HARD WORKERS AND BIG SPENDERS FACING THE BRU:
UNDERSTANDING MEN’S EMPLOYMENT AND CONSUMPTION
IN A DE-INDUSTRIALIZED SCOTTISH VILLAGE.

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NUMEROUS PEOPLE HAVE HELPED ME IN THE COURSE OF THIS FIVE YEAR PROJECT, BY DIVULGING THE DETAILS OF THEIR LIVES, BY SUSTAINING MY ENTHUSIASM AND WILLPOWER, BY PROVIDING ACADEMIC STIMULATION, CRITICAL APPRAISAL OR PERCEPTIVE ETHNOGRAPHIC INSIGHTS, BY GIVING EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, OR BY PROVIDING PRACTICAL ASSISTANCE FOR ME TO CONDUCT THE RESEARCH AND PRODUCE THIS THESIS. I AM MOST INDEBTED TO THE INHABITANTS OF CAULDMOSS WHO ALLOWED TWO TOTAL STRANGERS TO MAKE USE OF THEIR LIVES FOR THEIR OWN ENDS. ALTHOUGH THE VILLAGERS HAD LITTLE ILLUSION THAT THIS RESEARCH WOULD IN ANY WAY IMPROVE THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES, MANY WERE EXTREMELY GENEROUS WITH THEIR TIME AND HOSPITALITY AND NEARLY ALL OF THEM WERE COOPERATIVE INFORMANTS. IN ALL THE OTHER WAYS MENTIONED ABOVE ANNE MARIE BOSTYN, MY COLLEAGUE, AND ERIKA WIMBUSH, MY GIRLFRIEND, WERE ENORMOUSLY HELPFUL. IN PARTICULAR, WITHOUT ANNE MARIE’S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MATERIAL AND TO MY THINKING THIS WOULD BE A GREATLY IMPOVERISHED WORK.

I CANNOT LIST EVERYONE WHO HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THIS THESIS, BUT I WOULD ESPECIALLY LIKE TO MENTION CERTAIN PEOPLE WHO WERE PARTICULARLY GENEROUS WITH THEIR ASSISTANCE. AMONGST THEM ARE SOME EXTREMELY BUSY ACADEMICS WHO SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME READING AND CRITICIZING DRAFT CHAPTERS WITH NO EXPECTATION THAT THEIR GERMINATIVE COMMENTS WOULD EVER BE ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE ACADEMIC ESTABLISHMENT. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO EXPRESS MY GRATITUDE TO ALL THE STAFF OF THE CENTRE FOR LEISURE RESEARCH, MORAY HOUSE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, CRAMOND CAMPUS, FOR THE USE OF THEIR WORD PROCESSORS AND PRINTERS. TO ALL OF THE FOLLOWING, IN CAULDMOSS AND BEYOND, FOR THE VARIED WAYS IN WHICH THEY HAVE HELPED ME, MANY THANKS!

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Desmond McNeill
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Janet Mundy
Miguel Munoz
Mary Noble
Adrian Sinfield
Bob Turner
Margaret Wilson
Erica Wimbush

If it can be said after all this evidence to the contrary, I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself.

Daniel Wight.
This thesis provides an ethnography of an ex-coal mining village in central Scotland, concentrating on the meanings that employment and consumption have for men, and how this is affected by mass unemployment. A particular example of British working class culture is described, relying principally on data gathered through participant observation while living in 'Cauldmoss' for two years, and combining this with the results of questionnaires, time and money budgets and semi-structured interviews. These methods are described in Ch.2.

Ch.3 provides a general ethnography of the village, outlining its history and identifying the main social institutions. The significance of social status in the villagers' daily lives is emphasized. Two conflicting models of stratification are abstracted from the distinctions that inhabitants make. These distinctions are based either on 'restricted' (more traditional) values, or on 'unrestricted' values; though incompatible, the same people often subscribe to both simultaneously. Since "belonging" to Cauldmoss is found to be a fundamental source of identity the significance of 'community feeling' is explored. Gender is introduced as a social division affecting all areas of social life, frequently on a hierarchical basis, and it is intrinsic to the interpretation of male employment.

In Ch.4 both the explicit and implicit meanings attributed to "work" are explored, and the differences in values between generations are described. Essentially employment means time sold in self-sacrifice for the sake of the family wage; to understand why men discipline themselves to this unenjoyable activity one has to appreciate the cultural significance of consumption.

In the first two ethnographic chapters five principal explanatory variables indigenous to the culture of Cauldmoss are identified: social status, community belonging, gender, employment and age. Each of these is expressed through consumption patterns, and each affects how an individual evaluates commodities. This is shown in Ch.5 by the analysis of consumption in terms of culturally ascribed value. Following Sahlins it is argued that this symbolic value is a more useful way of understanding expenditure and consumption than to resort to a supposedly absolute 'use value'. The semiological nature of commodities implies that their meaning is largely arbitrary: this helps to explain the dynamic for increased consumption.

A general analysis of consumption is illustrated in Ch.6 with a detailed description of the use of one particular commodity: alcohol. Drinking is central to male culture in Cauldmoss and it can be understood in terms of the masculinity, adulthood and employment status conveyed, as well as the male solidarity of the village which is reproduced in the pubs. Traditional 'restricted' status values are perpetuated by gregarious ready-spending, while the less constrained drinking patterns of the young in the trendy pubs of the local town, and the drinking at home by some Cauldmoss couples, suggest a move towards 'unrestricted' values.
The cultural criteria by which commodities are valued (as opposed to supposed 'functional' criteria) are demonstrated by the unemployed's perspectives towards consumption, analyzed in Ch.7. Largely because the unemployed in the village do not see themselves as a distinct group, the cultural values ascribed to goods and jobs change little. For older men with a strong 'employment ethic' being without work is the worst aspect of unemployment, while for younger people, who are more likely to assess social status according to 'unrestricted' values, unemployment is suffered most acutely through poverty.
CHAPTER ONE

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

THE FUTURE FOR EMPLOYMENT; CURRENT RESEARCH ON UNEMPLOYMENT.

Although none of the major political parties in Britain has yet acknowledged (publicly) that "full employment" is over for good, five years ago, when this research began, several authors were already addressing the implications of such a development (e.g. Gershuny 1978, Jenkins and Sherman 1979, Gershuny and Pahl 1980, Clemitson and Rodgers 1981, Gorz 1982). Despite the fact that "full employment had actually been an exceptional experience in the history of our economy (only from about 1946 to 1970 was the average unemployment rate less than 2%), and that it had never really been "full" (for women, the handicapped, etc.), it was generally agreed that most men's behaviour and beliefs had been crucially shaped by the experience of regular employment. Conjecture as to what would result from the absence of this central institution was very varied: a "leisure society" in which the masses would be educated to fill their time constructively without employment; a society torn by strife with the immiseration of a lumpen proletariat and frequent riots; a more egalitarian division of labour between the sexes, with the potential for profound changes in gender roles; a change in employment routines allowing for job sharing, sabbaticals or shorter working weeks; an increase in self-provisioning; a growth in the "hidden" (black) economy; the withering away of the "work ethic", and so on.

In 1982 such fascinating speculations were largely unhampered by ethnographic data: the increasing number of research projects which accompanied the rise in unemployment through the 1970s and early '80s were, in general, too specific and too empirical to address these issues more than peripherally. Howe has divided recent studies of
unemployment into three categories. First are the highly empirical "large scale, cross-sectional and longitudinal surveys and the cohort and area based studies carried out by social administrators and policy institutes" (Howe 1986:6). These concentrate on very tangible factors like the demographic characteristics of the registered unemployed, the financial effects of joblessness, employment history and so on. The second category covers social psychological research. This usually concentrates on the psychological effects of unemployment (e.g. changes in mental health, attitudes to work, etc.) with particular groups, such as school leavers, middle-aged men, and so on. These surveys frequently neglect economic factors and, in common with the large scale longitudinal studies, generally disregard cultural concerns.

Both forms of research are usually so prescriptive in their focus (in order to control for numerous variables) that they are unable to explore what, potentially, might be the most profound consequences of long term mass unemployment. The emphasis on statistically reputable survey techniques and measurable data mean such nebulous concepts as "the work ethic" are relegated to introductions or conclusions, where brief speculation about the importance of cultural factors outwith the scope of the research is permisssable. The concern with scientific validity also leads to research methods that effectively prevent any investigation into non legal ways by which people cope with the lack of jobs. It is self-evident that any survey which appears to the respondents as formal, impersonal or official is unlikely to elicit much first hand information about people's illegal activities. Consequently however compelling the statistical evidence of, for instance, a mass survey "to investigate the proposition that the standard of living of people who become unemployed deteriorates" (Moylan 1983:1), the conclusions are inevitably suspect.
Howe's third category of research covers the few qualitative studies of unemployment made since the early '70s. This more ethnographic work attempts to present the concrete experiences of the unemployed, and it is in the tradition of the quasi-anthropological classics from the Great Depression: that of Greenwich (Bakke 1933) and Marienthal (Jadoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1933). Gould and Kenyon (1972) allow nineteen people to tell their own stories of how they lost their jobs, how they responded to being on the dole, and their experience of being dependent on the state with its contradictory roles as both provider and withholder of benefits. Though the book provides vivid accounts of the hardships suffered by the unemployed, one has little idea of the immediate social contexts within which the individuals live, since they are from all over Northern England. Similarly Marsden's detailed interviews with two dozen unemployed people (originally published with Duff 1975, then revised 1982) can only provide occasional glimpses of the cultural constraints which shape their lives. Nearly all those interviewed are from different localities, and there is only limited space to present their subjective comments on their upbringing and their lives with neighbours and relatives (Marsden 1982: Ch.6). Nevertheless Workless gives a graphic description of how the unemployed experience their financial and social deprivation, and their circumstances inform Marsden's analysis of the British economy and his appeal for "a social contract through work". Seabrook's book Unemployment (1982) is more than simply another collection of harrowing tales form the dole, for he tries to understand modern working class culture and explain how values have changed since the 1930s. His argument is that the exhaltation of material concessions yielded by capitalism to the working classes has meant that the improvements are not primarily a relief from the older poverty, but a means to create a different kind of subordination. Most social scientists would be sceptical of Seabrook's romantic account of the past which has been sacrificed for consumerism - with its solidarity and alternative values - and many might despair of his cavalier approach to research methods. Yet he
does address a fundamental topic which carefully formulated surveys are unable to tackle: the redefinition of poverty and enormous change in values amongst the working class since the ‘30s.

These qualitative studies give a vivid picture of life on the dole, but in de-contextualising individuals’ situations or merging their cultural conditioning together to support a central argument, they cannot analyze how the unemployed interact with their immediate social groups and how their behaviour and values are culturally constrained. Apart from these three broad groupings of unemployment research, several general studies have brought together the results of these diverse approaches. Three of the more valuable works are Showler and Sinfield 1981, Sinfield 1981 and Jahoda 1982, which I will return to later.

ROBERT TURNER’S RESEARCH INITIATIVE ON THE MORAL DIMENSIONS OF WORK.

This was the state of research on unemployment at the time when Robert Turner had just completed a social anthropology study of a fishing village on the East coast of Lowland Scotland. One of his main findings had been that "work" constituted one of the most important moral concepts in the local culture (Willis and Turner 1980). If this were so over the whole of industrial Scotland, what was happening to traditional moral categories as a result of widespread unemployment? In 1981 there was little data with which to answer this question, and so Turner submitted a detailed research proposal to the Social Science Research Council

"to conduct an anthropological enquiry into moral aspects of the concepts of work, unemployment, leisure and recreation in a small Scottish town currently experiencing high levels of unemployment."
In an extensive literature review Turner highlighted the principle research objectives: to investigate the role of women, families and the community in general in defining the world-view of working men; to make an holistic study of the meaning of "work"; to establish what are the social norms relating to leisure activities, the "underground economy" and the "domestic economy"; to find out if moral notions about employment change with high levels of unemployment, and to make a contribution to the scant ethnography of Lowland Scotland. The main research method proposed was participant observation, but also a library study, in-depth interviews with selected informants, household time and money budgets, and questionnaires, the first of which would ask people to classify various activities in order to explore their categories of "work" and "leisure".

In his overview of the literature on work and "non-work" Turner reviewed several "cognitive anthropology" studies, most of which appear in Wallman's ASA volume The Social Anthropology of Work (1979). Though these papers are theoretically interesting in establishing the semantic domain of work-like terms cross-culturally, only one of them is specifically concerned with Britain and that is a study of the non-industrial crofting culture (Cohen 1979). Of the sociological research mentioned Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter's study of a Yorkshire mining town (1956) is considered to be one of the few to have successfully placed work in its full social context. Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer and Platt's work on Luton car-workers (1969) is touched on, as is Beynon's ethnography of Halewood car-workers (1973), but Willis's study (1977) of how working class lads "learn to labour" is not mentioned. This is an important omission if the significance of gender in attitudes to work is to be appreciated.

Cohen's work on the crofters of Whalsay is typical of the vast majority of anthropological studies in Scotland in being concerned with the Highlands and Islands. Turner referred to his own review of Scottish ethnography (1980a) as well as that of Condry (1983) to note
that a pitiful amount of anthropological research has been done in the industrial areas of Scotland in contrast to the Gaelic margins. Possible reasons for this bias will be discussed later (p.39).

Turner intended his research not only to explore the cultural importance of work and unemployment, but also to provide a general ethnography of a Scottish lowland community.

RESEARCH INTERESTS ARISING IN THE FIELD.

For family reasons Turner decided not to carry out the research himself but instead appointed two researchers, Anne Marie Bostyn and myself, to do the work under his supervision. The "small Scottish town" that had been chosen for the project was an ex-coal mining village of 1,600 people, situated seven miles away from the central industrial conurbation of Scotland. We have given it the name 'Cauldmoss'. We began our study in June 1982 and formally completed this original research project in April 1984 with the submission of our Final Report to the SSRC (Turner, Bostyn and Wight 1984). In the meantime both Anne Marie Bostyn and I had identified specific topics on which to base PhD theses, and we continued our research to these ends. The complications of our intermittent and varied funding will be described in the next chapter; in short I lived in Cauldmoss for just over two years and then, between October 1984 and September 1987, wrote up the material that I had collected.

Consumption.

The original research on the moral dimensions of work led on to two further areas of the culture of Cauldmoss: consumption and gender. It became clear that it would be impossible to understand the values surrounding employment without investigating people's aspirations for
consumption: this was practically always their stated reason for wanting paid work. In exploring why people in Cauldmoss were prepared to spend long hours at activities they experienced as monotonous and strenuous, it seemed odd to concentrate on intangible moral concepts approximating to a "Protestant work ethic" yet to overlook values which were manifestly present in the culture. Related to this was the question of the extent to which social status is assessed in terms of a person's employment or in terms of her/his spending power. It was evident in Cauldmoss that whereas people showed little interest in the content of one's job, great esteem was attached to certain aspects of one's consumption. The prestige associated with particular forms of consumption was also brought into question by observations of how the unemployed coped with the dramatic reversal in the resources at their disposal. Having far more time on their hands but less money than when they had been in work did not lead the unemployed to try to produce more goods for themselves to avoid having to buy them. Clearly the social evaluation of surplus time and that of insufficient cash were such that one could not be a simple substitute for the other, for instance through the production of home brewed beer, vegetables, and so on. What were the values underlying these attitudes to productivity, purchasing and consumption?

This concern with consumption, which arose from the study of work in Cauldmoss, prompted more general questions about the relationship of people's consumer aspirations to wider economic and political factors. At the broadest level it could be argued that whereas in the past the capitalist economy was dependent on a disciplined labour force today this is no longer so, but instead the economy depends on mass consumption. One of the many indicators of this development is the enormous expansion of credit in Western Europe and the USA to encourage consumer purchasing (Gartner and Riessman 1974:4). (According to the CSO's Financial Statistics total consumer credit has risen from £6,083 million in 1977 to £14,272 m. in 1981 and £32,389...
Both Marxists and Weberians agree that there was a connection between the capitalist economy's need for the masses to sell their labour, and the positive moral evaluation of disciplined work. If this was so, then how will the current superfluity of labour affect the moral assessment of work, and how does the capitalist economy's need for consumption relate to individuals' values concerning the use of commodities? Such enormous questions of causation go far beyond a social anthropology project, reviving the whole debate that followed Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930), but it is possible to explore the ethos of consumption within a particular culture in modern Britain.

The questions that interested me about consumption could be encapsulated in the problem of explaining the perpetual inflation of material living standards. How is it that the unemployed and low paid still experience poverty as their forebears did fifty years ago, although their real income is far higher? How have the population's needs kept pace with, and ahead of, nearly two centuries of industrial production? What are the values that are held within a community which inform this dynamic? Seabrook quotes an old woman from Sheffield to illustrate his argument that the position of working people has been transformed from initially being excluded from the benefits of capitalist production to becoming dependent on them:

"'Working-class people used to be proud of how much they could do with very little money; now people feel ashamed of how little they can do without a lot of it.'" (Seabrook 1982: 3)
But having established that there has been this profound change
Seabrook gives little indication as to what brought it about or what
the wider values are which shape people's consumer aspirations.
Although there are several highly theoretical analyses of material
consumption in the West, mainly from neo-Marxist standpoints (e.g.
Marcuse 1964, Lefebvre 1971, Baudrillard 1975 and 1981, Preteceille
and Terrail 1986), these are usually devoid of any detailed ethnog-
raphy and the reader is left wondering how the ideas relate to the
common experiences of ordinary people. Apart from Bourdieu's recent
work Distinction (1984), it appears that Goldthorpe et al's call for
a "new empirical sociology of consumption" (1969:183) has gone large-
ly unheeded. Furthermore, when the theoreticians of consumption do
give an occasional ethnographic illustration to their arguments it
becomes clear that they are only concerned with the use of goods by
the middle class or petit bourgeoisie; Bourdieu's one short chapter
on working class consumption patterns (1984: Ch.7) seems to be the
only cultural analysis of the way the working class buy and use
commodities.

Although there have been few systematic studies of consumption in
Britain, many analyses of political events resort to the supposedly
overriding consumer interests of the British public today. In parti-
cular the demise of the Labour Party's electoral support and the
weakening of the trade unions have frequently been associated with
the consumer aspirations of the working class. Indeed it seemed
fitting, if somewhat tragic, that at the same time as I was collect-
ing information in Cauldmoos on how people identify with their
occupation or their consumption patterns, the potential conflict
between these was dramatically realized on a national scale. The
importance of the 1984-85 miners' strike as the denouement of the
Labour Movement's attempt to cope with the deindustrialization of
Britain cannot be overestimated. Of particular pertinence to the
themes of this thesis was the clash between striking and working
miners; the different priorities people had between solidarity for
their occupational community and concern to maximize their immediate consumer power (through working or accepting redundancy). Obviously the conflicting values were not as clear cut as this - the "economic viability" of one's pit was probably the most important factor determining miners' response to the strike - but it seems that the miners were defeated because of the fundamental differences of values within their own ranks, as much as by the lack of support from other trade unions or the tactics of the government. The myopia of left-wing intellectuals concerning the home-centred, "privatized" outlook (Lockwood 1966) of the working class and the political significance of consumption, is illustrated by the prolific literature analyzing the miners' strike which hardly ever examines why so many miners did "scab".

Gender.

The second area of Cauldmoss culture which the study of work led to was that of gender distinctions. Observations of everyday life in Cauldmoss made it abundantly evident how employment, domestic work, leisure activities and practically all other aspects of social life were structured according to distinctions between the sexes. The importance of gender was further emphasized for Anne Marie Bostyn and myself by the way it determined our participation in village life: we spent the great majority of our time with our respective sexes. I found one of the most useful insights into the values surrounding employment was to understand them in terms of men's position in their families and their masculine identity. This proved to be a valuable way of interpreting "the work ethic". Similarly, I found it useful to view much of men's consumption as a means of asserting or expressing their masculine status. In consequence I decided to analyze much of my ethnographic material in relation to the local meaning of gender.
THE AIMS OF MY RESEARCH.

Objectives.

As a result of my research interests which had developed from the original investigation into "work", I formulated the following objectives:

a) To provide a detailed ethnography of a working class village in industrial Scotland. Since the 1960s British sociology has provided very few ethnographic works, partly as a reaction to the contention over the concept of "communities" and partly because of a preference for theoretical issues. Social anthropologists have done even less work within lowland Britain. In a recent review Newby concluded:

"The most frequently-cited ethnographies of working-class life are now seriously out of date. The community study as a method of investigating changing patterns of working-class culture is long overdue for a revival."

(Newby 1983:27)

Furthermore there is a pressing need for thorough descriptions to be made of the sub-cultures within the Lowlands of Scotland since this area, which contains three quarters of the Scottish population, has been almost totally ignored by ethnographers.

In describing the life of the village and the topics of particular focus it is intended to highlight the significance of gender relations, since these are seen to pervade all areas of social life. However, to understand women's experiences and perceptions of employment and consumption would involve very much more than a simple elaboration, from men's circumstances. The meaning of these institutions is bound up with gender identity, to the extent that women rarely consider themselves "unemployed" when they are seeking work,
and most of women's spending is for the whole household which puts it in a very different context from that of men. "... influential ideas about employment/unemployment are male dominated and inappropriate for understanding women's position in the labour market." (Callender 1987:22) To consider women's experiences properly would therefore necessitate a far lengthier study than one restricting itself to men; because of constraints on time and space, and for methodological reasons (to be mentioned below p.22), I will concentrate this research on men. Simmel once noted that man's superiority over women assures that his standards "become generalized as generically human standards". Quoting this Pearson adds that if it is so:

"... not only have women been hidden, but the maleness of men has been hidden from sociological enquiry, and it is past time that "he" was brought into the light of day."

(Pearson 1982: 2)

b) To investigate the values associated with men's employment, elucidating both the conscious intentions that people have for selling their labour and the underlying meanings of employment within the community. In particular it is intended to explore how the evaluation of paid work is related to the values attached to consumption. Is the former reducible to the latter, as many workers suggest when talking about their jobs?

c) To describe the patterns of consumption in the village and analyze the values which underlie them. Special attention will be given to understanding the continual inflation of material living standards and thus the impetus for increased consumption.

d) To examine how the experience or prospect of unemployment affects the values that people hold in relation to employment and consumption. What are the unemployed's main priorities for their reduced spending, and what strategies do they adopt to cope with their
limited resources? In particular, how are the relative merits of employment and consumption evaluated when they conflict as a result of "the unemployment trap"? It is expected that an analysis of how the unemployed adapt to their circumstances will reveal much about more general concepts of employment and appropriate consumption in this culture.

It is hoped that this research might provide some empirical data concerning the speculated political consequences of mass unemployment. Are the unemployed likely to develop new means of livelihood, or styles of political protest, which threaten established institutions in our society? The possible effect of state welfare on the unemployed's commitment to work has been a constant topic of concern since the 17th century (Howe 1986:1), and the debate continues in relation to the "unemployment trap". However, given the profound changes in the capitalist economy which mean that it is increasingly dependent on the masses' will to consume and less reliant on their will to work, the more significant question today might be: does the experience of unemployment weaken people's demand for consumer goods?

Research methods.

I have already implied that the main method used for this research was that of participant observation. This extreme of informality in collecting my material was essential for two reasons. First, to gain an insight into the way people experience their situations, and the nebulous concepts by which they interpret their circumstances, it was important that my inquiry should be open-minded and not governed by a pre-defined format. However sensitively designed, I think it would be impossible for a statistical survey to elucidate much of significance about the ethics people have concerning employment and consumption. Second, I wanted to gather information about several topics which were illegal - in particular theft, undeclared work when
signing-on as unemployed, and defrauding the DHSS - and it was only by the most informal methods that this could be done. Despite the advantages of qualitative research I was well aware of the problems in assessing how representative my data were, and consequently I did carry out some quantifiable surveys. The details of how these various methods were combined will be described in the next chapter; here it is sufficient to mention two important biases that arise from the way the research was conducted.

In respect to employment, it is important to note that none of the material was gathered in the work place. Although I tried to get a job locally this proved impossible (as I had predicted), and so all my observations about people's perceptions of employment come from their residential community. It might be that the culture of the work place would provide a significantly different perspective on the meaning that employment has to men.

The second, and more important, bias has already been mentioned: the majority of my personal contacts in the village were with men. Although I was somewhat anomalous to the category of adult male in Cauldmoss, I was nevertheless excluded from much of women's social life and therefore am far less qualified to describe their lives than I am the male sphere. Principally for this reason, but also because of the constraints of time and space mentioned above (p.20), I decided to concentrate on men.

It should also be stated that I have not included in this study one specific group of people living within the geographical limits of Cauldmoss: the "incomers" in private houses with "middle class" life styles. The vast majority of these people have virtually no social contact with the rest of the village, except in visiting the shops, and they can be considered as largely irrelevant to the main culture of Cauldmoss. Since their occupations and consumption patterns are often very different from most villagers', it would be too lengthy to
consider them properly. However our questionnaire samples did necessarily include some of these households.

THEORETICAL ISSUES.

Cohen has vigorously argued the necessity of detailed fieldwork in one community and the advantages of "grounded theory" rather than "grand theory" (Cohen 1978). Like him I am primarily interested in the meanings of the actors themselves, and agree that these must have precedence over any pre-conceived notion of "... some larger social system which provides ... [the community’s] dynamics and which, therefore, explains its nature and process." (ibid:8)

To treat the community as if it exists in a vacuum, however, rather than as part of a much wider, complex society, seems to me naive. The history of Cauldmoss for the last 150 years, the means of livelihood which currently sustain it, and the profound changes in the population’s employment roles in recent years can only be explained in relation to the economy of Britain as a whole (see Dennis et al. 1956:37, in particular the footnote). The extreme empiricist view, argued by Byron, is that macroprocesses "... are and can never be more than analytical abstractions that the members of any [conceptual homogenous group] (academics included) devise to make shorthand sense of an impersonal world 'out there'." (Byron 1981:9) I acknowledge that "Macroprocesses are not empirically discoverable facts except insofar as they reside in the knowledge of the members of a [conceptual homogenous group] ... " (ibid.:9). Nevertheless, positing the existence of some economic or political factor on a macro scale, such as the common interest of the owners of capital to make a profit, or the increasing capital-intensiveness of manufacturing industry, often makes extremely good sense of the situation one is trying to understand. To show that a theory about the national economy is unverifiable does not thereby invalidate its use: the criteria for its
employment should be whether or not it makes the data more comprehensible than alternative theories would do. The consistency with which certain phenomena seem to occur in diverse sub-cultures throughout the West, such as the accelerated use of purchased commodities, suggests that to deny the possible operation of macroprocesses on a particular community might mean one is ignoring something of great importance: not seeing the wood for the trees.

Furthermore, to "let the ethnography speak for itself" is to be tautological in a gigantic way. Phenomena are explained by reference to other things in the culture, and these are in turn understood in relation to the original phenomena (see Baudrillard 1981:73). Another problem is that, as Giddens has argued, the focus on actors' understandings and perceptions often overlooks the wider context of power, and this is inherent in the method commonly used by anthropologists:

"... no matter how modified, participant observation and the methods under its aegis, display a tendency towards naturalism and therefore to conservatism. The ethnographic account is a supremely ex post facto product of the actual uncertainty of life." (Willis 1977:194)

Having established that the culture of Cauldmoss cannot be analyzed as if it is isolated from the rest of Britain, how can the dilemma be resolved? It is certainly beyond the scope of this research to develop a theory of macroprocesses from the data gathered in the village, yet it will be very useful to explain these data in terms of theories borrowed from macro sociology. This seems to be a valid procedure so long as I am explicit about the assumptions being made. But the main intention of this study is to examine how people in Cauldmoss make sense of their lives, and so, in respect to the constraints of the wider society, my objective must be to describe how people interpret these factors according to their own values, thus
adapting their culture in the process. "... like the individual in society, the community is not merely subject to external social forces; it also generates its own." (Cohen 1978: 8)

The principal macro sociological constraints on the population which are most relevant to this thesis are fourfold. First there is the stratification of British society as a whole, which of course is variously interpreted by differing groups within it. The position of Cauldmos inhabitants in this stratification leads to the second factor: their dependence on the workings of the labour market, their subordination to their employers and their lack of control over the conditions of their work. The third important macroprocess is the way different styles of life, and the prestige attached to them, are created and proselytized on a nation-wide basis. Fourth, there is the government system of state welfare upon which many people in Cauldmos are dependent.

These bald assertions of broad structural factors affecting Cauldmos will be justified by reference to sociological literature, and the nature of these phenomena as they affect the village will be described. Particular focus will be placed on the ways in which the inhabitants of Cauldmos interpret these external factors, whether they recognize them as significant, and how they shape their own culture in response to these constraints. One central issue which will not be addressed directly is the role of the media, and particularly television, in shaping the culture of Cauldmos. This omission is not meant to belittle the relevance of the topic; on the contrary it is such a large and important matter that, unfortunately, it could not be dealt with properly in the space and time available.
ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS.

Several themes that have been touched on in this introduction will be dealt with in detail in the following chapter on the methods and ethics of the research. First I will discuss the extent to which the questions posed about life in Cauldmoss were prompted by my own values, and then will consider how one’s investigation can be bounded when one shares many of the cultural values of one’s informants. This is another problem for anthropologists doing research in complex societies, since few come from the Third World to study Westerners. The ethical problems that I encountered in the research will be discussed, and finally I will describe the details of my methods.

The ethnography of Cauldmoss will initially be presented without any description of the unemployed. Their behaviour and perceptions will be artificially abstracted from the general description of the village so that they can be presented in the penultimate chapter. This arrangement is intended to enable a clearer comparison between the behaviour and values of the employed and unemployed. It must be stressed, however, that while the perceptions of those out of work can only be understood in the context of the predominant culture of the employed, the underlying values of those in work were to a large extent revealed by analyzing how the unemployed cope with their circumstances. The order of the respective chapters might disguise this.

Chapter Three will give an overall description of Cauldmoss and focus on the main institutions that are not dealt with in separate chapters. The social stratification in the village and gender are the two institutions most pertinent to subsequent chapters. I will conclude with a discussion of Cauldmoss as a "community", and of Cauldmoss culture as representing an example of a subordinate culture.
The following chapter (Four) will describe and analyze how men experience employment. Chapter Five will deal with the use of goods and services, the ethnographic data being structured around the theoretical argument, and this argument will then be illustrated by a case study of the use of alcohol (Chapter Six).

In the penultimate chapter (Seven) I will examine how the unemployed respond to their circumstances, and consider if they develop significantly different values from those of the employed as they try to make sense of their experiences. Special attention will be paid to means of coping with restricted income.

This study was not prompted by previous researchers' valedictory comments on "areas for future investigation", and therefore it is not possible to place the thesis in the context of one particular body of literature. It involves ideas and material from several different spheres of sociological writing which are so disparate that one overall literature review would be disjointed. Instead I will briefly outline, in the respective sections, how the most relevant works have contributed to my thinking. The main bodies of literature referred to in the thesis are as follows: in Chapter Three the literature on Scottish ethnography, working class culture and "community studies"; in Chapter Four that on employment; in Chapter Five that on the significance of consumer goods and in Chapter Six recent studies of drinking culture. The literature on unemployment as it existed in 1982 has already been considered at the start of this chapter; several of these works, as well as more recent research, will be referred to in the course of Chapter Seven.

Before going any further I will try to clarify how I intend to use the terms 'working class' and 'middle class'. I will adopt Weber's concept of class as a description of one's economic circumstances, defined by common life chances of wealth and income under the conditions of given commodity and labour markets (Weber 1948:181).
Now in real life the distinctions between the 'working' and 'middle' classes are very blurred. The categories are best viewed as ideal types, the working class being typified by less 'skilled' and more manual employment, weekly wages, low pay, limited savings and low home ownership, while the middle class are typified by more 'skilled' and less laborious employment, monthly salaries, higher pay, substantial savings and home ownership. The validity of any distinction between the hypothesized classes has been a central concern of sociology and is particularly problematic for Marxists (see, for instance, Barbalet 1986). I do not want to enter this debate and will simply refer to the loosely defined, but generally understood, distinction based on the economic criteria above. Cultural differences are strongly associated with economic class differences, to the extent that, amongst laypeople, cultural indicators are often taken to be the main criteria of class. Indigenous notions of "class" in Cauldmoss will be discussed in Chapter Three (p.93).
CHAPTER TWO

METHODS AND ETHICS

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EXPLORING ONE’S SUBJECTIVITY.

"Amateurs untrained in anthropology interested in the areas in which they find themselves and wishing to devote their leisure to anthropological observation are apt to assume that they are free from bias... Unless he is scientifically trained his observation will certainly be hampered by preconceived attitudes of mind."

("Notes and Queries" 1967: 27)

"There is no such thing as an unbiased report upon any social situation; an unbiased report is, from the standpoint of its relevance to the ethos, no report at all; it is comparable to a colour blind man reporting on a sunset."

(Mead 1949)

Though several eminent anthropologists have explicitly denied the possibility of objective fieldwork (Nadel 1951:53; Turnbull 1973:15; Evans-Pritchard 1973:1; Pocock 1975:21; Lewis 1976:27) there is still a widespread notion that anthropological field methodology should be scientifically objective. My previous reservations about this underlying assumption of our anthropological tradition, that the good researcher transcends both egocentric and ethnocentric subjectivity, established in the theoretical approaches of Durkheim (1964b/1895) and Radcliffe-Brown (1952, 1957), were confirmed by my first experience of fieldwork in 1980. As part of the undergraduate degree course in Social Anthropology at Edinburgh University I spent four months in Jamaica, studying perceptions of nature and farming in the Cockpit Country. The position and subject of my study, the manner
demonstrate our methodological achievements in quantitative terms. The haphazard, circumstantial nature of our "participant observation" which was revealing fascinating information, could not, we felt, be presented as our most important means of research. Of course the way people in Cauldmos related to us and our own reactions to life in the village were thought to be of no concern to our potential patrons. "Still today personal and cultural conflict in the field are relegated to the anecdotal and oral traditions of faculty gossip (Swallow 1974)." (Okely 1975:177) The personal is often opposed to the objective and the researcher's own experiences and reactions are not considered respectable anthropological material.

Okely's point is that, paradoxically, this yearning for objectivity is actually confounded by the means intended to achieve it - suppressing the subject. What must be done is recognize that objectivity is an ideal, not a fact, and use one's personal encounter with the people being studied as creatively and explicitly as possible, rather than concealing the personal in pretentiousness by trying to eliminate it. Little attention:

"...is devoted to the individual characteristics of the observer as important subjective factors conditioning knowledge. In any case in anthropological research, few analytic tools or categories have been developed to explore the various forms of subjectivity."

(Okely 1975: 172)

If objectivity is abandoned as an attainable goal, however, what will prevent ethnographies turning into subjective impressionism? Does the refutation of scientism not eradicate the distinction between anthropology and the travellers' tales so devalued by Levi-Strauss (1973)? Underlying these questions and prompting them is the notion that anthropology can be objective, and that the alternative is unbridled personal bias. But this choice does not exist: the
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distinction between good anthropology and wishy-washy travelogues is not absolute but one of degree. We have to assess the quality of the work according to generally accepted criteria: the rigour of the analysis, its coherence, the extent to which it helps make sense of people's behaviour and values, its validity in reference to related literature, and the accuracy of the data (see Louch 1966: 159).

Okely tentatively advocates three methods by which to exploit, rather than repress, one's individual personality, cultural history and gender, in order to make finer observations and interpretations. These are: self-analysis, trying to tease out the unconscious links in thought and experience; the diary to record personal reactions and dilemmas as they occur in the field; and autobiography, in which the author describes and recreates the stages of past experience.

As far as I was concerned this was a counsel of perfection since I found it difficult to keep up with my general field notes each day, and to keep a diary as well would have meant sacrificing some other area of research. To write an autobiography in order to explore how my preconceptions were formed would have been an interesting, if self-indulgent, exercise that would have furthered my understanding of how I experienced life in Cauldmoss. However, again it was not practical within the time limits I have set myself. What I will try to do is make the most of my intermittent ruminations during the fieldwork, concerning my personal reactions to Cauldmoss life and how locals responded to me. The outcome of these thoughts will, if relevant, be incorporated in my analysis. Here I will briefly outline the main features of my background that are most salient to my interpretation of the village and to the way its inhabitants saw me. To elucidate one's bias would seem a straightforward task, and once one's prejudice has been identified it seems in retrospect self-evident, but in fact the most insidious bias is pervasive exactly because it is so unconscious.
The most important influence on the way I perceived people in Cauldmoss and they perceived me, apart from being male (see p.19 and 22), was my thoroughly middle class upbringing. (The way the term "class" is used in this thesis has been discussed earlier: p.27). I grew up in the Home Counties, went to the local boys' grammar and for a few years to private school, and though I had various unskilled labouring jobs during the holidays, after leaving the village primary school none of my close friends were from working class families. Contrary to my expectation that university would be a social melting pot, within a few months of arriving I found myself within a group of friends of strikingly homogenous upbringing: all middle class and English (we were in Edinburgh). Being employed in gardening and agricultural work during the years immediately before and after university did little to increase my familiarity with the working class, and in short, when I moved to Cauldmoss I had never previously lived with working class people nor even in a predominantly working class area (cf. Orwell 1962/1937:141).

Perhaps the second most significant aspect of my background was that it was very intellectual. Both my parents had degrees, my father worked at a university and my upbringing (and that of my siblings) could be summarized in Bourdieu's terms as us being invested with "a high volume of cultural capital" (1984). An important aspect of this inculcation in 'high' culture was that we did not have a television: this shaped the way we used our time, how our conversations developed and in general isolated us from many contemporary cultural influences.

A third strand of my cultural preconceptions is that I grew up in the countryside, a mile from the nearest village, and developed a great interest in wild life. In my teens these concerns became politicized and I grew into an ardent enviromentalist. There were two classics of 'alternative' literature that I found particularly compelling at this time, Thoreau's Walden (1882) and Schumacher's Small Is Beautiful.
(1974), and the proliferation of ecological critiques of modern society encouraged a global consciousness which was furthered by my brief travels in the Third World and studying social anthropology. The combination of my middle class, intellectual outlook and radical, ecological ideas could be summarized as "hippy" ideology, and between school and moving to Cauldmoss my lifestyle confirmed this characterization.

Before looking at how these influences affected my research there is another factor in my life that I feel must be mentioned: being brought up as a Roman Catholic by devoutly Christian parents. Though I rejected this from the age of about fourteen I have no doubt it had a profound affect on me. However, beyond giving me a moralistic outlook on life I cannot identify how it influenced my interpretation of Cauldmoss. Perhaps a reader might see unconscious Catholic notions between the lines of my ethnography.

When I heard of a vacancy for a researcher to study "Work and Non-work in a Small Scottish Lowlands Town" I had spent the previous year working on farms and gardening in different parts of Britain. Although I never had a regular job I did not sign-on for benefits during that period. The research project appealed to me principally because it was pertinent to the future for industrial societies, and I hoped it might reveal some of the following trends: an integration of work and leisure, a less alienated orientation to work, a breakdown of sexually segregated activities, a reduction in government control because of a growing informal economy, and a change in values away from bought commodities because less money is available. Needless to say, all these trends would have concurred with my ideals. I was also interested in living in a working class community for the first time in my life. A third attraction was to explore the moral values connected with work, since I was aware that I had strong morals in this regard but was unclear about their origin or justification. My experience of strenuous manual work on farms led me to
value this in itself, and I found myself according less respect to people who avoided any such exercise. Only through conducting this research in Cauldmoss have I come to realize that this attitude to work was intrinsically bound up with my privileged experience of employment: usually doing work that I both enjoyed and had some degree of control over (at least in being able to walk out of it), even if it was very low paid. The research also revealed to me how my orientation to work was associated with my masculine identity (a connection that will be discussed at length later: p.190).

Perhaps I should point out that my motives in starting this research were not exclusively to pursue ideological interests and a personal self-analysis: I also wanted to make an original contribution to knowledge. Nevertheless, I found the most intellectually stimulating aspects of living in Cauldmoss were my cultural preconceptions that the experience revealed. In this sense social anthropological research can be a very self-indulgent exercise, for one’s most graphic insights are often about the social factors that have produced one’s own view of the world. What had previously been taken as given is thrown into light through one’s encounter with different cultural values. It is a pity that such observations are nearly always regarded as peripheral to the main academic objective, yet it is often exactly these observations that allow one to make out the culture one is studying.

My background made me particularly unsuited to life in Cauldmoss in several respects. My middle class, intellectual upbringing left me ill equipped to join in daily activities: I do not play football, I did not relish drinking large amounts of alcohol, and I was inept at participating in the "phatic communion" that makes up most talk (Malinowski 1923: 313-316). This last inability was a direct consequence of my childhood which left me feeling uncomfortable if a conversation became intermittent, and feeling unable to communicate properly if the talk never went beyond what I saw as inane topics
like the weather. My ignorance of current information about football, pop music and television programmes exacerbated the conversation problem.

On a less immediate level I had certain ideas that were completely foreign to Cauldmoss culture. Probably the most important was the notion that work should be intrinsically interesting (though I was well aware that it is not for most people), and that meaningful employment is of much greater value than a marginally higher wage. This idea was incompatible with the thorough alienation that most people in Cauldmoss felt towards employment (see Ch. 4). Related to my notion was the ideal that work and leisure should not be so segregated, and enjoyable jobs should merge with productive leisure. For the year prior to living in Cauldmoss I had been lucky enough to more or less realize this ideal.

Another concept I had that was alien to people in Cauldmoss was that few people in Britain suffer "real poverty", and that Supplementary or Unemployment Benefit provides a standard of living considered affluent by most people in the world. This right wing idea comes from my concern with the underdevelopment of the Third World and prosperity of the West, and from my experiences living in France (before going to university) where there is no welfare benefit for the young unemployed, living in Jamaica where there are virtually no welfare payments for anyone, and living in Britain for two years without regular work without signing-on. Since it had only been two years before that Jamaican friends had been literally incredulous to hear that in Britain one is payed £25 a week when not working, I was not an exponent of the concept of relative poverty.

The gap between my preconceptions and the culture of Cauldmoss clearly meant I was less at ease in the village and had less empathy with people's values than I might have done. But this could also be seen as an advantage, for, in Victor Turner's terms, it qualified me as
being outside the culture (see Turner 1967:26-27). A fellow anthropologist who came from a mining district in north east England commented to me that she would not have noticed half the things that I recorded in Cauldmoss because they are so commonplace to her. This brings us on to the problem of where the boundaries of enquiry lie, a question I will address in the next section.

I have already noted that the subjective nature of social anthropological research is bilateral: the researcher interprets things according to her or his personality, while the people studied react differently according to the researcher's character. This is another reason why my unfamiliarity with Cauldmoss culture was advantageous: some locals saw me as so naive to their way of life they would articulate taken-for-granted ideas in response to my questions. Sometimes one's informants' reactions to oneself are misleading, for instance when people give an impression of affluence when faced with a middle class enquirer. However if one is aware of the way people are responding towards one, their behaviour can be revealing of either their values or their perception of one's own. Many housewives apologized to Anne Marie Bostyn about not having done their housework within a few minutes of her arrival to interview them, while in general folk would frequently refer to some relative with a higher education as if to clarify their status viz-a-viz our own. (The latter might also be simply a way of establishing something in common with us, having recognized how alien our different worlds are). I will discuss how the inhabitants of Cauldmoss perceived us in a following section (p.53).

Working and staying with Anne Marie Bostyn during the two years of my fieldwork was extremely valuable, not simply because of the far greater access it gave me to a sexually segregated society and the obvious benefits of having a colleague with whom to discuss the ethnography. It also allowed me to explore my subjectivity more thoroughly by comparing my own observations with hers, since she is
clearly of a different sex, and from a very different background: skilled working class in Yorkshire. She often threw into perspective those things I remarked simply because of my middle class upbringing, or because I am male.

BOUNDING THE ENQUIRY.

From the start of our research we faced the dilemma of how inclusive our records should be, one of many problems that are peculiar to anthropology in one's own society. Should we have simply noted those aspects of Cauldmoss life that were remarkable for being "different" and thus exclude the overlap with our own lives, or should we have chronicled everything we were conscious of, taking nothing for granted and ending up with a Hoover bag of ethnographic data, much of them trivial and obvious? This methodological problem is directly related to the theoretical difficulty of relating a particular village to the wider, complex society, discussed in the introduction (p.23). Is it inevitable that all social anthropology involves comparison? Though I might talk in terms of "the culture of Cauldmoss" what I most readily observed were general differences between working and middle class cultures. However, though I have tried to make my class preconceptions explicit I hope this thesis is more than a mere comparison. Were it so I would cease enquiry wherever Cauldmoss behaviour was similar to that of the middle class: a very limiting prospect.

Certainly the idea of the translation of cultures is central to social anthropology, and so ethnographers in Scotland have previously sought out the remotest, preferably Gaelic speaking, areas in order to study a way of life that was fundamentally different from their own (Condry 1983: 118). One consequence is that "ethnographers in Scotland have tended to consider not the specific nature of considers the problem at length and writes that:
"Once social anthropologists move out of the apparently remoter regions of the north and west and start to investigate the Lowlands and the urban areas of Scotland then it will no longer be possible to hide behind the notion of boundaries."

(ibid.: 121)

However he does not offer any solution. Nor does Robert Turner, writing after Condry, when he offers "an heuristic cultural boundary":

"In a culture so like our own as the Central Lowlands — indeed in some cases it may be our own — an attitude of extreme cultural relativism is essential for fieldwork to have any semblance of comprehensiveness and objectivity... To be sure that he has identified all relevant social facts, the anthropologist is well advised to erect for himself an heuristic cultural boundary, at least when reflecting on his attempts at participation in the culture. In this context of extreme sensitivity to variation in norms, values and so forth, it is permissible to categorize the Central Lowlands as a culture area...".

(Turner 1980a: 1)

Establishing a boundary within which everything is questioned, even that which overlaps with one's own experience, is supposed to prevent one taking familiar customs and institutions for granted. But this appeal to "extreme cultural relativism" is still a means of distancing oneself from the people studied, to bound them within an autonomous system of values, and so be able to translate between that culture and one's own. The idea is still to emphasise the differences, even if the familiar must sometimes be made exotic, and implicit to the method is that somehow the researcher is left -
perhaps stripped of certain habitual ideas - to make an objective interpretation of the culture. I do not believe this is possible, and to be able to draw any boundary of enquiry around a particular culture in one's own society presupposes a thorough understanding of one's own personality and culture.

The approach I have taken is to treat everything experienced in the course of our research as worthy of enquiry, even when we are trying to examine our own unspoken assumptions. Obviously in the end much of this analysis will be ignored as irrelevant in explaining Cauldmoss life, and other personal thoughts will be discarded once they have helped make intelligible some aspect of village life. But to delineate any area as not worthy for enquiry seems to risk missing crucial elements of the culture studied. For instance, to establish that it is not only the inhabitants of Cauldmoss who feel constrained by fashion, who are cheered-up by spending, or who accord moral worth to material possessions, but most people in Britain, would not mean one should therefore cease wondering why? To exoticize the working class as being completely different would be as morally problematic as unconsciously imposing middle class notions on them.
Diagram 2.1: The informant's world and the ethnographer's world.

The problem might be clarified diagramatically (Diagram 2.1). If one imagines two circles overlapping, one representing the culture of the people being studied and the other that of the ethnographer, the exact extent of the overlap is not at all clear: the two sides merge together like two different colours of wet paint. Establishing an "heuristic boundary" is akin to someone who is colour-blind drawing a line where one colour is no longer blurred by the other. Furthermore, to do so would make redundant the ethnographer's analysis of how underlying social factors affect her/himself (the horizontal lines in the diagram), yet such an enquiry might well elucidate how the same factors affect those being researched.

ETHICAL PROBLEMS.

Social anthropology in one's own society is particularly problematic for several reasons apart from the difficulty of determining the bounds of the enquiry. There are certain ethical issues which, though not peculiar to local fieldwork, do not normally arise in the Third World, a fact that betrays our (largely) unconscious sense of superiority towards Third World peoples.
Dislike of being academic objects.

In general it seems that people do not like being the object of academic studies; or at least they do not like the written outcome which purports to define them and their interpretation of the world. In Cauldmoss those who were most positive about our research usually had a false impression of what we would write: either an informative tourist guide or a history of the village. The one paper that we produced and did distribute to villagers, in a heavily edited form, was received ambivalently. Our neighbour told us after reading it that a lot of folk are happy to blather with us and have an idea of what we are doing, but if they saw it all written down in that form they would have a very different view. A lot would clam up, while if it was published in the local paper our house would probably be burnt to the ground in a week (this neighbour was prone to exaggerate). Reactions to our research activities are discussed more fully later (p.53). Such apprehension at being treated academically should not surprise us: I was struck by how an Indian friend resented a British anthropologist's opinions of her country although she herself was a social scientist, and even social anthropologists have misgivings when their own culture is being studied. Certain Scottish colleagues have had a general interest in our work in Cauldmoss, but when they first read or heard what we had presumed to write about their culture they were definitely antipathetic.

In traditional anthropology this issue is usually avoided simply because those studied are non literate or do not have access to the results. When doing fieldwork in one's own society the arrogance of the research becomes explicit, and the fact that it is only when studying in the West that this issue arises exposes the unarticulated assumptions of superiority we have over Third World peoples. Ultimately most fieldwork depends on power, on a position of supremacy, even though for a while the researcher plays "the daft laddie". Whatever the subservient role acted out by the ethnographer, in the
end all concerned know that s/he will return to a distinctly higher social status: whether in the white, affluent West, or in the intellectual middle class.

Political implications of poverty studies.

"All studies have political aims and implications, whether these are consciously formulated or not... " (Gans 1970: 146). Any study that focuses on disadvantaged groups, whether the low paid, single parents, the homeless or the unemployed, can be criticized for concentrating on the poor themselves as if the causes of poverty lie with them, rather than with the structure of society. Since Lewis identified values and behaviour that were developed in response to the poverty of Mexican slums, and which in turn maintained that poverty (1961), this line of analysis has become known as the "culture of poverty" school. It has been virulently criticized by those holding a "situational" view: that people will respond to their economic situation and change their behaviour if the opportunity (like a job) presents itself. The "situationalists" argue that Lewis's approach implies that "Cultural reinforcement of individual weakness is the source - not an outcome - of poverty; and it is that which keeps the poor poor." (Westergaard and Resler 1975: 22). The "culturalists" fail to distinguish between a subculture of poverty and a working class culture which is a product of the overall structure of society (Townsend 1979: 70). The undertones of seeing poverty as a cultural condition "remain, so long as the research stops short of probing in any extensive way into the structural conditions by which distinctive patterns of 'subculture' may be explained". (Westergaard and Resler 1975: 22).

My own view is in accord with that of Gans, that neither the "cultural" nor "situational" theories are valid on their own (Gans 1970: 151). Nevertheless, by studying how people responded to
unemployment and their ability to develop alternative means of livelihood, our project had strong tendencies towards cultural rather than structural explanations of their problems. On the other hand, in the general ethnography of the village I will explain several aspects of Cauldmoss life as a consequence of working class culture being essentially a subordinate culture (p.160). There are two dangers in this. First, it can lead to tautology, since it is implied that to a large extent the working class accept their inferior position because of their fatalism, which is in turn a product of their class circumstances. Second, for middle class researchers who are troubled by finding certain aspects of working class culture unpleasant (e.g. the popularity of the Sun), accounting for these features by reference to a subordinate culture is a welcome escape clause. Unlike de Beauvoir's "bad faith" to describe women's collusion in their fate (1972), explaining things in relation to a subordinate culture absolves individuals from responsibility for their behaviour. But sociological theories should not be based on their utility in overcoming the researcher's dilemmas of moral relativism (to be discussed shortly: p.46).

Our study might be seen as a prime example of politically inspired research, being funded by the government through the SSRC (now the ESRC) and being concerned with the politically sensitive topic of unemployment. Furthermore, we were particularly interested in the hidden economy. Many left wingers regard any research on how the unemployed informally supplement their benefits as being inherently supportive of policies to reduce state-aid for the unemployed. So how can this research be justified?

I would argue that if one is really concerned to alleviate the plight of the unemployed it is not enough to simply know about the technological, economic and political factors which are causing the de-industrialization of many parts of Britain. We must also understand how those most effected are making sense of these changes.
Certainly this is not sufficient in itself, but it is an essential part of any sound policy to deal with the problem. For instance some sociologists have argued that people could quickly adapt to doing occasional jobs on the side and lots of domestic work (e.g. Gershuny and Pahl 1980), and this would be a more satisfying way of life for them than their previous employment had been. This study illustrates how valid such an idea is.

Detailed research on how the unemployed cope with their circumstances also demonstrates the adequacy of DHSS benefits and how the regulations operate in practice. Their effect is sometimes quite different from that ostensibly intended by the administrators, but this is often hidden in formal surveys (see p.10). A further aspect of the research is to throw light on the political orientation of the unemployed. This will be considered later (Ch.8), but it would seem possible that the unemployed’s relative passivity might be connected with their involvement in the hidden economy. If one attaches any importance to understanding the political response of the unemployed, then it is essential to acknowledge not only the hardships but also the opportunities that they perceive are available to them.

Moral relativism.

Another ethical problem that is far greater in one’s own society is how to maintain a relativist moral stance in relation to the behavior of those one is studying. In the Third World the researcher can find numerous ways to rationalize why her informants act in ways that s/he might disapprove of, and s/he can usually distance herself from moral dilemmas arising out of their behaviour by arguing that Westerners should not impose their ethical standards elsewhere. But in one’s own country it is very difficult to honestly believe that one’s own views are not, ultimately, better than those of the people one is studying, for example on issues concerning gender and ethnic minorities. It is
impossible to be more than superficially relativistic in one's own society because the conflicting viewpoints are alternatives that are incompatible: they represent different values which are not geographically and politically distant, but are on top of each other and competing.

Since it is much more difficult to remain morally neutral in one's own society, playing the normal adult roles within the culture under study can be much more problematic. There are serious practical problems in this which I will mention later (p. 57); here I will just note the ethical difficulties for the researcher when s/he tries to conform to typical local behaviour. While I found it straightforward to join in a poaching expedition and could justify remaining silent during blatantly sexist conversations, buying stolen goods in order to learn more about their origin seemed more dubious and I was never able to acquiesce to racial or religious hatred. Obviously the balance between one's sincerity and one's participation in local life is a personal issue; all I am saying is that the ethical problems can be far more acute in one's own society where relativism is a less feasible escape.

For middle class researchers (which nearly all of them are) to face up to and transcend the deep underlying arrogance of their class is a task that can hardly be exaggerated. The problem is that once one has recognized one's assumptions of superiority there is a great danger of doing one or all of the following: patronizing the working class by waiving one's superiority, romanticizing and idealizing them, or pitying them by admiring their potential which social conditions have stifled (one variation of which is the 'subordinate culture' explanation mentioned earlier p. 45). The third attitude is related to "a more positive over-expectation which one frequently finds among middle-class intellectuals with strong social consciences." (Hoggart 1957: 14).
"A middle-class Marxist's view of the working-classes often includes something of each of the foregoing errors... he succeeds in part-pitying and part-patronizing working-class people beyond any semblance of reality." (ibid.: 16)

Even though one might be highly conscious of middle class prejudices, it would not be justified to ignore certain phenomena that might be found in working class life for fear of confirming those preconceptions. Sexism, racism and religious bigotry have to be stated, whether observed in the working or middle classes. Steering between the various undesirable courses mentioned above is far from easy.

Everyday deceptions.

It must be very rare for a social anthropologist to conduct her fieldwork without any deception. For Anne Marie Bostyn and myself the most troublesome ethical problem concerned the daily practicalities of recording information. From our first day in Cauldmoss we started making notes about everything that struck us, and these soon changed from being diary-like impressions to fairly accurate recordings of detailed conversations and behaviour. Obviously our accuracy was improved by noting things as quickly as possible, and so we found ourselves hurriedly looking for pen and paper the minute our door had closed behind a visitor. This clandestine recording seemed worse when we had explained the main focus of our research, after which people thought that non-related topics could be discussed without our professional scrutiny. In fact we were recording everything we could remember, and in particular those unguarded comments made when one has put down one's note pad and the interview is ostensibly finished. Most informants accepted our explanation (when we were questioned) that we make notes from interviews, and if we are writing something up and remember a pertinent conversation in the pub, then we would include that. A few guessed our more extensive records and had
nothing to do with us, while some of our closest friends in the village probably knew what we were up to but were not bothered. As far as we know, no one realized that we not only noted every conversation we could remember, but also had card indexes on our notebooks arranged by names and subject matter.

Though we hid behind half-lies, we knew that in ethical terms making notes of people's behaviour and conversation without admitting it to them is not very different from making clandestine tape recordings. Similarly, comprehensive indices of these notes are not very different from computer files. The relative simplicity of the technology does not alter the moral question involved, even though one's informants might find it less intrusive or threatening. Again it is revealing that this ethical problem is raised after seminars on anthropological research in Britain but rarely after presenting research done in the Third World. I concluded that any valuable social anthropology fieldwork involves a degree of deception: using people's lives and conversations in one's research unbeknownst to them. My commitment to the study was stronger than my moral qualms, but it was this issue in particular, along with the insincerity involved in fieldwork, that determined me not to do a similar project again.

Other minor dissembling arises from day to day, and normally good relations with one's informants get the better of one's integrity. Thus when an old woman thought questions 15 and 16 of our Second Questionnaire extremely cheeky (see Appendix B), and exclaimed: "They're awfie stupid who writes them out [the questions]...I wish I could get my hands on who makes them out!" I refrained from telling her that we had formulated them ourselves.
Sharing one's findings with those studied.

Though our study was never intended as an action-research project, I felt an obligation to let people in Cauldmos to read what we had produced about them and comment on it. There were three ethical reasons for this, the last of which was complemented by methodological benefits. First, it seemed that since we were using the inhabitants of Cauldmos to our own ends, directly by using their lives as material for our professions and indirectly by using their taxes to fund our salaries, we should try to use our work to their advantage in some way. If the questions we were addressing about their lives and our interpretation of their culture really were as important as we presumed, then surely they ought to be of interest to Cauldmos inhabitants themselves, not just our fellow academics.

A second reason why I felt obliged to let people see what we had written was simply that access to such information about oneself and one's village must surely be a basic principle of individual freedom. Related to this is the idea that there should be "a right to reply". Apart from the obvious benefits to the anthropologist of entering a discourse with his informants about his interpretation of their lives, it seems that the informants ought to have the opportunity to express themselves about the way they have been presented in somebody's writings. Certainly the author does not need to heed their advice, but if he is purporting to represent real life then the real characters must be allowed to comment at some point before the final version.

Once it is established that one should disseminate one's findings within the village or community studied, there remains the difficulty of how they should be presented. We quickly learnt some of the hazards when we distributed a copy of an ethnographic paper, From Coal to Dole, written for a university seminar. It was heavily edited to exclude references to recognizable people and only passed to those
who had specifically asked to see what we had written. Responses were very instructive and can be roughly grouped in three lots: most people concentrated on reading the verbatim quotes and liked these enormously, being surprised to find themselves presented in their own words, but they skipped most of the intervening text; a few read it all through carefully and approved of our interpretation of Cauldmoss, saying it was "down to earth", but some were appalled at our description: "That's not Cauldmoss!... Where's the nice side of Cauldmoss?". These people had clearly been expecting a rosy description of community life and felt we had betrayed their hospitality and co-operation by writing about fiddling the electric meters and stealing coal. Our particular concentration on the unemployed in this paper, and our cautious qualifications when describing illegal activities, were both overlooked. One particular woman took us to task for talking to "the wrong folk" and her distress at how we had presented her village graphically revealed how unaware she was of the way other inhabitants lived, and her own image of Cauldmoss which she had hoped to find confirmed in our paper. The reactions to From Coal to Dole demonstrated some of the problems (and advantages) in disseminating one's material amongst those studied. In retrospect I feel it might be more suitable to write a short synopsis of one's findings for one's informants to read, even though it would be less candid.

PRACTICAL DETAILS.

Introduction.

The original conception of a research project in "a small Scottish town currently experiencing high levels of unemployment" has been described in the introductory chapter (p.12). Robert Turner's research proposal only gave a passing mention of the "town" to be studied, and no explanation was given as to why Cauldmoss had been
chosen amongst numerous similar settlements. Turner always remained evasive on this issue, but the answer was suggested when we met someone living in Cauldmoss who used to drink with the professor of our department in Edinburgh.

When Turner decided not to carry out the research himself he arranged with the SSRC that two research workers should be appointed. Interviews were held in April 1982, but Anne Marie Bostyn and I only met for the first time at the formal start of our research in June, although we were to work closely together for at least three years and stay in the same house for two of them. We were encouraged by the Anthropology Department to register to do PhDs immediately, and after a month of library research in Edinburgh we moved to a council flat in Cauldmoss. The research project had been extended to three years, two to be spent in Cauldmoss and one writing up our material elsewhere, and we were to be employed by the SSRC as "research workers". However, an administrative problem stemming from the SSRC and the Edinburgh University Finance Office meant that nine months after starting our work our original contracts were annulled and our employment reduced to seventeen months in total, though on the much higher salary of "research associates". When this came to an end in October 1983 we both signed-on, and after initial difficulties found we were eligible for Unemployment Benefit. I left Cauldmoss at the end of August 1984, moving to a cottage 25 miles away, nearer Edinburgh, and coincidentally got a job on a Community Programme. Shortly after this the new Economic and Social Research Council granted us another year's employment as research associates to continue our study. Anne Marie Bostyn, who was still living in Cauldmoss, was employed from November 1984 while I finished my horticultural work at the end of the year and began my ESRC employment in February 1985. A year later I again signed-on for Unemployment Benefit. In all I lived in Cauldmoss for a little over two years, after which I visited the village fairly regularly and stayed there again for nearly two months in 1985 when conducting our second questionnaire. Anne Marie Bostyn lived there
for three years and nine months. These mundane details are mentioned because our economic circumstances and the duration of our stay in Cauldmoss were both important to the success of our research, as will be explained shortly (in particular p.59-61).

The local council offered us a three apartment flat at the furthest end of a line of council houses which stretch out from the centre of the village. We took it unaware that it was a hard to let flat, partly because of the reputation of the neighbour living upstairs and partly because that whole road is known as "the Gorbals of Cauldmoss" on account of the "problem cases" who are housed there. Being located on this street meant we initially had much more contact with the other "incomers" who lived there than with old inhabitants of the village. This had both advantages, for instance being accepted as fellow outsiders, and drawbacks, such as getting associated with these people by the more established and respectable inhabitants. Overall we appreciated being more remote there than we would have been anywhere else in village council housing, for this slightly reduced the pressure to conform to local behaviour.

Reactions to us, the "students".

Our project in Cauldmoss had previously been heralded by an article in a local newspaper which gave a tongue-in-cheek description of how anthropologists normally move into underdeveloped tribal areas to study "the primitives". It was stuck in the library window several months before our arrival, by which time the indignation and suspicion which it had aroused had largely been forgotten, but it did not improve our reception. Only a few took it as a joke and planned to set us up: "I'll tell them we eat bairns at Christmas!".
Conducting our first questionnaire introduced us to a large cross section of the population, while others found out what we were doing through conversations with us in the village shops and pubs. I told them that we were studying the effects of unemployment and how people cope with it, and, more generally, that we wanted to record their way of life and outlook on the world. However, initial perceptions of us often had little to do with this explanation: we were variously called crime reporters, drugs squad, social workers or DHSS snoppers, the different descriptions usually reflecting different villagers' potential involvement with the respective authorities. People seemed to find it difficult to accept that they themselves, with their ordinary lives, were the subject of an academic study.

After a month or so we came to be known as "the students", a phrase we had never used (proud to be research workers) but which people in Cauldmoss clearly found was the category they were most at ease with. As students we had an ambivalent status in the village. On the one hand we had obviously had a middle class education which extended far beyond that of most villagers, and we would presumably enter a high paid professional career on completing our research. Some people, mainly older inhabitants, were deferential towards us. This could be extremely annoying when it inhibited them from refusing an interview and instead led to successive excuses that brought us back repeatedly to pester them again. On the other hand we were, as Condry has noted of many ethnographers in Scotland (1983: 110), apparently unemployed, we were impoverished much of the time, and we were not yet 'proper' adults despite being four or five years older than others with steady jobs and young families. One woman asked my age and was astonished to learn I was 25: "Don't you think that's awfi' old to be a student?". The advantages of low social status for an anthropological researcher are well known: as students I think we had this standing, although villagers knew that in the wider society our position would be different.
Ironically whereas for some our apparent unemployment gave us the benefits of low status, for others our research was validated simply because it was "work". The answers to Q.45 in our First Questionnaire (see Appendix A) clearly showed that our door-to-door enquiries were seen as work, and when we explained our research several people who did not fully understand what we were trying to do resolved the issue with comments such as "Well, it's a job anyway." During the Second Questionnaire an old man explicitly stated what others had probably thought: that if he had been sent the questionnaire he would have put it straight in the fire, but he was prepared to answer it in my presence because it gave me a job, even if it was not a proper one. "Bloody world's rotten with bloody temporary jobs an' this sort o' thing." He was not prepared to fill in the time or money budgets since the only value he saw in any of this activity was that it gave me employment: if he were to complete them himself what would I have to do?

The fact that Anne Marie Bostyn and I stayed together in the same house immediately aroused considerable interest, and amongst older folk condemnation. The church-going villagers politely referred to us as husband and wife and were put out when we baldly stated that we were not married (which they already knew) and that our partner was in fact just a colleague. We learnt much later in a roundabout way that when we first arrived the older inhabitants were shocked at our cohabitation: "most of them looked at it as terrible..."; they said, "they should ha' put them in digs - and they're goin' to talk about us!". For younger people the shocking thing was not that we were staying together unmarried, but that we were doing this without having a sexual relationship.

Some people in Cauldmoss found most of our behaviour peculiar and remained perplexed as to what we were really interested in. Our neighbour told us that if we were to walk about in patched jeans:
"...people in Cauldmoss would think that you’re kiddin’ them on. People in Cauldmoss would think that you’re tryin’ to experiment wi’ them, to see their reaction. They would, I’m tellin’ ye. They’d say, "What’s he playin’ at now? What’s he tryin’ to suss out noo? Is he tryin’ to kid us on?" Aye, that’s the way they think. You take it from me, Danny boy. I know." (big laugh)...

A small proportion of the population were openly antipathetic towards us and declined to have anything to do with Anne Marie Bostyn or myself, behaviour that we did our best to reciprocate. Some of these individuals later indicated that they had come to accept us, having learnt more about us through their friends and relatives, and in one case a man literally extended a hand of friendship. In fact we were both happily surprised by the lack of hostility we encountered, for I had half expected to meet a violent physical reaction to our research at some stage. Though some certainly resented our work it was only on occasional (usually drunk) moments that this was expressed: "You ask too many questions... You’re a pryer...".

Another pleasant surprise was that we were not disliked for being English. In general I think the hostility expressed towards the English in Scotland is usually because they are southern middle class rather than of the wrong nationality. Far more important as a divisive factor in the central industrial belt of Scotland is religion. Though I could honestly state that I had no particular religious faith, I felt it politic to disguise the fact I had been brought up as a Roman Catholic. Anne Marie Bostyn actually went to the Catholic chapel when we arrived in Cauldmoss, but she soon switched to attending the Church of Scotland and most people forgot her catholicism.
Particular problems of fieldwork in one's own society.

The ethical difficulties of participating in the conventional adult roles of a culture which one is studying in one's own society, have already been discussed (p.47). There are considerable practical problems as well, and I was certainly not the first anthropologist to find field work in his own country more difficult than that abroad. Probably the most important problem is that researchers from the same society as their informants are assessed according to indigenous values with a far smaller margin of tolerance for peculiar behaviour. In the Third World white Europeans who voluntarily eat poor people's food and live in their housing conditions are obviously weird: for them not to share local male opinions on women, or local religious beliefs, does not surprise those they are studying. But in our own society fellow membership accords far less tolerance, and even students are expected to be fairly conventional in such fundamental areas as gender roles, while an enormous store of common knowledge about sport, pop music, television programmes, diet, etc. is assumed. In order not to alienate villagers we felt severely constrained in our public eating, our clothes, our means of transport and even the colour of our window frames: nearly every example of eccentric behaviour was remarked on, whereas in the Third World it is more likely to be similarities in behaviour which are noted. (The narrowness of Cauldmoss inhabitants' awareness of other cultures will be considered later: p.159). As others have found: "in attempting to integrate into the life of the community the pressures to 'go native' are increased because they are already halfway native, ..." (Hunt and Satterlee 1983: 10). A consequence of this is that it is more difficult to ask the apparently stupid questions whose answers are considered obvious by one's informants, an invaluable technique since what 'goes without saying' usually goes unsaid. For university graduates to ask such questions is more likely to perplex people and make them suspicious about what is being studied, than earn the researchers the status of "dumb laddies/lassies".
Another difficulty specific to fieldwork in one's native country is that the problems of transition between two cultures are experienced almost continuously. Most anthropologists researching in Britain maintain contact with their personal friends and academic colleagues, which means a schizophrenic attempt to maintain two different roles in different social groups. On returning to one's research after a few days with friends of one's own background it is necessary to once again try to immerse oneself in the foreign culture, consciously suppressing those mannerisms which estrange. Of course there are also advantages of contact with academia and one's own culture - ideally a perpetual stimulation to look at the people being studied in fresh ways.

Participation in Cauldmosslife.

The vast majority of the data that we collected in Cauldmossl is in the form of notes made immediately after joining in village activities. From the beginning of our stay we tried to participate as much as possible, which at first was often self-conscious and somewhat contrived. However, after six months or so our involvement seemed to become increasingly spontaneous and our social activities developed a momentum of their own. Apart from our general participation in village life through the shops, taking up every opportunity to visit people, going out with them and so on, the main ways in which I joined in were by visiting the pubs, attending church services, helping at the summer playscheme, the Community Centre youth clubs and Unemployment Club, and accompanying people fishing and collecting fuel. I also joined the local branch of the Labour Party in 1983, mainly because of personal political opinions but also to get some insight into the formal politics of the area (to be discussed later p.164-166).
Anne Marie Bostyn's main contacts with the community were through a group of close female friends on the housing scheme, helping at the Community Centre, attending Church of Scotland social events and joining the Women's Rural Institute. The sexual segregation in Cauldmoss will be described at length in the next chapter (p. 108-115), but it is worth noting here that it was invaluable to have two researchers of different sex. Had either one of us been alone a considerable part of village life would have been inaccessible, and the researcher would have been forced to rely largely on the accounts of one sex to learn about the behaviour and values of the other. As it was we were able to complement each other's gender roles.

One important sphere that we did not participate in at all was that of employment. This had been one of our original aims, but given the dearth of local vacancies and the consequent resentment that would probably have been directed at us if we succeeded in getting a local job, we abandoned this objective. The possible bias that this omission might cause in my analysis of how men experience their employment has already been noted (p. 22).

The advantages of long term participation in a community in order to study the culture are well rehearsed. Here I will briefly mention those aspects of this method which were of greatest benefit to our research. Staying for a long period in Cauldmoss allowed us to distinguish which of the tales that we initially heard were well founded, and helped us understand what had prompted the other tales to be rumoured. It was instructive to learn after a year that there had been some truth in the stories about the stolen grandfather clocks, about witchcraft and about slaughtered sheep, all of which we had originally interpreted as expressions of people's fears and their moral order. Similarly it was useful to find in two years no direct evidence of the muggings or decapitated horses that had been frequently spoken of when we first arrived. It is only by staying in a community for a lengthy time that one can begin to unravel the var-
ious preconceptions, antagonisms and actual events which are entwined in rumours, not to mention the deliberate misinformation that is sometimes fed to research workers.

One area of investigation where long term participation is absolutely imperative is the hidden economy. There were two principal reasons for this that emerged from our research in Cauldmoss. First, by taking part in a wide range of activities in the village, many of which had little to do with the specific focus of our study, we came to be accepted as not being any threat to our informants. Sometimes when doing something seemed to me to be a frustrating diversion from our main research, it was rewarded by the extraordinary frankness of one of those involved. For instance, after I had spent three weeks helping out with the summer playscheme one of the unemployed men who had also helped mentioned, during a drunken Friday evening to conclude the project, that he had had lots of jobs on the side. When I visited him a few weeks later he unhesitatingly gave me a detailed history of his numerous undeclared jobs and the ways he had fiddled the DHSS. The more important reason for participant research when studying illicit activities is to be able to actually join in them and incriminate oneself. This can obviously involve moral dilemmas (as discussed above: p.47), but unless solidarity with one's informants is demonstrated and trust established by taking the same risks as them there is little chance of being told much actual information. "Why should anyone lie to you if there is trust between you? And if there is not, you might as well go home." (Evans-Pritchard 1973: 6) The limitations of formal, non participant surveys in eliciting information about the hidden economy have already been mentioned (p.10). For instance, from a random sample of claimants in a Manpower Services Commission study in 1979, only 38% actually agreed to be interviewed - presumably a group who had little to hide from the authorities.
Several anthropologists have found that joining in indigenous economic activities is the best way of developing a sympathetic relationship with their informants. Okely's greatest progress in relating to the gypsies came after she had gone into scrap-dealing with her own truck, and Evans-Pritchard found that acquiring a few cattle was the best passport to Nuer friendship (Evans-Pritchard 1940: 13) (rather than trying to persuade the Nuer to carry his luggage for him half a mile into the shade immediately on arrival (ibid.: 10)). In Jamaica I found that doing farm work was an excellent way of becoming accepted, and in Cauldmos there were certain advantages in us signing-on for Unemployment Benefit. The bureaucratic hassles of claiming benefits were ethnographically instructive, while our worries about a DHSS inspector judging us to be "living as husband and wife" were a revealing experience (and ironic after we had been accused of being DHSS snoopers ourselves). But more important was the way our position as claimants demonstrated a community of interests with many of the people we were studying. Several commented that signing-on enabled us to really find out what life is like "on the bru": a woman told me I was "in it with us", and a man said, half approvingly, "Ye've joined the family!".

Two general difficulties hindered our participation in Cauldmos life. Our own work ethics inhibited us from relaxing and enjoying ourselves in the village without repeatedly thinking of our research. So, for instance, when I found myself in convivial company in the pub I could not get happily intoxicated without constantly trying to remember the conversation. Paradoxically enjoying oneself in this way is exactly the kind of participation that wins people's friendship and confidence, prerequisites for learning valuable qualitative data.

Another problem was that of maintaining general conversations with our informants. As I have already mentioned, I was not accustomed to "phatic" conversations (p.36), but my lack of small talk was compounded by trying to avoid expressing particular views on any
subject for fear of influencing people's statements. Furthermore, a lot of conversation is made up of gossip, and since one does not usually gossip about someone unless one's audience is closer to oneself than to the person under discussion, at first we were excluded from gossip networks, or people were not named. Later when gossip was shared with us we were unable to reciprocate, although we often had fascinating tit bits to tell, for everything we heard was told to us in confidence.

Various samples with different degrees of familiarity.

Though it is a well established practice to find a few intimate informants from whom all one's data come (Evans-Pritchard 1973: 6), it is rarely thought necessary to specify them and their background. This is surprising since the social position of one's main informants is fundamental to the epistemology of the whole study. For instance after three months in Cauldmoss I reflected that the nine people I had come to know best were all in some way peripheral to village life. They were either incomers or condemned as alcoholics, abusers of illegal drugs or ex-convicts, and one was rumoured to have had incestuous relations with his daughters. Such an unrepresentative group was partly a result of us staying on a road full of "problem cases" (see p.53), but it was also due to the fact that those on the fringe of the "moral community" are most approachable for an outsider. This is particularly the case when an illegal drug can be used as an entree and means of colluding in illegal activity. Since those at the centre of community life are likely to have the most developed social networks and be most self-contained in their social world, there is always a risk of bias towards marginal people and their activities. In my case this might mean an over-emphasis on illegal activities.
The inhabitants of Cauldmoss who helped me with my research could be roughly divided into six groups:

1) Four people I got to know very well and consider to be friends in their own right.

2) About two dozen people with whom I carried out detailed loosely structured interviews.

3) 35 people who answered our questionnaires and also completed either a time budget (fourteen) or spending sheet (three) or both (21).

4) Those remaining out of 104 individuals who answered our first questionnaire, every tenth household being selected from the electoral register, and one person from 51 of these households and from eleven other households who answered our second questionnaire.

5) About 50 people who I came to know well in a particular context, as neighbours, by joining with them in various activities such as helping at youth clubs, drinking in the pubs, digging coal from the burn, going fishing or ferreting, or simply by visiting them.

6) Probably 300 villagers or more who, in brief encounters, relayed some information that was noted down, or who were the subject of other’s conversation.

Three of my four main friends are connected by family ties: Tam, an elderly widower born and bred in Cauldmoss, one of his many daughters, Janet, and Alex, the boyfriend of his youngest daughter. Tam is in his 70s, lives in a council house (like all of these four friends), and started his working life as a miner. In this he is typical of those in his age group, but he has a much larger family than most, he does not drink alcohol and he has several engrossing hobbies (principally bird fancying), all of which are unusual. Because of these features Tam is renowned in the village. Janet stays nearby with her own daughter, but she spends much of her time in
Tam's house doing the domestic work. Her husband left her several years ago, she has an occasional boyfriend in the village, and until very recently she worked as a cleaner in the village school. However after a temporary ailment she decided to remain on Invalidity Benefit and now divides her time between the work of two households and her main interests which are bingo, breeding canaries, reading and television. Her one child, who has had various part time low paid jobs but is now unemployed, is in her early 20s and stays with her. For Janet to be separated from her husband is unremarkable, though not typical, while her small family, her opting not to be in low paid employment and her interests (other than bird fancying) are all common to women of her age.

Alex is an incomer, having grown up in various towns in the central belt of Scotland, which, along with his intellectual and artistic interests, makes him atypical in Cauldmoss. However his previous experience in semi-skilled manual work, his long term unemployment, the failure of his first marriage and his cohabitation with an unmarried Cauldmoss woman are all fairly representative of village life. The minor ways in which he defrauds the authorities are probably typical of the long term unemployed, though his involvement in theft, or at least his conviction for it, is less characteristic of local people. Through him I got to know his girlfriend, who is very typical of unmarried women in the village. This man is the person I spent most time with and was most friendly with in Cauldmoss.

The fourth friend, Mag, has always lived in Cauldmoss and has two young sons. Her husband emigrated from Ireland in search of work in his late teens, and has lived in Cauldmoss for about six years, working as a lorry driver. He left Mag in 1986 to live with a woman in Glasgow. Mag has had several part time jobs as a shop assistant in the local town, but was laid off in 1986. Her upbringing, her residence on the scheme, her family circumstances and the household's
employment (when her husband was with her) all make her very typical of Cauldmoss women in their 30s.

The people who answered detailed interviews (group 2) either had particular influence in, or special insight on, the village, or were typical of a particular age and sex. The former group include the minister, priest, youth and community workers, head mistress, a major local employer, the doctor, one of the shopkeepers, plus a senior official at the Department of Employment in Edinburgh. Anne Marie Bostyn also interviewed church elders, other employers, two teachers, an official at the local Job Centre and the DHSS Information Officer for Scotland. The local Department of Employment office was unwilling to help us with our research.

The potential questions in these interviews, only some of which were asked of any one respondent, are listed in Appendix D. They were designed to elicit ideas on certain general topics: perceptions of the village, experience of work and unemployment, knowledge and evaluation of the hidden economy, how non working time is spent, aspirations and frustrations in the area of consumption, and patterns of expenditure. The second batch of questions (from AA onwards) were formulated later on in my research, when I had decided on the general focus of my thesis. They were partly inspired by the questions asked in the 'Affluent Worker' study (Goldthorpe et al. 1969: Appendix D) and were intended to elucidate the relative importance of employment and consumption for people's identity. A point was made of asking the interviewee how representative of the whole village s/he thought her/his ideas were, which sometimes prompted a revealing self-examination. Only a few of these interviews were carried out with a tape recorder, partly because of the well known problems of such technology inhibiting informants, but mainly because transcribing tape recorded interviews was found to be extremely laborious. Unlike many research projects our's had no assistants to do this work, and so I decided my time was better spent
in conducting further research rather than transcribing tapes for days. Obviously the end result was a greater breadth of material but very few lengthy passages of verbatim speech.

The questionnaires.

The questionnaire that Anne Marie Bostyn and I administered within the first few months of our arrival in Cauldmoss (henceforth referred to as 'the First Questionnaire') was intended to introduce us to a cross section of the population, as well as giving us information about the way people classified different activities and what they meant by "work" and "leisure". The questionnaire itself, and a tabulated summary of the main results, are in Appendix A. The principal findings from this and the Second Questionnaire will be presented where they are pertinent to the main argument of the thesis (in particular in Chs 4, 5, 6, and 7). However, a lengthy report of how the First Questionnaire was formulated and carried out, the results produced and how they were analyzed can be found as an appendix to our first Final Report (Turner, Bostyn and Wight 1984). A 10% sample of houses in Cauldmoss was made, using the 1981 Register of Electors. The head of the household and spouse were interviewed, but where this was not possible another member of the household was sometimes questioned. After the initial round of interviews, which got a 13.5% refusal rate, a representative proportion of men to women and council house tenants to owner-occupiers was made up through a second round. The final sample size turned out to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total on electoral register</th>
<th>total questioned</th>
<th>sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>households</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>11.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult individuals</td>
<td>1,304</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>7.98%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: Sample for First Questionnaire.
The questionnaire was certainly a very successful introduction: everyone in the village quickly got to know of our project, many of our respondents would subsequently greet us in the street and perhaps have a chat, several encouraged us to return for further discussion and some came to be important contacts. During the questionnaire there were usually long digressions about the village, the state of the economy or individuals' employment histories.

The Second Questionnaire was carried out three and a half years later in November and December 1985. Both Anne Marie Bostyn and myself had specific topics we wanted to investigate now that we had more closely defined the subjects of our theses. We also wanted to conduct a survey of how Cauldmoss inhabitants used their time and money, and thought that a questionnaire relating to these issues would be a good introduction before asking people to complete time and money budgets. Since we were not actually expecting many people to do these budgets, we included questions in the questionnaire which would provide some limited information about the use of time and money in a representative form. The questions that comprise the Second Questionnaire are in Appendix B. A detailed description of how we conducted the Second Questionnaire and the time and money budgets can be found in our second Final Report (Noble, Bostyn and Wight 1986).

In choosing our sample for this latter questionnaire we had a choice between wider sampling or longitudinal sampling: the ideal of both would have been too lengthy for our purposes. We decided to concentrate on people with whom we had already established some rapport, which turned out to be extremely important for the quality of our answers, and went back to the same households that we had questioned in 1982. Since many of our questions were about the whole household, and since we were short of time, we only asked one person in each house to answer. The initial round of questionnaires found seven of the original respondents had moved, one had died, while ten
did not want to answer. To replace these, and to make up representative proportions of women to men and council house tenants to owner-occupiers, we added eleven new people to our sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total on electoral register</th>
<th>total questioned</th>
<th>sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>houseolds</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult individuals</td>
<td>1,304</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>4.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2: Sample for Second Questionnaire.

The advantages of questioning people that we already knew illustrate the drawbacks of normal impersonal questionnaires. Respondents were extremely frank in many of their answers without us having to spend much time establishing a friendly relationship to put them at ease, which conventional questionnaire surveys rarely allow time for. On the other hand because we knew something about the way the respondents and their families lived, from more than two years involvement in the village, we could identify topics where answers were less than frank. For instance, although we asked 0.4 about how much people go out in the evenings and what they do, we could not tell from the questionnaire results that certain interviewees were much more frequent drinkers than others, which we already knew from our observations. This was despite the fact that we had a good relationship with several of these people. Occasionally a respondent was unwilling to answer the questionnaire even though we were familiar figures, and though s/he was not sufficiently opposed to refuse us, the quality of the answers were such that little would have been lost if s/he had not done it. In such cases one soon recognizes that answers are being given to get rid of the interviewer as quickly as possible. The limitations of a quantitative survey despite the interviewers' intimacy with their respondents emphasizes again the value of informal qualitative research.
The time and money budgets.

Of the 62 people who answered the Second Questionnaire 24 completed a money budget and 35 a time sheet, and six others also volunteered to fill in time sheets. The forms which we asked respondents to fill in are in Appendix C. The money budget was simplified after our initial questionnaires because it was clear that people found it too involved but would be prepared to complete a less detailed version. The categories of expenditure were based on the Family Expenditure Survey so that our material could be compared with these national data. We were surprised at the number of people who were willing to answer these time and money budgets, but once the aggregate figures of completed budgets are broken down according to household size and age, employment circumstances and whether council tenants or owner occupiers, the figures are not useful for making significant comparisons. The table below shows how different are the characteristics of those who completed the budgets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>people in each household:</th>
<th>single</th>
<th>2 over 16</th>
<th>3 over 16</th>
<th>4 over 16</th>
<th>single + 1 child</th>
<th>couple + 1 child</th>
<th>couple + 2 children</th>
<th>couple + 3 children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>council house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- W employed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- W not employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employed: private house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- W employed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- W not employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>council house</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- W employed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- W not employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unemployed: private house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- W employed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- W not employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retired: council house</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: Characteristics of those completing money budgets.
The detailed problems in analyzing the money budgets have been described elsewhere (Noble et al. 1986:19-20). Here I will just emphasize that figures for clothing and shoes, large household goods and alcohol are very unreliable. Few people could give a weekly average for the first two categories, and it was a matter of chance whether they had bought such items that week or not. Only those using mail order catalogues were able to state fairly accurate weekly amounts. Statements about expenditure on alcohol could not be relied on because a) the topic is laden with values (see above p.68 and below p.303) and b) because it depends on completely frank financial arrangements between husband and wife. Despite the limitations of the budgets for statistical analysis, they do provide extremely valuable information about the details of people's lives which is best interpreted as several case studies. The data from these budgets, as with the questionnaire results, will be presented where pertinent to the ethnography. However the money budgets of ten households (chosen for being representative of different groups) are reproduced in Appendix C.

Though these formal methods of research provided a very useful measure of how representative certain behaviour is in Cauldmos, it was usually spontaneous, informal conversations while joining in Cauldmos life that provided the most valuable information for this study.

Background research.

For a month before moving to Cauldmos and on several occasions since, research was carried out in Edinburgh libraries and those local to Cauldmos. The 1971 and 1981 Censuses were the main statistical sources for the study, once problems of compatibility between enumeration districts had been sorted out. The Valuation Rolls and Electoral Register provided data on housing ownership, the
recreational and shopping facilities in the village, and the concentration of namesakes in particular streets. Church of Scotland Yearbooks gave details on the sizes of congregations, Women's Guilds, Sunday Schools and so on over several decades, while the three Statistical Accounts of Scotland, produced in the 1790s, 1830s and 1960s, gave a historical outline of agricultural, industrial, religious, educational, housing and population characteristics in Cauldmoss. A general overview of the literature on Lowland Scotland will be given at the start of the next chapter.

In contrast to most social anthropology projects the research proposal only allowed us to spend a month, rather than a year, doing background reading before setting out for "the field". This meant the normal mixture of inductive and deductive methods was weighted firmly towards the former. Some of the most basic texts relating to this thesis (e.g. Lockwood 1966, Willis 1977 and Sahlins 1976) were only read once the analysis of our ethnographic material had already begun.

Writing-up the material.

Initially Anne Marie Bostyn and I had ambitious plans to thoroughly index our thirty or more notebooks, both by individuals' names and by subject matter. I almost completed a card index of names from my notes, but our subject index was far too time consuming to be continued beyond our first notebooks. About two years after abandoning the subject index we decided to photocopy all our notes with the intention of cutting them up and arranging the material according to different topics specific to our theses. This plan lasted about a month, after which the rate of one notebook per week again seemed too laborious. My final compromise was to read through the notebooks fairly quickly and make references in my thesis outline to pertinent passages. This meant I only had a crude index of where
to find data on subjects already identified as components of my thesis: it was not comprehensive enough to find material on topics that had originally been considered unrelated to the thesis.

Commitments to write Final Reports and research proposals for the SSRC and ESRC, and invitations to contribute to conferences and edited books, meant that we began writing up our material while still living in Cauldmoss. This limited the extent to which we could participate in village activities while living there, and diverted our efforts away from starting our theses, though it did make us more aware of the gaps in our ethnographic data before finishing the field work.

Since we first returned temporarily to Edinburgh University during our fieldwork, and our anecdotes were eagerly analyzed as indicative of fascinating social features in Cauldmoss, I was struck by how easy it is to present almost any data to academics as valid ethnography. As Nadel commented, the anthropologist returning from the field becomes highly sceptical of other ethnographies, realizing how tempting it is to use an exceptional case to support one’s argument and make clever generalizations from scant evidence (1951). When writing-up one’s field notes this temptation to "massage" the data constantly presents itself: although working with Anne Marie Bostyn means I am not the sole social scientist to study Cauldmoss, there are still many occasions where personal integrity is the only safeguard to an honest ethnography.

Having lived with a community of people and got to know many individuals fairly well, a problem most anthropologists must face is how to make overall observations of the culture without losing sight of real people and without insulting their individuality. How can we avoid being forced "to omit consideration of the individual as a person except insofar as he is an instance within the group." (Wilson 1973: 7)? Trying to subsume individuals to an aggregate was all the
more difficult since, although fairly homogeneous by British standards, the values of different people in Cauldmoss were very varied in comparison with the powerful social norms of traditional societies in the Third World. (Though perhaps this latter homogeneity is just an image presented by the ethnographer.) There are always individuals who prove the richness of humankind with personal characteristics that are contrary to the general pattern. However, given our ability to only represent a few strands of social life and little of its complexities, these people are usually obscured.

In order to protect the confidentiality of our informants none of them are mentioned by their real names and the pseudonym 'Cauldmoss' is used to refer to the village. When speech is presented in double inverted commas it is a verbatim quote, the only exception being when the name of the village was used, in which case I have changed it to "Cauldmoss". The punctuation ... means words have been left out, while a dash - means the speaker paused at this point.

It is generally accepted that to understand the significance of the words people use it is crucial to report the terms uttered as accurately as possible. Thus ethnographies are often full of quotations, but in my case the lack of transcribed tape recordings (see p.65) means I have often had to rely on snippets of conversation which were all I could record word for word. Since I cannot capture the vividness of people's speech in lengthy quotations it seems better to use the brief quotes that I have got rather than paraphrase everything. The problem of this is that I am reduced to a number of cute little snippets that tend to make the inhabitants of Cauldmoss look "folksie". This seems particularly artificial when many of the terms in quotes might be the same, or very similar, to those used by the reader. The difficulty is peculiar to ethnographies of our own society and takes us back to the issue of distancing oneself from those one studies, discussed previously (p.39-42). All I can do is apologize to the reader, particularly if Scottish and familiar with
this culture, for the way these small quotations might grate. At least the Scots reader will be familiar with the word "folk" as a frequently used alternative to "people": I will use it as such to avoid the repetition of "people" or "inhabitants", not in an attempt to make Cauldmoss more "folksie".

The "ethnographic present" implicit in my description will be August 1984, when I left Cauldmoss. The only unspecified exceptions to this will be the results of the First and Second Questionnaires which relate to August and September 1982 and November and December 1985 respectively.
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STUDIES OF ENGLISH WORKING CLASS CULTURE.

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CHAPTER THREE

CAULDMOSS

INTRODUCTION.

This chapter will provide a general ethnography of Cauldmoss. Following a brief literature survey I will give an overview of the village and its history, and then concentrate on five main social institutions: social status, gender, kinship, religion and community belonging. I will conclude by considering how the values and behaviour of people in Cauldmoss can be seen as part of a wider subordinate culture.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF LOWLAND SCOTLAND.

In contrast to the amount of material that actually exists there have been several reviews of the literature on Lowland Scotland, and it is unnecessary for me to repeat such works. Eldridge briefly surveyed the paucity of sociological writing on Scotland in 1974, while Aitken and Mcarthur reviewed and summarized the linguistic research in the Lowlands in 1979. In the same year Condry submitted his thorough assessment of Scottish ethnography, published in 1983. Subsequently Turner’s schema of Lowland subcultures (1980a) began with a description of the ethnographic and quasi-ethnographic sources available, including a list of recent novels and plays which carefully depict urban lifestyles, a valuable addition to Condry’s sociological and social anthropological survey.

All reviews of the literature seem to concur with Condry in his conclusion that:
"Too much attention has been paid to the islands and Highlands, and too little to the anthropological study of the Lowlands and the urban areas. Despite the theoretical rejection of the urban-rural dichotomy researchers have remained firmly encamped in rural fields in the far north."

(Condry 1983: 133)

In fact only one anthropological book about Scotland south of the Highland line has been published, and that was concerned with a parish in the Cheviot Hills (Littlejohn 1964). As for ethnographic work specifically on the central industrial belt of Scotland Condry only discovered two publications: a one page comment on joking relationships in Boness (Girling 1957) and a rather dry quantitative investigation relating social stratification to church affiliation and participation in Falkirk (Sissons 1973). Apart from several dissertations and theses (listed by Turner 1980a: 3) the only other ethnography of central Scotland has come from Turner’s own research in a fishing village on the South East coast of Scotland (Turner 1979a, 1979b, and 1980b). Though this was focussed on strategies of legitimation in a fishing village, Turner’s more general findings prompted him to initiate the research on work as a moral category which first took Anne Marie Bostyn and myself to Cauldmoss (Turner 1981).

Thus despite the fact that nearly 80% of the Scottish population live there, the central Lowlands have received virtually no attention at all from ethnographers, in marked contrast to their concern with the Highlands and islands. This bias reflects how, for many people both within and particularly outside the country, the dominant image of Scotland is a Highland one, as Chapman has tellingly discussed (1978).
Turner recognized the need to resort to a wider range of literature in studying Lowland subcultures (1980a), and certain quasi-ethnographic works were helpful in this research on Cauldmoss. Heughan’s study of pit closures at Shotts in the early ‘50s starts with a brief sociological description of the Shotts area (Heughan 1953: Part 1). This provides a useful comparison with Cauldmoss since Shotts is also a coal mining settlement in roughly the same part of the country; presumably it gives an indication of what Cauldmoss was like before its own pits were closed. Another study which reveals how much the way of life in Cauldmoss is shared by other Scottish mining villages is Jephcott’s book on young people’s leisure (1967). One of the three areas she studied in the central Lowlands was the coal village of Armadale, and though her research is twenty years old it shows how the values and leisure of the young have changed, and illustrates what 35 to 40 year olds in Cauldmoss today would have probably experienced in their youth. Various histories have been useful in giving a wider context – both geographically and temporally – within which to interpret the life of Cauldmoss, such as Harvie’s sober assessment of Scotland’s decline this century (1981). One particular work was invaluable in providing us with a lengthy local history of the parish. It is unjust that the author cannot be given due credit for the detailed research involved in this study, but this would betray the true identity of Cauldmoss.

To return to Turner’s outline of Lowland subcultures (1980a), in this stimulating brief for future research the author identifies nine “ideal types” of Lowland settlements, though he is careful to emphasize that the list is not exhaustive. The village that he chose to study a year later turned out to challenge the initial East:West classification of his typology, for it combined many features from both kinds of Lowland mining towns. Cauldmoss has the following characteristics from each ideal type:
"West Lowland Mining Towns: (e.g. Kilmarnock, Motherwell, Aidrie). ...hereditary miners' culture (though see Tait, 1977); betting; ...high unemployment; ...low church attendance; solid Labour politics; cynicism about State institutions; extended kinship links still effective; ...car ownership strongly desired for prestige reasons; ...segregated role marriages; limited choice in shops (McIlvanney, 1975; Williams, 1968; Moffat, 1965; Chapman [and Hutchinson], 1946; Aidrie, 1954)."

"East Lowland Mining Towns: (e.g. Methil, Cowdenbeath, Tranent, Bonnyrigg). Mostly council houses built 1920-1960, ...mostly Protestant; low level of church-going; hereditary miners' culture, different from West (though many originated there); high unemployment; low mobility... high vandalism (Watson, 1952; Wilson, 1953; Durland, 1904; Chapman [and Hutchinson], 1946)."

(STUDIES OF ENGLISH WORKING CLASS CULTURE.)

Though very little has been written about the culture of Lowland Scotland, a tradition of 'community studies' produced several detailed ethnographies of working class culture in England. The study of working class communities in the '50s and '60s was inspired by the implicit preference of certain intellectuals for supposed small-scale, stable, relatively self-sufficient communities which urban industrialization was destroying. During this period "the organicists", as they are described by Goldthorpe (1979), 'rediscovered' such communities in, for instance, Bethnall Green (Young and Willmott 1957) and "Ashton" (Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter 1956). The latter is certainly the most important
ethnography of working class culture as far as Cauldmoss is concerned, for it is about a small coal mining town in Yorkshire. Coal Is Our Life describes in detail the kind of work done in the pits and how this employment is central to the whole way of life in Ashton, family organization and leisure being related to mining in a structural-functionist way.

The authors were careful to acknowledge important spheres of Ashton's social life which they omitted (Dennis et al. 1956: 246), and the fact that Ashton is a part of a much wider economy and culture which was beyond their analysis, making it impossible to consider questions like social change (ibid.: 249). Despite these qualifications their study has been criticized as "...limited, partial and outdated" (Pahl 1984: 5), and neglectful of women's employment. This critique was prompted by the way Coal Is Our Life has frequently been used to support more theoretical sociology, but others have commended the book for its success in interpreting the details of the town's daily life in their structural, class context, in contrast to nearly all other community studies (Critcher 1979: 21-22). Our own findings in Cauldmoss tend to confirm much of Dennis et al.'s analysis, for instance the large section of the book that they do devote to:

"...the sharp cultural division between the sexes, and the attitudes consequent upon it, [which] run right through the community and produce tension within the family itself."

(Dennis et al. 1956: 249)

The research on Ashton provides a valuable comparison with Cauldmoss and is perhaps most useful in indicating what the legacy of coal mining is in the contemporary culture of the village. I will refer to it several times in the course of this thesis.
Another study of working class culture published at this time was not based on research in a specific locality but nevertheless vividly portrayed the small-scale, familiar, inwardly-centred social life of many urban workers. Part One of Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy* (1957) is a detailed description of the way of life of working people in northern England, largely based on the author's own upbringing in Hunslet, Leeds. Although Hoggart was writing thirty years ago it is remarkable how pertinent his observations are to the culture of Cauldmoss. Frequently he manages to capture the essence of what is valued in this way of life: the home that is always warm with plenty of food; the 'real' world that is personal, concrete and local; the "good husband" and the "rightness" of marriage; "keeping y' self-respect" and "having a good time". At several points in my ethnography I will quote from his perceptive observations. The striking similarities between the north English working class and the inhabitants of Cauldmoss illustrates how much more important their common experience as an industrial proletariat has been in shaping their culture than have national characteristics, while the relevance of Hoggart's descriptions thirty years later demonstrates the truth of his opening remark: "In spite of these changes, attitudes alter more slowly than we always realize,..." (Hoggart 1957: 13).

Other ethnographies based on anthropological-type research provide material on family organization, kinship and status distinctions amongst the English working class (Firth 1956, Moge 1956, Young and Willmott 1957, Kerr 1958 and Jennings 1962), but they, too, are all more than two decades old. Several syntheses of these studies have been made, starting with Klein's review of family life since the Second World War (1965), which also took account of Bott's important work *Family and Social Network* (1957). Lockwood used community studies as a source for his influential tripartite typology of working class images of society (1966), distinguishing 'traditional deferential', 'traditional proletarian' and 'privatized' outlooks. In many respects Cauldmoss typifies Lockwood's ideal type of
'traditional proletarian', particularly in terms of the community structure: an "interactional status system", that is inhabitants evaluating each other on the basis of personal knowledge, an occupational community, and lack of occupational differentiation. (I will return to the evaluation of status shortly: p.100-107). In the "traditional working class community":

"workmates are normally leisure-time companions, often neighbours, and not infrequently kinsmen ... The values expressed through these social networks emphasize mutual aid in everyday life and the obligation to join in the gregarious pattern of leisure, which itself demands the expenditure of time, money and energy in a public and present-oriented conviviality and eschews individual striving 'to be different'. As a form of social life, this communal sociability has a ritualistic quality, creating a high moral density and reinforcing sentiments of belongingness to a work-dominated collectivity."

(Lockwood 1966: 251)

I have quoted so extensively because, as will become clear from my ethnography, in many ways this is a valid representation of Cauldmoss, despite the doubts expressed as to whether such a traditional community ever really existed (Pahl 1984: 4). Lockwood's paper prompted considerable empirical research on the relationship between the structural features of occupational groups and their social imagery, much of which is presented in Bulmer (ed.) 1975.

Frankenberg's synthesis of community studies (1966) might be seen as the swan song of rural-urban theorizing about communities. Since then there have been virtually no community studies in British sociology, and in contrast to the empiricism of the '50s and '60s there was an increasing concern with theoretical macro issues. It is only recently that sociologists have again applied themselves to empirical
research. Newby (1983) has identified four reasons why community ethnographies went out of fashion. First, several sociologists demonstrated an inherent weakness in the "organicist" position: that the admired characteristics of working class culture are pragmatic and instrumental in character and likely to be abandoned or modified if their context is changed. Second, there was considerable criticism of what some saw as impressionistic methodology which made comparison and re-study difficult. Furthermore, the whole focus on communities seemed less relevant to contemporary society since urbanization, industrialization, the growth of bureaucracy and increasing centralization of decision making were seen to mean "the eclipse of community" (Stein 1964). Finally there was the long running debate on the meaning of 'community' itself, which I will return to in a later section (p.148).

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF CAULDMOSS.

Cauldmoss lies between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, about 500 feet high on a wide fairly flat expanse largely covered in peat and "moss" (moorland). From the highest points in the vicinity one can see the hills which bound the central Lowlands - the Ochills, the Pentlands, the Campsie Fells and the first peaks of the Trossachs - but more immediately one is surrounded by a mixture of moss and poor pasture, with very few trees other than decaying shelterbelts. These are made up of pines and wind-swept beeches that demonstrate how exposed the area is, a factor which, combined with the acid soil, severely limits agriculture and restricts cultivation to land near the river. Beneath the subsoil of clay and course sand lies millstone grit and coal, the latter giving rise to another feature of the landscape: open cast mines and abandoned bings.
The village is concentrated around the intersection of a few minor roads which connect it to other villages and the local town. This lies seven miles away in the central industrial belt of Scotland. Of the 1,578 population (1981 Census) 73% lived in council houses, most of which comprise a central scheme or estate built after the Second World War. The importance for spending patterns of such a high proportion of folk living in council accommodation will be discussed in Chapter Five. There is also a line of 1930s council housing - the first in the village - which stretches out on one of the approach roads; it was at the further end of this row where Anne Marie Bostyn and I lived. Beyond these council houses and along the other approach roads there is a little ribbon development of small private houses, mainly bungalows, and the other private householders live within the central part of the village. A few private houses date from the nineteenth century, but the vast majority of buildings in Cauldmoss were built since the last World War. Sheltered accommodation for 30 old folk was built recently at the village centre by a housing association, and other people live on the small farms, about two dozen of which lie within two miles of Cauldmoss.

In the middle of the village there are four grocery shops, one of which is very small and one (originally the cooperative store) considerably larger than the others. There are three pubs and three club buildings, a bookmaker's, a post office, fish and chip shop and chemist, and a bank, car-parts store and two hairdressers which are only open part time. Several mobile shops augment the shopping facilities, and Cauldmoss also has a library, community centre, health clinic, fire station, nursery school and primary school. From the age of eleven children travel by bus to secondary schools in the local town. The Church of Scotland kirk is prominent on one side of the village, while the modern Catholic chapel and that of the Church of Christ are less conspicuous.
The only public transport serving Cauldmoss is a bus service from the local town, which runs at least once an hour and costs 75p each way. Two or three times a day the bus continues beyond the village to link up with a town about ten miles further on. Half the households in the village have a car; the local town is accessible in fifteen minutes and Glasgow or Edinburgh in about an hour. Car ownership will be discussed more fully in a later chapter (p. 286). The nearest railway station is in the local conurbation.

In 1981 there were 657 adult women and 643 adult men in Cauldmoss (1981 Census). From the First Questionnaire sample in 1982 the unemployment rate for males over 16 was 37%. Conversely the proportion of females over 16 and under 60 who were in employment was 48%, a quarter of whom worked part time. According to the 1981 Census the main industries in which people are employed are distribution and catering (27.4%), manufacturing (20.5%) and 'other services' (31.5%), and most of these jobs are in the local conurbation. There are few jobs within the village itself, other than those provided by half a dozen small businesses and some part time jobs mainly for women. The small firms consist of a grocer, two haulage firms, a builder, an exploratory drilling firm and three local coal merchants. The nature of people's employment and the values associated with it are the subject of Chapter Four. In Chapter Seven there will be a wider discussion of unemployment figures relating to Cauldmoss.

Discussions with people from similar villages in the area, my own limited observation of such settlements, and the scant literature on Lowland Scotland (see p. 78) all suggest that Cauldmoss is not untypical of ex-mining villages throughout the central belt. Though the true identity of the village cannot be revealed, for those who know the Lowlands it might be useful to liken it to Blairhall in west Fife, though many other places are comparable (e.g. Kinglassie, High Valleyfield, etc.). Harvie described such villages as:
"an unlovely "third Scotland" sprawled from South Ayrshire to Fife ... old industrial settlements that ought to have been evacuated and demolished... but were preserved by buses, council housing and lack of long-term planning ... Somewhat isolated, ignored, lacking city facilities or country traditions - even lacking the attentions of sociologists..."

(Harvie 1981: 66)

HISTORY.

Until the 1830s Cauldmoss Parish had no real village within it, only several groups of houses and isolated farms. The only employment was in agriculture or related trades, and for several centuries prior to the nineteenth the population was probably stable at about a thousand. Before this the area around Cauldmoss had been subject to the general political and religious events of southern Scottish history, successively controlled by different invading tribes and peoples and won over to different Christian creeds. The only evidence that the place had any political significance was the building of a Norman motte around 1150.

In 1835 a branch railway was built across the parish and the construction work revealed several seams of good coal, heralding the sudden transformation of Cauldmoss from a collection of dispersed farming settlements to a bustling centre for a thriving coal industry. By 1857 there were nine main collieries in the parish and mining work continued to expand until the 1890s. The population swelled with a mobile labour force habituated to following employment opportunities wherever they emerged in southern Scotland, and mining settlements sprang up around the pits while a village began to grow around the church. The population statistics for Cauldmoss Parish until the 1930s, like those of Shotts (Heughan 1953: 3) and Ashton
Dennis et al. 1956: 12), illustrate how the working class were determined by the vagueries of industries to which they were merely another variable input:

Table 3.1: Population of Cauldmoss Parish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1801</th>
<th>1811</th>
<th>1821</th>
<th>1831</th>
<th>1841</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>923</td>
<td>6,731</td>
<td>3,004</td>
<td>1,655</td>
<td>5,286</td>
<td>3,311</td>
<td>2,799</td>
<td>2,197</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,655</td>
<td>5,286</td>
<td>3,440</td>
<td>4,164</td>
<td>3,409</td>
<td>2,959</td>
<td>2,714</td>
<td>2,714</td>
<td>2,959</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(These figures include a wider area than that described as the "Cauldmoss locality" in the 1981 Census, i.e. the village only, which explains the discrepancy between this figure for 1981 and that mentioned above (p.85).

Despite an expanding industry until the end of the century there is considerable evidence to suggest that miners had to work for extremely low pay while their families lived in cramped, damp housing, often of only one room, built by the coalowners. In 1857 miners were paid just over a penny per ton of coal they dug, which meant about two and a half pence a day, when household coal cost 30 pence a ton. Strikes were organized throughout the second half of the century and had some success in raising wages, but black legs, the truck system and the Desertion of Service law greatly impeded the miners' progress.

By the turn of the century more pits were being closed than opened as owners were reluctant to invest more capital once the most easily accessible reserves had been exhausted. Some of the older people in Cauldmoss today still blame the coal owners for the decline of the industry, and modern open cast operations all around the village support their claim that there is still plenty of "the best coal in
Scotland" under the ground. Many outlying hamlets were deserted by 1910 as the work force moved on to employment elsewhere, and in 1928 the four main seams in the parish were abandoned. However mining continued to be one of the principal occupations as workers were bussed up to ten miles to neighbouring pits, and a few small mines (without shafts) were worked around Cauldmoss until the last decade. Today only a few villagers are employed on the open cast sites, which are gradually moved from one area to another.

Since the development of coal in the 1840s there have been other subsidiary industries at various times in Cauldmoss. These included a gas works from 1855 to 1940, two woollen mills and, from the beginning of this century, a Dutch firm which exploited the peat moors for moss litter and packing materials. In 1962 another company started producing horticultural and fuel peat, and this continues today although intense mechanization means few people are employed. In the nineteenth century there were several brickworks in the parish and the industry was re-established in 1937 a mile from the village, employing a few dozen local people. However the decline in the building trade in the '70s caused its closure in 1978.

There has been a church in Cauldmoss since the Middle Ages, but the existing parish kirk was built in 1810. At the Disruption in 1843 the minister in Cauldmoss did not break away from the Church to assert the right of congregations to choose their own ministers, but nevertheless a Free Church was established and a new church built. When the two denominations were united in 1929 both buildings continued to be used until 1946 when the Free Kirk became a church hall.

During the second half of the 19th century both churches had large congregations, and Sunday schools were held in several of the outlying mining settlements. There were also a Methodist chapel, the Church of Christ, a Roman Catholic chapel built in 1885 and an active
band of the Salvation Army. The Methodist congregation dwindled with the falling village population and the Church of Christ bought their chapel in 1917. The Catholics built another chapel in the middle of Cauldmoss in 1960 and still have a small but committed congregation, while the Salvation Army and the Apostolic Church (which was active in the 1920s and '30s) have disappeared altogether. The three remaining denominations will be discussed in greater detail in a section to follow (p.138).

Historically the church has clearly had a crucial role in shaping cultural values of Scotland, and this is particularly relevant to this study since the work ethic is inextricably linked with religious ideas, according to many historians (e.g. Weber 1930, Tawney 1948 and Thompson 1968). (This will be considered again in the next chapter: p.193). Whether Calvinist theology was a pre-requisite for, or a product of, capitalism, certainly extreme Calvinist ideas about "the absolute quality of saving faith" thrived under the Evangelicism of Victorian Scotland, which meant there was a great emphasis on spiritual teaching and none on changing squalid living conditions (Mitchinson 1970: 382).

Attendance at Church of Scotland activities can be partially traced from the records of the Church of Scotland Yearbook which started in 1929:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of communicants</th>
<th>No. of elders</th>
<th>No. in Women's Guild</th>
<th>No. in Sunday School</th>
<th>No. in Bible Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Numbers in Church of Scotland positions.
Only the last two lines indicate the fall in church participation, since the numbers of communicants and elders record those who have been registered as such, not those regularly fulfilling these roles. Villagers today suggest that in 1929 most of the 400 communicants would have attended services fairly regularly, and it was the norm for their children to go to Sunday school. There was a gradual decline in participation after the Second World War, but when a much loved, long established minister was succeeded in 1969 there was a dramatic fall in attendance. Today only about 50 out of more than 400 communicants attend services, and only six out of twelve elders attend.

The first permanent school in Cauldmoss was built in the middle of the last century and became the Public School after the 1872 Education Act. The Free Church set up its own schools after the Disruption of 1843 and these remained as alternatives to the Public School until 1924. There was also a Catholic school which opened in 1885 because of the growing number of Catholic miners, but by 1911 the roll had fallen from 132 to 49 pupils and it was closed. The Public School had new premises in 1876, at which time there were 220 pupils and four full time teachers, and in 1932 a large extension was added making room for 600 children. After a fire in the 1960s the school was modernized and became purely for primary children, the older ones travelling to a high school in the local town.

Poor relief was one of the earliest functions of secular local government. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the number receiving assistance fluctuated from three or four to over a dozen, then in 1845 Parochial Boards were established to administer poor relief under the Poor Law (Scotland) Act, and money was raised by a levy on local households. The Boards included certain members of the Kirk Session, and so, through decisions on sending people to the poorhouse or assessing the amount of relief they were due, the church’s views on work and idleness were implemented in the secular
sphere. This coincided with the growth of Cauldmoss and by 1866 there were 29 poor on the roll, some of whom would be sent to the poorhouse in the local town if there was room. It is important to note, however, that figures for those on relief are a considerable understatement of the extent of poverty, since there were great disincentives to claiming help (not least the way the regulations broke up families) and many were not eligible anyway. "...the Act was a failure, because it was vitiated by the old Scottish principle that the only qualification for relief must be disability added to destitution." (Mitchinson 1970: 388) In 1904 responsibility for poor relief was moved from Parochial Boards to Parish Councils, but in 1929 these were abolished, to be replaced by District Councils. The Poor Law came to an end and the poor had to rely on National Assistance which was funded by both the central and local government.

In 1877 a police station was built in Cauldmoss, and resident constables remained in the village until 1979 when the existing pair were withdrawn on economic grounds.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION.

It is very difficult to construct a social structure from the different relationships within Cauldmoss, largely because people do not have any agreed way of classifying themselves. The ways in which an individual groups her/his fellow villagers are often varied, sometimes inconsistent, and usually vague, while the distinctions that are most important in effecting people's behaviour, based on gender and kinship, are never mentioned when discussing the social groups of the village. These two crucial topics will be considered in separate sections, as will the subject of religion, a factor that is sometimes referred to when people identify different social groups. Perhaps it is best to start by looking at the objective classification of Cauldmoss folk provided by the 1981 Census.
The Census arranges the population according to the social class of the head of each household, based on his/her present or previous occupation. The figures are only based on the 10% sample, which means that their accuracy for the whole population is reduced. In 1981 30% of Cauldmoss households were headed by people who were retired or had never been economically active, while of the remaining households:

- 16% were headed by unskilled workers (S.C. V)
- 9% were headed by partly skilled workers (S.C. IV)
- 44% were headed by skilled manual workers (S.C. IIIM)
- 5% were headed by skilled non-manual workers (S.C. IIIN)
- 16% were headed by intermediate workers (S.C. II)
- 5% were headed by professional workers (S.C. I)
- 5% were headed by members of the armed forces and those who inadequately described their occupation

Table 3.3: Social classes in Cauldmoss: 1981 Census.

From these figures it seems clear that the vast majority of families in Cauldmoss are what is generally termed "working class", and only 26% might be described as "middle class". (See my introductory comment about the use of the term 'class' p.27).

Class and occupational distinctions.

The clearest things that can be said about the way villagers differentiate themselves are negative: they rarely use class terms and very few describe the village as divided between those with and those without employment (to be considered later: p.398). Instead the bulk of inhabitants are described as "working people" or "working folk", and males continually refer to themselves as "working men" rather than "working class". This will be discussed in relation to
gender (p.190). To some extent there is an ideology of homogeneity in the village, with people asserting that everyone in Cauldmos is the same, "all working folk", which is an aspect of "community feeling" (see p.151). In fact after stating this similarity between villagers people often go on to identify distinct groups amongst the workers.

Very few classify others according to their occupation, except for those who are identified as small businessmen or farmers. They are sometimes referred to derogatorily as "snobbish", or the kind that "...think they're better than everyone else", and their relative wealth is resented. However most people acknowledge that these folk have worked hard for their money, and many ordinary villagers are on familiar terms with them, greeting them in the street by their christian names. These entrepreneurs and farmers are rarely described as "middle class", and when asked to classify the different groups in the village only one person mentioned this division between the self employed or "business folk" and the others. No one describes different groupings in the village in terms of skilled and unskilled workers.

Locals and incomers.

The most pervasive and widely articulated classification Cauldmos inhabitants have of themselves is that of being "locals" or "incomers". In the course of our stay in the village we were frequently reminded of our status as "outsiders", although when a local told Anne Marie Bostyn that she was "one of us" in contrast to the other incomers on our street it was evidently an important statement of acceptance. Frequently we would be told things like "I'm an interloper..." or "I'll never be a Cauldmosser, I know that," although the people had moved to Cauldmos over 50 years before in their early childhood. The significance of "belonging" to the village rather than being an outsider is explored further in relation to
kinship (p.129-130) and the community (p.151). From our acquaintance with other Central Lowland villages it would appear that this parochialism is not peculiar to Cauldmoss (cf. Heughan on Shotts. 1956: 12).

Table 3.4: Place of birth of those questioned in First Questionnaire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Council tenants</th>
<th>Private House Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cauldmoss</td>
<td>48 (60%)</td>
<td>9 (38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>32 (40%)</td>
<td>15 (62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Incomers" consist of two principal groups: the majority of private house dwellers and the "problem cases" who are moved into municipal houses by the local Council. The incoming spouses of indigenous villagers are not so clearly identified, although they themselves usually do not feel fully accepted. "Strangers" in the private houses are criticized for being aloof, supposedly making no effort to get involved in local affairs, and most of them have fairly widespread social networks which miss Cauldmoss out altogether. For this reason I am not concerned to analyze their lifestyles in this thesis (as explained p.22). The "foreigners" who move into council houses have more immediate contact with locally-born folk and provoke more intense differentiation. They are concentrated on two particular streets and are often referred to in general as "problem cases" or, more often, "battered wives". The latter is a derogatory term (used mainly by men) since it is assumed that these women have moved here to avoid enormous rent arrears, not oppressive husbands. In fact the new comers include single women and men, couples, and two parent families, as well as the separated mothers and their children (with or without boyfriends) who are assumed to be "battered wives". One of the streets with incomers is on the edge of the scheme and the other, more renowned street, is the line of old council housing where we
lived, which has come to be known as "the Gorbals of Cauldmoss". The Council housing officer denies suggestions of "dumping" difficult tenants in Cauldmoss to get them out of the local town, which is widely believed by locals. He explains that when three successive people on the housing waiting list refuse an empty house then it is free for the homeless persons officer to fill it with his clients: the problem of "ghettoization" occurs because local people refuse to live next door to a "problem" family. Others suggest that if the council kept the "Gorbals houses" in good repair local people would be encouraged to stay there.

Moral distinctions: "nice folk" and "the bad element".

The categories of locals and incomers are reinforced by moral judgements, and the second most common way of articulating social distinctions is on moral grounds. Both private and council house incomers are criticized for not participating in village life, but the "problem cases" are particularly blamed for a litany of deviant behaviour: alcoholism, vandalism, theft, prostitution, glue sniffing, neglecting their children, avoiding rent, and so on. A few blatant examples of such deviancy serve to tar all incomers in "the Gorbals houses" with the same brush. In fact none of these activities are exclusive to the "problem cases", but they are often accused of bringing this anti-social behaviour into the village.

However, broad moral distinctions are often applied to differentiate groups without reference to the length of time spent in the village. Many simply separate "the bad element" from the rest, the main criteria for criticism being bad child care, laziness and vandalism. Such people are described as "wasters", "a bad lot" or "dross", as opposed to "nice folk", who are usually "good workers" or simply "good people". The obvious connection between this binary division and attitudes to work (both employment and house work) will be con-
sidered further in the following chapter. The existence of this distinction between 'rough' and 'respectable' families confirms the findings of most ethnographers of the working class (Goldthorpe and Lockwood 1963: 141).

In Cauldmoss the main criteria for being "nice" are: being disciplined in one's work, which involves certain standards of housework and child care (such as mothers not regularly relying on babysitters, even when they are relatives); being well groomed, one's personal appearance being as much a sign of self-respect as a clean and tidy house; being able to manage one's resources wisely: showing some restraint in one's drinking or gambling without being mean or puritanical, and maintaining a certain level of consumption. The compulsion to maintain a respectable standard of consumption will be one of the central themes in later chapters. Going to church is not generally considered necessary to being "nice", which presumably it had been in the past, but attendance at either kirk or chapel certainly establishes one is not amongst the "bad element" (see p.145). Here it is sufficient to establish that "nice folk" are an important indigenous concept in Cauldmoss, normally opposed to the morally reprehensible in the village.

Housing.

Differentiation between locals and incomers also overlaps with distinctions based on housing. Geographical location and social status are interrelated, the extreme example of which has already been described: the "Gorbals of Cauldmoss" where the "problem cases" are concentrated. The other street with a lot of incomers is also denigrated, which means local people refuse to move in to houses there, thus perpetuating the ghettoization. Even within such a small village as Cauldmoss fictitious descriptions of these roads gain currency amongst folk living a few hundred yards away: some women
talked of how "half the windows are boarded up, no glass in them at all", when none of the houses were in this state. The other streets on the scheme are also rated on a rough scale of desirability, though consensus on this evaluation is only strong at either end of the scale. Where one's relatives live is usually the overriding consideration when moving house, but getting out of undesirable streets and into "nicer" ones is also a common objective. Though there is considerable architectural variation within the scheme (for instance between brick, breeze block and steel houses) the most important factor determining the social status of different streets are the residents, and it can only take three or four "wasters" to move into a road for it to be seen as less appealing by others.

There is not a simple social division between the 27% who live in private houses and the council house dwellers. Private house residents are split between incomers and locals or the spouses of locals (of the couples in private houses about 38% have at least one spouse originally from the village: 1st Quest., Q.8 and C.). Many of the latter participate in social activities attended predominantly by council tenants, several have relatives living on the scheme and many have the same kind of jobs as those in council houses. In contrast most home owning incomers have minimal social involvement with Cauldmoss. They are often strongly prejudiced against the villagers, and derogatory generalizations about the latter, for instance that they are all "hangers-on", are frequently voiced amongst these outsiders.

Overall the private house occupants do tend to have more skilled and managerial jobs, and the vast majority of small businessmen and farmers described earlier (p.94) live in their own houses. This economic difference is further increased by considerably higher employment rates amongst private house women (69% of those between 16 and 60 have some kind of employment compared with 28% in council houses) and considerably lower male unemployment rates (14% as
opposed to around 42% amongst council house men), using figures from our First Questionnaire in 1982. Given these income differentials on top of their evident difference in wealth, it is surprising that council tenants do not regard private house residents in general as a distinct group. Frequent social contacts with locally-born private house dwellers discourage such a classification, and though the relative affluence of home-owners is sometimes resented, criticism of them is more usually directed at their lack of involvement in village life. Very few people describe those in private houses as "middle class". The meaning of home ownership and the different patterns of spending between council and private house dwellers will be dealt with in later chapters.

Participation in leisure institutions.

Participation in certain leisure institutions is seen as an important indication of one's social status (or aspirations), while helping in their administration is considered prestigious. The Bowling Club, the Rural Institute and the Churchwomen's Guild all tend to be seen as "stuck-up", "clannish" or "snobbish" by those who do not attend them, although the first two institutions include many members from the scheme. By contrast the old hotel is a pub with a bad reputation that is avoided by the "nicer" folk in the village (to be described in more detail later: p.300).

The "snobs".

Though the three "clannish" organizations mentioned are far less exclusive than is often reputed, there is a section of the population who frequent them and who overlap with the church or chapel congregations, with the group of small businessmen and farmers, and with the private house dwellers. This section of Cauldmoss are often
considered too respectable by other villagers, and they are reckoned to think themselves superior to everyone else. In fact they do tend to be disparaging about those that regularly drink in the pubs, go to bingo sessions or use the betting shop, activities which are thought to characterize the residents of the scheme. This high status group has most of the cultural attributes that are generally known in Britain as "middle class", but in Cauldmoss the term is rarely used.

The social strata.

The various ways by which Cauldmoss inhabitants distinguish themselves from each other do not suggest an obvious model of social stratification. As so often, social life seems far too complex to be reduced to simple constructs. However, the villagers' assessment of their "comparative reference groups" (Runciman 1966: 11) within Cauldmoss is an extremely important aspect of their daily lives, which comparative literature suggests is by no means unusual. Studies of working class culture throughout this century have emphasized the importance of signs distinguishing respectability, and many eminent sociologists have noted this (e.g. Goldthorpe and Lockwood 1963: 141). Of late Pahl has explained gender divisions in household tasks according to people's concerns with status (Pahl 1984: 108), and he even asserts that "...status-consciousness has always been more important than class-consciousness," (Pahl 1984: 89). Although the ethnographers are agreed on the importance of status distinctions amongst peoples' immediate acquaintances, British sociologists have, in general, shown little interest in the issue of status. This is probably due in part to a) their bias towards tangible, quantifiable data and macro studies of society, and b) the predominance of analyses framed in Marxist terms with "...the theoretical postulate that all significant social relationships may ultimately be understood in terms of a class analysis," (Newby 1983: 5).
"Marxism lacks a clear conception of the interrelationship between class and status structures. This is because the analysis of the institutionalization of status has no place in its theory of social integration. The entire problem of status is lost sight of in highly general and essentially functionalist conceptions of ideological domination."

(Lockwood 1981: 448)

Since Frankenberg's discussion of status, in what turned out to be a conclusion to the tradition of community studies, (Frankenberg 1966:259-64) there has been little consideration of the concept until the recent revival of detailed ethnographic research.

In the course of this thesis I will use the term 'status' in the sense that Weber gave it:

"In contrast to classes, status groups are normally communities. They are, however, often of an amorphous kind. In contrast to the purely economically determined 'class situation' we wish to designate as 'status situation' every typical component of the life fate of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of honor. This honor may be connected with any quality shared by a plurality, and, of course, it can be knit to a class situation: class distinctions are linked in the most varied ways with status distinctions. Property as such is not always recognized as a status qualification, but in the long run it is, and with extraordinary regularity. But status honor need not necessarily be linked with a 'class situation'. On the contrary, it normally stands in sharp opposition to the pretensions of sheer property."

(Weber 1948: 186-7)
Since peoples' perceptions of social stratification within Cauldmos are of great concern to them, it seems important to try and make sense of the various criteria used in their evaluations. These have been arranged below (Diagram 3.1), with each column representing a scale of social standing according to a different factor. An individual can be at different levels on different scales, though there is a tendency for her/his position to be fairly consistent across the diagram. Now I have tried to show that often there are not smooth gradations between the extremes but, rather, abrupt transitions, which are clearly perceived by people in Cauldmos, for instance between the "Gorbals houses" and the nice part of the scheme. These steps offer a way to conceptualize the social groupings in the village: as three strata which in indigenous terms might be described as the "bad element", "nice folk" and "snobs". It will immediately be seen that the first two of these strata are equivalent to what British sociologists commonly call the 'rough' and 'respectable' (Goldthorpe and Lockwood 1963: 141). However the criteria for social status do not always fit this tripartite model, and on some parts of each scale, and for the whole spectrum of church going and the leisure institutions, there seems to be a far more gradual, undifferentiated social ladder. Thus the data on social differentiation can be interpreted according to two inconsistent structures: a tripartite model and a model of society as a continuous ladder.
Diagram 3.1: Criteria by which social status is assessed, from left to right in rough order of the importance of these distinctions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;SNOBS&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;stuck up&quot; small businessmen</th>
<th>expensive private houses</th>
<th>Church of Christ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>incomers in private houses</td>
<td>-not involved in managerial jobs</td>
<td>-keep money to themselves</td>
<td>elders and regular church goers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;NICE FOLK&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;nice folk&quot; local</td>
<td>ondo private houses</td>
<td>attend church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;nice folk&quot;</td>
<td>skilled workers</td>
<td>&quot;Nancy's&quot; pub of the scheme</td>
<td>do not attend church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local spouses of locals</td>
<td>moderate spending but generous when suitable</td>
<td>unemployed seeking work</td>
<td>&quot;Billie's&quot; pub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;BAD ELEMENT&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;bad element&quot;</td>
<td>the bookies</td>
<td>the old hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;problem cases&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;wasters&quot; work shy</td>
<td>unemployed NOT seeking work</td>
<td>other street with incomers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alcoholics bad mothers vandals &quot;prostitutes&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Gorbals houses&quot;</td>
<td>never in church</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LOCAL/INCOMER DISTINCTIONS

MORAL OCCUPATION PARTICIP IN LEISURE HOUSING INSTITUTIONS

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The tripartite model I will describe as 'restricted' stratification, since it is only applicable to "working people": even the "snobs" are regarded as essentially working class, whatever their pretensions of high status. Above them come the 'true' middle and upper classes, but they are beyond the comparative reference groups of those who evaluate status in the 'restricted' way. By contrast the principles underlying the continuous ladder model of stratification, which I will term 'unrestricted', are applied to all classes in our society. This form of status evaluation is unrestricted in two further senses: it is not limited geographically to Cauldmoss, or to similar traditional working class settlements, but is held throughout Britain, and it does not restrict the working class in their social aspirations but legitimates upward social mobility. (These terms correspond to a large extent with 'particularistic' (restricted) and 'universalistic' (unrestricted), as used by, for instance, Westergaard 1965 and Goldthorpe 1985). To generalize broadly, according to the 'restricted' values underlying the tripartite model an individual would want to identify herself with the "nice folk", being neither of the "bad element" nor the "snobs". However, according to 'unrestricted' status values an individual would aspire to be as high as possible.

It would appear from our data in Cauldmoss and from other research in Britain that the restricted evaluation of status was more prominent in the past. This synchronic study of one village does not qualify me to argue that there has been an historical shift in values, nor to relate such a change to macro sociological factors, such as the different ideologies that might have arisen at separate stages in the development of our industrial economy. However a reading of the relevant sociological literature suggests that the findings in Cauldmoss could sensibly be understood in such a context. Goldthorpe's recent overview of developments in modern western societies is particularly pertinent. He argues that stratification is becoming increasingly more fluid and:
"All forms of subcultural particularism - those based on region, ethnicity etc., as well as those based on class - are broken down, on the one hand, by the need for greater geographical as well as social mobility within the labour force and, on the other, by the growing influence of mass consumption and mass communications."

(Goldthorpe 1985: 127)

Whatever the macro sociological determinants of the different ways in which people perceive social stratification, in Cauldmoss the 'traditional' restricted evaluation of status coexists with an unrestricted evaluation. There is not even a clear divide between the values held by old and young people on this matter, though there is certainly a greater tendancy for the old to subscribe to restricted status evaluation.

To a limited extent these different outlooks on social stratification correspond to Frankenberg's distinction between the "local" and "cosmopolitan" working class, but these groups each held one view of society to the exclusion of the other (Frankenberg 1966: 263). In Cauldmoss people often express views suggesting both outlooks simultaneously. The 'traditional', restricted values I am describing have more in common with the 'traditional workers' that Lockwood characterized in his much debated typology of ideal types of working class images of society (1966). The tripartite model incorporates both the status hierarchy of Lockwood's deferential traditional worker and the "us:them" distinction of the proletarian traditional worker, in that the "them" are too remote to form a significant reference group and so the stratification is bounded by the limits of "us". On the other hand the unrestricted status values I have outlined correspond partially to the 'privatised' worker's 'pecuniary' model of society, in which "...consumer durables are of primary significance in mediating his status with his neighbours." (Lockwood 1966: 258).
It is important to recognize that although the two models of society are not consistent with each other, individuals might well allude to both at different times. This is not surprising since very few people are ever explicit about either way of evaluating status, and there is a considerable overlap in the values and categories upon which each is based. Nevertheless on the important question of social aspiration values conflict, and it is not uncommon to hear someone imply what their (relatively high) status is according to an unrestricted stratification and then quickly qualify this by identifying with the bulk of people in the village. A man told me how he takes his family out to a restaurant in a nearby village every Saturday night, and when I expressed mild surprise he immediately added that it is not really "special" anymore since everyone can afford to go out for a meal now. A different example relates to social mobility: a woman proudly described the life style of her eldest daughter who has moved to Edinburgh as a consequence of her husband's career as a Woolworths manager, but she was also pleased to think that her Betty, "she doesn't forget when she had nothin'... started out in a council house...".

Bearing in mind that very few people are conscious of two distinct, alternative sets of values, one can characterize them as two ideal types (in the Weberian sense: Weber 1949: 90):
"Restricted" values.

tripartite model of stratification
local, working class, reference groups
aspire to be in the middle, as "nice folk"
more communal life
more explicit moral categorization of people
subordinate culture
ethic of ready spending, generous values more strongly held by old
(traditional)

"Unrestricted" values.

continuous ladder model of stratification
national reference groups
aspire to upward mobility
more privatized life
less explicit moral categorization
less subordinate culture
less gregarious expenditure
values more strongly held by young
(modern)

Diagram 3.2: 'Restricted' and 'unrestricted' values.

These different values underlie people's assessments of status, and this status is expressed principally through one's life style, in particular through one's consumption. This central theme of the thesis will be dealt with at length in Chapter Five.
Differences of gender are far more fundamental to social existence in Cauldmos than any other distinctions. The cultural categories of masculine and feminine underlie people's concepts of themselves and practically all their behaviour, from their relationships with their siblings as infants to their roles in the economy. No clear separation can be made between the material and ideological aspects of gender. Here I will describe the main ways in which gender distinctions are experienced in Cauldmos: the sexual division of labour and recreation, the institutions of marriage and the family, masculine identity, sexuality, and the hierarchical relationship between women and men. It will become apparent that the meaning of gender should be seen, in Barrett's words, "...as not simply 'difference', but as division, oppression, inequality, internalized inferiority for women." (1980: 113) Gender will inevitably recur several times in this thesis, and it will form a central part of the analysis of employment and consumption in Chapters Four to Six.

Domestic production.

Nearly all domestic production is the responsibility of women. Cooking, washing up, buying clothes, repairing them, knitting, doing the laundry and ironing, making beds, cleaning the house and windows, polishing, hoovering and decorating are all female activities. Women also have prime responsibility for budgetting the household income, but this important duty should not be equated with women exercising real control over the allocation of resources (Kerr and Charles 1986: 119). I will consider this in detail in Chapter Four (p.204). Budgetting does, however, give them the further task of doing practically all the shopping: it is rare to see a man in the Cauldmos grocers buying anything other than cigarettes, a paper, sweets or alcohol. When seen returning from a shop with a full bag men are often assumed
to have "a carry out" by other males, and jokes are made about the ensuing party. Within the house wiring up plugs, basic repair work, bringing in the coal and making the fire are the only things that are widely done by men. Outside the house mowing the lawn, digging the garden and growing vegetables are male activities, as are looking after pet birds or dogs, cleaning the car and repairing it.

Though the segregation of activities is even more entrenched amongst older folk, the young maintain most of the traditional roles. A lad asked me if Anne Marie Bostyn cooks my dinner and was astonished when I said we take it in turns. That must mean I get a decent meal one day and a horrible one the next, he said. Female responsibility for domestic work is so established that men think it quite natural to sit in an armchair and watch their wife cleaning around them, and then order a cup of coffee without any "please". The division of labour is also maintained beyond the house: after a party in the Community Centre it is the women who sweep and mop up, even in the gents' toilets, however many men are standing around.

In addition to the woman's responsibility to maintain the family is her duty to reproduce it: though not biologically determined, childcare (particularly for infants) is almost as exclusively a feminine pursuit as childbirth. Changing nappies, washing and feeding babies, pushing prams, entertaining children and making meals for them are very rarely done by men.

Of course there is some variation in the degree to which these activities are gender specific, both between the different tasks and between different households. In a perceptive study of the domestic division of labour in South Wales, Morris lists the activities most central to the woman's sphere: "washing and ironing clothes, bathing children, cleaning the house and planning the weekly shopping" (Morris 1985: 408). In Cauldmoss pushing a pram could be added to this list, an activity particularly noted by Hoggart to be thought
"soft" amongst men (Hoggart 1957: 57-8). Husbands only exceptionally give their wives substantial help in this central women's sphere, even when they are unemployed and their wives are working, and when they are lending a hand they are more ready to do female tasks in the house (like hoovering) than to display their role flexibility publicly (by cleaning the windows, hanging the washing or pushing a pram). This discretion of men in doing 'female' tasks leads the few men who go for "the messages" to be called "the carrier bag brigade" by the shop assistants, since they carry a plastic bag in their pockets which they only bring out inside the shop, thus disguising their purpose until they get there. The only time when men quite often help shopping is on weekly expeditions to the local town, but even then their role is usually limited to transportation and childcare. (cf. Kerr and Charles 1986: 118) It is significant that men's cooperation in the female sphere is generally referred to as "helping": they are in no way taking on prime responsibility for those tasks.

Women are also highly constrained from taking on the few male activities around the house. However this is often experienced as a physical or mental incapacity (e.g. in mowing the lawn or fixing the car), rather than a simple aversion to transgressing gender roles. In our First Questionnaire we asked people to describe different activities and it was largely men whose answers were coded in the "sexually-defined work" category (code 4), nearly always in relation to "female" activities. Proportionately more women described activities (usually 'male' activities) as "work", and their own activities as "pleasure". When these responses are analyzed according to who the interviewer was, it appears that both sexes are more likely to define activities in terms of sex-role to a questioner of the same sex as themselves. This is in keeping with Bott (1957) and Harris (1969) who emphasize the importance of a couple's social networks in role segregation, and whether or not either spouse has a single-sex group of friends outside the home. Those men who do depart
significantly from the traditional sexual division of domestic responsibilities are usually those least involved with close-knit male friends, such as husbands who are recent incomers to Cauldmoss. The relationship between a person's kinship links and her/his adoption of gender roles will be discussed in the next section (p.135).

Having established that there is a profound division of domestic activities between the sexes it must be stated that there are exceptions to traditional behaviour, even amongst local people who have close friends of the same sex. For instance one of the "hardest" men in Cauldmoss carried his baby on his lap on a long coach outing from the village, while the overriding hobby of a young woman is her car: driving, repairing and improving it. Such examples are certainly remarkable, but they illustrate how real life is nearly always more complex than it is portrayed in sociological analyses. Another complicating factor is class: in general the inhabitants of the private houses are rather more flexible in their gender roles than council tenants. The effect of unemployment on the domestic division of labour will be discussed later (p.347).

Employment.

The division of labour within the house is intrinsic to the allocation of roles in the wider economy: the woman satisfies the man's wishes at home so that he is revived in order to sell his labour the following day. Though there has been a significant change in women's participation in and attitudes to employment since the Second World War, there is no doubt that men are still considered the prime wage earners. The connections between employment, wages and masculine identity will be discussed at length in the next chapter; in this section I will concentrate on women's position in regard to employment.
Servicing the breadwinner is generally considered the natural role of women, and few question that they should get up before their husbands in order to make the man's breakfast and "pieces", even though this might mean rising at five and going back to bed once he has left for work. When asked why her husband did not make his own breakfast such a woman said: "Oh no! He's hopeless!". The inevitability of these roles is probably even less questioned by men themselves. As Murcott (1982) has shown in her work on families in South Wales, men consider they deserve a "proper" meal of meat and two veg when returning home from their jobs.

Many women in Cauldmos above about 60 took it for granted that, apart from being in service as maids before getting married, they would never be employed, except under exceptional circumstances like the War. This does not mean they were happy not to have employment; they were simply resigned to it. One woman of 65 remembered leaving the munitions factory in 1945:

"You missed all the company. I wouldnie say I missed the work though... I suppose I was quite happy wi'out working... I didnie really miss work... I knew not to go. He was the breadwinner... He was goin' to do it - an' he did!... It was just one o' those things."

Once she actually found a job to start in a couple of days, but her husband was quite adamant that she would not do it. "Right", he said, he would leave off work himself at the end of the week. She did not take the job: "It was just one o' those things", she said again.

Younger women are generally keen to have a job, particularly a part time one if they have young children. By the 1970s they had come to expect the greater opportunities for female employment that had developed during the 1940s (Heughan 1953: 11), though recent unemployment has undermined this. Frequently women's main stated
motive for employment is the change of environment and company, but the wage is also an important consideration for many: "I've always worked - sometimes you get fed up with it, but you couldn't live without the wages." Having some income independent of one's husband is also important for many women. However, although nearly all girls leaving school seek employment they very rarely question their primary role as mothers and wives, and they are usually happy to abandon their jobs when their first child is imminent. Once the children are in their teens mothers frequently try to find a part time job, but they are often mindful of their principal duties to maintain the household. I asked a middle aged woman if she minded no longer having a job:

"Glad. Didnie want to work... No' really, son. I was always busy in the house... Half those folk who go out to work dinnie bother about their hoose. But I like a clean hoose...".

It is now acceptable for women to be in employment, but this is only so long as their traditional roles are not compromised nor men's primary position as wage earners threatened. The obligation of wives to fulfil all their usual domestic duties even when in a full time job means they work a 'double shift' (not a term used in the village). Employed women whose husbands are made redundant feel uncomfortable in their earning capacity: "I didn't like the idea of me getting up in the morning to work, and him stayin' at home". Several women (both young and old) said that female employment exacerbated the unemployment problem and women ought to be made to stay at home.
Leisure.

Women and men's leisure activities are as segregated as their domestic and formal work. The only things which both sexes frequently do together are watching television and reading at home (neither of which are very sociable), and going out together at the weekend, normally on a Saturday evening, or sometimes on a car trip. When we asked people how they spent their free time (Q.1, 2nd Questionnaire) the activities most frequently mentioned by one sex were rarely stated by the other, except for reading and television. This division was less marked amongst private house residents, but amongst council tenants women most often mentioned knitting, visiting friends, going to bingo and shopping, while men often stated gardening, walking, playing bowls, and going to the Masons. Nearly all hobbies are associated with one or other gender: men keep pigeons and dogs, go fishing, and play football, while women do crosswords, baking, jam making, go to keep-fit classes, help with play groups and so on. The lists of women's activities show how their "leisure" is often combined with domestic production, and for this reason it is problematic to talk of "women's leisure" at all (Talbot 1979). Baking, for instance, is an activity whose demise is much regretted by older men who regard it as a clear demonstration of a good wife. It is worth noting that, according to our First Questionnaire, women do not have any specific way of describing these pursuits which are both recreational and productive; they were each variously described as "work", "necessity" or "pleasure".

Largely as a result of the sexual division of labour much of women's social lives is in their homes, either slipping round to a friend's house inbetween their housework, or in the evenings congregating in someone's living room, usually where a woman has young children to mind. Their domestic duties make it difficult for women to mix socially in the largely spontaneous way that men do, and when they "go out" other than to a friend's house it is normally to a formal
institution: the Women's Rural Institute, a church social, the Eastern Star or the bingo. Contrary to our expectations, answers to our Second Questionnaire (Q.4) suggested that women go out slightly more often than men each week. Apart from the church socials and evenings out with their husbands, all the women's social events are attended predominantly by other women. If individuals of one sex join the opposite sex in their activities they are usually seen to be out to "pick someone up" or be "picked up", unless they are joining their partner. The assumption of sexual motives (by both women and men) constrains wives to keep to formally designated women's activities, both because of comments from their own sex and, probably more importantly, pressure from their husbands. Thus when wives go drinking at one of the clubs it is either with their husbands at the weekend or on a specially instituted "ladies night". Women's avoidance of behaviour that might be viewed as being "on the loose" is shaped by, and reinforces, the fact that the pubs and clubs are the domain of men, to be discussed later (p.307). Men who are happy to spend the evening with their partners in exclusively female company are exceptional, but their willingness is often approved of by the women.

The ideology of marriage and the family.

The sexual division of labour that developed during industrialization created powerful economic reasons for men and women to cooperate in maintaining a household. Whether this was ultimately the consequence of the capitalist economy or of patriarchal relations (see, for instance, Barrett 1980 Ch.1 and Eisenstein 1984) the outcome has been women's financial dependence on wage earning men, their position as a cheap reserve for labour outside the home, and the extension of their caring duties to cover the old and disabled, as well as children.
However, since the Second World War there have been important developments which undermine the inter-dependence of wives and husbands, such as new domestic technology, increased female employment, reduced working hours for men, improved state welfare and, recently, the massive rise in unemployment which has undermined men's traditional 'breadwinner' role. These factors have meant that the institution of marriage is increasingly based on ideology rather than economics (Beechey 1977), but within Cauldmos it persists as the norm, as does conventional family life.

Although morals about cohabitation outwith wedlock have changed in recent decades (see p.134) and there is an increasing rate of divorce, most youngsters in Cauldmos still aspire to get married. The social impetus for family life has hardly slackened: getting wed and having children is still essential in completing the transition to adulthood, whereas getting a job is no longer imperative in starting it. From our First Questionnaire sample we found that of those under 30 only 24% were single, which declined to 8% amongst 30-59 year olds and 13% for those over 60. The age at which people have their first child actually seems to have declined, the proportion of council tenants who had their first child before the age of 25 being 25% for those over 60, 59% for 30-59 year olds and 47% for those under 30. Furthermore, those who do separate rarely stay single for long, and most cohabit or, occasionally, re-marry within a short time. Neither men nor women in Cauldmos have established living singly as socially desirable; for most of the 30% in the First Questionnaire sample who were not living in couples, their circumstances are not seen to be of their choosing: 13% were divorced or separated, 43% were widowed, and nearly half of the remaining 43% who had never married were under 30. Intrinsic to the conservatism about family life is the perpetuation of the sexual division of labour amongst everyone including the young, the unemployed and the divorced of both sexes. I will return to marriage in the next section (p.134).
It is within the family that children first identify with their same-sex parents and learn the sexual division of labour. This is most important, for experiencing the distinctions of gender from our earliest days explains how deeply rooted the definitions of femininity and masculinity are both socially and psychologically. Furthermore, the continuous observation of gender roles in the family makes them seem natural rather than cultural phenomena. Not only does the parents' everyday behaviour give children clear images of male adulthood as distinct from female adulthood, but parents also actively encourage gender identity in their offspring. Mothers often dress up their daughters in elaborately feminine clothes, which earns the admiration of other young mothers, while little boys are encouraged to eat more than their sisters in order to grow up as big men, and are urged to be competitive with each other, for instance in playing football or dominoes. Of course institutions outside the family also contribute to children's socialization according to gender. In the Community Centre, for instance, the preferences of five to nine year olds for different games according to their sex (football for boys, rounders and touchball for girls) is reinforced by having a male leader supervising the boys' games and vice versa. Older girls are keen to do disco dancing and majorettes while boys play pool, space invaders and football, or stay at home perhaps to use their home computer. Even the administration of the Centre parallels the wider world with women doing much of the daily work but leaving the committees and important decisions to men: a woman told me that her sex "dinnie like meetin's." As with the pub, this is another confirmation of Ardener's generalization that space where men are present in large numbers becomes designated as "public" and, ironically, "out of bounds for women" (Ardener 1978: 32).

While emphasizing that it is within families themselves that gender socialization is most pervasive and intense, Barrett makes a useful distinction between the ideology of the family that is articulated in the daily lives of families and that ideology which originates and is
perpetuated outside the home:

"Familial definitions of appropriate gender behaviour often rely strongly on general social definitions to such an extent that families strive to achieve the characteristics attributed to 'the family' by representations of 'it' in, for example, the media."

(Barrett 1980: 205)

This is certainly the case in Cauldmoss where the views of other parents and relatives, as well as the behaviour presented by the media as normal, powerfully influence the way people relate to each other within families. A good example is the way fiancés and their parents feel obliged to organize a wedding in which the dress, the catering and the venue will match up to the standards of those advertised in special wedding supplements in the local paper. Identifying how the ideology of the family is perpetuated outside the home helps explain why the ideal persists when an increasing number of households do not actually conform to it.

I have emphasized how profoundly gender roles and the ideology of the family are learnt because they are extremely important in relation to both employment and consumption. To a large extent it is one's identity as a woman, man, child or parent that shapes how one spends money and the meanings that goods have, as I will describe in future chapters. Similarly the value attached to hard work and earning large wages is intricately connected with men's roles as 'breadwinners'. Another aspect of familial ideology which is important to the main theme of this study is that the ideal family has a stabilizing and conservative influence. As Barrett notes, dependence on a male wage "...maximizes motivation to work on the part of the wage labourer and reduces the likelihood of militancy that might jeopardize the maintenance of non-labouring household members." Furthermore.
"The family-household system provides a uniquely effective mechanism for securing continuity over a period of time. It has proved a stable (intractable) system both for the reproduction of labour power, and as an arrangement to contain personal life, in the face of major social upheavals."

(Barrett 1980: 212)

I will return to this conservatism later (p.158).

Manliness.

Family ideology is the main source for concepts of gender, in the case of women this being characterized by the themes of romantic love, motherhood, self sacrifice (deference), responsiveness and nurturing. For reasons I have already explained (p.19) I am unable to consider women fully in this thesis and for the main part will concentrate on men. Masculinity is characterized above all by control, protection and financial support. The last theme will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter (p.191); here I want to outline some of the other important aspects of masculinity in Cauldmos.

It is widely acknowledged that one's status as a man involves assuming responsibility to protect female relatives. The clearest way in which a lad demonstrated that he saw himself as heading his household, which consisted of three younger siblings and a deserted mother, was when he threatened to "knock in" a local shopkeeper's head who was accusing his mother of not paying her debts. In a similar vein brothers plot together to batter their female cousin's boyfriend because he gave her a beating. Whether this Mediterranean style vendetta is inspired more by popular films than indigenous notions of honour I cannot tell, but certainly within the nuclear
family brothers are expected to fight together in mutual support, or to protect or avenge their sisters. As with most fighting there is much more threatening talk than actual violence, but it implies this is the ideal code of practice.

Connected to men's protective role is the obligation to "be strong" which pervades all areas of their lives. Men should never cry, and since only the greatest sorrow should prompt them to do so (in public), when a man is seen "greetin'" it arouses sympathy in both women and men. A young lad who shared a prison cell with a drunken driver sympathetically related how his cell mate cried all weekend because his wife was having a baby and he could not be there. "I felt ashamed for him," the young lad said. Conversely being prepared to fight is directly related to manhood. A drunk who told me in detail how one of the pub landlords is "chicken" and was not prepared to fight with him over some disagreement, concluded his inebriated condemnation with the statement: "A man is a man." Being tough is synonymous with being "manly", a term used even for villages, and it is considered the opposite to being gullible. When someone joked about how "soft natured" he was in buying people drinks, another man told him not to be ridiculous: "you'll be a man all your life." Examples like this of men confirming each other's masculinity are by no means uncommon, and they are in keeping with the tendency already noted for men to conform to their gender roles more in male company. "For it is amongst other men that patriarchal masculinity is celebrated and constructed and it is within this bonding that men also experience their vulnerabilities." (Hey 1986: 69).
Sexuality.

Clearly a central aspect of men's identity is sexual behaviour and the values associated with it. The conception of masculinity in terms of control is perhaps most evident in this area, with the oppressive consequences that have been highlighted by feminists. Promiscuous sexual activity is nearly always condoned for men, and young lads are encouraged to "be studs" by both sexes. One of the primary categories by which men divide up women is whether or not they find them physically attractive, and they frequently fantasize amongst themselves about how they would "screw" pretty women in the village given half the chance. This phrase is typical of the way sex is often described in brutal terms. Men boast with each other about being the first to get the "fresh blood" when a single woman moves into the village, and few consider loyalty to their existing partner a serious obstacle. As with fighting, however, "when all's said and done, a lot more's said than done", yet this kind of talk is still very significant. It maintains men's expectations about sex and the kind of behaviour they see as really manly, and thus legitimizes their sexual harassment and increases the chance that on some occasion, perhaps when drunk, they might try to rape a woman. As one might expect, this emphasis on the predatory heterosexual role of men is combined with a profound homophobia (fear of homosexuals).

In striking contrast to the acceptance of men's promiscuous sexuality, the morals applied to women are both far more constraining and thoroughly inconsistent. The double standards applied to women's sexuality have been considered at length elsewhere (e.g. McRobbie and Garber 1976, Smart and Smart 1978). One illustration amongst many from Cauldmoss of this inconsistent morality was when a man warned me that a woman who had just left the bar had "the pox". He vigorously condemned her on the grounds that the disease proved she was a whore, and particularly blamed her for passing it on to his friend who was now suffering through her wantonness.
In describing the meaning of gender in Cauldmoss I have only hinted at a difference in power or prestige between the sexes. In fact this hierarchical difference is thoroughly institutionalized both economically and ideologically. Indeed, in contrast with the subtle sexism sometimes observed in middle class society, the description of male chauvinism in Cauldmoss at times appears to be an exaggerated parody.

Though it is often claimed by both sexes in Cauldmoss that men and women are equal, just different, men's behaviour frequently implies their superiority while that of women often demonstrates their deference. Women are assumed to be ignorant of politics, economic affairs, geography and so on, and what they do know about is almost by definition trivia. Wives are often subsumed under their husbands as one unit, and everyday language denies women's existence apart from a man, in phrases like "man and wife" and the use of "wife" for any adult woman. The widespread term "hen" as a friendly pet name to address women is interesting. Presumably it dates from a time when chicken were common in back yards and their behaviour was familiar: several hens clustering around the cock wherever he went, available for rapid copulation. Within the home it is common for older husbands to order their wives about, to do this or fetch that, and some take a pride in their chauvinism: "She wouldn't know what to do if I didn't tell her." The hierarchical difference between women and men is also illustrated when the former are not present to carry out their role and so a child is told to substitute, as when a man got his young son to make coffee and toasties for him since his wife was already in bed.
The most extreme manifestation of male domination is physical and sexual violence against women. In Cauldmosse we had little indication of how prevalent domestic violence was, but several researchers have documented how its incidence is very much underestimated (e.g. Dobash and Dobash 1980). It was possible to get some idea of how Cauldmosse men judge male violence towards partners: in general even younger men seem to consider it partially excusable as if it were exercising one's right over property. When three unmarried lads gossiped about another villager who had "skelped" his girlfriend and, being drunk, had given her a kicking, one of them thought a smack across the jaw is to be expected but not a kicking, while his friend laughed at the whole incident as if it was unimportant. Another young man described how conservative folk are about wives being hit:

"People see it as being bad, but they don't see it as being too bad because it's a way o' life: it's always been that way. There's always been someone skelping their wife. Because it's always been there it's easier to accept."

The principal features of patriarchal ideology are to such an extent 'common-sense' knowledge amongst both sexes in Cauldmosse that women rarely treat them as other than natural. They often accept that they know nothing about "serious" matters, and in general "laddies know that more anyway" because they get about more than women. Older wives talk stoically about what they endured in their female roles, as if the hardships were inevitably part of life, and even some younger women who, in public, appear to have a more egalitarian relationship with their spouses, often get bossed about at home without protesting. The sexual division of labour is rarely questioned and women do not seem to resent men who stand idly by while they are busy at some "female" task. These domestic jobs are often described as a "necessity" or "pleasure", and when questioned about child care women will frequently say: "I dinnie think it's work". Five questions in our
First Questionnaire referred to female productive activities: only a minority of the women who answered ever described them as "work", and only 'making a meal for your children' and 'doing the washing up' were described by more women as "work" rather than "a necessity" or "leisure".

I have already mentioned that some women condone men's promiscuous sex, and they also apply double standards of morality to women's sexuality. Very few ever comment on the portrayal of women as objects, which is how their husbands see them each day in the Sun or Daily Record, and most women will watch a thriller film containing sexual violence to females as readily as any other television programme. Women's general acceptance of these objectified images was illustrated when someone was taking a group photo of the supervisors who had helped with a summer play scheme. One of the few men present told the photographer to hold on while he turned his Tennants lager can round so that the pin-up girl could be clearly seen: the women in the group laughed. Sometimes women actively use the dominant notions about sexuality in order to achieve their own ends. When discouraging a man from chatting them up women sometimes describe themselves as so and so's wife, implying that she is unable to withhold sexual favours on her own account, only because she has already been alloted to another man.

Given this collusion in their traditional roles it is not surprising that amongst women in Cauldmos "feminism" is a foreign word. "Women's libbers" or "that 'burn-your-bra' lot" are generally seen by both sexes as ridiculous eccentrics, though some women are overtly opposed to them: "I dinna believe in equal rights for women - that's a lot of shit really," said a 23 year old housewife. Many women feel that "women's libbers:" censure of pin-ups, page three girls, overtly sexist jokes and so on spoils what is simply "good fun". Disinterest, if not hostility, towards feminist thinking illustrates how fundamental the ideology of gender and the family is to the culture
of Cauldmoss. Since gender roles pervade every area of one's experience and determine so much of one's behaviour, one's view of the world and concept of oneself, and since this is learnt from one's earliest days, it is not surprising that women should be reluctant to take on ideas that undermine the whole basis of their lives.

The problem of why woman "...is often well pleased with her role as the Other" (de Beauvoir 1972:21) has been addressed by several authors (e.g. Hey 1986: 49), and it is akin to the difficult question, in another area of politics, of 'false consciousness'. Although Barrett suggests that psychoanalytic theory and the analysis of ideology have been potentially useful in explaining consent and collusion, she calls for: "...a more perceptive and sympathetic account... of... how or why women have sought, consciously and unconsciously, to embrace and desire [a dominant meaning of femininity]". (Barrett 1980: 251).

Again the presentation of a monolithic state of affairs oversimplifies things. People's values are changing, partly as a result of the weaker economic rationale for marriage already mentioned, which means women are less dependent on their husbands. Older women occasionally talk of the changes in the way husbands treat their wives nowadays, contrasting their daughter's experiences with their own. Most admire the way modern women will not accept the kind of domination they suffered, and they approve of wives divorcing rather than putting up with oppressive husbands, while daughters often say they would not stand what their mothers suffered. Young men are usually more flexible in their domestic roles than their fathers, but few have radically different views about marital relationships.

The extensive division of labour according to sex makes men reliant on women, as well as the reverse. Young lads establish themselves in their own homes and relish this assertion of independence and adulthood, yet they return to their mothers' each evening for tea.
and take her their washing every week. Other young bachelors do not seriously contemplate establishing their own homes until they are engaged, probably being daunted by the prospect of cooking, cleaning and washing. When married men lose their wives they often return to their mother's home, or live so close that she (or a sister) can do much of the housework. Martin has perceptively analyzed how the home is essentially female territory and men must learn to evade the woman's female authority. However the power that this gives women is problematic: order can turn "into tyranny and nurture into moral blackmail. Masculine resentment then rebounds on women to make them feel guilty, worthless and doubly rejected..." (Martin 1984: 34). Within marriage women's responsibility for looking after the household budget would appear to give them an important power, but in fact this is limited by their deference to their husbands and obligations to their children. Control over household spending is clearly a central issue for this thesis and I will address it in the following chapter (p.204).

Another complicating factor in the hierarchical relationship between men and women is that, according to the different criteria of social differentiation described in the previous section, women are expected to maintain higher standards of "niceness" than their husbands. It is notable how many men in Cauldmoss readily admit to, or even boast about, being fly, never going to church, or enjoying "getting bevved" in the hotel, while at the same time taking great pride in the honesty, cautious budgetting and respectability of their wives.

To a large extent women are the guardians of their families' respectability (see, for example, Pahl 1984: 108), but as others have noted, this designation can be a legitimization for their control (Hey 1986: 35). This is most evident in respect to sexuality: as already mentioned, while it is tolerated that men should 'have a fling', a woman's extra-marital sex is thought to threaten both her honour and that of the whole family. On a more mundane level, women's
daily chores to keep their houses clean and tidy are physical expressions of their industriousness and commitment to a correct order. Furthermore,

"The housewife is guardian not only of the necessities but also of all the elements of consumption through which the class identity or the life-style of the family is defined and displayed." (Martin 1984:32)

Thus to some extent husbands establish their status vicariously through the consumption of their wives, a point I will return to later.

In spite of the various qualifications I have made, it is clear that there is an overt ideology of male superiority in the culture of Cauldmoor. It would be futile to attempt any measure of how much working class women are suppressed in comparison with middle class women, but there are certain aspects of the former’s inferior position which are peculiar to their working class circumstances. Women’s economic dependence on men and ideological inferiority mutually reinforce each other, and amongst the working class men’s subservient role in the economy further exacerbates women’s dependence (Beechey 1977). The inferiority of women is further strengthened by the specifically masculine and positive meaning attached to manual labour in working class interpretations of gender.

In making sense of the way rebellious working class school boys revelled in their sexism, Willis concentrated on their cultural responses to their subordinate social position. He argues that at the bottom of the class structure there is a greater imperative to identify another group as inferior to oneself. In the culture of male labourers the ideological order is inversed so that they prefer manual labour to ‘feminine’ mental work, thus supporting their
occupational status with patriarchal values (Willis 1977: 149). This is only possible because manual labour is associated with masculinity. Clearly, relying on the masculinity of one's work for one's self respect strengthens the division between the sexes and men's sense of superiority as males.

Of course women generally do a considerable amount of manual work themselves, but because it is mainly domestic labour it is often not recognized by men. Bourdieu analyzes male working class culture in a similar way to Willis, emphasizing "identification with the values of virility, which are one of the most autonomous forms of their self-affirmation as a class." (Bourdieu 1984: 384). He illustrates how amongst working people being bourgeois is equated with femininity, and then rejects the current challenges of the "dominant class" to the workers' masculine identity. He argues that this undermines their indigenous values and also their strength as a class, since they rightly equate the latter with their masculine physical fitness because their class is "only rich in its labour power". But this ignores the fact that the association of hard physical work with masculinity is an expression of patriarchal relations irrespective of class determinants.

I will return to the masculine attributes of employment in the next chapter (p.189), and in the succeeding chapters will elaborate on the importance of male gender in relation to consumption.
KINSHIP

Kinship and membership of Cauldmoss.

Within Cauldmoss kinship provides the most important basis for social organization after gender. An individual's social world is founded on her/his family: social position, moral values, friends, role models, identity with a particular area and occupation are all largely determined by kinship. It is a concept frequently referred to by villagers, who often mention that they are "connected" to apparently unfamiliar people, and emphasize that Cauldmoss is extraordinarily interrelated (cf. Shotts as described by Heughan 1953:12). Some estimate that two thirds of the current population are related to each other in some way, and consequently: "If ye speak ill o' yun, ye speak ill o' all".

Full membership of village society presumes that the other inhabitants know where one comes from, who one's parents are and how one is connected to everyone else, thus a person's sense of place is inherited from her/his family. Only those whose parents lived in Cauldmoss and who were themselves born there can claim to be true villagers, and as I described previously (p.94), the distinction between "locals" and "incomers" is the one most widely articulated in Cauldmoss. Either parent's residence in the village is sufficient for one to be fully integrated, and it is significant that when a wife's parents live(d) in Cauldmoss other villagers continue to refer to her by her maiden name after marriage. Though her children will have their father's surname, when young they are often described in relation to their mother, for instance "Yvonne McGee, Mag Brodie's wee lassie", which again indicates the tracing of bilateral kin ties and emphasizes how a person's identity is largely inherited.
Kinship gives a sense of time as well as social place, and indeed a knowledge of how the biographies of one's fellow villagers are interwoven is an important aspect of village membership, as Emmett noted in North Wales (1982:207). Association with the past is maintained by naming children after their parents or grandparents, principally by giving them the same Christian name. When there is no intervening generation between namesakes, which is often the case, it is difficult to distinguish relatives, and diminutives have to be consistently used. Thus a father is "Jimmy" and his son "James", or one "Thomas" and the other "Tam".

It is one's ancestors' participation in the village that gives one the right to say "I belong to Cauldmoss", which suggests that were it not for them having lived out their lives in Cauldmoss the place would have no social existence today. In this sense Cauldmoss belongs to the current "locals" just as much as they belong to it. Given the importance of one's family connections with the past it is noteworthy that few people trace their ancestry back beyond a few generations. This is probably due, in part, to the mobility of the population before the 1920s (see p.87). Not only do Cauldmoss folk inherit a sense of place, but kinship also influences their general awareness of geography. For many, practically the only time they travel beyond their region is to visit their relatives, whether they are in another part of Scotland, in England or on the Continent, either for a holiday or to try and find work through them.

The family is probably the most important source in the transmission of culture in Cauldmoss, a topic already discussed in relation to gender (p.117). This can be observed at an early age in the under tens' youth club, where the relative rowdiness or quiescence of the children generally reflects the character of the parents. In particular children's language and boys' aggression are related to parental behaviour: a lad whose father talks in front of him about wanting to smash someone's face in himself constantly threatens to
fuckin' murder" anyone bothering him. The headmistress of Cauldmoss primary school is convinced that home environment is the most important influence in a child's educational achievement (in keeping with most academics: Worsley 1977:217). Through this she explains many differences in the success of her pupils, and also the low standard of Cauldmoss children in general, compared with her previous school in a middle class suburb. At a later age there is great consistency in the activities of successive generations, particularly in their participation in the various churches, the Scouts, and the Orange Lodge, while it is nigh impossible to enter the Free Masons or Eastern Star unless one's parents were members. In another sphere the main law-breakers in Cauldmoss have parents who have similar backgrounds themselves, or are seen as anti-social in some other respect, such as being alcoholics. (For an excellent review of the information on transmitted deprivation and the significance of the family see Brown and Madge 1982, particularly pp 102-178).

Participation in institutions and moral character are two of the criteria already identified as contributing to one's social status (p.99 and 96), so when they are combined with the inheritance of property or money (where it exists), it is not surprising that one's social standing is largely inherited. More particularly certain families have a reputation for some unusual behaviour, such as a fiery temper or great generosity, which is assumed to be genetically inherited and thus identifiable in grandchildren or cousins.

Though extended families very rarely stay in one household kin often live in close proximity to each other, which increases the importance of collateral relatives in transmitting values. One of the main priorities that tenants often have when moving council house is to live nearer their kin, and consequently extended families frequently end up in the same street. For instance, on one road there are three sisters and a brother, along with their assorted spouses and children, while a grandfather has a daughter and granddaughter living
nearby and four grandchildren from another child staying in various houses further on down the street. This residential pattern allows women to do the domestic work of close male relatives while maintaining separate households.

Obligations to close kin.

There are basic obligations towards particular relations which almost everyone acknowledges, though their commitments are almost exclusively towards one's family of procreation or family of origin. Parents have great responsibilities for the well being of their young children, in particular their material rather than moral welfare. This is principally the mother's duty, and they always risk the accusation that they are not "caring enough for their 'wains'"; many older women think baby-sitting is wrong on principle. The moral obligations of parents to support their children diminish considerably when the children become adults, though the latter is a socially defined notion relating to economic independence rather than a chronological one. Adults' obligations towards their family of origin increase with the age of the parents, and as one would expect, economic factors can become especially important once the parents have retired. The greatest duty is towards the mother, particularly if her spouse dies (or leaves her). This takes a ritual form at Hogmanay when the mother is normally the first person visited after midnight, and also, though less commonly, on Mothering Sunday when her children return to her. The exceptional incidents when a mother or child abnegates her/his responsibilities to the other arouse such moral censure that they prove the rule. Maternal relations, both in being nurtured when young and providing support when an adult, form by far the most important kinship link.
It is notable how men in Cauldmoss readily acknowledge their devotion to, and dependence on, their mothers, in marked contrast to the "hard" image of masculinity described earlier (p.120). Affection for one's mother does not seem to undermine a man's toughness, and one of the hardest skinheads in the village turned down a residential YCP scheme after coming out of borstal, saying "Don't you think I've been away fae me mother long enough?".

This tie between men and their mothers might be connected with the clear demarcation of sex roles which inhibit the father from childcare, thus focusing the son's emotions particularly on his mother.

Limits to kinship.

Although an individual's world is largely made up from kinship connections, in a social, geographic and even temporal way, there are no kin groupings which the elementary family necessarily aligns with in Cauldmoss (as Parsons established for Western society in general: 1943:184-5). Individuals have a wide network of relations who are essentially a resource they can use, but to whom they have few definite obligations beyond their first degree kin. The relationships which are maintained follow no logical structural pattern, except that those connected via females (whether consanguine or affinal) are more frequent than those connected via males; in general it is fairly arbitrary, and usually instrumental, which relatives are most important to an individual.

Several people in Cauldmoss have virtually no contact with those they are very close to biologically, such as two brothers living in Cauldmoss who only see each other by chance, and affinal relationships can be just as intense in social and affective terms as consanguineal ones. A further qualification to the dominance of kinship in village life is the wish of young folk to establish their
"independence" mainly from their immediate families. I will discuss this assertion of adulthood later in relation to spending (p.269) and unemployment (p.364).

Marriage.

Ultimately independence from one's family of origin allows one to establish one's own family of procreation, so it is not so much a wish to divest oneself of kinship ties as a desire to be in control of them. Ironically establishing one's "independence" is, in fact, often achieved with considerable help from one's kin; the job that first makes a lad eligible for marriage might well be found through his relatives, and when he does marry it is the wedding presents, particularly from the parents, which enable the couple to establish an independent home.

The economic changes that have reduced the inter-dependence of spouses in recent decades (see p.116) have been associated with a shift in moral opinion. In the '40s or '50s it was considered outrageous to have an illegitimate child, and young women could actually scheme to "catch their man" by conceiving his child, which would result in a wedding that was "a have-to thing". Today falling pregnant is no longer considered an imperative to getting wed, and it is not as shameful for young unmarried women as it was in the past. Furthermore their immediate financial prospects are less bleak, since being a single parent makes one a priority case for getting a house, grants, and so on. However, the woman's parents are still likely to feel ashamed, and both generations will probably regret that a "nice" wedding and the conventional order of starting a family were not possible. Cohabitation outwith wedlock no longer arouses much condemnation except amongst the old, and it is fairly common now, in contrast with the past. Our own living arrangements in Cauldmoss were more shocking to the inhabitants because we were not sleeping
The answers to the First Questionnaire indicated how Cauldmoss has become less endogamous since the Second World War. For married couples in council houses whose places of birth were known, the proportion of marriages which were endogamous were 33% for those over 60, 32% for 30-59 year olds, but only 11% for those under 30. None of those in private houses had endogamous marriages. Our results could not tell us whether when villagers married out of Cauldmoss, which constituted the majority of marriages (60%), residence was primarily matri- or patri-local. Where we knew the origins of both spouses, 31% of all marriages were between a local man and a non-local woman, 29% the reverse.

The substance of kinship for women.

"The degree of segregation in the role relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social networks."

(Bott 1957:60)

Behaviour in Cauldmoss seems to confirm Bott's proposition, and the relationship can be viewed as bilateral. Though Bott implied that it is the kinship network (especially for women) that determines the form of relationship between spouses, it could be argued that the division of domestic labour itself influences the level of involvement of wider kin. The rigid delineation of spheres of activity means that if a man is left without a wife other female relations substitute for her in terms of domestic chores. Furthermore the normal absence of men throughout the day (until unemployment became so widespread) meant women were far more dependent on their female relatives for company and assistance in domestic work than they might have been on their husbands.
For women the family is still a productive unit, as well as a unit of consumption; because it is possible to get help from female relations in this sphere, kinship is often more important to women than men. The scope for kin support is enormous, from lending a hoover to babysitting, though in fact domestic production is very rarely a communal activity, except perhaps in joint shopping trips to the local towns. The help normally given is, as already mentioned, when one woman substitutes for a female relative in another household to provide for a man.

Kinship is also more important for women for affective reasons, and Bott's argument that women are much more likely to maintain kin links than men is born out in Cauldmoss. Many aspects of men's lives give them more autonomy than women, and they are therefore less dependent than women on the existing network of kin to provide social contacts.

Kinship and employment.

Personal contacts have always been important in finding work, and high unemployment increases this since less jobs are formally advertised and "work on the side" is gained exclusively by word of mouth. Through loyalty to one's kin, and because social contacts are largely built around kinship networks anyway, relatives play a crucial role in job recruitment. It is certainly one of the most important forms of economic aid given by kin, normally between men. It has long been the practice in many industries that a son followed his father's occupation: an elderly man who used to work in the iron foundries said: "... it was a case of doing what your father did. I was spoke for long before I was fourteen - if your father could work, then you were guaranteed a job". Such recruitment still operates today, particularly in the local businesses and opencast mines, and several teenagers talk of going into the firms their fathers work for
when they are old enough. With work on the side lack of official advertising and the need for discretion make relatives of existing employees the easiest to recruit. A self-employed brickie might take on his brother as a mate while there's plenty of work, or a man might get his son a side job at the yard where he has been employed most of his life. At a different level economic co-operation occurs between related small businessmen such as builders helping each other gain contracts, or between related farmers during the harvest.

Contrary to Parson's analysis of the isolated nuclear family in modern industrial society, large regions still exist with little skilled, specialist work and so little need for mobility and little economic differentiation between individuals within a class (Harris 1983: 68). Cauldmoss, and most of the Scottish central belt within which it lies, is just such an area, where the factors which would lead the family to function as an isolated unit do not exist. Thus kinship still plays a vital economic role in job recruitment, though whether this will endure future changes in the labour market is questionable.

Mobility of the population.

The role of kin in finding unskilled or semi-skilled work is one reason why extended family ties might be of greater significance among the working class (see, for instance, Klein 1965, vol. 1, section 1.). Another factor in Cauldmoss is the immobility of the population which makes it all the more interrelated. Both outsiders and inhabitants remark on how people tend to stay in the village when they grow up, and many of those who do leave for employment or to get married later return. It is easy to confuse the causal agent amongst three aspects of mobility in Cauldmoss: the sedentary nature of working class culture in general (Hoggart 1957:62); the disincentives to move when receiving the social and economic support of a closely
and the lack of mobile career patterns, or job opportunities elsewhere in Britain. Though people say they will not leave Cauldmoss because "everyone you know is here, ken, all your family, ken?", it would seem that the labour market is in fact the prime influence on mobility, especially for men with families. If jobs could be found elsewhere people would almost certainly travel to them, though they might very well be migrant labourers, leaving their families to remain in Cauldmoss as they did with jobs in the oil industry. On the other hand, values arising from one's neighbourhood and kin relationships inevitably influence one's economic decisions: the reluctance to leave Cauldmoss, especially amongst young single people, is partly due to the assumption that others, even in big cities, have the same attitudes towards strangers as those held in Cauldmoss (described above p.94 and p.129). Cauldmoss folk in a strange town would not only be without any familiar company or kinship support, but would themselves be "incomers".

RELIGION.

In the section on social differentiation three important factors influencing the way people group each other in Cauldmoss were left out, to be addressed later: religion is the third, and unlike gender and kinship it is frequently mentioned as a criteria for identifying groups. There are two distinct principles by which people are differentiated according to religion: either by denomination or by participation in church activities. In discussing the importance of religion in Cauldmoss I will start this section by considering these two criteria. From our First Questionnaire we learnt that approximately 47% of Cauldmoss identify themselves with the Church of Scotland, 5% as Roman Catholic and 3% with the Church of Christ. 43% said they were not associated with any church. Catholic children usually go to a Catholic primary school and later a Catholic secondary school, both of which are in the local town. This clearly
segregates children by religion from the age of five, since while most simply go along the road to the local school, others have to catch the bus each day.

Orangemen

''The Irish would accept low wages rather than stay at home to starve. In the central decades of the nineteenth century several hundred thousand of them entered Scotland. They created a new phenomenon in Scotland, the secular expression of cultural and economic rivalry that picked on religious difference as its nominal cause. The Irish enhanced poverty and overcrowding and contributed to the social evils that arose from these features, drunkenness and crime, to such an extent that Protestant antagonism to this influx was able to disguise itself as a concern for law and order." (Mitchison 1970:381)

The large scale Irish immigration came at the time that Cauldmoss was rapidly expanding as a centre for coal mining, and part of the "economic rivalry" mentioned above was the undercutting of wage rates which allowed pit owners to play Catholic work forces off against Protestant ones. When this material antagonism was added to the general association of Catholicism with the horrors of industrialization (Bruce 1985:28) it is not surprising that great bitterness arose between the two groups. The bigotry that developed still survives well over a century later, long after its economic origins have been forgotten.

An Orange Lodge seems to have existed in Cauldmoss since the 1850s. In 1881 a much enlarged lodge opened an Orange Hall in the old Parish School, but by 1911 it had ceased operating, presumably as a consequence of the dramatic fall in the village's population. There
was a temporary revival of the lodge in 1936, at a time when two anti-Catholic parties, the "Protestant Action" and "Scottish Protestant League", were taking about 40 per cent of the local election votes in the Scottish lowlands, but it was only in 1962 that the lodge again re-opened, using the church hall. Today, the separate meetings for men and women are held in the Masonic Lodge, and the small but dedicated membership is dominated by one particular family who "belong" to Cauldmoss but are now living in nearby villages. The lodge's flute band became too small to survive but for the "Juvenile's March" in June and the main Orange March in July, the principal annual events, a band from a nearby lodge comes to the village. The Cauldmoss Orange Lodge is small compared with others in the area, but this does not necessarily reflect greater tolerance in the village and the Orange March always attracts a large sympathetic audience.

On the nearest Saturday to the 12th July two coach loads of Orangemen, the flute band and a few women, arrive at the pub on the edge of Cauldmoss around 7.30 in the morning. They assemble with the local Orange Lodge members to form a procession headed by a woman carrying a purple felt cushion representing the bible and crown. Behind her comes a man with a baton and flag bearers, then the pipers and drummers in blue and red uniforms followed by dark suited men carrying the banners, and behind them a long line of very smartly dressed men and women with orange sashes over them. St Andrew's flags and Union Jacks are carried, while the very elaborate and colourful banners portray William III in various victorious settings, a founding member of Cauldmoss Orange Lodge and a picture of Queen Victoria with a semi-naked black man kneeling before her. The bright procession marches along all the outer streets of the scheme with the band playing continuously until it ends up at the furthest edge of the council housing, the only pause in the noisy piping and drumming being when they pass the war memorial where the banners are dropped and a minute or two's silence observed. After the march the
Orangemen get back in the coaches and join other marches around central Scotland, including a big rally of several bands in a nearby town. In the evening they return to Cauldmoss, tired and less disciplined, and march back along a shortened route in the opposite direction, passing the Catholic chapel and finishing up at the pub on the edge of the village.

A few dozen people are usually up to see the procession assemble in the morning, and as it proceeds around the village the accompanying spectators swell to about a hundred while many folk watch from their doors and windows. In the evening a much larger crowd comes out to watch, so that the street and pavements are full with the band, their followers, older folk in smart clothes, young lads in T-shirts waving Rangers scarves or Union Jacks, parents holding their children on their shoulders and police cars preceding and following the march. It is a colourful spectacle winding through the grey scheme and most of the audience, particularly the women, view it as a pageant rather than an assertion of Protestant supremacy. One woman who was admiring how smart the marchers were - "what an angel young Joe looks them, then commented on how they stop beside the Catholic chapel to beat the drums louder: "it's no fair, really, is it Daniel?".

However, many of the more committed male followers are very clear about the partisan rationale of the march. At the approach to the chapel it slows down, there is a crescendo of drumming, and the young men cheer as the baton is thrown extra high into the air. Almost every year the chapel is vandalized on the night before or after the march, though the damage is now fairly minimal compared with the incident in the early 1970s when it was set on fire and the roof burnt down. The parish priest thinks "It was a blessing in disguise" because it turned many Protestants in Cauldmoss against the Orange Lodge. Also around the 12th July blue "UVF" or "1690" graffiti often appears around the village, mainly the work of three particular youths. The march always ends with the band playing "God Save the
"Queen" at which the audience stops chatting, many men stand upright with their hands out of their pockets and several people sing the words. This respect is in marked contrast to the casual atmosphere when "The Queen" is played on other occasions, such as at the Gala Day ceremony.

Throughout the year anti-Catholic bigotry is expressed spasmodically, nearly always by men and most usually when they are drunk. Orange sentiments clearly run in certain families. An old man commented:

"... it's bred in them from the day they sook their mother's breast. There you are. An' before you're a right Orangeman it's got to be bred into ya .... I don't think it'll ever change ... they're breedin' the thing in to hate the Catholics. But then on the other side it's gettin' bred in too ... thick an' heavy. It's quiet in Cauldmos noo, there's a battle now and again, right enough, but I don't think ... will ever cure it."

Generally the rivalry is manifested in songs and jokes: Q: "What's the quickest way to hospital?" A: "Drive to [name of Catholic village] and sing 'The Sash'". In a fine illustration of a group deriving its sense of self by contrast with others (Cohen 1985:116), rather as the pueblos of Andalusia do (Pitt-Rivers 1971:8), many men in Cauldmos can recite a litany of local villages which are more or less Catholic or Protestant. Orangemen generally suggest things get worse as you go further west, Glasgow being mainly Irish. Cauldmos, of course, is "a Protestant village, a Protestant stronghold". Occasionally antagonism actually leads to fights, but from people's accounts it would seem this happened far more in the past, when large families of Catholics would start a fight by simply walking into "Billie's" the most Protestant pub (cf. Shotts in Heughan 1953:13). One or two men in the village have connections with the UVF in Ulster. Religious beliefs were never relevant to the denominational
bitterness, except as identifying features for either side, and some suggest that even the political history has been largely forgotten by the protagonists. I had a revealing conversation by accident with four Protestant teenagers when I said I did not really know what religion I believed in, and how could I tell? None of them could tell me any differences between Catholic and Protestant beliefs, despite having talked about smashing the pope's skull like rotten wood, and after a long silence one of them sang a Rangers song. Then another lad said you can easily tell Catholics from Protestants in Cauldmos because the Catholics are "two faced fuckin' barstards". They all stick together and drink together in the pubs.

The Masons.

A Masonic lodge was established in Cauldmos in 1868 and a Masonic Hall built in 1901. In 1950 a branch of the Eastern Star was started for the Mason's wives and daughters and today both organisations are still flourishing. It used to be said that someone in every household in Cauldmos was a Mason, "if no the father then the son", and though this is certainly no longer the case Masonry in Cauldmos has none of the elitist aspects it has in England. Any man can join so long as they are accepted by the lodge, the first principle being that "he believes in a supreme being - in God", and the second that he gives allegiance to the Queen. The membership is fairly representative of the male Cauldmos population, including both unemployed and self employed men, but it tends to be the "nicer" folk who regularly attend meetings - a much smaller number than the total membership. Women can only join the Eastern Star if their father or husband is a Mason, and they have about fourteen "visitations" (meetings) a year.
Although Catholics are not formally disqualified from joining the Masons, a former Grand Master in Cauldmoss was clear that they would find it very difficult to join locally. There is a considerable overlap of membership between the Masons and the Orange Lodge (which meets in the Masonic Hall), but there are some Orangemen who are "too extreme" for the Masons.

The Masonic Lodge and Eastern Star raise money for charities and for a benevolent fund for their own members, but the main activities appear to be ceremonial and social, as far as their secrecy allows one to surmise. As for mutual help in important areas like job recruitment, Masons imply that membership of the Lodge is similar to being part of the regular clientele of a pub: having access to an informal information network for both employees and employers. The Masonic Hall also functions as a working man's club, and these social events are open to anyone.

The secrecy and ritual of the two Masonic organizations are certainly main attractions for folk in Cauldmoss. Someone in the Eastern Star told me with relish how there are many different levels through which you can progress, but you never know what the teachings are at the next stage until you enter it, as with the secrets of the masons of Solomon (upon which the whole thing is based). Her husband added that only previous masters in the Masons get to choose the new master for the year, "otherwise what would be the point of having masters?". This nicely illustrated the tautologies of secret societies: the main rationale of the exclusive group is to exclude others, and the ultimate secret of the society is that there is no secret.
Church going and social standing.

Membership of the Masons or the Orange Lodge does not have any bearing on attendance at the Church of Scotland, and indeed Orangemen are probably less likely to go to church than less partisan Protestants. As I mentioned previously (p. 99), regular church going is one of several criteria by which other villagers identify "snobs", and for a certain peer group in Cauldmoss it seems that church going is essential for social respectability. This complements the main conclusions of Sissons in his study of church membership in a local conurbation (Sissons 1973). Only a minority of the congregation, which numbers about 50, have notably different moral standards from the non-church goers in the village, or express a greater religious belief. For the majority of people in Cauldmoss church-going is seen as something pleasurable, and members of the congregation talk to each other about how they "enjoyed" a service.

The current minister, who was inducted in 1982, has managed to expand his congregation to about 50 regulars, but despite his optimism and personal repute this number is unlikely to rise, and only six of the twelve elders actually attend services. Women outnumber men by about 2:1 in the congregation (similar to other lowland parishes - Willis & Turner 1980:27), but the elders are all male in Cauldmoss. The Women's Guild retains a membership of about 20, and the Sunday School has revived to about 40 children, though only a quarter of that number usually attend.

The significance of the Church of Scotland in Cauldmoss is greater than the small congregation would suggest. Many non-attenders approve of those who do go to church and generally subscribe to the kirk's teachings. Most villagers are familiar with the minister through his involvement in secular institutions, like the school and the Scouts, and his visiting, and his personality is of general concern. In contrast to the previous man, the current minister is
widely liked, largely for his frankness and for being so approachable. He comes from a Lowlands mining family, is a convinced socialist and epitomises the ideals of the Labour Movement, particularly in his beliefs about the right to work and the dignity of employment, ideas which often appear in his sermons.

The Church of Scotland has a very active social calendar, organizing concerts, dances, whist drives, coffee mornings and so on, in aid of various church appeals. They are held in the church hall or the school and are attended by a much wider group than the regular congregation, though still all "nice folk" (and some who are regarded as "snobs" by others), still predominantly women, and mainly middle aged or over.

Attendance at the Catholic chapel is generally regarded (by those other than Orangemen) as respectable as going to the Church of Scotland, but the motives probably have less to do with social standing given the Catholic doctrine on observing mass. About 5% of the village are Roman Catholics, and the local priest says he has "96 people on the books", about 50 of whom attend mass (which is a far higher proportion of attendance than in the Protestant church). In contrast with the Church of Scotland the Catholics only organize a few secular activities, the main one being an annual prize bingo which all regular bingo-goers of whatever religious persuasion attend.

The Church of Christ has a congregation of about two dozen, almost entirely made up of three extended families. Of the active church goers in Cauldmossm this group is the one most clearly identified as "snobbish". An old man called them the "Baptists" and "Apostolics" interchangeably.
"the Apostolics are a ... is a clique too ... are you in it? - I thought you looked like one ... they are a crowd that keeps by themselves. Mind you, they talk polite to ye, oh yes, an' I don't really think they'd do you a bad turn. But I know they turn up their noses at certain people in Cauldmoss, they talk a lot about the poor people in Cauldmoss..."

Participation in the Church of Christ involves far more commitment than attending either the kirk or the Catholic chapel. There are unaccompanied hymns and spontaneous prayer during the services, and members tend to be seen as "holy Joes" in the village. This could be connected with the "strict ... attitude of the brethren toward all amusements" (Hudson 1948:205) which used to be a hallmark of this sect, and the inheritance of old puritan values might explain the sobriety, lack of swearing and respect for the secular law which certain of the congregation exemplify. Several young children attend the services but no teenagers, and since the daughter of one member has chosen to go to the Church of Scotland rather than the Church of Christ, it seems that this denomination might find it difficult to transmit its ethics to the younger generation. The Church of Christ has no secular social activities.

A few people in Cauldmoss visit churches and chapels in neighbouring towns, including a Baptist Church, Spiritualist meetings and other kirks of the Church of Scotland.
CAULDMOSS AS A COMMUNITY

Geographical and social meanings of "community".

As Goldthorpe noted (1979), normative prescriptions have often underlain sociologists' use of the term "community" which makes its definition problematic from the start. Following Hillery's review (1955), Lee and Newby identified three main ways in which "community" has been used: a geographical expression for a fixed locality; a set of social relationships (of positive or negative kind) which take place within a locality; the third, a particular type of relationship, a sense of identity or common interest between a group (Lee and Newby 1983:57). The second definition is both sociological and geographical while the last, which comes closest to the colloquial usage, "a sense of community", is a purely sociological notion without any necessary local referent.

Throughout the century since Tonnies' characterization of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft (1887) the relationship between geographical and social factors in "community" relations has been debated at length. Of late locality has been accorded a minimal role in determining social relationships (e.g. Pahl 1966), but Lee and Newby have formulated a more sophisticated notion of the interrelationship between geographical and social factors. They argue that the degree to which a group is constrained by geographical factors is itself often a consequence of social factors:

"In other words, if social relationships and institutions are constrained in such a way as to render them locality-based there may be a 'local social system' - or mostly self-contained community - where spatial factors have some effect upon social relationships. Even here, however, this merely stems from the inability of the inhabitants to transcend the spatial constraints imposed upon them, this
incapacity usually being linked to a wider, societal system of inequality and/or technological development rather than something specific to the locality per se."

(Lee and Newby 1983:63)

Evidently Cauldmoss could be described as a 'community' in all three senses of the term that were identified by Lee and Newby. I intend to use the term consistently according to their second definition: "a net of social relationships which take place wholly, or mostly, within a locality . . . " (1983:57). When referring to the geographic settlement of Cauldmoss I will use a term such as 'village', and when referring to a sense of common identity or interest I will specify that meaning.

To link social and spatial factors in my use of the term 'community' gives it a far more restricted sense than that used by Cohen (1985), who at times comes close to equating 'community' with 'culture'. However this ethnography confirms the main theme of Cohen's book which is that people construct community symbolically. Several examples have already been given of how "The community can make virtually anything grist to the symbolic mill of cultural distance" (ibid.:117), for instance one's kinship origins (p.129) or the denominational allegiance of the village (p.142). Further illustrations will be made to show how any matter of perceived difference can be rendered as a symbol or belonging to a particular group, whether it is the people of Cauldmoss, the respectable members of the village or the working class in general.
Durkheim and integration.

By now it will be becoming clear that Cauldmoss has many of the characteristics Durkheim described as "mechanical solidarity" (1964a), where cohesion is based on the similarities between individuals and the common moral sentiments binding them together. Since Durkheim's theories, as well as their imprecision and inconsistencies, are well known I will not rehearse them here. However two of his fundamental concepts, that of "integration" and the idea of "collective representations", are particularly pertinent to understanding the social life of Cauldmoss, and I will make use of them in this section and again in Chapter Five when discussing consumption.

One of Durkheim's principal concerns was how social cohesion is dependent on, and gives rise to, a common interpretation of the world. Shared activities affirm socially derived categories of thought, and without these "collective representations" there would be no consensus on fundamental concepts like time, space, cause and so on.

"If [society] is to live ... there is a minimum of logical conformity beyond which it cannot safely go. For this reason it uses all its authority upon its members to forestall such dissidences." (Durkheim 1976:17)

The conformity of thought and behaviour in Cauldmoss will be described later on in this section (p.158), and the importance that is attached to social involvement, which is frequently evident in the village, will be considered in relation to consumption (p.230). Both suggest that Cauldmoss is a community which to a great extent is bound by the solidarity Durkheim analyzed. The sanctions against those who exclude themselves from village life were discussed by a "hippy" couple, Gail and Jim. "If you don't join in with the group, if you're a bit of a loner, then they classify you as a snob ...".
"When I came back to Cauldmoss I didnie get involved wi' the people in Cauldmoss, an' because I didnie I got beat up twice. I didnie do an'thing, I just wasnie part o' them ... I just wasnie into joining in because it just wasnie my thing. But that's quite bad, aye. They'll set aboot you for things like that. That happened to me an' Mav [his brother] twice .... They beat the shite out o' us ... because they didnie know what I was doin', that's what it was. They want to know what you're up to, what makes you tick - an' they couldnie figure out what made me tick. An' they didnie like it an' it frightened them. So they get frightened, so they retaliate. They beat us up."

How the inhabitants view Cauldmoss.

Cauldmoss is seen as a community by many of its inhabitants, although the term itself is not often used. People talk of the place as a village, and certainly most older people reckon "ye're better livin' in a wee village" than a city. To outsiders the village is presented as an homogenous group (as previously mentioned: p.94), and so inter-related that some inhabitants suggest it is almost one big family, but as the earlier section on differentiation has shown, this ideology of unity does not operate amongst villagers themselves. The importance of the distinction between locals and incomers has already been described (p.34), and it seems as if natives fear that the newcomers are undermining the 'integrity' of the village. In fact the agreed condemnation of many of these incomers means that their presence unites indigenes more than divides them. The corporate identity of villagers and their inherited sense of "belonging" (p.129) clearly show that they have an ideology of being a community.
in the sense of having a communality of interest.

Apart from the idea that Cauldmoss is a friendly, co-operative place, the inhabitants also share strong images of the village as an ex-mining settlement, as a wild place, in terms of both the weather and its lawlessness, and as a tight-knit, isolated village rife with gossip. Identification with coal mining, unruly behaviour and the elements all clearly appeal to notions of manliness, which again illustrates how pervasive gender is.

The legacy of mining.

Most locals are conscious of their mining legacy and even the young sometimes describe themselves as "mining folk", while the older generation, most of whom were miners or miners' wives, constantly refer to the industry when discussing their past. Older women shared the occupational identity, saying "we miners were ... ", and this generation are still proud of the village's reputation for hard work in the pits. The story goes that even in Canada at the end of the last century advertisements read: "Miners wanted. Only Cauldmoss men need apply".

Many features of mining culture have persisted despite the end of the "occupational community" (Bulmer (ed.) 1975 - in particular Salaman 1975), for when the pits closed Cauldmoss remained composed of the same people. Several activities in the village almost certainly stem from its mining origins: the keeping of whippets and pigeons, the popularity of outdoor pursuits and the way men often pass their non-working time standing outside at the centre of the village. It is predominantly the older men who do these things, but young lads are also involved in these traditions. The legacy of coal mining for political views will be discussed later (p.164), but perhaps the most important aspect of mining culture that persists today is the norm
for spending, which will be considered in detail in Chapter Five.

Images of Cauldmoss as an unruly, wild backwater.

Ever since the days when miners from outlying settlements came into Cauldmoss at the weekends to the pubs and dances, the village has had a kind of Wild West reputation for hard drinking, fighting and general lawlessness. Mass street fights and prostitutes hanging around the pubs are said to have been commonplace, and many revel in events that perpetuate this tradition. One man tried to convince me that the old hotel can be just as riotous as the pub scene in the last episode of Bleasdale's recently televised 'Boys from the Black Stuff', and villagers generally thought that the graffiti "HAZZARD COUNTY" over a road sign on the approach to Cauldmoss was very appropriate. "Hazzard County" was the fictional location of an American TV series, 'The Dukes of Hazzard,' about a family of daredevil "hillbillies".

Related to this lawlessness is the reputation for being fly, which most men in Cauldmoss find prestigious. One of the "nicer" lads in the youth club said a taxi driver was stupid not to have demanded cash before even starting for Cauldmoss, and it was the driver's look-out when he and his pals jumped the taxi without paying. When a boy was offered 10p to sing a song on an outing he was advised: "Get the money first! Come on, Jim, you're fae Cauldmoss!".

A frequent theme amongst inhabitants when talking about Cauldmoss is the terrible weather. Constant gales, blizzards that cut the village off for days during the winter and even snow in July are all cited to illustrate what Cauldmoss folk have to live with. Though the weather conditions are usually exaggerated (as elsewhere) it was noteworthy that when the road from the local town was blocked by drifting snow one winter's afternoon most men stoically walked the six miles home.
rather than stay in the emergency accommodation set up in the town.

Many of the younger folk in Cauldmoss feel it is a backwater with very few facilities, even though it is, in comparison with neighbouring villages, actually well endowed with the Community Centre, Health Clinic, nursery school and so on. The younger inhabitants are also more likely to resent the close-knit relationships of the community and feel they are restrictive. When these factors are combined with the unruly reputation and the supposed council policy of dumping unwanted tenants, many inhabitants are self-effacing about their village. Perhaps they are influenced by outsiders' views (to be described p.159) since several apologize for the place: "it's wasted, this place ... all battered wives now..." or, more graphically, it's "the arsehole of Scotland".

Gala Day.

The most formal expression of Cauldmoss's corporate identity is the Gala Day. Unlike the other main annual events in the village - the Orange March, Bonfire Night, Christmas and Hogmanay - it is focused exclusively on Cauldmoss with no other rationale at all. The Gala Day was started by the Cauldmoss Cooperative Society in 1905 and has been held annually ever since, apart from a period of a few years in the late 1970s.

Money is raised for the Gala throughout the year (principally with prize bingos), and funds are boosted during the week preceding the Gala Saturday by running extremely popular quizzes and competitions in the clubs and Community Centre.
The focus of the Gala is the procession around the village, made up of a band of bag pipers and a brass band (both from elsewhere), young girls in fairy costumes, highly decorated floats packed with more young children, sometimes a troupe of majorettes and in the middle of them all the Gala Queen attended by ladies in waiting and courtiers, riding in a white Rolls Royce or, in more extravagant years, on a coach led by horses. Another car or carriage carries last year's Gala Queen and her ladies in waiting, and behind them march a group of halbadiers. In front of this royal party walks the mythical saint of Cauldmoss's history, dressed like a medieval monk. People assemble at the school with a great deal of confusion and waiting around, during which time a large crowd gathers, photos are taken and The Crazy Gang (half a dozen adults in ridiculous costumes, like gorilla suits or in drag) accost people for money, including any unsuspecting strangers driving through the village. Eventually the procession sets off in amateurish chaos: majorettes dropping batons, young boys bursting most of the balloons as soon as they are released, small children crying as their float separates from their spectating parents. At the War Memorial it stops while the Gala Queen lays a wreath and a respectful tune is played, though most people carry on chatting, after which it proceeds around the scheme and onto the recreation park where a stage has been assembled. While the brass band plays ceremonial accompaniments a compere welcomes each child with a special role on to the stage, culminating with the new Gala Queen. There is a lot of bowing and curseyng between the Queens and their courtiers and ladies in waiting, and an exchange of robes and crowns between the old and new Queen, all carried out rather clumsily. Each of the main actors then makes a little speech and the ceremony is concluded with the band playing "God Save the Queen", to which nobody pays much attention.
Following the procession there are displays by the Fire Brigade and police dog handlers, ice cream vans and stalls, and any other activities the organizers can arrange to make it a fete. On rainy days the crowning ceremony is held in the Community Centre.

Enormous effort is made to decorate the village for this occasion, in particular the houses and gardens along the route of the procession. Lawns are neatly cut, flowers planted out, doors covered in paper flowers made from toilet paper, and where one of the main participating children lives elaborately painted hardboard cut outs decorate the garden. These are usually on some childish theme such as cowboys and indians or Snow White and the Seven Dwarves, and somewhere the child’s name and role is displayed, such as "Margaret: Chief Lady in Waiting". The Gala Queen is chosen from one particular class in the primary school, her name being drawn out of a hat. With the pendants and flags, the decorated gardens and the exotic costumes of the main actors (many of which are hired), it is a colourful pageant. Nearly all the village comes out to watch, most of them in their smart clothes.

Everyone recognizes that Gala Day is above all an event for the children. It is they who make up the procession (apart from the visiting bands and the Crazy Gang), the decorations are focussed on them, many parents buy their children new clothes for the event, and at the end of the ceremony each child in Cauldmoss gets given "a bag". These are paper bags each containing exactly the same sandwiches, chocolate biscuits and sweets, and for some children this is their main concern for the whole day. It seems as if it would be too introverted and self-indulgent for adults to celebrate their community identity without focussing on something beyond themselves, and so their generosity and co-operation is validated by "the wains". A man who was thanked for lending a jack to support a chip van during Gala Day turned to the other men around saying he’s not bothered about being thanked, “anything I can do for the wains ... I’m doing
it for the Gala Day”.

The concern with equal participation by all villagers, the reference to the village’s origins with the saint, the acknowledgement of villagers who died in the last wars, and the generosity of spectators in giving around £150 to the Crazy Gang’s collection, all suggest that the Gala Day is a glorification of Cauldmoss as a community, in the folk sense of common interests and fellowship. Though the children are the first priority, it is a day of festivities for their parents as well. Several men start drinking in the morning and watch the procession from the pavement outside the pubs, many families have a special meal in the afternoon, it is a day for relatives to come to visit the village and in the evening there are Gala Day dances, usually a traditional one (with band) and a disco. The ethos of the occasion was well expressed one year when a highly proficient gambler with racing connections rang his brother-in-law in the village with a tip for a race that morning. Consequently a lot of men bet on the winning horse and there was plenty of money about to celebrate the Gala Day.

Village funerals.

Another expression of community relationships comes when someone born in the village dies. As important to having a suitably costly funeral (to be discussed: p.248) is that a large number of people should turn up to witness it. Even a limited acquaintance with the deceased gives one a slight obligation to attend the funeral, and close relatives never resent such attendance as presuming too much familiarity: instead the minister thanks everyone on behalf of the family for “paying your last respects”. Whether or not there was "a good turn up" for a funeral is of greater interest than the details of the hearse or coffin, and for many older people, attending the burials of their friends and acquaintances is their main contact with the
church. As Rees described in Wales, the funeral of someone who belonged to the village is a ritual which renews the community's unity: "...the bond between an individual and the general body of neighbours is perhaps never so fully manifested." (Rees 1953: 96)

Conformity and conservatism in the community.

There are other facets of community life which its members do not usually regard so positively as the Gala Day. The concentrated, often overlapping, networks of kin, neighbours and friends, which are intensified by the immobility of the population, provide plenty of information for gossip. Cauldmoss is "clannish" and "what ye do is everybody's business". As a young man bitterly complained about his aunt, she knows the colour of your new carpet before it's delivered. An old man summed it up:

"Cauldmoss as far as I'm concerned, they know everybody's business unless their own, and they mind everybody's business unless their own. I'm surrounded here wi' people...

"In these conditions, people tend to reach consensus on norms and exert a consistent informal pressure on each other to conform. This is the way a tradition is perpetuated, relatively immune from change as long as the network remains intact." (Klein 1965:128)

I have already described how kinship binds the community by focussing it on the past (p.130), which encourages traditional norms to be maintained. The elementary family is also extremely important in itself as a conservative influence on people's ideas, both for the reasons mentioned earlier (p.118) and since a child's main source of values is her/his parents, whose perceptions were largely formulated
28 or 30 years previously. Examples of conformity and conservatism are numerous. In small matters typical behaviour is often assumed, as when a woman puts milk and one sugar in one's tea without thinking to ask, while on a more significant scale conventional behaviour is entrenched in fundamental areas such as gender roles, identity with religious denominations, notions of respectability and so on. A corollary of local people's identification with their close-knit community is the boundary this creates, so that "incomers" can be used as a reference point (p.94, 129 and 151). The latter are frequently blamed for any deviant behaviour in Cauldmoss, and their children feel particularly excluded, participating in village activities like the youth clubs far less than locals. Reproducing the community boundary means that visiting youths from neighbouring villages are as likely to be fought as chatted with, and outsiders who get local jobs are deeply resented. Contributing to villager's parochialism is their inexperience of other regions of Britain: many have never been to England, let alone London, and for older men most of their travel experiences date from the War.

Outsiders' impressions.

The predominant images that outsiders have of Cauldmoss are the cold, dreich weather, the isolation and the rough, unruliness of the village. The local headmistress told me that before coming to Cauldmoss she knew virtually nothing about the place except that it was up in the hills: "you heard the stories about Cauldmoss, a wild place and what have you - the standing joke is at full-moon they all go mad". At a market stall in the local town the vendor asked "What's a half sensible man doing in Cauldmoss?" and went on to describe the village as: "no man's land ... that's where the Romans stopped ... fine to have an empire but they stopped at Cauldmoss ... [the local town] was alright, they could do something with that ...".
A SUBORDINATE CULTURE.

Resignation to lack of control.

In Chapter One I discussed the theoretical problems of relating what goes on in one particular village to the sociology of Britain. One of the most important determinants of the culture of Cauldmoss is that the population is part of the industrial working class. To a large extent working class culture can be seen as a subordinate culture, involving values people have developed in response to the lack of control they have over their lives. (See p.45 for some ethical considerations in adopting this approach.)

As so often, Hoggart captured this excellently in his chapter "'Them' and 'Us':"

"When people feel that they cannot do much about the main elements in their situation, feel it not necessarily with despair or disappointment or resentment but simply as a fact of life, they adopt attitudes towards that situation which allow them to have a liveable life under its shadow, a life without a constant and pressing sense of the larger situation. The attitudes remove the main elements in the situation to the realm of natural laws, the given and raw, the almost implacable, material from which a living has to be carved. Such attitudes, at their least-adorned a fatalism or plain accepting, ... " (Hoggart 1957:92)

Marxist sociologists have also accepted this idea of a subordinate culture (e.g. Critcher 1979:30 and Campbell 1984:5), and Willis actually focussed on how school boys glorified in it as a form of resistance:
"In the sense, therefore, that I argue that it is their own culture which most effectively prepares some working class lads for the manual giving of their labour power we may say that there is an element of self-damnation in the taking on of subordinate roles in Western capitalism." (Willis 1977:3)

There are several aspects of Cauldmoss life which can be understood in relation to a subordinate culture. The conservatism already discussed (p.158) is reinforced by the fact that much of the villagers' life style is taken for granted as natural: the choices that are perceived concerning diet, clothing, leisure activities and so on are very limited, and the way people organize their lives is usually extremely regular, with set times for meals, shopping, redecorating, etc. Resignation to a life of hard struggle has been used to explain working class parents' gratification of their children, since this is the only chance they will ever have to enjoy themselves (Davis 1948, Hoggart 1957:53), and a similar resignation to their fate informs most teenagers' attitude to schooling.

Cauldmoss children seem to enjoy primary school but show less enthusiasm for the secondary school and usually leave at sixteen with no qualifications. Of the First Questionnaire sample 83% had stopped their formal education at the minimum school leaving age. Amongst council tenants the figure was 89% and amongst those in privately owned houses 63%. There was little difference between the ages that girls and boys had left school, but younger council tenants seemed to have had still less formal education than their parents: 100% of those under 30 had finished school at the minimum possible age. Willis has described the self-fulfilling assumption of the manual working class that sons will follow in their fathers' kinds of jobs, making formal education largely irrelevant and leading pupils to leave at the minimum age (Willis 1977). Today most pupils prefer to leave at sixteen and apply for their £16.50 Supplementary Benefit.
than stay on to retake C.S.E.'s and O grades, in which case their
mothers would only receive £6.50 Child Benefit. Better
qualifications would improve their chances of finding employment, but
since these are virtually nil anyway - in December 1983 there was one
vacancy advertised in the local Job Centre for over 400 school
leavers - the attractions of receiving more benefit in their own
right, having the adult status conveyed by this and being free from
school, predominate. The teachers at Cauldmoss Primary acknowledge
that education has always been intended to socialize children for
employment, and that this must now be questioned: "We've really got
to teach them for leisure", the headmistress said. However her
concept of what that will entail is vague and unimaginative: - "give
them games: badminton, pool ... " - and in fact the curriculum and
discipline of the school seem to re-affirm the old values intended to
shape good employees. There is no suggestion that the traditional,
passive client role of the manual working class will, or should,
change, and little encouragement for them to assume more control over
their lives. Several other features of Cauldmoss life could be
related to the inhabitants' subordinate role in the wider society,
such as their deference towards administrative institutions, like the
judiciary, particularly amongst women. A more general consequence of
the way people make sense of their lack of control over their lives
is their concentration on the immediate and personal.

An immediate, personal world.

People in Cauldmoss live in a very personal world where the really
important concerns are the details of individual's lives, whether the
main life cycle events or the minutiae of everyday affairs, not
abstract ideas, theories or politics. The vast majority of the
conversations that fill our field notebooks are about local
individuals and their activities, immediate concerns of the day or
past events in the village: so and so getting a new dog, a cousin
getting arrested for a burglary, how much a cassette recorder could be bought for or how so and so earnt his nickname. Working class life is, in Hoggart's words, characterized by "the intimate, the sensory, the detailed, and the personal" (Hoggart 1957:104). A woman's conversation is:

"almost always elemental, sometimes rough, and often generous; its main themes are among the great themes of existence - marriage, children, relations with others, sex. Much the same is naturally true of men's ... they are exercising their strong traditional urge to make life intensely human, to humanize it in spite of everything and so to make it, not simply bearable, but positively interesting." (Hoggart 1957:105)

The preoccupation with personally known individuals goes to reinforce the tremendous importance of kinship in Cauldmoss life.

This concern with the personal is amply illustrated by the popularity of the tabloid papers, in particular the Daily Record (about 320 copies sold in Cauldmoss) and the Sun (about 100 copies sold). In these, abstract ideas and overt politics are minimal, and the main references to famous people, whether pop stars, politicians or royalty, are about their personal lives. But celebrities are not essential to engage the readers; they can be just as absorbed by stories about very ordinary people, so long as they are sufficiently intimate and involve one of the main elemental themes, like the bridegroom who died of a heart attack at the age of 21. For many people in Cauldmoss, particularly the men, these papers are their only reading; as Seabrook forcefully argues (1986 and 1987b) they should be taken seriously as bearers of ideology. The Sun is the most explicit in its veneration of money as the supreme good and its disgracing of people as venal and violent: "The main ideological thrust ... is to demonstrate that the system that delivers the goods
is not the same as the one that delivers the evils." (Seabrook 1987b:17). The basic philosophy "is that life is something out of which it is the highest duty of each individual to squeeze as much money, sex and fun as may be had." (Seabrook 1986:25). I will return to this attitude to money in a later chapter (p.287).

Politics.

The most immediate, most intensely experienced world is that of daily affairs, gossip, and social status in the village: political consciousness in national or ideological terms is virtually non-existent. Again this can be related to the working class being in a dependent position. As Campbell succinctly writes: "it is a subordinate class, and being a socialist means surrendering a culture of subordination for self-determination." (Campbell 1984:5).

The Cauldmoss electorate have voted Labour at both national and local elections for decades, a tradition generally associated with Cauldmoss being "a guid mining village". However the local Labour branch is moribund and in the last 30 years party membership has dropped from about twenty to three in the village. One of these is the local district councillor who never attends party meetings and who privately condemns many of Labour's policies. He has not had his position contested for over a decade and though he is frequently criticized by villagers for anything that could be construed as his responsibility, the surgeries he holds in Cauldmoss are not well attended.

Very few people get actively involved in the Labour Movement through their trade unions, as a more immediate, practical alternative to the Labour Party. Those in employment are increasingly less unionized, since a higher proportion of the work force are now in part time jobs, women's jobs or in small businesses, and trade union members
are rarely active. One of the few officials in Cauldmoss, a shop steward for the Transport and General Workers Union, was laid off when the main foundry in the local town closed in 1982. Most folk in the village still consider trade unions are important in protecting the worker, but they often comment on them having become too powerful and politicized in the past.

A few local people help with the Conservative Party's organization, but they are very discreet about it in the village, and as far as I know there are no Scottish Nationalist, Liberal or Social Democrat activists.

The lack of political discussion in Cauldmoss was exemplified by the 1983 general election which passed with very little comment and no posters or stickers displayed anywhere in the village. When the local Labour M.P. visited to canvass votes during Gala Day he was virtually ignored in favour of the procession. The only political conversations there were during the election campaign did little more than confirm the speakers' longing to be rid of "Maggie Hatchet"; one woman described how she had an horrific fascination to watch Thatcher on television:

"when I see her scrawny neck ... I hate her, so I do. I really hate her ... but I like to watch her, ken, to hate hair the mair; aye, I do ..."

There was no serious discussion of the alternative policies offered by the political parties, even on issues close to home such as unemployment, and the use of election addresses (from all parties) as fire-lighters is a standing joke. (Perceptions of the future in relation to employment will be described later, p.346).
The 1984-85 miners' strike provides another important illustration of political attitudes in Cauldmoss. There was an implicit sympathy with the miners and a general wish for Thatcher to be defeated, but there was also considerable criticism of Scargill and the miners' tactics, and there was no active support for them whatsoever, even through fund raising, let alone joining some of the pickets that were only fifteen miles away. This is remarkable when contrasted with the kind of response striking miners got from such culturally distant areas as London. Furthermore, when coal was being driven into Ravenscraig steel works after the railwaymen supported the N.U.M., lorry drivers in Cauldmoss told me that they would be prepared to drive through the pickets themselves if they got a contract to supply Ravenscraig. During a recession one has to take whatever work is available, they argued: the rationale of financial gain, part of the "pecuniary" model of society of the "privatised" worker (see p.105), leaves no room at all for values of solidarity that might have been transmitted from a time when Cauldmoss was an occupational community.

When expressed, political views in Cauldmoss are generally parochial and conservative, and most people are keen patriots and monarchists. Thatcher's stand over the Falklands conflict won general support and several men relished the military engagement, while there is an insatiable curiosity for the personal details of royal lives and an undying loyalty to the Queen (often connected with denominational allegiance; see p.141) is often stated. Perhaps because of the concentrated attention on the everyday life of the monarch she seems to be regarded as a warm, friendly, down to earth sort of family woman, sympathetic to the concerns of ordinary folk, in striking contrast to the Prime Minister. During a conversation in the pub several men agreed that the Queen hates Maggie Thatcher, and they viewed the monarch as being very paternalistic: she doesn't want "to see people idle". One man said that, after all, she didn't choose her job and she'd probably prefer not to have it. He certainly wouldn't want it. The deferential political outlook in Cauldmoss is
suggested in the Gala Day procession: although tenuous links with mythical saints are resorted to to give the village pageant some historical depth, there is no reference at all to the history of coal mining but instead the event focusses on a queen in a white Rolls Royce accompanied by numerous prestige symbols of high rank.

CONCLUSION.

In this chapter I have presented the ethnographic background within which the following chapters on employment and consumption must be placed. Of particular significance to these themes are social status, gender and community belonging. I have emphasized the importance of social status in villagers' daily lives and identified two conflicting models of stratification by which people distinguish themselves: according to 'restricted' or 'unrestricted' values. These values, combined with people's sense of belonging to the village, greatly influence their use of commodities, as I will describe in Chapter Five. The significance of gender, which I have argued is a division affecting all areas of social life, will become more apparent in the following chapter since it is intrinsic to my interpretation of male employment.
CHAPTER FOUR

EMPLOYMENT

INTRODUCTION.

This chapter deals with the second main objective of the thesis: to investigate the significance of employment in the culture of Cauldmoss. It is important to re-emphasize that my observations on this topic were made primarily in the village and not in men's workplaces (see p.59). This is therefore a description of what employment means in the residential context, one involving women and families, and the values transmitted in the workplace are only considered in so far as they effect village life. Workers' orientation to their employment as it is revealed in their place of work has been studied in detail in the past (e.g. Zweig 1961, Goldthorpe et al. 1968, 1969 and 1970, Beynon 1973, Dubin 1976). As previously explained (p.26), in this chapter I will ignore the 37% of economically active men in Cauldmoss who are unemployed and will concentrate on the cultural values that have arisen from a time of 'full' employment. In Chapters Five and Six I will suggest that these ideas underlie many of the more general values in Cauldmoss. Chapter Seven will consider how the culture of 'full' employment is modified by unemployment.

DEFINITIONS OF "WORK".

A social anthropological account cannot treat 'work', 'leisure', or any of the other central categories relating to economic life axiomatically, as if these are discrete areas with unambiguous meanings (Cohen 1979:265). A brief reflection on the various ways the word 'work' is used will make it clear what a wide range of meanings it
has even within one culture, let alone between cultures. Furthermore, in any society there are different levels at which 'work' can have meaning (see Firth 1973:26). Wallman argues that anthropologists should tackle the cross-cultural semantic diversity of 'work' by identifying the different dimensions it has, and then studying how they are inter-related (Wallman 1979:3). Turner intended to contribute to this analysis by exploring the semantic domain of "work" in one particular culture, the members of which describe themselves as "working people" (Turner 1981).

In order to try and compile a lexicon of terms relating to 'work' and 'leisure' in Cauldmoss, the First Questionnaire was devised which asked respondents to classify 45 different activities as 'work or something else'. The questionnaire can be found in Appendix A along with a table of the main results, and, as mentioned previously, a very detailed report on this questionnaire can be found elsewhere (Turner, Bostyn and Wight 1984: Appendix). Here it is sufficient to outline how the answers were coded and to describe the results pertinent to the definition and evaluation of 'work'.

The 4,680 answers that we collected were subsumed into twenty codes which, as far as possible, were given indigenous terms as titles. Since 'work' was central to the investigation it was felt justified to maintain seven distinctions between kinds of work. The codes were as follows:

1. Work
2. Occupation
3. Hard Work
4. Sex Defined Work
5. Business
6. Side-line
7. Sort of Work
8. Pleasure
9. Leisure
10. Necessity
11. Helping
12. Unenjoyable
13. Gambling
14. Education
15. Poaching
16. Not Work
17. Morally Positive
18. Morally Negative
19. Miscellaneous
20. Don't Know
Those used most frequently in people's answers were 'work', 'pleasure', 'leisure' and 'necessity'.

The most relevant conclusions of the First Questionnaire were summarized in our Final Report:

"It was found that those activities which the vast majority agreed were "work" were all paid employment, for example coal mining, cooking school meals and selling insurance. An analysis of indigenous definitions for the terms "work" and "job" revealed that these describe an activity which is done in return for money (the most common definition), or which involves effort of some kind, or which is unenjoyable, or which is something that has to be done. Often all four criteria were given, and it seems that the hallmark of true work is that it is an alienating experience.

"By looking at how different terms were explained by informants, it is clear that the terms "occupation" and "profession" describe a job done by intelligent, skilled people. "Hard work" usually implied considerable physical effort, but it could also mean a mentally demanding job, or one that involves coercion or dislike, which reinforces the meaning of "work" already stated...

"The results suggest that there are two semantic possibilities for the word 'work': 'work' and REAL 'work', the former being inclusive of the latter. A nice illustration of this came when someone was asked if, when he dug the garden, he saw that as work. "No", he said firmly, "with the garden you're working for yourself". It seems that only paid employment is regarded as REAL "work", and though it is not often articulated, an important facet of real "work" is that it occurs in a specific work place which is
not the home.

"Those activities for which "work" constituted the largest number of replies, but where it was not a majority verdict, were mainly household tasks, such as repairing a car, or doing the washing-up. These tasks tended to be described by others as "necessity" or "unenjoyable" - the "work" involved in them seems to be of a different nature from that involved in formal jobs."

(Turner, Bostyn and Wight 1984:65-66)

THE WORK FORCE AND WHERE THEY ARE EMPLOYED.

The 1981 Census provides considerable data on the composition of the work force in Cauldmoss. The tables below show the proportions of the population in different economic categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Category</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working full time</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working part time</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeking work</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporarily sick</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanently sick</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other economically inactive</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>1526</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Economic Characteristics of Cauldmoss population over 16: 1981 Census.
The figures for those 'seeking work' will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Seven. The main changes between the 1971 and 1981 Census results are an increase in the proportion of economically active seeking work (from 6.4% to 15.4%), a reduction of those in full time employment (from 83% to 72% of the economically active), and a significant rise in the proportion of married women in the labour force (from 31% to 44%). Despite the greater number of married women in the labour market, however, in the age groups of 16 to 19 year olds and 55 to 60 there were less women describing themselves as economically active in 1981 than 1971. The increase in those seeking work, the higher proportion of part time jobs and the increase in the number of women in the labour force seem to be in keeping with the general employment trends throughout Britain during the recent recession.

The data we gathered from the 10% of households in our First and Second Questionnaires suggest the figures presented on the following page, in Table 4.2. The differences between the 1981 Census figures and those from our 1982 Questionnaire are due to slight discrepancies in the definition of categories (which we obviously tried to minimize), the inevitable limitations of a 10% rather than 100% sample, and the changes in the local economy over that period.
Table 4.2: Employment status of those over 16, from 1982 and 1985
questionnaires.

numbers (percentage of column total)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Summer 1982</th>
<th>End of 1985</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>men</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council tenants:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full time employed</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part time employed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seeking work</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invalidity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housewives</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retired (women over 60)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full time education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>permanently sick</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL COUNCIL TENANTS</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% male unemployment</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 16-60 in employment</td>
<td></td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Private house residents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Summer 1982</th>
<th>End of 1985</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>men</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full time employed</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part time employed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seeking work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invalidity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housewives</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retired (women over 60)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full time education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>permanently sick</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL IN PRIVATE HOUSES</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% male unemployment</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 16-60 in employment</td>
<td></td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Council and private house residents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Summer 1982</th>
<th>End of 1985</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>men</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full time employed</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part time employed</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seeking work</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invalidity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housewives</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retired (women over 60)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full time education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>permanently sick</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL COUNCIL + PRIVATE</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% male unemployment</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 16-60 in employment</td>
<td></td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% male unemployment = \[ \frac{\text{seeking work} + \text{invalidity}}{\text{full time emp.} + \text{part time emp.} + \text{seeking work} + \text{invalidity}} \] x 100
The 'social classes' of the Cauldmoss population, as defined by the Census, have been described in the previous chapter (p.93). The 10% sample of the Census gives the following figures for the Socio-Economic Groups in Cauldmoss, derived from people's present or previous occupation.

1. Employers and managers ... in large establishments 5 3%
2. Employers and managers ... in small establishments 11 7%
3. Professional workers - self-employed 4 3%
4. Professional workers - employees 2 1%
5. Intermediate non-manual workers 11 7%
6. Junior non-manual workers 3 2%
7. Personal service workers 1 1%
8. Foremen and supervisors - manual 14 9%
9. Skilled manual workers 57 36%
10. Semi-skilled manual workers 26 17%
11. Unskilled manual workers 23 15%

Table 4.3: Socio-Economic Groups in Cauldmoss: 1981 Census.

However the inadequacy of 10% samples is illustrated by no one being recorded in S.E.G.s 12-16 covering self-employed workers other than professionals, those working on farms and members of the armed forces. In fact there are at least 25 farms within the enumeration districts being considered, and several own account workers (mainly skilled manual workers in building trades) and a few soldiers lived in the village in 1981. The statistics above can be summarized as follows: 77% of those in employment are manual workers; 1% are personal service workers (involved in catering, personal needs services, etc.); 9% are non-manual; 10% are employers and managers while just over 4% are professional workers. The Census confirms our own observations that nearly all those in the last two groups live in private houses outwith the council housing scheme.
The employment status of those with jobs can also be expressed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1971 Census</th>
<th>1981 Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apprentices and trainees</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other employees</td>
<td>77.2%</td>
<td>70.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employees supervising others</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-employed without employees</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-employed with employees</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is notable that apprenticeships have fallen since 1971 while the proportion of supervisors has risen dramatically, presumably because ordinary employees are more vulnerable to lay-offs. Only one in twenty of the work force were self-employed in 1981, most of them probably skilled tradesmen in the construction industry. Of late sub-contractors in the building trade have increasingly demanded that workers should be formally self-employed, although still under their direction. This saves them from the legal responsibilities of being employers and enables them to only pay for work done - not when it is raining or there is a slack spell. In such cases the worker is in much the same subordinate role as a formal employee, and though for tax and insurance purposes he is self-employed he does not regard himself, nor is regarded by his mates as being "his own boss". In general few people in Cauldmoss entertain the idea of setting up their own business, the main objections expressed being the insecurity of an irregular income and the lack of clearly defined working hours which could keep you working all evening.
The 1981 Census only provides crude details on which industries Cauldmoss folk are employed in. Below the seven occupational categories are listed with the proportions of people who work outside the local authority district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>% in industry working outside local authority district</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
<td>31.5 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution &amp; catering</td>
<td>27.4 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>20.5 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>8.2 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>6.8 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy and water</td>
<td>4.1 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1.4 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5: The industries and proximity of people's employment: 1981 Census.

Over 20% of the work force were employed outwith the local authority district in 1981, with a particularly large proportion of construction workers in this category. Many such men work at one large building project after another anywhere in central Scotland, perhaps travelling each day to work on a shopping complex in Glasgow for four months, and then for a year travelling to work on the new gas processing plant at Mossmorran in Fife. Some form of joint transport is usually arranged, either in a works van or a worker's private car, and it is not uncommon for people to start out at 5.30 am and return at 7 pm when working at a long distance. A few men stay away from Cauldmoss for several weeks at a time when employed a long way off, though the main source of such jobs, in oil-related work around Aberdeen, has now virtually disappeared. Several people work in Glasgow or Edinburgh but the majority are employed in the local conurbation.
A small proportion of the work force have jobs in Cauldmoss itself. Half a dozen local businesses employ men full time, the biggest employer (with fifteen employees) owning a haulage firm on its own, then a builder who employs three or four men, an exploratory drilling firm with the same size work force and three local coal merchants each employing one or two assistants. Several of the local farmers employ Cauldmoss lads on an irregular basis, but there are hardly any full time farm workers' jobs, due to the small size of farms. There are very few full time jobs for women in the village, but several part time jobs exist. These are in the Community Centre, schools and health clinic as care takers and cleaners, in the shops and post office as assistant saleswomen, and in the library.

FINDING EMPLOYMENT.

In the discussion of kinship I have already described how the information and influence of one's relatives is by far the most important means by which people find employment (p.136). If one has not got one's job through kin networks then it has usually been found through some other personal contacts: peer groups in the pubs, clubs or bingo, or simply conversations with friends at home, providing information about likely vacancies and suitable applicants. "It's no' what ye ken, it's who ye ken", is the phrase repeatedly used to summarize the situation, and apart from jobs on government schemes it is rare to hear of anyone getting work other than through personal networks. It is even said (by a local employer) that employees in the Job Centre now inform their own friends of vacancies before advertising them publically.

The Job Centre in the local town is the official agency for getting work. In theory Job Centre staff should contact those registered about vacancies for which they are suitable, but in practice they are so overwhelmed by people as soon as a notice goes up that they have
no time to inform other potential applicants. For most posts it is a case of first come first served, which obviously militates against those in outlying villages. In fact the Job Centre seems to operate more as an employment exchange, providing facilities for employers to pick the best recruits from the labour force and for those in jobs to swap them for better ones, rather than as an agency helping the unemployed find work. The jobs advertised in the Centre are mainly for sales representatives willing to work on a purely commission basis, for low paid clerical and cleaning staff (jobs usually taken by women), and for time-served, experienced tradesmen, especially in the construction industry.

Some move from one job to another by being "brass-necked" enough to approach firms directly in person and asking to be employed. In fact this probably only works for those who are currently in employment, since employers generally prefer to take them on rather than the unemployed, and for those lucky enough to have skills and experience that are still in demand, such as being a time-served plasterer.

Although training and experience are more important to employers than a person's residence, when there is nothing else to choose between employees in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, most employers in the local town tend to discriminate against applicants from Cauldmoss. Contrary to the supposed reputation of local miners in the past (p.152), the Cauldmoss workforce does not seem to be highly regarded in the local conurbation. This is partly due to geographical factors, since employers fear that folk from Cauldmoss will not be able to get to work easily and in the winter are likely to be cut off by snow. But it is also connected with the reputation that the village has: an official at the local Job Centre said employers tend to see Cauldmoss as a troublesome place (citing articles in the local paper about offences committed there), and he knew of one person who refused to see an applicant as soon as he learnt the man was from Cauldmoss.
EXPLICIT REASONS FOR EMPLOYMENT.

The vast majority of men and most unmarried women in Cauldmoss want to be employed for a full working week, while many women with older children seek part-time work. The importance of regular employment in people's lives is very clear, both for the old and young. In this section I will discuss people's stated aims for doing paid work and in subsequent sections will show how they also act according to more nebulous social values which are associated with employment.

Money.

Since the most central feature of the concept of work in Cauldmoss is employment for money, it is no surprise that this is the first thing people state they seek from their job. People's immediate conscious motive to do paid work is to earn a living: a man might estimate how many more wage packets will allow him to put a deposit down for a car, or when he has married, might be specifically thinking of various furnishings to buy as he goes to his work.

But even in industrial society economic objectives are not in an autonomous sphere, for, as Wallman notes: "economic purposes are 'hemmed in by the social prescription of means and ends'" (Wallman 1979:4). Money is sought for socially defined intentions, not simply to attain certain inevitable necessities of life which is how employment is often described. The next chapter will be devoted to describing the patterns of consumption that are required to conform to the norms in Cauldmoss.

The emphasis on remuneration from one's employment is linked with workers' identification with their wages. An equation is made between someone's wage and his or her personal worth. Thus men on good overtime take great pride in "clearing £180 a week", or bringing home a
few hundred pounds on Friday and handing their wives a substantial sum (e.g. £120) in cash. While the "big earners" in the village are generally respected - their status being largely expressed through expensive consumption - those known to receive low pay are rather pitied. For most people the amount they earn is more important than their occupational identity for their social status. The measurement of a man's worth by his wage is evidently an old and widespread attitude in coal mining communities (Jahoda 1987/1938:6, Dennis et al. 1956:74).

There is a paradox in this equivalence of wage with worth. On the one hand it is a clear example of how capitalist economic values are internalized to shape one's self-identity, as others have previously observed: "The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, ... has resolved personal worth into exchange value, ... " (Marx and Engels 1967:82). Yet because workers are understandably loath to accept lower wages (and worth) in different economic circumstances, the equation ignores the market mechanism of determining wages. The economists' view that wages result from the supply of and demand for labour is not completely foreign to Cauldmoss villagers (they are well aware how unemployment allows employers to reduce the quality of their working conditions), but the folk view of wages incorporates much more than this macro economic equation. Workers' notions of what their time and skill are worth are much more related to the training required to do the job, the customary amount paid and differentials with other jobs, than they are by the laws of supply or demand. In particular the time served as an apprentice, usually for very low pay, is thought to validate a good wage, and a City and Guilds certificate supposedly guarantees one's worth.

It is taken as axiomatic that one seeks to maximize one's pay as the first priority in seeking work, and almost any hardship or disruption would be considered if the wage is right. Some construction workers in Cauldmoss were seriously thinking about doing labouring work on
the Falkland Islands for a year when they learnt it would pay £30,000 p.a. There are clearly several elements which determine the minimum wage someone will accept, including their financial circumstances (particularly their responsibilities to others), their awareness of the current labour market and their previous earnings. Several men said they thought one should not have to work for less than £150 per week after tax, and those who have experienced average wages usually seek the same again. Very few are prepared to work for less than they would receive in benefits (to be discussed later: p.355), and the minimum acceptable margin between this and one's net income is typically between ten and twenty pounds. Though women tolerate far lower pay than men, and it is not important to their gender identity in the way it is for men (see p.190), they too have limits of acceptability. One woman was berated by her aunt for doing the doctor's cleaning for £8 a week (some years ago): "Even the nigs nogs wouldn't work for that! You're worse than the darkies!". To accept lower wages than those previously earned is considered self-diminishing. Thus a skilled heavy plant operator who had been paid £200 a week "clear" (take home pay) in his last job felt he would be devaluing himself to accept much less elsewhere. I will return to the topic of taking low paid work in Chapter Seven (p.343 and 355).

Achieving an approved level of consumption for one's family and equating one's earnings with one's personal worth both give a moral dimension to employment, but the monetary implications are more complicated than this. Whenever motivation for a job is discussed the financial arguments are inevitably deemed paramount, but in practice people's actions do not always accord with this legitimizing rationale. Twice men have belittled enquiries as to why they work, stating adamantly that it was simply to earn money: as soon as they found they were gaining no more than the dole they would stop. But their wives then told me that their husbands could never stop working, whatever they were paid: "it's built into you, work". It would seem that in our capitalist society the expression of non-financial
reasons for employment, even if the worker is conscious of them, is discouraged. Henry has noted that some explanations are counted as valid motives and not others:

"Those which are acceptable explanations in our society are the ones which relate the economic implications of certain kinds of action to the notion of individual property rights .... In other words, what counts as an explanation must be economically rational."

(Henry 1978:118)

A structure to one's time.

Apart from money there are two principal things that people state they value in paid work, though they are expressed more as part of the frustration of unemployment than as conscious reasons for doing a job. One is the temporal structure that employment gives to a person's life. It seems that there is a general desire for the discipline and time structure involved in working, revealed by the common wish for a 40 hour working week which is one of the main reasons stated for people's reluctance to be self-employed. When asked what they would do with the extra time if they could earn a good wage in only twenty hours, several people answered that they would look for another job to fill the day. Even when on holiday workers in Cauldmosk sometimes complain in the second week that "...it's too long: you get fed up". The need for temporal order in our lives is emphasised by Jahoda in her social-physchological analysis of unemployment:

"Foremost among these other consequences is the enforced destruction of a habitual time structure for the waking day with the sudden onset of unemployment. In modern industrialised societies the experience of time is shaped
by public institutions ... but when this structure is removed ... its absence presents a major psychological burden."

(Jahoda 1982:22)

It is the time structure of employment which gives meaning and value to that period away from work - leisure time. Essentially there is no leisure without employment. Leisure hours complement working hours, not substitute for them, and part of the appeal of leisure is its relative scarcity.

Judging from the importance of the time structure and the separate locality of one's employment, it seems that the substance of paid work is less significant than its form. It is as if the most important thing for men is that they go out to work in the morning with their "piece", come back dirty, wash, have tea, and then maybe go out to the pub; they have the weekend to look forward to through the week, and the local trades fair (that is, the annual holiday) to look forward to through the year.

Changed environment.

The other principal thing that people say they value in employment is the changed environment which the work place gives, enabling a person to "git out the house" and relate to another social group. This aspect of employment is particularly significant in Cauldmosss where for most people paid work provides them with their only opportunity to develop social contacts outside the village on a daily basis. This is particularly the case with women, who often state that meeting more people is as important a motive in seeking a job as earning some independent income.
For men, going to work not only means a change of environment but it also allows them to get out of the woman's domain during the day. It is clear how important this is from the way unemployed married men try to find occupations to keep them out of the house as long as possible. Some men say that one motive certain individuals have to take a job, even for less money than their social security payments, is to avoid their marriage breaking up because of rows caused by the husband's presence in his wife's sphere. Similarly the difficulties that couples often have in adjusting to the husband's retirement are frequently related to the necessity of renegotiating the female and male domains.

ALIENATION.

"... the miner enters into the process of production by selling his labour power to an owner of capital....

"The role of the worker is not to direct production, it is to put himself at the disposal of the employer for a certain period of time. As a consequence of his labour power being bought by the employer, the product of his labour is alienated from the immediate producer, the labourer, and is appropriated by the employer.... This fact of the worker being only the repository of a commodity (labour power), bought by the employer, ... [leads to] numerous consequences including the superficial phenomena of 'the attitude of men to their work' ... there is a sense in which every worker suffers 'monotony'. It is not the monotony of the operations he carries out, considered in their concrete aspect, so much as the tendency for his work to be directed and controlled entirely from outside himself."

(Dennis, Henriques & Slaughter 1956:27-28)
To give some meaning to one's time, to have a change of surroundings and above all, to earn money, are the three main motives for employment that people in Cauldmoss talk about. It is striking how few ever mention getting any satisfaction from the actual activity of working, or from the product of their work. Employment is generally assumed to be boring and though a few say you should enjoy your work and some express appreciation of the less monotonous jobs, they rarely say they would do them if it was for less money than alternative tedious work. The overriding logic in any choice of occupation is "mair money", and in describing their employment history people often talk of switching jobs "to follow the cash". Men remember how fifteen years ago one might be working alongside someone in another firm on a large site and hear that they were better paid. One would switch jobs immediately, maybe for "threepence mair an hour", and sometimes work with three different firms in a week. But the move was never made because of conditions or type of work, only for the pay or travel allowances. The low priority in job satisfaction and high interest in good wages might be a legacy of people's mining background, since for generations work was relatively unskilled hard graft for which comparatively high wages were expected (see Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter 1956: 174-5). It would be very interesting to compare these ideas on work with a community that has a tradition of skilled crafts; contrasting attitudes have been found by Turner in a Scottish fishing village (Willis & Turner 1980).

Jahoda's review of the literature on employment experiences in manufacturing industries throughout the world suggests that most work on the shop floor is "degraded and degrading" (Jahoda 1982:41). Whether in Sweden (Palm 1977), Hungary (Haraszti 1977), America (Kornhauser 1965), France (Linhart 1976) or Britain (Beynon 1973) the jobs are physically exhausting and soul-destroying.
Employees' estrangement from their work is manifested in many different ways. Most people usually change out of their work clothes as soon as they return home, whether or not they are dirty, which might be seen as a ritual delineation from their jobs. Distancing oneself from one's product is common: a sewing machinist at a Wranglers factory said she would never buy Wranglers jeans, nor would anyone else in the workforce, even though they could get them a bit cheaper. As with alienated Ford car workers (Beynon 1973:110), she acknowledged that the products from her factory were in fact probably no worse than those of other companies. There is a general feeling that employees "don't owe" their firms or employers anything, in terms of attendance when feeling ill, giving notice when leaving the job and so on, and the avoidance of work while in the workplace is widely condoned, if not admired.

Despite the increased demand for jobs and the often precarious position of those in employment, a great deal of "skiving" occurs on the job. In contrast with most of the other values that have been discussed in this study which are primarily learnt in the village, the accepted levels of shirking work, how much is regarded as lazy, attitudes to the boss and to productivity schemes, are all values transmitted primarily in the workplace. A striking case is that of a Cauldmoss miner who was proud to tell how he is the only man working in his street, yet went on to talk of how he fooled the Coal Board officials when they calculated the productivity rates, thus enabling him to get bonus payments with very little extra work. Again the economic rationale rendered this acceptable. Getting out of work early or feigning sickness is not uncommon, and the local doctor is renowned for his willingness to "gie you a line" on almost any pretext. Just as the money earned in a job is usually more important than the actual occupation for someone's social status in Cauldmoss, so the structure of employment - being seen to be in a job - is more important than what someone does within it. Being productive plays a negligible part in a person's identity as a worker.
This suggests that occupational status is of less consequence to individuals' self-definition in Cauldmoss than Jahoda implies (Jahoda 1982:26). The strongest form of occupational identity that has existed in the village was certainly that of coal mining, and this still lingers amongst a generation who have not worked in the pits themselves (as was described earlier: p.152). In contrast the jobs to be found in the vicinity of Cauldmoss are generally neither life-long nor have "a firm profile" (Berger 1975: 166), and so are unlikely to replace the inherited occupational identity. As Brown concluded from his study of the Newcastle labour market, there is an increasingly remote chance for manual workers to find jobs with which they can identify (Brown 1985: 474). However there are two exceptions to this general situation: time-served tradesmen have a strong occupational identity, and some people, particularly older folk, distinguish between manual and mental work and devalue modern jobs as "not real work" because they involve little physical effort.

One facet of the alienated concept of employment, that it is done primarily for money and is inevitably boring and unenjoyable, is the amazement that greets a man doing work-like activity without payment. The idea that such activities can be rewarding for non-monetary reasons is foreign to Cauldmoss. Very few men do "voluntary work", and they are always concerned that any expenses incurred, for instance in helping at the Community Centre, should be swiftly repaid. The commitment of a few men to lead and coach village football teams is understandable because of the company and sport involved, but to do an intrinsically tedious job in support of an organization simply because of one's beliefs, such as posting Labour Party leaflets through doors, is incomprehensible to most people. When a man learned that Anne Marie and myself were continuing our research work while on Unemployment Benefit, and furthermore that we paid ourselves, to travel to the university each fortnight, he was incredulous: "You're a fuckin' nut case!".
It is significant that although Cauldmoss women do not take on many voluntary activities, their involvement in the Community Centre, church socials and prize bingos is considered less odd than if men were to do these things. In part these tasks are regarded as an extension of their domestic duties (described previously p.108), in particular helping with children and old folk in the Centre, but there is a further reason why more female voluntary work is done. The equation of wages with personal worth is particularly important for men, and their earning capacity is associated with their masculinity. This will be discussed in the next section. Suffice to say, a woman's identity is not undermined by doing work for free in the way that a man's is. The oddity of doing unpaid work has particular consequences for men's response to unemployment, to be considered in Chapter Seven (p.343).

ADULTHOOD AND MASCULINITY.

I have described the immediate motives that people state for wanting employment, and emphasized that it is expected to be devoid of intrinsic interest. Yet paid work has other meanings which are rarely referred to explicitly but are nevertheless highly important.

Men in their 30s and over remember how they longed to leave school at fourteen or fifteen in order to take any employment, however arduous: "we couldn't leave the school quick enough", ... "you were brought up to work". Paid work was seen as the most important transition to adulthood, and it still has this significance for those school leavers lucky enough to get it. Even an afternoon's work splitting logs for an odd-jobs man is eagerly sought by school leavers. Employment means being old enough for someone to think that one's labour is worth buying, and having sold one's labour the wage gives one "an independence" from one's parents. Financial autonomy from one's
family is usually only expressed in the paying of "dig money" to one's mother, but it is an extremely important concept in growing up. I will discuss how teenagers confirm their maturity through their spending in the next chapter (p.270). When a lad starts work he often assumes a slightly different relationship to others in his family, and is frequently waited on by his mother as if he is a secondary 'breadwinner'.

In the section on gender in the previous chapter I concluded (p.127) by describing how women's subservience in the working class is exacerbated by the association of physical labour with masculinity. Far from being an economic inevitability, as Bourdieu implies (1984:384), this connection is based on the ideological exclusion of women. Their employment is seen as secondary to that of the 'breadwinner', and their manual domestic work is largely ignored. So physical labour is suffused with masculine qualities and though intrinsically meaningless it is interpreted as an expression of manhood. In Willis' terms, "... a transformed patriarchy has filled it with significance from the outside" (Willis 1977:150). The term "working men", which is by far the most common way males in Cauldsmoss describe themselves, is significant not only in its omission of class (see p.93) but also in the way the two central concepts of "work" and "men" are continually merged in everyday speech. It is worth noting, in passing, that very different cultures share this association. Pocock (1975:106) highlights Malinowski's observation that the Trobrianders' basic ideas about manhood are related to their efforts and skill in horticulture.

The attributes of masculinity in Cauldsmoss are reinforced by the nature of typical male employment, and as Willis illustrated so vividly from his study of rebellious male school leavers, the sacrifice and strength required in a job provide self-esteem. He argues that the brutality of paid work is understood more through the masculine toughness required in confronting the task than through the
nature of the system imposing it (Willis 1977:150). Men like to talk in the pub of how arduous their work is and the conditions they have to endure: "...hardest work in the building trade — your hands are red raw". Employment around the Shetlands in connection with the oil (which is now virtually finished) still provides good anecdotes, such as having to work in thermal suits provided by the firm, or suffering the storms: "...see where the two seas meet — the Atlantic and the North Sea — fuckin' terrible ...". Strength is often considered as virtually synonymous with being a hard worker, and older men are proud of their sons on these grounds: "...doing the work of three brickies ... he's a worker ... can't stand idle". The dirt, noise and monotony that might be in a job, and the strength and self-discipline needed to "hold it down", are almost valued as challenges which, by being overcome, establish one's masculinity. Given how traditional values are in Cauldmoss, the association between work and masculinity might be all the stronger in the village as a legacy of coal mining. Since D.H. Lawrence and Orwell, miners have epitomized the equation of "elemental work and essential masculinity", and Campbell devoted a whole chapter of her Wigan Pier Revisited to describe the "militant masculinity" of the miners, opening with the paragraph:

"The socialist movement in Britain has been swept off its feet by the magic of masculinity, muscle and machinery. And in its star system, the accolades go to the miners — they've been through hell, fire, earth and water to become hardened into heroes. It is masculinity at its most macho that seems to fascinate men."

(Campbell 1984:97)

The manly attributes of physical work are extended to a man's earnings, by a simple association between harder work and greater pay, and this is reinforced by the man's role of providing for his family.
"... this idea, 'I'm the man of the family'. Whether you've got a family or not doesn't matter, you're supposed to be a macho man, like, go out and earn a wage, like, you know. When you can't do that it makes you less of a man in other people's eyes....".

Earlier I described how the wage is seen as a measure of personal worth (p.180), irrespective of gender, yet wages have far greater significance than this. The wage packet is "the particular prize of masculinity in work", both because the man is held to be the breadwinner and because the wage is "won in a masculine mode", according to Willis. The implications of this are considerable: "The wage packet as a kind of symbol of machismo dictates the domestic culture and economy and tyrannises both men and women." (Willis 1977: 150).

The sacrifice of energy and comfort that men make in order to earn a wage for their families gives them an emotional hold over others in the household who are seen to have made less of a sacrifice. These ideas are at the core of the ethic that man ought to be in employment, which will be discussed in the next section. Furthermore the emphasis on men's role as breadwinners "has subordinated all other dimensions of their workplace politics to the politics of pay - their own pay" (Campbell 1984:147). At the same time the masculine prestige earned by disciplining oneself to dirty, strenuous, monotonous employment means men do not consider the improvement of their working conditions an overriding priority. Campbell notes how working men no longer contemplate ownership or control over the means of production, and those who believe in their work rarely have any procedure by which to fight for and improve the work itself. Instead the premium is on pay, and this

"economism ... is a function of the political priority of a trade union movement based on men's self-interest as breadwinners, ... and on individual families' self-
sufficiency supposedly achieved through men's wage as the family wage."

(Campbell 1984:151)

THE WORK ETHIC.

In one sense the values associated with employment that I have been describing could all be regarded as constituents of a work ethic. They give a moral dimension to employment and oblige people, particularly men, to do regular paid work if they are not to be abnormal. However the term 'work ethic' is often used in a far more incisive way than this, either in the very specific sense of the moral obligation to be industrious (best known through Weber's The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1930)), or in the broad sense of everyone expecting employment to be a central part of their lives (e.g. Clemitson and Rodgers 1981).

In Cauldmos's admiration for "hard workers" is frequently expressed. When one analyzes the moral statements about "work" it becomes clear that they nearly all refer to employment, the exceptions usually related to women. This is not surprising since the dominant meaning of "work" in Cauldmos's is paid employment, as I have previously described (p.171). In this section I will argue that the values generally referred to as being part of a 'work ethic' are better understood as constituting an 'employment ethic'.

Historical origins.

The problems of to what extent the work disciplines of industrial capitalism were internalized by the working class, and how this happened, are extraordinarily profound, and the answers have enormous implications. In simple terms, if Weber's thesis is correct then
religion and ideas can give rise to new economic systems, but if a materialist analysis is considered more plausible then moral and religious beliefs are shaped by economic forces. Apart from the academic ramifications of this debate it has great relevance to the current attitudes of the unemployed towards employment. Pahl refers to Reid’s case study of work discipline in Birmingham from 1766 to 1876, which suggests that the workers’ greater acceptance of their bosses’ work routine had more to do with their increased desire for money than the success of their employers’ discipline.

"If Reid is correct in claiming that personal consumption was the key element leading to a form of accommodation between capital and labour, then this provides an independent 'cultural' motor for social change. Critics would claim that this so-called independent motor was more a product of the manipulations of the capitalist market. Either way, there is an important issue to explore: if people can develop new cultural practices endogenously, then presumably they can do so again when the pattern of work is once more being restructured and renegotiated. If, on the other hand, they are easily manipulated by capitalist commercial interests, they may be equally easily manipulated by more progressive and altruistic interventions."

(Pahl 1984:46)

Although the origins of the employment ethic are so pertinent to modern de-industrialized Britain, I must leave the question to other writers. In this section I will simply describe and analyze the moral attitudes that are currently expressed in Cauldmoss in relation to employment.
Expressions of moral attitudes regarding work.

In the course of general conversations numerous approving references are made to working hard, critical comments made about those who do not work, and assumptions stated that everyone (in particular men) will, or wants to, work most of his or her life. For both sexes one of the greatest accolades is to be described as "a guid worker", and the fact that someone is a "hard worker" or has "worked all their days" is frequently their most important credential. Wives are proud of their husbands' commitment to work - "John's never been a day off his work", "never been idle" - sometimes even admiring them for taking a job that pays less than they might get on benefits, and men commend their colleagues with comments like: "they men worked" or "he never missed a shift". Similarly workers often take pride in their record of continual employment: even in snow storms "I've always got through to my work"; despite illness - in one case even a sprained wrist - they have not gone off sick; and "I've never been on the bru all my life.... I've always earnt my money ... never lived on the state". The moral value of work is often clearly expressed when villagers try to establish the respectability of Cauldmoss: "The majority are decent, hard working folk".

The corollary of this praise for work is a widespread condemnation of those who are not employed. Frequently this is expressed in jokes, for example a family teasing a lad who got his first job since leaving school two years before: "he's never worked in his life!" said a brother scornfully, and his mother added "You won't know what's wrong wi' you!". Others are described as being "immune" from work and are those that had, as "Rabbie Burns said, never feared laziness". The accusation of laziness is very common - "'Ye do get that label if ye're no workin'" - and many condemn half the unemployed for preferring to "sit in the hoose" and have the government keep them rather than find work. Some are far more extreme in their criticism: a young wife told me "quite a lot" of the unemployed
actually do not want to work, they are happier on the dole. "They're just fuckin' lazy!", she said, and, at a loss as to what should be done with them, mentioned shooting them.

Whatever the current shortage of jobs it is still regarded as axiomatic by most people in Cauldmoss that employment should be central to a man's life. Going out to work every day through the week, eleven months of the year, from the age of sixteen to sixty five, is still considered the normal lot of "working men". Mass unemployment is a temporary phase which perhaps a third of the work force are suffering, but there is no serious consideration that their fundamental destiny as "workers" is at an end. Even the young unemployed find it difficult to conceive of anything different. Several times I discussed the level of benefits with them, which they were unanimous were too low, but when asked what Supplementary Benefit should be they only suggested modest sums like £27 a week. When asked, "Why not £40 a week?" they smiled at the idea, but said no, then nobody would work. A man in his twenties told me: "I reckon maist o' your young generation definitely want to work ... no question about it. Because it's the only thing to do - it's the system. And ye can't beat the system". The conservatism of people's views about the future of employment will be dealt with in Chapter Seven (p.346).

Many people of middle age or older say the worst aspect of the present unemployment is that teenagers have nothing to leave school for and they cannot get the experience of working. But this sympathy for the young in their inability to get jobs is usually mixed with concern at what the lack of employment discipline is doing to them. "Aye, 'cos you're better workin' - to me - it'll ruin them: they get into mischief", said an old woman of her grandchildren. A father talked about how it was impossible to get his son into an apprenticeship now, and the general effect of unemployment on the young is "... how fuckin' cheeky the wains are ... wains are wasted ... I'd have National Service back ... would learn you something". His daughter
only gets up at eleven each morning because she has nothing to get up for: it would be better if they gave her a job for her "bru money", like an apprentice hairdresser, so she would learn a skill and do something for her money. This last opinion is widely held amongst older people:

"It's no helpin' them ... gettin' all that and no' doin' anything for it ... I don't think it's good for them at all - they're no' goin' to try to get away from it [gettin' things for nothing]. I don't think it's goin' to help them in later life."

An employment ethic.

An analysis of the many commendations of hard work heard in Cauldmoss suggests that the moral imperative is rather more specific than simply: 'one ought to work'. Certainly the activity of hard physical work is sometimes valued in its own right (usually when it is related to masculine prowess), but most of the time what is admired is people's subjection to the rigours of employment. I want to argue that the moral values surrounding work are best understood as an employment ethic, rather than a vague work ethic. The essence of this employment ethic is that a man disciplines himself to earn money for himself or his family, and the extent of hardship suffered to this end is an expression of his manhood (as described in the preceding section).

This idea of an employment ethic makes sense of the numerous references to the form of employment and little mention of its substance. Thus men are praised for having "worked all their days" and having "never missed a shift", but the productivity or quality of their work is hardly ever referred to. Being industrious is not what is admired by the rest of the village, and this attribute is usually only dis-
cussed amongst work mates who are working on a self-employed basis. For such people, such as those on large building sites, there is clearly financial self-interest in both working fast (to finish the job quickly) and well (to get further work sub-contracted to them). Furthermore, the discussion of working conditions in these cases is usually mixed up with a positive evaluation of extremely arduous activities which by their nature are seen to be manly.

For most workers the thing that is admired by their colleagues and, more particularly, by the community at large is their ability to stand the demands of employment over a long period. Having to do strenuous work in the job if one is to keep it obviously means one's qualities are even greater, but so too does one’s record of regular punctuality, the ability to work long hours overtime and to overcome minor ailments to get to work. This evaluation of employment is expressed in the concern that older people feel about the young not experiencing the discipline of a working life. In short, what is admired about a "good worker" is his ability "to hold down a job", to use a revealing phrase.

As often happens changes in, or the absence of, a long established institution reveal features in that institution which had previously been hidden or ignored. Understanding the moral values surrounding work in terms of an employment ethic is given particular validity by the moral obligations which unemployed men have regarding work. They feel no constraint to be productive, hard manual work has little merit in its own right, and doing unpaid work is, in fact, considered dubious rather than admirable. These values will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

An integral part of the employment ethic is earning money, as the attitudes of the unemployed indicate. The discipline of a working life, which (in its absence) has come to be valued in its own right, is really the means to an end - earning the wage to support first
oneself as an independent adult and later one's family. In the previous section I described how the wage packet is "the particular prize of masculinity in work", due to the way it is earned and to the traditional role of the man as provider for the family (p.191). Willis gives a fine description of how men discipline themselves to the rigours of a job for the sake of their families, which is at the core of the employment ethic:

"Often there is an element of self-sacrifice in men's attitude to work - a slow spending of the self through the daily cycle of effort, comfort, food, sleep, effort. But this sacrifice brings the wage which keeps the home fires burning and, besides, "the kids will have a better chance". So there is dignity and meaning, even in sacrifice. It also gives a kind of emotional power - a hold over other members of the family who do not make the sacrifice."

(Willis 1984:13)

The idea that regular employment is experienced as a kind of sacrifice, either for one's family or more generally for the nation, is suggested by the frequent association of working with fighting for one's country, made by those old enough to have done both. "I see people running about the village who've never worked and never fought in the war, and they get a new suit every year off the public assistance ... I never minded working in my life."

If the 'work ethic' is better understood as an 'employment ethic' - essentially, suffering the hardships of employment to earn the "family wage" - then where does this leave women? Though I have already restricted myself to dealing with the men's world, two points seem worth mentioning. First, young women appear to face moral pressure to get a job in the way that young men do, though it is not such a great imperative and they are expected to give up employment when they start a family. Certainly the discipline of a regular job
is valued for women as well as men, which suggests that the 'employment ethic' is not just about masculinity. Second, when a woman gets married her moral obligation to work is extended to cover practically all the domestic chores (described previously, p.108-111) and this is exacerbated when she has children. The same kind of moral censure is applied to women who are seen to neglect their house work as to men who are thought of as work shy, and women are frequently apologetic about the state of their houses as if constantly guilty that they could have worked harder. No doubt this is related to the woman's role as guardian of the family's respectability (see p.126), but it could also be viewed as consistent with the rationale of supporting the family which lies behind the employment ethic. For women this obligation involves domestic work as much as it does employment.

Just rewards: employment and reciprocity.

The expectation that a life of hard work should be rewarded, and the concomitant resentment felt against those who seem to prosper without ever having really worked, are part of a belief that one's sacrifice should not have been in vain. This notion is reinforced by the fundamental principle of reciprocity, according to which people lose their esteem when they receive something for nothing. These ideas are often expressed by people in Cauldmoss in relation to the decisions by authorities about entitlement to benefits, rebates, houses and so on, decisions that are frequently viewed as arbitrary or unjust.

The operation of the means test is considered particularly iniquitous. Why should someone whose husband had worked hard all his life and saved for their retirement now have to pay the council rent, when the neighbour who hardly worked at all is getting almost complete rent rebate? Why should a self-employed butcher who has had an accident be denied Supplementary Benefit because he owns too much,
despite the fact that "I've never been off my work, paid stamps every week ... ", while others who have been idle all their lives get all sorts of special payments? Others are indignant that their children cannot get council houses, even though they themselves have worked all their days, never missing a shift, yet other families in which no one has ever done a serious job get allocated a house whenever one of the children applies.

Many of those in work are proud that they are earning their money, and they imply it is degrading to be "living off the state", waiting for a giro to come through one's door. Many also resent the size of benefits the unemployed receive, in particular the occasional Single Payments they used to get. Those families which are identified as always having been idle, even when jobs were to be found, are begrudged practically all their benefits. The ethic that people ought to earn their money through employment is manifest in the inconsistent attitudes towards defrauding the DHSS which are often expressed: whereas people often condemn those who make illicit claims for special needs etc., sometimes the same people bitterly attack the authorities for being zealous in detecting work done on the side. The former is regarded as cheating the state while the latter is seen as a legitimate effort to earn a livelihood.

The principle of reciprocity, understood in the simple sense that one should give something in return for what one gets, when combined with the employment ethic explains why the take-up for contributory benefits is significantly higher than the take-up for non-contributory benefits. It also explains why there is less stigma attached to receiving Unemployment Benefit than to receiving Supplementary Benefit, particularly amongst older claimants.
The economic context.

It is important to note that the employment ethic and the moral worth accorded to the "good worker" are values that have developed in circumstances of subordination. This is evident simply from observing who is subject to these values: the boss would never be described as "a good worker" however industrious he was, anymore than the House of Lords would be described as "work shy". In a previous section I described the alienated concept of employment that most people in Cauldmoss have, knowing that they will have no control to direct their work and expecting it to be boring, repetitive, unenjoyable, and probably strenuous (p.171 and 186). It will already be apparent that the rigours of employment which a "good worker" must subject himself to are exactly those most likely to alienate him. Given employees' powerlessness to control the conditions of their jobs, the employment ethic seems to be a way in which they can make sense of their experience of work. The only aspect of their employment left within their influence, their endurance under the pressures of the job, is accorded great moral significance in a kind of internalized alienation. If employment can never be anything more than a means to the end of providing for oneself and one's family, and if it is always going to be an unpleasurable experience, then at least a virtue can be made of necessity. Since for at least a century the people of Cauldmoss and their forebears have had to sell their labour in order to feed their families, it seems quite probable that the merit accorded to the second task was extended to the first, so that the same moral obligation came to apply to both.

It is not surprising that having sacrificed themselves to employment for most of their lives, older people harbour a grudge against the young unemployed who seem to be getting the rewards of work without suffering it. The moral duty to support one's family had become so indistinguishable from the obligation to be employed that people of middle age or older sometimes value disciplined employment even when
it earns no more than the social security for which they would be eligible. Today the necessity of employment has been undermined (not to mention the possibility), but for many the virtue still remains.

Differing evaluations of employment amongst age groups.

Different economic circumstances prompt differing evaluations of employment, as well as exposing the dissimilarities between age groups. So far I have suggested that beliefs about work in Cauldmoss are fairly homogenous, but in fact there are significant differences in the degree to which the employment ethic is held. For convenience one can characterize the difference in attitudes between the old and the young, but it is important to stress that there is no clear division between age groups and considerable variation within them. A few youngsters express a greater attachment to arduous employment than most people in the generation above them hold, and vice versa: the general trend is complicated by personal histories, family upbringing, individual psychology and so on. Nevertheless it is valid to make some cautious generalizations. These are based largely on the priorities revealed when people face the 'unemployment trap': the situation where the highest wage someone can hope to get is worth little more than the welfare benefits to which their household is entitled. The causes for the unemployment trap and how people respond to it will be considered in detail in Chapter Seven (p.355); here I will simply mention what we can learn about attitudes to employment.

The oldest people in Cauldmoss, in general those over 60, have an extremely strong employment ethic. It would appear that remuneration is not the overriding value they attach (or attached) to their jobs, and instead the non-material benefits such as time structure, changed environment, masculine identity, moral worth and so on are more important. They are prone to condemn the younger generation because
"they'll neither work nor want". Those between about 30 and 60 seem to share the employment ethic of the older generation, though in a rather weaker form, but the wage is much more central to their concerns particularly because they often have a family to support. The young seem to accord little value to disciplined work. Though they do not seriously consider a future life without any employment, their reason for wanting jobs is almost exclusively financial. Unless a job is likely to give an opportunity for a future, better paid, career, in general the young are not prepared to take low paid, uninteresting jobs. They readily admit that they would not work as hard as, or in the same conditions as, their fathers, but they still ascribe masculine attitudes to manual labour. Though the differences between the generations are certainly related to the stages people are at in their life cycles, I think they have more to do with social change, in particular the different experiences of the labour market which these age-cohorts have had.

ALLOCATIONS OF THE WAGE: CONTROL OR RESPONSIBILITY?

Concentrating on one particular dimension of social life always leads to difficulties because, in reality, things cannot be separated out so easily. There is a particular problem in focusing on men's attitudes to employment and consumption because within Cauldmoss (and the working class of Britain in general) it is usually women who spend the greater part of the wage that men earn. Rather than restricting myself in the next chapter to the main commodities which men generally buy themselves - cars, drinks, clothes, cigarettes and newspapers - I will also consider those things which men use as essential parts of their lives but which a female relative (usually their wife) has purchased. This calls into question how wages are distributed within a household, for this is the crucial basis of the interrelationship between employment and consumption. Who has responsibility for which expenditure, and does this responsibility actu-
ally mean having control over spending? The importance of this last distinction has been noted by several people before (e.g. Edwards 1981, Kerr and Charles 1986), and Pahl observed that when incomes are low managing the budget is a chore rather than a source of power within a marriage (Pahl 1979).

In our Second Questionnaire we asked respondents "who is in charge of the money in this household?" (Q.13), and does their spouse give them, or do they give their spouse, a certain amount each week, or simply as they need it? (Q.14). 44 couples were questioned and slightly over half said that the woman is in charge of the household income, a quarter said that neither spouse is in charge, and about a sixth said that the husband is in charge. The phrase "in charge" is regrettably nebulous, but a clearer picture of control and responsibility can be gained from the answers to Q.14. The most salient figures are tabulated over the page:

Table 4.6: Person said to be in charge of household money: 2nd Quest., Q.13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>&quot;No one&quot;</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All wives asked</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All husbands asked</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All couples with wife employed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All couples (excluding retired)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All couples asked by A.M. Bostyn</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All couples asked by D. Wight</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All couples under 50</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All couples over 50</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All couples not retired</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All couples retired</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All couples in council houses</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All couples in private houses</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All respondents</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.7: How household money is allocated: 2nd Quest., Q.14.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wife in Charge</th>
<th>Husband in Charge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wife in charge</td>
<td>10 38% *</td>
<td>5 71% @</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband in charge</td>
<td>2 8% *</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse given regular amount &quot;pocket money&quot; or &quot;housekeeping&quot;</td>
<td>10 38% *</td>
<td>5 71% @</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse given irregular amount</td>
<td>2 8% *</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse retains some</td>
<td>6 23% +</td>
<td>1 14% @</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse given as needed</td>
<td>6 23% **</td>
<td>1 14% @</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint decision but woman keeps money</td>
<td>1 4% *</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No pocket money given</td>
<td>1 4% *</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likely implications of budget arrangements:

* Woman has responsibility and control
+ Woman has responsibility but little control
@ Woman has little responsibility and virtually no control

Tables 4.6 and 4.7 suggest a considerable range in the way that wages are allocated in Cauldmoss households. At one extreme is the 'whole wage system' where women exercise considerable control as well as responsibility, in that they are handed the whole of their husbands' wage and they make all the decisions on spending. The most common way for the income to be divided when the woman is said to be in charge, is for her to give her husband "spending money" or "pocket money" each week, this normally being a constant sum. In a few households the wage packet is actually handed over unopened, a practice that is very significant to those concerned. A woman whose husband is now unemployed told me:

"I always saw his wage packet. It's no a good man that doesnie show his wife the wage packet ... that doesnie give his wife the money ... they're the drinkers an' gamblers".
Women also have significant control as well as responsibility for income when there is shared financial decision making by partners. It is striking that with nine of the eleven couples who were said to have no one person in charge of the money, it was the husband who was questioned. This suggests that men might like to imagine they partake in joint financial decisions, while women regard this responsibility as their own. Table 4.6 shows that when the wife is employed a higher proportion of couples said that she is in charge of income.

The responsibility wives feel for their house and family means that if they are employed they generally add their own (usually very low) wage to the housekeeping money, rarely reserving any for their personal enjoyment. As one employed woman told me, her earnings go "into the house too. No such a thing, Danny, as keeping it aside for yourself!"

When wives who are said to be in charge give their husbands money "as he needs it", it is difficult to know if they have significant control over the household budget or whether they are subject to their spouses' every demand. Certainly amongst those couples where the husband retains some of his wage and only pays his wife "housekeeping money" the woman has to undertake major responsibilities with severely restricted control, even though she is "in charge". This was the arrangement in the majority of Ashton households, the husband paying his wife a constant amount for housekeeping. The advantage of this system for the wife was that she got a fixed amount whatever the vicissitudes of the miner's weekly earnings; the disadvantage was that when he was on a good wage a large proportion of it went on his personal amusement, leaving nothing saved for "a bad patch" at which time the whole family would suffer (Dennis et al. 1956: 187-8). This kind of arrangement is conducive to a ready-spending ethic amongst men, which will be described later (p.253). In Cauldmoss only about a quarter of the couples we questioned had this kind of arrangement: six of those who said that the wife is in charge and five (the vast majority) of those who said that the husband is in charge.
It should be noted that in Cauldmoss whether the husband hands over his whole wage packet or just a certain sum for housekeeping, this transfer is an important act for him which he sometimes refers to with a note of pride. This could be a further expression of the employment ethic, for passing over the wage is the culmination of the sacrifice that a husband has made for his family. The man will also be aware that to a large extent a wife still judges her husband primarily on his ability to ensure security for her household by providing a steady weekly income (Dennis et al. 1956: 187, Hoggart 1957: 58).

Those households where women have least responsibility and virtually no control over the budget are the ones where the husband is said to be in charge of the money, giving his wife a regular "wage", or, in one case, money as she needs it. In some families like this the wife never knows how much her husband is earning, and he guards the information jealously as a safeguard to his domestic superiority. In one family where the wife was resigned to being kept in ignorance about her husband's wage - "According to me it's sixty odds, according to me". - he was earning £105 a week take home pay. In this case the husband felt his responsibilities ended when he had paid her the "sixty odd": "She gets the housekeeping money. I dinnie bother after that.... I like to make sure everthin's paid". In another household the wife thought it a joke when I asked if she gets handed the wage packet: "Christ, on Friday night I have to go looking for him to get the wages!".

If three crude categories are formulated based on the woman's presumed responsibility and control of household income, then Tables 4.6 and 4.7 can be used to give a very rough assessment of the distribution of households within each. In Table 4.7 I have already indicated how the various arrangements for allocating money are interpreted according to these categories.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>who is said to be in charge</th>
<th>responsibility and significant but little responsibility, virtually no control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wives</td>
<td>14-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husbands</td>
<td>6-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;no one&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>25-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proportion of 44 couples as %</td>
<td>57-70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that for the most part budgeting the household income is, to varying degrees, the woman's responsibility. Even when it was stated that the husband is in charge of the money these men nearly always give their wives housekeeping money.

Leaving aside those couples where there really is shared decision making on most aspects of expenditure (perhaps seven out of 44 couples, taking into account supplementary comments), in general the wife has control over spending on food, cleaning and toiletry articles, decorating, furnishing, children's spending money and clothes. At least a quarter, and maybe as many as half, of all women either supervise their husbands' clothes purchases or actually buy their husbands' clothes on their own. The things that are frequently the man's responsibility, even when the woman has overall control of the money, are spending on the car, cigarettes, alcohol, particular pets the husband might keep such as pigeons, and sometimes the major bills like the rent, electricity and coal. Things are rarely clear cut, however, and the husband might have to beg an extra £3 "spending money" off his wife before he can go to the club and buy her a drink.
People in private houses seem to share financial responsibilities more frequently than those in council houses, which is in keeping with the less segregated gender roles normally associated with middle class culture. It might also be a result of the different kind of economic concerns affecting private house dwellers: costs of repairs, extensions, and above all, the mortgage. These are the sort of "large matters" that are seen as the man's responsibility, or at least not solely the woman's, which do not exist in council houses. The same proportion of private house couples said that the husband is in charge of the money as with council house tenants, but a substantially lower proportion said that the wife is in charge.

In the majority of households where the woman is responsible for the bulk of domestic expenditure there is a striking lack of discussion between partners about how money should be spent. The only important exception, which I will return to later, is discussion about the major financial decisions like holidays and cars. Apart from this one gets the impression that neither of them thinks that there is much choice to be made. When I asked couples if they discussed household spending together the replies were consistent: "No' really. No' really enough to discuss ... " or jokingly: "Generally Martha's got it spent and we discuss how it's paid later", and again: "No' that much to discuss how to spend it.... She gets the money and decides how to spend it - it's always been like that". This perceived lack of options is in part due to low incomes which do not allow for 'discretionary income' (a culturally determined idea, to be discussed in the next chapter), and in part due to the homogeneity of consumer values in Cauldmoss. The absence of discussion on spending is also related to the entrenched division of domestic labour and responsibilities between the sexes (described before, p.108-113), and in particular women's roles as guardians of their families' respectability, as defined and displayed in their lifestyle (p.126). It is no surprise that husbands should defer to their wives' expertise in these matters, especially since too much interest might
seem effeminate.

Yet the circulation of money is not quite as simple as a sixteen year old daughter suggested in an interview: "Mother, ... she does all the financial side of it. My father works for the money, my mother dishes it out, seems to be." Although the vast majority of married women have responsibility for their household's income, the main person they are responsible to is their husband. This is evident from the way that managing the budget well is regarded as one of the principal duties of a wife. Men are proud of their wives' competence in financial matters, praising them as "good handlers" and wives are anxious to fulfil their husbands' expectations. When the council made a mistake and sent a woman notice of £80 rent arrears she was outraged, exclaiming: "I'll never let my husband say I was nie payin' the rent!". Furthermore, in those households where there is little discussion about the weekly budget, on occasions when exceptional decisions have to be made, or when the established routine is to be changed, the husband is likely to be consulted. This suggests that the wife is ultimately answerable to her husband for her spending decisions, but regular discussion is unnecessary because an acceptable pattern has already been established (as well as for the reasons mentioned in the preceding paragraph). Usually the husband is in charge of the car, and three quarters of those couples who were asked said that decisions about buying large items of furniture or going on holiday were made together. However, buying wallpaper and paint for the house is left up to the woman in most couples.
In their study of food provision in northern English families, Kerr and Charles have shown how wives can internalize their husbands' wishes to such an extent that they can be unaware that what they choose to buy and cook is in fact largely shaped by the men's demands.

"So natural had this process of privileging the preferences of other family members become to women that they frequently found it difficult to describe their own food preferences and, in some cases, would deny that they had any tastes at all.... Thus these women's responsibility for the purchase of food did not endow them with the power to indulge their own tastes but rather obliged them to subordinate their food preferences to those of their husbands and children."

(Kerr and Charles 1986: 124)

If such detailed research as that conducted by Kerr and Charles were carried out for the other areas of domestic spending that are in the hands of women, the same kind of conclusions might be arrived at. This would suggest that even though women have significant control over the household budget amongst probably more than half the couples in Cauldmoss, they may, unconsciously, make their important choices on the basis of their husbands' wishes. Bearing this in mind it would be an extremely artificial segregation, when considering consumption patterns in the next chapter, to restrict myself only to those commodities directly purchased by men.
This chapter started by examining the First Questionnaire results which showed that the central meaning of "work" in Cauldmoss is paid employment. After looking at the characteristics of the Cauldmoss work force and where they are employed, relying principally on census data, I turned to men's motivation for paid work. Not surprisingly the most explicit reason people have for getting jobs is to earn money, but they also value how employment structures one's time and enables one to change one's environment. Paid work also has implicit meaning as an expression of one's adulthood and, particularly with strenuous manual work, one's masculinity. Nevertheless the vast majority view employment as something that can never be fulfilling: "It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a means for satisfying other needs". (Marx 1844:85) One way in which men seem to make sense of their alienating employment is to accord great moral significance to the one aspect of it which is within their influence: their ability to endure the rigours of the work. The 'employment ethic' - which is still prevalent in Cauldmoss - makes a virtue out of necessity and reinforces the masculine value attached to paid work. Both are expressed in the equation of wages with worth. In the final section of the chapter I analyzed how the wage is allocated in the household, and concluded that although women are generally responsible for budgeting the household income it seems likely that they have internalized their husband's preferences and purchase accordingly. Since people's understanding of employment is almost entirely bound up with the wage, it is logical to proceed from this chapter to consider the main objective people have for being employed: consumption.
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CHAPTER FIVE

PATTERNS OF CONSUMPTION OF THE EMPLOYED

INTRODUCTION.

In the previous chapter I tried to show how an analysis of people's motivation towards paid employment quickly brings one to the realm of consumption, even though regular employment has implicit meanings outwith the monetary sphere. The overwhelming majority in Cauldmoss have no expectation that paid work will be other than arduous, monotonous and routine, offering no intrinsic satisfaction; their conscious motive to be employed is above all the remuneration. Thus the impetus to consume must be very powerful in people's lives if it leads them to seek to spend long hours in inherently unenjoyable activities. This chapter is intended to meet the third objective of the thesis: to describe and analyze the impetus for, and patterns of, consumption amongst the employed.

At the start I must make some disclaimers. I do not want to join either side in debating the relative importance of employment or consumption in people's experience of life, an issue that has been considered at length in recent social science research (e.g. Goldthorpe et al 1969: 179-182, Gofton 1984). In fact I hope to show that people's roles as workers and as consumers are largely entwined.

Secondly, in analyzing the realm of consumption I take the view that it is not helpful to try to distinguish biological "needs" from cultural "wants", except in exploring the folk views of these categories. In everyday speech we frequently make the distinction between necessities and desires, often to validate our patterns of consumption, and it seems common sense to assume there is an absolute poverty level which defines our survival needs. Yet attempts to
separate the biological and cultural elements of our existence have never been satisfactory, and most studies acknowledge that culture assimilates biological factors into its system of values, and it is these values that determine the interpretation of need (e.g. Sahlins 1976: 206, Leiss 1978: 64, Douglas and Isherwood 1979: 16-18). I will therefore adopt the stance that all needs are socially conditioned and will not distinguish between the physiological and cultural, nor between "real" and "false" or "manipulated" needs, as writers like Fromm do (1962).

The third disclaimer concerns the social, rather than individual, focus of my analysis. When people in our culture talk about the acquisition and use of goods they often allude to highly personal experiences: how spending cheers them up or renews their self-confidence, the feeling of self-indulgence they can get through purchasing, the satisfaction of possessing, and so on. Some authors have even argued that the predominant message about the entire world of commodities is "...that self-actualization or 'individuality' is the goal of consumption, and that individuality is attained by assembling a unique collection of commodities." (Leiss 1978:67) Without wanting to deny the importance of these social psychological factors (nor, indeed, a purely psychological dimension), I am restricting myself to their social component. Consumption in Cauldmoss will be analyzed as a "restrictive social institution" (Baudrillard 1981:31) which, to a large degree, shapes behaviour before it is consciously considered by the actors.

To attempt an exhaustive description of each area of expenditure in Cauldmoss (such as food, clothing, furnishing, etc.) would be very lengthy and probably tedious. Instead I will arrange the ethnography according to the different meanings that can be discerned in the use of commodities. However, to give an empirical overview at the start I have set out some aggregate figures from the money budgets, which it might be useful to refer back to in the course of the analysis. The
methods used to gain these data have been described in Chapter Two, where I emphasized how unrepresentative the respondents were who filled in the money budgets (p. 69). Hence the figures below should be treated with caution, while those referring to alcohol, clothing and shoes, and large household goods are particularly unreliable, for reasons previously explained (p. 70). In Appendix C the spending budgets of five employed households are reproduced in detail as illustrative case studies, which is the main value of the money budget data.

Table 5.1: Average percentages of stated expenditure spent on different items. (stated expenditure excludes tax payments)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>item</th>
<th>no. of households</th>
<th>housing</th>
<th>heating &amp; light</th>
<th>food &amp; drink</th>
<th>alcohol</th>
<th>tobacco</th>
<th>clothing &amp; shoes</th>
<th>large household goods</th>
<th>other goods</th>
<th>car</th>
<th>bus</th>
<th>services &amp; entertainment</th>
<th>miscellaneous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>total employed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- council</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- private</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total retired</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
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218
I will begin by explaining my basic premise that consumption patterns are to be understood in terms of culturally ascribed value. In elucidating this idea I will refer to the three books that I have found most pertinent to this theme. Two employ a semiological analysis of the meaning of goods, while the third treats them as part of an information system marking abstract concepts by means of which social order is constituted. Following this brief and selective presentation of the literature I shall identify six main variables that constitute the cultural value of goods in Cauldmoss. The ethnographic details of consumption will then be interpreted according to these variables, which will comprise the bulk of the chapter. Finally I will consider the dynamic of consumption.

Before continuing I must clarify my use of certain terms. The classic economic definition of 'commodity' is too narrow for my purpose, and so I will use it interchangeably with my loosely defined term 'good'. This will refer generically to physical articles and services that are deemed to be of some benefit in whatever way. 'Consumption' will also be used in a very general sense, meaning the purchase and/or use of goods and services, and including those aspects of one's way of

Table 5.2: Average of absolute weekly expenditure per capita in £s. (children under 16 counting as 1/2)

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<td>no. of households</td>
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<td>housing</td>
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<td>alcohol</td>
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<td>8.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>clothing &amp; shoes</td>
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<tr>
<td>large household goods</td>
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<tr>
<td>other goods</td>
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<td>car</td>
<td>5.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>bus</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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<td>services &amp; entertainment</td>
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<tr>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
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life usually termed 'leisure'. I am aware that this indiscriminate merging of 'consumption' and 'use' is not unproblematic and that an anthropological study should address the implicit meanings behind these terms. However, where this has been done there is often a tendency to resort to the supposed dichotomy between 'genuine' need, assumed to exist somehow independently of cultural values, and manipulated demand which has been artificially created. Though I have much sympathy with Williams' examination of the popularity for 'consumption' as opposed to 'use' (1965: 322-325), and there is a superficial parallel between these terms, as he distinguishes them, and the 'unrestricted' and 'restricted' terminology that I use, his analysis implicitly relies on a distinction between "known needs" (asocial?) and the consumption of "what industry finds it convenient to produce." (1965: 323) I will employ the word 'consumption' in its broadest sense.

CULTURALLY ASCRIBED VALUE.

In this section I will briefly review the most pertinent literature and establish a theoretical approach. Although consumption plays such a central role in everyone's lives and in recent decades has become a frequent topic of discussion amongst Western intellectuals, sociological analysis of the subject has been limited. In part this is due to the common belief that the logic of economics - whether classical or historical materialist - largely determines our material existence, a view that has become increasingly widespread over the last 200 years. Since formal economists do not question what motivates demand, and since Marxists take "use value" as given, this is where enquiry usually stops and it is assumed that goods are simply wanted as ends in themselves.
"Use value" is the common sense understanding that most people have of their consumption: a car is wanted "to get from A to B", clothes are worn for warmth, alcohol drunk to assuage thirst or to become inebriated. Yet the practical value of objects is determined by the cultural ends to which they are put: they have no value in themselves, only in relation to culturally defined objectives. Frequently these cultural aims are not even recognized by the consumers. In Culture and Practical Reason (1976) Sahlins brings anthropology and economics together by clearly subordinating economic factors to cultural ones, in the last quarter of the book drawing modern industrial society "into the kingdom of symbolic order" (ibid.:viii). Fundamental to Sahlins' argument is that use value is itself symbolic:

"...to give a cultural account of production, it is critical to note that the social meaning of an object that makes it useful to a certain category of persons is no more apparent from its physical properties than is the value it may be assigned in exchange... The reason Americans deem dogs inedible and cattle "food" is no more perceptible to the senses than is the price of meat." (ibid.:169)

Using as examples the food preferences and clothing system of Americans, he illustrates how it is the social meaning that lies behind use value which determines economic demand and so affects production. As for the practical purpose of eating or of wearing clothes, Sahlins notes Schwartz's observation (1958):"...the least significant motive underlying the selection and wearing of certain items of clothing is protection from the elements".(ibid.:183n) Sahlins describes the vast range of manufactured goods as an elaborate "bourgeois totemism" which communicates the socially significant aspects of a person and occasion:
"In its economic dimension, this [symbolic] project consists of the reproduction of society in a system of objects not merely useful but meaningful; whose utility indeed consists of a significance. The clothing system in particular replicates for Western society the functions of the so-called totemism." (ibid.: 203)

For Sahlins the manufacturing of goods is essentially the production of symbolically significant differences. In the West the meaning of these symbols stem principally from material production, economic classification pervading all dimensions of social life, "ordering the distinctions of other sectors by the oppositions of its own... - such as work/leisure [activities]: weekday/weekend [time]; or downtown/uptown [space]: impersonality/ familiarity [personal relationships]." (ibid.: 216). I would argue that gender is at least as important a source of symbolic distinctions in our society, if not the dominant one.

Sahlins' explanation of the symbolic value of commodities is based primarily on a semiological analysis. In this he follows Baudrillard, whose work For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign (1972, translated 1981) clearly influenced him. Both take Saussure's linguistics as a starting point (though Baudrillard goes on to modify it), the fundamental principle being that not only is the sign arbitrary, but also the concept that is signified, for language is not a nomenclature. The important consequence of this is that "...both signifier and signified are purely relational or differential entities". (Culler 1976:23) Thus:

"Within the same language, all words used to express related ideas limit each other reciprocally...[the content of a word] is really fixed only by the concurrence of everything that exists outside it...", and with the concept signified: "Instead of pre-existing ideas then, we find in
all the foregoing examples values emanating from the system. When they are said to correspond to concepts, it is understood that the concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with other terms in the system. Their most precise characteristic is in being what others are not."

(Saussure 1966 (1915):115, 117)

The semiological analysis of goods, and the crucial fact of the arbitrariness of both the sign and the concept signified, allows us to understand one of the most important aspects of consumption patterns in Cauldmoss (and the rest of the industrialized world), namely, the perpetual inflation of material living standards. I will return to this in the final section of the chapter.

Baudrillard goes much further than Sahlins in pursuing an exclusively semiological analysis of consumption, and he tries to identify the purely arbitrary aspect of commodities in order to use them as signs within a semiotic system. His terminology is confusing yet his breakdown of the values that can be attached to a commodity is nevertheless insightful. Whereas Sahlins subsumes the logic of function, of symbolic exchange (the gift) and of status under "use value", arguing that this is itself symbolic, Baudrillard tries to distinguish these three aspects of a good (Baudrillard 1981:74). He also makes the important point that a commodity which has been given has a special value of its own, thus a wedding ring is quite different from an ordinary ring - one would not consider changing it nor wearing several of them.

The inconsistencies and apparent self-contradiction which Baudrillard gets himself into in trying to analyze objects exclusively according to their "sign value" suggest the limitations of "an imperialistic semiology" (Culler 1976:96). One important factor to which he gives little consideration is that not all signs are of the same type.
"...three fundamental classes of signs seem to stand out as requiring different approaches: the icon, the index, and the sign proper (sometimes misleadingly called 'symbol')."

(Culler 1976:96)

By trying to isolate the last of these, "true" sign value, and restrict the social analysis of consumption to that aspect which has purely arbitrary significance, Baudrillard ignores much of what makes commodities important to their users.

The semiological analysis of Western consumption certainly helps to show how it operates as a meaningful system, but it eschews any causal analysis and leaves unanswered the more fundamental questions of why a particular system of values and categories exists at all. The linguistic study of a language cannot explain why that language is spoken and not another. Furthermore, as I have shown, concentration on a semiological understanding can obscure or even lead to the denial of other important factors within the realm of consumption. I would suggest that semiology has its place, but only within a wider interpretation of commodities.

In The World of Goods (1979) Douglas and Isherwood argue that goods are best understood as part of a system of communication, by means of which social order is constituted and social relationships expressed. In trying to return the rational individual of formal economics back to her social context and explain the economists' theory of demand, Douglas and Isherwood pursue an eclectic analysis which, I feel, is ultimately incoherent and unsuccessful (according to their own objectives set out in the introduction). However, in the course of the book many stimulating ideas are proposed, two of which are particularly pertinent to my research.

The first theme is that goods help us make sense of our environment:
"To continue to think rationally, the individual needs an intelligible universe, and that intelligibility will need to have some visible markings. Abstract concepts are always hard to remember, unless they take on some physical appearance. In this book, goods are treated as ... markers of rational categories."

(Douglas and Isherwood 1979:5)

Commodities are used to establish social identities and express how their owners interpret the world. Yet it is not clear why people should own goods individually for them to express "rational categories" - they could be borrowed, owned collectively or belong to no one - and, furthermore, any physical behaviour could be used to mark abstract concepts, goods as such are not intrinsically necessary.

The second theme developed which is relevant to this thesis is that consumption is part of an information system. This follows from the analysis of goods as "markers of rational categories", and it is in keeping with previous writings which note how goods signify various aspects of social status. But Douglas and Isherwood are not so much concerned with goods expressing information about the user as allowing the user to gain information. Although this is a central idea in the book, it is unclear what information is gained through consumption: the only examples given are information about employment and marriage. Explaining consumption as a means of gaining information about jobs, which is referred to several times, is tautologous (as the authors more or less recognize, ibid.:181), for the employment is presumably wanted primarily to increase income and so consumer power. This circular argument does not answer why people want goods. Despite considerable discussion of consumption as an information system, it is difficult to identify what Douglas and Isherwood add to the well established principle that the use of goods expresses and reproduces particular relationships between social groups. The information communicated through consumption is about the consumer's position in her
social environment. I intend to analyze the use of goods and services in terms of their value in expressing this social position.

To return to my main argument, use value must be understood as the practical use of an object in achieving a cultural end: the commodity has no intrinsic use value outwith a specific culture. Therefore consumption patterns are best explained in terms of culturally ascribed value, and that ascription takes place, or functions, at a symbolic level. The symbolic value of a good is determined by any possible number of variables within a particular culture, and these variables generally cross cut each other. I will argue that in Cauldmos there are five principal variables which give value to the use of goods, all of which relate to the user's identity. These can be conceived as: membership of the community, status, age, gender, and employment/unemployment. A further variable contributing to the value of a commodity, which is not directly related to the user's identity but is a social principle by which consumption is frequently structured, are the obligations of reciprocity. While class is undoubtedly an important variable in national consumption patterns, within Cauldmos people's class positions are sufficiently homogeneous for this to be taken as given (see p.22). The different variables which inform symbolic value will differ in significance according to the commodity in question and the group that acts as its potential 'audience'. To a large extent the culturally ascribed value of goods will be fairly standard throughout Britain, but in as much as the different variables are interpreted differently in Cauldmos from elsewhere, the assessment of a commodity's symbolic value will be peculiar to the village. In the rest of this chapter I will describe how these variables shape people's consumption in Cauldmos and explore how they interact or conflict in the generation of new consumption patterns.

Of the six variables listed, four have already been discussed in detail as they relate to Cauldmos: membership of the community (p.148-159), status (p.100-107), age (p.189 and 203) and gender
A whole chapter has been devoted to employment (Ch.4), but the reverse, unemployment, will not be dealt with until Chapter Seven. The obligations of reciprocity have not yet been addressed at all, so I will digress briefly when they are discussed in order to give some theoretical background. All these six variables cross cut each other, sometimes contradicting and sometimes reinforcing the values that stem from the other factors. Employment is interrelated with nearly all the other variables and therefore, to avoid repetition, I will not discuss it on its own. Status is interpreted in two conflicting ways within Cauldmoss (as I explained p.102), and so I will deal with how it informs the symbolic value of goods in two separate sections.

The area of greatest overlap is where three variables, the traditional, 'restricted' classification of status, membership of the community, and the value attached to employment, all reinforce each other. I will begin the ethnographic part of this chapter with a section describing how these three aspects of symbolic value shape consumption patterns in Cauldmoss. This will lead on to a discussion of reciprocity and how it influences the use of goods. Following this I will consider age and then gender, in this latter section concentrating on masculinity but also mentioning family roles. At this point I will return to status and describe how the 'unrestricted' concept of status informs the symbolic value of commodities, which will take us on to the final section which analyzes the dynamic behind consumption.

Before presenting the ethnographic details of consumption in Cauldmoss there are two more theoretical issues that should be briefly considered. First, it might be asked how this 'symbolic value' of goods - their culturally ascribed value - relates to 'exchange value', their monetary value, which is what most people in Cauldmoss first think of in regard to "value". In theory there is no necessary connection between the two, but in practice in our society exchange
value and culturally defined value are interrelated in a complex fashion. Since we live in what is primarily a market economy, monetary value is determined by supply and demand. The supply curve of the classic graph is a product of raw materials and labour costs, technology, etc., while the demand curve is directly determined by the cultural value ascribed to the commodity. At the same time this culturally defined value is affected (though not determined) by the monetary value in three separate ways. Most directly, the price of a commodity is valued as a store of wealth or as a recognized measure for exchange with other resources. Second, the monetary value of a good is highly significant in determining the status of its user according to 'unrestricted' status values, and so price affects culturally derived value in so much as it is mediated by 'unrestricted' status values. Third, the expense of an object is often taken as an index of the earning power of its user (or her husband), and therefore his or her commitment to employment. Thus monetary value is also ascribed cultural value as a result of the employment ethic. The multilateral relationship between exchange value and symbolic value can be presented diagramatically:

Diagram 5.1: The relationship between exchange value and symbolic value.
The second theoretical issue to be addressed is the degree of choice, or individual agency, involved in the use of goods. I have already acknowledged the importance of individual psychology in consumption (p.217), and noted that goods are frequently presented by the manufacturers, and accepted by the consumers, as the means of establishing one's individuality. Certainly most Cauldmoss shoppers "with money in their pockets" think they are free agents, and it is precisely the constraint on their choice caused by restricted income which is one of the most frustrating aspects of unemployment.

Yet what is perceived as a choice is in fact constrained within largely invisible cultural boundaries. As Baudrillard argues, most people are oblivious to the way in which their use of goods is determined by the cultural ascription of value:

"...obligatory consumption can be set well above the strictly necessary - ...no one is free to live on raw roots and fresh water. From which follows the absurdity of the concept of "discretionary income"... how am I free not to choose? ...The vital minimum today, the minimum of imposed consumption, is the standard package. Beneath this level, you are an outcast. Is loss of status - or social non-existence - less upsetting than hunger?"

(Baudrillard 1981:81)

The idea that most of us are unaware of the symbolic system that gives meaning to goods - just as few people are aware of the langue that shapes their speech - is an essential part of the analogy that Baudrillard and Sahlins draw between language and the production and consumption of commodities. The basic symbolic character of the economy is hidden from the participants. To the producer it appears "as a quest for pecuniary gain, and to the consumer as an acquisition of "useful" goods," (Sahlins 1976:213).
The choice that most consumers experience is a choice of how to act according to the culturally ascribed values of commodities - how to make the most of the different variables which constitute these values. This scope for individual decisions is important, as the frustrations of the poor clearly show, but there is little scope for the individual to choose how cultural value is ascribed. As previously mentioned, consumption is to be seen as a restrictive social institution.

BEING "NICE".

Belonging to the community and 'restricted', traditional status.

In describing Cauldmoss as a community I referred to Durkheim's fundamental concepts of "integration" and "collective representations" (p.150). The continual reproduction of the village as a community necessitates a degree of social integration which confirms socially derived categories of thought. According to Durkheim's functionalist approach individuals experience this as an obligation to participate in social life; if the social group lacked such cohesion there would be a danger of anomie and 'egoistic' or 'anomic' suicide. The importance of social involvement in Cauldmoss has already been described in that it entails great conformity to a conventional way of life (p.158). More explicitly, many people feel that social involvement is an indispensable aspect of their leisure, and sometimes even of their whole lives. A pensioner reflected on how her life passes: "You've just got to take it as it comes, ken, the bingo, that's it..." - she will just waste away, just as her husband did as soon as he no longer had the strength to visit the pub. He would sit at home drinking canned beer from a glass, but he would swear "ye cannie get a guid pint unless you got your feet in the sawdust."
One of the most important "collective representations" of Cauldmoss is the concept of being "nice". Intrinsic to this idea is one's belonging to the village and one's respectability according to the 'restricted', more traditional evaluation of status. In Chapter Three (p.100-107) I argued that there are two inconsistent ways in which people in Cauldmoss evaluate general social status, one of which makes sense in terms of a tripartite model and the other in terms of a continuous ladder. It is important to emphasize that these models and the values that go with them, 'restricted' and 'unrestricted' are ideal constructs, abstractions from various empirical features. Here I am concerned with 'restricted' stratification, and will describe the patterns of consumption that are essential to maintaining one's status as "nice". There are two crucial distinctions which bound this category: between being "nice" and being of "the bad lot", and between being "nice" and being a "snob". I must stress that the first of these distinctions is also of great significance to those who subscribe to 'unrestricted' status values; distinguishing oneself from "the bad element" is thus very important to most villagers in Cauldmoss.

Central to Weber's concept of status is the idea that such distinctions are established and sustained largely through appropriate consumption.

"In content, status honor is normally expressed by the fact that above all else a specific style of life can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle. Linked with this expectation are restrictions on 'social' intercourse..." (Weber 1948:187)
His discussion of status stratification concludes with the paragraph:

"With some over-simplification, one might thus say that 'classes' are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas 'status groups' are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special 'styles of life'."

(ibid.:193)

The style of life recognized as being "nice" in Cauldmoss not only reproduces the social relationships which distinguish "nice" folk from the "bad element" and from the "snobs", but it also expresses the participants' solidarity with the community. In general the use of goods is very much taken for granted, an unthinking replication of the 'normal way of life'. It is only when someone acts differently from the convention, so identifying her/himself as somewhat apart from the community, that the everyday conformity to the standard patterns of consumption can be seen to be an expression of belonging to Cauldmoss. The 'traditional' concept of being "nice" is also related to a third of the six variables under discussion, one's commitment to employment (or for women, work in general), and I will return to this topic towards the end of this section. More immediately being "nice" is perceived as being able to conform to the conventional standards of consumption in the village, below which people are ashamed to fall. I will describe this 'respectable level' for the main areas of expenditure and outline the principal constituents of conventional consumption in Cauldmoss, considering how this relates to the employment ethic. The following section will describe the constraints on social mobility involved in the 'restricted' evaluation of status, and will analyze how these constraints shape consumption patterns.
The living room.

Thirty years ago Hoggart wrote of working class homes:

"I should say that a good 'living-room' must provide three principal things: gregariousness, warmth, and plenty of good food. The living-room is the warm heart of the family... " (Hoggart 1957:35)

This is certainly the case in Cauldmoss, and the furnishing is always conducive to these complementary ends. A deep, soft three piece suite is arranged to face the open coal fire and the television, both of which provide a focus of constantly moving light throughout the day. The fire is normally made up by the husband before work and lit in the morning, even in the summer, because it heats the water with a back boiler, while the television is usually switched on as soon as programmes begin. The carpet stretches from wall to wall, and with net curtains distancing one from the weather outside, everything combines to make the room snug. Many families will burn three or four sacks of coal per week in the winter, and perhaps two in the summer, for maintaining a really warm room is fundamental to the home and imperative for hospitality. Again, not much has changed since Hoggart's day: "A good housewife knows that she must 'keep a good fire', ... a fire is shared and seen." (ibid.:37)

Very few folk in Cauldmoss would like to replace their open coal fires with some other form of heating; the young still envisage a coal fire in the house of their choice, and even the old want to keep the coal - if they talk of central heating they mean it to be taken from the back boiler. With the room focussed on the fire place it is not surprising that this part of the house is the most likely to be refashioned to suit the tastes of the occupants (despite the house being rented accomodation for three quarters of the population in Cauldmoss).
There are certain other essentials for a living room. Net curtains or blinds are ubiquitous, and the material is never simply one layer across the window sufficient to prevent people looking in, but an arrangement of several layers carefully draped to look appealing. The panes behind the net must always be clean, and the two together are so indicative of the respectability of a household that a street is given a seal of approval simply by the phrase "there are some lovely windows along... street."

Inside there are decorations on the walls, often prints of, typically, a tousled haired urchin with a tear dropping from his eye, a sketch of an alluring woman baring her shoulders, a pop-star (like Elvis) or an Alsation. Such prints will preferably be under glass and framed. Some kind of dresser or cabinet often stands with souvenirs of past holidays or sports events, miscellaneous family momentos and mounted family photographs. Small coffee tables are compulsory furnishing for a normal living room, as is a rug in front of the fire of the deepest, thickest material possible.

The television is a prerequisite, and only about 8% of households (mainly the old or unemployed) simply have a black and white set (2nd Quest., Q. 21). A living room without any television would be considered very bare, and the occupants either absolutely poverty stricken or most peculiar. We come upon only one during our stay in Cauldmoss. Watching T.V. is probably the most ubiquitous way of passing one's "free time" in Cauldmoss, but this is not done in a concentrated manner, although "the box" is on continuously. People will break off viewing to chat with someone in the room, welcome a visitor, get the children to bed or go out, and only a few programmes - notably soap-operas and football - actually have priority and determine people's movements. The main exception is at night when many people's bedtimes are determined by the T.V. channels closing down. By far the most popular channel is S.T.V., which constitutes about three quarters of
the total viewing time in Cauldmoss. BBC Scotland is the next most widely watched, followed closely by Channel 4. BBC 2 is virtually never viewed, except for sport. (I have previously explained that it is beyond my scope to consider the significance of the media: p.25).

Videos were rapidly adopted into Cauldmoss households when they first appeared in the early 1980s, and today just over half the employed council householders have a machine (2nd Quest., Q.21). Only a quarter of private householders in employment have one while very few retired people do. Videos are wanted principally to watch video films, commonly hired from the local ice-cream van or village shop, rather than for recording T.V. programmes. Many hired tapes "do the rounds" of Cauldmoss, and videos do not increase the diversity of films seen within the village very much. Their use is more an extension of the passive nature of television viewing already mentioned.

In Cauldmoss the living room is not reserved only for the family and closest relatives (as it was in Leeds: Hoggart 1957:35). Visitors pass in and out with little formality, and close friends sometimes enter from outdoors without knocking; only complete strangers are likely to be kept at the front door. In fact within the house the living room is the most public area: the kitchen is only entered by the most familiar female friends, and the bedrooms very rarely at all.
"'A good table' is equally important, and this still means a fully stocked table rather than one which presents a balanced diet." (Hoggart 1957:37)

Much the same could be said today to summarize the use of food in Cauldmoss. Food is a high priority for a woman's domestic spending (constituting about 30% of the household budget), and she rarely makes economies in this area by leaving her family unsatisfied at a meal or denying them snacks of biscuits in between times. "Tea" is the principal meal of the day, usually at a regular time between 5 o'clock and 5:30p.m., and generally the whole family eat together (except perhaps for the wife who has prepared the meal) (2nd Quest., Q.7). The main characteristics of tea are the central place of meat, the almost ubiquitous potato (often as chips and rarely simply boiled), the highly processed food, increasingly frozen rather than tinned, the accompaniment by tea and white sliced bread and butter, and the conclusion with chocolate biscuits. The evening meal takes place when the husband returns from his employment and is an expression of his role as a "working man": as Murcott points out (1982), the preparation time necessary for a "cooked dinner" means it symbolizes the wife's obligation as homemaker and the husband's as breadwinner.

Meat or meat products are the essence of a proper meal, and any other things eaten are mere accessories, almost a subordinate category of "food". Roast meat is still what is generally used to make "Sunday dinner" special, though it is often chicken rather than beef or pork, and in some households this main weekly meal is on Saturday (Q.8, 2nd Quest.). Through the week a considerable amount of processed meat is eaten in pork-pies, sausage meat, mince, pie filling, beef-burgers and so on. Incidentally haggis is not eaten much, except deep-fried from the chip shop, and other "traditional" Scottish food, such as
oats, feature no more prominently than in the rest of Britain. Rabbit is also seldom eaten today, although Cauldmoss is right in the country; the stated reason is sympathy for the furry animals, but their important role in people's diets during the poor years before the late '40s might also be significant. Liver and kidneys are rarely eaten, and other entrails not at all, probably because of the stigma of poverty, while in contrast having access to "butcher meat" is considered synonymous with a satisfactory income. A poverty stricken family is described as "having no meat in the house".

The strength of traditional values in determining Cauldmoss diets is illustrated by their resilience to the latest orthodoxies on balanced, nutritious food. In fact nutrition is not a principal concern in eating. A great deal of sugar is eaten, in processed foods, tea, coffee, and soft drinks, as well as sweets. Many children spend 25 to 50 pence a day on sweets, which they are rarely dissuaded from doing by their parents, unless for economic reasons. Women are concerned about the fattening effects of sugar because of their looks rather than their health. Fatty foods are also eaten in large quantities, deep frying being one of the commonest forms of cooking (particularly for potatoes), the meat eaten often being of a fatty kind (e.g. sausage meat) and butter being preferred to marge.

The more commercialized "health foods" such as packaged bran cereals are becoming fairly common, as are sliced bran or brown coloured loaves, but the wares of the whole-food shop in the local town rarely arrive in Cauldmoss. In this town one of the largest supermarkets, which is the one most frequented by Cauldmoss women, experimented with weigh-your-own wholemeal pastas, flours and rice. Although the prices were comparable with those for the conventional foods, the experiment was withdrawn within a year through insufficient demand. In central Scotland it would appear that the disinterest in wholesome foods is a result of working class cultural values, not economic limitations.
The predominant vegetables eaten are potatoes, cabbage, turnips, leeks, carrots, onions, tomatoes and tinned or frozen peas. Potatoes are always peeled, and new potatoes are relished because their skins can be simply rubbed off. Peeling potatoes involves an uncharacteristic amount of preparation for a meal, given the predominance of processed and convenience foods, and it seems it might signify more than simply taste: perhaps some assertion over grubby nature, or a demonstration of a woman’s industriousness.

Clothing.

Acceptable clothes meet two basic requirements: to be sufficiently smart (not looking cheap) and to be fashionable. In general people will never wear holed, patched or darned clothes for either casual or formal purposes, and jumble sales play no part in Cauldmoss life. They are never organized to raise funds, and if anyone uses them in the local town they never discuss the bargains they have found.

For older people fashion does not dominate their clothing to the extent it does with the young, though there are still limits beyond which they would feel, and be seen as, ridiculously outdated. For those over, say, about 30, there are several different degrees of smartness. Nearly all men have special "working clothes", even when their work is not particularly dirty (such as driving a van), but even these clothes are not usually ragged, overalls often being replaced if ripped. The significance of wearing a separate set of clothes at work from at home has already been considered (p.187). Away from work men generally wear ironed shirts and trousers, and when "going out", for instance to the pub, a light jacket is often worn. A formal occasion, such as a meeting or week-end visit to a relative, might be marked by a tie, while it is usual to wear suits at church. Nearly every adult man has at least one suit, but for
weddings it is very common to hire grey tails. The greatest conformity to formal dress is at funerals: all the men wear black suits and plain black ties, while the women go in black and white. For them make up and jewellery are essential to be smartly dressed, and at formal events hats are often worn. Many women only wear their watches on such "dress" occasions.

When I asked the headmistress of the primary school whether children are taunted about wearing tatty clothes she said definitely not. In fact the children "are very reasonably dressed... beautifully turned out," and she actually sent parents a note to compliment them on this. She admitted that she has not considered they might come to school in smart clothes precisely because it would be such a stigma if they were not well dressed.

Young men's clothing illustrates the degree to which the inhabitants of Cauldmoss can ascribe their own peculiar meaning to commodities in mediating more national trends. The vast majority of lads in the village wear tight blue jeans, baggy bomber jackets, white socks and delicate pointed grey shoes, in keeping with the fashion for young working class males throughout lowland Scotland. It is notable that very few lads in Cauldmoss follow the styles of different youth subcultures. There have been two principal interpretations of exotic youth cults in Britain, both of which suggest possible reasons why teenagers in the village are not affected by these styles. Cohen analyzed skinhead subculture as youngsters' attempts to come to terms with the supposed withering away of the traditional working class values of their parents (1972). He argued that skinheads were reasserting values associated with the traditional working class and had adopted a uniform which was a "kind of caricature of the model worker". Hebdige takes this analysis further and accounts for much of youth subculture as "mediated responses to the presence in Britain of a sizeable black community" (Hebdige 1979: 73). In respect to both these explanations Cauldmoss, and the surrounding area, lack the
stimulus for these cultural forms: there are virtually no blacks in central Scotland (though there are a few Asians), and around Cauldmoss the traditional proletarian culture has only begun to be undermined by industrial changes and mobility.

Whatever the validity of these analyses, for Cauldmoss lads to wear the conventional clothing of young working class males establishes their integration in the village. Their clothes are particularly significant in being contrasted with the few punks, skinheads and hippies who do exist, all of whom seem to have adopted these styles as overt rejections of solidarity with the community. The three punks are all incomers to the village, they lack many friends in the community and presumably can establish some self-esteem by identifying with a much wider group outwith the parochial world of Cauldmoss. Two of the skinheads have the same characteristics, while two other lads who went through a skinhead phase before disappearing to borstal seemed to adopt the style to distinguish themselves from their fellow locals whom they despised.

The garden.

The front garden is the most public area of one's domain and people are very conscious about keeping it "nice". This means, above all, under control: the grass is kept below an inch in height, the edges are trimmed regularly, any flower beds are thoroughly weeded, hedges clipped throughout the summer to suppress any luxuriant growth, and, if the 30 square yards or so that make up most front gardens are covered in gravel, this is sprayed to kill any vegetation. Horticultural expertise is not of much concern - though colourful flowers are certainly admired - while vegetable production is unimportant. The approach of Gala Day in late spring highlights the significance of tidiness, with most people making a particular effort to be as smart as possible. When continuous wet weather and mower breakdowns
prevented an elderly man cutting his grass he talked of how he had never, in his whole life, allowed it to grow so long before (about three inches). It was as if he was trying to mitigate the presumed condemnation of the village on this day of community ritual (see p.154).

Maintaining a tidy garden is almost the only domestic task that directly expresses the man's disciplined application to work (see p.195), and keeping one's garden neat has more to do with expressing one's status as a "nice" person than it has to do with aesthetic standards. In fact these have very clear boundaries. Many people whose gardens join a pasture field carefully tidy their own ground and throw everything, from grass mowings to bedsteads, over the fence to lie within sight in "the park". Others barrow their rubbish down a nearby lane and dump it on a disused tree nursery; in neither case would the participants consider they are creating an eye-sore.

Organized collective leisure.

An essential part of the conventional life style that expresses one's belonging to Cauldmoss is participation in collective leisure activities in the village. For men the pubs and clubs are clearly the principal loci of such leisure, to be described in the next chapter, and drinking patterns are, along with gambling, part of a particular spending ethic which is integral to the traditional status of being "nice" but not a snob. This will be dealt with in the next section (p.252). Here I will restrict myself to a description of organized collective leisure in the village.

The Community Centre is the principal venue for organized recreation, funded by the Regional Council and staffed by a youth and community worker, who is an outsider, and two local people, a secretary and a caretaker. It has a mixture of events some of which are organized by
the youth and community worker, some instigated by her and run with the help of volunteers, and others which are independent of her.

The great majority of regular activities in the Centre are pursued exclusively by people under about 25, despite the youth and community worker's attempts to broaden participation to other age groups. There are three youth clubs for different ages up to eighteen year olds, all of which meet twice a week, several different football clubs, the Unemployment Club, and a number of short lived clubs like judo and disco dancing. Since nearly all children in Cauldmoss (apart, significantly, from some of the incomers) progress from the Young Ones', through the Junior to the Senior youth clubs, these are important institutions initiating them to village life. Consequently many older people view the Centre as principally a recreational or educational facility for the young, a self-fulfilling perception since they therefore do not get involved.

Probably the most popular provision of the Centre for young people is the expeditions in coaches or mini-bus, normally organized through the youth clubs. They are usually to leisure facilities in the area, such as the swimming pools or roller skating, but every so often there is a major trip to go skiing or angling for a weekend, visit Butlins for the day, go to the pantomime or local authority fire works display, or some other special outing.

There are a few activities specifically organized for older folk, and again these regular events integrate a whole age-cohort of the village. The main ones are the old folks' two lunches a week provided by the local authority and the weekly Over Fifties Club bingo. The other regular activities with participants over 25 are those initiated and run fairly autonomously of the youth and community worker, such as a short lived women's drop-in 'Community Cafe', and the flourishing badminton club.
Apart from the weekly events there are many occasional functions at the Centre like prize bingos for fund raising, meetings of the Women's Rural Institute, and dances or discos that might be arranged privately or for an organization. There is often a disco or dance on each weekend. Through the year there are also regular events like the activities which precede the Gala Day for a week, with 'Mr and Mrs' contests, sports quizzes, etc. (see p.154); the Summer Project, a playscheme for children between five and eleven which lasts two weeks in the summer and is like an elaborate youth club, with daily outings to swimming baths, parks, the beach, etc., and various Christmas events like the nursery school's Christmas party. These occasional functions are the only times (with the few exceptions mentioned above) that a large number of adults participate in Community Centre activities, nearly always in couples, and it is noteworthy that on most of these occasions a licensed bar is installed on the premises.

A common feature of most Community Centre activities is that they are provided for a client group that plays little part in their organization. Nevertheless there are about two dozen adults who take an active role helping the youth and community worker, running their own clubs or organizing Centre-based events like the Summer Project. The vast majority of these "helpers" or "leaders" are women, and many have children in the club that they are assisting. Though adults are reluctant to use the Centre it is clear that helping out there is a sociable leisure activity in itself, as well as being regarded as mildly prestigious by the rest of the village (see p.99). Regular trips are arranged for the leaders, both by themselves, for instance to a nearby hotel for a dinner and cabaret, and by the National Association of Youth Club Workers, for wine and cheese parties, etc.. Involvement in Centre activities depends on one's social relationships with other helpers, and different cliques vie with each other in controlling resources and influencing the youth and community worker. Assisting in youth clubs or the Summer Project is as much a gesture of support or solidarity with the other leaders as it is a
The primary purpose of the voluntary organizations in the village seems to be to provide leisure activities for like-minded villagers, although they usually have some extrinsic rationale. Attending the prize bingos, whist drives or domino sessions that are organized to raise money, or going to the concerts, dances and discos arranged purely for entertainment, affirms one's identification with fellow members of the organization and their spouses. Similarly, participating in privately-organized events to celebrate a birthday, an engagement or whatever, accepts and renews one's special relationship with the individual in question.

There are several venues that can be hired for these functions: the Centre, the school, the Masonic Club, the church hall or the social club. The "concerts" or "Scots' nights" are organized most frequently by the Church of Scotland social committee (about once a month) and the Masonic Club (every Saturday). They principally comprise musical pieces on the accordion, piano or, less often, the guitar, and songs accompanied by one of these instruments (most commonly the accordion). There is always loud amplification for both instruments and singers, and usually a great deal of compering between acts by a local with a "good patter". Most songs are 'easy listening classics' (e.g. 'Paper Roses') or country and western songs, while Scottish folk songs and hymns (particularly Protestant ones like 'The Old Rugged Cross') are also popular. A particular musician is usually booked for the night, generally one of the half dozen local players, while the singers are nearly always members of the audience. The latter usually have a repertoire of a few set pieces each, which most folk know and will request throughout the evening. This tradition of producing one's own music is still strong in Cauldmoss amongst those over about 30, and a wide range of both women and men are prepared to sing. Most would never consider performing in front of a strange audience, which illustrates the close-knit, communal atmosphere at these occasions.
Dances have much the same form as discos except that a band takes the place of the D.J. with his record player and speakers. On more special occasions the dancing is accompanied by a buffet, prepared beforehand by several women and served up half way through the evening. The food nearly always includes ham, salads, French bread, white rolls, sausages, a dish with eggs, cheese and crisps. These events cost between £1 and £2 to enter, and unless it is a church social there is either a bar or people bring their own "carry-outs" of alcohol.

Solvency.

A general characteristic of the traditional life style that constitutes being "nice" is that most people avoid any behaviour which might be seen as motivated by poverty. When discussing how they would spend extra money or economize on less (2nd Quest., Q.11 & 12), several of those questioned were concerned to clarify that, although they could do with more money, they were not impoverished:

"Just to have a wee bit extra... to buy for Christmas... to give that wee bit extra, but it's getting more and more difficult. Don't get me wrong: we don't want for anything. But we don't live in the lap of luxury."

Sometimes this is expressed in relation to the housewife's duty "to manage" the household income competently, however small it is. Women are sometimes concerned to clarify that even when economizing, for instance while their husbands were unemployed, the family did have enough to live on. The avoidance of any action suggesting impoverishment might lie behind the habit of throwing out any partly eaten food from people's plates, and sometimes left-overs still in the pot, rather than feeding them to the dog. In fact any economizing on dog
food would be almost as shameful as letting one's family go hungry: some owners claim they feed their Alsatians as much as three tins of meat, a packet of Winalot and half a pound of mince each day. It is often assumed that others will also disguise their poverty: when I explained I had given up smoking for reasons of health a young woman responded, "You couldn't afford them? Be honest."

For most people one of the clearest criteria of being outside the category of respectability is to fall into debt. The fear of this has haunted working class (and middle class) households for centuries, though the definition of "debt" varies considerably and always seems rather arbitrary. Hoggart noted that the working class:

"cannot bear the thought of having a debt outstanding longer than a week. (Clothing club 'draws' and the grocery bill often come in another category - they do not seem like debts owed to 'Them'.)" (1957:79)

In Cauldmoss buying clothing and household goods by post through catalogues (known as "clubs") is widespread, women often joining together to order goods through one person. Similarly many women have "charge accounts" at department stores in the local conurbation, for which they either make a regular payment at the shop or someone comes to collect it at their house. Approximately half of all council households have either a catalogue or credit account (or both) (G.15, 2nd Quest.), and 66% do where the husband is employed. Typical weekly payments are between £2 and £5. "Provi cheques" (from Provident Personal Credit Ltd) are also used fairly widely, cheques for around £20 being paid off in weekly instalments over 20 weeks. The local agent is a Cauldmoss man who works at this part time, and it is in his interest to avoid a loan to anyone unlikely to be able to make the repayments. Cheques are usually used for clothing, shoes, Xmas presents, holidays or household utensils, and most customers use them on a rotating basis, re-borrowing when a previous cheque is paid off.
(A detailed study of how debtors generally perceive cheque trading as a valuable service has been made by Kent: 1980).

The vast majority of those who have a "club", "charge account" or "Provi cheque" do not see themselves as being in debt. This would only be the case if they were unable to pay their weekly instalments. While ideally they would like to be affluent enough to have no need to buy on credit, they do not regard doing so as a failure to manage, simply as a practical way of "easing the situation". But they are well aware of the need to "control your credit urge" and borrow within one's means to repay, not to "go mental".

Older people are less likely to view credit in this way. Many of those over 60 regard catalogue buying as being in debt, and are proud of the fact they have "never bought a thing on credit in my life!".

"I've never been one for a lot of debt. I want to feel that what I've got is my ain, what I've got left is my ain."

Such people generally saved up to buy their own furniture before they got married, and they feel that "If ye can't buy it, do without it." Tables 5.3 and 5.4 over the page show the variation in values and behaviour of different generations.
Table 5.3: Different age groups' opinions about buying on credit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>below 30</th>
<th>30-59</th>
<th>over 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>disapprove in general</td>
<td>1 9%</td>
<td>6 18%</td>
<td>9 53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morally disapprove</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2  6%</td>
<td>2 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>financially bad</td>
<td>1  9%</td>
<td>6 18%</td>
<td>3 18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideally to be avoided, but necessary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8 24%</td>
<td>1  6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have to do it</td>
<td>2 18%</td>
<td>1  3%</td>
<td>1  6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>3 27%</td>
<td>3  9%</td>
<td>1  6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approve</td>
<td>4 36%</td>
<td>8 24%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total number</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4: Different age groups' practice in buying on credit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>below 30</th>
<th>30-59</th>
<th>over 60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>never had credit</td>
<td>1  9%</td>
<td>5 15%</td>
<td>7 41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>only once had credit</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1  3%</td>
<td>2 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uses credit</td>
<td>7 64%</td>
<td>16 47%</td>
<td>3 18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>3 27%</td>
<td>12 35%</td>
<td>5 29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total number</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It has previously been noted how the working class place great emphasis on saving enough during their lives in order to have a "proper" funeral, a "decent burial" (Hoggart 1957: 115). As people get older this can become an overwhelming concern to them. A 93 year old woman told me how she just sits there by the fire and hopes there will be enough money "to be put in the ground... The old folk all had good insurances so you could get buried without any worries..." but now it is so expensive she cannot be sure she will get a decent burial. Someone from just down the road had a funeral for £700 recently, which included the grave, headstone, hearse and meal. A headstone alone costs £75 now, while someone who was cremated had to pay...
£30 simply for a square foot of turf to be dug up for his ashes. When I asked why it was so important to have a decent burial the old woman was astonished:

"It's a natural thing to do. To have enough to put you awor under the ground... It's no just twenties an' thirties, it's into hundreds now to be put awor."

It seems possible that one's funeral is considered so important, to the extent that even young people sometimes save for it from a meagre income, because it is regarded as the ultimate assessment of one's respectability in life. The turn out at the burial defines one's social standing - whether one has earned respect from the community (see p.157) - while the expense of it is a final demonstration of one's credit-worthiness. This explains the shame of a pauper's grave: not just the inability to afford the concluding symbol of honourable status, but a lack of kith or kin to ratify that status.

Cleanliness.

Another aspect of being "nice" involves maintaining certain standards of cleanliness. Hoggart argued that working class concern to maintain respectable standards is not so much an aspiration to higher social status as "...a concern not to drop down, not to succumb to the environment" (1957: 78).

The symbolic importance of cleanliness is particularly evident in the way people refurbish their homes. This often has a ritualistic dimension to it as if people are regularly re-ordering their world in order to establish their control over it. About two thirds of Cauldmoss redecorate their living rooms once a year (2nd Quest.,Q.17), mainly before Christmas and, particularly, New Year, which could relate to a notion of regeneration. Of course an alternative inter-
pretation is that this is the period in the year when households are most likely to receive visitors, but the common practice of redecorating immediately when one moves house, and the case of three sons repainting their mother's living room to greet her return from a period in hospital, are further suggestions that there might be some idea of re-birth or re-growth behind this work. Painting a newly occupied house is also a clear assertion of one's control over the new territory, supplanting the previous inhabitants. Incidentally, the results to 0.17 in the Second Questionnaire showed that whereas over two thirds of the council tenants in our sample redecorated every year, only a third of private householders did so. In fact 42% of the private householders had not redecorated for over five years, in contrast to 6% of the council tenants.

Commitment to work.

The obligation to maintain respectable standards of consumption is partly an expression of one's commitment to work, which is an essential aspect of being "nice" and not of "the bad element". For women this means "work" in general, and so their moral worth is doubly confirmed by their fulfilment of wifely duties: keeping the carpet hoovered, the furniture polished and, in particular, the windows shining. For men it means disciplining oneself to regular employment, as described in the last chapter. In many respects men's consumption patterns can be understood as expressions of their employee roles, particularly in the case of drinking, as I will elucidate in Chapter Six. The moral credit earned by being "a good worker", and the measure of a man's worth by his wage, are extended to his consumer power. In establishing his son's credentials a man said in the same breath, "he's a worker ...a big earner, can't stand idle," and the boast of being one of "the big earners" also means being one of "the big money men... askin' what ye're drinkin'". Conversely lack of interest in consumer goods is interpreted, and criticized, as an implicit prefer-
ence for idleness. Physical objects have become visible symbols of inner worth, but the connection with hard work has become less essential, and "big spenders" have prestige almost in their own right. Whatever the origin of the employment ethic, Weber was right in his observation that whereas riches might have once been prestigious as a sign of the owner's devoted work and (by implication) his or her position as one of the elect, today they have become prestigious in themselves: "... the care for external goods...[has] become an iron cage." (Weber 1930:181).

Here Baudrillard is in agreement:

"It is important to read social obligation, the ethos of "conspicuous" consumption everywhere, ...a morality which is still imperative.

So, under this paradoxical determination, objects are not the locus of the satisfaction of needs, but of a symbolic labor, of a "production" in both senses of the term: producers - they are fabricated, but they are also produced as a proof. They are the locus of consecration of an effort, of an uninterrupted performance, ...the heir of the principles that were the foundation of the Protestant ethic and which, according to Weber, motivated the capitalist spirit of production. The morality of consumption relays that of production, or is entangled with it in the same logic of salvation."

(Baudrillard 1981: 33)
The distinction between being "of the bad lot" (rough) and "nice" (respectable) is fundamental to one's membership of the community and the 'restricted' evaluation of status. It is also important to those who subscribe to 'unrestricted' status values and a ladder model of stratification. The distinction between "nice folk" and those in the village who are seen as "snobs" or "clannish" is, however, only meaningful in terms of 'restricted' values. Identification with one's fellow villagers creates powerful constraints on social aspirations: a great sense of equality is felt amongst the bulk of the population and for anyone to leave this tightly defined group of their own will undermines the status of the rest. The direct connection that most inhabitants make between upward social mobility and abandoning one's membership of the community is brilliantly portrayed in Potter's autobiographical play 'Stand Up, Nigel Barton'. Having left his mining village for Oxford University the hero loses his identity: "I don't feel that I belong anywhere." Since one's status is demonstrated largely through lifestyle, the homogeneity of the tight group is principally expressed through consumption.

When asked what people most condemn in Cauldmoss (Q. X) a young woman replied:

"People will condemn ya if you try ta act a class above the rest, if you try ta act like a snob. I think that's about the worst you can get. Just about everybody will condemn you for that."

Her boyfriend agreed: "People get classified as that [a snob] even if they're no. ...maybe get a motor on the road, guid claes an' things like that..."
The link between social status and consumer power was clearly expressed when people were asked what they would do if they won the pools (0.11, 2nd Quest.). A fifth of our sample, who, significantly, were predominantly older people in council houses, specifically mentioned that having a lot of money: "wouldnie change me, I can tell you that the noo. Money wouldnie change me!". This frequently heard assertion seems to be a statement of solidarity with the rest of the village, a denial of having any serious wish to "better oneself". I have repeatedly emphasized that status, as displayed through consumption, is of greater significance to the way people regard each other in Cauldmoss than occupation. Nevertheless occupational mobility is also a clear sign of leaving the main core of the community and can be problematic to those with 'restricted' values, in particular parents whose children follow managerial careers.

A ready-spending ethic.

The obligation to be involved in village life and the constraints on upward social mobility are both contained in a ready-spending ethic. This characterizes the consumption patterns of "traditional proletarian" communities according to Lockwood (1966: 251), who based his analysis on Coal Is Our Life. Dennis et al. explained in two main ways why the miners of Ashton used up their surplus income (after "necessities") in drinking and gambling: to enjoy life while they can because an accident or unemployment could end their pleasure tomorrow, and to maintain a life style that was developed when young on low wages, which they will probably be forced to return to again and which is the norm for the whole town (Dennis et al. 1956: 138-140). Lockwood later emphasized the Durkheimian integration involved in such recreational pursuits, when intense social networks lead to an obligation to join in gregarious leisure and spend one's money "in a public and present-orientated conviviality..." (Lockwood 1966: 251) (for a wider quote see p.83). This kind of expenditure is associated
with an allocation of the household income whereby the wife receives a set amount of "housekeeping money" each week, as was discussed earlier (p.207).

Douglas and Isherwood used an economic functionalist argument to interpret this spending pattern in Ashton. They reasoned that in an occupational community if individuals think they can better themselves on their own they might make private deals with the management and thus threaten the solidarity of the town. Consequently an institution of ready spending on convivial entertainment has developed which prevents anyone from converting a temporary wage differential into permanent capital ownership, thus causing damaging social divisions (Douglas and Isherwood 1979: 168). It might be possible to support this argument with evidence from the 1984-85 miners' strike, in which the lack of unity could have been exacerbated by certain miners' concern to pay their house mortgages, recently acquired under Thatcher's government (Coulter, Miller and Walker 1984: 178). A difficulty with Douglas and Isherwood's thesis is to understand how an individual actor consciously relates to this institution. It would seem that subjective intention is principally negative: people are constrained from spending money on a house or car for fear of ostracism as a snob (cf. Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter 1956: 146), and this then leaves them with little option but to spend on immediate consumption.

Whichever interpretation one emphasises (I do not regard them as incompatible), a high regard for bold, expansive spending on entertainment is frequently expressed in Cauldmos. For instance a man who goes to the club every night of the week (except Sunday) told me:

"I'm lucky in that my wife is really tight - if it was up to me I'd no have a penny... I'd spend it as I got it, you never know what will happen the next day..." - Maggie might have a war for you to get in.
An example of such spending came from a lad who got a summer job as a cement finisher in Aberdeen. They worked from the early hours of the morning until ten or eleven at night and he was "clearing £180 a week". He returned to Cauldmoss with no more money than he had left with, just a beer paunch and tales of all night discos and women, but he had no regrets at not saving a penny. Drinking patterns will be considered in detail later (Ch.6); the other main element of the ready spending ethic is gambling.

Gambling.

Gambling takes three main forms in Cauldmoss: filling in the pools or the newspaper bingo at home, going to bingo sessions outside, or placing bets at the bookmaker in the centre of the village. Probably the majority of households "do the pools" or one of the recent newspaper bingos, at least a third of the women go to bingo sessions but a much smaller proportion of men go to "the bookies". Those who put lines on the horses might be divided between moderate spenders who put from 50 pence to a few pounds on bets, and a few very serious gamblers who frequently place bets of several hundred pounds and sometimes win over £1,000. This latter group are greatly admired by the small-time gamblers at the bookies but criticized as too excessive by most other people, although gambling in general is only condemned on moral grounds by about 10% of the population (see answers to Q.32, 1st Quest., Appendix A).

It is only with the pools, and lately with the newspaper bingos, that the principal motive for gambling can be regarded as the wish to escape from one's working class conditions. Many people in Cauldmoss feel that their weekly payment (often about £1) for the pools is their only chance of significantly changing their situation, and when asked what they would do if they won the pools (Q.11, 2nd Quest.) a
quarter said they would buy a house, some would also leave Cauldmoss. some would stop working and others would start "a wee business" or invest it because "it'd be the one chance you had". However even in relation to sizeable winnings a large number of people suggested that long term economic motives did not concern them, and their answers were more in keeping with the "vigorous and frivolous" leisure of Ashton (Dennis et al. 1956: 130). One woman said if she won the pools she would blow it all: "It's fun money... ye can spend it all... no as if you earnt it...". Others said they would spend the money going out, drinking, or on clothes, while many said they would go on a great holiday. Most of the pensioners asked said the winnings would go to their children, and as mentioned previously, a fifth of our respondents stated that winning the pools "wouldnie change me". Hoggart emphasises "the simple thrill of taking a chance... of 'aving a go'" (1957: 137) which lies behind all forms of gambling, and he concludes that most pools players are not anxiously longing for a win each week but having "a sort of throw, a gesture for luck. It would be... 'luvly' if something turned up, and 'there's no 'arm in 'oping."") (ibid.: 140).

For those who use the bookies in Cauldmoss the real achievement seems to be to win a lot, in itself, not to win money in order to do anything with it. The excitement of winning is what matters, not the consumption afterwards - unless it is to celebrate the win, to reaffirm it. In fact a lot of winnings are very often spent either on celebratory drinks, thus increasing the social dimension of gambling, or on further bets. Gamblers sometimes talk as if they have a personal vendetta against the bookie himself, "they see Rab as a personal enemy..." to be beaten with an enormous win. When they fantasize about "goin' to skin the bookie" the intention to then buy a car or whatever comes as an afterthought, and when gamblers do make a winning these intentions are rarely realized.
The motive of having a bit of fun while you can and, above all, doing it with a lot of other people, is even more clear with bingo. This can be played almost very night of the week in Cauldmoss, at either the social or Masonic Club, or at the Centre, but most players only go once a week on a regular night. As Dixie has pointed out, neither the money spent (about £2 for an evening) nor that won at bingo (typically £5-£10, exceptionally £40, in Cauldmoss) is very significant in terms of the overall household budget (Dixie with Talbot 1982: 9). Even when a really large sum is won, such as £200, the winner is likely to distribute the money amongst her relatives and friends and keep only a small fraction for herself. Thus, as with the conventions for drinking, spare cash tends not to be accumulated.

The largest and most frequent sessions take place in the social club, with 150 to 200 people attending, the majority of whom are women (of all ages), plus a few elderly men. The sessions continue for about an hour after which many women stop for a drink before going home. For most women in Cauldmoss bingo is primarily a social activity: "I do it for to socialize with other women, because they are mainly women...". (Note the immediate justification of a woman's leisure by affirming it is almost exclusively female.) When asked if she thought bingo is a luxury, one of the callers in the village said that it is all women have got in Cauldmoss. There are only pubs and clubs and most women do not like to simply go out drinking. "A wee game of bingo is their night out." So long as it is not at the cost of the wains' food "I dinnie grudge a woman a wee night out at bingo." This confirms the principal argument of Dixie and Talbot's report that bingo has an essentially social nature (1982).

A few women travel to neighbouring towns to play bingo for much higher winnings than those in Cauldmoss, but the books are more expensive. In contrast prize bingos, which are fund-raising exercises, have no cash winnings but are played for prizes that have been donated (which range from ordinary household items like tights.
tinned food, bottles of drink (e.g. Martini or wine) to hampers of food or a big prize like a huge teddy). They are seen as distinct from cash bingos, and many of the church-going respectable women who are proud not to play bingo for money enjoy attending prize bingo every week or fortnight. The communal nature of the game is emphasized when the winner of a large prize sometimes gives it away; for instance a young woman who won a sack of coal announced she would donate it to the oldest person in the room.

The balance between gregarious and private expenditure.

Practically all employed households in Cauldmoss make a regular payment to either a life insurance, an endowment policy or some other form of savings (96% amongst the employed, 53% amongst the unemployed and 56% amongst the retired: Q. 15, 2nd Quest.). Nevertheless spending for immediate pleasure is considered by many (particularly men) to epitomize traditional, 'restricted' values and distinguish ordinary people from "stuck-up folk". The latter are often condemned for being so reluctant to use their money: "That cunt I'm working for - he'll no' spend anything...". There is also resentment expressed at those who are considered to have the wrong balance of expenditure between gregarious leisure and private (domestic) consumption. The two are often seen as alternatives, thus an old farmer told how her husband used to let her spend his wage on the house "...because his home was his home, - he'd say 'What's the point of having a home unless you're in it?' - he wasn't one for standin' in a pub." More frequently one hears people scorned by men for being overly concerned with the state of their homes at the cost of social involvement. When someone devoted a lot of time to hanging their new wallpaper it was described as "terrible", "...it's like a disease."
Spending on cars is also seen as an indicator of one's balance between gregarious and privatized consumption. However people are very ambivalent in their values towards expensive cars, sometimes resenting those owning such models (particularly if local people), and sometimes according them prestige (to be discussed p.286). When questioned about the social groups in the village (Q. T) the largest employer in Cauldmoss described two types of people. He talked of how some of his lorry drivers spend £30 a week in the club on drink and brag about it, while others might save that amount and buy a new car. The latter are resented as miserable so-and-sos always saving, but when they get the car the others are jealous. Both groups work as hard as each other.

"...I suppose this is where the snobbish bit comes in... the dividing line is near enough between the people who make use of the money they earn and then those who are proud of spending big money."

A few men earn enough to run a car but choose not to do so. They embody the more extreme of traditional values, being focussed inwards on the community with little desire to widen their range of social contacts, and in not granting esteem to car ownership.

Home ownership.

Home ownership has already been alluded to, and of all the various aspects of life style that are sometimes regarded as snobbish - unusual food, unconventional clothes, elaborate furnishing, expensive cars - there is nothing that so clearly determines one's departure from the traditional values of being "nice" according to a fairly static, tripartite stratification of society. After the Second World War people were resented for thinking they were superior simply because they had moved from a but and ben to a council house with a
proper toilet: their pretensions were ridiculed by reference to the rings of the pail that were still imprinted in their buttocks. Today home ownership is often seen as a commitment to a different pattern of spending from the 'traditional' norm, and by implication a desire for upward social mobility. In fact the changed pattern of consumption is usually forced on the new home owners through the cost of their mortgage payments.

Of the three quarters of the Cauldmoss population who live in council houses only two tenants have bought their houses (enabled under the Conservative government of 1979-83). Ironically the main things that inhibit others from doing likewise, and which has perpetuated the association of rented accommodation with traditional working class norms, are financial considerations, not social values. The vast majority in the village would love to own their own homes, but not in Cauldmoss. This is part of their self-effacement, described in Chapter Three, but because of the social stigma attached to the village the economics of house buying are affected. People recognize that if nobody else is buying houses it will be very difficult to sell one's own, and so stupid to buy in the first place. A second reason why people do not buy their council houses is the design (to be discussed later p.285), but no one mentioned ideological objections. "I believe there's quite a few" would like to buy their houses, one man commented, "That's against Labour policy - and I don't know why."

Only a few claim they have no wish to buy a house at all, with the consequences it would entail for their habit of ready spending. They would prefer to enjoy their "social life" and have holidays abroad rather than be "scraping to own their own house". A young man epitomized the ready spending ethic in berating his fellow villagers for their materialism. He said most people worked hard in order to drink, but a few "are materialistic" and want the money to buy a house. He went on to ridicule those who give up decent food and their social lives to pay a mortgage "when they could be in a council
house". He clearly thought that the acquisition of durable possessions is far more materialistic than expenditure on eating and drinking. His scorn echoes that of people who call new private housing schemes "spam valley", referring to the diet first-home owners are reduced to in order to afford their mortgages.

An analysis of the traditional expansive spending pattern of the working class illustrates how economic factors and cultural values can reinforce and perpetuate each other. The ready-spending ethic inhibits substantial change in the life-chances of the working class since working people are discouraged from accumulating even a little capital, if it is possible. The histories of some Asian families in working class areas provide interesting cross-cultural comparisons of work and spending ethics, and the financial outcomes that can result from these values.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF RECIPROCITY.

In the previous section I tried to show how the cultural values accorded to one's membership of the village, one's traditional working class respectability and one's regular employment, are affirmed and reproduced in a particular pattern of consumption, which constitutes being "nice". Many of the goods or services used in Cauldmoss have a further value in that they are exchanged, and the principles which govern social exchange make this institution intrinsic to the integration of the community. These principles, in particular the norm of reciprocity, shape and often perpetuate the relationships that people have with each other. In general they tend to act both as a catalyst to social involvement and consumption, and as a force for conformity in consumption patterns.
Social exchange has been the focus of sociological and social anthropological theorizing since at least the beginning of this century (see Ekeh 1974). Suffice to say that I have found the "French" collectivist school (Ekeh 1974), to be of greatest use in understanding social exchange in Cauldmoss. Mauss states there is a fundamental "obligation to give" from which the other institutions of social exchange stem, the obligations to receive and to repay.

"To refuse to give, or to fail to invite, is - like refusing to accept - the equivalent of a declaration of war; it is a refusal of friendship and intercourse. Again, one gives because one is forced to do so,..."

(Mauss 1954: 11).

The various etic classifications of exchange are numerous, with infinite possible variations as to what can be identified as part of the transactions (people, goods, services, opportunities, etc.). However, to understand the significance of social exchange in a particular culture this theorizing is irrelevant unless it relates to indigenous concepts. In Cauldmoss it would appear that three different kinds of exchange are distinguished at various times, though they have no indigenous names, they do not parallel anthropologists' classifications and the distinctions between the categories are not consistently maintained. In discussing the employment ethic the notion that one should contribute to society in return for one's benefits was mentioned (p. 200). This is an example of what anthropologists, adopting Levi-Strauss's terminology, know as 'generalized exchange', in this case long term. I will not pursue this kind of exchange here, since it has little connection with the value attached to specific commodities. The second type of exchange recognized in Cauldmoss includes both generalized exchange when it occurs in the short term, as with standing rounds of drinks or cigarettes, and what anthropologists term 'immediate restricted exchange'. These two categories of exchange are not distinguished by the participants. However
Immediate restricted exchange is identified as different from 'delayed restricted exchange', the third group of exchanges recognized in Cauldmoss. Though he coined new terms, Sahlins pinpointed an important difference between 'immediate' and 'delayed' restricted exchange which is acknowledged in Cauldmoss (though rarely expressed):

"It is notable of the main run of [delayed restricted exchanges] that the material flow is sustained by prevailing social relations; whereas, for the main run of [immediate restricted exchanges], social relations hinge on the material flow." (Sahlins 1974: 195)

Immediate restricted exchange and short term generalized exchange.

Immediate restricted exchange is that form of exchange most clearly determined by the principle of reciprocity: that a gift is never free and unless reciprocated it involves a loss of prestige (Gouldner 1973:242). In men's everyday lives the main material things exchanged in this way are cigarettes and alcohol, while tea or coffee, biscuits and cigarettes are the main things exchanged in this form by women. Though drinking in groups is actually less overt and common than often assumed, exchanging pints among a small number of men is fairly typical and establishes the participants as equals - as men, as workers and as earners (see p.321 for a full discussion). Housewives feel obliged to offer visitors a drink and snack at any time of the day. As one would expect, the hospitality is more elaborate and formal the less familiar the visitor is, but even close friends are usually given tea or coffee, and this is generally accompanied by chocolate biscuits (rarely plain ones), a slice of cake or fancy confectionary. In the evening, particularly after drinking (at home or in the pub) some "supper" is offered: a hot snack like scrambled eggs on toast or cheese toasties. This hospitality rarely has a
practical logic, since there is no suggestion that the guest actually needs to be fed, but the woman knows that she or her family have had, or will get, the same reception when they drop in on their visitor. The distinction between what is an 'immediate' and what is a 'delayed' return of gifts is not clear cut; the only relevant criteria are how the actors perceive the transaction. If the original giver expects an equivalent gift in the near future, as with the offer of a cigarette between two smokers, it is immediate exchange. If the giver does not expect to stay long enough to have two cigarettes it might be delayed exchange: when they meet by chance a week later the original recipient might return a cigarette. Inviting friends for a main meal, one of the principal forms of immediate restricted exchange in middle class culture, is extremely rare in Cauldmoss, except amongst close relatives when it is usually perceived as delayed restricted exchange (see p.268). The constraints of reciprocity extend to furnishings as well; a couple are pleased to have friends round to enjoy their new carpet and three piece suite, while the visitors are likely to feel belittled if they only have a worn old couch to offer when the visit is returned.

Giving people Christmas presents or, more commonly in Cauldmoss, Christmas cards, are ideal examples of immediate restricted exchange, since the exchange is usually simultaneous and equivalent. When someone receives an unsolicited Christmas card s/he is generally very anxious to return one as soon as possible, while often resenting that the sender should presume (and by doing so actually realize) such a relationship.

Immediate restricted exchange tends to act as an impetus for greater consumption as well as leading to more homogeneity in spending patterns. Once something has been given a chain of events is started which can only be avoided with social embarrassment, and the relationship which results from these events will in turn prompt the exchange of further goods. It should be possible for a group to
conform to a low level of consumption as much as a high one, but a ratchet effect leads everyone to consume at the rate of the fastest, since one can always precipitate the next round but not (within the conventions) delay it. This largely explains why people feel obliged to "keep up with the Joneses" in their household furnishings: not to do so would mean being excluded from the potential exchange of hospitality (Douglas and Isherwood 1979: 126).

The participants' merging of short term generalized exchange and immediate restricted exchange is common to the use of three social drugs in Cauldross: alcohol, cigarettes and cannabis. It seems that the important convention of reciprocity governing the exchange of these items is that the transaction is completed by the end of that gathering, and debts are not carried over to another day (in practice this does sometimes happen). Cannabis use is restricted to a small section of mainly young men; alcohol is widely used by the whole adult population, though particularly by men, and is the subject of the next chapter. Cigarettes are smoked by perhaps half the adult population, more amongst the older half than younger half, and amongst the young, probably more amongst women than men. The majority of smokers use manufactured cigarettes, usually middle or low tar brands like 'Embassy', 'Silk Cut' or 'Benson and Hedges', and some roll their own 'Old Holborn' or 'Golden Virginia'. This is generally considered a means of economizing and in company those with "taylor-made" cigarettes often proffer them to people rolling tobacco as if the latter would much prefer the pre-fabricated version. It is considered highly peculiar for a woman to roll her own cigarettes.

When in a group people always offer their cigarettes around to the other smokers whenever they take one for themselves. However if a few people who have previously been exchanging cigarettes are joined by others the original group might continue sharing their cigarettes amongst themselves. As with drinking, this reciprocity constrains people to conform to a common rate of consumption, and if someone has
not finished her previous cigarette another one is laid beside her for the future. Frequently a person will empty half a packet of twenty in smoking two cigarettes, but in the long run she will receive ten back from other people. The common level of consumption usually means a pressure to smoke more, since everyone gets a cigarette at the frequency of the heaviest smoker, and it is socially impossible to smoke a moderate amount (say ten a day). One either smokes as much as everyone else - perhaps 20 or 30 a day - or none at all. Clearly a smoker who expects to spend some time with other smokers will feel she has to have a fairly full packet of cigarettes with her.

Delayed restricted exchange.

Delayed restricted exchange is usually a consequence of particular social relationships, rather than the social relationships being formed through acts of exchange. Things are given with little expectation that they will be returned, in an act described as "generosity", yet ultimately the giver expects the recipient to be indebted to her. The most obvious example is the nurturing of children by their parents, where reciprocity is only implicit and not stipulated by time, quantity or quality. Cross-culturally, delayed restricted exchange is most common between close kin, but the immobility of the Cauld Moss population means that a gift from a neighbour or credit from the shop can be returned over a long period in almost the way that kinship links endure. When there is such an obligation it reinforces the existing relationships since "the relationship is in the feeling of indebtedness not in the gift." (Leach 1982:154)

Helping friends, and more particularly kin, to find jobs is probably economically the most important form of delayed restricted exchange. The significance of personal kinship networks in job recruitment has previously been discussed (p.136 and 178). Delayed restricted
exchange is also important in relation to consumption, though it does not, in general, act as a catalyst for greater consumption in the way that balanced reciprocity does, since the relationship associated with the exchange already exists. Examples of close kin engaging in this kind of exchange include parents' material provision for their children (see p.276) and bingo players sharing their winnings with their siblings. The principle of delayed restricted exchange is neatly encapsulated in the saying heard in Cauldmoss that: "A gift to a friend is no loss."

Gift giving is a central part of weddings, and the bride can be preoccupied with preventing guests duplicating presents, and establishing what gifts must have cost, right up until the "show of presents". This and the hen night are the main events prior to the marriage. The presents are put on display, generally in the bride's parents' house, and all the female wedding guests are invited to view them, the occasion usually being accompanied by tea, sandwiches or alcohol. One of the main topics of interest is the price of each gift, and discrete comments are made in praise of the expensive ones and belittling those that were clearly cheaper than one's own. This interest in the size of presents is partly a recognition that they are statements of the guest's perceived relationship to the bride. There is clearly scope for ambiguity in this, so a guest might try and establish a closer relationship than was previously recognized or might distance herself with a modest present. The expense of gifts is also a straightforward assertion of 'unrestricted' social status (to be discussed later: p.278), some earning the comment that they are "too showy".

The items given are almost exclusively household utensils and furnishings, such as towels, kitchen equipment (from simple tools to microwaves), furniture, silver decorations, clocks, bedding and so on. This is the traditional way in which one's friends and relatives, particularly of an older generation, help with one of the major
financial burdens of one's life: establishing a home.

**Social exclusion through reciprocity.**

Although the principle of reciprocity often leads to increased consumption and makes it more homogeneous, the obligation to reciprocate gifts also discourages people from social involvement at times. Since certain forms of social exchange imply particular relationships between those involved, people who do not want to establish such a relationship try to avoid accepting the initial gift. In Cauldmoor exchanging meals in each other's houses is restricted almost totally to close kin or affines, Sunday dinner being the principal occasion. It would appear that this is treated as a form of delayed restricted exchange where the repayment does not have to be immediate or exact. Clearly people are well aware of the special relationship they have with those who come to eat in their house, and they are extremely cautious in entering this form of exchange with people outside their family. Such familiarity might bring with it other obligations and demands.

Immediate exchange establishes a degree of equality between the participants which can exclude those who dislike each other, such as a woman whose husband's relatives had never stepped into her house since the day after he died: "But I don't owe them nothing and they don't owe me nothing, so that's ixie pixie." It can also exclude those who consider themselves of a different status from others:

"The 'respectable' or 'aspirant', as I called them... are not willing to be under obligation to their neighbours. For they hope their neighbours will soon be, if they are not already, their social inferiors." (Frankenberg 1966: 160)
On the other hand those who know they cannot afford the level of consumption of their fellow villagers also avoid reciprocal relationships, for very different reasons. This leads to a tendency for people to mix socially with others of similar economic means, and can fragment consumption patterns rather than make them more homogeneous, a topic I will return to in Chapter Seven.

AGE: ESTABLISHING ADULTHOOD.

Age affects the cultural value ascribed to consumption in three main ways. First, people of different ages in Cauldmoss evaluate goods differently. In respect to the other variables that determine the symbolic value of commodities, older folk in Cauldmoss generally accord more value to membership of the community, being "nice", commitment to work (see p.203) and conforming to gender roles, while they are far less likely to subscribe to 'unrestricted' status values. The results to Questions 11, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 of the Second Questionnaire illustrate this. Older people's greater involvement in the village and their concern to remain "nice" rather than aspire to higher status is suggested by 44% of retired households in our sample saying that if they won the pools it would not change their way of life, and 44% saying they would give the money to their families. In the total sample only 19% answered Q.11 in this way. Focus on the local community is further illustrated by only 44% of retired households having a telephone, compared with 60% of all households in the sample (Q.19). Presumably the lesser value that the old attach to telephones because of their village involvement is counteracted by their restricted mobility. Their lack of concern with 'unrestricted' status is indicated by only 6% of retired households saying that if they had more money they would spend it on cars, and 6% on clothes, whereas in the overall sample 15% and 13% of households answered in those respective ways (Q.11). Furthermore no retired households had videos compared with a quarter of all house-
holds questioned (Q.21), only a fifth of the retired households had
deep freezes compared with a third of all households (Q.22), and only
a fifth of the retired households in our sample had cars in contrast
to nearly half of all households questioned (Q.20). In general older
folk seem to be more content with the material standard of living
they currently have, and they are not so influenced by fashion. For
instance they are often satisfied with the solid, dark stained furni-
ture they bought twenty years ago, or the faded settee and thin
carpet they have had since before their spouse died, and have little
desire to renew them. Any extra they might have is more likely to be
spent on their children or grandchildren than on their own
furnishings. In answer to Q.18 (2nd Quest.) a quarter of retired
households said their suite was over 16 years old, and far fewer
retired folk had modern furniture in comparison with the overall
sample.

The second way in which age is an important variable affecting the
symbolic value of goods, is that certain commodities are wanted
because of what they signify about one's age. In particular, certain
goods confer adult status, and this meaning is generally accepted by
all ages of the population. By a simple logic, the commodities that
most clearly denote adulthood are those denied to children, such as
cigarettes and alcohol. However smoking has probably become less
important to children in recent years as less adults smoke. In Cauld-
moss male smoking seems to have declined much more than female smo-
king has, which is a magnification of a national trend (Amos 1986).
At present regular smoking amongst school pupils seems to be restric-
ted mainly to the most unruly male minority. The legal restrictions
on under-age drinking means that to do so is an assertion of
maturity, as I will describe in the next chapter (p.319). When an
eighteen year old won on the horses others found it very funny that
he did not "get bevvied" but instead bought a lot of sweeties to
celebrate.
For young men the use, and if possible, acquisition, of first motor- 
bikes and then cars seems to be an important way of asserting their 
departure from childhood. Most lads are keen to try riding a pal's 
old motorbike, and those that shy from doing so are scorned. The 
maturity conveyed seems to come about partly through the understand-
ing and control of the machinery and partly through the willingness 
to take the risk of injury. On both counts the lack of a clutch, 
lights or brakes enhances one's esteem. Most of the bikes ridden by 
tenagers in Cauldmoss are cheap machines without M.O.T.s or licen-
ces, and their owners frequently spend as long repairing them as 
riding them. Actually to own a vehicle indicates a further element of 
adulthood: possession of large scale property. Many lads plan to save 
their initial earnings for a car, and parents often help them on this 
course to maturity.

Perhaps more important than using particular commodities to express 
one's adult identity is having a certain pattern of spending, "an 
independence". This is the third main way in which age is related to 
consumption. Having "an independence" is clearly a strongly held 
concept in regard to one's financial circumstances, and the phrase 
constantly recurs in relation to general financial worries, to cred- 
itors (not being in debt), or in relation to one's parents. It seems 
to be about experiencing freedom from constraint and the exercizing 
of personal choice in spending. Of course the cultural constraints on 
spending are largely invisible (as discussed p.229) people want to 
experience choice within these limits. Having autonomous spending 
power first becomes important when a youngster becomes aware of 
his/her dependence on parental income, and thus employment and earn-
ing a wage is essential in the process of becoming a real adult in 
society. The hallmark of having "an independence" for teenagers is 
paying "dig money" to their mothers, and until making their own 
economic contribution to the household they are subject to their 
parents' authority. Mauss's maxim that "the gift [board and lodging] 
is never free" largely explains the legitimacy of parents' domestic
power. In the past boys longed to leave school for even the most poorly paid, arduous, employment, in order to make this transition to adulthood. Today teenagers are probably less ready to take any job simply to have their own income (they can get £16.50 a week on Supplementary Benefit - to be discussed in Ch. 7), but the wage is still the passport to the adult world in which one chooses one's own belongings, perhaps buys a car, and eventually saves enough to get married and start one's own home. As Willis argues, to grow up in a market economy means gaining a place in the market, exercising a voice in it, much more than simply becoming politically enfranchised.

At nearly all events in the Centre sweets, crisps and soft drinks are available from a bar upstairs (as well as tea or coffee for adults) and this is a central feature at the youth clubs. The relish with which even six or seven year olds choose how to budget their 30 pence spending money is an indication of how important autonomous spending is for the development of their personal identities. This importance is further illustrated by the way leisure marketed to the individual is of much greater interest to young wage earners than organized leisure: they are exercising their choice as consumers (cf. Willis 1977: 36).

GENDER.

To a large extent asserting one's maturity is synonymous with establishing one's gender. The rigid division of employment, house work and recreational activities between the sexes shows how important the concepts of gender are in Cauldmoss, as I described in Chapter Three (p.108). It is within this sphere that the social order is most clearly constituted by means of consumption; whether it is through the woman wearing jewellery, preparing the meals, or exercising her responsibility in choosing the living-room furnishings or the "messages" to be got on the weekly expedition to the supermarket, or
through the man mowing the garden, eating most at tea, buying the drinks, or driving the car. The everyday use of consumer goods is granted a particular value to the extent that it confirms individuals' positions within gender categories, and by so doing reproduces the categories themselves. Rather than reiterate the meaning of gender as expounded in Chapter Three and show how it is expressed in everyday consumption, I will highlight the most important ways in which spending establishes masculine identity and the man's role in the family.

Masculinity.

The connection between strenuous, disciplined employment and masculinity has been discussed in the last chapter. Since one's wage is a measure of one's worth and masculinity - the hard worker is a "big earner" - a man's consumer power is directly related to his esteem as a male. This is epitomized in the use of alcohol, to be described in the next chapter, but it encourages greater expenditure in many other areas, particularly with food (buying meat), cars and courting women. As in most societies sex is closely linked to money or power: when a young man "goes out" to pick up a woman the places he visits, the clothes he wears, the drinks he buys her and the mode of transport he offers her all indicate something about his earnings. But the money a man spends on a woman when courting has a much more important significance than simply being an index of masculinity: again "the gift is never free", and the woman will feel obliged to reciprocate by granting favours.

Some commodities have qualities that are intrinsic to the cultural meaning of masculinity. Frequently such goods are also expensive, but this is a secondary and largely independent way in which they denote masculinity. (The relationship between an object's intrinsic male qualities and its expense could be a good example of social meaning
underlying use value and so determining economic demand: see p.228). In terms of food, meat is the most important aspect of masculine identity, an association that seems common to most cultures. To relish steak epitomizes manliness, male vegetarians are sometimes associated with "pooftas", and even old men have meat as the highest priority in their budget alongside heating. Sahlins has an historical explanation for the gender connotations of meat: "...the centrality of the meat, ...evokes the masculine pole of a sexual code of food which must go back to the Indo-European identification of cattle or increasable wealth with virility." (Sahlins 1976: 171) Another food that can enhance a man's masculinity is hot curry, sometimes eaten after an evening's drinking. It is interesting that when men do occasionally participate in the female sphere of cooking, they are usually preparing a very meaty meal, or a curry. When I had supper with one of the "hardest" men in Cauldmos, he made a great show of putting away the spices he had bought that day, cutting each little bag with an enormous hunting knife. The meal he then prepared consisted principally of steak, and both the meatiness of it, plus its costly nature (with red wine, and so on), probably prevented any aspersions of femininity in his cooking.

Large aggressive dogs (or small ones if sufficiently pugnacious, e.g. a Boston pit bull terrier) confirm their owner's masculinity, presumably because they are subordinate to his will. Probably the majority of Cauldmos households have a dog, and it is usually the man's responsibility to feed it and take it for regular walks, though many are allowed to run free around the streets. Alsations are probably the most common breed, while the dogs owned by women are usually small ones like Jack Russels, Scotch terriers or poodles. Men will take pride in the ferocity of their dog even though they acknowledge the problems it causes to control the animal; one man told two women a lengthy tale of how he had had to break a 2" by 2" piece of timber over his new doberman's head in order to subdue it, as if it were an epic of man's mastery over brute nature. Some women use the symbolic
male protection of large dogs when living alone or walking on their own at night, but others assert that Alsatians and similar breeds must have a man's voice to control them, otherwise they are unreliable.

Control over powerful machinery also has masculine meaning, the classic example being cars. In Cauldmoss even in households that have a car the woman usually cannot drive, and where she can she will almost never do so when travelling with her husband, unless he is drunk. It is a strange sight in the village to see a woman at the wheel with a man next to her. However cheap they are, cars in Cauldmoss nearly always have powerful engines; Morris Minors, Minis or Citroen Dayanpes are rarely seen, and those that are usually belong to women. This power is demonstrated through fast driving, and the extra brake lights young men are fond of installing in their rear windows emphasise their speed, since they "drive on their brakes". The power of a car is enjoyed as an extension of one's own body's capacities, with the vehicle responding to one's intentions and touch. Two mechanics took great pleasure in telling a single woman how they write-off two or three cars a month because they "drive them so hard": even powerful engines could not extend their physical capabilities far enough. This is a well known theme in the literature on cars and continues to prompt new analyses (e.g. Bayley 1986: 7-8).

Other machinery also boosts the owner or user's confidence in his bodily abilities and thus his manhood: chain saws are far more suited to grown men than bow saws; hand drills or hand shears smack of elderly ineffectiveness - the virile man uses a power drill or electric hedge trimmer. It is not only the power but also the danger involved in fast driving or chain saws that makes them manly, and this aspect of masculinity might be a further attraction to heavy drinking. Men like to be seen to be taking risks and one example of this could be their readiness to incur the physical poisoning of excessive drinking: the fact their system can take it shows them to
be all the hardier.

These examples of how the value of masculinity pervades different areas of consumption also demonstrate how the attributes of gender are social constructions, not biological outcomes, and so need not have any logic other than their conventional associations. Thus driving a fast car is more manly than riding a bicycle, even though the latter involves far more physical strength which in other contexts is associated with masculinity. Similarly the current fashion for young men's clothes (see p.239) and highlighted or permed hair involves a style that by older standards would appear positively effeminate.

Parenthood and family responsibilities.

Gender identity and family roles are thoroughly entwined, as was discussed in Chapter Three (p.115). How is a man's role within the family, as a husband and father, expressed through consumption? Apart from meat, the commodities mentioned above in relation to masculinity are all usually bought by men, whereas the bulk of household spending is done by women. This is evident from the replies to Q.13 and 14 of the Second Questionnaire (analyzed earlier, p.205), while Table 5.1 (p.218) suggests that about 75% of household income is spent by the wife. However, as I explained before (p.211), women's responsibility for the family budget is principally to their husbands, and it can be argued that wives' spending decisions are made on the basis of their husbands' wishes. The man's main role in the family is to provide his wife and children with the means to consume, and their standard of living (particularly evident in their clothes) is the principal way in which his responsibility to them is judged. The moral esteem of being a hard worker is above all the virtue of disciplining oneself to employment for the sake of one's family, as I expounded in the last chapter (p.197).
Mothers face most of the daily pressures from their children to conform to their friends' level of consumption in sweets, toys and clothing, and the children's style of living demonstrates both the mother's competence in managing the household budget and the father's ability to provide it. "Caring" parents send their children to school in smart clothes, buy them proper bags to carry their books to the secondary school and ensure they have adequate spending money when going out to the youth club or on a trip to the town. Mothers and fathers sometimes state with pride that they never deny their children anything they might want, whether it is sweets, a bike, a stereo or, more recently, a home computer, and if a man's parental role is called into question he frequently begins his self-defence by saying how he has always ensured his children had an adequate material standard of living.

The aspect of a woman's consumption which has greatest value in testifying to her husband's (masculine) worth is her appearance in public, particularly when they go out together. On "social" occasions, such as evenings out at one of the clubs, men are dressed much more casually than the women, who are invariably made-up and usually wear jewellery. This supports Veblen's idea (Veblen 1924/1899) that men exhibit their wealth or income through the fineries of their wives. A striking example of such vicarious consumption is a man who has his long standing girlfriend present herself to him when she has finished dressing up to go out, in order that he might vet her. It should be added that a man's role in supporting his wife's life style is already expressed by the frequency with which he takes her out, and so it is very important that he should buy the drinks for them both (to be considered further: p.309).
In the more private sphere of the home the interweaving of emotional and material aspects of family life have been analyzed by Burgoyne:

"To appreciate the meanings behind the rituals of daily domestic life is to recognize that much of the currency used in the transactions and exchanges which symbolize family love, care and loyalty requires material resources. It is not for nothing that we choose and give presents, cook and serve up food, even load and unload washing machines to show our love for those closest to us."

(Burgoyne 1987:14)

'UNRESTRICTED' STATUS EVALUATION.

In Chapter Three I argued that in Cauldmos 'restricted' working class values coexist with 'unrestricted' values. According to the latter social status is defined less endogenously and more in terms of national reference groups. There is not a major distinction between the majority of "nice" folk and those seen as "snobs" who aspire to be middle class, but instead the social hierarchy might be represented as a continuous ladder. Within this ideal type individuals aspire to rise as high as possible in society, expressing their status through distinctive consumption. The few ethnographic details to be found in the theoretical literature on consumption are nearly always examples of such 'unrestricted' distinctive consumption: they refer almost exclusively to middle class or petit bourgeois culture and rarely mention the 'restricted' evaluation of the traditional working class (see Sahlins 1976, Baudrillard 1981, Bourdieu 1984, etc.).
As I argued previously (p.104), the reasons why a particular combination of 'restricted' and 'unrestricted' values are to be found in Cauldmoss should be sought in the wider context of our industrial society's development. Goldthorpe suggested that as a result of the decay of old status group structures:

"...class inequalities, for which the status hierarchy previously provided a 'traditionalistic' legitimation, become more often regarded as arbitrary and contingent rather than as part of 'the order of things', and that in turn normative restraints on what are seen as 'appropriate' rewards, entitlements and opportunities are weakened. Moreover, this process can only be encouraged as the ethos of consumerism and continuing material advancement secures wider acceptance, and as the limitations on wants and lifestyles imposed by traditional communities and sub-cultures, especially those of the working class, are undermined."  

(Goldthorpe 1995: 129)

As soon as it becomes legitimate to aspire to a status beyond that of being "nice" - beyond belonging to the community, being a hard worker and respectable working class - then a wide range of different social positions become possible. The effect of this on consumption patterns can be understood in terms of Weber's concept of status. This is based on the principle that a person's social position is manifested in their "style of life". This demonstrates both the individual's assent to a particular set of values, and, to the extent that the life style involves social participation with a group who hold those values, that group's acceptance of the individual as being of their status. Thus "The decisive role of a 'style of life' in status 'honor' means that status groups are the specific bearers of all 'conventions'." (Weber 1948: 191).
"As soon as there is not a mere individual and socially irrelevant imitation of another style of life, but an agreed-upon communal action of this closing character, the 'status' development is under way.

... Above all, this differentiation evolves in such a way as to make for strict submission to the fashion that is dominant at a given time in society." (ibid.: 188)

It is important to emphasize that 'unrestricted' values are not a thoroughly modern phenomenon, though they have probably become more prevalent in recent decades as the traditional norms have faded. Nor are 'restricted' or 'unrestricted' values held exclusively of each other; the same individuals in Cauldmos might well accede to both outlooks at various times. In fact in some respects they reinforce each other, as with the distinction maintained between being respectable and being "of the bad element" (p. 231). The principles by which people accord 'unrestricted' status honour are not endogenous in the way that the criteria of being "nice" are, but they are not adopted from the wider society unmediated, as if filling a blank slate. The 'external' values and reference groups, provided by the television, radio, newspapers, schools, friends and relatives outwith the village, and personal experience of wider society, are interpreted by people in Cauldmos according to pre-existing values. For the exogenous values to have any significance locally they have to be reproduced continually within the village, by the use of commodities, the confirmation of values through conversation, the granting of prestige to particular consumers or the aspiration to acquire certain goods. Evidently the meaning of goods can sometimes be transformed by their local interpretation, as with the use of punk styles discussed earlier (p. 240) (see Cohen 1965:46-49 for examples of imported forms being given indigenous meanings).
Examples of consumption patterns motivated by 'unrestricted' values are numerous in Cauldmoss, and in certain spheres traditional constraints seem negligible. This is particularly the case with clothing, holidays, decorating and furnishing of living rooms, aspiration to home ownership and the use of cars.

Clothing.

Clothes are an extremely important part of young people's expenditure, and new clothing is likely to be of greater priority than buying records, cassettes or drinks. Teenagers of both sexes are highly fashion conscious, and clothes are one of the main forms of Christmas presents bought for them by their parents. The local youth and community leader commented that in other villages nearby youngsters are far more casual about what they wear at a disco, whereas in Cauldmoss: "You couldn't possibly go in jeans with a hole in them, or faded, or anything like that... unless you're dressing up as a punk rocker... normally the girls are very particular about their clothes, and the boys are becoming that as well, you know, fancy hair styles...". She thought these ideas were picked up in the local town, but could not explain why they were not currency in the other ex-mining villages around. Every three weeks there is a disco at the Community Centre for fourteen to eighteen year olds, and the girls question each other about what new things they have to wear. While "the ones that don't have the money" wear two sets of clothes alternately, those in work, or who receive a lot of money from their parents, come with new clothes to each disco. This conspicuous consumption peaks at the Christmas disco, held a day or two before the 25th but by which time most children have been given their presents and wear their new outfits.
Make up and jewellery are essential for women to be smartly dressed, but whereas older women might only wear jewellery when "going out", young employed women increasingly wear it all the time. It seems that jewellery is a form of apparel which gives women infinite scope in distinguishing their status. A Cauldmoss woman who sold jewellery at factories and hospital canteens on pay days was astonished at the amounts some would pay in cash for an item: £70 or £90. She said no one was interested in silver, only gold.

**Holidays.**

Holidays have also become items of expenditure by which prestige is ranked. Simply having the luxury of not being compelled to work (whether paid or unpaid) is not in itself considered very prestigious in Cauldmoss, in contrast to Veblen's generalization that: "Conspicuous abstention from labour therefore becomes the ... conventional index of reputability;" (Veblen 1924/1899: 38). The moral values attached to work and leisure have already been analyzed at length (Ch.4). What is regarded as prestigious is the form of holiday that one has; distance travelled, type of accommodation, length of stay and climate all being taken as indicative of cost, which is the overriding criterion for assessing the social status suggested by a vacation. Thus suntan, which reflects the climate and so the distance travelled, as well as the length of stay and idleness of the holiday, is a conventional index of prestige.

**The living room.**

Furnishings increasingly seem to imitate a life style that is foreign to the Scottish working class. A Cauldmoss living-room which exemplifies the style aspired to by many households contains the following: a thick carpet, smart three piece suite, expensive-looking wooden
coffee table, framed pictures on the wall, a stereo, a colour television and video with remote control switch, empty cut glass vases on the mantelpiece, an enormous china coiled cobra about to strike, sitting 18 inches high on the coffee table, and "a nest" of small tables that fit into each other made of tubular steel with glass tops, arranged carefully with each one half drawn out of the next. Down the thickly carpetted corridor the doorbell starts a little tune that continues for about 30 seconds. At night outside a bright white light illuminates the whole block far more brightly than the orange street lights. In another living-room there is a set of strikingly luxuriant furniture: a settee, armchairs, foot stool and TV cabinet all embossed in simulated leather. Other households have a whole room put aside as a "dinette", furnished to be expressly used as a dining room, while the latest kitchen units, lowered ceilings or louvre doors are installed in others.

The extent to which such major alterations to upgrade one’s council house are generally admired in the village was graphically illustrated when the council renovated the "steel" houses on the scheme. In doing so they had to rip out all the improvements a tenant had installed a year previously, such as lowered ceilings. This was reported in the local paper and the majority of folk in Cauldmoss had great sympathy for the family, condemning the council. However some older villagers did not share these sentiments: they argued that the family had not asked for permission to do it and so did not deserve any compensation, and some went on to criticize such home improvements in general.

One general aspect of a concern with social status as expressed through consumption is a compulsion for renewal, in clothing, household furnishings, cars, and so on. Keeping up with fashions and ahead of the obsolescence of goods is another demonstration of a continuous application to paid work, but it is more straight forwardly a confirmation of one’s affluence. This is particularly evident with three
piece suites. From the answers to Q.18 in the Second Questionnaire we found that just half of the households sampled had suites less than five years old and a third had suites less than three years old. Of employed council tenants 65% had suites less than five years old and 41% less than three years old. Private householders' furniture was generally older than that of council tenants, with 54% having three piece suites over seven years old in comparison with 34% of council house dwellers. Only one person in our sample of 62 households did not have a three piece suite.

The central importance of the living room fire has already been described (p.233). A generation ago individuality was achieved simply through sticking a new pattern of tiles around the fireplace, but today far more elaborate reconstruction is deemed necessary to conform to the new standards of distinctiveness. Many living-rooms have the whole wall in which the fire lies bricked up to the mantelpiece, with various types of brick and various kinds of mantel to top it. Such a fireplace can cost between £20 (when a friend does the brick-laying for free) to around £150. More expensive are those that involve removing the base of the hearth, bringing it down to floor level, or the elaborate construction of receding brickwork from the fire right up to the ceiling in the form of a false chimney.

Baudrillard suggested that there might be "unrealistic" objects which are meant to testify to a status that in reality is inaccessible (the "dinette" or "leather" embossed furniture could be examples), while conversely, there might be "witness-objects that, despite a mobile status, attest a fidelity to the original class and a tenacious acculturation" (Baudrillard 1981: 37). The latter point was neatly illustrated by the paradoxical behaviour of the socialist minister. He commented that when visiting people in Cauldmosss they "get out the best china" for him, but "I've no left my class" for he uses mugs. Yet when we visited him and were offered coffee the mugs were on saucers; in fact he (or his wife) revealed their working class
origins more by the pretension of refinement (having saucers, or having both cup and saucer), than by transcending these values which seems to come with the security of an assured middle class status.

Home ownership.

In an earlier section I described how the location of Cauldmoss council houses prevents their tenants from buying them for financial reasons (p.260). Another disincentive is the design: "wouldn’t dream of buying this house...house in middle of a block..." ; "...it’s six in a block, Danny. If it’d been two in a block I’d consider it," and again, "Not unless it was - like in two together... but no this four in a block. And if it was in a nice bit...". A pre-requisite for home-ownership is the privacy of a detached house, or at least a semi-detached, and without this independence from one’s neighbours - if the wains continued running through your garden and everyone could still overlook it - there would be little point in buying one’s house. It is not surprising that the new owners of ex-council houses change the doors, replace the windows or put stone-cladding over the harling. How else can they feel they really own their own individual property, without these clearly visible material testimonies?

Discounting the problems of location and design, the long term ambition of many people in Cauldmoss would be to own their own home. Best of all would be to have their own house built, though few consider it a very real eventuality. When questioned about this several people mentioned the investment value of home-ownership, some seeing it as an inheritance for their children, while most emphasized the advantages of being able to make major improvements on the house, such as fitting radiators to the back boiler, which would not "only be doing it for the council". Everyone agreed that houses would be looked after much better if privately owned. Several people’s ideal would be to have their own house built from scratch according to
their own design, thus maximizing the individuality and newness of the object.

Cars.

Of all areas of modern consumption it is probably with cars that people are most self-conscious about the status significance of what they are using. In several respects cars seem to come close to Baudrillard's idea of the commodity as being essentially "sign" value: the creation of images by automobile designers and the confirmation of these images by the rich exemplifies how the code is controlled by the elite, while the ubiquitous currency of this system of values, even amongst those (as in Cauldmos) who will never afford the more prestigious signs, demonstrates how people are destined to follow a code over which they have no control. Furthermore this system of signs is subject to fashion, which, in being of value only in relation to what is not in fashion, has the essential arbitrariness of sign value. However the value of annual car numbers, which also seems arbitrary since it has no connection with the capability of the model in question, is in fact an index of affluence, since there is a causal connection between the rate at which one renews one's car and one's income. Again Baudrillard's quest for pure sign value seems futile at an empirical level.

Although particular masculine esteem is gained through the sexual imagery of powerful cars as discussed earlier (p.275), whether they are souped-up old Escorts bought for £50 or new Capris, the more general significance of one's car is its image of worldly success, expressed simply through expense. Ironically this status symbolism is confirmed by the many men who modestly assert a purely functional purpose for their car: just "to get from A to B". They are acknowledging that others impute credit-worthiness, wealth or diligence at one's job from the probable cost of one's car. The Volvo's "prestige
of intellect rather than the prestige of money" (Bayley 1986: 89), or
the BMW and Audi’s appeal to technological expertise, mean little in
Cauldmoss except for the way such prestige is translated into price. The
one model to which some grant a peculiar status value irrespective of its cost (i.e. whether or not it is so old it is beyond passing a legitimate M.O.T.) is the Jaguar. Presumably this is due to the conventional hierarchy of company cars in many British firms, with the chairman in a Jaguar, senior directors in Rovers and junior directors in Ford Granadas. Needless to say none of these are owned in Cauldmoss unless well over five years old, but a few men get great self-esteem from their ancient Jaguars.

The fetishization of money.

Whereas the shame of impoverishment may be seen as an important part of traditional, ‘restricted’ values, the fetishization of money that is sometimes voiced in Cauldmoss seems to be an extreme expression of ‘unrestricted’ values: limitless aspirations for social mobility and a focus on money as the thing that supposedly both enables upward mobility and proves it. People frequently state their view that money dominates everything: "It’s always money, wherever you go..." or, "They say money’s no’ everythin’, but it is. Ninety nine percent!" I have previously mentioned Seabrook’s analysis of the tabloids (1986 and 1987b), and their constant theme of venerating wealth: these papers comprise the main part of men’s reading material. A young barman in the old hotel boasted to his clientele that he has an Isle of Man bank account and that he plans to have enough money to stop working in twenty years time. Someone asked him what his trade was, which he would not answer. Another man told him to reply "M-O-N-E-Y – that’s your trade: money. That’s the name o’ the game: money." I suggested that money would not necessarily get you happiness. The barman said it gets you ninety nine percent. The person who had told him to answer "money" added: "...a rich cripple gets a fuckin’ better
life than a poor cripple”.

In marked contrast to traditional values younger people sometimes say, with a note of pride rather than inadequacy, that they "couldnie afford to live on less" than their current wage, or that they would need at least so much to live on. When such statements come from single people without family commitments they clearly express how these people view their own status: the style of life they expect to lead is evaluated in straightforward monetary terms.

"Modern society... acclaims gold, its Holy Grail, as the glittering incarnation of its inmost vital principle."

(Marx 1933: 113)

THE DYNAMIC OF CONSUMPTION.

How do these values that are ascribed to consumption, and in particular the different evaluations of status, help us to understand why there is a perpetual increase in people’s material expectations? Why is it that what was an unattainable luxury a few years ago becomes a commonplace necessity tomorrow? Perceived needs change as rapidly as manufacturing industry can meet them, and poverty is suffered in essentially the same way today as it was at the beginning of the century. Why is it that a finite level of consumption does not suffice?

Of late there has been increasing historical evidence that the growth of consumption by the masses goes back several centuries. Mukerji has argued that a "materialist culture" developed with the expansion of trade in the 16th century, and this mass consumption was essential to the emergence of capitalism at that time (Mukerji 1983:22). Reid's study (1976) of workers' attitudes in Birmingham between 1766 and
1876 is more pertinent: he examined the decline in absenteeism amongst the better paid and found that it:

"...was more to do with the workers' raised aspirations for housing and travel than with the employers' demand for work discipline. The growth of consumption provided the most effective motor of change." (Pahl 1984:45)

In the second half of the 19th century home-based consumption was further increased by a reorientation of working class culture from being work-centred to home-centred, according to Daunton. This was related to workers' loss of control over employment, increased real wages and an assertion of artisans' concepts of respectability. But this was not a uniform trend: "...it applied less to mining towns, for example, than to large industrial towns where work-place and residence were distant." (Daunton 1983:224)

It would seem that for several centuries social distinctions between people have been manufactured. Industrialization enormously increased the capacity of manufacturers to produce these distinctions, so that the whole population could be incorporated into the system. But at the same time the industrial revolution created a risk of enormous over-production, and thus ever increasing mass consumption became a necessity for the capitalist economy (Williams 1965:323, Gartner and Riessman 1974:50 et al.). It is evident that such a growth in consumption would need certain values to be held by the working class: they should no longer feel restricted to an inevitably inferior status, but should aspire to upward mobility and so come to use the commodities that distinguish status. Whatever the causal connections between ideology and economic factors, it is clear that the 'unrestricted' values to be found in Cauldness are appropriate to our economy. (For a polemical neo Marxist account see Baudrillard 1981:84).
I have argued that things are consumed because they have social value, rather than some absolute use value, and this social value is meaningful largely in relation to other commodities. Since the link between sign (the consumer good) and signified (culturally ascribed value) is for the most part arbitrary, there is infinite scope for manufacturers to give new meanings to signs (commodities) simply by manufacturing more of them. There are basically two ways in which this is done. First, the production of a greater quantity of the same signs, such as cars, meat, pocket calculators, or colour televisions, makes them cheaper and more "commonplace", thus denoting a less affluent life style than they once did.

The second way in which new meanings are manufactured is when the production of a greater variety of each commodity creates more gradations of value. So whereas at first simply owning a good, like a bicycle, a television or a car, had considerable social significance, later on it is the type of commodity that is significant, whether a 5:3:1 framed bike, a colour television or a powerful model of car. In an almost inevitable inflation of values the simple ownership of a good becomes less meaningful in itself, and instead it is the particular version and style of the good that has social significance.

Even if that which is signified remains the same - for instance the 'restricted' status of being "nice", or the basic social roles of manhood, mother or adult - there is great potential for industry to create new standards by which the particular status is assessed. For example, a "good parent" might once have been judged by her/his ability to provide a child with any clothes so long as they were warm and clean: today the manufacture of distinct toddlers', play school, nursery school and primary school clothing gives parents far more demanding standards to meet. If the signifieds as well as the signifiers are open to change - as when new ranks of social status are considered open for the working class to aspire to - then the
scope for a proliferation of signs (commodities) is enormous.

In contrast to the way that goods have meaning in relation to other goods, certain commodities have particular significance as a consequence of their historical context. This constitutes one of the most important limitations of a linguistic analogy for consumption. Saussure argued that signs can only be understood synchronically, yet in Cauldmosse some goods are of great importance to their owners principally because they had been unobtainable in that person’s past. The value of white bread as opposed to brown, meat in every meal rather than as a luxury, “butcher meat” rather than rabbits, wall to wall carpets rather than lino or wood, can be largely explained in terms of the legacy of previous poverty. The production of numerous new commodities, which distinguish the impoverished from “nice folk” for a younger generation today, seems to have had little devaluing effect on the status symbols an older generation have retained from the past. Many parents consciously aim to provide their children with goods that they themselves could not have when young, such as a bicycle, new clothes rather than second hand ones, and so on. Of course they do not acknowledge that the relational significance of these goods has changed, and that the bicycle which was beyond their parents’ means might be the equivalent of the home computer that they cannot afford for their child today. Instead the increased productivity of manufacturing, and the fall in the real price of commodities, is experienced as progress, confirming a deeply held assumption that in the long term things will probably get better. One consequence of this general faith in progress is that one has to improve one’s position continuously (in subjective terms), since staying still would in fact mean a regression in relation to society as a whole.

The legacy of historical conditions is not, however, the most important determinant of the significance of goods: rather it is an aberration from the general arbitrary and relational meaning of commodities. This latter feature of consumer goods is most clearly
epitomized in fashion. The symbolic importance of cleanliness and renewal has already been discussed (p.249) and this is certainly one aspect of the obligation that people feel to replace their goods: a more important aspect is the power of fashion. This institution, which ensures that the value attached to commodities is largely transient, is the consequence of three interrelated factors: consumers' desire for social mobility which is expressed by adopting new objects, ideas and behaviour; manufacturers' constant redefinition of the commodities that convey a particular status or role, and people's contradictory tendencies of imitation and differentiation, observed by Simmel (Frisby 1985).

"In effect fashion does not reflect a natural need of change: the pleasure of changing clothes, objects, cars, comes to sanction the constraints of another order psychologically, constraints of social differentiation and prestige. The effects of fashion only appear in socially mobile societies (and beyond a certain threshold of available money). Ascending or descending social status must be registered in the continual flux and reflux of distinctive signs. A given class is not lastingly assigned to a given category of objects (or to a given style of clothing): on the contrary, all classes are assigned to change, all assume the necessity of fashion as a value, just as they participate (more or less) in the universal imperative of social mobility."

(Baudrillard 1981:49)

At a macro level the illusion of change and personal social advancement that comes from following fashion in fact disguises "a profound social inertia" (ibid.:50).
The impetus to obey fashion and the social immobility that is the actual result can be represented by the metaphor of a downward-moving escalator. People are spread out up the escalator, all trying to climb higher but remaining stationary as the stairs (analogous to the succession of fashions) move beneath their feet. At the top are the elite who control the speed of the escalator, and everyone beneath them is destined to follow in their footsteps in a vain attempt to improve their position; the polka dots Princess Diana wears one month are sold in the high street stores the following month.

Baudrillard only refers to people's aspirations for higher social status in general, but the criteria by which basic social roles, like parenthood or womanhood, and particular statuses such as working class respectability, are assessed can also be influenced by fashion. Manufacturers clearly have a vested interest in changing these criteria when they relate to purchased commodities (for instance which toys constitute a sufficiently generous present from a loving parent), just as their interests are furthered by the accelerated obsolescence that is intrinsic to fashion in general.

In explaining the dynamic of consumption the role of advertisements must be considered. Within Cauldmoss the main sources of adverts are magazines and newspapers and the television. For a village of approximately 600 households the local newsagents sell about 550 daily newspapers, 750 Sunday papers, 110 women's magazines and numerous other specialist magazines. The pattern of television viewing has already been described (p.234); though for much of the day it is usually only the children that watch with any concentration, the adverts often divert adults' attention away from whatever else they are doing. Their efficacy is clearly a moot point; what is certain is that they are widely known in the village and provide a source of images and metaphors: several people are known by nicknames which come from T.V. commercials. Many people in Cauldmoss
regard television advertising more as an information service, telling them what is available, than as a powerful force manipulating their values and "creating new needs" (see p.364).

The topic of advertisements has been left to the end of this discussion because it seems unlikely that in themselves they have much affect (either in expenditure or frustrated consumption) if they do not relate to values already held by their audience: advertisers do not hope to "create de novo" (Sahlins 1976:217). Rather, they work on the basis of providing new materials for expressing elements of status and identity that were of pre-existing concern. They hope to define new standards for assessing traditional roles. For instance, television advertisements showing men giving enormous boxes of chocolates to their lovers on Valentine's Day suggest that those who do not express their emotions with this level of spending are either lacking in love or are stingy.

CONCLUSION.

This chapter began with the argument that it is fruitless to try and analyze patterns of consumption in terms of supposed 'use value', although this is the common sense view that people have of their consumption. The only 'use' that commodities have is to fulfill culturally defined ends, and so they are best understood in terms of culturally ascribed value. I went on to identify six principal variables in Cauldmos which inform the symbolic value of goods: social status, community belonging, gender, employment, age and the obligations of reciprocity. The main ethnographic description of consumption in Cauldmos dealt with three of these variables which reinforce each other. A strong sense of belonging to the community is part of the traditional 'restricted' evaluation of status, which is also bound up with the value placed on employment. Following this general description I considered how reciprocity affects the symbolic
value of goods, and then looked at how age and gender are expressed through consumption.

Having concentrated on the more 'traditional' values underlying consumption I turned to the 'unrestricted' concept of status. Values based on an 'unrestricted' stratification of society, which are largely generated outwith the village, mean that people aspire to commodities which represent lifestyles beyond that of simply being "nice", respectable working class. Although the young are more likely to subscribe to 'unrestricted' values, most people evaluate consumption according to both these ideal types of social status, and the two assessments sometimes conflict, for instance in the desirability placed on material standards within the home as opposed to ready-spending in gregarious consumption.

An important consequence of interpreting the value of goods as being symbolic is that their meanings are largely arbitrary, and therefore subject to change. This is crucial to understanding the dynamic for increased consumption, and when 'unrestricted' status values mean that it is legitimate for the working class to aspire to new ranks of social status, the scope for the proliferation of signs (commodities) is infinite. This interpretation helps to explain why perceived needs have changed as rapidly as manufacturers can meet them, and why an absolute comparison of working class material living standards between, say, 1945 and 1985 is largely irrelevant to their experience of consumption today. It also demonstrates that impoverishment must be regarded primarily in terms of relative poverty, a topic I will return to in Chapter Seven. Before that, however, I will illustrate the analysis of consumption that has been presented in this chapter with one particular case study: a detailed description of men's drinking in Cauldmos.
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CHAPTER SIX

DRINKING

INTRODUCTION.

One can analyze consumption according to the various goods and services that are consumed, or according to the different themes or meanings that are common to the use of different goods. In the last chapter I discussed the various criteria by which value is ascribed to consumption in Cauldmoss, and only described the commodities themselves in relation to these criteria. Here I will look at consumption from the alternative angle - focussing on the weft rather than the warp - and will concentrate on one particular commodity that is central to the culture of Cauldmoss: alcohol.

Drinking is especially suitable for a case study in this thesis since it is one of the few areas where men are in control of expenditure (once their "spending money" has been allocated, see p.204-212), and the meanings that underlie drinking behaviour illustrate the general criteria according to which commodities are valued, as described in Chapter Five. The importance of alcohol for Cauldmoss men is evident from both their conversation and behaviour. They discuss it as if it were one of the prime objectives of increased earnings and intrinsic to social life, bemoaning the inability to afford it as synonymous with increased isolation. Apart from church activities and the Masons there are few social occasions without drink, and all the major ritual events marking the passage of time in the year and in people's lives are celebrated with alcohol. It is striking that despite concerted efforts by the youth and community leader adult participation in the Community Centre (particularly by men) is minimal, except on the special occasions when a bar is opened upstairs.
Men who do not drink at all are exceptional, and their abstinence is talked about both by themselves and amongst others: "...never stepped inside a pub all my days!". They generally assert a moral superiority in this eccentricity, and others often respect it.

The literature on alcohol is enormous: a recent review which excluded studies of children, dependent drinkers, health care professionals and the "extremely diverse and widely scattered" anthropological material still found it necessary to mention 266 articles (Crawford 1986). But although there are numerous carefully evidenced surveys establishing rather unremarkable facts about attitudes to alcohol, largely from social psychologists, there have been few general studies of drinking culture in Britain. Two important socio-historical works are Brian Harrison's account of Victorian drinking habits (1971), and Mass Observation's sociological investigation into the pubs of Bolton in the late 1930s, edited by Tom Harrison (1943). Both of these have been damningly criticized by Hey for concealing the power relations which exclude women from "public" houses. Her book Patriarchy and Pub Culture (1986) provides an excellent analysis of the intensely chauvinistic male culture of pubs which is usually shared by those who write about them. However the study relies almost entirely on secondary sources, and detailed ethnographies of British pub life seem to be limited to Whitehead's feminist study of a Herefordshire pub (1976), Smith's short participant observation study of social space and the publican's role in one Salford (?) pub (1981), Goffton's analysis of changes in traditional working class drinking habits in the North East of England (1984) and Hunt and Satterlee's study of pub life in a Cambridgeshire village (1983).

As with most drugs, there are numerous social constraints and obligations surrounding the use of alcohol. This chapter is arranged around the different things which comprise the social value of drinking, in an attempt to describe and understand the use of
alcohol. The ethnography will concentrate on public drinking behaviour in the pubs and clubs of Cauldmoss, partly because this was easier to observe than domestic drinking but, more importantly, because it still represents the norm for alcohol consumption amongst most people (particularly men) in the village.

There are several reasons why some men do not frequent the pubs or clubs at all, apart from the obvious one that they might not drink alcohol. A number of men in Cauldmoss who are rarely seen drinking in fact remain dry for a couple of months and then go on a weekend, or a week's binge or "bender", only stopping when they collapse or the money runs out. Others have been banned from pubs or clubs, usually for a limited period, for deeds such as: fighting, being abusive, "mooching" (cadging drinks and cigarettes), exposing themselves in front of the bar maid, and so on. These people drink at home with a "carry out". At the weekend pub and club goers often return in a group to someone's house after closing time, bringing back "carry outs" to prolong the night's revelry, but the main people who drink at home are women. Another group are those (usually from privately owned houses) who do not want to associate with the pub clientele. These people subscribe more to 'unrestricted' status values than to the 'restricted' status values which are expressed in the traditional patterns of public drinking. I will consider them in the final section of the chapter, along with the young who drink in the local town.
MEMBERSHIP OF THE VILLAGE.

Locations of drinking.

The three pubs and three clubs of the village are the principal places for drinking; the home is also important, particularly for women’s drinking, and places used for functions are the third main location for alcohol consumption. Drinking when on fishing or camping expeditions is of lesser significance in the culture of Cauldmoss.

The three pubs have their own distinct characters which are partly the legacies of previous managements, despite the efforts of new landlords to change this, and partly a result of the social distinctions perpetuated by the clienteles. This is one aspect of the social stratification in Cauldmoss described in Chapter Three (p.99). Besides liquid refreshments they all provide pool tables, darts and colour televisions, of which pool is by far the most popular. The old hotel which stands at the village crossroads is still renowned for the heavy drinking, violence and soliciting by local prostitutes which had supposedly been commonplace a decade ago. Although for several years fighting has been unusual and the only "prostitute" is an old woman, the bad reputation clings and "nice", respectable folk do not want any association with the place. Recently a new landlord has put plush seats in the lounge bar, installed a large screen, redecorated completely, and organized weekly entertainments such as a singer with a guitar. So far this does not appear to have attracted many more couples, as opposed to heavy drinkers, and young people regard the hotel as the best pub in which to smoke cannabis, in keeping with its lawless image.

Opposite the hotel is a pub known as "Billie’s", after the landlord, which attracts predominantly older men, and which is favoured by members of the Orange Lodge. Women are even more scarce here than in the hotel, and the atmosphere is closer to that of the traditional
hard-seated, linoleum floored Scottish working man's bar. Men using the "bookies" next door often pop in and out between one of the pubs and the betting office, placing a bet and then watching the race on the pub television over a drink.

The third pub, called "Nancy's" (it has a landlady), lies on the edge of the village away from the main scheme. It is described by locals as "nicer" or "quieter" than the other pubs, but this quiet makes it difficult to run profitably, and it has been up for sale for several years while having reduced opening hours. More couples attend this pub than the others, and on Saturday nights live entertainment lures in more people.

The bars in the three clubs are used by many men interchangeably with the pubs. The main social club was built on the site of the old Miners' Welfare by the Masonic Lodge, who felt that social events held in the Masonic Hall itself were hindering Masonic business. It is still run by the Masonic Lodge social committee which charges £1 to men and 50p to women for annual membership of the club, the subscriptions being used largely to subsidize drinks. The most popular use of the social club is bingo, almost exclusively patronized by women, but the games bar is frequented by men who are often joined by the women after the bingo sessions. Women who are going drinking by themselves in a group are more likely to come to this club than either of the others or to the pubs. Because the social club stays open a few hours longer than the pubs at the weekends it normally fills up with a lively crowd around midnight.

The Masonic club is not used so specifically for its bar, and most people drink there because they are attending a weekly concert, a quiz or bingo. Each Saturday night there are concerts where members of the audience are expected to sing individually to the accompaniment of an accordionist (described earlier: p.244). As might be expected very few Catholics ever use the Masonic club; the
Saturday night concerts usually culminate in Protestant hymns and always end at midnight with the National Anthem.

The Bowling Club is the only institution amongst the pubs and clubs that is regarded as "snobbish" or "clannish" by those who do not use it. Membership fees per annum of £10 for men and £8.50 for women are cited as evidence of this, some villagers claiming that they were specifically designed to exclude the less affluent. However, since many men pay this amount for drinks in one night, it would seem that the level of fees is interpreted according to a prior evaluation of the club's clientele. The "respectable" section of Cauldmoss are more likely to drink here than elsewhere in the village. However there are fairly lax rules for signing in non-members and there are some men who frequent the Bowling Club as well as the pubs who are by no standards "respectable" - they are unemployed, often shabbily dressed and heavy drinkers. During the summer the Bowling Club is used mainly for the sport, and the players are predominantly over 40 years old. Members who are not actually playing often drink there as well, while in the winter it is only used socially. As with the other clubs, there is a pool table and colour television. Thursdays is a "ladies' night" which does not mean the men are excluded but they take a background role in relation to a predominantly female clientele (see the discussion of women's leisure p.114).

At talent contests, discos, Gala Day sports quizzes or "Mr and Mrses", a bar is set up by one of the pubs or clubs wherever the event is held, such as the Community Centre, the upper floor of the Masonic Hall, or the school hall (see p.244). The organizers of the Gala Day are careful to ensure that each land lord or lady has an equal chance to provide the bar at the different functions. As in the pubs and clubs, women never buy the drinks unless they are in a group on their own.
Wedding receptions are often held in the Community Centre or one of the clubs. At least one round of alcohol is usually provided by the bride’s family, either as the guests’ first drink from the bar or in the form of filled glasses distributed by the caterers. The most elaborate weddings would have champagne, but it is acceptable to offer a choice of whisky or sherry, with which the newly wed couple are toasted. After the initial drinks are provided free, guests would usually buy from the bar in the normal fashion for the rest of the evening. A similar arrangement is typical of other social events initiated by (or focussed on) particular individuals, such as a hen night, stag party, or celebration for someone retiring from work.

Integration in, and belonging to, the community.

In Chapter Five I described how involvement in the recreational life of the village is considered by many to be an indispensable part of their lives (p.230). For men, visiting the pubs and clubs is the most important form of integration into the community on a weekly basis. It is very difficult to gauge the typical amounts of alcohol drunk by employed men, and a formal survey falls foul of the under-emphasis or exaggeration that dogs most enquiries (the limitations of our own tactful questioning have already been mentioned: p.68). Ashley notes that in expenditure surveys people generally understate the amount they drink or smoke, either through genuine self-delusion or forgetfulness, or to avoid expected disapproval (1983: 58). However, our impression from Qu.4 of the Second Questionnaire (see Appendix B) was that most employed men in council houses go out for a drink two or three times a week, while a minority never go for a drink and another minority go out practically every night. In marked contrast the majority of employed men in private houses only very rarely visit the pubs or clubs. Judging from the way they talk about pubs, one of the main attractions for council householders to drink is to participate in the main male social nexus of the village. Here is a neutral
setting where one can associate to varying extents with other men whilst incurring minimal social obligations. It is possible to ignore people, exchange a brief greeting, or have a prolonged conversation and swap drinks. Meeting in the public house the level of furnishing does not concern one particular person, the privacy of someone's living room is not exposed and conversely no one feels obliged to accept a similar imposition in return. Before most of the Cauldmoss population were housed in council houses after the Second World War, the large families crowded into "but 'n bens" must have made it very difficult to spend a comfortable evening at home with friends.

Although about a third of each pub's customers are regular clientele who rarely visit any of the other bars, many men move between the pubs and clubs during an evening. When drinking without their wives they generally act in a fairly independent and spontaneous way. They will turn up individually at one bar, meet friends by chance and perhaps later move on to another pub and different company, and it is unusual to pre-arrange meetings in a pub, or to gather with other men in order to go to a bar. Since they are nearly all fairly close it is not unusual for men to drop in at several to find a particular person. When going out with his wife, however, a man normally decides with her beforehand where they are going and they spend the whole evening there.

Since much of men's recreational life goes on in the pubs or clubs they are important for establishing economic contacts. The importance of informal means to find jobs has already been emphasized (p.136 and 178) and one of the principal places to hear of vacancies is in the pubs, while local small employers will sometimes recruit workers there. Furthermore pubs, and the old hotel in particular, are the main places for selling goods that have been acquired informally.
The social importance of pubs is illustrated by young men still frequenting them despite using alternative drugs to alcohol. A group will sit together in the corner of the old hotel, stoned on local "magic mushrooms" or smoking cannabis, and hardly touching the beer in front of them. They are presumably aware that most people in the pub have identified and condemned them as being "on the dope", yet the lack of alternative venues and the central place of the pub in Cauldmosssocial life draw them in.

Drinking in the pubs and clubs is not only a way to participate in village life but is also an assertion of one's membership of the community. "Nancy's", on the edge of the village and "nicer" than the other pubs, and the Bowling Club, which often has visiting teams and is more "snobbish", are the least parochial drinking places in Cauldmosss. Conversely "Billie's" and the old hotel are felt by their clienteles to be at the heart of village life, a sentiment that is expressed by their coolness, and sometimes hostility, towards outsiders who enter. Strangers passing through Cauldmosss are prompted to use the lounges rather than the public bars, and sometimes the landlords actually encourage them to drink elsewhere outwith the village, particularly if they seem "respectable". Some of the incomers to Cauldmosss who have been identified as undesirable are conscious enough of their unpopularity in the village not to drink in the bars, while the few that do are ostracized from conversation and risk being picked on for a fight. Of course strangers who are introduced by an indigene, and sometimes even those who introduce themselves, can be given a warm welcome in the hotel or "Billie's", but it is clearly understood that the clientele are extending the hospitality of their community to a guest.
Membership of the village is also expressed in a ritualized way at Hogmanay, a celebration in which alcohol is integral. From midnight on the 31st of December for three or four days hospitality is given to almost everyone, and people welcome the chance to show they have forgotten old grudges by having folk in their houses who they previously condemned as lazy, bad mothers, thieves, or whatever. The media for expressing this hospitality are always the kiss or (between men) hand shake, and the exchange of spirits. It is notable that, apart from kissing and hand shaking, of all the traditions of Hogmanay, like dark men bringing coal and silver into the house, or eating black buns, it is only the exchange of alcohol which endures and remains almost ubiquitous in Cauldmoss. (I will return to the analysis of New Year ritual later.)

By cutting across the personal antagonisms and status boundaries of normal social life Hogmanay reunites the community. Like the Whalsay spree, New Year re-states "the principle of access to all local households" (Cohen 1985: 95). The spirit of fellowship goes beyond Cauldmoss itself, and people feel particular honour in giving hospitality to a complete stranger, but in practice the festivities are experienced as an expression of village solidarity. It is as members of their household but also as members of the community that people give hospitality to strangers.
MALE SOLIDARITY.

Spatial segregation of the sexes.

Drinking in the pubs and clubs of Cauldmoos is an assertion of belonging to the village, but it probably has greater value as a confirmation of masculinity and male unity. In Chapter Three I described how domestic work, employment and leisure are all structured according to gender (p.108); this fundamental social division also has a spatial dimension. The pubs are at the centre of the men's domain, in contrast to the home, and particularly the living room, which is, proverbially, the women's sphere. The way men learn to retreat from this area of female authority has already been mentioned (p.126).

For many women much of their social life takes place in the home, particularly if they still have children to care for (p.114). This provides an alternative venue to the clubs and pubs if they want to spend an evening drinking and chatting, and women sometimes gather at the house of a mutual friend to do this. Many households keep a supply of alcohol to offer visitors: a bottle or two of spirits (nearly always vodka, and maybe whisky), lemonade or Iron Bru to mix with it, and a few cans of beer. Sometimes a bottle of spirits or liqueur is bought that evening specifically to drink at someone's house, for instance after a bingo session. Most women will far more readily drop round to a friend's house in the evening than go to the pub, and they are much more relaxed in the private, domestic, female sphere of a living room than in the "public", male pub.

There are various degrees to which women are excluded from the drinking establishments. Apart from the Bowling Club there are usually few women in any of the clubs or pubs - maybe about one to ten men - and it is rare for a woman not to be accompanied by either a man or a few other women. However the social club is sometimes
filled with women after a bingo session, "Nancy's" has a rather less male atmosphere than the other pubs, and in all pubs the lounges are less dominated by men than the public bars. On Saturday nights, and when there is a special fund-raising function, the clientele of the clubs and pubs can be predominantly couples. When they do accompany "their men" women generally act in a passive support role, rarely taking an active part in conversation and never buying drinks. When a couple told me who the ten people were that they had "sat in company" with the previous Saturday night they simply listed the five husbands, their wives being taken for granted. The obligation for women to dress up and act as a decorative accompaniment for men has already been discussed (p.277).

The maleness of pub culture is illustrated by the different ways in which the presence of women is treated. When accompanying their partners in the respectable manner described above, women are accorded the respect due to them as guardians of their families' "niceness" (see p.126). They are attributed with a higher moral worth which affects the topics and style of the conversation: men normally make an effort to avoid swearing in female company, which usually does not last long, but is then accompanied by frequent apologies. This is an example of the apparently superior status of women which Barrett explains as "compensation" (1980: 109). Middle aged women who visit a pub once a week in a female group are generally regarded as fairly respectable, but "nice" folk sometimes criticize them. They are usually widowed or separated which makes them vulnerable to sexual "patter", and few men will adjust their language because they are there. Women who frequently drink in the pubs (either with a male partner or, worse, alone) are likely to be seen as of "the bad element" by the rest of the village. Young women drinking on their own inevitably prompt speculation that they are "loose" or "on the game", simply because of their location, which illustrates the extreme degree to which the pubs, and particularly the old hotel and "Billie's", can be exclusively male domains (see Hey 1986).
Another dimension of drinking is that it expresses a man's role in employment, and in particular his earning capacity, which will be discussed in the next section. The man's role as provider for his wife, and thus her dependence on him, is exemplified in men "treating" women to drinks. This practice also manifests the woman's position as a visitor in the men's domain, and so it is a powerful symbol of the social relationships between the sexes, occurring in the centre of male territory. To reverse it would challenge fundamental values, and men will virtually never allow women to buy them drinks, especially if they are middle aged or older. Few women in Cauldross would consider transgressing this taboo: "If we're going out, he pays. I dinnie pay. I dinnie believe in that!" Even though the man might have begged £10 off his wife before they left the house, and even when women are contributing equally to a kitty, it is always the men that go up to the bar to purchase the drinks.

**Pints to sustain masculinity.**

Gender segregation in the use of alcohol is not only spatial and temporal, but also by the type of alcohol drunk and its quantity. In discussing gender the association of masculinity with hard physical work was noted as a feature of patriarchal relations (p. 127). Hey has shown how this male strength is thought to "need" replenishing:

"Beer in quantities tops up the manly body: 'refreshes the parts other beers cannot reach', an advertising jingle which captures precisely the physical and sexual undertones. Women on the other hand don't need to 'restore' their 'strength', being weak creatures by nature: what they never have they never miss."

(Hey 1986: 52)
In Cauldmoss men are as constrained to drink beer from pint glasses as women are constrained not to, if their gender identities are not to be threatened. (Some female friends who were drinking pints in a neighbouring town were accused of being "dykes" by a male customer.) If men get a half pint to succeed a full one they will almost invariably pour it into the larger glass, and the only time they drink from half pint glasses is when they have a "half and half", i.e. a half pint of beer with a whiskey (originally half a gill). Most men would expect to have at least three pints in an evening at a pub, and on the weekend probably at least five. Twice this amount, or the equivalent in spirits would not be considered excessive, so long as the person could hold his drink, and eight or ten pints might be typical for a heavy drinker on his main night out at the weekend.

A man's masculinity is not only sustained with a large amount of beer, but also with suitably strong ale. Strong beer is associated with strong men (cf. Gofton 1984: 13): to drink Guinness in Cauldmoss can be seen as pretentious unless one's masculinity is already established; drinking "heavy" or "special" is standard male sustenance, while drinking lager has only lost its feminine connotations in the last decade. None of the bars sell real ale, but if they did it would almost certainly be evaluated according to its alcohol content (as well, perhaps, as its middle class image). No one changes the type of beer they are drinking during the evening, and most men drink either "beer" or "lager" on their own. Towards the end of the evening, however, some indulge in a "wee hauf", referring to a quarter gill (in fact a fifth) of some spirit, usually whisky, vodka or rum. It is almost exclusively older men who drink whisky with half pint chasers throughout the evening, and a few men just drink spirits mixed with water (whisky), Coca Cola (rum) or orange juice (vodka) but without any beer. Those who drink spirits (with or without chasers) are considered as masculine as their fellows drinking strong beer in being able to "take" a lot of alcohol.
Although potent alcohol is associated with masculinity, and the legitimate amount for women to drink is far less than that for men, the drinks that are clearly designated as women's include several strong beverages: sherry, cider and vodka with lemonade. Apart from bottled sweet stout, which is occasionally drunk by older women, lager is the only beer women drink, and it is usually with lime which makes it an exclusively female drink. Though sherry is offered as an alternative to whisky for women at weddings, many of them prefer to drink the former, usually mixed with lemonade or Iron Bru. This is despite the fact that whisky is associated with heavy or harmful drinking (cf. Plant 1979 and Blaxter, Mullen and Dyer 1982) and is thought by some in Cauldmoss to provoke fights, being described as "Scotsman's poison".

Solidarity amongst men.

The pub is essentially the man's domain, and women's limited participation in it is strictly demarcated in terms of location, access, behaviour and the type and quantity of alcohol drunk. In Hey's terms it is "a paradigm of male domination made possible by female exclusion, control, and oppression" (1986: 14), and as such it is the central place for men to acknowledge and renew their membership of the male group. This is where patriarchal ideas are most powerfully transmitted: in jokes stereotyping women as fools or sex objects (cf. Whitehead 1976); in the support given to men with "women troubles"; in the competitive virility and, more fundamentally, in the association of "having a good time" with almost exclusively male company. Consequently to drink in the pubs is to establish one's solidarity with one's fellow men. This sense of fellowship is perhaps most evident in the most exclusively male preserve of all, the men's toilets, where men invariably greet each other with "Alright pal?" or "Right!", however drunk they are and whether or not they are total strangers.
Licensed intimacy.

In keeping with sociological tradition I began this chapter with an assertion that predominantly social factors determine drinking behaviour, despite the virulent criticism of this approach as "sociological imperialism" by Pearson and Twohig (1976: 124). This is a complex subject and here it is only possible to note the conclusions of a literature review of the prolific research investigating the relative importance of cultural and pharmacological factors in drinking behaviour (Crawford 1986). Expectations about the effects of alcohol, developed from personal experience and from culturally transmitted folk-lore, have considerable influence on behaviour, and the works of MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969), Paredes and Hood (1975) and Mandelbaum (1965) all "clearly demonstrate that intoxication and drunken comportment are separate phenomena" (Crawford 1986: 14). There are several possible combinations of the social and pharmacological effects of alcohol. Drinking behaviour could be a) purely culturally determined, b) popularly, but falsely, thought to be a physical consequence of alcohol and legitimized or condemned as such, or c) actually the physical effect of the drug. According to orthodox medicine alcohol in moderate amounts removes the inhibitory processes within the nervous system. In this chapter I will simply mention some of the familiar behaviour associated with drinking and will leave the analysis of causation to psychologists.

One of the striking changes in behaviour when men have been drinking in Cauldmos is that they relate to each other physically in a way that would be ridiculed as effeminate or homosexual if they were sober. In earnest conversation drunken men grasp each other's hands to emphasize a point, in greeting they squeeze hands affectionately, and when joking they might tickle each other or even hug, kiss, or stroke each other's heads. In conversation they are also likely to be
far more emotional than when not drinking, and prone to personal confessions, such as their unrequited love. They are also more extrovert in performing before an audience, in particular being ready to sing when they might never consider it sober. All these actions might be purely learnt behaviour for drinking occasions, but they are all regarded as the consequence of inhibitions being removed by alcohol and are legitimized as such. In the same way women drinking amongst themselves might talk almost exclusively about sex with a preoccupation that would appear excessive if they were sober.

Sometimes the activity of drinking and its physical after effects are used to justify one's avoidance of some approved activity. This is particularly interesting when the activity avoided has masculine connotations: when at the main sports competition (on a Saturday) one of the "hardest" men in Cauldmosswas encouraged to race in front of a large gathering he shouted back that they should have seen him at two o'clock that morning, then they would not ask him to run. He quickly followed this quip with an overt reference to his manhood: when the organizer called out "Married women!" for the next race he shouted "Yes please!". This sort of legitimization is similar to the way that the association between heavy drinking and manliness is ironically used to validate a man's inability to get an erection because of "brewer's droop".

In the same vein alcohol is used to both excuse fighting and justify one's lack of aggression. People frequently explain away their fighting by saying how drunk they were, and even when (as with a man who bit off somebody's finger) they acknowledge "it was an ignorant thing to do", they still consider their inebriation should mitigate the crime. On other occasions men explain that when they were provoked it was a good thing they had not been drinking otherwise they would have fought, an interpretation which credits them with the urge to fight but just enough self-control (when sober) to prevent it. In Cauldmossw only a small minority deny that drinking (in
particular whisky) makes one physiologically more prone to violence, and a few abstain completely because, they say, any amount of alcohol drives them to fight.

It would appear that the masculine attributes of using alcohol, combined with its supposed pharmacological effects which allow men to abnegate responsibility for their actions, legitimize behaviour that would normally be regarded as decidedly unmanly.

Ritual reversal: the hen night.

The institutionalized reversal of roles in rituals that mark important social categories is a well known phenomenon in social anthropology. By enacting in a very specific ritual the opposite roles to those usually performed, normal relationships are reaffirmed in contrast to the special event. The "hen night" in Cauldmoss is an excellent example of such a ritual reversal. It highlights the customary behaviour appropriate to each sex by formally disrupting and inversing it on an occasion to celebrate the end of a woman's unmarried state.

One particular hen party in Cauldmoss began with ten female friends meeting the bride-to-be, Sadie, in the social club, where she had previously paid the barman £10 to cover a first drink for everyone who might turn up. One of the pals arrived with a paper jacket and tall pointed hat with streamers which Sadie put on, and a noisy procession set off with her carrying a decorated potty full of salt. The women rang a bell, beat a tin tray and sang "Way hey, kick the can, Sadie Wilson's got a man!" as they went from one bar to another. In each the predominantly male clientele were approached for cash which they put into the potty. This was placed on the floor and the bride-to-be had to jump over it three times, for "fertility". It was said. (The salt was kept to sprinkle on the doorstep of the new house.
after the wedding.) In the road between the pubs and clubs that were visited the women stopped cars and demanded money from the male drivers, who got a kiss from the future bride in return. Going back to the social club where they had begun the women made yet more noise with their tray, bell and singing, and one remarked that "Ah didnie ken lassies could be so noisy!". Now serious drinking began, the women putting £1 into a kitty several times, and by the end of the evening they had had at least eight drinks each, mainly vodka, whiskey or rum. One of the women was missing when the party disbanded at about midnight, and she was discovered very drunk sitting in the toilets. After this Sadie behaved even more inebriated than she had done previously as the group stumbled homewards, and she got her pal's father to drive her the last 200 yards back through the scheme, but first fell asleep in his cupboard under the stairs.

The procession around the village with the main actress in ridiculous clothes, and the noisy women directly accosting men in the centre of the male sphere, the pub (and also in their cars), is a reversal of the typically passive, quiet, deferential role of women and their exclusion from the pubs. Returning to the club and getting thoroughly drunk the women indulge in behaviour that is usually only licensed for men.

To return to the physical effects of alcohol, although its consumption is embedded in the social procedure of the occasion, as with Hogmanay, being inebriated is intrinsic to the ritual. Before the event the participants eagerly anticipate an orgy and afterwards the highlights of drunken behaviour are reviewed repeatedly, such as one woman going to bed with her fur jacket on, or another smashing someone's garden gate as she failed to clamber over it when taking a short cut home. It is as though to really validate the occasion and make it truly memorable it must come high up in a notional Bacchanalian league table of previous celebrations. For men a stag night is a less memorable event, since male drunkeness is more
commonplace and consequently less valuable for marking time in a significant way (cf. Leonard 1980: 152).

EMPLOYMENT.

A third aspect of a man's identity which is expressed through public drinking in Cauldmoss has already been mentioned: it is his role in employment. Although there is a general idea that alcohol revives one's energy when doing "thirsty" strenuous physical work (cf. Harrison 1971: 39), such a direct physical link is not important in Cauldmoss. Men are rarely employed in circumstances where they could drink on the job and when there is the opportunity they rarely take it: drinking is valued primarily as a socially regulated activity in a particular context, not as a suitable refreshment when thirsty. (This might be related to the strict prohibition on miners having anything to drink prior to, or during, a shift.) The connection that does exist between alcohol and employment is more to do with earning capacity and the temporal structure of the week.

Many people reckon that the frequency of men's "nights out", and particularly their nights out "with the wife", is a clear expression of their earning capacity, drinking money being the surplus left once the family has been supported. Hoggart noted this as one aspect of working class consumption patterns that "members of other classes" find difficult to understand.
"...working-class people, once their immediate dues have been met, will spend much of the remainder on ‘extravagances’...‘Pleasure’ - smoking and drinking, for example - is given a... high priority. Pleasures are a central part of life, not something perhaps to be allowed after a great number of other commitments have been met."

(Hoggart 1957: 134)

A man bemoaning how much "the coin" has been taken off "the working man" in the last ten years illustrated the point by saying that, whereas working men used to go out four nights a week "bevying", now they can only go out for two, while another man was assumed to be "doing alright" because he goes to the pub a lot. The link between earning capacity and drinking means that big drinkers and spenders can claim the moral worth of "hard workers" (see p.195). One of the few remaining miners in Cauldmoss told me proudly: "I'm the top machine worker in Scotland, put that on your form...aye...you know...status, status quo as they call it...". He was earning twice that of any man in Cauldmoss at his peak, and he really enjoyed the prestige: "you know, when you stand at the bar and say 'I'll buy yous a round'." Furthermore, as I described earlier (p.190), working hard and disciplining oneself to the arduous routine is considered manly, which reinforces the association between drinking and masculinity. The interconnections between the different factors could be put diagramatically:

```
drinking

masculinity <- - > work -> earnings

Diagram 6.1: The interconnections between drinking, masculinity, work and earnings.
```
Moral attitudes towards alcohol consumption reflect the assumption that drinking money should be the surplus after supporting one's family. Thus young men without children and older men whose children have left home can drink much more before arousing disapproval than a young father. Two unemployed men who regularly go on "benders" together are regarded rather differently from each other, not only because one is an incomer, but probably more importantly because he is the father of five young children. His drink induced poverty arouses moral outrage, whereas the regular scrounging by his unmarried pal is generally tolerated. Apart from family responsibilities there is a further consideration amongst some that a person should have earned their drinking money, or maybe have won it in the bookies, but not have received it in a giro. These values lie behind the resentment that is sometimes directed at unemployed men drinking, to be considered in the next chapter (p.371).

The link between pub drinking and earning capacity is particularly strong because the usual practice of drinking is to have several pints in one visit. As I mentioned above (p.310) most men would expect to have about three pints or more, and to enter a pub with money for only one is definitely "ignorant", despite the frequent euphemism "I'm going for a pint." The ideal pattern of drinking for men is to have a "session", meaning a long spell of drinking over four or five hours. Most drinkers probably only have a proper "bevvy session" once or twice a week, on Friday or Saturday after pay day, but it is generally regarded as the model to which other pub visits approximate.

Friday or Saturday nights are certainly the most popular times to go out to the pub or club in Cauldmoss. About half the employed men in the village go out drinking on a Saturday night, most of them with their wives, while slightly less go out on a Friday and this is not so predominantly an evening for couples (Q.4, 2nd Quest.). The majority of these men do not go out to a pub more than once during...
the weekdays, and, more commonly, not at all. There are clear functional reasons for drinking at the weekend - having more cash available, and having the Saturday or Sunday to lie in - but it is also a way of structuring one's week and so giving more meaning to one's time away from employment. Men's evidently unproductive recreation in the pubs and clubs is a reversal of their working role during the week, further exemplified when couples go out together and the men provide the sustenance for their wives (by fetching and paying for the drinks). The week's work is marked out, and is differentiated from the following weekend (or Sunday) of leisure. Such an interpretation suggests another reason why the employed might resent seeing those out of work celebrating on a Saturday night.

ADULTHOOD.

In Chapter Five age was shown to affect the cultural value ascribed to consumption in three ways (p.269): by giving particular significance to a pattern of spending that demonstrates one's "independence"; by influencing the way goods are evaluated according to one's age group, and by giving particular commodities meaning as evidence of one's age group. The value ascribed to alcohol illustrates each of these permutations of age as a variable.

Two dimensions of alcohol consumption already discussed, gender and employment, combine to make participation in conventional pub drinking a clear sign of one's adult "independence". Growing up is directly associated with manhood, getting a job and becoming economically independent through one's earnings; drinking in the pubs or clubs is an expression of all three.
Different generations accord different value to various types of drinks and to different patterns of drinking. The most obvious examples from Cauldmoss are lager and vodka, which younger drinkers prefer much more than older ones, while the latter drink "haufs and haufs" which are rarely drunk by men under 40. The young are also less concerned to drink in "sessions" in the village pubs and are more attracted than their elders to the bars and night clubs of the local town. To them the discos and night clubs provide a more exciting prospect, particularly for those hopeful of a romantic encounter, or who are already courting. Transport is problematic since the last bus leaves the town at 11.15 p.m., so the lucky ones get lifts off car-owning friends while the others resort to clubbing together for taxis or, occasionally, persuading an indulgent parent to collect them. It has not been possible to study the drinking patterns of the Cauldmoss young in the local town in any detail. Although the more up-market venues there are a great attraction, the majority of youngsters probably still learn the main part of their drinking behaviour from their own village. They are familiar with the local clubs and pubs that their parents and elder siblings use long before they can legally drink themselves, both by hearsay and going in on the occasional errand or for a surreptitious drink. When they do go drinking in the town it is normally with a group of fellow Cauldmoss youngsters, so they take with them the norms of their community. I will return to the different drinking patterns of the old and young in the final section of this chapter.

The most obvious significance of drinking in terms of age is the image of adulthood that it conveys (cf. O'Connor 1978). With legal restrictions on under-age drinking it is clear that for the young the activity will suggest involvement in adult life or an independent (adult and masculine) rejection of the law. For eighteen year olds drinking in a pub becomes a confirmation of their adulthood. Since alcohol consumption is one of the transitions towards maturity, and particularly towards manhood, mothers are often fairly tolerant to
under-age drinking, perhaps not wanting to inhibit their sons from learning their gender roles (Martin 1984: 34), while men frequently indulge it. When Nancy, the Cauldmoss landlady, interrogated her thirteen year old son about his activities that afternoon, in front of half a dozen male customers, the boy knew he had a sympathetic audience. While his mother gradually extracted the confession that he had walked home from the town because he had spent his bus fare and sweetie money on drink, men in the bar were joking about it, suggesting he might have walked the seven miles "To slim doon, eh?".

RECIPROCITY.

Public drinking is valued by men as a means of affirming various aspects of their identities: as members of Cauldmoss, as men, as workers and as adults. Drinks have a further value if they are exchanged; with cigarettes they are the most convenient and generally acceptable articles with which to symbolize an egalitarian relationship through a reciprocal transaction. In Chapter Five four kinds of exchange were identified which, in various contexts, folk in Cauldmoss perceive as distinct (p.262). In practice the main types of exchange which they recognize are long term generalized exchange, delayed restricted exchange, and a merging of immediate restricted exchange and short term generalized exchange. This last category subsumes the principles according to which the social drugs cigarettes, cannabis and alcohol are exchanged.

The prestige of buying other people drinks has already been touched on when discussing the connections between earning capacity and drinking. Between men there is not normally the expansive statement "I'll buy yous a round" and the consequent conspicuous generosity that the mining machine worker was proud of, and which is often assumed to typify drinking patterns in pubs. In fact men tend to meet up accidentally in pubs or clubs, as has already been described, and
it is quite common for them to buy drinks on their own even though conversing with several others. Often only a pair exchange drinks, and when drinking groups do emerge it is usually informally, with three or four people being typical. In large gatherings of, say, half a dozen couples at a Saturday night concert, the normal practice is to make a kitty to which all the husbands contribute the same amount. Though this still necessitates a drinking group with the same spending capacity, it avoids the conspicuous generosity of round buying; as one man said, "it's no shame on you or me, like, if you're only there with a couple o' quid". (He then went on to say that they usually start the kitty by all putting in £5.)

When a person is going to buy a round, rather than overtly state this he usually discreetly asks the others individually "Pint o' heavy?" or whatever, or if it is obvious what they are drinking will simply go and buy them drinks along with his own. As soon as one person has done this, acknowledged by a nod or "Cheers", the drinking group is formed and its members will reciprocate in turn. If men are drinking with their wives then much the same occurs except that each man buys drinks for the women along with their husbands/boyfriends. Buying drinks in such a group establishes the members as equals - as men, as workers and as earners - but since the exchange is completed almost immediately the relationship does not endure as a result of long lasting obligations.

The most formal exchange of alcohol is in the ritual of Hogmanay. Most people in Cauldmoss buy a bottle of spirits (in the past almost inevitably whisky, but now often vodka) which they do not open until midnight of the 31st December, and then do not consume themselves but pour out into others' glasses. Throughout the night, whether receiving visitors in one's own home or going "first footing" to others, each person keeps his bottle to himself and offers some to everyone he meets for the first time that year, never taking any out of his own bottle for himself. The festivities last several days and
even on the 3rd or 4th of January someone entering a living room full of people is likely to go round offering a drink to everyone present. This is a classic example of generalized exchange.

Delayed restricted exchange.

There are occasions when men stand drinks without expecting them to be reciprocated. This is not done frequently and is not normally ostentatious. Most men do not grandly announce their intention to buy others drinks because it would be seen as too boastful, while the recipients do not eagerly and greatly accept because it would be too demeaning. Instead there is an almost silent recognition of status difference which often leaves great ambiguities in the gift-giving. Sometimes the difference in social position is quite evident and unproblematic: the youth, student or pensioner feels no loss of honour in accepting drinks from a big earner, and as has already been noted, men always buy women drinks. On the other hand the buyer might dismiss offers to reciprocate at the time as if content to have the prestige of being the harder worker and greater provider, but in fact note and resent the recipient’s lack of insistence and his implicit acceptance of a status differential. The recipient is often put in a situation where he has to assert considerable will in order to repay drinks, or has to consciously make a way to do so in the future. Beynon clearly experienced this problem when doing his research about Halewood car workers; he remembered one man who would:

"...go out with you for a night, buy lots of beer, give you fags, beat you at darts and tell you stories about his family. When you met him the next day he'd say 'here he comes, the man with no hands. You want to watch out for him. Don't go out with him for a night unless you've a spare fiver and a pocket full of ciggies.'"

(Beynon 1973: 112)
Many men are glad to be accorded the prestige of buying rounds so long as they do not find themselves penniless through supporting a scrounger. The dividing line between the two can sometimes be very thin.

At times there is a complete mis-interpretation of the obligation to reciprocate, when the conventions are not mutually understood. A miner who got his student nephew a job in the pit during the holidays was greatly affronted when the young man offered to buy him a pint the next Saturday night. The high-earning miner felt it was his role to provide for the impoverished student, while the student was obviously unaware of this expression of status and simply wanted to show his gratitude for having been found the job.

In everyday life it would seem that drink is the most important article of exchange for men. It is a commodity that is readily accessible throughout the day (when the shops close at eight o'clock the pubs and clubs are already open, and they sell "carry-outs"); it can be handled in numerous different units of value, allowing great flexibility in exchange (a pint - or at home a can - can be offered, or several pints/cans, or spirits, or both in any ratio), but it is also usually sufficiently standardized not to risk parsimony or too much ostentation (unlike the exchange of self-made meals). It is a commodity clearly suited to men's role since it involves no domestic work (other than purchasing it), only access to considerable cash.
SOCIAl STATUS.

'Restricted' status values.

Two different ways of perceiving social stratification in Cauldmos have been described in earlier chapters (p.100-107, 230 and 278), and the ideal types have been termed 'restricted' and 'unrestricted' status evaluation. Several elements of the public drinking patterns described above constitute an expression of 'restricted' male working class status. Confining one's drinking to the village, the locus of the original occupational community, excluding women from one's leisure in the same way that they have been conventionally shut out from the world of productive employment, and, above all, demonstrating one's earning capacity by participating in "sessions" and round buying, all make male pub drinking a central institution perpetuating the traditional, 'restricted' status of working class men distinct from "snobs".

In Chapter Five I described how an ethic of ready-spending encourages gregarious village leisure as well as inhibiting upward social mobility (p.252). Drinking is the principal feature of this spending pattern. Whatever the validity of Douglas and Isherwood's functional analysis (p.254), using up 'surplus' income on drink, which is generally regarded by men as legitimate, prevents workers acquiring goods that would assert a higher social status. Something that seems to counter Douglas and Isherwood are the non-egalitarian aspects of this institution, for it means that heavy drinkers earn the prestige accorded to "hard workers", and more important, the rules of reciprocity lead to drinking circles differentiated by spending capacity. However, despite this scope for social divisions they remain divisions within the working class, rather than divisions between different classes which could arise if some workers accumulated capital.
It is clear that traditional patterns of public drinking developed in connection with the social relationships resulting from employment. Changes in the economy and employment which led to the break down of old status group structures, considered in Chapter Three (p.104), have, it would seem, simultaneously disrupted the social relations underlying traditional drinking patterns. In Cauldmoss the most important consequences of these changes, as they affected drinking, were first the diversification of male employment with the disappearance of the occupational community, and of late the involvement of the population in the status values of mass consumption. However, as I have explained earlier (p.104), it is beyond the scope of my research to argue about an historical development. All I am competent to do is note the co-existence of other patterns of alcohol use in Cauldmoss which do not perpetuate 'restricted' status values in the way that pub drinking does. These alternative patterns of drinking are distinct in terms of location and the type of drinks consumed.

Although by far the most common form of entertainment when "going out" is to visit the pubs or clubs (56% of those who had gone out in the previous week went to such places, according to Q.4, 2nd Quest.), a minority of Cauldmoss villagers prefer to meet their friends in their homes and share drinks with them there, either with or without a meal. The advantages of this kind of entertaining for women have already been mentioned (p.307), but some men also prefer this way of meeting their friends. However, in keeping with national trends (Goldthorpe et al 1969, Allan 1979), it is predominantly the more middle class, private householders who have this pattern of entertainment. The answers to Q.4 of the Second Questionnaire showed that whereas 68% of council tenants who had been out in the previous week had visited pubs or clubs and only 4% had visited friends or
relatives, the equivalent figures for private householders were 22% visiting pubs and clubs and 44% visiting friends and relatives. Similarly, in answers to Q.8 of the Second Questionnaire, less council households than private households said they have visitors for meals (47% rather than 59%), and less of those who had visitors for a meal had friends as opposed to relatives (10% amongst council tenants and 30% amongst private householders).

To continue with this simple dichotomy, older men in council houses generally only drink at home on special occasions, such as parties for a marriage, death or Hogmanay. When younger council tenants have visitors for a meal the "tea" is usually eaten fairly quickly with little conversation and no beverage to accompany it; the sociable part of the evening is sitting around the fire drinking cups of tea before and immediately after the meal, and then later on in the evening drinking cans of beer and spirits. This is akin to the pattern of pub drinking with a specific period devoted to talking and consuming alcohol. At the end of the evening "supper" is usually provided.

In households with middle class lifestyles the meal is usually later, alcohol rather than tea is drunk beforehand, and further drinks accompany the food. This is eaten in a far more prolonged fashion, the most sociable part of the evening being focused around the table rather than the fire, and it is followed by coffee and perhaps more alcohol. The drink most commonly associated with such a middle class style of alcohol consumption is wine instead of beer. If alternative drinks such as sherry or gin and tonic were offered as an aperitif it would be seen as extremely pretentious amongst nearly everyone in Cauldmoss. Sometimes wine is only drunk with the meal, and before or after it beer and spirits are consumed; this represents an intermediate stage in moving beyond the restricted social status expressed by conventional alcohol drinking.
The preference of young people to drink in the bars and discos of the local town has already been mentioned (p.320). In part this is simply a reflection of young people’s wish to escape the constraints of their village, and in particular sample entertainment frequented by both sexes, at an age when they are courting. As such it is not very different from the preference that older generations had to travel beyond Cauldmoss when they were young. However it also represents a wider historical change in patterns of drinking, with less conventions about the location and the types of alcohol drunk, less emphasis on exclusively masculine drinking and less concern with drinking circles and session drinking. As Gofton and Douglas found in North East England, a "culture" of drinking regulated according to "community and work roles" is no longer being clearly transmitted between the generations (Gofton and Douglas 1985: 503). Cauldmoss teenagers experiment with cider, Carlsberg Special Brew, cheap wine and other unconventional drinks, none of which could be consumed steadily in an evening’s "session" without anti-social effects, and furthermore, they are not inhibited in mixing these drinks. Older men consider this an abuse of alcohol and condemn the young who do it as "plonkies". This weakening of traditional restrictions opens the area of alcohol to the creation of new social values by the manufacturers: the success of drink advertisements both reflects and increases this dissolution of conventional drinking norms. Thus vodka has come to replace whisky as the principal spirit drunk in Cauldmoss, lager is now an accepted drink for youthful men, and new brands of lager are adopted as readily as new pop groups.
"Fashion, rather than tradition, shapes their patterns of consumption in drink as in other aspects of their lifestyle, such as clothes, food, music, sexuality. The criteria which are used to grade individuals and groups derive from the industries which cater for consumption, rather than from groups formed in the workplace or the neighbourhood."

(Gofton 1984: 17)

For young men in Cauldmos Gofton’s analysis does not, as yet, apply entirely, for the new values are still modified by the traditional conventions of the village, as I described earlier (p.320). In particular, the male bonding and masculine connotations that characterize Cauldmos drinking are hardly reduced when visiting the local town.

The transience that is intrinsic to fashion not only affects the types of drink consumed but also the environment where this takes place. Thus many bars in the local town are regularly revamped in different styles, becoming "fashion items" themselves (Gofton and Douglas 1985). Aware of this competition for the custom of the Cauldmos youth, the landlord of the old hotel has refurbished his pub and installed a massive video screen. This is in keeping with his younger and rather less exclusively male clientele than that of "Billie’s" across the road. Another change in Cauldmos pubs which undermines the traditional notion of concentrated drinking is the provision of bar snacks at "Nancy’s". This was introduced to revive her flagging trade, and was generally regarded by villagers as a confirmation that "Nancy’s" is a "nicer" pub than the other two.
Any group of commodities used in Cauldmoss could have been focused on for a detailed analysis of the values underlying consumption. This study of drinking shows how its central place in the male culture of the village can be understood by the way public drinking establishes and strengthens men's identities as members of Cauldmoss, as men, as "hard workers" and as adults. Furthermore, alcohol provides a useful symbol by which to express equality through a reciprocal exchange. The traditional pattern of drinking with its gregarious ready-spending reproduces status values that characterize a 'restricted' model of social stratification. However alternative contexts for drinking, at home and in the local town, and alternative types of drinks, suggest that not everyone subscribes to these 'restricted' values. The decline of regulated drinking conventions, which is undoubtedly related to changes in traditional patterns of employment, opens this sphere of consumption to manufacturers to create new social values for their products.
CONSUMPTION PATTERNS OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

Conservatism.

Parenthood.

The young's priorities: the transition to adulthood.

Exclusion through reciprocity.

Poverty as the inability to participate: not fulfilling traditional 'restricted' values of "working men".

Poverty as the inability to participate: being demeaned by 'unrestricted' status values.

AUGMENTING WELFARE BENEFITS.

Kinship support for the unemployed.

Credit.

Fiddling and theft.

CONCLUSION.
CHAPTER SEVEN

UNEMPLOYMENT

INTRODUCTION.

In Chapters Five and Six I described the values surrounding employment and consumption and tried to show how these relationships to the economy provide two of the main ways by which people define status and identity. Rather than assert the greater significance of either employment or consumption I emphasized how the meanings associated with them are interconnected, as exemplified in the use of alcohol (Ch.6).

It has been shown, however, that there are important variations in the way consumption and employment are evaluated in Cauldmoss, relating to age, residence (whether private or council housing), and whether 'restricted' or unrestricted' status values are used. In general older people retain an extremely strong employment ethic which is not shared by the young, while the latter aspire to a much higher material living standard than the old. Simplifying a great deal, three age-cohorts have been distinguished as having different values (p.203 and 269). Differences in values between private and council house dwellers have been mentioned (e.g. 210 and 250) but this is not a theme of the thesis. The population of Cauldmoss cannot be so easily divided between those subscribing to 'restricted' or 'unrestricted' status values, since many hold contradictory ideas simultaneously. Nevertheless, the assessment of consumption patterns and employment status is greatly affected by whether traditional or unrestricted values are held.
Another factor which could, potentially, have enormous significance in influencing the way people evaluate employment and consumption has until now been disregarded in my ethnography: that is unemployment. In previous chapters a state of "full" employment was assumed as a useful heuristic device that allowed the predominant norms of the last few decades to be described without the constraints of the recent economic recession complicating the picture. In fact since the late 1970s unemployment in Cauldmoss has become increasingly widespread: this chapter will look at the values and behaviour of the unemployed.

However it should not be thought from this arrangement of chapters that there is a clear distinction between the beliefs of the employed and unemployed, and that the latter only emerged with the phenomenon of mass unemployment in the late 1970s. The reality is not so simple: in fact the two groups and their behaviour merge. There were always variations to the conventional patterns of employment and spending amongst the employed, about a third of the individuals who are unemployed are likely to remain so for only a short time, and they do not change their values suddenly as they find or lose a job.

Furthermore, those who are officially unemployed can have very varied economic circumstances, a point emphasized elsewhere (e.g. Ashley 1983: 15, Sinfield 1981: 92). For instance in our Second Questionnaire sample, the fourteen households with unemployed men included: two where the wives have full time employment; two where the men have recently taken early retirement from the pits and therefore have substantial redundancy pay; three privately owned houses; one where the husband has regular work on the side, and another where a widow lives with her oldest son who is in a well paid job and her youngest son who has occasional undeclared earnings. At the other end of the scale were two council houses each occupied by a single man. One is aged 61 with no chance of work again, has been unemployed for over ten years and has used up any savings he might have had, and the
other is a younger man in serious debt, whose wife has recently left him taking practically all the household furnishings. Clearly, amalgamating the answers from these interviewees obscures the responses of those in greatest financial hardship, and reduces the contrasts between them and those in employment. Nevertheless it is necessary if one is to compare the answers of different groups, without being reduced to comparisons of case studies. A further factor which merges the material living standards of those in and out of work is the way the poverty trap works (to be described later p.355), which can mean that people in employment have the same net income as those on the dole.

When I refer to the "unemployed households" in the Second Questionnaire sample I will be including three other households which depend on welfare benefits apart from the fourteen mentioned above. In one a woman whose husband has left her is bringing up three young children, and in the other two the interviewees were on Invalidity Benefit. Because Invalidity Benefit (combined with Invalidity Allowance) is considerably higher than Supplementary or Unemployment Benefit (see Table 7.2 below) there is great incentive for people to claim it for as long as possible if they have no hope of finding a job, or to get themselves registered as eligible when already unemployed. Our impression in Cauldmoss was that most of those on Invalidity Benefit would take a job offered to them if it paid more than their benefits, and therefore I have included these people in the calculation of the unemployment rate.

The homogeneity that will be suggested in describing the unemployed is something of an abstraction, but having emphasized this point it is useful to concentrate on what can be regarded as typical behaviour of the unemployed without having constantly to mention the exceptions.
in this chapter I will examine how men in Cauldmoss respond to unemployment. Do those without a job for a long period develop new ideas that give rise to a new subculture of unemployment, or do they strive to approximate the conventional behaviour of the employed and subscribe to the values underlying their consumption, described in Chapter Five? Alternatively, do new economic conditions mean existing values are acted on in different ways? Furthermore, how do the choices that the unemployed have to face in their new circumstances reveal beliefs that until then had not been consciously acted on?

THE RISE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

In the 1971 Census 6.4% of the economically active population of Cauldmoss were registered as seeking work, when the unemployment figure for the whole of Scotland in April 1971 was 5.7%, and for the local group of employment exchanges 5.5%. The aggravated unemployment in Cauldmoss was probably largely due to its isolation; the cost of bus fares considerably reduced the incentive to take low paid jobs in the conurbation, and employers would choose people living nearby in preference to those in out-lying villages (see p.179). In 1981 the economically active seeking work in Cauldmoss were recorded as 15.4% in the Census, which reflected the economic plight of the whole area. The April 1981 unemployment figure for the local "travel to work area" was 12.6%, while for the whole of Scotland it was 12.8%.

Between July 1979 and October 1982 the unemployment rate for the local travel to work area rose from 7.4% to 16.7% as successive foundries and other industries closed. In February 1983 a major rolling mill in the local town was "streamlined" and 700 jobs were lost, which resulted in unemployment rising to 19.6% for the local district; by August 1984 it stood at 17% for the local travel to work area.
### Table 7.1: Employment status of those over 16 by age, from 1982 and 1985 questionnaires.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Summer 1982</th>
<th>End of 1985</th>
<th>numbers and percentages of column total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>under 30</td>
<td>30 - 49</td>
<td>over 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male council house residents:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full or part time employed</td>
<td>11 (55%)</td>
<td>13 (57%)</td>
<td>10 (50%) 34 (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seeking work</td>
<td>8 (40%)</td>
<td>8 (35%)</td>
<td>4 (20%) 20 (32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invalidity</td>
<td>- (0%)</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>3 (15%) 5 (8%) 1 (6%) 1 (4%) - - 3 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL COUNCIL HOUSE RESIDENTS</strong></td>
<td>20 (42%)</td>
<td>23 (43%)</td>
<td>20 (41%) 63 (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% male unemployment</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>41% 42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Male private house residents:** |             |             |             |         |          |         |         |       |
| full or part time employed | 2 (100%)    | 4 (100%)    | 6 (67%) 12 (80%) | 6 (67%) 4 (67%) 8 (73%) 18 (69%) |
| seeking work              | -           | -           | 2 (22%) 2 (13%) | -         | 2 (33%) 1 (9%) 3 (12) |
| invalidity                | -           | -           | -             | 1 (11%) - - 1 (4%) |
| **TOTAL PRIVATE HOUSE RESIDENTS** | 2 (100%) | 4 (100%)    | 9 (15)       | 9 (14%) 6 (11) 26 |
| % male unemployment       | 0%          | 0%          | 25% 14%     | 14% 33% 11% 18% |

| **Female council house residents:** |             |             |             |         |          |         |         |       |
| full or part time employed | 9 (43%)     | 10 (42%)    | 2 (14%) 21 (35%) | 5 (24%) 10 (63%) 2 (10%) 17 (30%) |
| seeking work              | -           | -           | -             | 2 (10%) - - 2 (3%) |
| invalidity                | -           | -           | -             | -         | -         |
| **TOTAL COUNCIL HOUSE RESIDENTS** | 21 (43%) | 24 (42%)    | 14 (27) 59 (43%) | 21 (42%) 16 (33) 21 (58) |
| % women 16-60 in employment | 43%        | 42%         | 67% 43%     | 24% 63% 25% 38% |

| **Female private house residents:** |             |             |             |         |          |         |         |       |
| full or part time employed | 3 (100%)    | 5 (63%)     | 1 (33%) 9 (64%) | 1 (33%) 7 (63%) 3 (50%) 11 (55%) |
| seeking work              | -           | -           | -             | 1 (33%) 1 (9%) - - 2 (10%) |
| invalidity                | -           | -           | -             | -         | -         |
| **TOTAL COUNCIL HOUSE RESIDENTS** | 3 (100%) | 8 (63%)     | 3 (14)       | 3 (11) 6 (20) |
| % women 16-60 in employment | 100%        | 63%         | 50% 69%     | 33% 64% 60% 58% |

| **All men:** |             |             |             |         |          |         |         |       |
| full or part time employed | 13 (59%)    | 17 (63%)    | 16 (55%) 46 (59%) | 14 (54%) 21 (70%) 15 (54) 50 (60%) |
| seeking work              | 8 (36%)     | 8 (30%)     | 6 (21) 22 (28%) | 8 (31%) 8 (27) 3 (11) 19 (23%) |
| invalidity                | -           | 2 (7%)      | 3 (10) 5 (6%) 2 (8%) 1 (3%) - - 3 (4%) |
| **TOTAL MEN** | 22 (82%) | 27 (87)     | 29 (87) 78 (84) | 26 (82) 30 (87) 28 (84) |
| % male unemployment       | 38%         | 37%         | 36% 37%     | 42% 30% 17% 31% |

| **All women:** |             |             |             |         |          |         |         |       |
| full or part time employed | 12 (50%)    | 15 (47%)    | 3 (18) 30 (42%) | 6 (25%) 17 (63%) 5 (19) 28 (36%) |
| seeking work              | -           | -           | -             | 3 (13%) 1 (4) - - 4 (5%) |
| invalidity                | -           | -           | -             | -         | -         |
| **TOTAL WOMEN** | 24 (100%) | 32 (100%)   | 17 (73) 73 (100) | 24 (100) 27 (100) 27 (100) |
| % women 16-60 in employment | 50%        | 47%         | 60% 49%     | 25% 63% 38% 44% |

| **OVERALL TOTAL:** |             |             |             |         |          |         |         |       |
| full or part time employed | 25 (54%)    | 32 (54%)    | 19 (41) 76 (51%) | 20 (40%) 38 (66%) 20 (36) 78 (48%) |
| seeking work              | 8 (17%)     | 8 (14%)     | 6 (13) 22 (15%) | 11 (22%) 9 (16) 3 (5) 23 (14%) |
| invalidity                | -           | 2 (3%)      | 3 (7) 5 (3%) 2 (4%) 1 (2) - - 3 (2%) |
| **OVERALL TOTAL** | 46 (100%) | 59 (100%)   | 46 (100) 151 (100) | 50 (100) 57 (100) 55 (100) 162 |
Our own questionnaires which covered 10% of Cauldmoss households indicated the level of unemployment in the village in the summer of 1982 and again in December 1985 (Table 7.1 above). Note that although male unemployment fell overall, its distribution changed. More private house residents became unemployed in this period, and whereas in 1982 council tenants suffered unemployment remarkably evenly between age groups, by 1985 the young had a far higher rate of unemployment than older men. The proportion of women in employment fell amongst both council and private house residents between 1982 and 1985, the reduction being in full time rather than part time jobs.

Table 7.2: Levels of state benefits per week from Nov. 1983 to Nov. 1984.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supplementary Benefit:</th>
<th>short term</th>
<th>long term (unemployed NOT eligible)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single householder</td>
<td>£26.80</td>
<td>£34.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married householder</td>
<td>£43.50</td>
<td>£54.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if living in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult</td>
<td>£21.45</td>
<td>£27.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>£16.50</td>
<td>£20.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>£13.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 11</td>
<td>£9.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standard increase for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dependent adult</td>
<td>£16.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Benefit</td>
<td>£27.05</td>
<td>£16.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invalidity Benefit</td>
<td>£32.60 *</td>
<td>£19.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£7.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* plus Invalidity Allowance paid according to age when injury occurred:
  - £7.15 if aged below 40, £4.60 if below 50, £2.30 if below 60.
ORIENTATION TO FORMAL EMPLOYMENT.

Do different attitudes to paid work develop in response to joblessness, and does the structure of domestic life change radically when the central organizing principle of employment no longer exists? Or do the values that originated from a time of "full" employment persist? What becomes of the notion that a man's worth is related to his value in the labour market, and what expectations do those on the dole have about the future of employment?

Seeking employment.

Virtually no one changes their orientation towards paid work as a means of coping with unemployment. The various motives for working (described in Ch. 4) are so central to the culture of Cauldmoss that very few men over about 25 are able to abandon employment as a goal in life, although the poverty trap (to be discussed: p. 355) sets limits to people's willingness to work. When, occasionally, someone says s/he is not interested in finding a job it is usually interpreted as a temporary resentment at unsuccessful searching: "deep down in their hearts they dinnie mean it". The few people who have, at some stage, told us that they no longer intend to work again, have all keenly sought employment at some subsequent date.

The initial reaction of older men made redundant seems to be to maintain their familiar routine, simply replacing their job with the search for employment. They tend to get up at their traditional time, carry out all the tasks that they used to do before leaving for work according to the same timetable, and then visit the Job Centre, scour the newspapers or try to pick up some details of vacancies informally. The importance of personal contacts in getting employment has already been emphasized (p. 178), and the unemployed are well
aware that this is their best hope of finding a job. Unfortunately the tendency for people to segregate in their leisure activities according to their income perpetuates the position of the workless, since they have less social contacts with those knowledgable about jobs (as Sinfield also found in North Shields (1970: 230)). The pubs and clubs are particularly important places for gathering information about vacancies, but, as I will explain shortly (p.370), traditional drinking culture excludes the unemployed even more than their lack of money does already. As Sinfield noted two decades ago, "because of the large element of chance and the role of family and friends, finding work was no indication of the intensity of the search..." (Sinfield 1970: 224). This must be a profound discouragement actively to seek a job.

Since October 1982 it has not been necessary to register at the Job Centre in order to claim benefits, but many in Cauldmoss still do and nearly all the unemployed visit it at intervals. Older people might initially do this every fortnight or so, but since each visit confirms what slight prospects they have - unless they possess particular skills - they generally end up going very intermittently. The jobs that are available have been described in Chapter Four, but these are usually taken by those already employed. Officials in the Job Centre confirm that employers generally prefer to take on those currently in work rather than the unemployed, and the longer one is out of work the less chance one has of being recruited.

The unemployed also seek work through notices in the newspapers - mainly the weekly local paper - and some have depressing tales of the number of letters they have written for jobs and the small proportion of firms that have even replied, let alone given them any hope of an interview. Married men are much less willing than single males to take work which means living away from home, but when lack of local jobs becomes apparent they will usually consider working anywhere in Scotland (see p.177 for a description of those working beyond the
local area). 

Some school leavers from Cauldmosso go to the Careers Office every week, as they are advised to, but after ten weeks or so of paying £1.50 bus fares without any sign of finding a job they generally give up. Very rarely a young unemployed person is notified of a vacancy and is accepted after an interview, but it might well be after two years of unemployment.

For many of the young unemployed, phases of a few weeks’ keen job hunting give way to disillusionment and much longer spells where the main concern is simply to avoid boredom. Sometimes something in their life will prompt them to search for work again, such as a plan to buy a stereo, the intention to settle down and get married, or a friend’s luck in finding a job, and then the pattern of job hunting and disillusionment begins again. An example of this sporadic effort to find work is that people apply for the government TOPS courses but on learning there is a five month waiting list abandon the idea. Five months later they return to the Job Centre hoping to begin the course, although they never went on the waiting list.

Though young people do not seriously countenance a future for themselves without jobs, their attitude towards regular employment is rather different from that of their parent’s generation (see p.203). Paid work is regarded more simply as a means to an end—money—and the moral value of disciplined work is far less important to them. An indication of this different orientation is their participation in the Unemployment Club in contrast with older unemployed men.

The Unemployment Club at the Community Centre is intended to provide recreational facilities and social contact at a nominal cost (10p weekly subscription) for the unemployed. It meets two afternoons a week and the principal activities are the same as those practised by males in the Senior Youth Club: football, pool, space invaders.
sitting around talking and drinking fizzy sweet drinks, tea or coffee. In fact of the two dozen or so who go to the Unemployment Club the majority are members or ex-members of the Youth Club, and most of them are male, reflecting how women tend not to see themselves as unemployed. No adults above 30 join in, which the youth and community leaders acknowledge is disappointing. In part this is due to the general association of the Centre with youth activities which discourages adults from participating in anything, but it is also connected with the older unemployed’s withdrawal from social activities, their unwillingness to label themselves publically as workless, and their reluctance to engage in institutionalized recreation as it recognizing it is no longer worth seeking what they really want: "proper jobs". For them it would be a legitimization of their idleness. While the young unemployed certainly do not want to be denied jobs forever, their main concern is poverty and boredom. If the Unemployment Club could offer them the kind of leisure facilities that their age-mates in work are able to afford, young folk on the dole would be happy to pass away their time there in between sporadic jobs.

Initially men made redundant try to find work of the same kind as they had previously, largely because experience gives them the best chance of being offered a job. In Chapter Four I suggested that skilled workers do identify with their occupations (p.188), and when unemployed this self-identity is often still maintained: "I’m a plumber by trade", an unemployed man might say of himself. Such identification with a particular job can make people unwilling to take on work which they consider to have a lower status. When an unemployed time-served electrician eventually took a job as a postman many thought this was demeaning, and from his abject appearance as he went about his work it would seem he felt the same. Occupational identity not only inhibits people from taking less prestigious jobs but also discourages them from retraining for other types of work.
In describing the values associated with employment I argued that paid work is in part a means of establishing one's worth, calculated in monetary terms (p.180). This makes it understandable why the unemployed are loath to take a job paying significantly less than they had previously earned, and it is usually only after several months of fruitless job hunting that they will consider such a move.

"Many see it as a defeat:... Taking lower pay often means accepting a poorer job with less status and requiring less of their skill - it means a lowering of standards that may be never regained."

(Sinfield 1981: 43)

Adult men are unlikely to take work paying them net less than £10 to £20 more than they receive on benefits, and if working on the side (while claiming benefits) they usually demand about £10 a shift.

Another aspect of this persisting equation of wages with worth is the reluctance of men in the Unemployment Club to do anything productive unless they are paid for it (see p.188). "If there's no money behind it they're not interested," the youth and community leader commented. The director of a local Action Resource Centre characterised the minority of unemployed men who are willing to do voluntary work as being in two groups. They are either people who have previously done voluntary work in uniformed organisations (a very few), or middle-aged ex-skilled workers who have taken voluntary redundancy, maybe have a wife working, can manage adequately (through large redundancy payments or savings) and, most important, see themselves as retired.

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Alternative forms of employment.

Several alternative forms of employment have been encouraged by government agencies as a limited substitute to the old jobs in large work forces. One of the commonest strategies advocated by government officials and the managers of major industries when they are laying off their workers is that individuals should set up their own businesses in response to redundancy. A few people in Cauldmoss have in fact done this, using their redundancy pay to finance the initial investment. One man set up as a self-employed roofer when a local builder paid him off, another started a mobile shop, and another waited over a year until one of the village grocery shops came up for sale and then bought that.

However, there are major disincentives to setting up one's business which discourage most of the unemployed in Cauldmoss. In a severe recession it is very difficult to find a potentially profitable enterprise that has not already been tried. Despite the support of the Enterprise Allowance Scheme only 30\% of new self-employed businesses have any chance of success, according to an official at the local Job Centre. The other principal disincentive is the lack of skills people have to run a business, since formal education tends to aim at moulding good employees, and most of the employment Cauldmoss men have experienced offers little responsibility, particularly in accounting and marketing.

No Community Programmes have been set up in Cauldmoss, presumably because there is no individual or agency in the village sufficiently confident and motivated to tackle the Manpower Services Commission bureaucracy. A Youth Opportunities Programme was organized from the Community Centre in 1981-82, initiated by the youth and community leader, and it attracted a lot of teenagers in the village. However the appeal of this scheme was not so much employment experience nor the wage (generally regarded as pitiful), but the opportunity to be
doing something with one's mates in the village. When it came to an end few school leavers were prepared to travel to similar schemes in the local conurbation because of the extra cost in time and money.

The response to the Youth Training Scheme (which succeeded the Youth Opportunities Programme) illustrates how the young do not share the employment ethic of the older generation. The concept of what one's time and labour is worth (see p.180) is not only related to training and to personal precedents of what one has earned in the past. Some of the young unemployed in Cauldmoss, who have never worked since leaving school, are not prepared to attend a Youth Training Scheme regularly for £21.25p a week, which is what they take home after paying half their bus fares to the local town out of £25 pay. Although some call them lazy, the youngsters themselves say it is beneath them to work for such a miserable wage - they would be suckers to do it. In this they have the tacit support of the adult community in general, who describe YTS as "slave labour" and see such programmes as exploitation of youth unemployment. Those refusing YTS places generally say that £10 a day would be the minimum pay they would consider adequate, and some are not prepared to accept low pay while training for marketable qualifications like computer operating.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that Cauldmoss youth are not exceptional in their disdain for low pay. In October 1983 130 places out of 300 could not be filled on a year's MSC course in technical subjects, from engineering to computer studies, at the local technical college. At a national level in January 1984 the government ordered two investigations into why unemployed youngsters are refusing to accept low paid jobs or join government training schemes (The Guardian 1st Feb. 1984).

In our First Questionnaire the one example of paid employment which was not described by the majority as "work" was taking part in a YOP. From the answers it seems to be regarded as not real work because of its temporary nature and minimal pay.
A striking aspect of the Cauldmoss population's reaction to over 30% male unemployment is their unwillingness to discuss political policies that might ameliorate the situation. This is largely a consequence of the general lack of political discussion (considered earlier: p.164). It might also be due to people's unwillingness to face up to a bleak future which some will reluctantly admit probably lies ahead. When asked what should be done about unemployment they usually respond, "Get rid o' Maggie Thatcher!". However, when asked what they expect life to be like for their children or grandchildren their worries about labour-saving technology imply that they do not, in fact, really see unemployment as such a short-term(!?) problem. Several say that there will have to be jobs in the future, as if any alternative is too foreign to contemplate, but their unease about the subject suggests that perhaps they have a deep pessimism which they would rather not express, for fear of somehow pre-determining the issue.

On the rare occasions when possible solutions to long-term unemployment are discussed, the only policy that is seriously considered is earlier retirement. Job sharing, shorter working weeks, sabbaticals or the payment of a social dividend are very rarely mentioned. It is significant that earlier retirement would maintain the traditional structure of working life, which would end in a just reward for years of labour. (The legitimacy of pensions in contrast to other forms of government welfare has been noted before, e.g. Miller and Roby 1970: 140). But even this idea is seldom advocated. Readily discussing how to re-distribute jobs because there will be no return to full employment would be implicitly to accept that a central norm of this culture, the 40 hour working week, is dead. Very few in Cauldmoss are prepared to do that.
THE DOMESTIC DIVISION OF LABOUR.

The conventional allocation of tasks in an employed household is based on the interrelated factors of gender hierarchy (p.122) and the man's principal role as wage earner (p.111). The justification for a husband's inactivity in domestic work is primarily that he has already sacrificed himself for the family through employment (p.138). It might be presumed, therefore, that when the husband no longer goes out to a job there will be a significant change in the division of responsibilities at home. Several studies have addressed this particular subject and nearly all of them confirm what was found in Cauldmoss: that gender roles in the house are remarkably entrenched (e.g. Marsden and Duff 1975, McKee and Bell 1985, Morris 1985).

Men are not likely to redefine their gender roles at a time when their whole life is in confusion through losing one of their principal male functions, that of being the breadwinner, a point which Morris makes in her study of redundant Welsh steelworkers (Morris 1985: 414). From the women's point of view as well increased domestic work by their husbands is often problematic: it can disrupt their routine, infringe on their own domain and threaten their recreational life (Roberts, Finnegan and Gallie (eds) 1985: 366). Furthermore, the conventional division of labour between genders is so much regarded as natural that women are themselves concerned that their husbands should not be "womanish" (cf. Hoggart 1957: 55). On a material level, very few women whose husbands are out of work have formal employment themselves (to be discussed shortly: p.356), and so the conditions for a role reversal rarely exist.

In respect to the allocation of income within unemployed households there appears to be a slight increase in financial control by the women. The results of our Second Questionnaire (see Table 7.3) suggest that amongst those couples where the husband is unemployed...
(in contrast to those where he is in work) there are proportionally more couples who share financial decisions and about half as many where the husband is in control.

Table 7.3: Person said to be in charge of household money:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>all couples with husband employed</th>
<th>all couples with husband unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>16 (57%)</td>
<td>5 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>5 (18%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no one</td>
<td>7 (25%)</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References some employed men made to times when they were out of work emphasized that unemployment can often mean more financial responsibility and control for the wife, even though there is less money to distribute. In most unemployed families the wife cashes the giro at the post office rather than her husband, and where the wife is in charge of the finances she usually gives her husband money only as he needs it, in contrast with employed households where only a quarter of wives do this (Table 7.4). On the other hand, any casual wages the husband might earn on the side are at his discretion to disclose.
Table 7.4: How household money is allocated when wife is in charge:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>when husband is employed</th>
<th>when husband is unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>husband given regular &quot;pocket money&quot;</td>
<td>7 44%</td>
<td>1 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband given irregular amount</td>
<td>2 13%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband retains some</td>
<td>5 31%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband given as needed</td>
<td>2 13%</td>
<td>3 60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no pocket money given</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some unemployed men who breach the taken-for-granted gender roles: usually young husbands without long term experience of employment, or "incomers" who have married CauldmoSS women (see p.110). Cooking meals for the children when the wife is out, interior decorating and major cleaning jobs, like scrubbing the steps, are the sort of "female" jobs unemployed husbands are sometimes willing to do, while one or two young fathers (from outside the village) actually take a major part in feeding and cleaning their babies.

Yet these examples only blur the divisions of labour and do not represent a fundamental change in conventions. Even a young lad who had been on the dole since leaving school was set on fulfilling the traditional male role when he became employed after two years. When he was offered his first official job his mother joked that he would have to make his own dinner when he came home from work. This horrified him: you don't make your own tea when you come back from a day's work, do you?, he asked me rhetorically. You just sit down and have it ready for you to eat, he said rather aggrieved. It was as if he felt he might be cheated out of one of the fundamental benefits of employment after waiting so long.
"WORKING ON THE SIDE".

In general the unemployed of Cauldmoss maintain the same orientation towards employment as their neighbours who are in work. An important way in which some of those on the dole try to cope with their situation is to find "work on the side": taking temporary and often part-time work without the employer or worker paying National Insurance or tax, and without the earnings being declared to the Unemployment Benefit Office. "Working on the side" provides most of the immediate things sought from employment - money, a different environment and different company - as well as satisfying the moral imperative to be employed (see Marsden 1982: 198). Men have commented how working "a shift on the side" makes them feel equal again to those employed legally; as Jock put it: "When I'm working on the side I don't count myself as any cunt, I'm graftin' for it." Even a temporary job can be enough for a man to reassert his self-esteem, restoring his status as a "working man" which is so central to traditional values (cf. Howe 1986:20 for similar findings in Belfast and Wadel 1973:31 for Newfoundland).

Employment in the 'hidden' economy (a more neutral term than 'black' economy) reproduces the employment ethic amongst the unemployed, as well as the traditional values associated with it. It is important to note that rather than an innovative strategy in response to unemployment, working on the side has long been practised by people who already have full time official jobs, in which case it is usually known as "moonlighting". Though there is far less opportunity today for people to do more than one job, in comparison with the 1970s, undeclared earnings amongst the formally employed are still considered far more legitimate than the unemployed's earnings on the side (cf. Ashley 1983:45). The virtue of employment, and fact that a man can rarely do too much, is nicely illustrated in the Glaswegian Matt McGinn's popular folk song 'Three Nights and a Sunday' (Buchan and Hall 1973:12).
Though the extent of undeclared employment is in doubt, there is no disputing that most of the unemployed are eager to take work on the side, so long as they can conceal it. It is generally considered morally distinct from most other illegal economic activity, and nearly everyone condones occasional "fly jobs". In the First Questionnaire jobs on the side were described in a similar way to legal employment, most people calling them "work", and only a small minority described them as a "side-line" or something similar. The lack of any specific term to describe the unemployed's undeclared jobs suggests that they are not regarded as very different from ordinary employment. Sporadic work on the side may be criticized by vindictive villagers who dislike the individual on other grounds, or are jealous of his or her opportunity for employment, and sometimes full-time employees are resentful when they consider it is their taxes that pay for the person's benefits. A full-time undeclared job is not generally acceptable, and those who have formal employment paying little, if any, more than their possible income from benefits particularly condemn men with regular paid work as well as Unemployment and Housing Benefit. However, even amongst the formally employed, most sympathise with the way the unemployed are constrained to take some work on the side, recognizing that the secretiveness, irregularity and lack of protection make it far less desirable than legal work. "Good luck to them!" is the general consensus.

Although the employment ethic legitimizes work on the side, the unemployed still fear "grassers" and must be discreet, so that a casual job only gives a man the status of a worker amongst his family and immediate friends. Phone calls or letters to the DHSS can lead to "snoopers" being sent round in cars to watch houses, or pressure being put on individuals to sign-off, since it is known that they are working. Those who are actually caught claiming the "bru" fraudulently are made to repay their benefits, but this is only done to one or two each year in Cauldmoss which suggests rather less
officiousness by the fraud squad than is often assumed by the unemployed. The motive nearly always attributed to people "grassing" is jealousy. One man on the dole summed it up:

"It's funny in Cauldmoss: everyone's in the same boat bein' unemployed, but there's always two or three men who'll ring up the bru. There's an awful lot o' spite in a wee village - someone'll think, 'I've no' got a job and he's workin'."

An official at the local Department of Employment confirmed this, saying that the vast majority of the numerous letters they receive informing on fellow villagers seem to be motivated by personal animosity. Those working on the side must be discreet in their consumption as well, particularly in re-establishing their worker status in the pub, for a changed pattern of spending quickly arouses curiosity. The increased isolation of the unemployed with informal jobs might have significant political implications, which will be mentioned later (p.401).

Another disadvantage of jobs on the side rather than "on the books" is their irregularity, which means they do little to provide a structure to a man's life. Although some jobs might entail a few weeks' work in a row, more frequently they crop up sporadically and someone might do two shifts in a week and then nothing for a month. For the unemployed in Cauldmoss most informal work is in the building industry, both as sub-contracted labour on large sites and as self-employed roofers, brickies, etc.. Jobs are also got in small drilling firms, on farms, in haulage, cleaning, babysitting and walking dogs, while informal self employment includes hair cutting, gardening and occasional taxiing. In general very low wages are paid: adult men are unlikely to work for less than £10 a shift, but teenagers will accept £1 an hour. As I have described earlier, work on the side is gained exclusively through personal contacts, and consequently kinship links play an even greater role in recruitment for these jobs than for work.
in the formal economy (see p.136).

Obviously it is very difficult to assess the extent of work on the side in Cauldmoss, let alone guess how typical this particular village is of the economy as a whole (see O'Higgins 1980 and Leach and Wagstaff 1986:119). Those who do semi-regular "side-work" give the impression that half the unemployed are doing it, while those who have very rarely been offered informal work suggest it is virtually impossible to get. This illustrates the extent to which such jobs are the patronage of particular social (largely kinship) circles. Some people say there are far fewer "side jobs" around now than there used to be, suggesting that opportunities decline with the recession in the formal economy, which is what Pahl argues (1984:93-98). However Howe has recently pointed out many ways in which the unemployed can engage in informal employment even when very poor and living in an area of high unemployment (Howe 1986:25). The widespread incidence of minor jobs on the side in Cauldmoss seems to confirm his viewpoint.

The closest I can get to some firm quantification of work on the side in the village is to note those unemployed men I know personally to have been engaged in such employment. This obviously means abandoning any notion of random sampling. Of 59 unemployed men that I knew in the village I had no information about 20 (34%) of them, but of the remaining men 36 (61%) had definitely worked on the side irregularly and 3 (5%) had never done so. Nearly all the local employers, in building, haulage, drilling and coal distribution, employ people who they know are signing-on, as do most of the local farmers, though some only take people on temporarily on this basis. The advantages to employers of an informal labour market can be considerable, which will be considered later in the Conclusion, as will the wider political consequences of wide-scale working on the side (p.401).
The financial incentive for the unemployed not to declare their occasional earnings is enormous, and it comes about principally because of the abrupt cut in benefits when one begins to earn. For the quarter of the unemployed in Britain who only receive Unemployment Benefit, for each day's work they do earning more than £2, benefit is withheld for that day only (about £5 per day for a single adult). For the 60% (approximately) of the unemployed who receive either Supplementary Benefit or Supplementary Benefit and Unemployment Benefit, their benefit payments are reduced pound for pound as soon as they earn over £4 in a week. This lack of tapering in the reduction of benefits combined with the withdrawal of rent and rate rebates and the payment of income tax and National Insurance, means an effective marginal tax rate on each extra pound of income of between 60% and 70% for the unemployed (until they earn over £105 a week) (Parker 1982:32). When each £1 earned would only be 40p if declared, it is obvious that many men who are already on very low incomes will choose to break the law, particularly since their personal identities are largely based on their family roles as 'breadwinners'. A further important disincentive to declaring one's employment if it lasts more than a fortnight is the cumbersome bureaucratic procedure of signing-off and signing-on again, involving several journeys to the benefit offices in the local town and delayed giro payments.

The anomalies and unfairness of the tax/benefit system which encourages people to work in the hidden economy are frequently commented on in Cauldmoss. As one unemployed man told me: "They're creatin' the situation for you to diddle them out o' tax an' benefit... but if I had the choice I'd rather do it legal...".
THE UNEMPLOYMENT TRAP.

Working on the side is essentially a means by which the unemployed can fulfill their traditional role as "workers", albeit in a constrained way, in the face of the so-called 'unemployment trap'. There are some in Cauldmoss who can only command a net wage that is roughly equal to, or lower, than the welfare benefits to which they and their families are entitled. This is due to a combination of low wages, high levels of direct taxation which has low thresholds, the sudden cut off point in eligibility to means-tested benefits, and the costs incurred through going to work (travel costs, work clothes etc.). One study of the problem by Parker (1982: 37) estimated that 20% of the work force are in this position (see also Ashley 1983: 30-32). Since the cause of the 'unemployment trap' is generally assumed by right-wingers to be a high level of benefits rather than low wages and high marginal taxes (in reality benefits bear the same relation to average gross earnings as in 1948: Parker 1982), the very existence of this disincentive for formal employment is a politically charged issue. Some authors have responded to the analyses of right-wing economists by arguing from survey data that there is no unemployment trap (Atkinson and Micklewright 1985), but however politically convenient this is it denies the real world experienced by at least the unemployed of Cauldmoss.

For those on the dole who have the exceptional luck of being offered a job, but who would only earn about the same or less than their current benefits, they have to decide whether employment or consumption is more important to them, and so reveal fundamental priorities which were previously concealed by the compatibility of the two goals. Unless a job is likely to give the opportunity for a future, better paid, career, in general the young in Cauldmoss think the disadvantages of low paid work are greater than the frustrations of unemployment, when one's consumer power is roughly the same in each case. A woman on the dole calculated that:
"...Ah wid really need to be gettin' an awfi' guic wage before am goin' to leave Cauldmoss to work ... ah wid need to be makin' £60 fer me to be making £20 [on top o'] wit ah'm gettin' the noo... ah think that's mostly everybody's attitude in Cauldmoss."

Others in Cauldmoss have suggested they would work for a net gain of only £10. For those with young children their role as a parent leads them to maximize the net income of the household, whatever their attitude to employment might be. Both single men and fathers do not want to feel they are "making a mug" of themselves by working without any net gain (a finding paralleled in Howe's research in Belfast (1986:14)). Furthermore, choosing to remain unemployed leaves open the chance of getting temporary undeclared jobs which could significantly augment one's income.

Another dimension of the unemployment trap is that there is virtually no economic motive for the wives of unemployed men to get formal employment, unless it were for very good pay, since their earnings are deducted from the couple's benefits. Thus in our Second Questionnaire we found that while 54% of the wives of employed men in our sample had full or part time jobs, only 20% of the women married to unemployed men had any employment. The benefit system exacerbates the differences of incomes between what Pahl calls the "middle mass" and a deprived underclass of claimants (Pahl 1984:320).

Some people do choose formal employment even when it does not increase their net income, and others remain in their jobs even though they know they could get the same income in benefits if they left it. The few people I knew with such commitment to employment were all in their late 50s or over, while many pensioners suggested that they did, or would have done, jobs for no net increase in income. Clearly for these employees remuneration is not the
overriding value they attach to their jobs, and instead the non-material benefits are more important, such as time structure, changed environment, masculine identity, and, above all, the virtue of disciplined employment which remains even after the necessity has gone. A woman who tried to explain why her 60 year old husband goes on working, even though he could get as much money on the dole, said older folk will work hard, unlike the young. "I don’t know. It’s something in the older people. You won’t get the younger people doin’ it...”.

Thus the unemployment trap highlights the different values that different age-cohorts have towards employment and consumption, which have already been discussed in earlier chapters (p.203 and 269). It seems that age is the principal factor in Cauldmoss to be correlated with differing perspectives on employment, while unemployment emphasizes these previously existing variations rather than gives rise to new values in itself. Skilled workers are reluctant to change their occupation in response to unemployment; there is a persisting equation of wages with personal worth; there is very little response to government incentives for self-employment, and the sexual division of labour in the home usually remains as it had been when it was premised on the man’s wage earning role. Above all, practically everyone still seeks employment and no one seriously countenances a future without jobs. However, the young regard employment more simply as a means to an end - money - rather than a central part of their moral identity; in this their experience of the shrunken labour market is probably an important influence, but there appears to be little variation in outlook between the young who are in work and those on "the bru".
CONSUMPTION PATTERNS OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

In Chapter Five I analyzed the consumption patterns of the employed in terms of culturally ascribed value, identifying six principal constituents of this value: community belonging, gender and family roles, age, employment status, the worth of reciprocity, and social status (the last based on either 'restricted' or 'unrestricted' values). Do the unemployed share the same evaluation of commodities as those who are in work, and if so, how do they cope with their limited income? In contrast to Jahoda who concentrated on the latent benefits of employment (1982), here I will focus on its most obvious benefit - earning money - and look at what the lack of cash means to those without jobs.

Conservatism.

I do not intend to detail how the unemployed use their limited resources in the various areas of food, clothing, transport and so on, although the Second Questionnaire and the money budgets provided considerable data on the subject. (See Appendix C for the spending budgets of five unemployed households as illustrative case studies.) This is because to provide such a description would, in fact, be repetitive, since one of the main things revealed by a study of the unemployed's spending is their conservatism. In general the unemployed spend their limited income with the same objectives as their counterparts in employed households; new means of economizing have developed, but not alternative patterns of consumption.

One particular example, in the sphere of clothing, serves to illustrate this conservatism. It could be argued that, on a macro-sociological level, the widespread adoption of punk fashion in Britain was a response to mass youth unemployment and/or a reaction to the norm of smart, expensive clothes (whatever its origins were in
South East England in 1976: see Hebdige 1979). Economic constraints are turned into a virtue and the shabby drabness of makeshift clothes, amalgamating all kinds of different fashions as if unable to afford a particular mode, become positive features. The normal hierarchy of commodities is reversed and used as a means of distancing one's group from established society, as with hippies, Rastafarians, American blacks with their soul food (see Sahlins 1976:176) or Newfoundland Pentacostalists, all of whom "created a new system of symbolic status... which denied the validity and legitimacy of the symbolic arenas from which they regarded themselves as excluded." (Cohen 1985:62). In Cauldmoss, however, the unemployed have not adopted punk fashion as a way of coping with restricted income. On the contrary, they want to wear the same kind of clothes as those in work, and the only punks in Cauldmoss are all incomers who adopt this style as an overt expression of their not "belonging" (as described earlier: p.240).

The tenacity of values associated with full employment can be attributed to several factors, which will be discussed in the concluding chapter (p.397); an important consequence of their resilience is the degree to which the unemployed experience poverty. Having already adopted the stance that all needs are socially conditioned (p.216) I have implied that poverty must be relative to "the conditions of life which ordinarily define membership of society." (Townsend 1979:915). Since the unemployed share this definition with the employed - aspiring to the same fundamental social positions (as adults, women or men, parents, etc.) and having the same interpretation of the consumption necessary to play these roles - their deprivation is unmitigated by subscribing to alternative cultural values. I will return to a specific discussion of poverty shortly (p.369).
Before continuing there is one general feature of unemployment in Cauldmoss which must be stressed, and that is the monotony. Boredom is perhaps the predominant experience of many on the dole, due to lack of money, the inability to plan ahead, and the constraint felt by some older men to keep out of public social life. When discussing their daily lives this is an aspect that nearly all those out of work repeatedly emphasize: "...so much time on my hands." "Cauldmoss is absolute boredom when you’re on the bru", or: "There never used to be enough hours in the day for me when I was working... now, I know what like an hour is... it just drags round."

How do the unemployed cope with their reduced income but similar needs as their counterparts in work? Although the figures from the household money budgets are statistically unreliable (see p.69), they nevertheless give a clear indication of how the unemployed reallocate their resources. From Table 7.6 below it can be seen that unemployed households’ overall spending per capita was about 56% of that of employed households. The unemployed spent proportionately more of what income they had on fuel, large household goods, alcohol and food. This was compensated for in the areas of greatest savings which were “services and entertainment”, clothing, tobacco and cars. One can see that the highest priority is spending on the home, either in furnishing it, heating it or eating in it, which are all essentials in the conventional view of family life.
Table 7.5: Average expenditure on different items as percentage of total household expenditure.

Total stated expenditure excludes housing costs and tax payments in order to make figures comparable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>employed</th>
<th>unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heating &amp; light</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcohol &amp; drink</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothing &amp; shoes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large household goods</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other goods</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>services &amp; entertainment</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.6: Average absolute weekly expenditure on different items per capita in £s. (children under 16 counting as half)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>employed</th>
<th>unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heat &amp; light</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcohol &amp; drink</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothing &amp; shoes</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large household goods</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other goods</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bus</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>services &amp; entertainment</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

unemployed's spending as percentage of the employed's expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>employed</th>
<th>unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heating &amp; light</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcohol &amp; drink</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothing &amp; shoes</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large household goods</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other goods</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bus</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>services &amp; entertainment</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Parenthood.

The powerful obligations, particularly for mothers, to bring up one's children in a suitable manner have already been described (p.132), and nothing seems to bring such moral condemnation as the failure to fulfil this parental role. No wonder then that maintaining a respectable standard of consumption for their children is one of the highest priorities for the unemployed, so that at least "the young uns" maintain their self-esteem, which in turn reflects on their parents (p.276). The colour television is frequently retained specifically for the children, and some unemployed families hire videos for them: of the third of the unemployed households sampled in the Second Questionnaire which had videos (Q.21), three quarters had young families. One of the commoner reasons for going into debt is for the "Likes of clothes for kids. You had to take them on credit," and the unemployed are proud to be able to provide meat in their children's diets. This concern with meat is confirmed by Kerr and Charles' study of food distribution in northern English families:

"It appears that in families experiencing severe financial hardship women are particularly likely to deny themselves meat in order to ensure that their children do not go without. Presenting the needs of children as paramount is a common finding of other studies...".

(Kerr and Charles 1986: 147).

Of course children's demands are largely determined by the expectations of their peer groups. Every evening the ice cream van drives around the scheme with its siren tunes, and few parents can withstand the whingeing of their children for money when their playmates have just rushed off for sweets or crisps.
Christmas is not always a joyous season for households out of work: "...there'll be an awfie lot o' men in Cauldmoss sore-hearted because they've nothing for their wains at Christmas." But in fact it is predominantly the mothers who concern themselves with Christmas preparations and presents, as evidenced by 16% of women questioned saying they would like more money for Christmas (Q.11, 2nd Quest.) whereas no men mentioned this. In many unemployed families a great deal is spent on Christmas as if celebrating this properly is the ultimate criterion of being a good parent.

The sort of presents that parents are under pressure to buy for their children at Christmas, and the inability or disinclination of those on benefits to withstand this pressure, was graphically illustrated by Ann, a mother of three recently deserted by her unemployed husband. At the end of November she told me how throughout the previous month she had been worrying about Christmas because her two daughters (aged eight and six) both wanted new bikes which would cost about £100. She definitely could not buy one of them a bike and not the other. One evening she was sitting in her chair worrying about it again when she suddenly said to herself: "Fuck it, Ann. If they wains are wantin' to get a fuckin' bike, you'll just have to fuckin' get it." The next day she went to Halfords in the local town where they were encouraging customers to join their Christmas club and bought two bikes which together cost £134. She got a little card to record her payments and was paying off the loan at £20 a week, out of her Supplementary Benefit, Child Benefits and limited support from her husband who had recently found a job. At the same time she got her three year old son a £67 go-cart which she was paying off at £15 a week. She went on to mention that she had already got some other Christmas presents for her daughters, the main ones being a portable T.V. costing £54 for their bedroom and an electrically operated horse that cost £18.99. She was planning to buy her son a toy called 'Night Rider' which he had seen advertised on television.
In describing her problems in buying adequate presents for her children Ann never made any criticism about the cost of these items. Most of them had been advertised on television. When I suggested that such advertisements should be banned until after children had gone to bed, Ann disagreed entirely: the adverts enable parents to learn what their children want for Christmas.

I commented that Ann's kids would be getting the best Christmas in Cauldmos, but she disputed this and cited her sister's three children. The fourteen year old son is getting a £199 computer for a present, and the others will receive similarly priced gifts. Her sister is not employed and her brother in law is on Invalidity Benefit.

The importance of Christmas seems to epitomize how the children's needs are considered paramount, a common feature for most people suffering poverty throughout Britain, as has been widely noted in the literature (Marsden 1970:211, Marsden and Duff 1975, Clarke 1978, Burghes 1980 and Ashley 1983:56). Ashley suggests that the greater concern for the children might be because they have strong comparative reference groups whereas the parents on low incomes are often isolated (Ashley 1983:56). In Cauldmos, on the contrary, the intense social networks ensure that most parents feel pressure from other adults to bring up their children in a suitable way. This involves a respectable level of consumption, and it exacerbates the pressure from their children's own peer groups.

The young's priorities: the transition to adulthood.

The young unemployed without children devote more of their money to clothes, alcohol and entertainments than do those with young families, but in a sense this pattern of spending is just an earlier stage in the path towards family responsibilities. Fashionable clothes
and participation in commercial recreation are essential to establish one’s eligibility as a young spouse and to court anyone.

Answers to the Second Questionnaire (Q. 11 & 12) indicate that dependence on cheap or old clothes is the prime source of frustration for the young unemployed: “ye cannie dress yourself” on £25 a week: you have a right not to be scruffy, one lad asserted. The inability to renew one’s clothes for the Community Centre discos or for an occasional night out in the local town is particularly demeaning, given the young’s ‘unrestricted’ evaluation of social status, and thus the importance of fashion. The youth and community leader described how teenagers from unemployed households might alternate two lots of clothes between discos while others are like Willy with “one good set of clothes that he sometimes wears: trousers, white shirt and his woollen tank-top.” More exceptional is Brian: “he doesn’t bother — which is good, I mean, but I mean some will see that as ‘he can’t afford it’, and others will say ‘that’s just Brian, it doesn’t matter’. But there’s not a great many people like that.”

Young unemployed men feel their poverty very keenly in respect to courting: the rituals of consumption (particularly of alcohol) are so established in this area that lack of money means a diminution of one’s masculine self-esteem. When I suggested to three unemployed lads that a girl who is on the dole herself might understand that they have no money and be attracted without it, they laughed: “So she’ll no want you. She’ll be looking for someone with money.” The young unemployed often mention the problem of chatting up girls: “they say ‘What do you do?’, and you say ‘Fuck all’, — that’s it...”. One lad described how at a disco they soon “suss you out” whether you have a car and what job you are doing, and when you go back to their place their parents “suss you out even deeper.” Without a car or a good job it doesn’t matter "if you look like Robert Redford."
As I described previously (p.271) the wage and what it can buy are extremely important aspects of becoming an adult. Drinking alcohol signifies both one's consumer power and one's maturity, which makes it understandable why unemployed teenagers in Cauldmoss often spend a large part of their dole on one or two evening's drinking, and why their self-respect is at risk when they have not got "money in their pocket".

Without the transition conferred by earning a wage, unemployed youngsters are growing up more slowly, according to their parents, lacking the self-confidence of financial autonomy as they supplement their "bru" money with free food, cigarettes and "subs" from their families. As Willis speculates (1984:476), the young are in "a new social state" of extended dependency. For them consumer power, the ability to make choices in their spending and feel that they are determining their own lives, seems far more important for their identity as adults than gaining the vote. (A fact that might have profound political implications in regard to the planned poll tax or 'Community Charge'.) Thus teenagers who pay £10 dig money out of their £16.50 Supplementary Benefit and have to scrounge off their parents to buy clothes or go out at the weekend are denied one of the most important experiences of adulthood.

The preference of most pupils to leave school at sixteen in order to receive Supplementary Benefit in their own right, as opposed to their mothers continuing to get Child Benefit, has been discussed previously (p.161).

It is ironic that although the young unemployed are financially more dependent on their parents, in Cauldmoss where council housing is readily available, being jobless gives one a chance of getting one's own house long before it could be afforded if one were employed. Since rent and rate rebates make accommodation effectively free for the unemployed, and Single Payments have until recently been avail-
able to pay for nearly all the necessary furnishings and appliances, unemployed teenagers can set up their own homes with little delay. This is a dramatic departure from the established tradition of saving over several years in order to buy enough furniture to make a home, before which many couples would not marry. The ease with which young folk on benefits can get their own houses without working greatly annoys many middle-aged and older people in the village. They used to be particularly incensed by the size of Single Payments for furnishings (the more notorious being around £600 or £800), but in 1986 this was stopped by the Conservative government. To older people it seems all wrong that the unemployed should get so easily what they had worked for over many years (see p.200).

Exclusion through reciprocity.

Social interaction in Cauldmos is largely shaped by the norm of reciprocity, the obligation to engage in social exchange constituting a strong pressure for homogenous consumption patterns. It might be thought that a group could conform to a low level of consumption as easily as a high one. In a critique of Townsend, Piachaud expressed just this view:

"But if such arrangements [meals or parties] are fully reciprocated, a person may entertain and be entertained by a relative or friend at no net cost (indeed, economies of scale may make this more economical)."

(Piachaud 1981: 420)

However, a ratchet mechanism described before (p.264-265) leads everyone to keep up with the most generous host, or consume at the rate of the fastest drinker or smoker, since one can always precipitate extra consumption but not decline from reciprocating it. Recognizing this, unemployed men frequently excuse themselves from getting
caught up in round buying. Unless the unemployed can meet the conventional level of consumption (for instance by conserving their Supplementary Benefit to spend it on a Saturday night out) they are constrained to spend their time on their own or with their families.

Men made redundant frequently remark how they cannot afford to socialize with their old friends who are in work:

"...couldn'ie afford to run aboot wi' them... like if they're goin' off to a dance... you cannie afford it... You meet the real bru people...[your employed friends will] no' come down and say 'I'll take you oot the night.'"

This man's conclusion from his experience on the dole was: "It's obviously a true saying, if you've got a few bob in your pocket you've plenty of friends, if you've no money you've no friends." The wife of another unemployed man made the same observation when describing how their friends reacted to her husband being laid off:

"Quite astonished they were... we've not got any friends any more... We used to mix with a lot of friends... we don't see them anymore. We just can't keep up, with the way we live an' the way they live...".

This last quote illustrates how the unemployed's isolation from their old friends can in some measure be self-induced. Rather than being cold-shouldered by their mates, the unemployed might withdraw themselves, afraid to expose their impoverishment to those they know well. Alternatively some older unemployed men with a strong employment ethic might feel they should not enjoy themselves, or at least should display a frugal lifestyle (see Fryer and Payne 1986:239). The self-imposed constraint on social involvement that comes with a strong employment ethic has already been described in relation to the Unemployment Club (p.341).
The segregation of people with differing means because of the conventions of reciprocity is particularly significant in bringing about different drinking circles in the bars. This echoes the findings of Dennis et al. (1956:154) who noted that while temporarily poor workers in Ashton were expected to return the help given to them once their luck had changed, permanently impoverished workers are not bought many drinks, and if they were would feel bad at not being able to reciprocate.

The obligations of reciprocity also extend to the unemployed's relationships with 'visitors at home, in terms both of food and furnishings. Thus a couple are likely to feel belittled if they only have a worn old couch and 1930s fireplace when they had previously sat in a recently bought three piece suite opposite a newly bricked mantelpiece at their guest's house. Similarly the unemployed might keep the fire low when alone but stoke it up into a blaze if visitors arrive.

Poverty as the inability to participate: not fulfilling traditional 'restricted' values of "working men".

The constraints experienced by the unemployed which have been described are all aspects of their poverty. This is best understood as the inability to participate in ordinary social life (Smith 1776/1892:691, Townsend 1979:915). In my notes I have numerous illustrations of how folk felt they had to either conform to the conventional style of living if they were to participate in social life, or otherwise withdraw. The necessity of suitable clothing to participate in the public sphere, whether drinking in pubs, going to discos or playing football has already been indicated. A graphic example was the effort that a long term unemployed man put into getting respectable clothes for the Orange March. He was set on
joining "the walk" and for four months beforehand the household saved in order to buy a smart jacket and shoes for him. Even though this ceremonial occasion has no commercial dimension, for the unemployed to join in involves a minimum level of expenditure. Sometimes a compromise can be made between conventional consumption and withdrawal: for example, standing around outside the pub maintains contact with one's mates without involving the indignity of sitting inside not buying.

In Chapter Five I described how certain patterns of consumption have value in expressing a person's role as a "working man" (p.250). The shame of impecuniosity is partly related to the condemnation of idleness, in as much as a respectable level of consumption demonstrates one's commitment to employment. Being excluded from this kind of consumption is particularly hard for the middle aged and older unemployed men whose personal identities are based on the traditional, 'restricted' values of being "nice", in terms of being a "hard worker". Traditional patterns of drinking provide one of the most important ways of expressing one's employment status (see p.316), as well as giving men access to the main male social nexus in Cauldmos (p.307). Therefore it is unsurprising that being unable to frequently visit the pubs is considered by unemployed men to be one of their greatest social deprivations.

The answers to the Second Questionnaire suggest that while the average number of nights out per week for men in employment was 1.5, for the unemployed it was .7 (Q.4). While two thirds of the employed men questioned had "gone out" during the previous week (almost all to pubs, clubs or dances), only one third of the unemployed questioned had gone out, a third of them going to the relatively cheap bingo. As with other areas of recreation, the unemployed are loath to go drinking unless they can participate according to the conventional pattern. This involves having a substantial amount of money (say at least £5), and in practice might mean going out one night a week or a
fortnight, according to the intervals at which they receive their giros. Normally they would go out on the weekend following their giro payment, but some (particularly teenagers) have their evening out on the Thursday it arrives. As I described previously, having money in one's pocket to buy cigarettes and a drink is essential for a man's self esteem, thus few of the unemployed would be prepared to exhibit their poverty by entering a pub with only money for one pint - in fact to do so is described as "ignorant". When a social occasion is unavoidable, yet the person has virtually no money at the time, he will often borrow some cash rather than spend frugally at the event.

The connection that lies between drinking several pints (or at least not eeking out one pint all evening) and the prestige of being a "hard worker" is manifested by the resentment that the employed sometimes feel towards men on the dole drinking. For the former to see unemployed men enjoying their pints clearly undermines the connection they might make between disciplined employment and rightful access to alcohol as its reward. For instance a working man made his own brother feel he was "... no entitled to a pint of beer" when they met in the pub. However the overt expression of such attitudes is becoming less common as the unemployed increasingly come to be seen as the victims of the economy, rather than as individual deviants.

In 1983 one of the BBC's 'World in Action' programmes particularly caught the imagination of people in Cauldmos. The Conservative M.P. Matthew Parris attempted to live for a week on Unemployment Benefit, having claimed that it would not be difficult, and the television cameras recorded his failure. The thing that most struck folk in Cauldmos was the way he ended up penniless in a working man's club "mooching a drink". They considered this outrageous and thoroughly demeaning; by passing his time in the club without any money to buy a drink rather than remaining discreetly at home, he seemed to have completely abandoned his social status.
Not only are older unemployed men unable to participate in their traditional leisure, which reproduces their 'restricted' status as "hard working men", they are also constrained from remaining at home in the feminine sphere. This is a further reason why many spend the middle of the day standing at the central crossroads outside the pubs. Others take up several hours in long walks, while very few men on the dole pass the time together in each other's living rooms, though they do occasionally have lengthy conversations in the garden or garden sheds, again illustrating the segregation between the sexes. Teenage girls are far more likely to visit each other and spend time together at home, as their mothers do in between their various domestic and parental duties. In this respect women are better placed to maintain their social involvement on a meagre budget.

Poverty as the inability to participate: being demeaned by 'unrestricted' status values.

In Chapter Five I described how commodities are not only the criteria by which people's various roles are frequently assessed, they are also signs of one's general position in a stratified society. The unemployed subscribe to the conventional roles in their culture, and consequently their impoverishment is felt with every constraint on spending. Since the aspirations of those with 'unrestricted' status values are not limited in the way that they are for (predominantly older) people with 'restricted' values, the former feel their poverty all the more acutely. Nevertheless according to both sets of values there is an underlying goal not to appear poor: by 'unrestricted' standards it puts one at the bottom of the ladder, by 'restricted' standards it means one is outwith the strata of "nice folk". amongst the "bad lot" (see p.245).
Certain expenditures acquire particular significance as hallmarks of solvency for the unemployed, such as the ability to feed one's pets adequately or having butcher meat in one's diet. Several times unemployed men mentioned to me how much they fed their 'dogs' (for instance two and a half tins a day for an alsation) as if this were a guarantee that they were no yet destitute. In answer to Q.12 of the Second Questionnaire several older people specified they would not economize on meat: "We wouldn't do wi' out our meat, anyway! There's a lot o' things we could do without as long as we got our meat! No extravagances - plain meals." The worst stigma is to beg, as the incredulous comments about the Conservative M.P. "mooshing a drink" illustrated. Even when a formalized kind of begging, hitchhiking, has become generally acceptable and widely used by the young middle class in the rest of Britain, the unemployed in Cauldmoor are, like their fellow villagers, loath to pursue this means of travel openly.

To expand on Townsend's description, it could be said that poverty is not only the inability to fulfil one's normal roles in society, but also the inability to take part in the social differentiation signalled by purchased commodities without being demeaned. Consumption is particularly crucial to one's social status if one subscribes to 'unrestricted' values, hence the humiliation for the young unemployed to dress in unfashionable clothes. Similarly cars are important to one's self-esteem: when made redundant men are usually loath to sell their cars, and some keep them on the road even though, as one man said, he is never able to fill more than the reserve tank. When they do eventually sell their cars or replace them with a cheaper model, the unemployed are very conscious of this public manifestation of their impoverishment. As a woman said when her husband got a different car: "you've reduced your style... you're going down." Whether or not they own cars themselves the unemployed frequently accord respect to others with costly models, pointing admiringly at flashy Jaguars, excitedly recounting how they had got a lift in an acquaintance's new Capri, or describing someone's way of
Clothing and cars are particularly conspicuous forms of consumption, and so claimants who subscribe to 'unrestricted' values are very conscious of how these items denote their low status. But the hierarchical ranking of goods exists in all spheres, and once any savings or redundancy pay are used up, most young people "on the bru" feel themselves to be at the lowest rung of the social ladder with practically every purchase.

Though it is generally agreed that poverty should not be defined in absolute, biological terms, the wider implications of relative deprivation are not always fully appreciated. To show that the unemployed in Cauldmoss are not in threat of losing their subsistence - except, perhaps, in their own cultural interpretations of what constitute biological "necessities" - is not to belittle their experience of poverty. On the contrary, a relative concept of poverty emphasises how the unemployed's sense of impoverishment permeates practically all areas of their lives as a consequence of the social differentiation of goods.

The meaning of poverty as a curtailing of one's social existence is recognized by the unemployed when they say they are not living, just surviving: "you just about exist". Or as Marsden reported of fatherless families in the 1960s, they were "not living, just existing" (1970:211).
AUGMENTING WELFARE BENEFITS.

Although subscribing to 'unrestricted' values puts most claimants at the bottom of the social hierarchy, it also means that every minor increase in income is an improvement in social status. There is therefore a great incentive to adopt any means to augment one's benefits. To borrow money, be supported by one's kin, to "fiddle" or to steal are all ways of responding to unemployment which ameliorate one's low esteem according to 'unrestricted' values, in the way that working on the side restores one's social standing in terms of the traditional values of the employment ethic.

Kinship support for the unemployed.

When discussing welfare benefit levels several young unemployed people emphasized that their parents are subsidizing them, providing what both generations regard as an essential supplement to government benefits. The costs of unemployment are certainly spread to close relatives of the jobless, but this informal redistribution of resources is limited by the conventions of reciprocity. The young unemployed who are still living with their parents have never achieved economic independence from them, and so a continuation of financial support ('delayed restricted exchange': see p.266) is not a great indignity, although it perpetuates their pre-adult status (as discussed above: p.366). Teenagers with employed parents frequently get "subs" for cigarettes and clothes, they often have a regular amount given to them at the weekend to go out for a night, and their food consumption is usually far greater than a nominal £10 "dig money" covers.
The unemployed who have their own homes are far more resistant to being indebted to their parents or to other close relatives, and this is particularly so if they had previously been in work. They strive to reciprocate any help they get, and so are more likely to accept loans of money than gifts. Nevertheless parents and employed siblings are still important to them for tiding over economically difficult times (when the bills arrive at once, or new clothes are needed), or in allowing a very occasional treat (such as borrowing money to go to a rock concert or a special dance night). Kinship support in kind rather than cash is usually less demeaning to the unemployed, since the monetary value is less explicit. Having unemployed relatives round for Sunday or Christmas dinners is a common way of helping them, as is the loan of resources such as a car (filled with petrol) or a caravan for a weekend trip. While most unemployed adults are reluctant to receive gifts from their relatives they often feel that their dignity should not prevent their children having a better life. Consequently much kinship support for the unemployed skips a generation as grand parents give generous presents to their grandchildren, thus reducing the expense of clothing and toys. Even this kind of help can be resented if there is any hint that it implies a failure in the parents' role, and, as with all aid given between relatives, feelings are most tense between affines.

Credit.

To be in debt is such a stigma of unrespectability (discussed earlier: p.246) that it was difficult to learn much about the unemployed’s resource to credit and their ability to make the repayments. Several of those who are in jobs have the idea that the unemployed borrow simply to maintain their previous standard of living. The local "Provi cheque" agent said that those made redundant want "to keep up" in the eyes of others: "Obviously, even passing outside your house, people see your standards... People keep up the
for a year maybe... but they canné keep up the image...". Yet he would not let people have a cheque unless he felt confident that they would be able to repay it. The unemployed themselves generally have ambivalent views on taking credit. Many see it as unavoidable "if you're in our position": "If your man's no' work'ng ye've got to"; or, "Folk canná really live noo without it. Nobody wants it, but ye've got to...". It is particularly useful for intermittent large expenditures like clothes or Christmas presents. In answer to Q.16 of the 2nd Questionnaire 81% of the council house unemployed said they used credit in comparison with 83% of the council house employed, and 42% had a "club" in comparison with 66% of those in employment (Q.15, 2nd Quest.).

But the unemployed are also particularly wary of getting into debt, and many have cautionary tales of relatives or friends who took on too much credit and ended up with their furniture under threat of confiscation. Several of those on the dole were committed to large credit payments at the time that they were made redundant, which is one of the great fears of the employed: "if you are knocked out of work you're in a pickle of bother then!". Anne Marie Bostyn and myself only knew of three households in Cauldmoos where unemployed people failed to meet their repayments on furniture or clothing and were either taken to court, had them repossessed, or found some illicit way of getting the necessary money. Since these individuals were extremely discreet about their financial problems it is likely that several other unemployed families have the same difficulties.

Fiddling and theft.

Fixing the electricity meter to provide virtually free energy is one of the commonest fiddles amongst the younger unemployed in Cauldmoos. Electricity can substitute for coal for heating, and since the unemployed have greater demands on fuel than workers, being at home
all day, this fiddle saves considerable expense. Sometimes claimants manage to diddle extra money out of the DHSS, perhaps through a fraudulent appeal for Single Payments to buy household necessities (which they already possess), and a lump sum of, say, £70 can be very valuable for an impoverished household. Occasionally enormous bills are run up on the expectation that an Exceptional Needs Payment will be available from the DHSS, and a few couples have avoided massive rent arrears to the council by the wife claiming she is being battered by her husband and therefore being allocated a new house where he later joins her.

Collecting one's own fuel is one of the few areas of the domestic economy that has developed in response to unemployment (see Gershuny and Pahl 1980). Although it is technically illegal it is generally regarded in a benign way, being a return to a practice well known in the area's history, particularly during the 1930s, and being seen as close to "real work". (The poaching of salmon or deer is regarded in the same light). Unemployed men dig out carrier bag or (with luck) hundredweight sacks of low-grade coal from abandoned open-cast sites or exposed seams, and wood is collected from nearby copses. These are rapidly being depleted since live trees are cut as well as dead ones. Another source of "free" fuel is peat; some of those on the dole who have access to a car or van help themselves at night to stacked peat which has been cut commercially.

In Cauldmoss it is probably a minority of the unemployed who steal other things than fuel, but few would refuse to buy cheap goods that have been "acquired". Shop-lifting when getting the week's shopping is a regular temptation; some raid fields for potatoes, which is almost validated by the hard work involved; minor thefts such as syphoning petrol are fairly common, and a few engage in real burglary, either of shops and clubs, or private houses. Inevitably reliable information on theft is hard to glean, but crimes committed by Cauldmoss men recently include stealing £20,000 worth of
grandfather clocks, breaking into a large clothes shop in a nearby town, shooting sheep to eat, stealing the wheels off a car, and breaking into local houses, the school, one of the grocers, the church hall and a pub. Stolen goods are often distributed through the pubs, or through particular individuals who are known to have the right contacts to "fence" articles. A time-served butcher, now "on the bru", is usually agreeable to process poached deer or stolen sheep.

When one analyses the social dimension of these acts it is clear that it is not simply the poverty of unemployment which encourages crime. In Cauldmoss there is an element of competition between criminals and an aspect of playing to beat the system, in order, as Henry puts it, "to gain control over personal action" (Henry 1978:65). Both these motives are intended to relieve the normal monotony of life on the dole.

The different illegal means of supplementing one's benefits have various degrees of legitimacy in the village. Most of the unemployed are keen to "work on the side", but collecting coal is viewed as less respectable. Both, however, are generally condoned, as is poaching, and several people who do not collect it themselves are happy to buy stolen coal. Defrauding the authorities is morally more contentious, with those in employment being most likely to condemn it. Those "on the fiddle" themselves talk as if their actions are not morally problematic: "It's a load of hooey" that folk cannot live on the "bru", one woman told me, "you just have to know the corners and dodges".

Stealing is rarely considered justified. Those who do condone theft have various criteria by which to excuse the crimes. Succumbing spontaneously to temptation is generally considered less reprehensible than are premeditated acts. On the other hand, crimes against the rich or large stores are thought far less culpable than
crimes against small shop-keepers, although the former usually involve more planning. Sahlins has noted how what he calls "negative reciprocity" is usually transacted between those at greatest social distance (Sahlins 1974:195): in Cauldmoss the Pakistani grocer suffers far more shoplifting than the other three run by local people, and burglary is usually committed by lads from the council scheme on incomers living in private houses. The worst kind of threat is an offence against one's "own kind"—either neighbours, kin or those equally impoverished—and this is nearly always condemned except where people suspend judgement through kin loyalty.

Moral views of the various hidden economy activities are largely related to whether one subscribes to the more traditional values of 'restricted' status and a strong employment ethic (mainly older people), or whether one has 'unrestricted' status values. Older folk (over about 50) claim that in their day the miners did not even steal off their employers from the pits, they condemn outright most small thefts and fiddles, and despair that for many young ones now, "if it's no' too hot, it's no' too heavy".

By contrast many younger people seem to have internalized the values of 'unrestricted' social status to such an extent that monetary gain is self-legitimating (an example of the validity of the individual economic rationale which, it has been argued, characterizes our capitalist society: Henry 1978:118). A nice example was when one of the most "respectable" lads in the youth club told me how he had jumped a taxi with his pals, avoiding a £4.90 fare. He justified himself saying, "Money's money after all. You got to save it where you can." This financial rationale means that those who perceive themselves to be in poverty feel they are virtually "forced" into illicitly supplementing their giros. The only way to cope is to develop an attitude of "making do" or "cheating". A woman whose husband was unemployed said, "I wouldn't condemn a thie:;: i' someone stole £5 from her purse, "I'd say puir cunt, he must be that hard up
to do that". She said you have to expect women to stick a few things in their bag in the Spar shop nowadays, for, as her husband added, "You've got to get everything you can, nowadays".

The worse one's deprivation is felt to be, the more legitimate is the action which one is constrained to follow. A man who had been unemployed for four years told me:

"...to be honest, I think it's a case of survival... you do anything you can to live at a level that's not starving."

CONCLUSION.

The main theme of this chapter has been how the meanings that employment and consumption have for the employed are by and large shared by those on the dole. There is no subculture of unemployment, or counter culture, which has arisen in Cauldmos in response to 30% male unemployment. Ideas originating from a time of "full" employment persist. The differences that do exist are between different age-cohorts. Those who grew up before the Second World War have a strong employment ethic which is not shared by those under about 30, while the latter have much higher material expectations than their parents. The differences in values between different generations are starkly revealed by the choices that have to be faced by those in the 'unemployment trap'. Similarly the cultural value that is ascribed to consumption does not significantly change in response to reduced income. Consequently the experience of unemployment is all the more frustrating: conventional spending patterns can no longer express one's employment role, while for younger people with 'unrestricted' status values their lack of money puts them at the bottom of the social hierarchy. The unemployed still aspire to fulfil the same fundamental roles as those who are in work - as adults, as parents.
etc. - but since they judge these roles by the same material standards they are inevitably demeaned. "Working on the side is a strategy which copes with many of the problems of unemployment, particularly for those with a strong employment ethic, while other illicit means of augmenting one's benefits help to restore the self-esteem of younger people with 'unrestricted' status values.

In the concluding chapter I will consider why the cultural value of commodities has not changed amongst the unemployed, for instance in leading to greater self-provisioning by those on the dole. I will also speculate on the political implications of the way in which the unemployed do respond to their circumstances.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF A SCOTTISH LOWLAND VILLAGE: CAULDMOSS AS A COMMUNITY.

A COMMUNITY WITHIN A WIDER SOCIETY.

VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH MALE EMPLOYMENT: FAMILY IDEOLOGY, GENDER AND EMPLOYMENT.

EMPLOYMENT AND CONSUMPTION: GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES.

THE CULTURALLY ASCRIBED VALUE OF GOODS AND THE DYNAMISM OF CONSUMPTION.

UNEMPLOYMENT.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this thesis I set out four objectives: to provide an ethnography of a Scottish Lowland village; to investigate the values associated with male employment; to analyze the meanings of local consumption patterns and to assess how unemployment affects people's values towards consumption and employment.

Chapters Three, Four, Five and Seven addressed themselves to these aims, but this structure meant that certain recurrent themes which proved to be fundamental to the thesis were never dealt with comprehensively at any one point. These were the relationship of Cauldmoss to the wider society; the marked differences in outlook between generations, and the ideology of the family with the gender roles that are essential to it. In this concluding chapter I will attempt to summarize my main findings in relation to the initial objectives; in doing so I will highlight the importance of these other factors to the central themes of the thesis.

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF A SCOTTISH LOWLAND VILLAGE: CAULDMOSS AS A COMMUNITY.

For the last two decades "community studies" have been unfashionable in British sociology. In part this was a reaction to the apparently "impressionistic" methods of previous community ethnographies, and a preferences for high-level theorizing. It was also related to the idea that the development of contemporary society, with greater urbanization, mobility and centralization, meant "traditional" community life was becoming largely irrelevant to modern Britain, notwithstanding the "discovery" of communities within cities (Young
and Wilmott 1957). A third reason for sociologists' aversion to the study of "communities" was confusion over the term itself, which had become discredited by the value-loading it had frequently been given.

I have used "community" to mean a set of social relationships (of both positive and negative kind) which take place within a locality (Lee and Newby 1983:57). The ethnography presented suggests that the behaviour and values of Cauldmoss inhabitants are to a large extent shaped by such parochial relationships: whatever the vogue amongst social scientists or the social developments elsewhere in Britain, in Cauldmoss "community" is a very meaningful idea. The social cohesion of the village can be understood in Durkheimian terms. It is founded on the common past inherited by all those "belonging" to Cauldmoss, and the old raison d'etre of the settlement, coal mining, is still central to the villagers' corporate identity. This identity now encompasses images of Cauldmoss as a friendly "happy family", a tight-knit, isolated village and, stemming from its industrial origins, a wild place, in terms of both the weather and the law. This last image is the predominant one held by others living in the vicinity, which reinforces Cauldmoss men's pride in their village.

The integration that results from a geographically stable population, closely knit kin ties and profound segregation between the sexes further strengthens village solidarity, while the constantly maintained distinction between incomers and locals is probably the most important factor reproducing a sense of community amongst the latter. The positive elements of community life - common interests and fellowship - have their most formal expression at the annual Gala Day.

There are several corollaries to Cauldmoss being a community which are highly significant to other themes in this thesis. Durkheim stressed how social cohesion is both dependent on, and gives rise to, a common interpretation of the world: without "collective representations" there would be no consensus on the fundamental
categories of thought. Shared activities affirm these socially derived categories, and so there are extremely strong constraints to conform to typical behaviour in Cauldmoss. This is particularly evident in patterns of consumption, some of which have value as demonstrations of one's belonging to the village. This identification is most explicit in the obligation to engage in gregarious leisure. The conformity expected of people means they feel compelled to use certain commodities and follow certain patterns of consumption: the degree of choice experienced by the consumer is narrowly confined by (largely invisible) cultural limits.

Another important consequence of Cauldmoss being a community is that to be unemployed in the village is a markedly different experience from what it would probably be if socially isolated in an anonymous environment. Much of the literature on unemployment emphasizes the loneliness and poverty of being out of work (e.g. Marsden & Duff 1975, Sinfield 1981:54, Seabrook 1982), but within Cauldmoss local people have a dense network of relatives and friends with whom to retain contact, and no transport costs are involved in doing so.

The greater social involvement of the unemployed in Cauldmoss can have contradictory effects on the poverty they suffer. On the one hand there is frequently a redistribution of resources amongst kin, with those in work helping out the claimants, yet on the other hand the unemployed's proximity to the life styles of wage earners means a greater pressure to consume and thus a stronger feeling of poverty. The kinds of reciprocity ensure that even within the community of Cauldmoss there is a segregation between income groups in their leisure. Greater social integration can also be deleterious if unemployment is generally viewed as a personal fault and if (as is the case with older men) the unemployed themselves feel it to be shameful. In this case anonymity might be a blessing. But the employment ethic is weakening and the unemployed are increasingly viewed as victims rather than deviants, so overall the advantages of
being workless in a community like Cauldmoss probably outweigh the disadvantages.

Although Cauldmoss began as an occupational community, the closing of the local pits by the 1930s did not extinguish the local basis for social networks. The persistence of these social relationships, despite the increasing mobility and centralization within Britain as a whole, is indicative of the state of the local economy: during the middle period of this century static, and for the last decade stagnating. In several ways the ethnography of Cauldmoss seems to describe a remnant of the working class culture of heavy industry, and one is continually struck by similarities with the values and behaviour portrayed by Hoggart (1957) or Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter (1956) thirty years ago. This present study demonstrates how tenacious a community’s values can be if the existing social system is not disrupted by alternative economic options. When traditional ways have recently been changed by unemployment, although individuals’ and families’ lives have been drastically affected, it has not undermined the social relationships that form the basis of the community.

A COMMUNITY WITHIN A WIDER SOCIETY.

Although I have analyzed the social life of Cauldmoss in terms of it being a community, throughout the thesis I have had to acknowledge the importance of external macroprocesses. When referring to the four that are most pertinent to the main themes of the research I have tried to describe how they are interpreted by people in Cauldmoss, and thus how the inhabitants generate their own culture in response to macro sociological constraints. The first factor is the general stratification of British society. Although practically everyone in Cauldmoss (apart from the professionals like the doctor) see themselves as "working people", there are two conflicting ways in
which they stratify their immediate social group which are related to their wider image of society. According to 'restricted' status values one is destined to remain a "working man" or woman, as part of "the order of things", and people in the village are distinguished according to a tripartite model with "the bad element" at the bottom, "nice folk" in the middle and "snobs" at the top. This last category is disparaged as a reaction to the wider stratification of society: much better to remain faithful to one's class than to "forget you were born in a council house" and aspire to an unattainable social position. In contrast those subscribing to what I have termed 'unrestricted' status values do not accept the legitimacy of the old status hierarchy and the restraints on upward social mobility. They evaluate people according to a continuous ladder, with "the bad element" at the bottom but no limits to one's possible social position at the top. This can be seen as a fairly unmediated adoption of the liberal ideology of an "open society". It was repeatedly emphasized that these conflicting viewpoints are "ideal types" and not necessarily held exclusively of each other. Although there is not a straightforward correspondance between status evaluation and age, older people are more likely to subscribe to 'restricted' values and vice versa, which suggests an historical development in the way stratification is perceived (to be discussed below).

At a less conscious level the position of Cauldmos folk in the overall structure of British society has made them a part of a subordinate culture. Like most of the traditional manual working class, they have developed values in response to their lack of control over the main elements of their lives. This allows them to create a meaningful life within the apparently unchangeable limits of economic and political circumstances. Thus their everyday lives are focussed on their families, village events, and consumer goods, while political discussion or activity is foreign.
The second principal macroprocess relevant to this thesis stems from the first: the Cauldmoss population's dependence on the labour market and their subordination to their employers. Lack of control over their working conditions leads to a thorough alienation from their jobs, but it also leads men to esteem the small part of their working lives still within their influence: their masculine discipline to the job. I will return to this further on.

The third important external factor is the way different styles of life and the prestige attached to them are created and promulgated on a nation-wide basis. The way people in Cauldmoss respond to this is largely determined by the degree to which they subscribe to 'restricted' or 'unrestricted' status values. According to the former people are resigned to the fact that certain consumption patterns are beyond their way of life, and so they remain relatively untouched by the portrayal of material advancement through the mass media. Well aware of such serious limits to their markets, manufacturers often concentrate on redefining the standards by which traditional roles (such as parenthood) are assessed, and this usually has greater influence than invitations to simply share a more prestigious life style. Those with more 'unrestricted' status values are likely to admire the expensive patterns of consumption portrayed on television and in the papers, and legitimate them by imitation and aspiration. Even though some might resent fellow villagers who approximate to these affluent life styles, deriding them as "snobs". very few actually devalue the style of life itself: the prestige of such consumption is widely accepted, it is just thought by some to be inappropriate for "working people".

The other macro sociological factor directly relevant to this thesis is the state welfare system, and in particular the benefits paid to the unemployed. These are understood largely in relation to the employment ethic and people's interpretation of the obligations of reciprocity. For older people receiving benefits when out of work
(in particular Supplementary Benefit) can be seen as getting something for nothing, and thus shameful. For younger people it is more likely to be regarded as a just recompense for being denied the right to work. The moral value attached to work means that fiddling the DHSS by working on the side is generally considered legitimate, even admirable, whereas those who receive large Single Payments are often resented, and fraudulent claims to the DHSS are usually condemned.

VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH MALE EMPLOYMENT: FAMILY IDEOLOGY, GENDER AND EMPLOYMENT.

The analysis of this ethnography of Cauldmoss suggests how useful it is to follow Pahl's approach in using the household as the main unit of analysis (Pahl 1984). Of course 'household' is the sociologist's analytical term which avoids the implicit evaluation of different parental relationships; the indigenous word is simply "family". It seems far more valuable to understand a person's behaviour in the context of the household which they belong to, rather than in terms of individual motivation. However, since I was excluded from the female sphere in my field work and since a proper consideration of their world would extend this thesis enormously, I have been concentrating on men. This has meant that the household has been viewed from a very particular standpoint.

The money budgets of both the employed and unemployed reveal that the bulk of expenditure is on the household, and that this is the main priority in their spending. The unemployed spend a much higher proportion of their income on food and heating than do the employed, while they spend less on cars and entertainment. For them semi- or illegitimate means of gaining money are frequently validated by the need to support the family. Only a small part of the household's budget is spent by the man for his own pleasure, notably for alcohol.
tobacco and cars, and even his clothes are often bought by his wife. Conversely, the consumption patterns of the whole family reflect his worth, while the woman’s spending is almost totally governed by the demands of the family. Yet although the vast majority of household spending is in the hands of the wife, she has internalized much of her husband’s wishes and is responsible to him for the family’s consumption.

Whereas a husband’s consumption is sharply divided between his personal spending and that administered by his wife, the meanings that his employment has are more intricately entangled with his family role. I would argue that the two most important social factors shaping the lives of people in Cauldmoss, influencing practically all other aspects of their culture, are class and gender. The values surrounding employment are best understood in terms of the way men experience their working class position and their masculinity.

Family ideology has incorporated patriarchal and economic reasons to give men the ‘breadwinner’ role, and this obligation to earn the "family wage" is an integral part of the employment ethic, the other main constituent of which is men’s response to their subordinate, alienated role in the work force. An analysis of the ethic attached to work shows that it is better regarded as an employment ethic, according to which the man disciplines himself to employment for his family. Self-sacrifice is important, not productivity: "work" is time that is sold, and alienation means greater credit. The wage is the reward, which is given to the family, and this justifies the husband’s emotional demands on his wife and his exemption from virtually any domestic work. The one significant aspect of employment left within the employee’s control, his discipline to the job, becomes a measure of his worth, clearly manifested in the wage. The value of a large pay packet is further strengthened by the masculine attributes of being a "hard worker".
Gender roles in the family, alienation and the resulting employment ethic help explain several of the priorities of the Labour Movement. They make sense of trade unions' concentration on monetary demands and the "family wage". This is part of the much wider tendency in capitalist relations whereby a person is reduced to his value as labour, so that one's wage equals one's worth and the supreme rationale is a monetary one. The employment ethic suggests why trade unions have in general paid little heed to conditions of employment, have not campaigned for more control in the work place nor, until recently, have been concerned with a shorter working week. It also helps to explain the exclusion of women from many jobs and their low wages when they are employed.

Although the conventional division of domestic work between the sexes is largely premised on the husband's role as prime wage earner, there is little change in the division of labour when the man is unemployed. This demonstrates how deeply rooted the concepts of femininity and masculinity are: when a man has lost one of his most important gender roles - that of 'breadwinner' for the family - he is unlikely to abandon other male roles voluntarily.

EMPLOYMENT AND CONSUMPTION: GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES.

Another theme that recurred several times is the differences in values between different generations. These were perhaps most clearly revealed by men's responses to their unemployment: in their differential use of the Unemployment Club and their reaction to the "unemployment trap". The different meanings that consumption and employment have to different age-cohorts suggest the crucial importance of people's youthful experiences in shaping their values. This variation in how commodities are evaluated also demonstrates the limitations of a synchronic semiological analysis: for some people
the significance of a good is primarily due to its availability in the past.

People over about 60 generally worked extremely hard when they were young. They have a very strong employment ethic and a great pride in maintaining "an independence", most graphically demonstrated by the willingness of some to continue in their jobs although earning no more than they would receive in benefits. For them the virtue of work remains even though the necessity has gone. The poor wages they used to earn in the past accustomed them to a very modest level of consumption, in comparison with the rest of the village. Since on the whole they subscribe to 'restricted' status values their consumption is not intended to further social aspirations, but primarily expresses their devotion to work, their membership of the community and their working class respectability: in a word, that they are "nice".

Those between about 30 and 60 (in very broad terms) share the employment ethic of the older generation, having grown up to expect a full working life and having had this fulfilled until the late 1970s. Those who are now unemployed suffer their joblessness far worse than the young largely because of this orientation to employment. Most of them also know that they are unlikely to ever have a long term job again for the rest of their lives. None of this age group participates in the Unemployment Club; not only is the Community Centre regarded as essentially a young people's institution, but to attend the Club would be a public statement of their unemployment and, in pursuing a leisure alternative to actively seeking work, an acknowledgement that finding a job is improbable. This middle aged group have experienced earning "good" pay, particularly during the 1960s and '70s, in contrast to the older generation's first earnings. They have much higher consumer expectations and are very reluctant to accept low pay, which means they are more likely to remain unemployed than work for a net gain of under £10 a week. For those with young
children their parental role leads them to maximize the household's net income, and opting to remain unemployed leaves the possibility open of getting temporary undeclared work.

The young (under about 30) also aspire to much higher material standards of living than the oldest people in Cauldmos, having grown up in relatively affluent households. They are more likely to hold "unrestricted" status values, and so the life styles they desire are related to a much wider social stratification than that of the village. Unlike both of the other age groups they have not experienced regular long term employment, and some have never had any jobs other than on MSC schemes. Consequently employment has never been a necessity of which to make a virtue, and the young have little employment ethic. For them being without a job is experienced primarily in terms of boredom and poverty: there is little shame at an unfulfilled ethic that values disciplined work. The Unemployment Club involves no stigma for the young other than that of depending on institutionalized recreation, rather than participating in commercial leisure.

Though these differences between age-cohorts are certainly related to the stages that people are at in their life cycles, I think they have more to do with social change and the different experiences of the labour market which these age groups have had. They are thus another aspect of Cauldmos's relationship to the wider society.

At this point I should acknowledge that I have barely mentioned an important topic regarding employment: that of retirement. Focussing on this issue, and the adjustments that have to be made in the transition between employment and retirement, could reveal much about the way people experience both employment and unemployment. Time and space did not allow such a study, but it is worth reiterating that the different values that old people have regarding employment and consumption are, I would argue, more connected with social change.
than with the fact that most of them are retired.

THE CULTURALLY ASCRIBED VALUE OF GOODS AND THE DYNAMISM OF CONSUMPTION.

The discussion of gender roles earlier inevitably led to one of the principal subjects of the thesis: the meaning of employment. At the start of my research I had loosely linked this topic to that of consumption with the simple question: "Is employment or consumption more important to a person's social identity today?". It will now be clear that the question is futile, for the status of one's employment is expressed through consumption in an overall lifestyle. A more valid enquiry is to ask: "To what extent does one's consumption express occupational status (for instance through 'restricted' status values), and to what extent does it express other values, such as 'unrestricted' status whereby one's position is based primarily on distinctions in consumption themselves?".

Once it is acknowledged that goods have "use value" only in so far as they help to achieve a cultural objective, it can be seen that consumption patterns are best explained in terms of culturally ascribed value. One of the variables by which commodities are valued in Cauldmoss is the extent to which they express one's employment position. The other three factors that have already been discussed - belonging to the community, age and gender - are also amongst the most important variables which determine the value of consumption and establish and affirm the user's identity. These variables cross cut each other and are of varying significance according to the commodities in question and the people who are likely to be their 'audience'. The obligations of reciprocity are a further factor that affects the evaluation of goods, while the remaining variable of the six identified for particular consideration is social status.
The significance of status has been given little attention in British sociology, partly because of a Marxist bias which tends to reduce all significant relationships to class, and partly because of a preference for quantifiable data and macro sociological studies (Newby 1983:5). In fact in their everyday experience of life status is of far more importance to people in Cauldmoss than is class, and I would conjecture that this holds true for most people in Britain. The failure of many left wingers to recognize this is ironic since class interests are largely pursued by making use of status values, most evidently by encouraging increased consumption.

Earlier in this chapter a distinction between two ideal types of status evaluation, 'restricted' and 'unrestricted', has already been mentioned. The former have arisen within Cauldmoss in response to the population's position within the wider society, whereas the latter are, to a large extent, generated outwith the village. These unrestricted values are not, however, adopted unmediated as if filling a blank slate. They are only meaningful in Cauldmoss if reproduced continually within the village, in the process being reinterpreted according to local culture. Consequently at an empirical level it is sometimes difficult to establish whether the esteem accorded to a commodity is informed by restricted or unrestricted status values.

By reference to macro sociological trends reported in the literature of social history and sociology, it seems reasonable to accept that 'restricted' values are diminishing in importance while 'unrestricted' status values are of increasing significance. This is one of the principal factors underlying the dynamic for increased consumption. The other, more crucial, factor that must be understood in order to make sense of the perpetual inflation in our material standards of living is the arbitrary nature of the sign. The social value accorded to a commodity or pattern of consumption is meaningful largely in relation to other commodities or consumption patterns.
Since the link between sign (the consumer good) and signified (culturally ascribed value) is for the most part arbitrary, there is infinite scope for manufacturers to give new meanings to signs (commodities) simply by manufacturing more of them. This can be effected simply by producing a greater quantity of the same signs, such as cars, meat, or colour televisions, making them more "commonplace", or by producing a greater variety of each commodity which creates more gradations of value, for instance by presenting the consumer with a whole array of different hi-fi equipment.

Even if that which is signified remains the same - such as the 'restricted' status of being "nice", or the basic social roles of manhood, mother or father - there is great potential for industry to create new standards by which the particular role is evaluated. If the signifieds as well as the signifiers are open to change, as when new ranks of social status are considered open for the working class to aspire to, then the scope for a proliferation of signs is enormous. It must be stressed that the dynamic for increased consumption is not a recent modern phenomenon, but although it can be traced back for several centuries the working class are more involved in this system of values today than ever before.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Studying the meaning of consumption and employment for the unemployed did more to reveal the fundamental concepts underlying the whole culture of Cauldmoss than it did to show any significant changes in values between those in jobs and those without them. One of the most important facets of village life illustrated by unemployment is the strength of social cohesion, manifested by a largely homogenous interpretation of the world. In the first decade of over 30% male unemployment the principal differences in values within the community are not between those in or out of work, but between different age
groups. However, it might well be the case that the inability of the unemployed to reproduce socially derived categories through appropriate behaviour and shared activities will eventually lead to the disintegration of the community.

At the moment the unemployed in Cauldmoss do not identify with each other as a distinct group, nor do they identify very much with the unemployed in the rest of Britain. There are several reasons for this. Older men tend to have less social contact with each other when unemployed and more with their immediate relatives. About a third of the unemployed move in and out of work over the years and even the remaining two thirds are deeply reluctant to accept their situation as long term, which associating oneself with everyone else on the dole would entail. A further factor that discourages such identification is that alternative sources of income to formal wages, in particular work on the side, can (for the lucky ones) bring the unemployed's spending levels close to those of the employed. This fact, together with the enormously high marginal tax rates for the low paid, have the important consequence that there is no clear divide between the incomes of households with members in or out of employment.

As a result of these factors there is virtually no recognition in Cauldmoss of one of the most important social divisions that has emerged in the stratification of modern British society. This is what Pahl describes as the distinction between a "middle mass" and a "deprived underclass" (Pahl 1984: 320), the latter being largely composed of claimants. Yet there are several things that are likely to exacerbate this incipient class divide: welfare benefit regulations which discourage the unemployed from doing part time jobs or their spouses getting employment; last in, first out, redundancy policies in many firms; the preference employers have for appointing people currently in work, and the vicious circle of the unemployed's diminishing information networks about vacancies.
Since the unemployed in Cauldmoss do not see themselves as a distinct group there is no chance that they might generate a new evaluation of resources, creating a counter culture. Even the young unemployed have not adopted punk fashion as a way of coping with restricted income, reversing the normal hierarchy of signs (commodities) as a way of distancing themselves from established society, in the manner of hippies, Rastafarians or (with food) black Americans. Rather, the conventional values are maintained and the unemployed feel compelled to consume at what is generally regarded to be a respectable level. The cultural values ascribed to goods do not change, and so if one's standing in terms of age, gender or family role is to be established and affirmed, the same commodities must be used as are currency in the rest of the village. Similarly the obligations of reciprocity still have to be met, and rather than fail in this the unemployed withdraw from social involvement.

The values associated with paid work do not change much in response to unemployment either. Practically everyone still wants a job, even when they have abandoned actively seeking one through lack of success, and few seriously contemplate a long term future with no employment at all. Alternatives to conventional employment, such as those encouraged by MSC programmes, arouse very little interest. The only scheme that comes close to being regarded as a legitimate form of paid work (if only the wages were better) is the Community Programme, which meets the requirements of the employment ethic. There is a persisting equation of wages with personal worth, which is an added disincentive for skilled men to take unskilled jobs, and inhibits the unemployed from doing voluntary work.

Related to this equation is the deeply entrenched notion that time which is not sold has little value. When this is combined with an understanding that commodities are desired for their culturally ascribed value, not some mythical "use value" abstracted from
culture, then it is clear why the unemployed do not resort to self-provisioning in a comprehensive way (as some sociologists had speculated, e.g. Gershuny and Pahl 1980). To save their limited money and use their extra time productively by growing vegetables, making beer, or creating their own entertainment, as an older generation did in the 1930s, would mean having a very different evaluation of resources: one would be in a different culture.

The differences in the way various age groups experience unemployment, outlined earlier on, can be related to the extent to which they subscribe to 'restricted' or 'unrestricted' values. For those with restricted values much consumption, particularly of a gregarious kind, is thoroughly demeaned because it can no longer express their role as a worker. This is most evident in the pub where unemployed drinkers are sometimes resented and it is regarded as "ignorant" to drink only one pint. On the other hand the unemployed man cannot spend all his time at home without encroaching on the feminine sphere. For such men with restricted values the one strategy which resolves many of the problems of unemployment is working on the side. Even when working for very low pay, which is frequently the case (such as lads earning £1 an hour), this goes a long way to fulfilling the employment ethic.

Those who tend to assess social status in terms of 'unrestricted' values suffer unemployment more acutely through poverty than through the lack of a job. For them commodities are crucial in demonstrating their position in a stratified society, and as claimants they are at the bottom of the ladder. Whereas according to restricted values the only really significant improvement that can be made is to find a job, according to unrestricted values every increase in income is an improvement in one's status. Thus amongst the young unemployed fiddling the electric meter, defrauding the DHSS and, to a lesser extent, shoplifting and burglary are not exceptional means of achieving greater social esteem. Money gained in these ways does not have
the same meaning as earned income, but it is got through one's own skill, not simply a hand-out, and therefore boosts one's self-respect.

It is worth considering the wider political consequences of these alternative means by which the unemployed augment their incomes. First, they reproduce the cultural values which are ascribed to consumption, maintaining the importance of the current material standards of living and so perpetuating the economic system. Second, they inhibit a radical response to unemployment. Illegal activities exacerbate the isolation of the unemployed, compromise their moral outrage, and provide a financial (and sometimes emotional) shock-absorber which all discourage militancy. As Seabrook argues (1985), the enterprising poor (who probably have the greatest political initiative) are more ready to take private action to better themselves than to seek a long-term solution for their poverty through collective political action, which would challenge the existing order. Third, to businesses mass unemployment and wide-scale work on the side are doubly advantageous, in that they create an increasingly subservient legal work-force and also access to a cheap unprotected source of labour that can be used or ignored at will. From this one might conclude that the government has in practice a benign view towards the hidden economy, whatever its rhetoric.
APPENDIX A

THE FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE

THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

TABLE SHOWING HOW RESPONDENTS DESCRIBED ACTIVITIES ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT CODES.
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE LIVING IN THE HOUSEHOLD ALTOGETHER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU LEFT SCHOOL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>DID YOU HAVE ANY FURTHER EDUCATION AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>ARE YOU ASSOCIATED WITH ANY CHURCH</td>
<td>404</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
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<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal mining</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping someone to make jam</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digging the garden</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing homework</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Watching TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing a job for a friend or relative</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking part in a Y.O.P. scheme</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catching rabbits to sell</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing football</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing in scrap metal</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to local town</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing the shopping</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knitting</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking the time to cook</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling insurance</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catching rabbits to sell</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing the weaving</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountaineering</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Catching your parson's salt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting a room in your house</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting flowers in your garden</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking the time to cook</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning a plug</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to church</td>
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<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Going to keep-class</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking the time to cook</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying at college</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bringing in the coal</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing cards</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning out pigeons</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Designing an office block</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catching rabbits to sell</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading a book or magazine</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repairing your car</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School sports model</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to youth club</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting a sick neighbour</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping someone to cook</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping a friend</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizing a meeting</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making tea or coffee</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total code used: 405
APPENDIX B

THE SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction for those who had answered the First Questionnaire.
Hello, are you Mr/Mrs ? My name's . You may remember that some time ago you answered a questionnaire for us. We’re now trying to go back to everyone we asked then to see how much things have changed in Cauldmoss as a whole. But we’re also interested in how people use their time and what they spend their money on, and how these things are affected by unemployment. We’d be very grateful if you would help us again with a questionnaire of about 15 minutes. Everything you say would be confidential, and if there were any questions you didn’t want to answer you could just say "pass".

Name: Address:

To begin with I’d like to ask you about how your employment situation has changed, and also that of your family.
OR
To begin with I’d like to get some background information about your job and information about the rest of your family.

How long have you lived in Cauldmoss?
How long has your H/W lived in Cauldmoss?
How many live in this household altogether?

Introduction for those who had not been questioned before.
Hello, are you Mr/Mrs ? My name’s and I’m carrying out a project with a colleague about how people use their time and what they spend their money on, and how these things are affected by unemployment. The survey is supervised by the university in Edinburgh. We are asking people at every tenth house if they’ll answer a questionnaire of about 15 minutes. We’d be very grateful if you would help. We got your name and address from the voter’s register, but everything you would be confidential. If there were any questions you didn’t want to answer, you could just say "pass".

Name: Address:
Sex Age Present
occupation Any previous occ. Length of Residence
(if unem./house)
time since last job.

Self *

H/W *

Child

Child

Child

Child

* Would you / your wife take a job if offered one?

First of all can I ask a few questions about the way you spend your time?

1. Could you tell me what sort of things you do in your free time?
   p: Do you belong to any clubs, or organizations? What about sports or other outdoor activities?

2. Do you think you have enough free time?
   Why/not?

3. Do you think your life goes on the same from day to day, or are there any days or weeks that stand out?
   p: Is there anything you look forward to or worry about?
   Why/not? (if appropriate)

4. How many times did you go out in the evening in the last seven days?
   Where did you go?
   - in the pub or club were you buying rounds?
   - for how many?
   Does your H/W go out much in the evenings?

5. Do you tend to get up at about the same time each day?
   What about the rest of your family?

6. Do you tend to go to bed at about the same time each day?
   What about the rest of your family?

7. Do you tend to eat meals at about the same time each day?
   What about the rest of your family?

8. Is any meal in the week a special one?
   - why is it special?
   Do you ever have relatives or friends for a meal (not just a snack), or do you go round to have a meal with anyone else?
   - how frequently?

9. Do you celebrate birthdays and anniversaries?
   Are there any other things you celebrate?
   p: What about family events, or special events in your life?

10. Do you (or your wife) get new clothes for yourself or the children at any particular time of the year?
    p: What about holidays?
Would you mind answering some questions about how you use your income?

11. What would you like more money for at the moment?
   What if you won the pools?
   How would you spend an extra £10 a week?

12. If you had less to spend what would you do without?

13. Would you mind telling me who is in charge of the money in this household?
   Who keeps the money and who decides how it is spent?

14. Does your H/W give you / Do you give your H/W a certain amount every week, for example, or as you / s/he need it?

15. Do you make regular payments to anything, like:
   - a mortgage?
   - insurance?
   - What kinds of insurance: endowments or house/hold or burial?
   - a club?
   - savings?
   - anything else?

16. Do you think it's a good idea to buy things on credit, when you get something and then pay for it afterwards in installments?

17. When did you last redecorate your living room?
   Do you normally do it at that time?

18. How long have you had your three piece suite?

19. Do you have a telephone?

20. Do you have a car?

21. Do you have a video?

22. Do you have a deep freeze?

23. Do you have a microwave?

24. Do you have a clock in the kitchen or dining room?

25. Do you have a clock in the living room?

26. Do you have a clock in the bedroom?

27. Do you have a clock in any other rooms?

28. Do you wear a watch?
   What about your husband/wife?

29. Do you have a calender?
   Do you use it much?
   What do you use it for?

30. Do you use a diary?
   Is it for future events or is it to record what has happened to you in the past?

That's the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your help. The reason I asked about whether you keep a diary is because the second stage of this survey is where we are asking people if they would be willing to fill in some special diary sheets. One is about the way you spend your time and the other is about money. It would take you longer to do than the questionnaire did, and I'd need to explain how to fill them in. Would you be willing to do it? Have you got a few minutes spare now, or can I come back later on?
APPENDIX C

TIME AND MONEY BUDGETS

THE MONEY BUDGET FORM.

THE TIME SHEET.

EXPLANATION ACCOMPANYING THE TIME SHEET.

TABLE SHOWING DETAILS OF MONEY BUDGETS FROM FIVE EMPLOYED HOUSEHOLDS AND FIVE UNEMPLOYED HOUSEHOLDS.
TEXT BOUND INTO

THE SPINE
CONFIDENTIAL
SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLD SPENDING

Please give as much detail as you want on the spending of the whole household.
Leave sections blank if you wish, though the more detail there is the better.
Even rough estimates are of use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL FOR WEEK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>amount</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HOUSING COSTS</strong> e.g. rent, mortgage, rates, decorating, repairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HEATING AND LIGHTING COSTS</strong> e.g. coal, gas in electric meter, peat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOOD &amp; DRINK</strong> (not alcohol) including school meals, eating out, snacks, milk, silt, ice creams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALCOHOL</strong> in pubs or clubs (including soft drinks, crisps, nuts etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ENTERTAINMENT</strong> at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CLOTHING &amp; SHOES</strong> including catalogue repayments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOOD &amp; HOUSEHOLD GOODS</strong> e.g. T.V., bedding, furniture, records, H.P., payment on trees (but not on car).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER GOODS</strong> e.g. cleaning/toilet things, garden, prescription, newspaper, pet food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SLL</strong> including maintenance, garage costs, petrol, H.P., on vehicle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BUS &amp; TRAIN FARES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SERVICES &amp; ENTERTAINMENT OUT</strong> e.g. cinema, dentist, hairdresser, driving lesson, postal costs, T.V. licence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPECIAL PRICE</strong> e.g. children's pocket money, interest on loans, savings, fines, setting payments (less winnings), charity donations, loans to others, insurance, N.I. payments, income tax, bingo books.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BILLS NOT BOUGHT</strong> e.g. wood or coal collected yourself, vegetables grown or given you, presents of furniture, clothes etc., other things that come your way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TAX</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FURTHER DETAILS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LAST ELECTRIC BILL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LAST PHONE BILL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL INCOME FOR HOUSEHOLD FOR WEEK:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OR:</strong> TOTAL INCOME FOR HOUSEHOLD FOR MONTH:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHAT WAS THE MAIN THING YOU WERE DOING DURING THIS TIME?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROUGHLY HOW LONG DID YOU SPEND DOING THIS ACTIVITY?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WERE YOU DOING ANYTHING ELSE AT THE SAME TIME?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHERE WERE YOU ELSE WITH YOU?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAS IT NECESSARY TO DO IT AT THIS TIME?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES DIARY**

**DATE:**

**DAY:**

**P.T.O.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11am</td>
<td></td>
<td>12pm</td>
<td></td>
<td>1pm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pm</td>
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<td>5pm</td>
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<td>6pm</td>
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<td>7pm</td>
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<td>9pm</td>
<td></td>
<td>10pm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11pm</td>
<td></td>
<td>12am</td>
<td></td>
<td>1am</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Main activity? 
2. Other activity at same time? 
3. Where were you? 
4. Anyone with you? 
5. Yes/No
Thank you for agreeing to complete the diary sheet.

The information you give us is in confidence, so please feel free to give as many details as you can (although even a very rough outline of what you did is useful). On page 2 there is an example of the first part of a completed diary sheet to give you an idea of the sort of thing we are asking you to do. (You do not have to put this much detail on your sheet if you do not wish to.)

Each one of the empty diary sheets you have been given is to cover a separate day. You have been given a number of sheets; please try to fill in as many of them as you can, starting a new sheet each day. Even if you only do one day's diary, it is helpful. If any of your friends or relatives are willing to take any sheets to fill in, please give them some of yours, or ask for some more when one of us calls back at your house.

The best way to fill in a sheet is at regular intervals during the day. But if this is not convenient, then you could wait until the end of the day to fill it in. One of us will call again at your house after a couple of days to see if you have any queries about completing the diary.

It may not be clear exactly what is meant by some of the headings on the diary sheet, so we will explain them here:

Column (1) WHAT WAS THE MAIN THING YOU WERE DOING DURING THIS TIME?

If you were doing several things at once you should decide which you think was the most important and write it in this column against the time you did it. For example, if at 6 p.m. you were eating your dinner and watching the news on TV, you may feel eating dinner was the main activity, so you would enter that in this column (on the line marked 6 p.m. on the left hand side of the page). Watching the TV news would then come under Column (3) 'Were you doing anything else at the same time?'. If, say, you were knitting and watching TV, you may feel both these activities were equally important, so you would write both activities in Column (1) and leave Column (3) blank.

If you did the same thing for more than an hour (e.g. sleeping) put an arrow down through Column (1) to show the time it took, rather than writing the activity in against every hour marked on the sheet.

The last page of these instructions gives a list of possible activities that may help you to remember the kinds of things you do during the day. You do not have to use these; in fact it would be better to use your own words to describe what you were doing.

Column (2) ROUGHLY HOW LONG DID YOU SPEND DOING THIS ACTIVITY?

Don't worry if you can't remember exactly how long you did the activity [which you have stated in Column (1)] for; a rough guess will do. If you can't remember at all, just leave Column (2) blank.

Column (3) WERE YOU DOING ANYTHING ELSE AT THE SAME TIME?

Please see explanation for Column (1).

Column (4) WHERE WERE YOU?

This is asking you to say roughly where you were while you were doing the activity you've entered in Column (1). For example, were you in the kitchen at home, or on the factory floor or in the office at work in the town? If you were in someone else's house, you don't have to give their actual name if you don't want to; it is more helpful if you state who they are in relation to you - a friend, your sister, your husband, a neighbour, for instance.
Column (5) WAS ANYONE ELSE WITH YOU?

This means if you have entered, for example, "At work-erecting scaffolding" in Column (1) and this is something you did together with a workmate, you would say something like "With workmate" in Column (5). This question is not asking you to list all the people on the site at the time or, for example, all the people on the bus or in the pub at the time you were there.

Column (6) WAS IT NECESSARY TO DO IT AT THIS TIME?

Opposite the activity you have put in Column (1) put a tick in the 'YES' column if this activity is something you had to do at the time you did it: either because you had arranged it in advance, or because you had to do it to fit in with what other people were doing. Or tick 'YES' if you usually do this activity at the time stated as part of your normal routine, or if you couldn't do it at another time because you had other things to do later.

Put a tick in the 'NO' column if you felt you could do the activity you have entered in Column (1) at another time without any trouble. If it did not matter whether you did it at that time or at some other time, tick 'NO'.

If you are not sure how to answer this question just leave both columns blank.

Finally, please remember that it is not absolutely necessary to fill in every single line on the diary sheet - give as little or as much information as you wish.

YOUR HELP WOULD BE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED.
LIST OF POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES.

TRAVEL: All the trips you make, both at home and at work, by vehicle or on foot (except pleasure trips).

WORK: Actual work; overtime; work brought home; work breaks; meals at work; delays or sitting around at work; work meetings or instruction periods, etc.

HOUSEWORK: Preparing food; washing-up; tidying and cleaning house (inside and outside); laundry and mending; other household repairs; looking after garden and pets, etc.

CHILD CARE: Dressing and feeding; supervising; babysitting; playing with; reading to; helping with homework, etc.

SHOPPING: For food, clothes, household goods and furniture; going to repair shops; using services (e.g., administrative offices, post office, hairdresser, doctor, etc.)

PERSONAL LIFE: Sleeping and resting; dressing; personal hygiene; eating at home; helping relatives or friends, etc.

EDUCATION: Attending school or college; night classes; homework; training and correspondence courses; reading to learn or for your job; driving lessons, etc.

ORGANISATIONS: Club meetings or activity; volunteer work; going to church services and other church work; political meetings; Community Centre, etc.

GOING OUT & ENTERTAINMENT: Visiting, or receiving visits from, friends or relatives; eating out at friends' or restaurant; going to cafes, pubs, nightclubs, discos, parties, dances, fairs, concerts, cinemas, plays, museums; watching sports events, etc.

LEISURE: Doing sports or exercise; walking; pleasure trips; fishing; playing cards or games; hobbies; knitting; playing music; arts and crafts, etc.

Watching TV and video; listening to radio and records; reading books, magazines and newspapers for pleasure; writing letters; conversation; planning, thinking or relaxing, etc.
### DETAILS OF PARTICULAR HOUSEHOLDS' WEEKLY MONEY BUDGETS

(As stated to us in money budgets."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether wife in employment:</th>
<th>Council house: husband employed</th>
<th>Private house: husband employed</th>
<th>Council house: husband unemployed</th>
<th>Private: husband unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of adults in household:</td>
<td>full 2</td>
<td>full 2</td>
<td>part 2</td>
<td>part 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of children under 16:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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#### Housing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rates</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortgage</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Heating

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Lighting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

#### Food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Butcher meat</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supermarket</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating out (inc fish suppers)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>232</td>
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#### Alcohol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pub or Club</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At home</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### Tobacco

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>102</td>
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#### Clothing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
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#### Shoes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catalogue</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>52</td>
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#### Large equipment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T.V./video rent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
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#### Household H.P.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goods</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### Other expenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Car expenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Petrol</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Public transport

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bus fares</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifts to work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>License</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
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</table>

#### Savings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Miscellaneous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pocket money</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax &amp; nat. insur.</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bingo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Goods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Total spent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Council house</th>
<th>Private house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total spent</td>
<td>192.6</td>
<td>165.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- All figures are of total stated expenditure minus housing costs and tax payments, to make figures comparable between employed and unemployed households, and with those who did not state tax payments.
- RR means rent and rate rebates or housing benefit.
- * means that that item is included with the cost of another item marked **.*
APPENDIX D

QUESTIONS FOR DETAILED INTERVIEWS

The following questions include all those that were asked in several different interviews. No one was asked all these questions, and the questions were not asked in this order, which is entirely random.

A. What do you think about the amount of money paid out on the bru? How much do you think it should be? What would happen if it was more?
B. How do you think people manage to get work nowadays? Who is it best to know in Cauldmos to find a job?
C. What do you think should be done about unemployment?
D. Would you consider buying your council house? Why do you think so many folk do?
E. How would you feel if in the near future the biggest majority of people never had to work again, because technology did all the work? What would you think of everyone getting a 'social wage'?
F. Do you remember when they started the welfare state after the last war? Has it turned out like you expected?
G. Could you briefly say how you spend a typical day? Do you think days pass more quickly or slowly when working or not working?
H. Do you have any hobbies? Would you say you are working when you do that?
I. Does your life go on the same from day to day, or are there any special days or weeks that are different? What do you look forward to?
J. How often would you like to get your bru money?
K. What do you get out of your job apart from money? Would you be happy with a 20 or 30 hour week?
L. How did your friends react to you when you became unemployed? Do you still go round with the same people?
M. Who do you think is better off: you when you were young and working for very little, or young uns today with more money but no jobs?
N. What do you expect life to be like for your children? Do you think they will be working? What would you like for your children?
O. What do you think of folk getting money off the social security when they’re not strictly allowed it?
P. Have you got any particular views on the younger/older generation today? Do you think they have a different attitude to work from your generation?
Q. How do you feel to be on a pension? Do you feel it is anything like being on the bru?
R. Do you ever wonder what you would do if you won the pools? Would you carry on working?
S. Do you think there’s many unemployed folk who wouldn’t take a side-job if offered one?
T. Would you say there are different groups of people in Cauldmos? Where would you place yourself?
U. What is the least money you'd work for?
V. Do you think the best things in life cost a lot of money?
W. Have you any idea of the extent of the black economy in Cauldmos? Should the government take measures to bring it into the legal area?
X. What sort of things are considered morally wrong in Cauldmos? What is considered most shameful?
Y. Do you think many folk in Cauldmos get into debt to maintain their standard of living?
Z. Do you think many people in Cauldmos would work for less than, or the same as, they could get on the bru?
AA. What exactly is your present job? Could you tell me briefly what it is that you do?
AB. Do you prefer the job you're doing now to others you've done in the past?
AC. Here are some things often thought important about a job. Which one would you look for first in a job? And which next? (Present card with following choices: 1. Interest and variety, 2. Good pay and the chance of plenty of overtime, 3. Good work mates or friends you're working with, 4. A supervisor who doesn't breathe down your neck, 5. Security in the job, 6. Pleasant working conditions, 7. A strong and active union, 8. Responsibility and being left to work at your own pace, 9. Getting out of the house)
AD. Do you find your job monotonous?
AE. Which would you prefer: a job where someone tells you exactly how to do the work, or one where you are left to decide for yourself how to do it?
AF. Have you ever thought of setting up in business on your own?
AG. When is it, in what sort of situations, do you most miss being employed?
AH. What difference did it make in your spending when you became unemployed?
AI. Are there things you used to buy that you don't now?
AJ. Are you doing anything for yourself when you used to pay for it to be done?
AK. Are you making anything for yourself when you used to buy it?
AL. What would you like more money for at the moment? How would you spend an extra £10 a week?
AM. What do you consider luxuries in your spending? If something had to go, how would you save £10 a week?
AN. When is it, in what sort of situations, do you most miss having more money? What do you find is the biggest temptation, or the greatest pressure, to make you spend?
AO. What are the most expensive times of the year? What about holidays or Christmas?
AP. When did you last buy some major thing for house?
When was the last time you got something expensive for the house prior to that?

AQ. If you could spend a lot on the house, how would you like it?
AP. Have you got a car?

What kind?

How long have you had a car? Was it important to you to get a car? How did you feel about not having a car?

If you had a lot of money what kind of car would you like?

AQ. When did you last have a holiday?

Where did you go?

AR. Who decides when certain things are to be done, either you, your husband/wife, or both:
- what you’ll do for your holidays
- that you’ll buy something expensive for the house, like a new suite
- what colour to have the wallpaper or paint when decorating?

AS. Do you have a telephone?

AT. How many times did you go out last week?

Where did you go?

In the pub/club were you buying rounds? For how many?

AQ. Have you ever been on the bru?

What difference did it make in your spending when you got a job?

Are there things you buy now that you didn’t use to?

AV. Has your financial position ever effected your, or your children’s, plans for marriage?

AW. What do you think most people who are working hard want the money for?

AX. As many of the young today have never worked and never had a decent wage, do you think they need less money to enjoy themselves?

AQ. Could you try to think back and tell me what were the main things you did last weekend?

Is this typical of the way you spend your spare time?

AZ. Who would you say are the two or three people that you most often spend your spare time with?

BA. Do you mind me asking what your (husband’s) take home pay is?

Does it vary much from week to week?

What is the extra spent on?

BB. Do you and your wife/husband discuss together how you spend your money?

BC. What sort of arrangements do you have about the housekeeping money?

What happens to any extras you might earn?

BD. What happens to your (wife’s) pay packet?

BE. Do you put anything away as savings?

Is that a regular amount?

What are you saving for?

BF. Looking ahead ten years, what improvements in your way of life would you most hope for?

What do you expect?

What would you like for your children when they leave school?

BG. What papers do you buy? Which papers do you read?

Do you get/read any magazines?
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GLOSSARY.

(three) appartment flat (three) room flat, excluding kitchen and bathroom

bing slag-heap

bru Unemployment Benefit, Unemployment Benefit Office, sometimes also Supplementary Benefit

but 'n' ben two-roomed cottage

claes clothes

dreich dreary, bleak

harling roughcasting

outwith outside, out of, beyond

patter chatting, talk intended to amuse or impress

scheme housing estate

side job job undeclared to the authorities

stay reside, dwell

tea evening meal
through the man mowing the garden, eating most at tea, buying the drinks, or driving the car. The everyday use of consumer goods is granted a particular value to the extent that it confirms individuals' positions within gender categories, and by so doing reproduces the categories themselves. Rather than reiterate the meaning of gender as expounded in Chapter Three and show how it is expressed in everyday consumption, I will highlight the most important ways in which spending establishes masculine identity and the man's role in the family.

Masculinity.

The connection between strenuous, disciplined employment and masculinity has been discussed in the last chapter. Since one's wage is a measure of one's worth and masculinity — the hard worker is a "big earner" — a man's consumer power is directly related to his esteem as a male. This is epitomized in the use of alcohol, to be described in the next chapter, but it encourages greater expenditure in many other areas, particularly with food (buying meat), cars and courting women. As in most societies sex is closely linked to money or power: when a young man "goes out" to pick up a woman the places he visits, the clothes he wears, the drinks he buys her and the mode of transport he offers her all indicate something about his earnings. But the money a man spends on a woman when courting has a much more important significance than simply being an index of masculinity: again "the gift is never free", and the woman will feel obliged to reciprocate by granting favours.

Some commodities have qualities that are intrinsic to the cultural meaning of masculinity. Frequently such goods are also expensive, but this is a secondary and largely independent way in which they denote masculinity. (The relationship between an object's intrinsic male qualities and its expense could be a good example of social meaning