

Masculinity and Class in the Context of Dirty Work

Abstract

Through an ethnographic study of 'dirty work' and drawing on an orientation to gender as an active construction, this article explores how gender and class intersect in two occupations (refuse collection and street cleaning). Our findings demonstrate how masculinity and class are mutually constitutive, producing attitudes and practices, strengths and vulnerabilities which are shaped by shifting relations of privilege and power and are largely specific to this group. Class and status subordination, in the context of this study, are resisted by adherence to traditional forms of masculinity, and by taking advantage of social comparison in order to diffuse the negative implications of low status group membership. In addition, as a form of resistance of devaluation, men evoked powerful nostalgic themes - a lament for the loss of jobs and political power; the passing of the time of closer communities and more traditional values could be read as a response to current experiences of vulnerability and devaluation.

Key words: masculinity, class, dirty work, gender practice

Introduction

Research on gender has traditionally been oriented towards the experiences of women with men often seen as 'invisible gendered subjects' and so peripheral to analysis (Whitehead, 2004). More recently gender research has focussed on men as men (Collinson and Hearn, 1994) i.e. as integral to understandings of gendered power. However, as Brod and Kaufman (2004) argue, men are not always bearers of privilege and entitlement in organizations. Drawing on an ethnographic study of 'dirty work' (jobs or roles that are seen as disgusting or degrading (Hughes, 1952; Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999), we explore the experiences of men in 'low level' occupations where gendered privilege from masculinity can be undermined by occupation and class. Thus, we focus on how masculinity is practised in a context where class and low status work intersect with gender in terms of how such work is encountered and experienced. We highlight the significance of displays of traditional masculinity in this context, of feelings of social dislocation that are partly ameliorated through attachment to a preferred past and of social comparison with (devalued) others as a strategy of enhancing self-esteem.

There have been an increasing number of studies that address the issue of intersectionality and highlight the fact that privilege and inequality are not reducible to only one axis of difference (Browne & Misra, 2003; McCall, 2005). Researchers have also examined how gender plays out in conjunction with other categories - nationality, race, ethnicity and class (McCall, 2001; Adib et al, 2003). For example, Adib and Guerrier (2003) have highlighted the complexity and ambiguity of the negotiation of many categories shaping identities of female hotel workers. By looking at the complex relationship of gender, sexuality and race, Kaufman (1999) has drawn attention to the fact that men are not always the bearers of privilege and their experiences in organizations attest to a more contradictory nature of power relations - relations that are often shaped by interactions among multiple categories of difference. In her work on rethinking intersectionality Nash (2008) emphasizes close connections between privilege and subordination stressing that exploring privilege

and subordination as complex and simultaneous might offer new ways of understanding both oppression and domination. Following this tradition this ethnographic study of 'dirty work' examines the challenges men involved in 'low level' occupations face and their investment in particular gendered and class practices.

In focussing on men doing dirty work, our paper seeks to reinvigorate an interest in class as a category that is integral to understandings of gendered (dis)advantage – through the diverse ways in which class 'shapes and goes on shaping the individuals we are and the individuals we become' (Reay, 1998: 259). While early work placed class very much at the centre of analysis in charting the experiences of working class men (e.g. Willis, 1977; Tolson, 1977; Sennett and Cobb, 1972), issues of class have since been retired in much of organization and gender based research (Reay, 1998; Skeggs, 1997; 2004; McDowell, 2003). There has accordingly been limited recent empirical work on the experiences of less skilled men as a classed as well as gendered category (Gregg and Wadsworth, 2003). This is an important gap given the reduced availability of traditionally 'masculine' work and the increasing marginalisation of less skilled men within a labour market that gives priority to 'clean' value-adding work (Bolton and Houlihan, 2009; Gregg and Wadsworth, 1998). In addition, jobs deemed suitable and accessible for less skilled workers frequently involve a dangerous or dirty environment, close supervision and limited opportunities for upward mobility (McDowell, 2003; Bolton and Houlihan, 2009).

We draw on ethnographic methods to explore the experiences of working class men in two occupations which can be defined as low skilled and where dirt and its dispersal form a key component of the job: street cleaners and refuse collectors. In the polarisation of 'men's work' and 'women's work', these conform to gendered constructions of 'masculine jobs' i.e. work which is seen as both 'heavy' (Soni-Sinha and Yates, 2013) and involving direct contact with physical dirt (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Specifically, drawing on an orientation to gender as active construction (Connell, 1995; 2000), practised in different contexts and interactions (Martin, 2003; 2004; Connell, 2000) and

perceptions of class as a 'social space' of relations, positions, dispositions and meanings (Skeggs, 1997; 2004), this paper is concerned with how gender is mobilised (drawn on, acted out, resisted, and undermined) in a dirty work occupational context and how gender and class may intersect. We find that class and status subordination are redeemed and elevated by adherence to traditional forms of masculinity where practising dominant gender grants workers a sense of enhanced self-regard. Devaluation is also resisted by participants' attachment to the image of the past. Nostalgic narratives are exploited by participants as form of a more critical engagement with the present. In addition, we suggest that the self-enhancement also takes place through a favourable comparison to others who might fail or be incapable of maintaining valued identities. We argue that masculinity is displayed in a particular way precisely as a result of the shared sense and experience of subordination and vulnerability.

Masculinity and the Working Class Context

Understanding masculinity as both socially constructed and relational involves looking at how masculinities are defined and maintained in different cultural contexts and how other categories of difference such as race and class might interfere with gendered practices. As Connell (1995; 2000) notes, masculinities are sustained through collective social practices that take place in a range of institutions - constraining and facilitating social action by embodied agents (Martin, 2004). Here, the body, defined and disciplined through social norms and conventions, is a key element in masculinity's social construction (Connell, 2000; Acker, 1990; Lorber, 1996). These situated practices and embodied performances of gender, grounded in history and precedent, entail opportunities and constraints and a 'plethora of meanings and expectations, actions/behaviours, resources, identities and discourses' (Martin, 2003: 344). Here Martin draws attention to the 'twin processes' of gendered practice, as a 'class of activities' available 'culturally, socially, narratively, discursively, physically' (Martin, 2003: 354) to men and women in specific situations, and practising gender that concerns individual enactments and bodily performances. This captures the notion that, as West and

Zimmerman (2002) also maintain, gender performances take place in particular institutional contexts so that institutions, as purveyors of gendered narratives (Ashcraft, 2006), as well as individuals are implicated in appropriate (or inappropriate) gender enactments. Institutions accordingly provide a 'repertoire of practices' (Martin, 2003) concerning what it means to perform a particular gender position.

As McDowell (2003) points out, social categories such as class and ethnicity are also major factors in the social construction of masculinity, interacting with gender to produce varied and unequally valued positionalities. This highlights the relational processes involved and the complex and often contradictory ways in which categories may intersect. An intersectional approach directs attention to how multiple and interlocking identities (e.g. gender, race, class) construct experiences within specific, contextually based relations of power and how individuals engage in or disengage from these processes (Shields, 2008; Holvivo, 2010). This demonstrates both the fluidity and fixity of normative constructions of difference in that gendered and classed practices are partly constituted through enduring social relations of power. This was reflected in early work on masculinity and class which highlighted the 'injurious' nature of class relations (Sennett and Cobb, 1972) and how work is valued for the avoidance of unemployment and for the effort, strength and physical skill demanded (Willis, 1977; Tolson, 1977) - reflective of a pragmatic approach and a 'practical consciousness' (Giddens, 1979) in working men's lives. As de Certeau (1988) and Giddens (1979) argue by situating their lives in relation to their constraining circumstances, working class men develop 'the capacity to go on' and to create what Charlesworth (2000) describes as identities of value – identities respected by others.

More recent work has highlighted how, in a similar vein, working class men draw on hard work, honesty, self-discipline and capacities for physical endurance in their struggles for recognition (Simpson et al, 2014; Thiel, 2007). These struggles have been set in the context of a contemporary

class positioning that, against the background of dominant values of personal fulfilment and progression, frames the working class in detrimental terms i.e. as lacking in value and undeserving of respect (Sayer, 2005; Skeggs, 1997; 2004). As Sayer (2005) argues, class is not just a location in a particular field or social space but is also deeply embodied permeating experiences, emotions and sense of self. Devaluation in the workplace and acts of 'downward discrimination' from those with power to implement disciplinary processes can accordingly be keenly felt (Dolan 2007). In this respect, strong occupational cultures based on the maintenance of the manual/non-manual divide, a primacy attached to breadwinner roles and a worldly realism that accords with an instrumental approach to work comprise, in Willis's (1977) terms, a positive source of class identity.

In his discussion on the construction of valued identities Collinson demonstrates how men on the 'shop floor' invest in key discursive practices of both resistance and acquiescence to deny subordination and secure a 'positive, productive meaningful world' for themselves (Collinson, 1992: 39). Collinson (1992) also shows how men exploit their dominant gender position to enhance their self-value, while still retaining sensitivity and susceptibility to the demands and expectations imposed on them by others. These include a masculine refusal to display feelings and emotions supported by constructions of invulnerability and independence from others and their perceived sense of breadwinner status, and simultaneous compliance with a view to obtaining positive confirmation from those with power. Drawing on the ethnographic study of construction workers, Thiel (2007) also shows how any potential stigma from class can be dealt with by an adherence to traditional class based masculinity. Taken together, this work demonstrates how the 'lived reality' (Skeggs, 1997) of working class experience must be set in the context of a changing landscape characterised in part by an increasingly insecure labour market positioning, discussed earlier, and by a contemporary moral framework that affords little respect to those who involved in less skilled work and removed from middle class sensibilities of self-advancement and fulfilment through occupational choice.

Dirt, Class and Masculinity

The struggles and challenges discussed above may be particularly pertinent for those individuals undertaking 'dirty work' (e.g. work involving the handling and disposal of others' waste) where stigma attached to dirt can reinforce class based devaluation and subjective experiences of being 'culturally dispossessed' (Charlesworth, 2000). As Douglas (1966) argued, our ideas of dirt, as impurity are an expression of symbolic systems that "offends against order" (Douglas, 1966, p.45) so that boundaries are constructed between the orderly and the disorderly, substantiating the threat of contamination if these boundaries are transgressed.

As Sayer (2005) suggests, people experience class in relation to others via 'moral and immoral' sentiments based on how some groups are assessed. Meanings attached to dirt are therefore relevant to understanding its relation to class and social position. In this respect, avoidance rules dictate that occupations that deal with polluting, physical dirt are commonly carried out by members of 'lower classes', separated socially from other groups (Dick, 2005; Skeggs, 2004; Roberts, 2001). Proximity to dirt accordingly constitutes a divide between those who can withdraw from whatever bears traces of contamination and impurity and those who have little choice in the jobs they do. Further, from Hughes (1958), social status is implicated in how dirty work is managed and experienced. Thus, dirty work undertaken by those of a higher standing (e.g. bodily care performed by doctors) can be 'integrated into the whole' whereby contact with dirt can be mitigated by other, more positive and socially privileged aspects of identity. Those further down the hierarchy may have fewer status shields to manage tainted effects. The process of ordering and/or classifying determines the special relevance of social class and occupational status for self-esteem which rests in the comparison of one's position with that of other people. For van Vuuren (2012) individuals in low status 'dirty work' occupations are confronted with 'an ungrateful trade-off': they are mandated to do these jobs, but stigmatized when doing them. Perception of stigmatization might affect individual esteem or collective esteem (Paterson et al, 2012; Crocker et al, 1989) and evaluations of one's

social identity (Crocker et al, 1989); by reversing the established hierarchies and comparing themselves to more disadvantaged social groups individuals might protect themselves from devaluation (Paterson et al, 2012).

Further associations can be drawn between dirt and gender. However, as Tracy and Scott (2006) point out, gender is often implicitly rather than explicitly recognised in the literature on dirty work perhaps because different types of dirty work often conform to traditional, taken-for-granted notions of femininity and masculinity where gender, as in the gender segregated work of refuse collection and street cleaning, is normalised and hence concealed. Thus, jobs that entail some forms of physical taint (i.e. where there is direct involvement with dirt or danger) and where manual labour is involved are commonly, though not exclusively, associated with working class men (Ackroyd and Crowdy, 2000; Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999; Tracy and Scott, 2006). Gendered practices in these contexts often draw on notions of traditional masculinity that pertain to the development of endurance and resistance to sensitivity in the face of aversion, to occupational cultures based on an 'us' and 'them' mentality (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) and to a strong differentiation from women (Ackroyd and Crowdy, 1990). Thus, as Tracy and Scott (2006) found, firefighters mobilise traditional discourses of masculine heterosexuality to reframe their work in preferred terms. Ackroyd and Crowdy (1990) highlight how slaughtermen develop a distinctive occupational culture based on aggressive realism where debris from blood and gore was often worn on clothing as a source of masculine pride. Men accordingly mobilise a masculine distinctiveness based on a special ability to endure the 'tainted' aspects of the job. This highlights how, in Dick's (2005) terms, studying dirty workers and how they deal with taint can provide an opportunity to examine the dynamics that exist between occupations and the broader social context and how the moral boundaries and margins of the social order are both contested and maintained.

Against this background, this paper focusses on the ways gender can be mobilised in physically tainted work and how it can recapture meanings and value in a context of potential stigmatisation

and subordination attached to class. Our broad research question is as follows: How do working class men practise gender in the context of dirty work and how do other categories of difference such as class support and/ or interfere with gendered practices of 'dirty workers'?

Context

Against this background, this paper sets out to explore how gender is mobilised (drawn on, acted out, resisted, undermined) in a dirty work occupational context and how gender and class intersect.

Both refuse collection and street cleaning conform to the ONS (2010) classification of an 'elementary' cleaning occupation i.e. one which requires little or no formal or on the job training which as Atkinson (2010) suggests can be indicative of a (working) class based social position. Both occupations have been subject over time to considerable change. Key to the transformation of public sector service delivery was the Local Government Act 1988 which obliged local authorities to expose blue collar services to competitive tendering, leading to the contracting out of such work to the private sector. The recent report on the industry shows that the sector employs around 128,000 people with only 22,000 people still hired by local authorities

(https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/31750/11-1088-from-waste-management-to-resource-recovery.pdf). The ongoing neo-liberal agenda has led to an overall fall in expenditures on such services (Gomez-Libo and Szymanski, 2001), work intensification, widespread de-unionisation, less secure employment conditions and downward pressure on wages. For example, private contractors now routinely draw on agency workers who receive lower wages and have fewer employment rights than permanent employees in order to further reduce costs (Aguilar and Herod, 2006).

Despite a shared occupational positioning, work practices between the two jobs vary. Refuse collection, normally covering 1,600 houses a day, involves two key elements: firstly the 'pullers' must go into front gardens and down alleys to pull out all of the black refuse sacks or recycling bins and place them in piles by the side of the road ('black bag' rubbish and recyclable waste are collected

separate teams). The 'loaders' then throw the bags or recyclable waste into trucks which are usually emptied twice a day. The trucks are driven by 'bankers' – skilled drivers who normally head the team and who must be able to reverse round tight corners and manoeuvre in narrow suburban streets. Team based work practices engender a strong occupational culture based on camaraderie and a valued and pleasurable humour ("*having a crack*")- providing defence against assaults on identity (from the public; from the often grim nature of the work). Such resources are not available to street cleaners who work on their own and who appear particularly vulnerable to negative effects. Their day starts early (6.30) so that streets can be swept before commuters arrive: first the streets that are swept on a daily basis then there a rota for streets that are cleaned weekly.

The men interviewed in the study comprised white working class men, a dominant category within our chosen occupational groups and one which has arguably been experiencing particular disadvantage as a result of de-industrialisation (Sveinsson, 2009; Charlesworth, 2000; Thiel, 2007).

The research project took place in West London which was particularly affected by de-industrialisation. The closures between 1970 and 1990 included Watney Mann and Truman, Hoover, Ford, British Leyland, Whitefriars and Westland helicopters. Our choice of sample was driven by an acknowledgment of their specific experiences through, as example, deindustrialisation and increased competition for jobs (Alcock et al, 2003) as well as negative attitudes that might be triggered by the association with dirt and low occupational status.

Method

In the recent years the industry was shaped by a wider push to extend the role of private companies that resulted in competitive tendering or contracting out and led to a decline in pay and conditions, in particular sickness, holiday pay and pensions (Rowbotham, 2006). In addition, since the recession, companies have increasingly been employing temporary workforce. In this study the majority of men were permanent employees of the contractor with the remainder agency workers on temporary

contracts. Both migrant and indigenous employees were hired on temporary contracts. Participants were aged between 18 and 64, though the street cleaners' age range was skewed towards the older category with most in the 40-55 age group. Contact was made through telephone and email with councils and contractors in and around London. One council in Greater London and two contractors agreed to take part in the study. Once permission for access had been granted, typically a date was set where the research team (one man and one woman) could come down on-site, work alongside the participants where appropriate and conduct the interviews 'on the job'. While there was a concern that this 'top-down' method might lead to a lack of disclosure on the part of participants, the presence of the research team generated considerable interest and amusement - and the break the interview afforded in the routine of the day was often a welcome one.

The research drew on a two tiered ethnographic approach of participant and non-participant observation fieldwork and semi-structured interviews. As Tyler (2012) argues, ethnography can help bring into focus the various ways in which dirty work and gender may be enacted and experienced. The observational fieldwork involved the two members of the research team spending five days working with four teams of refuse collectors 'on the dust' taking full part in the day to day activities. Two researchers (also 5 days in total) then accompanied the street cleaners on their daily rounds, observing and talking to men about their work routines. Ethnographic observation not only opened up potential for a fuller articulation of the habitual and mundane practices that might otherwise have gone unexplored, but helped to reverse the social dynamic between subject and researcher - placing the subject (through possession of knowledge and expertise) in a position of greater authority and power. Further, working and interacting alongside the participants within their familiar context enabled researchers to experience otherwise inaccessible sensory impressions (such as the feel and smell of the work) as well as to actively engage in the everyday conversation which is so strongly linked to time and the passing of the day. Field notes were taken and written up after each working day.

Masculinity and class

Twenty one semi-structured interviews were conducted (13 street cleaners, 8 refuse collectors). These were fully recorded (using an unobtrusive device that was clipped to the participants' clothing, allowing freedom of movement) and took place 'on site' e.g. on the street, and in collection trucks. In terms of the latter, while one researcher undertook the interview, the other researcher worked alongside the crew to replace the 'lost body' on the street.

Interviews covered key themes relating to life and work history; opportunities/job choice; family experience; work practices (e.g. a typical working day), enjoyable/challenging aspects of the job; and plans/aspirations. Interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed in full. Thematic analysis was undertaken to identify key themes or "patterns of experience" (Aronson, 1994) which then formed the basis for further more detailed analysis. Data was collected under each theme and subthemes explored based, from Taylor and Bogdan, on "conversation topics, vocabulary, recurring activities, meanings, feelings" (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p. 131). For example, under the theme 'traditional masculinity', sub themes of physicality, endurance and instrumentality were identified and are discussed further below.

Reflexivity was important in acknowledging that occupational distance and gender difference may have influenced data collection and analysis. Thus intrinsic power dynamics of the research were a central consideration. In terms of the former, through 'active listening' and an acute awareness of the potential influence of our own privileged occupational position, we sought to give a sympathetic voice to men's experiences where, in a more general context, male working class voices are rarely heard. Here, we sought what Charlesworth has referred to as a form of engaged committed interaction in which one 'helps the other to articulate the pieces that have contributed to the totality of their experience' (Charlesworth, 2000: 144). In terms of the latter, while gender difference may introduce a constraint on men in terms of willingness to disclose innermost thoughts and feelings (Simpson, 2009), other feminist work (e.g. Evans, 2002) suggest women can offer a 'truer understanding' of men and masculinity on the grounds that their marginalised position means they

are less imprisoned within established epistemological frameworks. In fact, for both the male and the female researcher, there was an ease in terms of shared reflections and disclosures in the interview situation. Further, field work helped to break down barriers (occupational, gender) as men appreciated the willingness of the researchers to 'roll up their sleeves' and give the work a go – and as their participation afforded men an opportunity to display a higher order level of competence and expertise.

Three themes emerged that captured in different ways how gender and class intersect in understandings of men's experiences, supporting our core argument that masculinity is practised in particular ways as a result of class position and the associated sense and experience of subordination. These relate to the dynamic between class subordination and masculinity; to the relations between devaluation and nostalgia and the role of social comparison in reversing hierarchies of power and reducing the differential status effects.

Class Subordination and Masculinity

Once we arrived at the start of the route we all jumped out and Dave explained to me how this crew works, "In the yard there are two types of black bag teams and two types of recycling teams, those who run and those who don't. We run!" The fact that some teams can do their route while running engenders a sense of pride and is a source of differentiation from other crews. I was tempted to think Dave was bragging. I was wrong. They ran for the whole route. While those on the black bags get pride from the weights they have to lift throughout the day, therefore seeing those on recycling as a 'weaker' alternative (the refuse is lighter and cleaner), those who do the work 'on the jog' get similar satisfaction from bodily fitness and fortitude. 'Toughness' is consequently restored". (Field notes, refuse collection)

Refuse collectors and street cleaners clearly identified themselves as 'working class' and described their jobs as a working class occupation. Their self-identification reflected both their objective

circumstances and subjective experiences. Most participants left the school between the age of 15 – 17, they didn't continue their education and had succession of low wage jobs; many were residing in the areas into which they were born. Participants were responsive to their objective class positions in forming, subjectively, their sense of 'selves' and in making and justifying important life choices. Class for them became both a source of pride and a root of vulnerability.

...it is a working class job, it's not to be vilified, some people will talk in those terms but there should be acceptance of different classes and not looked down upon (refuse collector).

I am working class and there's nothing wrong with working class, there's nothing to be ashamed of being working class, it's very hard to change a class...There's working class people doing what is traditionally known as working class jobs and they should be, you know, proud to do that... we don't want everybody being planners, accountants, you know, we can't all be teachers, we need people to do other jobs don't we? They play a role (refuse collector).

The quotes above registered the complex relationships between pride and self-respect and the knowledge that others might not think that how participants' lives and what they do is 'worthwhile'. They also confirmed participants' awareness that for some people working class jobs might be of less value.

Here, participants drew on traditional masculinity to manage and resist class related subordination. As the field notes confirmed, participants emphasized their ability to perform physically demanding tasks – placing value on experience and an appropriate, tough physique. As Tracy and Scott (2006) suggest, physically tainted work lends itself to conventional displays of masculinity from the endurance, effort and fortitude involved. In this context, as has been documented elsewhere, men activated norms and behaviours around physical capabilities that helped to regain and maintain their sense of worth and, potentially, to resist the low status attached to their class and occupational

positions (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999; Willis, 1977; McDowell, 2003; Charlesworth, 2000). A casual realism accompanied by sentiments of inevitability often imbued descriptions of the physical demands of the job:

"It's a tough job but we choose it...I didn't leave [school] with an education, but I thought I got a head like anyone else, eyes like anyone else, a brain like anyone else so I just did it, learnt on the job"(street cleaner).

Drawing on traditional meanings of resilience and discipline, men demonstrated strong adherence to normative discourses related to the importance of having and retaining a job and working hard irrespective of its perceived status or 'desirability'

"My thing is as long as I've got a job at the end of the day that's it, that's the way I see it. I mean I've even worked at Burger King, McDonalds for a week or so, just that I'm working until another job started and I've always worked." (street cleaner)

The underlying rationale for work was mainly the ability to earn a wage, however minimal (most were on minimum wage level, taking home about £800 per month at the time of the study) reflecting potentially principles of necessity and a 'continuing functionality' (Thiel, 2007) in working class lives. Self-esteem was established through the emphasis on continuous employment, independence, self-reliance and traditional breadwinner roles. The significance of the latter is captured in the quote below:

"And we got married, started having children and to me in them days, I said, "No, I'll work, you stay at home," I mean that was the rules in them days, you know what I mean, it was... now times has changed, where the woman can go out to work as well. But to me I always thought, no, I think a woman should have more time to herself, the worries should be for the bloke, not for the woman".(street cleaner)

Although the challenges of supporting families on a low wage were voiced by most participants and were a common source of discontent, most men in this study were unfailingly following the traditional gender roles and felt financially responsible for their families.

Taken together, male 'dirty workers' can be seen to be practising a traditional form of working class masculinity that gives meaning to undesirable work where primacy is attached to physicality, effort and endurance in performing strenuous tasks, retaining employment and creating value for their families (Willis, 1977; Connell, 2000; 2005; Charlesworth, 2000; Sennett and Cobb, 1972; Sayer, 2005). In his discussion of working class pride, Sayer (2005) suggests that gender dominance provides working class men with a form of pride that they often 'misread' in class terms and attribute to their class position (Sayer, 2005). This reading (or mis-reading) leads to the intensification of men's attachment to traditional forms of masculinity in their attempts to resist class devaluation. Dirty work that calls on men's supposedly 'unique' capacities for strength and endurance can therefore allow working class men to practise a recognized and traditional form of gender, enabling them to recover value that might be threatened through class subordination.

Devaluation and Nostalgia

Before we headed out, a heated exchange broke out between one of the street cleaners and management staff. The hierarchies that exist within the organisation were made clear: one of the gully workers had been put on a barrow but was left less than impressed by this temporary 'demotion'; "I'm not f..... gonna do it, I'm a driver, where in my contract does it tell me to sweep!" His anger at the job he was given for the day was quashed by one of the office managers who bluntly retorted to take his complaint to the union (Field notes, street cleaners).

Similar to Dolan's (2007) findings, participants in this study were acutely aware of the hierarchical structuring of social interactions and how these manifested, in their view, in unjust treatment and devaluation. Discontent with present circumstances was often compared, nostalgically, with a more

'favourable' past - with feelings of dislocation rooted in perceptions of reduced trade union power and in the rise of (more instrumental) foreign workers.

The mixed feelings surrounding the issues of class and job status were powerfully evoked by men in the study through descriptions of day to day encounters and attitudes that they perceived to be demeaning. As one refuse collector commented on members of the public: *"They'll say, "Oh low life," you know, try to degrade you"*. Another referred to routine disparagement and belittling that participants are confronted with as a result of low status and negative stereotypes associated to their jobs.

Yeah, yeah, oh they say it, they talk about dustmen in the pub, you know because obviously when I'm not at work I don't wear the uniform and I'm sitting there and you know, "oh those stupid dustmen and this, they're all as thick as dog's do and all that", you know, "well fair enough mate, keep going, you know", I'm smarter than you are, you know... (refuse collector).

In a similar manner, participants struggled with subordination which revealed itself in the imperative to comply to, however arbitrarily applied, the demands of management and the public. The field notes often highlighted the behaviours embedded in hierarchical relations and how those are acted out in daily interactions – as in the confrontation between a manager and employee above.

Although the increased competition for jobs and participants' relatively weak labour market positioning forced men to consent to changes in work practices (an unexpected demotion in job role; the wearing of pagers that tracked progress on the streets, working longer hours) they openly condemned unwarranted display of disrespect and admitted their anger and frustration. For example, a refuse collector described how a woman *"clicked her fingers"* in a command for attention; another recalled how a car nudged his calf in an extreme display of impatience and lack of regard. Concern that a confrontation may get out of hand (*"getting verbal"*), violating public service norms

of politeness and so jeopardising employment, meant that anger and disagreement had to be contained:

"We're not supposed to take aerosols, we can't take televisions...of course (the public) don't understand, when you say to them "look I can't take your TV", "I pay my f'ing rates, you should", "no we can't take it mate, you know". "I'm going to phone", "well go ahead phone up, see if I care", and I'm being very polite. You do have a tendency to want to get verbal with them but you can't because of the job." (refuse collector)

From the above quote, a desire for retaliation is 'reigned in' by the imperative to protect employment, replaced by a measured practicality ("*we can't take it, mate*"). The concern related to the job security ("*because of the job*") was repeatedly voiced:

"They've got to make this £26 million cut. They can streamline us, there's no two ways about it, they can take one bloke off each lorry, I know they can do that...somebody is going to be on the chopping block..." (refuse collector)

Reference to current circumstances were often accompanied by the memories of the past – memories that uncovered sentiments of loss ("*I'm that dying breed that's still represented that working class...*") and opened up possibilities, in Strangleman's (2007) terms, for a more critical engagement with the present as well as future concerns:

"Yeah, a lot easier (in the past), a hell of a lot easier, you could leave one job, go straight onto the next one, start the next day. But now it's... well I've got three sons, I've got one son that works, one son out of the three and that's my youngest and he's 30... yeah, 30 now, I've got two older sons and they just can't find work, they can't find work..." (street cleaner)

"It'd be hard to get on in life. Like my son, he's got his own little business, of building, but there's so many people doing it...Where... hopes for the children nowadays, very slim, very

slim. I feel sorry for the children, like these youths, like 17, 18 year olds, they leave school for what? (street cleaner)

Trade unions formed part of a nostalgic narrative and were referred to in terms of declining power and the inability to reverse or effectively challenge change. The sarcasm expressed by the manager in the episode described in the field notes above (who suggested the worker “*take his complaint to the union*”) did not just refer to the diminishing power of trade unions but also to the precariousness of the workers’ position – and hence the need to accept the manager’s directive. The erosion of trade unions was mainly explained by disappearance of heavy industries and weakening of workers’ bargaining power – triggering nostalgia for the “old days”:

“...the union are supposed to be fighting...they’ve been sort of less prone to use the strike weapon really. So they’re generally, you know, less sort of powerful really as they used to be...” (street cleaner)

“We don’t see that many... well see the odd strikes here and there, but just don’t seem to be as much power ‘cause I remember in the old days, in the ‘80s when the old miner’s strike was on, I went down the old coast to see the old miners and all that, help them out and all that, and now it’s, you know, a lot of people all come together then, now don’t seem to get that anymore.”(street cleaner)

Participants’ nostalgic narratives were accordingly shaped by a sense of loss and ‘disagreement with the present’ (Boym, 2001) as both an expression of attachment to the past and reservations about the future.

The decrease in trade union power was also attributed to the presence of migrant workers, willing to work for lower wages and less aware of workers’ rights:

"[when]... immigrants come in as far as the union is concerned is that they're obviously prepared to work for lower wages, and I think that produces a problem for them (the Unions)" (street cleaner)

"I mean some of them (migrant workers) they don't understand what rights they have, what they, you know, so they don't realise." (street cleaner)

The discussion on recent societal changes revealed the feeling of social dislocation ('we are a dying breed...') which was also connected to the presence of foreigners. The figure of the 'foreigner' appeared in a variety of discourses, including the job loss, community cohesion, the absence of collective history, common language and shared values. The presence of foreigners again signalled irreversible changes - changes that were perceived by participants as a threat to their own identities.

"I mean there's a lot of foreigners round now. I don't mean that in a...(Laughs) I mean when was round there everyone in the '60s, '70s everyone was English, you know everyone talked to each other, now you say hello to people, good morning to people and they just ignore it, just walk past you (street cleaner)"

Unexpectedly, the sense of foreign-ness was not associated with ethnic or racial differences (it might be explained by the fact that the group was racially homogenous) but stemmed from the feelings of anxiety, nervousness and fear of replacement and dislocation. Participants' preoccupation with 'foreign-ness' was not directed at the particular category of difference but was more revealing of their attempts to resist their own sense of loss and dislocation.

Taken together, these experiences illustrate how in the context of working class men doing dirty work, negative moral evaluations from class position (Skeggs, 1997; 2004) and subjectifying interactions associated with menial work can combine to place men in a subordinate status. This status is partly characterised by feelings of social dislocation, rooted in the decline in trade union power and in perceptions of threat from foreign workers. Subordinate status and devaluation can

arguably be resisted by adherence to the image of the past. As Bonnett (2010) and Strangleman (1997; 2007) suggest, nostalgia concerning, as example, the passing of the time of closer communities and more traditional values can be read as a form of resistance - a strategic device that opens up possibilities for a more critical engagement with the present. This may resonate with our group of workers who problematize their current circumstances and lament the loss of job availability and political power.

Social Comparison

The banter kicked off from the start with Phil taking delight in my difficulty in swinging almost every bag into the truck. "The difference between you and me" he asserted "is that you make this job look difficult" and he was right, I am sure I did. "This job ain't difficult but it is tough for the likes of you. You need to think of it like chess... always think of the next move ahead, where are the bags? Where do I need to go?" Phil placed a lot of pride in his ability to lift three or even four bags in one hand, relating to his experiences as a power-lifter in the past. Pride was also placed on this ability to throw the "right bag" into the truck from fifteen or twenty meters away. When I asked him to show me, he rose successfully to the challenge.

(Field notes, refuse collection)

Struggle for recognition often depends on particular stratifying practices i.e. on manufacture (or reduction) of differences in which some characteristics may be prioritised over others in order to create valuable social identities – captured in the stated "*difference between you and me*" and the subsequent field notes above.

In the study, demarcations were firstly constructed around a differentiation from women:

"... they (women) can't do it, it's too dirty for them and they say they want equality why won't they come and do this job? ...They won't come and physically do this because they reckon it's too hard for one, which is a load of rubbish because there's..." (refuse collector).

Further, internal (job-related) hierarchies were based on types of employees (agency/permanent), on migrant status, on the employed/unemployed distinction and on the manual/non-manual category of work. While gender was rarely a matter of concern in men's accounts (perhaps reflecting the normalisation of masculinity within this gender segregated occupational contexts) the presence of the female researcher triggered some gender comparisons where women were dismissed as unequal to the work (*"no disrespect but women can't come and do this job, it's too dirty for them"*). Agency workers were positioned as deficient (lazy, less committed, less disciplined) by permanent employees (*"you wouldn't throw water on them if they were on fire because they are that useless"*). Migrant workers were seen as *"hard grafters"* and as opportunistic while undercutting trade union power and creating an unwelcome competition for jobs. Those out of work and on benefits were seen as lazy and workshy, triggering feelings of injustice due to their shared social and economic space with low paid workers (*"it's just that some people just don't want to work, you can either take £65 a week on the dole or you could earn a bad wage doing this job".*)

Other groups, particularly white collar, were similarly positioned as incapable of withstanding the rigours of the job:

Not everyone is able to actually do road sweeping because it's a bit more difficult than they think... Physically, physically it's very demanding, also I think nowadays it's progressed where you must be, and it's no disrespect to anyone who can't, but you must be able to read a map... we've had businessmen that have fallen out of work, very well educated... and decided that if they can't get another job they would just go and be a road sweeper and they come here and I'll take them out and I'll explain to them 'This is what we have to do' and more likely than not they will last about two hours because they're unable to do it, like I say because physically they can't do it. (refuse collector)

According to Charlesworth (2000) and Sayer (2005) the basis for self-esteem and working class pride differs significantly in its normative assumptions from a middle class understanding of what is of

value with its focus on acquisitions of cultural capital (education, schooling) and autonomous careers that carry authority over others. In the quote above ' *very well educated*' is positioned in detrimental terms against the extreme physical rigours of the work ("*physically they can't do it*") - given extra emphasis through the two hour limit to what the individuals concerned are deemed able to endure. Normally valued middle class backgrounds and privileges are therefore diminished as carrying little worth in a context which demands embodied strength and fortitude – capacities seen by Connell (2000) as advantages of subordinated masculinity and associated with working class men. Other differences were invoked in order to be dismissed. With implicit reference to class position, lines of division emphasised by managers and office workers were challenged as irrelevant as men mobilized team based discourses based on common goals:

"Oh yeah, yeah, well some people once they get a suit and tie on and getting the manager, you know they think they're the bee's knees you know, but at the same token all the cogs in the wheel make the job go, flow round sort of thing, you know....they think they're the bee's knees and they're not, you know. And you know as far as I'm concerned everybody who works for the same company it's all part of a team and it's just that the individuals think you know they're beyond everyone else." Tip worker

As Connell (2000) notes, masculinities are ordered in relations of hierarchy where, in the context of dirty work, an embodied masculinity based on hard work and endurance (Willis, 1977; Collinson, 2002), often associated with subordinated men (Connell, 2000), can take cultural precedence over middle class gender constructions around disembodied rationality and control (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993; 1998). The latter however confers authority over others in the workplace – hierarchical differences that, as Dolan (2007) has shown, can be keenly felt (captured in "*they think they're the bee's knees*" that refers to managers' supposedly elevated self-perceptions). As Collinson (1992) demonstrated, the sense of inequality and grievance on the part of manual workers is a direct consequence of their institutionalised inferiority, embedded in the differential status system

between white collar and manual work. Social comparison therefore can serve as a way of introducing alternative normative grounds, of escaping judgment embedded in values associated with middle-class sensibilities, of reversing hierarchies of power and reducing the differential status effects.

Discussion and Conclusion

Against a background of an 'invisibility' of class in recent gender and organization research (McDowell, 2003) and the increased vulnerability of low skilled men within the contemporary labour market (Nixon, 2009; Alcock et al, 2005; Gregg and Wadsworth, 2003), this paper set out to explore the investment of men involved in 'low level' occupations in particular gendered and class practices. Our study has contributed to an understanding of the complex and often contradictory ways in which the dynamics of practising gender and interplay between gender and class unfold in the context of dirty.

We have shown how men in the study face relations of *subordination* that are embedded in their class position, the employment relationship and low job status. Sayer (2005) emphasizes that despite the subordinate class men belong to the dominant gender which is drawn upon to elevate the group and self and provide men with self-respect and self-esteem. For participants in this study adherence to traditional displays of masculinity based on possession of physical strength and values of effort and hard work functions as a way of restoring their valued identities. Not surprisingly, as other work has found (e.g. Willis, 1977; Ashforth and Kriener, 1999), *physicality* based on capacities for hard work and endurance confer value and positive identity on working class men. Further, men also display *instrumentality and practicality* in their approach to work. Perhaps in reflection of workers' 'institutionalised inferiority within structures of organizational power' (Collinson, 1992), men invest materially and symbolically in continuous employment and a regular wage as a means of economic subsistence (for self, for families) and as a source of positive meaning through masculine values of self-reliance. Pride in retaining employment and creating value for their families can

arguably enable men to recover value that might be undermined by the dominance of middle class sensibilities. Adherence to traditional displays of masculinity may therefore be seen as an oppositional strategy to the experience of subordination and devaluation.

Although the intensified competition for jobs and the increased labour market insecurity forced men to agree to unwanted changes in work practices, participants' disagreement with these changes revealed itself in their discussion of the past. Nostalgic undertones permeating participants' accounts can be read as a form of resistance to unwelcome change and a way of a more critical engagement with the present. Nostalgic sentiments provide a valid critique of the present and indicate participants' difficulties in parting with unfulfilled expectations of the future (i.e. life-time employment, secure skilled jobs, and family and community structures). Similar to other studies (Bonnett, 2010; Boym, 2001; May, 2010), the experience of social dislocation and the perceived lack of fit determine the choice of practices and tactics used men for self-production and self-representation, looking at the past empowers men to express their concerns about the present and imagine the possibility of a future, 'one in which the value of working-class lives is accorded recognition and worth (Loveday, 2014:732)

Finally, through *social comparison*, men in this study seek to establish alternative normative grounds and reduce the differential status effects. As status is often a result of social comparison selective social contrasting becomes a viable normalization strategy (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). A number of scholars have shown that social comparison is often used for self-enhancement purposes. Self-enhancement is achieved either by boosting the positivity or diminishing the negativity of self-regard (Arkin, 1981; Miller and Slus, 1977; Sedikides and Gregg, 2008). Men apply 'selective social comparison' (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) as a normalisation tactics by contrasting their identities with less valued identities of more vulnerable groups (women, temporary workers, migrant workers, the unemployed and white collar workers). More importantly, social comparison in the form of self-enhancement also functions in the context of dirty work as a form of self-protection in the situations

when individuals might feel vulnerable or experience a perceived threat to their self-esteem (Sedikides and Gregg, 2008). Applying social comparison men can turn class into a valorised social category and a positive source of identity - in a contemporary context characterised by the dominance of middle class sensibilities and where the working class is commonly devalued. Physical capacities of effort and endurance may have little value in a modern service economy, but they can be a source of (oppositional) personal power in dirty, manual work where, as we have seen in men's construction of the manual/non-manual divide, dominant middle class values and experiences are undermined.

However, adherence to established working class masculine values may also reflect, in Skegg's (1997) terms, limited choices available and constrained opportunity structures. Thus attachment to traditional notions of working class masculinity may afford personal power and a cultural priority for men in the context of dirty work but it reinforces 'entrapment' in subordinated forms of employment (Willis, 1977; Collinson, 1992). Street cleaners and refuse collectors may construct distinctions between manual and non-manual work and reify the former through attachment to values of hard, physical effort but they are subject, largely, to the latter's disciplinary power – with little autonomy in their working lives. Further, as Bauman (1998) argues, any form of attachment can create further vulnerabilities, sources of exclusion in a labour market currently organized around individual credentialism and performance as criteria for progression – attributes that working class men often lack. As Willis (1977) has argued, articulation of masculinity and class through the celebration of manual capacities, which he suggests is an expression of class based freedom and autonomy, obscures their real weakness in the labour market and reinforces existing relations of power.

References

Acker, J. (1990) Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organization. *Gender and Society*, 4, 139-158

Ackroyd, S. and Crowdy, P. (1990) Can Culture be Managed? Working with Raw Material: The Case of the English Slaughterhouse Workers. *Personnel Review*, 19, 5: 3-14.

Aguiar, L. and Herod, A. (2006) (Eds) *The Dirty Work of Neoliberalism*, Malden: Balckwell Publishing

Alcock, P., Beatty, C., Fothergill, S., Macmillan, R., and Yeandle, S. (2003) *Work to Welfare: How Men become Detached from the Labour Market*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Aronson J (1994) A pragmatic view of thematic analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 2, Spring.

Available at <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/BackIssues/QR2-1/aronson.html>, (accessed 25 November 2011).

Ashcraft, K. (2006) Back to work: Sights/Sites of difference in gender and organizational communication studies. In B. Dow & J. Wood (Eds) *The Sage Handbook of Gender and Communication*, London: Sage, 2006

Ashforth, B. and Kreiner, G. (1999) "How can you do it?" Dirty Work and the Challenge of Constructing a Positive Identity', *Academy of Management Review*. 24, 3:413-434.

Ashforth B, Kreiner G, Clark M and Fugate M (2007) Managerial tactics for countering occupational taint. *Academy of Management Journal* 50, 1: 149-174.

Atkinson, W. (2010) The Myth of the Reflexive Worker: Class and Work Histories in Neo-Liberal Times, *Work Employment and Society*. 24, 3: 413-420

Bauman, Z. (1998) *Work Consumerism and the New Poor*, Buckingham: Open University Press

Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bonnett, A. (2010) *Left in the Past*, New York: Continium

Bolton, S. and Houlihan, M. (2009) *Work Matters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Work*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brod & M. Kaufman (Eds) (1994) *Theorizing Masculinities*, London: Sage.

Collinson, D. (1992) *Managing the Shopfloor*, Berlin; New York: De Gruyter

Collinson, D. and Hearn, J. (1994) Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organization and Management, *Gender Work and Organization* 1, 1: 2-22

Connell, R. (1983) *Which Way is Up?* London: Allen and Unwin

Connell, R. (1995) *Masculinities*. University of California Press.

Connell, R. (2000) *The Men and the Boys*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Charlesworth, S. (2000) *A Phenomenology of Class*, Oxford University Press

Crocker, J. and Major, B. (1989) 'Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma', *Psychological Review*, 96, 4: 608-630

Dick, P. (2005) Dirty Work Designations: How Police Officers Account for their use of Coercive Force, *Human Relations*, 58, 11: 1363-1390.

Dolan, A. (2007) 'Good luck to them if they can get it': exploring working class men's understandings and experiences of income inequality and material standards, *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 29, 5: 711-729

Douglas, M. (1966) *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge..

Evans J (2002) Cautious caregivers: gender stereotypes and the sexualization of men nurses' touch. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 40, 4:441-448.

Frazer, N. and Honneth, A. (2003) *Redistribution or Recognition*, New York: Verso

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Cambridge: Polity

Giddens, A. (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory*. London: Macmillan

Gomez-Lobo, A. and Szymanski, S. (2001) A Law of Large Numbers: Bidding and Compulsive Competitive Tendering for Refuse Collection Contracts, *Review of Industrial Organization*, 18: 105-113

Gregg, P. and Wadsworth, J. (2003) 'Labour market prospects of less skilled workers over the recovery', in Dickens, R., Gregg, P. and Wadsworth, J. (Eds) *The Labour Market Under New Labour: The State of Working Britain*, pp. 86-98. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Holvino, E (2010) Intersections: The simultaneity of race, gender and class in Organization Studies, *Gender, Work and Organization*, 17, 3: 248-277.

Hughes, E. (1958) *Men and their Work*, Glencoe IL: Free Press

Kerfoot, D. and Knights, D. (1993) Management Masculinity and Manipulation: From Paternalism to Corporate Strategy in Financial Services in Britain, *Journal of Management Studies*, 30,4: 659-77

Masculinity and class

Kerfoot, D. and Knights, D. (1998) Managing Masculinity in Contemporary Organizational Life: A Man(agerial) Project, *Organization*, 5, 1: 7-26

Kimmel, M. (1993) What do men want? *Harvard Business Review* November/December: 50-63

LFS (2010) Labour Force Survey, London

Martin, P. Y. (2003) "Said and Done" versus "Saying and Doing": Gendering Practices, Practicing Gender at Work, *Gender and Society*, 17, 3: 342-366

Martin, P. Y. (2004) Gender as Social Institution, *Social Forces*, 82, 4: 1249-1273

McDowell, L. (2003) *Redundant Masculinities: Employment Change and White Working Class Youth*. Oxford: Blackwell

May, V. (2011) 'Self, Belonging and Social Change' *Sociology*, 45, 33: 63–378.

Nixon, D. (2009) 'I can't put a smiley face on': Working Class Masculinity, Emotional Labour and Service Work in the 'New Economy', *Gender Work and Organization*, 16, 3: 302-322

ONS (2010) Office of National Statistics, London

Paterson, L., McKenzie, K. and Lindsay, B. (2012) 'Stigma, Social Comparison and Self-Esteem in Adults with an Intellectual Disability', *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities*, 25, 2:166-176

Reay, D. (1998) Rethinking Social Class: Qualitative Perspectives on Class and Gender, *Sociology* . 32, 2: 259-275

Roberts, K. (2001) *Class in Modern Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Sayer, A. (2005) *The Moral Significance of Class*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sennet, R. and Cobb, J. (1972) *The Hidden Injuries of Class*. Cambridge University Press.

Shields, S. (2008) Gender: An intersectionality perspective, *Sex Roles*, 59: 301-31.

Simpson, R. (2009) *Men in Caring Occupations: Doing Gender Differently*, Palgrave

Skeggs, B. (1997) *Formations of Class and Gender*. London: Sage.

Skeggs, B. (2004) *Class, Self and Culture*. London: Routledge.

- Soni-Sinha, U. and Yates, C. (2013) 'Dirty Work?' Gender, Race and the Union in Industrial Cleaning. *Gender Work and Organization*, 20, 6: 737-751.
- Stranglemam, T. (1999) 'The Nostalgia of Organisations and the Organisation of Nostalgia: Past and Present in the Contemporary Railway Industry', *Sociology*, 33, 4: 725-46.
- Stranglemam, T. (2007) 'The nostalgia for permanence at work? The end of work and its commentators', *The Sociological Review*, 55, 1: 81–103.
- Sveinsson, K. (2009) *Who Cares about the White Working Class*. London: The Runnymede Trust.
- Silva, J. (2013) *Coming Up Short: Working-Class Adulthood in an Age of Uncertainty*, OUP USA.
- Thiel, D. (2007) Class in construction: London building workers, dirty work and physical cultures, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 58, 2: 227-251.
- Taylor S and Bogdan R (1984) *Introduction to qualitative research methods: the search for meanings*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Tolson, A. (1977) *The Limits of Masculinity*. Tavistock: London.
- Tracy, S. and Scott, C. (2006) 'Sexuality, Masculinity and Taint Management among Firefighters and Correctional Officers: Getting Down and Dirty with "America's Heroes" and the "Scum of Law Enforcement"', *Management Communication Quarterly*, 20, 1: 6-38.
- Tyler, M. (2012) 'Glamour Girls, Macho Men and Everything in between: Un/going Gender and Dirty Work in Soho's Sex Shops', in R. Simpson, N. Slutskaia, P. Lewis and H. Hopfl (Eds) *Doing Dirty Work: Concepts and Identities*. Palgrave
- West, C. and Zimmerman, D. (2002) 'Doing Gender', in S. Fenstermaker and C. West (Eds) *Doing Gender, Doing Difference*, Routledge, 2002
- Whitehead, S. (2004) 'Man: The Invisible Gendered Subject' in S. Whitehead and F. Barrett (Eds) *The Masculinities Reader*, Polity Press
- Willis, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids get Working Class Jobs*. London: Hutchinson

