] But despite being one of the city's most successful exports of the decade, What Everys was not a place naturally connected to Glasgow's new status as a centre for consumption. With exceptionally low prices, an incredibly rapid turnover of stock, and a highly flexible credit system, its success was one dependent on the patronage not of the city's burgeoning middle-class or its imagined flocks of tourists, but a local population of working-class women. Along with other low-cost outlets such as the C&A or Reeta's Fashions in Gallowgate, its popularity betrayed aspects of life in the city that were somewhat disruptive to the narrative of Workers City Unite or the melancholic, anti-materialist, masculinist frame of interpretation from which it emerged. Here, rather than 'bodies implying submission or defeat',[51]was a dynamic, fast-paced outlet which crowds of women were said to flock to on their lunch break: showing evidence of women in the new,

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Paddison, Ronan, 'City Marketing, Image Reconstruction and Urban Regeneration', *Urban Studies* 30, no. 2 (1993): 339–49, accs. 6.11.22, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43198070.
[49] 'Gerald Weisfeld, Founder of What Every Woman Wants chain dies', BBC news, 14 January 2020, accs. 3.10.22, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-51093802.
[50] 'What Every Woman Wants Limited Overview', period between 22 Oct 1971 – 02 Nov 1987, Companies House directory, accs. 25.11.22, https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/company/SC049348.
[51] Charlesworth, *Phenomenology of Working-Class Experience*, p. 276.

deindustrialised, atomised Glasgow of new towns and overspill estates exhibiting desires to stay up-to-date, to dress according to their ambitions, and reoccupy the inner-city.

What Everys' flagship store was, at the time of its first major expansion in the early 1970s, situated at 335-45 Argyle Street, in a palatial Greek style building with a mansard roof heralding from the 1870s. Its frontage, with gold lettering set against a rich, purple background, the quintessential colours of luxury, riffed on the branding of the department stores that would have dominated the same streets decades ago, and were now closing their doors in droves. Argyle Street had been a mainstay of Glasgow's department store revolution in the second half of the 19th century, but was soon overtaken by Sauchiehall Street as a place to buy the most fashionable, luxurious goods.[52] Here, instead, were outlets for lower priced, everyday goods which were more accessible to the average citygoer. Historic home to Woolworths, Lewis's, and neighbouring department stores Arnott's and Robert Simpsons & Co, What Everys built on the legacy they had left of affordable, fashionable goods accessible to the widest possible range of citizens. In the same decade more upmarket outlets such as Copland & Lye, Pettigrew & Stephens, Daly's and Rowan's closed in quick succession, unable to sustain themselves in the city's transformed economy, What Everys signalled less the ahistorical, shallow nature of the city's post-industrial consumer landscape than a return to Argyle Street's department store roots, making the unexpected choice of reclaiming a significant Victorian building in the city centre rather than opting for one of the many new precincts in the city's schemes on its fringes.

What Everys' location was made more symbolic by its orientation west of the inner city, where the centre had, until recently, met Anderston, one of Glasgow's oldest and most well established working-class enclaves. Identified as an Area for Comprehensive Redevelopment in 1958, Anderston Cross had been among the most dramatic areas of demolition and slum clearance in Glasgow's history.[53] After plans were drawn up for the redevelopment of its 'slum' dwellings, it was subsequently cut from the city centre by the ambitious construction of the western side of the Glasgow Inner Ring Road, a multi-lane section of the M8 motorway which was completed in stages between 1970 and 1972. In 1971, seemingly in lieu of residential dwellings, work finished on the Anderston Centre, a brutalist commercial 'megastructure' designed by architect Richard Seifert replacing the old Victorian tram and train station Anderston Cross.[54] In the process

[52] Elizabeth Arthur, 'Shopping', in Elizabeth Arthur (ed), *Keeping Glasgow in Stitches*, (Glasgow: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1991), p. 23.
[53] Glasgow Corporation, 'Anderston Cross comprehensive development area, 1958', *Survey Planning Report: Architectural and Planning* Department, Planning Division, (May, 1958), University of Glasgow Library Annexe store Q2046.
[54] Architectural and Planning Department, Planning Division, 'Anderston Cross Comprehensive Development Area, 1958: survey report', (Glasgow: Glasgow Corporation, 1958).

of this overhaul, the population of Anderston had been decimated by two thirds, and a total of around 91,000 residential dwellings had been demolished.[55]

Founded by Gerald Weisfeld, who was later joined in the business by his wife, Vera, who had initially been an employee at the flagship branch, What Every's worked with, not against, the decimation the neighbouring area. Not only were prices exceptionally low, the store made the relatively unusual decision of accepting Provident and Caledonian Cheques as tender – a system of loan finance that customers would repay in monthly instalments, very popular among low-income households who might historically have been denied other forms of store credit or Co-operative memberships.[56] By the 1970s, Provident Cheques (nicknamed 'Provvy') were elsewhere dying out, replaced by in-house credit systems that were generally less flexible or lenient on customer repayments, but What Everys showed an astute awareness of their persistence among their target demographic, who had if anything become more reliant on forms of casual finance given the recent economic downturn. Where these forms of finance were often treated with some stigma, refused by most upmarket department stores, What Everys would have twice yearly Provident events, hiring buses to bring customers from distant estates to bulk buy what they needed before Christmas and over the summer, with in-house Provident representatives on hand in case patrons needed more cheques.[57] 'There weren't so many people living in the city centre at that time and people were finding it hard', as Vera Weisfeld recalled in a later newspaper interview.

> 'I remember people coming in clutching their £10 Provident cheque, wearing duffel coats…People used to come and ask: "Do you take the Caledonian cheques?" I'd tell them: "I'll take your milk tokens hen". People felt comfortable coming to us'.[58]

Crucially, What Everys not only marketed itself as somewhere open to those traditionally excluded from the commercial landscape, but also as a place of fashion, for customers to whom mainstream fashion was historically treated as a foreign, inaccessible or irrelevant.[59] In tune with the quickening evolution of the consumer landscape of the late 1970s, they capitalised on Glasgow's changing labour market and so-called

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[55] James Milligan, 'Something the matter with Glasgow', *Official Architecture and Planning*, Vol. 35, No. 1, (January, 1972), pp. 18-24.
[56] For more on Provident scheme see Sean O' Connell, 'The rise of the Provident system: check trading', in Sean O'Connell (ed), *Credit and Community: Working-Class Debt in the UK since 1880*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). pp. 58-87.
[57] Interview with anonymous, Esther Draycott, Glasgow, 11th January 2022.
[58] Gregor Kyle, 'What Everyone Wants and the Making of a Glasgow Phenomenon', *Glasgow Live*, 25th November 2019, accs. 15.01.2022, https://www.glasgowlive.co.uk/news/history/what-every-woman-wants-phenomenon-12137163.
[59] See Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

new 'wine bar economy'.[60] Alongside low cost skirts, suits and slacks, they stocked a rapid turnover of sequined, brightly coloured partywear, for young women who were no longer destined to work in factories but customer-facing service, hospitality or clerical work: the kind of occupations that drew them into the inner city and bought with them an air of glamour. In an interview conducted for the purposes of this chapter, Irene*, who worked at the flagship What Everys in the early ~~nineteen eighties~~ **1980s** before joining the shop fitting team for new branches in Newcastle and Dumfries, described the typical customer as a woman of 'maybe 16-25 years old, fashion conscious, music loving, fast living and canny with their money'.[61] What Everys had recognised a generation of women coming of age in the 'decade of Maggie Thatcher and consumerism'[62] who might have been alienated by the exclusive offerings of traditional department stores or the alternative scenes of the 1960s 'boutique revolution'.[63] It saw in the hollowed-out centre of Glasgow not desolation, but opportunity to cater for a class of women whose existence on which the rebranding of the city relied, but whose power and tastes as consumers had so far been ignored. In that sense, Irene recalls, the store 'came around at just the right time'.[64]

What Everys' methods of acquiring and plying its stock was, by usual standards, unorthodox. More accurately, these methods were influenced by the fast-moving, semi-illicit activity of the rag trade rather than the rhythms and protocols of the mainstream, capitalist fashion industry. Founder Gerald Weisfeld was born in London in 1940, and later ran a clothing business alongside his brother in the East End, where he would develop the methods of 'pile em high, sell em cheap' and rapid stock turnover he later so successfully applied to What Everys. Cultivating direct relationships with a range of local suppliers, Weisfeld would generate a hugely diverse, rapid turnover of clothing with a combination of knock-off designer stock and siphoned garments from the suppliers of more recognisable brands like Marks and Spencer or the C&A.[65] Capitalising on the still lenient material margins of these stores, and ever-increasing pressure on local suppliers to compete with factories overseas, he was able to combine the kind of prices and diversity of stock more familiar to the rag trade with the convenience and carnivalesque atmosphere of an early department store. Delivery trucks would arrive regularly with new goods. Depending on their provenance, and the speed with which it was predicted to sell, workers would bundle it, labels removed, onto various

[60] Rebecca Madgin, 'A place for urban conservation? The changing values of Glasgow's built heritage', in Keith Kintrea and Rebecca Madgin (eds), *Transforming Glasgow: Beyond the Post Industrial City*, (Bristol: Policy Press, 2020), p. 225.
[61] Interview with anonymous, Esther Draycott, Glasgow, 11th January 2022.
*All names have been changed.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Jade Halbert, 'Just Like the Kings Road, Only Nearer: Scotland's Boutique Bonanza, 1965-1970', *Costume*, Vol. 56, No. 1, (March, 2022), pp. 101-124.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Jade Halbert, 'Cabbage, Tradition and Bunce: Marion Donaldson and the Black Economy of the British Rag Trade in the 1970s', *Textile History,* Vol. 50, No. 2 (2019), pp. 187-205.

different sections of the shop floor at different grades of discount. In a recent study on the covert practices of the rag trade in Glasgow, historian Jade Halbert finds that What Everys was locally described by those 'in the know' as a 'cabbage shop':[66] an outlet for offcuts and knock-off designs sold to other traders at a reduced rate. Not strictly illegal, cabbage was a 'central level of the black economy in British fashion' up until the 1970s and 80s, based on unspoken rules of conduct meted out through centuries of covert consumer practices designed to fly under the radar of the law.[67]

Rarely otherwise practiced at a commercial level, What Everys sustained itself by cultivating a diverse range of tactics to open up mainstream fashion to a broad spectrum of working-class women. Its success reflected the Weisfeld's first-hand awareness – Vera Weisfeld hailed from a working-class family in Coatbridge and had two sisters who also worked in fashion retail – of a local market that was burgeoning under the radar of sociological study or leftist polemic. In the conflicting economic landscape of Glasgow, where female employment was up but wages were stagnant, where men were still thought of as breadwinners, yet its predominant labour force were women in public services,[68] fashion was a means by which women could create an identity for themselves which extended beyond the dominant, reductionist narrative of deindustrialisation offered up to the city's working-classes, making space for conflict and complexity.

4.3 Stuart Hall's 'New Times' in Glasgow

Historically, the department store had been embedded in a landscape of consumption firmly attached to the lifestyle and income of the middle-class woman. Most studies – including Bill Lancaster's transatlantic view in *The Social History of the Department Store*,[69] William Leach's political analysis of American department store culture,[70] and Michael Miller's take on Paris' The Bon Marché and its relationship to the French bourgeoisie[71] – illustrate, in various ways, how the earliest European department stores worked to offer up new ways of performing middle-classness. Emanating from the fraught class systems of France and the United Kingdom, these stores found dramatic success in the second half of the 19th century by

[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] John MacInnes, 'The Deindustrialisation of Glasgow', *Scottish Affairs* Vol. 1, Issue 1, (May, 1995), p. 87.
[69] Bill Lancaster, *The Department Store: A Social History*, (London: Leicester University Press, 1995).
[70] William R. Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture*, (New York: Random House, 1993).
[71] Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). See also Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*; Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) and Ben Highmore, *Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

cultivating every aspect of the experience of shopping as one that could be attached to a middle-class identity.[72] With formal, personalised service, fixed pricing, opulent furnishings, in-house orchestras, restaurants, tea houses and afternoon lectures, the department store turned shopping from a necessity, performed locally and with haste, to a respectable mode of leisure, redefining the city itself as a place middle-class women could travel to unaccompanied and shore up their social status.[73] Every element of the department store was turned, with granular attention, toward the goal of reassuring middle-class patrons that they were both aping the ways of the aristocracy and that they were safe from the roving, working-class masses that had a monopoly over the inner-city in the popular imagination.

Over time, distinctions would emerge, but these dynamics would nonetheless shape the consumer landscape of Glasgow from the mid-19th century up until the late 1960s. Upmarket department stores along Sauchiehall Street such as Copland & Lye, Trerons and Daly's, alongside specialist boutiques such as Murielle's and Art Fabrics, would quickly award the street its status as an elite shopping district, providing a bespoke experience for the middle and upper-classes, bringing in fabrics from Paris and gowns by known couturiers that could cost the average yearly wage.[74] Along Argyle Street, large-scale stores such as Lewis's and Arnott's would cater for a less monied crowd, with major sales that would attract customers from across Scotland.[75] At this end of the market, shopping was regulated by participation in the Cooperative movement, catering for the majority of better-paid working-class families who would often acquire clothing through a quarterly 'divi' from their weekly shopping at a co-operative store.[76] For younger women and girls, although average weekly wages and leisure time – spent at the cinema or the dance hall – slowly increased across the 20th century, the purchase of clothing remained a rare, significant event until almost a decade after the Second World War.[77] As interviewee Olivia Wilson recalls of fashion in the 1920s in Helen Clark and Elizabeth Carnegie's study of tenement life in Glasgow and Edinburgh, women would tend to have 'one good dress' worn 'over and over again':[78] these might be home-made, hand-me-downs from domestic employers, garments purchased through co-operative pay outs or cigarette coupons, savoured and restored, piecemeal, until they wore out completely. Yet, as historians Cheryl Roberts, Selina Todd and Claire Langhamer have found,[79] a lack of *access* to fashion among these women should not be mistaken for

[72] Miller, *The Bon Marché*, p. 165.
[73] Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, p. 44.
[74] Elizabeth Arthur, 'Shopping', in Elizabeth Arthur (ed.), *Keeping Glasgow in Stitches*, p. 25.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Barbara J. Blaszak, 'The Women's Cooperative Guild 1883-1921', *International Science Review*, Vol. 61, No. 2, (Spring 1986), p. 76.
[77] See Cheryl Buckley and Hazel Clark, 'Dressing Up', in Cheryl Buckley and Hazel Clark, *Fashion and Everyday Life: London and New York*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 125-162.
[78] Clark and Carnegie, *She was aye workin'*, p. 52.
[79] Cheryl Roberts, *Consuming Mass Fashion in 1930s England: Design, Manufacture and Retailing for Young Working-Class Women*, pp. 29-62; Selina Todd, 'Poverty and Aspiration: Young Women's Entry to Employment in Inter-War England', *Journal*

their lack of awareness of it. Here, window shopping took multiple powerful forms: cinema, fashion magazines and peering through the windows of the department stores that dominated Glasgow's main arteries providing constant material for cultivating 'escapist dreams' of a new image.[80] By the time of the Second World War, rationing of clothing and fabric promulgated austere 'utility dress' to the female masses, the purchase of clothing wholly discouraged in favour of the 'make do and mend' campaign by Britain's Ministry of Information:[81] yet, through all this, attendance at Glaswegian cinemas boomed, and Autumn fashion shows at stores like Copland & Lye, having suffered a slow decline since the economic blows of the 1920s, saw an 'Indian summer' of popularity.[82] Sending couture Schiaparelli gowns down the catwalk at a time of unprecedented austerity in the city, it was a vote of confidence in a parallel universe of glamour and abundance as desired, regardless of access, by a growing audience of women in Glasgow.

Coined by editor-in-chief of American Vogue Diana Vreeland in 1965, the decline of department stores in the post-war period has often been taken in the context of the transatlantic 'youthquake':[83] the coming-of-age of a generation unshackled from wartime privation, who were keen to experiment with their identity through style. In Britain, independent boutiques cropping up on London's Carnaby Street became the linchpin of the breaking of consensus around women's dress, cultivating fashion specifically for younger buyers that was playful, daring, irreverent. Jade Halbert notes how Glasgow's younger generations – like cities across Scotland and northern England – were largely denied direct access to boutique fashion until later in the decade, when Modrock in Kinning Park and In Gear in the West End opened to some fanfare, but youth-oriented advertising and 'pop' magazines emerging around the same time, like Jackie, Fabulous 208 and Honey, precipitated the move.[84] While more independent stores would follow in Glasgow, established department stores also pivoted their offering away from their conventional target of middle-aged, middle-class women to cater specifically for the young. In 1966 Lewis's would launch Miss Selfridge, a boutique concept for teenagers which drew on new silhouettes and young designers: launching an exclusive collection by a group of fashion students from Kingston Polytechnic, for example, in 1973.[85] In 1968 Glasgow's Copland and Lye launched Fashion Scene '68 – a range for teenage girls composed exclusively from new, synthetic fabrics advertised in a small format, vivid technicolour pamphlet,[86] a

of 20th Century British History, 15:2, (2004), pp. 129-144; Claire Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England, 1920-1960*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 103-104.
[80] Roberts, *Consuming Mass Fashion*, p. 50.
[81] Geraldine Howell, *Wartime Fashion: From Haute Couture to Homemade, 1939-1945*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 99-108.
[82] Arthur, 'Shopping', p. 24.
[83] Valerie Steele (ed), *The Berg Companion to Fashion*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 746-749.
[84] Jade Halbert, 'Just Like the Kings Road, Only Nearer: Scotland's Boutique Bonanza, 1965-1970', *Costume*, Vol. 56, No. 1, (March, 2022), p. 108.
[85] 'Miss Selfridge', *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, Monday 1st January, 1974, Glasgow City Archives Microfilm Collection, ref: 405.
[86] 'Fashion Scene '68', Copland & Lye Magazine, Glasgow City Archives, ref. TD.28.112.

marked departure from their usual offering of ocelot furs and French haberdashery, while Marks and Spencer, the 'fancy bazaar' that had long dominated the British high street, piloted a denim range for young shoppers in 1970 before finally launching their own late teenage section, Miss Michelle, in 1979.

What Everys capitalized on this not only by targeting the young, but the changing relationship of their female consumers at any age to the notion of class identity. The late 1970s marked Britain's move away from the stratified, somewhat cohesive class order of the industrial era to the atomised, shifting landscape of post-industrialism and late capitalism, in which women of lower-class backgrounds could enact forms of social mobility not only though their careers, but by their choices as consumers. Stuart Hall famously dubbed this phenomenon as the 'New Times': connecting shifts toward 'new "information technologies"; more flexible, decentralized forms of labour process and work organization' and the 'decline of the old manufacturing base' to a shift toward the '"targeting" of consumers by lifestyle, taste and culture rather than the Registrar General's categories of social class'.[87] Surveying recent changes to the British cultural landscape in 1990, Hall conceived of the 'New Times' as a way of disrupting the assumption that ideas of self-improvement, social mobility and lifestyle, while coming to the fore under Margaret Thatcher, were inherently right-wing. Instead, he saw them as a universal recalibration of the concepts of labour and of class-consciousness in a 'post-fordist' world of globalised production, in which, rather than drawing on their class position or occupation, 'greater and greater numbers of people (men *and* women) – with however little money – play the game of using things to signify who they are'.[88]

What Everys geared itself to provide for this broken class map of Glasgow, filling a gap in the market for upwardly mobile consumers. Soon after the store opened, it introduced 'Whispers': a youth-oriented womenswear range specifically designed for 'today's fashion girl':[89] store and customer positioned as co-conspirators in her budget makeover. 'Slip into top gear and get out of town. Fast,' read the tagline of a newspaper advertisement in 1973,[90] accompanied by a sleek black-and-white image of six women on a tandem bicycle, almost every component of their outfits boldly emblazoned with a modest price, with the caption '"What Every Woman Wants" is what every woman gets. It's not hard to find. Just hard to believe.' While it would come to assume a more catch-all identity as a discount store once it had expanded, What Everys' early reputation as a place women could dress themselves up the social scale provided the foundation for its continuing draw. In the *Glasgow Sunday Mail* in 1970, columnist Marian Pallister reports

[87] Stuart Hall, 'Brave New World', *Marxism Today*, (October, 1988), pp. 24-29.
[88] Hall, 'Brave New World', p. 28.
[89] 'What Every Woman Wants', *The Glasgow Evening Citizen*, Friday 7 December 1973, The Glasgow City Archives Microfilm Collection, Glasgow City Archives, ref 404.
[90] 'What Every Woman Wants', *The Glasgow Evening Citizen*, 12 July 1973, The Glasgow City Archives Microfilm Collection, Glasgow City Archives, ref: 401.

on a trip she has made to the small initial branch of What Everys on 222 Argyle Street after overhearing 'a well-dressed and obviously well-off lady' at 'one of Glasgow's more expensive shops' tell a friend she actually bought all her clothes there. While in the cheapest independent boutiques were struggling to sell coats for £20, here, Pallister reports in hushed tones, you could find 'dresses from 5s – yes, 5s – and trouser suits for 19s 11d', allowing you to look 'bang up to date on an office junior's pay packet (and look like a director's wife into the bargain)'.[91]

Everywhere in What Everys, there the old-fashioned, upmarket department store experience was turned on its head, from the palatial, late-Victorian frontage, to the frenzied, heady atmosphere of their January sales which were made a year-round phenomenon. In the place of live orchestras, music was played loud through the speakers, with two songs by the Pet Shop Boys playing on loop: 'Shopping', and 'Opportunities'.[92] DJs were stationed in windows who would direct customers toward the best bargains.[93] Where once stores would boast fashion lines sent straight from Paris, What Everys published advertisements in the newspapers with the tagline 'St Tropez styles for Saltcoats prices'.[94] It was not a marker of pride to be seen shopping there, but nor did it make any claim as such. In fact, it seemed, its ability to escape the notice of the rest of the world was a selling point: Vera Weisfeld once boasted that customers would often disguise their What Everys' shopping with carrier bags from Marks & Spencers.[95] The point was not the gesture of shopping itself but the result it produced: that, equipped with clothing from What Everys, certain women could have more power than they had ever had before over the way they were seen by others.

The success of What Everys marked an insurgency of historically working-class women into a world they had once only gazed at through plate glass. While dismissed as shallow and baseless by some sections of the political left, it demonstrates how the 'yuppie' takeover of the Glasgow was also elaborated by and for local women, who were able to chart their upward movement and entry into a new political era not so much by money but by style. Angela McRobbie warned against Hall's triumphalist, feminist narrative of the New Times with a reminder of the increasing precarity of female employment over this period, and the demonstrable persistence of patriarchal oppression, so this phenomenon could not necessarily be described as a revolution or political triumph. [96] Instead it is a reminder that, just like the 'tourists' and 'fat cats' that

[91] Marian Pallister, 'When it pays to shop around', *Sunday Mail Glasgow*, Sunday 20th September 1970.
[92] Interview with anonymous, Esther Draycott, Glasgow, 11th January 2022.
[93] Gregor Kyle, 'What Every Woman Wants – how it changed the high street shopping experience in Glasgow', *Glasgow Live*, 25.11.2019, accs. 05.05.24, https://www.glasgowlive.co.uk/news/history/what-everys-shopping-experience-12145048.
[94] 'What Every Woman Wants advertisement', *The Daily Record*, 12.05. 1982.
[95] 'Meet the woman behind What Everyone Wants', *Glasgow Times*, Monday 5th January 2015, accs. 18.08.23, https://www.glasgowtimes.co.uk/news/13299860.meet-the-woman-behind-what-everyone-wants/.
[96] Angela McRobbie, 'New Times in Cultural Studies', in Angela McRobbie, *Postmodernism and Popular Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 23-42.

were so often named as agents of working-class Glasgow's demise, What Everys customers could also be oblique targets for the same ire. In an inner-city landscape derided as a collection of 'yuppiedoms, ghettoes for the greedy, customised to cater for its inhabitants' taste for the good life', as Jeff Torrington would write in *The Real Glasgow Stands Up*,[97] those women who found themselves able to participate in the city's fashion world risked betraying a masculine, elegiac vision of 'real' working-class life in Glasgow as excluded from it, existing elsewhere.

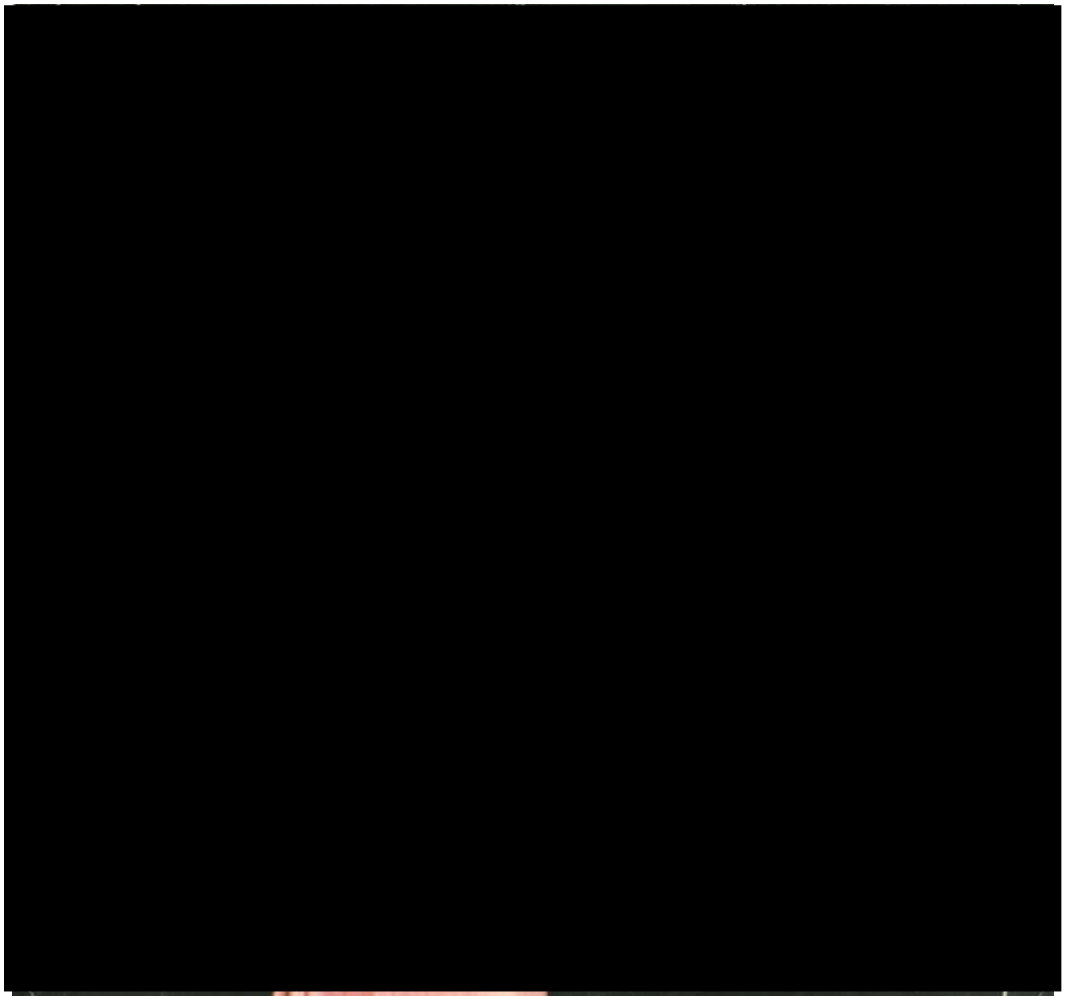

Fig. 59. Album art for Sheena Easton: 9 to 5 (Morning Train), 1980, Fair Use license.

4.3.1 Sheena Easton: *Modern Girl*

An allegorical example of these discourses at work is the controversial figure of Sheena Easton, a young singer from nearby Bellshill who found fame as a subject of Esther Rantzen's 1980 rags-to-riches reality

[97] Jeff Torrington, 'Singing No, No, Yuppie, Yuppie – NO!', in *The Real Glasgow Stands Up*, pp. 101-105.

television documentary *The Big Time*. In the show, 19 year old Easton is followed from her beginnings as a young, working-class drama student in Glasgow, one of six children of a single, working mother, to being signed by a record label in London and eventually becoming a bestselling artist in America. The documentary shows the making of Easton's debut single, *Modern Girl*, and the rapid follow up single *9 to 5 (Morning Train)*.

Easton's meteoric rise was immediately treated with cynicism in the press.[98] Her fame was dismissed as manufactured, her stardom in America a betrayal of her class and her country at a time both were suffering. Her divorce from Sandi Easton in 1984, a fellow musician whom she had married shortly before going on the show, was omnipresent in the media scandals whipped up throughout her career. In 1986 he would launch a cabaret show called 'The Other Sheena', a drag act devoted to her onstage persona, to 'gain revenge on the woman' who 'left him behind'.[99] Performing as Sheena in working men's clubs around the city, this offered up potent evidence of the personal expense of Easton's shallow, selfish success.

Easton's attractiveness, and the visible change in her image from the beginning of *The Big Time*, from the feminine, youthful, innocent look of her audition, wearing a waistcoat and white bell sleeved blouse, to a trademark boyish mullet, angular eye makeup and sharp boiler suit as she receives news of where her debut single has fallen in the charts, was seen as a parable of all that was shallow and mindless about the contemporary era of mass consumption, in narratives that were usually framed in the context of her humble beginnings and Glasgow's continued economic struggle. Her earnings were splashed across the headlines, along with complaints she had moved her mother 'from Bellshill to a plush house in London'.[100] 'Putting it kindly,' *Scotland on Sunday* later said, in an article that began with the scene of her then deceased ex-husband's 'abandoned', 'partially decomposed body', 'Easton is the poor man's Madonna; the bland voice of trashy power pop and a middle-of-the-road stock product who donned the ubiquitous Eighties eye liner, leg warmers and big hair as and when her record company demanded'.[101] Power pop: Easton's songs about working in an office, living a busy life in London, were seemingly resonant of the 'hosanna to hierarchy' mentioned in Workers City,[102] her apparently fickle attitude and androgynous, seductive, business-like style held up as the ultimate outfit of Scotland's betrayal. 'You haven't left us behind, have you?' as Terry Wogan

[98] 'If she'd stayed in Glasgow she might now be serving behind a counter in Sauchiehall Street by day and singing in small Scottish clubs by night instead of reaching the pinnacle of her profession in London', columnist Robin MacWhirter for The Scotsman in 1981.
[99] Hugh Farmer, 'Sheena's a real drag', *The People*, 22· 06. 1986.
[100] Gavin Docherty, 'Husband sues for Sheena's cash', *The Evening Times*, 09.03.1982.
[101] 'Sheena Easton: Miss Bland of the Pop World', *Scotland on Sunday*, 07.03.1999.
[102] Farquhar McLay, *The Real Glasgow Stands Up*, p. 4.

began in an interview with her for The Wogan Show in 1985, 'You were a sweet girl in a jumpsuit when I saw you last. You're in your underwear now.'[103]

4.3.2 'Like Dallas and Lady Di': dressing up for the 1980s

Easton's story, from working-class girl to glamorous 'modern girl', was a fable of the New Times effect on Glasgow. Beneath the extremes of her story, there were themes that chimed with women's experience in the city – those of social mobility, of departure from one's class, of the power of style to change one's identity and align oneself with contemporary times. In a small group interview conducted for the purposes of this chapter with a number of women about their lives in the West of Scotland around this period, many described the 1980s as a point at which their financial outlook seemed to change.[104] 'By the 80s, I moved to a better house, we were doing alright,' noted Eileen, who had spent the late 1970s as a young mother moving between council flats in Castlemilk, Pollokshields and Govanhill. When asked about style, tastes often seemed to reflect the mood that their personal financial circumstances were evolving. Kath, who grew up in Paisley, at one point showed a photograph of her mother taken in 1983. She is dressed professionally, wearing a close-crop perm and a pussybow blouse.

> 'Here we're looking a bit smarter. Look at my mum there wearing a wee pussybow. So not quite dressing above your station but dressing smart…she was like Dallas and Dynasty and Lady Di, y'know?'
>
> 'I think of memories of my mum in the 80s…' adds Anne, who grew up at a similar time in Glasgow, 'so conservative, the shoulder pads and the little suits, and it was like that: how can you be 20 in the 80s when you look about 40?'

More often, those respondents for whom clothes were an important, conscious part of their lives at that time identified as lower middle-class. They were university students, or those who otherwise intentionally adopted an 'anti fashion' stance, choosing clothes in order to mark themselves out from an affluent, conservative crowd. Among younger respondents, those who were teenagers or children in the period, and those of a lower class background, clothing was seen as a way to conform, the 1980s generally as a time

[103] 'Sheena Easton: The Wogan Show Interview', First aired on the BBC, November 1985, accs. 3.10.22, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Es7vduFKFDg.
[104] Focus Group Interview, Esther Draycott, 17.8.21.
* All names have been changed.

they wore 'just normal things' from 'really cheap shops, C&A and What Everys'.[105] However, as rehearsed in the writing of Pierre Bourdieu and so many others, the impulse to conform has never been a passive or neutral gesture[106] – instead such tendencies and tastes are shaped by the contingencies of one's social position. In this case, given once-defined categories of class, place and taste were more atomised and heavily mediated than ever before, the decision to conform was even more of a deliberate, delicate exercise than it might otherwise have been. Given the upending of the working-class landscape of Glasgow since the post-war period, mothers who used discount stores like What Everys to allow themselves to 'blend into the background' were in fact finding clothes to negotiate their way through environments and communities that would have likely been unrecognisable to their mothers. The spheres of work, home and sociality, of the inner city and its outer reaches, and even the journeys between them, were no longer static but shifting, uncertain, conformity dependent on a major realignment with the times. A good outfit was one that could take you to a range of spaces without risking humiliation, acting as an agent of 'levitation', as Carol Tulloch calls it,[107] by which to 'rise above' the imprints left by one's personal history and fit in where once you may have been marked out. Equipped with options cheap enough to buy without hesitation, those who might, a generation ago, have had 'one good dress',[108] would have a looser grasp on what conformity looked like now that the foundations on which it was built had disappeared. The new ubiquity of 'really cheap shops' was the product of this landscape and the consumer need it created.[109] What Every Woman Wants offered the people of this distended city the prospect of defining themselves by what they wanted now, rather than the traces of what they once had.

Conformity, then, referred to the act of reaching toward, dreaming of – tastes which aped the semi-fictional characters of 'Dallas and Lady Di', shaking free of enduring symbols of working-classness and replacing them with figments of luxury and elegance mediated by the commercial world. In a series of interviews with a group of working-class British women, conducted over a period of eleven years, sociologist Beverley Skeggs found that respondents pictured 'the surface of the body' as the site upon which the sharpest, most tangible class distinctions could be drawn.[110] Women would discuss their pleasure in getting 'tarted up' for

[105] Focus Group Interview, Esther Draycott, 17.8.21.
[106] See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, (*A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (London: Routledge, 1984); Valerie Walkerdine, 'Reclassifying Upward Mobility: Femininity and the Neo-liberal Subject', *Gender and Education*, Volume 15, Issue 3, (2003), pp. 237-248; Diane Reay, 'Feminist theory, habitus and social class: disrupting notions of classlessness', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 20, Issue 2, (1997), pp. 225-233; Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, Florence, 'Discourses of "class" in Britain's "New Times"', *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 31, No. 2: New Times Revisited: Britain in the 1980s, (April, 2017), pp. 294-317.
[107] Tulloch, *The Birth of Cool*, p. 114.
[108] Helen Clark and Elizabeth Carnegie, *She was aye workin': Memories of tenement women in Edinburgh and Glasgow*, (Glasgow: White Cockade Publishing, 2003), p. 52.
[109] Ben Highmore, 'Taste as Feeling', *New Literary History*, Vol. 47, No. 4, (Autumn, 2016), pp. 547-566.
[110] Beverly Skeggs, *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable*, (London: Sage, 1997), p. 80.

a night out, wearing 'classy dresses' or 'throwing on a pair of trousers and a blouse'[111] with manicured effortlessness to pass as someone higher up the social scale. These were gestures tied more than any other to their authentic, self-drawn identity – what they liked to do most, who they believed they were now as opposed to who they were expected to be when they were born. Through the purchase of the right clothing, 'the fantasy of the other (the middle-class, elegant sophisticate) becomes part of the construction of one's self', writes Skeggs.[112] Women shaped their lives around the fantasy of who they would like to be, grafting the surface of their bodies with foreign concepts and complex fictions. As Hall concludes of his concept of the 'New Times', while these processes are born of global forces and material goods, 'in part, it is *us* who are being "re-made"'.[113]

The power of these choices runs through Saltcoats-born Janice Galloway's memoir of her 1970s adolescence, *All Made Up*. Living with her mother and half-sister, Cora, in a council flat in the middle of the town, Galloway recalls her sister Cora's changing style as she starts a new job as a secretary in Glasgow.[114] Filling her wardrobe with 'dirndl-skirted, bone-bosomed dresses' and rows of stilettos, 'dagger tips and knife points with buckles and plastic flowers', Cora's wardrobe seemed, to Galloway, to bear witness to 'people who aspired to things we hadn't grasped were aspirations in the first place'.[115] Travelling in and out of the city each day, Cora used her style both to embrace her current role as well as court a 'future position as Head of Typing at the Nile Street Stockbrokers'.[116] While she may have been further down the career ladder for now, that did not matter – what mattered is that she would have fit(ted) in anywhere. At this point, Galloway's relationship with her sister is strained. Cora could often be violent, her 'irritation simmering' at the failure of those closest to her to recognise the life she was trying to cultivate, and its disjuncture with parts of the life she currently had. Yet, when Cora finally leaves home, Galloway goes straight to her wardrobe, bereft of the presence of 'what I kept in my head as my sister'.[117] Out in the city, freed from the ties that bound her to her roots in Saltcoats, she suspected Cora had not left so much as 'picked another self off the rack'.[118]

In an essay entitled 'Taste as Feeling', Ben Highmore called dreams a 'genre' of taste, arguing that by interpreting taste as such, we are able to see how material desires can expound social aspirations.[119]

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[111] Skeggs, *Formations of Class and Gender*, p. 84.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Hall, 'Brave New World', p. 24.
[114] Janice, Galloway, *All Made Up*, (London: Granta, 2011), p. 90.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Galloway, *All Made Up*, p. 131.
[117] Galloway, *All Made Up*, p. 96.
[118] Galloway, *All Made Up*, p. 99.
[119] Highmore, 'Taste as Feeling', p. 554.

Bringing together Dick Hebdige's work on dreams in 'The Impossible Object: Towards a Sociology of the Sublime',[120] and Lauren Berlant's *Cruel Optimism*, which investigates people's attachment to fantasies of the 'good life', regardless of their emotional or physical cost,[121] 'Taste as Feeling' centres on a passage in Steedman's *Landscape for a Good Woman* in which she recalls a recurring dream of her mother wearing a coat in the style of Dior's New Look, something she coveted ferociously for much of Steedman's childhood.[122] Interpreting dreams as taste, Highmore writes, is not so much a way of unpicking their social character, but of investigating the way material things cathect experiences of class and gender as feelings.[123] These can be highly specific while coming from a place of shared injury, shining a light on the nature of attachments marked subjects form in hopes of becoming unmarked. Rather than falling into the trap of creating a narrative structure of melancholy or want applied to an entire group of people, like so many of the dominant stories of life in Scotland – the kailyard, the shipyard, the 'myth of the tenement', as Abrams calls it[124] – looking at tastes, and especially how these tastes are formed by fantasy or daydreaming, both preserves individual narratives while recognising their social weight, moving beyond the paucity of things one may have to the rich, bountiful, complex world of things one desires.

4.4 The 'book of dreams': check trading and the role of fantasy in Glaswegian women's everyday lives

In the group interview, a number of respondents were keen to impress the importance of the mail order catalogue to their sense of style growing up. For example, Kath recalled, to nods of agreement, how her mother would gather with her neighbours to look at a new one as it arrived.[125] Catalogues were important both to people who did not live close enough to Glasgow to visit regularly and to many of those who wanted to take advantage of their extensive finance offers – purchasing an item that they could then pay for weekly rather than the whole cost upfront. The Argos catalogue was famously nicknamed 'the book of dreams', but among these respondents, that term was used as a catch-all for any that were sent to the house, especially those that sold clothing.[126] Freemans, Empire, Grattons, Next: leafing through these catalogues together was a potent way women might socialise their tastes, turning the translation of feeling into material things, the fantasies in which they were steeped, into a ritualised, collective event. Douglas Stuart's *Shuggie Bain* paints one of the earliest memories of its protagonist, Shug, born on Sighthill Estate in Glasgow, as watching

[120] Dick Hebdige, 'The Impossible Object: Towards a Sociology of the Sublime', *New Formations*, Vol. 1987, No. 1, (1987), pp. 47-76.
[121] Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, (Durham: Duke University Press), p. 7.
[122] Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman*, p. 103.
[123] Highmore, 'Taste as Feeling', p. 557.
[124] Abrams, *Everyday Life in 21st Century Scotland*, p. 8.
[125] Focus Group Interview, Esther Draycott, 17.8.21.
[126] Focus Group Interview, Esther Draycott, 17.8.21.

his mother and her friends leaf through the Freemans catalogue around her kitchen table in 1982.[127] His mother, Agnes, is a glamorous, beautiful woman of taste, but poor. Credit offered a way of sating her material desires while suspending her in a constant state of reaching toward them, producing a world of things she could see, touch and wear but that were never fully hers: a story that would come to shape her son's life. Gambling with playing cards, drinking brandy, a friend of hers brings out the Freemans catalogue and they all gather round and start pointing at what they want. 'They opened to a double spread of women riding bikes and pretty jersey dresses and cooed as one,' recalls Shug, knowing that, with interest, it would take months or even years to pay off. 'It felt like they were renting their lives.'[128]

The 'accept all cheques' policy of What Every Woman Wants capitalised on these desires. 'For decades,' reports John McLeod for the *Scottish Daily Mail*, this was the basis on which the store built its fortune, 'up there with the mail order catalogues or the likes of Paddy's Market as the only route to respectable things for the respectable poor'.[129] By accepting cheques rather than providing their own credit systems, What Everys was able to displace the process of loaning and repayment onto check traders that were already established in Glasgow, relying on systems that were heavily embedded in working-class communities and using agents that were broadly understood to be more sympathetic, more personable and better liked than the average sub-prime bank lender, with less stigma attached to their service than that of the local pawn.[130] The emergence of What Everys had been anticipated by the rebranding of Provident, its biggest credit cheque provider, in the 1960s, to reflect the ever-richer landscape of consumer goods to which the working-classes were now constantly exposed. Shedding its former image as a provider of 'subsistence credit' the provider switched its focus to the domestic fantasies of the average post-war customer.[131] Overhauling the dour aesthetic of their annual reports, and doing away with their utilitarian shopping guides, Provident from then on presented itself not so much as a banking provider as a 'magical route' to the modern, comfortable life widely advertised in magazines, film and TV, as Liz McFall writes.[132] That the homes or bodies of the average customer bore no resemblance to those advertised was 'an opportunity, not a problem'[133] – the greater the distance between subject and object, it seemed, the greater the magical properties of Provident to connect them. Maintaining loan agents and relatively rigorous, albeit anecdotal credit checks, as well as ensuring the sums handed out were still comparatively low, the company managed to create a sustainable

[127] Douglas Stuart, *Shuggie Bain*, (London: Picador, 2020), p. 25.
[128] Stuart, *Shuggie Bain*, p. 26.
[129] John McLeod, 'Farewell to the Provvy Loan, the loan that lent an air of respectability (at 170 pc interest)', *Scottish Daily Mail*, 13th May 2021, accs. 12.02.2023, https://www.pressreader.com/uk/scottish-daily-mail/20210513/281861531387702.
[130] Sean O'Connell, 'The rise of the Provident system: check trading', in Sean O'Connell, *Credit and Community: Working-Class Debt in the UK since 1880*, (Oxford: Oxford Academic, 2009), pp. 55-87.
[131] Ibid.
[132] McFall, 'What's in a name?', p. 16.
[133] Ibid.

model by which the fantasy of a whole new life could be concentrated into the purchase of individual items, or onto events such as Christmas, deploying long-term credit to ignore or reject the privation it might once have laid bare. When What Every Woman Wants arrived on the consumer landscape, it echoed the vibrant, colourful, carefree tone of Provident's rebranding in its own retail strategy, offering up fashion, once a subject so fraught with limitation, shame and struggle, as something finally within reach. Of course in both cases, purchases were born of necessity as well as desire, but it was Provident's ability to stoke and satiate the latter that set them apart. Together, they could not so much produce a fantasy life, but keep the prospect of one a little closer, enough to keep customers' hope going, to keep them returning for more.

The fantasy offered by What Every Woman Wants is captured in the video for Sheena Easton's debut single 'Modern Girl'. Here were all the hallmarks of the optimistic mood of the coming decade, its excitement at the prospect of new kinds of work and the transformative power of material things made more poignant by their seeming impossibility. Easton walks through dreary city streets in a bright yellow rain mac and a cobalt roll neck before returning to her chic London apartment, spliced through with scenes of her performing alone onstage, surrounded by blinking lights that look, as the camera spins, like a thick line of moving traffic. These scenes are more powerful for their apparent mundanity – 'looks like the rain again/she takes the train again', -- the life it narrates as one hewn not by some miracle but through work, movement, a willingness to take hold of all the new city has to offer. Occupying the unusual status of having the means of its production laid bare, 'Modern girl' becomes a wry nod to Easton herself: a working-class girl born in Glasgow, she charts her overnight transformation into the face of the 'modern girl' of the 1980s. In the process, she risked and would come to suffer all the charges that seemed incumbent to that term: her freedom, mobility and independence impossible without the screams of imprisonment, abandonment and betrayal from what she left behind.

4.5 Conclusion: Cruel Optimism

Lauren Berlant opens her book *Cruel Optimism* by defining an object of desire as 'a cluster of promises we want someone or something to make possible for us'.[134] Looking at the social, economic and cultural landscape of the West from the 1980s onwards, they examine the way late capitalist, heteronormative systems had since then produced 'problematic' attachments to certain goals – wealth, home ownership, a nuclear family – that had endured regardless of the widespread psychological, financial or physical pain they could cause to those who reached toward them. Such attachments can be optimistic because they

[134] Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, p. 20.

involve hope, states Berlant, but that does not necessarily mean they provide pleasure: rather, they can just as often involve sensations of hunger, pain or disillusionment, often at the same time and rarely in clear distinction.[135] What Everys, and the dreams, fantasies and desires of modernity, style and freedom on which it thrived, seem to encompass perfectly what Berlant was getting at. However, this chapter has not set out to question the moral fibre of the store or the motives of those who shopped there for fashion, but to suggest that the choice to do so was complex and individual, yet was also steeped in fantasies and experiences that cut deep into experiences shared by thousands of women in Glasgow at this time. In that sense, the kind of customers What Everys courted often fell into a blanket category of shallow, alienated drones, in thrall to a consumer cult that promised everything and delivered nothing. However, unpacking the images it played on, the timing of its inception, and the methods by which it became financially successful, it becomes clear that these women were dismissed by spokespeople for the working-class because they undermined the view that the 'real' working-class Glasgow belonged outside of the new developments of the inner-city. Fantasy has a 'fundamentally social character', Berlant elsewhere reminds us, meaning even dreams with the most seemingly hollow ring are able to shed light on a 'person's relations to history'.[136] Engaging with What Everys might have solicited pain or pleasure, but regardless of the outcome, it had a firm relationship to the past and present landscapes of everyday, working-class life in Glasgow.

Whose Cities?, an anthology of essays published in conjunction with the Labour Party in 1991, considered future of Britain's provincial urban strongholds in the new, neoliberal age. An entry on Glasgow by the journalist Ruth Wishart was a lengthy riposte to the backlash against the city's recent selection as European City of Culture.[137] Workers City is right, she writes, that Glasgow persists in having significant levels of poverty, and that much of this now exists in estates on the city's periphery. On shakier ground, however, is the idea the abandoned remnants of inner-city Glasgow should be left alone as monuments to the city's fall, and that their transformations into shops and apartments were for the enjoyment of foreigners alone. Instead, both claims seemed, to Wishart, born of an abiding tendency to characterise the young, ambitious or materialistic as something alien to the true culture of working-class Glasgow. Yet the people who now endured charges of betrayal, of unbelonging, of changing that which should stay the same, had a history which reached as far back into Glasgow's past as the industrial revolution itself. In this city, she concludes, 'acquiring ideas above your station is not a sport for the faint-hearted': but it is a tradition that persists nonetheless.[138]

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[135] Ibid.
[136] Lauren Berlant, *Love/Desire*, (New York City: Punctum Books, 2012), p. 8.
[137] Ruth Wishart, *'Glasgow: Fashioning the Future'*, in Mark Fisher and Ursula Owen (eds), Whose Cities?, (London: Penguin Books, 1991).
[138] Ibid.

5. Conclusion: Glasgow, 1980: living among the ruins

5.1 Closing remarks: Depardon's Glasgow

The closing remarks of this thesis refer to a final set of photographs. These were taken by French photographer Raymond Depardon in 1980, when he was commissioned by the *Sunday Times* to complete a photo essay on Glasgow which would illustrate part of a travel series on under-appreciated cities in Europe. Depardon had been sent to capture the monied enclaves of Glasgow, but on arrival, he found the city's bourgeoisie 'very discreet':[1] too difficult to capture from an outsider's point of view. He was drawn, instead, to the city's East End, where he found landscapes that were poor, but rich in forms of street life. The resulting photographs were rejected by the paper's editors – but not, as was rumoured, because the scenes of violence, industrial decline and poverty they captured were too shocking for publication. Instead, his editors believed these photographs, in portraying this side of Glasgow, would do nothing to challenge popular perception of the city.[2]

The photographs would surface over thirty years later, as part of a major photography exhibition on modern Britain at London's Barbican Centre entitled 'Strange and Familiar'. In a review of the show in the *Guardian* newspaper, Glasgow-born critic Ian Jack recalls being among the team at the *Sunday Times* to suggest Glasgow was added to its ongoing unlikely holiday feature.[3] Looking at Depardon's rejected photographs in this exhibition – having never caught them in detail the first time around – Jack thought of his childhood.

Depardon's photographs were taken at the tail end of the trend in Britain for 'concerned photojournalism' – a movement drowned out, in Jack's words, by the 'heady self-interest of the Thatcher era, with its devotion to celebrity and consumption'.[4] His subjects are often pictured approaching the camera, the street behind them narrowing into a vanishing point in the far distance. This scene repeats, each time under a different mottled sky, lone figures where it looks like there was once a crowd. In this way, Depardon's Glasgow

[1] Raymond Depardon, 'Picturing Glasgow: Raymond Depardon in Conversation', Greg Kerr, Paul Melo e Castro, Andy Stafford, (lecture/panel discussion, The School of Modern Languages and Cultures at the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, 05.11.2020).
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ian Jack, 'Strange and Familiar Indeed – these photographs of the life I lived are eye-opening', *Guardian*: Opinion section (online), 19.03.2016, accs. 22.10.23, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/19/strange-and-familiar-barbican-photographs-of-life-i-lived-are-eye-opening.
[4] Ibid.

followed a strong tradition of 'strange and familiar' photographs of Glasgow's streets, beginning with Thomas Annan's *Old Closes and Streets* in the 1860s, and continuing with Nicholas Fyfe's Tour of the Calton in the 1910s, Humphrey Spender's *Picture Post* photographs in the 1930s, Nick Hedges' for Shelter in the 1970s, and many more in between.[5] Despite overtures to timely realism, and often their capacity to shock, these kinds of images presented a widely recognisable portrait of Glasgow and its inhabitants. For over a century, this had been a city that seemed persistently out of time, captured in photographs that together delivered an equal parts nostalgic and brutal vision of the modern nation's infancy, a time before the corruption of its culture of commodity, where people did little more than survive. Yet among the familiar, greyscale scenes of 'tenements waiting for the wrecker's ball', and 'the drunk sprawled on the pavement',[6] Jack notes, in Depardon's photographs, an unsettling presence of small bursts of colour, vivid reds and cerulean blues. Most often, the bright colours appear via things people are wearing – a bag, a sweater, or a high heel. These details set Depardon's images apart from those which had come before, bringing their subjects up to date, demonstrating, Jack concludes, how they 'seem to live among ruins'.[7]

Fig. 60. Raymond Depardon, 'Glasgow, 1980', 1980. Raymond Depardon | Magnum Photos.

[5] See, for example, photographs by Bert Hardy, Oscar Marzaroli, Viginia Turbett, Jos Treen, Larry Herman, Franki Raffles, Hugh Hood, Keith Ingham, Eric Watt, Haywood Magee and Jürgen Schadeberg.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

Depth and Surface holds that it is here, in these garments, that a counter-narrative of the wearer's life may begin. Placed side-by-side with other images, these small flashes of detail begin to amount to an inventory of women's style: a historic phenomenon that has now taken on new forms. Taken in 1980, these images provide co-ordinates of an embodied, affective map of Glasgow, the parts of the city women have assembled for themselves, against the city which has been imposed on their lives and renders them legible to others. Clothing and gesture carry the imprint of former generations. Style, drawn from them, lingers here, like a talisman, as women look to an unknown future.

Figure 60 depicts number 36 Stevenson Street in Calton, which was at that time (and still remains) situated just behind the Barras market. In the photograph, Depardon depicts a woman sitting against a wall in a pair of slippers, clutching a stuffed plastic bag. Behind her, a fire licks the side of the building, fuelled by rubbish scattered across the street like old furniture. The space appears as though it was once a site of tenements, now demolished – Depardon's shot is wide, from a reasonable distance, as though peered through curtains or a front door. This woman stares into the camera lens. Her bag, neon yellow, seems to parody a fashion accessory, echoed by her pose, legs crossed and eyes ahead. Just two years beforehand, Partick Camera Club had captured portraits of these same streets, thick with people, with desolate open spaces like this piled high with castoffs for sale. Before that, Glasgow's Chief Sanitary Inspector Nicholas Fyfe had taken a photographic 'tour of the Calton' in 1916, to portray the strange, unofficial street-selling economies that sustained its ragged Irish inhabitants. Alone, Depardon's image tells a simple story of Glasgow's struggle in 1980 as a post-industrial, perennially deprived urban centre, a story which so often used women like this as a prop. But lingering here, questions emerge, ambiguities that settle around her tight grip around the yellow bag, the fire so close to her back, like an old stove, the house-shaped hole arranged around the perimeter of the cement floor. Attention inevitably turns to the clothes she is wearing: the sleeve that pokes out of her draped sleeve coat, the purple fur trim of her slippers, the silver brooch on her lapel. These details are unsettling. They are excesses where excesses are not supposed to be. They are a reminder of that which remains with this woman through whatever has happened here before and whatever will happen next.

Fig. 61. Raymond Depardon, 'Glasgow, 1980', 1980. Credit: Raymond Depardon | Magnum Photos.

The next shows a woman walking across the lower site of the vast St Rollox Locomotive Works in the northern Glasgow suburb of Springburn.[8] It is one of three factories, alongside Cowlairs and the St Rollox Chemical Works, that bought labourers to the area during the industrial revolution and established the area as a working-class stronghold. The building this woman passes is part of an iron foundry where the factory would once have produced spare springs. Weeds now grow halfway up the side of the building, spreading out between the asphalt like dust. The L.M.S emblazoned on the wall dates this building back to 1930, when the Caledonian Railway Company was subsumed into London, Midland and Scottish Railways. In the 1980s, British Rail Engineering Limited – the government subsidiary responsible for what remained of the St Rollox works – underwent major restructuring, which, eight years after this photograph was taken, saw the rollback of most operations and the loss of 1200 jobs.[9]

As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, in the post-war period, Springburn had been among those identified as a Comprehensive Development Area. Clearances took place here from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s,

[8] See S.G. Checkland, 'The British Industrial City as Case Study: The Glasgow Case', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (May, 1964), pp. 34-54.
[9] 'A century of craftsmanship', *The Glasgow Herald*, 06.11.1985.

witnessing the wholesale demolition of its Victorian tenement street plan and the subsequent erection of vast modernist housing developments, including 28 high-rise tower blocks. By 1980, ubiquity of this form of housing, including the notorious Sighthill Towers and Red Road Flats,[10] had seen vast sections of Springburn written off as a 'sink estate'.[11] Just beyond Charles Street, at the intersection this woman crosses, construction was soon to start on the A308 Springburn Expressway, which cut through the centre of historic Springburn to join the M8 Motorway at the Townhead Interchange.

Here, Depardon encounters a woman in a sharp navy suit and bright red stiletto heels. She steps forward, in what looks like a work uniform, for a job somewhere beyond the frame, and likely beyond the limits of this neighbourhood. It feels clear this is a place at the precipice of new beginnings, at a painful point of anticipation for changes which had not yet fully set in. Yet, staying with her, this reading of the scene does not seem to capture the depth of what is at play. The gleam of her shoes, for example, is broken by a peep toe finish, an inappropriate choice for the terrain that seems to render her vulnerable. The point of her red stiletto heel pokes into the brownfield, tarnishing it. In this way, the image stands to benefit from style as a frame of critical interpretation that gestures toward the emotional, sensory and biographical terrain out of which this subject has emerged, her fears and desires, memories and dreams. With it, the deep, patent red of this woman's shoes recalls the claret velvet dress worn by Agnes in Douglas Stuart's *Shuggie Bain* as she leant out of the window of their flat in the nearby Sighthill Towers in 1981, 'body tipped down towards the amber city lights',[12] just so those walking below might catch a glimpse of her. It recalls the woman, dressed in red, captured in one of the infinite windows in the Red Road flats in Cranhill Arts' *Clyde Film*, ebbing away as the camera pans. It echoes the 'pair of bright red, patent shoes'[13] worn given to Meg Henderson by her late aunt Peggy, and her grief and rage that she is now gone. It demonstrates that these surface details, so often dismissed as superfluous or incidental, can be placed side-by-side to become a significant body of critical historical evidence, forming the basis of a category of analysis geared to better capture the nuances of urban experience among those sidelined by dominant frameworks of interpretation.

5.2 Returning to research questions

This research has drawn on pioneering work done by a range of interdisciplinary scholars on the resistant uses of personal style to ask whether it performed a subject-forming function among working-class women

[10] Gerry Burke and John MacCalman, 'Vandalism terror in the Red Road Flats', *The Glasgow Herald*, 30.08.1977; Neil Gibson, 'Call-off Crisis', *Evening Times*, 06.05.1988.
[11] Chris Leslie, *Disappearing Glasgow*, (Glasgow: Freight Books, 2017), p. 101.
[12] Stuart, *Shuggie Bain*, p. 15.
[13] Meg Henderson, *Finding Peggy: A Glasgow Childhood*, (London: Corgi, 1994), p. 156.

in late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow. Together, these case studies have not so much charted women's emergence as subjects in this changing political, social and economic landscape, but the potential of style to make visible aspects of their lives that had existed long before this period, but had fallen beyond the purview of historical inquiry. Analysing the ongoing role of style in women's expression of disavowed desires, their binding of hidden pasts to the present, and of resistance to structures of oppression, what it has found is style's ability to capture ineffable or superfluous aspects of subject, and interpret those excesses as historically meaningful. It has devoted to their appearances a depth of attention that is not usually extended to people of this background – meditating on what Carolyn Steedman called the perception of working-class people as lacking the 'possessions of culture', bearing little more than 'the elemental simplicity of class consciousness'.[14] Used as both subject and a method, it has aimed to present a way of treating the dressed body as a harbinger for complex narratives of marginal urban life.

To conclude, the thesis returns to the three major research questions that were set out in the introduction. To the first question of what style can do to challenge the orthodoxies, reductions and erasures of historical narrative, it has found that style is an embodied, performative principle, requiring creative methods to identify and analyse as a form of self-expression. The prevailing view of Glasgow in the late 1970s and early 1980s centres around its status as a place of industrial decline and poor housing. This is a view guided by what is considered to be the evidence at hand: whether that may be employment or population statistics, changes in urban policy and planning legislation, or the anguished art and literature coming out of the city at that time. The problem with keeping to what may conventionally be defined as historical or sociological evidence is that tends to privilege the experience of some individuals, while rendering others invisible. It flattens distinction and removes nuance, making, in this case, the figure of the white, male unemployed labourer stand in for a much broader cast of people, providing a historical language and framework to do justice by the experience of that figure, and forcing others to accord, in order to achieve any kind of visibility, to those terms. This created the historic problem of women's absence in these discourses, and it is also what continues to guide the greater visibility of women in Glasgow's 'official' historical or sociological narratives now.

Style, as it has been defined here, has situated women's bodies as vectors of histories which extend beyond this analytic frame. It presents a way of 'reading' the dressed body to glean insights not only into the possible motives of the wearer to present a certain way, but for the relationship of those individual choices to much broader arcs of marginal urban experience. Rather than peel away the image to discern the historical

[14] Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), p. 13.

'truth' it harbours, the thesis has advanced a critical frame which encourages the researcher to linger on surfaces, and elaborate the historical gaps and ambiguities and tensions it presents. It has presented a vernacular method that is only truly legible when the researcher ignores established objectives, unshakes institutional assumption, rids themselves of established analyses and plumbs other, embodied knowledges of memory, sight and feeling. The cut of a garment, the patina of cloth, the sweep of a certain gesture: these details have not been seen to expose hidden elements of the individual they accompany, but reflect their environment like shards of a mirror, providing an expanded sensorial register of Glasgow's history, with narratives that exist beyond the prevailing view.

Style has also challenged the orthodoxies, reductions and erasures of historical narrative by challenging the ontological principle that fuels most historical inquiry. By refusing the idea the inner 'truth' of subject in visual historical evidence could or should be exposed, it has advanced a form of historiography, which, in the words of Peggy Phelan, 'does not take surveillance of the object, visible or otherwise, as its chief aim', and instead reckons surfaces as the point at which surveillance is deflected, and authoritative dissection stops.[15] It has used the concept of style to explore the compromising terms on which visibility had historically been offered to women, and the agency they claimed in rejecting or negotiating those terms, thus consigning their inner selves to the shadows. It has drawn on the connotations of style in literary contexts to produce a history which captures the sense of irresolution that lingers in the resulting images of these women, attempting to name some of ways they used clothing and gesture to jam the machinery of their capture in dominant regimes of representation.

The second research question was how style can act as an insight into the lives of women living in late 1970s and early 1980s Glasgow. The findings of the case studies presented here can be split into three. Firstly, style has provided an insight into the level of surveillance and speculation working-class women were subject to over the course of generations, as well as shedding light on women's significant position in the urban popular imagination as symbols of Glasgow's past. Without a resistant framework of interpretation, these representational regimes have been allowed to cast women in a certain light, subsuming their lives into reductive official and popular narratives of the city's history. Style has offered up a frame through which to see and interpret women's subtle claiming of control over some of the archetypes used to situate them in this historical landscape: looking at how, for example, dress and gesture allowed them to riff on their symbolic 'mother Glasgow' image, disrupt their typification as lost or unmoored in forms of social documentary, or resist distortive representational visibility altogether.

[15] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*, (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 2.

Style has also offered up a way of recognising how women use their bodies to negotiate difficult experiences – whether the daily grind of domestic labour, events of mass displacement, or the ongoing struggles of poverty – as active agents, rather than passive victims, in gestures that have fallen beyond the purview of dominant frames of feminist or Marxist analysis. It has provided a lens onto some of the creative, resistant ways women came to see themselves in a hostile, subjugating landscape, both collectively and as individuals, and how this way-of-seeing was passed from one generation to the next. It has provided insight into the informal spaces, rituals, values and relationships out of which these practices emerged. In doing so, it has also shed light on women's maintenance of the interstitial spaces of Glasgow, between old demolition sites and new 'renewal zones' of the neoliberal city, that survived every era of its destruction and reinvention. In focusing on the things women kept closest to their bodies through this era of rapid physical and social transformation, it has highlighted some of the ways they dealt with an increasing pressure to move with the times while also retaining and preserving that which had been consigned to history.

In answer to the third research question, of how style can allow for the drawing of historical counter-narratives from visual evidence, it has demonstrated that it can do so by adopting forms of analysis which embrace the ambiguity inherent in visual forms of representation. By drawing on contemporary discussions around the importance of the surface as a vector of marginal life, the thesis has been able to find, in images that would normally have been taken as no more than evidence of their subjects' poverty and disenfranchisement, ligatures of nuance, beauty and excess: traces of lives lived beyond that limited purview. Clustered into four contested sites of their representation in the public sphere, the dress and gesture of subjects has acted as a starting point to a discussion of a history that lies right alongside, but somehow beyond, that which, in the words of Saidiya Hartman, 'the reformers and sociologists' have historically 'come in search of'.[16] It has drawn attention to the layering of desire and anxiety onto images of women in these contexts and asks how, in each of those cases, women used style to exceed those narrow projections and attend materially to their deepest dreams, desires and resentments: excesses that are present and traceable in images more so than in any of the forms of written documentation so favoured by historians. Dress, gesture and other material details become valuable, through this lens, in and of themselves: acting as prompts to better attend to the specificities of an image and its subject and question the broader conditions of their capture.

[16] Saidiya Hartman, Wayward Lives, *Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval*, (London: Serpent's Tail, 2019), p. 4.

5.3 Overarching themes: memorial, resistance and reverie

Together, these case studies have sought to outline the potential of style as a critical historical lens. Memorial, resistance and reverie are themes that run between these examples, showing how certain social conditions could give rise to particular, yet interconnected taxonomies of style. In case studies one and two, women were found to have leveraged style as a response to loss, memorialising bygone communities and ways-of-life that had been ushered out of the city in the name of municipal progress. Style, operating here as a form of memorial, was also a way of claiming dignity: paying tribute to values, rituals, lifestyles and communities that were frequently stripped of respect in the public eye, claiming space on behalf of all those ritually unseated by Glasgow's master plans for the future. In case studies one and four, style was found to operate as reverie. In the former, style conjured a fleeting, dream-like shelter, physical and metaphorical, of warm, protective, beautiful material that could recast one's place in a society that had designated 'slumdwelling' people as a problem to be solved. In case study four, the consumer landscapes of the late 1970s and early 1980s witnessed the realisation of long-held reveries of dignity and social mobility, ironically resulting not in the sudden visibility of subjects in ways they had always dreamed of being seen, but their disappearance, as they were finally able to reach, through new clothing, closer than ever toward a classless, placeless feminine ideal. In case study three, it was found to operate as resistance, allowing women to stake out space for themselves in the city and take pleasure in ways-of-life considered abject in dominant frameworks of interpretation, efforts a new generation of women could then ally themselves with. This idea of resistance by taking pleasure where it would not seem possible, of insisting on excesses in spaces of enclosure, runs through the whole thesis. Style has been shown to act as a means by which women laid claim to spaces they had officially been denied purchase – whether soon-to-be-demolished slums, public washhouses, grand department stores or crowded city streets – and imbue them with new meaning. It showed how the traces of these hard-won spaces were worn, as fragments, on the surface of their bodies, as a way of moving through the city.

5.4 Limits and recommendations

It is these strands of style as memorial, resistance and reverie, as well as the use of images as a primary source, that have set the limits of this study, demanding rich avenues for further research be left aside. One major omission here is the subject of nightlife and recreation, which has not been tackled despite being a vital forum for the playing out of women's style in Glasgow. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the city witnessed the cropping up of bars, nightclubs, music venues and record stores which provided the foundation for an active counter-cultural scene. Many of these latter-day venues played with the dereliction

of Glasgow's landscape to make their offering unique, which made for a dynamic, multi-layered landscape of abandonment and new life. Restaurants like Rogano languished in the city's 1930s shipbuilding heyday, bars like Manhattan lined the empty banks of the Clyde, and music venues, such as the Muscular Arms or Electric Garden, riffed on their legacy as dancehalls, once febrile meeting places for local women and visiting American GIs. Pubs and clubs such as Maestros, the Ragamuffin and The Muscular Arms became fashionable places that made a pastiche of bygone times. In this time, the city also became home to a number of fashion boutiques and designers which similarly used the city's rough edges to leaven their own: from David Mullane's The Warehouse, a several storey concept store situated in Glasgow's Merchant City,[17] to designer boutiques such as Ichi Ni San, American leather stores such as Skin Style, and youth-focused clothing stores like In Gear in the city's West End. Women and girls had been demonstrably eager participants in this cultural landscape since the city opened its first dance halls and cinemas in the early 20th century, and continued to relish it in this period.[18]

However, over the course of this research process, it became ever more clear that women's style, as it has been theorised here, did not emerge in these arenas of youth leisure and choice consumption. Instead, the focus was on women's style as a negotiation with everyday hardships, playing out in public arenas they were forced to occupy, rather than those they flocked to by choice. It also became clear that the linchpin of this study was not teenagers and young adults, so often seen as the natural proponents of style, but older women: those for whom style was not about conforming to or relishing in a youthful bodily ideal, but bearing witness to a life of loss and misrepresentation, surfacing a complex self that could countenance those memories with dreams for the future. While the clothing stores and music venues of Glasgow were exciting places for women's self-expression, they were also places dedicated to the idea of escape: where they could go to shake off or ironize their contemporary struggles, or the legacies of those that had taken place in the recent past.

There are also avenues of research that have been avoided because of constraints on time and space. In particular, many distinctions in the ethnic, cultural or geographic background of its subjects have not been tackled here that are ripe for examination in greater detail. It would have been fruitful, for instance, to further pursue the specific character of women's style among Italian or Jewish migrants to Glasgow. These peaked in numbers around the turn of the 20th century, weaving themselves into the fabric of the city via a wide range of trades, forming strongholds in inner-city neighbourhoods that would undergo clearances and

[17] Beca Lipscombe and Lucy McKenzie, *The Inventors of Tradition*, (London: Koenig Books, 2011), p.59.
[18] See Sarah Lowndes, *Social Sculpture: The Rise of the Glasgow Art Scene*, (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2010), pp. 30-49 and Eddie Tobin, *Are ye Dancin'?,* (Edinburgh: Waverley Books, 2010).

dispersals in their own particular directions.[19] It would also be fascinating to examine the evolution of women's style among Glasgow's substantial South Asian population, who first arrived in the city as Lascars (merchant seamen) in the 19th century and came in greater volumes after the Commonwealth Immigrant Act in 1962.[20] Lascars – suffering similar stigma to the city's Irish Catholic population – were frequently found hawking wares at Paddy's Market, with many later making a living as door-to-door catalogue salesmen. Mostly settling in Pollokshields, South Asian women built on these legacies to become active participants in Glasgow community life.[21] Arrivals into Glasgow from the country's Highlands also came with their own discrete cultures, social treatment, and attitudes to dress, with great potential to take as a springboard to attending to legacies of displacement and discipline tracing back to the Western Isles.[22]

Another potential line of research is the playing out of women's style in specific areas of Glasgow as well as across Central and Western Scotland. There is much more to be said about the particularities of women's style in Glasgow's post-war new towns, for example, such as Cumbernauld, Irvine or Livingstone, as well as existing towns which were subject to major post-war redevelopment, such as Motherwell and Clydebank. Designed with space, convenience, privacy and often a sense of exclusivity in mind, these towns were free of some of the cultures of surveillance familiar to schemes in the inner-city, as well as being intentionally divorced from the social institutions and grassroots urban cultures that anchored its traditional working-class enclaves.[23] Style as memorial, resistance and reverie would, therefore, have had variations here – manifesting in different ways, finding different emphases. By contrast, further investigation into women's style as it played out in the 'big four' overspill estates of Pollok, Castlemilk, Easterhouse and Drumchapel, where poorer tenants were often assigned homes en-masse, would also have had distinct results, owing to the greater sense of social control exerted over these sites, the greater chance of the preservation of bygone urban cultures, and the tension between residents' connection to and alienation from the inner-city.

However, an equal hope for this research is that its approach to style can also extend beyond the site and time period in question into new historical contexts. For example, the focus of this work on 'women's style', as a discursive, rather than biological grouping, has been important in the context of the masculinist historiography of Glasgow, helping to elaborate new understandings of a historically under-represented group, and to think specifically about the conditions of gender experience that allowed style in this form to

[19] See Mary Edward, *Who Belongs to Glasgow? 200 Years of Migration*, (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1993).
[20] Bashir Maan, *The New Scots: The story of Asians in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn Publishers, 2001); Sue Morrison, *She Settles in the Shields: Untold Stories of Migrant Women in Pollokshields*, (Glasgow Women's Library, 2011).
[21] Ibid.
[22] See Charles J. Withers, *Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1988).
[23] Peter Reid, 'Glasgow's New Towns', in Peter Reid, *Glasgow: the Forming of the City*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 24-41.

emerge. It has helped to set out style as something possessed by a marginal group, collectively and as individuals. However, the aim of this has not been to confine this conceptualisation of style to women but to outline how it can function as a form of biographical excess, iterated though memorial, resistance and reverie, in the hopes that may resonate with a range of subjects who have themselves contended with their reduction, subjugation and stigmatisation in the public sphere. It has attended, particularly, to the paucity of language available to describe the particularities of class experience, in the hope this can be carried forward into analyses of subjects who seldom see their identities reflected in the dominant frameworks of class experience.

5.5 Aims and contribution to knowledge

First and foremost, this has been done in the hope that this framework may be bought to an infinite range of as-yet-unstudied images, particularly photographs, of urban, working-class life in Britain. In this context, the use of images as a historical source has often been foreclosed by debates regarding their truthfulness and accuracy as representations of a broader demographic.[24] Heavily encoded not just with authorial narratives of stigma and struggle, these images have also often had a potent and sometimes immobilising place in the popular imagination as documents of popular memory. In both cases, the rich narrative complexity of their representation of the working-classes has been sidelined in favour of, as Stephen Brooke has asserted, a desire to seek broadly 'legible representations' of class experience.[25] This thesis has touched on a movement in Britain in the 1980s, spearheaded by a range of photography collectives, to challenge these tendencies:[26] however, these tended to focus on political and often autobiographical critiques on the production and circulation of these photographs, rather than looking for expanded ways of treating them as a historical source. The Café Royal publishing house, established in 2005, and the British Culture Archive, established in 2017, represent a recent, growing appreciation of documentary photography as a unique, expanded register of 20th century working-class experience. However, the scant academic attention these repositories have thus far attracted demonstrates the distance still to be travelled in terms of the use of this form of photography as a historical source. The hope is that by bringing new methods of reading these photographs into the field they will be able to disrupt the sociological or historical discourses that still predominate over working-class, regional British cities, which still relegate such images to illustrating

[24] Peter Hitchcock, 'They Must Be Represented? Problems in Theories of Working-Class Representation', *PMLA*, Special Topic: Rereading Class, (January, 2000), pp. 20-32.
[25] Stephen Brooke, 'Revisiting Southam Street: Class, Generation, Gender and Race in the Photography of Roger Mayne', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 2, (April, 2014), pp. 453-496.
[26] See Noni Stacey, *Photography of Protest and Community: The Radical Collectives of the 1970s*, (London: Lund Humphries, 2020); Patricia Holland & Jo Spence (eds), *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography,* (Virago Press, 1991)

narratives of their deindustrialisation, poverty or urban decay. As Ariella Azoulay argued in her recent book *Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography*, critical attention to photography is still too often circumscribed by its categorisation as an artwork or, in this case, as a document of oppression,[27] when it should instead be approached as a vernacular 'political ontology – an ontology of the many, operating in public, in motion'.[28]

Ultimately, *Depth and Surface* situates its contribution to knowledge in two broad categories: theoretical, relating to its outlining of style as a subject and historical lens, and practical, providing richer insight into working-class women's identity and social world in Glasgow, both in the period in question and beyond. In regards to the first, it has made a contribution to the field of historiography by joining up a broad, seldom as yet linked range of critical theoretical perspectives on style and the surface. It has drawn out style as a thread that runs between examples of second and third-wave feminist critique, like that of Butler, Steedman, Wilson, McRobbie and Young, contemporaneous discussion around the use and meaning of documentary photography, and contemporary intersectional scholarship on the important of surface and self-presentation in disciplines such as Black cultural studies, queer theory and affect theory. Through its framing of style, it has highlighted the shared objective of these disciplines to find ways to interpret the lives of marginal citydwellers with the same nuance, complexity and dimension afforded to the universalised figure of the white, middle-class, heterosexual male. It has demonstrated the scope of this seemingly disparate, contemporary critical scholarship to help to answer long-held calls for a more expansive, refined language to locate and describe working-class female subjectivity in Britain. As bell hooks writes, marginality is not only a set of physical circumstances but a way of seeing: one that, with the right tools (or the shedding of the wrong ones), may be adopted as a method by which to research and articulate subjectivity in more democratic ways.[29] By claiming marginality as a perspective for research, it may become instrumental in the 'production of a counter hegemonic discourse that is not just found in words but in habits of being and the way one lives'.[30] Calling on her approach has helped to situate style as an intersectional framework which is drawn from the margins, influenced by those who, living at the intersection of greater oppressions, have pioneered ways to better see and understand subjects who lie beyond the 'central interpretive devices' of the academy.[31]

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[27]Ariella Azoulay, *Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography*, (London: Verso, 2015), p. 18.
[28] Azoulay, *Civil Imagination*, p. 20.
[29] bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center,* (London: Routledge, 2015); bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*, (South End Press, 1990); bell hooks, 'Choosing the margin as a space of radical openness', *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, No. 36 (1989), pp. 15-23.
[30] hooks, 'Choosing the Margin', p. 20.
[31] hooks, 'Choosing the Margin', p. 16.

Secondly, *Depth and Surface* has tentatively made a contribution to knowledge in the form of experimental research in the field of Scottish gender history. As discussed in the introduction, while women have become much better represented in this area in recent years, a paucity of more experimental, speculative studies of gender still remains. The approach this thesis has taken has allowed for the re-interpretation of a range of as-yet-unstudied primary evidence, from photography, to literature, to press discussion, to reflect how these forms of representation often helped to foment a historical 'reality' that was, in fact, a one-dimensional view of the individuals they captured. Together, these experimental case studies have demonstrated that dress was a major strand of the cultural life of many women living in Glasgow, but had never been fully investigated as such because the language and framing of conventional academic method was not expansive enough to capture the depth of its meaning. These methods have also afforded closer attention, and a richer understanding, of the interstitial, informal, hard-to-document spaces and cultures of Glasgow in which women played out so much of their lives. It has demonstrated that, rather than being invisible because they were historically irrelevant, these kinds of informal arrangement actively resisted the scrutiny of outsiders, requiring a broader set of critical techniques to help bring them into view.

Finally, this thesis has contributed new interpretation of style as a form of embodied resistance, challenging the monopoly of Hebdige's *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* over this concept. This has not been to deny the value of subcultural style as a frame of analysis: instead, it has been to demonstrate that it is just one strand of a broader set of possibilities of how style as a form of resistant expression might be read and understood. Where Hebdige described style as a 'signifying practice',[32] in which certain signs were stripped from their original context and paraded, by the wearer, in a heroic transposition of their meaning, here, style has instead been situated as a mode of trans-generational embodied knowledge, in which women draw on the original meaning of objects and materials from their pasts to give their bodies new dimension in the present. It has presented the possibility of style as a way for individuals to resist while adhering to the endless, often unavoidable demands placed on their bodies: turning what might normally be seen as a process, system or frame which diminishes marginal lives into a forum on which women executed artful negotiations between what was demanded, and what they desired. In doing so, it has also presented the possibility of style not as a form of youth culture, contingent on leisure time, spending power, and masculine forms of expression, but a product of labour, born specifically from the burdens placed on adults who, whether by dint of their lower socio-economic status or another form of marginality, alight on style as a necessary tool with which to resist, in order to better live.

[32] Hebdige, 'Style as a Signifying Practice', in *Subculture*, pp. 117-127.

A consequence in that shift in interpretation has been to open up the possibility of style as a feminine form of expression, bearing the inscription of spaces, forms of sociality, labours and ways-of-life that subcultural style has proved structurally unable to treat as significant. Style, used in this way, presents an invitation to dwell on the surface of the body and read it differently, to give adequate attention to the parts of the self it exposes, and to take the measure of the parts, by necessity, it conceals.

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