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Study Number 7053

From the Coalface to the Car Park? The Intersection of Class and
Gender in Women's Lives in the North East, 2007-2009

USER GUIDE



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CONSENT FORM

'From the Coal face to the Car Park? The intersections of class and gender in women's lives in the North East'

Dear participant,

You have been approached to participate in research which focuses on women's lives in the North East, exploring the links between class and gender. The project website is available at:

<http://www.ncl.ac.uk/gps/research/sociology/womanslivesnortheast.html>

Interview

The interview will be conducted by either Yvette Taylor or Michelle Addison and will last between one and two hours. Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at ANY stage. The interview is completely confidential and data gathered will be anonymised. It will be offered for storage at the Economic and Social Data Archive see: <http://www.esds.ac.uk>. Everyone who participates will be informed about the overall project findings and outputs in a newsletter. The research team work within the British Sociological Association ethical code: please see <http://www.britisoc.co.uk> for more information.

Personal details

Name:

Age:

Address:

Tel:

Email:

Date of interview:

"I hereby agree to participate in this interview on the understanding that I will be recorded for transcription with the knowledge that all data is completely confidential and anonymous. I understand that I can withdraw from this research at any stage".

Signed (participant):----- Date: -----

Signed (Interviewer):-----Date: -----

Research Report 'From the coal face to the car park? The intersection of class and gender in women's lives in the North East' (2007-2009)

Yvette Taylor (PI) & Michelle Addison (RA, 12 months)

Background

This research adopted a multi-dimensional approach to explore women's lives (n=97) in the North East of England in the context of de-industrialisation and the transition to a service sector, leisure based economy. It investigated the emergence of 'new' femininities in a situation of industrial 'degeneration' and regeneration, investigating what has hitherto been under-researched when compared with the attention that has focused on boys' and men's experiences of these social processes. In interviewing women across the age range (16-85 yrs), the main concern was whether gender and class inequalities are eroded and/or recreated and to what extent change incorporates actual, material, shifts or 'imagined' subjective movements, away from 'old' 'traditional' identities towards new, 'mobile' (dis)positions.

The themes of mobility and transformation occupy centre stage in many sociological accounts, where 'movement' references people and places in 'new' times, often without situating how movements may actually be embedding or reconstituting inequalities, spatially, culturally and materially. There is a body of literature that examines reconstructions of identity in the context of deindustrialisation and restructured, fragmented job 'opportunities' (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 1998; Charlesworth, 2000; Strangleman, 2004). The tale of de-industrialisation is generally seen as a masculine one, with particular consequences for masculinity, male employability and male 'breadwinning' capacities. This is summed up in the so-called 'crisis of masculinity' whereby 'traditional' jobs unavailable to working-class men, are being replaced by a service based, gendered economy (Wheelock, 1994; Spence, 1998; McDowell, 2000; Delamont, 2001; Walkerdine et al., 2000; Nayak, 2003). Such a 'crisis' is charted economically, socially and culturally as working-class boys and men's positions and responses are investigated, often pointing to the gendered reversals that the service sector fosters, creating new opportunities for women, rather than men. The gendered (mis)fit assumes a shift from a traditional, now floundering, working-class male landscape to a new, rejuvenated feminised landscape.

Against this background, this research sought to bridge the gap in understanding how women are placed, and place themselves, within regional transition and how gender and class impacts upon subjective and material negotiations. Some critical attention has touched on this via an examination of working-class women's (dis)identifications, namely their avoidance from and desire to 'escape' the markers of class (Lawler, 2000; Skeggs, 1997). Working-class women may be unable to positively invest in a (masculine) working-class identity (to claim a 'Real Geordie' status (Nayak, 2003)) but the theorisation of class solely in terms of dis-identification can be interrogated to include a stronger sense of when working-class *and* middle-class women do/not identify themselves as classed (Byrne, 2006; Taylor, 2009).

Objectives

All objectives were addressed and met by the research. Please note that the Research Assistant (Grade F, Point 24) was employed for 12 months of this 2 year project.

The main objective of this research was to elucidate women's varied positioning within regional transition/stagnation and the significance of gender and class in mediating identifications with 'past' landscapes, present desires and material (im)possibilities. The comparative attention to middle-class and working-class femininities being produced, recycled and resisted amongst both younger and older women aimed to offer a way of theorising the intersection of class and gender in women's lives in the context of transition, including: de-industrialisation, service sector growth, city centre regeneration and contrasting 'degeneration'.

As the project title: *'From the coal face to the car park? The intersection of class and gender in women's lives in the North East'* implies, the objectives lay in charting the gendered transitions from industrial working-class landscapes of one or two generations ago, to a current present and (imagined) future: some parts of the North East (both urban and rural) are still heavily coded as 'working-class' and the aim was to explore the ways in that women respond to, take up or 'lose out' in the re-signification, resurgence and contradiction of and within the North East of England. Methodologically, this was achieved in situating the study within differently classed locales, including suburban, rural and city-centre space.

- To examine the ways that de-industrialisation has impacted on women's lives in the North East: How do women themselves negotiate, benefit from or struggle with such transition? Are some women able to 'move' and claim resources in the reclamation of wealth, are others 'fixed' and excluded from such processes and how do gender and class affect this?
- To offer a contribution to the field of class analysis, exploring class beyond that which can be measured and quantified but which still retains a crucial focus on the material. To interrogate material, subjective and spatial aspects of class as also intersecting with theories of gender and 'new femininities', contributing to the theorisation of classed femininity and transition, extended across the age range.

Methods

The number of interviews exceeded initial predictions; this was due to user group involvement and PI/RA participation in local events and community groups, resulting in a tremendous response. Transcription costs were kept within budget as PI/RA also transcribed interviews. In total, 97 interviews (55 face to face interviews and 8 focus groups) were conducted with white women from different class backgrounds: sixty-six women self-identified as working-class, twenty-two as middle-class and nine were reluctant to state or could not name their class position. Participants ranged in age from 16-85 years, a diversity aimed for given that the concept of 'transition', so crucial to this project, is mostly explored in terms of (male) 'failed' youth transitions,

effacing gendered legacies and changes between older and younger female generations. The focus was initially on three differently classed locales in the North East (Jasmine Vale, Bridge Burn, and Easter Hill) which were selected for their distinctiveness in terms of recent history, class character, and differing post-industrialisation experiences. With these locations came a hoped for contrast between a suburban new town (Jasmine Vale), a deprived estate (Bridge Burn) and a rural community (Easter Hill). Over the course of the research, interviews were conducted outside of these specific areas (including, for example, County Durham and North Tyneside).

The PI and RA were able to approach a range of groups in these areas (see annex), attend community events and advertise in general newsletters and newspapers all of which yielded responses. As 'locals' and residents of the North East and as researchers at an institution in the North East, our intentions were rarely questioned and an ease of access was experienced overall. Yet, there were palpable classed differences to the responses received and the 'vulnerability' and over-researching of various groups was also differently demonstrated and negotiated across samples: one gatekeeper mentioned that women in poorer areas often feel over-consulted by local government about area regeneration issues, becoming rather suspicious of institutions and researchers. In contrast, another group, in a more affluent area, was well used to being consulted and responded to, having managed to successfully challenge the local authority on resident's parking and late night drinking licenses, also receiving media coverage as a result of their success. Differently again, the co-ordinators of one youth group (focus group 8) had such a hard time managing and responding to the everyday problems of their members that participating in the project was almost impossible and, at times, constituted an unnecessary infringement on constrained space and time. Such initial encounters served as a reminder of the efforts still needed in researching different women's lives. These different experiences were somewhat eclipsed in communicating research findings to local authorities and public sectors organisations in the North East, in the hope of practicing a more 'public sociology'; here expert audiences were convinced that the most pertinent gender issue was that of teenage pregnancy – a facet remarkably absent from both younger and older women's accounts, perhaps revealing the discordance between 'expert' and 'everyday' discourses and experiences. A future submission entitled 'Placing yourself: public sociology, personal politics' (*Sociology*) will discuss such methodological issues.

Interviews elaborated on key questions, including women's experience of regional transition/stagnation and their material and subjective negotiations within shifting, yet 'contradictory' landscapes, exploring exactly how they locate themselves and others: what localised investments are made with or against new service-based opportunities. In extending the focus upon gendered roles and inequalities beyond the workplace, women's own self-situations within narratives of economic and cultural 'progression' were explored. Interviews were transcribed and analysed using a grounded theory approach, allowing for the coding of themes as they emerge from the data (Taylor, 2006b). Both PI and RA marked up transcripts in Atlas.ti, allowing for manageability, continually discussing emerging and existing codes and swapping transcripts. Preliminary analysis has applied feminist analyses of gendered and classed inequalities in the context of social change and continuation.

Results

This research drew on a wide range of literature and frameworks; sociological work on social transformation and division (Beck, 1992; Bauman, 2000; Urry, 2000); feminist frameworks regarding gender inequality and identity (Adkins, 2002; Skeggs, 1997, 2004; McRobbie, 2009); and youth studies approaches on transition and 'social exclusion' (MacDonald et al., 2001; Nayak, 2003). Project findings points to the ways that gender and class may be reconfigured, pointing towards the reshaping of exclusions and their intersecting dimensions, materially, spatially and culturally. This provides a departure from the over-emphasis upon the mobility and transformation of people and places in 'new' times. Notions of stagnation and decline sit alongside ideas of transformation and improvement – this dichotomy is actively negotiated in younger and older women's material, subjective and spatial (dis)locations.

Both gender and class are highlighted as relevant in the reclamation and contestation of social space (workplace, home space, leisure space), in the transformations from and continuations between the 'past', 'present' and imagined 'future'. This research departs from over-emphasise on masculine 'crisis' and the tendency to measure feminine 'success' against such a benchmark, also highlighting generational differences within this. Where young women have been over-burdened with the expectation of 'can do' achievement *and* the (classed) failure in securing this (Walby, 1997; McRobbie, 2009), such an intersectional focus probes at material and subjective (dis)investments and (im)mobilities in 'new' times. Intra-regional differences highlight the enduring coding of some parts of the North East as 'working-class' and the varied investment, refusals and negotiations within this as actors (dis)identify with regional 'degeneration' and regeneration; middle-class women could seek out a 'good mix' and 'balance' in workplace, residential and leisure spaces where the existence of middle-class terrain was also made visible and problematised.

- Women are differently placed, and place themselves, within processes of transition with middle-class women more able to 'get ahead' in 'new' times, while working-class women still strive to 'get by'. This queries the move towards and assumed fit into a 'feminised' labour force, which has been highlighted in foregrounding male failure/'crisis'.
- Transformation and continuation are marked on, and indeed embedded, in the landscape, where regional efforts on regeneration can be conceptualised against the backdrop of de-industrialisation and (urban) re-branding; the 'past', 'present' and 'future' sit uneasily in these (re)imagings, evident in interviewees accounts of (not) 'fitting-in'.
- Such re-constitutions are suggestive of different forms and consequences of social transformation, negotiated in the classed and gendered dis-identifications where, for some, their presence was marked as distinctly out of place, as opposed to others who could more easily claim a movement and placement compatible with the sense of regional change and mobility.

The persistence and variation of class, spatilaised and embodied by people in (and out of) place has been uncovered in this research alongside the gendering of such processes and (dis)investments. It queries who can claim a presence, whether that be in the 'past', present or/and 'future' and points to the continuation and reconfiguration

of gender and class inequalities in the context of transition. Specific areas are explored below: de-industrialisation, service sector growth, city centre regeneration and contrasting 'degeneration' (in leisure spaces and home residences):

De-Industrialisation: tired associations, continued (re)claimings

Industrialisation has been positioned as good (for men) and de-industrialisation bad (for men). This research suggests the worth in paying attention to women's positioning within contested economic, social and cultural change, which were variously disputed, refused and welcomed, making clear the different responses from those who are 'getting ahead' in 'new' times as opposed to those who are simply 'getting-by' or even 'losing out': the research uncovered this as a profoundly classed process. This complex, and emotive, narration of change and (not)belonging is suggestive of the significance of class, gender and generation in lamenting or celebrating 'new' and 'old' times, resonating with yet departing from Nayak's (2003) account of 'Real (male) Geordies' who are able to make classed and gendered claims of employment, locale and leisure terrain. Accounts illustrate the pull of the 'past', for example the industrial heritage of mining and shipbuilding, particularly lamented in ex-mining communities. For example, one interviewees' (working-class, 51) sense of loss was narrated in terms of her husband's once secure employment, the passing of which goes beyond her own loss, affecting a communal decline: 'I think the closure of the pit really, spelt the end of civilisation as we knew it...'. Yet there were various (dis)investments in enduring legacies, disputed also for their 'tired associations' where the past links were disputed rather than repeated, and rejected in favour of new, better relations. Here the 'past' is put to rest in seemingly making claims to 'get on' and 'ahead'; for example, in refusing the (over) associations of the ex-mining community one interviewee (53, working-class) commented that she was '...the one person who tried to stop [the film] *Billy Elliott* being filmed here': the depicted tale of masculine 'crisis' did not speak to her 'past' or present investments. Importantly such processes are material and subjective, not necessarily relating directly to an actual 'true' past, often saying more about current (dis)identifications: younger women could, at times, be seen as nostalgically awaiting the return of a 'past' which they were never part of (i.e mining, shipbuilding) but this would be to ignore their experience via family members and the importance of such familial, and area-based transitions (and recollections) in situating women in the 'present' landscape of the North East. For example, two young interviewees remembered times and places now gone, of shipbuilding and coal mining, recalled through their granddad's and uncle's 'stories'; for both young women these stories serve to created a fixed sense of place where absent people and places are re-written into the landscape and (re)claimed.

In transition: social, economic, cultural capitals

Much research on (youth) transitions has deployed the term 'transitions' to locate the structural processes of change located in educational and employment markets, lived out in the local landscape (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005), where 'local' identities are produced in a 'globalised world' (Nayak, 2003). Yet 'youth studies' has experienced a separation between those emphasising structural and cultural perspectives (MacDonald et al., 2001), failing to produce a broad conceptualisation of 'transition' which includes intersecting social, economic and cultural processes: there is often an

under-theorisation of class and gender in such accounts of transition. Set against a concern about 'social exclusion' and 'disconnected youth', the interest in social networks, communities and kinship systems has been revived by social capital theorists in attempts to measure the value of social connectedness (Putman, 1993, 1995). The concept of 'social capital' has been widely deployed in examining the different forms of 'bonding' rather than 'bridging' capital which people have access to, yet care has to be taken here so as not to represent people as solely responsible for their own poverty, given their inability to generate empowering social networks, while relying on deviant, value-less ones. Differently, for Bourdieu (1984), social capital is named and understood as a classed resource, pointing also to the entrenched, emotional 'value' of spaces, relevant to how social space is viewed and negotiated. This specifically classed framework of intersecting social, cultural and economic capitals has analytical purchase in theorising younger *and* older women's experience of transition, resonating with project findings, also extended in considering the ways that classed capitals may also be understood as gendered (Devine, 2004; Reay, 2004). Amongst older women in particular, the sense of loss was lamented in the lack of safety and the inability to keep doors open. A much repeated descriptor of 'Old Bridge Burn' was its community spirit where people (especially mothers) once helped each other along, given the commonality of 'having nothing'. The shutting of doors and shared spaces, which had been literally been closed off by coded door entry systems and increased levels of CCTV, as a 'regeneration' effort, seemed to concretize uncertainty about commonalities and connectedness, pointing to the relevance of material and emotional landscapes under transition.

Place to be? Leisure economies, leisured selves

Notions of stagnation and decline sit alongside ideas of transformation and improvement – this dichotomy is actively negotiated in younger and older women's material, subjective and spatial (dis)locations. The rejuvenation of the North East via the consumption of leisure sharply highlights new segregations, with the 'wrong' people relegated and (mis)placed into the 'wrong' areas; gender and class are relevant in the reclamation and contestation of social space (including exemplary sites of NE regeneration e.g. The Baltic Art Gallery, The Sage Concert Hall, the Quayside/Millennium Bridge development): one focus group (young working-class women) member felt that 'Everyone looks you up and down', 'It's [Baltic] dead expensive', 'There's always old grannies in it and we don't like it...'. Geographies, both physical and moral, contribute to the construction and reconstruction of understandings of 'appropriate' femininity; this is witnessed in women's educational, occupational and leisure pursuits. Competing conceptualisations, of change, fluidity and distinction are of value when considering women's own subjective 'sense of place', as well as the material realities constraining and enabling these. This is particularly pertinent in relation to young women, frequently held up as the 'can do' opposition against young men's 'failure', missing out the re-inscription of class and gender division, beyond a simple binary of (dis)placement (Harris, 2004; McRobbie, 2004; Nayak and Kehily, 2008). Interviewees at once navigate romanticised representations and rememberings, which seek to reaffirm traditional femininity ('Our Mam', Lawler, 2000), alongside contemporary representations which mourn the loss of gendered demarcations, problematising women's appearance in public, especially leisure, space and their uptake of a 'laddish' drinking culture (Jackson and Tinkler, 2005; McRobbie, 2000). Such depictions of 'loss' at times serve to uphold and

valorise a somewhat mythical and romanticised past, where traditional gender and class roles kept people 'in their place'. These representations and discourses are relevant in the everyday negotiation of place, impacting upon reconfigurations of 'appropriate' femininity. Women negotiated such representations and everyday realities, evident in the distinctions and dis-identifications they made in making claims to (some) space. Middle-class women could more easily claim a movement and placement compatible with the sense of change and mobility; they are likely to be recognised as actively making use of space, investing in themselves and their landscape. This is evident in one young middle-class woman's account 'And I love walking down to the Quayside, there's so many sort of landmarks, literally all within however many metres... I think it gives a really positive modern feel, like, it's quite like vibrant and nice places down there and things to do...'

Residing inequalities

While leisure spaces have been coded as exemplars of urban transformation (and indeed regeneration of the North East more generally) signalling a potential and capability in becoming culturally, and economically advanced, such spatial transformation and rebranding also applies to residential areas. This research asked if transition and regeneration are simply watched from the outside or actively recognised and claimed in local communities: where some places are deemed fit for inclusion in regeneration efforts, others are sidelined, existing on the periphery of transformation, where any changes may instead be negatively perceived by residents as 'degenerations'. The division between places emerged from interviewee accounts, as against wholesale 'improvements'. Rather than articulating a notion of regeneration, women in more deprived localities spoke instead of decline, where they had lost a sense of and claim to space, viewing changing locations as increasingly filled with the 'wrong' type of people; classed – and racialised – distinctions were invoked here to highlight who and what was still of worth in such (negatively) transformed spaces. The numeration ('full of') and description of ethnicity and classed markers ('chav') is suggestive of an excessive number of the 'wrong' bodies in space, impacting on resources and a sense of (classed and racialised) entitlement. Distinctions between insiders/outsideers and ambivalences about the direction of the change in this area were also articulated in affluent areas, for example, in areas becoming 'too commercialised' or 'built up', apparently available to consumers who were nonetheless positioned as lacking entitlement/authenticity ('It is very manufactured to sort of be an image, it's like living up to the brand of Jasmine Vale, which is, like...that doesn't sit particularly well with me' 26, middle-class.) The suburban new town of Jasmine Vale was often directly contrasted with deprived council estate, Bridge Burn, situated instead as a successful, vibrant, regenerated space, transformed from a middle-class residential suburb to a leisure space, with many restaurants, hotels and bars. However, distinctions between insiders/outsideers and ambivalences about the direction of the change in this area were also articulated, resonating with Byrne's (2006) findings about the classed, and racialised, 'mix' sought by middle-classes in residential choice.

Reconfigurations of class and gender in 'changing' times

Where the themes of mobility and transformation occupy centre stage in sociological accounts, certain 'movements' may be reconstituting class and gender inequalities,

spatially, culturally and materially (Adkins, 2002; Nayak, 2003). In exploring women's experiences of de-industrialisation and ensuing transition, regeneration and 'stagnation', questioning the polarisation of an industrial 'past' against the service based 'present', this research speaks to such reconfigurations: rather than detached, 'reflexive' mobile choices, it seems that classed and gender are embodied in individuals' sense of place, in feelings of belonging and in everyday identifications; they are materially enacted in the resources and opportunities that are available or denied. Some (younger, middle-class) women are able to 'move' and claim resources in the reclamation of wealth, while others are 'fixed' and excluded from such processes, intersecting class and gender. In making apparent the reconfigurations of class and gender in 'changing' times the scope and 'success' of 'new' femininities within shifting gender and class relations is queried. Nayak and Kehily (2008) note that new forms of femininity could be viewed in terms of shaping the reflexive project of the self, challenging traditional notions of patriarchy (in contrast to limited notions of masculinity in 'crisis'). However, between femininities there is a marginalisation of certain classed subjects and thus closer, critical attention to the inclusions and exclusions being reproduced in changing times is suggestive of a less optimistic conclusion than that frequently referenced in accounts of reflexive 'choice', material /spatial/subjective 'mobility', and post-feminist times.

A monograph is under contract: *Fitting into place? Transitions and intersections of gender, class and identity* (Ashgate, 2011)

Chapter 1: From the Coal Face to the Car Park? Intersections of Class and Gender
(literature review and methodology)

Chapter 2: Re-writing the Job Spec? Gender Transformations and Continuations
'Work' and what counts?

Servicing our brothers, servicing our sisters
Frustrated and going nowhere or fulfilled and moving somewhere
'The past, is my present, to your future': legacies and changes

Chapter 3: Classed 'pasts', Classed futures?

United we stood (now divided I fall): classed frustrations and tired associations
New departures: Up and coming or down and out?
The past, the future and the bit in between

Chapter 4: 'New' Femininities: Post-industrial, Post-Feminist?

'How it used to be': material gestures
Going out, where to go and how to get there
(Re)generations: fluidities and fixities

Chapter 5: A Place of Aspiration: Trajectories in Place

New stories for old places? Out with the old, in with the new
Placing youth in narratives of decline and renewal
(Re)constituting the past, (re)branding the present and (re)imagining the future

Chapter 6: A Place for All and Everyone in Their Place? Moral and Material Geographies

Change, familiarity and geography: then and now, us and them

Inside out and outside in – belonging and fitting in
Regenerations and 'degenerations': The mission of a 'good mix'

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Outputs:

Publications

Books

- Taylor, Y. (ed. forthcoming, 2010) *Our working-class lives: classed connections and intersections (Title TBC)* Ashgate
- Taylor, Y. (2011) *Fitting into place? Transitions and intersections of gender, class and identity*. Ashgate

Journal Articles

- Taylor, Y. and Addison, M. (forthcoming, 2009) '(Re)constituting the past, (Re)branding the present and (Re)imagining the future: Women's spatial negotiation of gender and class'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, Special Issue Young People, Class and Place

Newsletters

- 'Fieldwork Completed'
- Girls just want to have fun'

Conference Papers/Seminar Series

The project overlapped with the postgraduate and early career seminar series 'Our Working-Class Lives' (2005-2007) organised by PI.

- '(Re)constituting the past, (Re)branding the present and (Re)imagining the future: Women's spatial negotiation of gender and class' *European Sociological Association* (September, 2009) PI
- 'Regenerations and 'degenerations': The mission of a 'good mix'' *Invited seminar, Hull University* (March 2009) PI
- 'We're not all pit bulls!' Young women's spatialised investments and rejections, *BSA Youth Study Group, Young People, Class and Place, University of Teeside* (11th September 2008) PI+RA
- 'From the coal face to the car park?' *BSA Conference, Warwick University* (28th-30th March, 2008) PI+RA
- 'Methods and meeting points: intersections of class, gender and sexuality', *BSA Conference, Warwick University* (28th-30th March, 2008) PI
- 'From the coal face to the car park? Intersections of class and gender in the North East of England' *Annual Association of American Geographers Boston, USA* (15th-19th April, 2008) PI

In addition to the above the following submissions are planned. Dissemination will be ongoing through publication, conference presentation and a final newsletter to user groups:

Planned journal articles

- 'Regenerations and 'degenerations': The mission of a 'good mix'' (*Social and Cultural Geography*) PI

- 'Re-writing the Job Spec? Gender Transformations and Continuations' (*Work, Employment and Society*) PI+RA
- 'Placing yourself: public sociology, personal politics' (*Sociology*)PI+RA

Newsletter

- 'From the Coal Face to the Car Park' Project findings

Conference Presentation/Submission (PI)

- European Sociological Association (2009), British Sociological Association (2010), American Geographical Association (2010), Working-Class Studies Association (2010)

Activities

In exploring the effect of economic, social and cultural restructuring on the experience of gender inequalities this research has practical as well as academic interest. PI/RA engaged in a two-fold dissemination strategy to target both academic and practitioner audiences to a) inform and deepen the academic debate on the complexities of gender and class inequality in the context of social transformation b) to inform and provide guidance to practitioners with regard to the classed and gendered effects of economic development and regeneration. Researchers established a 'user group' including relevant local organisations:

- Jane Carter: Voluntary Organisations Network in the North East (VONNE)
- Jon Carling: North East Research Information Partnership
- Mike Lazzarri: OneNorthEast
- Lesley Thorburn: Local business woman
- Pauline Beaumont: Culture North East
- Maria Lavelle: Theatre Pie
- Kay Winter: Durham County Council
- Kath Watson: CVS
- Kath Lohfink: Inner City Project, National Trust

The user group met on three occasions at the beginning, middle and end of the project; powerpoint presentations were given, discussion generated and feedback submitted on each occasion. The project website is available at: <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/gps/research/sociology/womanslivesnortheast.html>

Impacts

Successful dissemination is underway and will be continued: practitioner dissemination via 'user group', relevant to local policy formation (see outputs); media response (TyneTeas); one edited collection arising from the overlapping Seminar Series and one monograph based on the project; one journal article is forthcoming and several more are anticipated; conference presentation will be ongoing. The RA is now undertaking an ESRC 1+3 award 'The classed and gendered contours of Emotional Labour' supervised by Yvette Taylor (P1).
RA training and development (2007-2008):

Training

Type	Source
Grant Proposal Writing	Prof. Diane Richardson
Creative Thinking	Staff Development Unit (SDU), Newcastle University
Research Questionnaire Design	As above
3 day workshop: Ethics and Research with Vulnerable Groups	Economic and Social Research Council
Public speaking and presentation skills workshop	Royal Shakespeare company: Funded by Newcastle University
Research Presentations	SDU, Newcastle University
Assistance with 1+3 ESRC Funding Application	PI
Atlas.ti	PI

RA Conference/Seminar attendance 2007-2008

- BSA Conference, Warwick
- 'Telling Tales'? Using Ethnographic Fiction', Newcastle University Seminar
- 'Power, agency and resistance in the local economy': CURDS, Newcastle University
- 'Suffering, Salvation and Suffrage', London Women's Library
- 'Chicago After Deindustrialisation', Newcastle University
- 'Reason and the Good with A. C. Grayling', Newcastle University
- 'A new dawn for the culture of the North East', Cafe culture
- A Divided Region? Education, health and wealth, *café politique*
- 2 day Sociology Symposium, Newcastle University
- 'A million off incapacity benefit? Steve Fothersgill' CURDS
- Annual Feminist and Women's Studies Association (UK & Ireland) Conference: 'Feminism and Popular Culture' (2007)
- 'Our working class lives: A new researchers' seminar series' (2007)
- 'Death - car crashes and their uses in Iceland', Newcastle University Seminar
- 'Rethinking the urban experience: the sensory production of place' Manchester University Seminar

Book Review BSA 'Sociology', 2008

Future Research Priorities

This research has highlighted the benefits of cross-generation research and its intersectional framework gave attention to the reconstruction of class and gender. The research was based on white women (16-85 yrs) from middle-class and working-class backgrounds: whiteness is a valued form of ethnicity differently lived through the modalities of class. In taking dimensions of 'intersectionality' further, and in also continuing to probe at the re-configurations of inequalities, future research should

interrogate radicalised and classed positionings, uncovered in representations of 'cosmopolitan', 'mixed' spaces as against 'excessive' unruly spaces. While Nayak (2003) has explored dimensions of race and class, including claims of 'authenticity' and 'entitlement', there remains scope to explore the ways ethnicity also structures class and gender. There are regional, national and indeed international differences to be explored here: the research has significance not only for the North East but for other areas where regeneration is taking place and where working-class, male-dominated industry is being replaced by service sector jobs which are seen as suitable for women e.g. South Wales. Additionally, there remains potential to interrogate further the 'success' of middle-class femininities, given the complexity of intersectional gains and losses along gender, class, and generational lines; this research suggests the story of an easy 'fit' into a 'feminised' economy is flawed, where the economic is only one field to be explored alongside social/cultural fields.

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