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**THE IMPACT OF DEINDUSTRIALISATION ON MASCULINE CAREER  
IDENTITY**

**AN INTERGENERATIONAL STUDY**

**OF MEN FROM NAVAL REPAIR FAMILIES IN MEDWAY, KENT**

**GEORGE KARL ACKERS**

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

June 2016

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## Abstract

This thesis addresses the impact of deindustrialisation and the subsequent move to a post-industrial 'new economy' on skilled working class men and their sons and grandsons. The decline in manufacturing and growth of service-based jobs has prompted many social theorists to argue working-class men's ability to construct meaningful careers and identities is becoming ever more limited. This thesis explores 27 career history interviews collected in South-East England from 13 former Royal Dockyard tradesmen and 14 of these men's sons and grandsons. Closed in 1984, Chatham's naval shipbuilding and repair yard had been the major employer for generations of men and their families for over 400 years. To explore this generational significance and consider the long-term, residual effect of deindustrialisation on male work identities a multigenerational sample was used. In the process of doing thematic analysis, it became clear that cross-generational themes were being continued and reinterpreted by these men. Three intergenerational themes were central to the men's explanations of how they tackled transition in their working lives. The first theme 'getting on' reflects evidence that the men's career motivations and attitudes were primarily focused on upward career mobility and better job security. The second theme 'personal adaptability' was the men strategy of adapting skills and embodying new work identities to actualize their desire to 'get on'. However in the transition to post-industrial employment, men did not lose their engagement with their trade learning and hands on work. The third theme 'a craft outlook' illustrates that men developed unpaid craft projects, to retain a 'linear life narrative' (Sennett, 1998), which gave meaning to their evolving careers and lives. These craft projects also created channels through which fathers, sons and grandsons talked about their growing and changing relationships with each other.

In light of these themes, this study generates four main findings. First although men had to deal with change in their careers this did not cause a rupture in their working identities. Instead they used powerful life themes (Savickas, 1997), to take ownership of their own working lives. So they navigated deindustrialisation and employment change in a manner that left many now viewing these transitions as positive in either personal and/or economic terms. Second, class and occupation were still fundamental to men's identity. But, unlike career writers who suggest that a self-driven career is a middle class, professional notion this study found these men did construct sophisticated career narratives. That incorporated both their private and paid work, akin to Mirvis and Hall's (1994) notion of a 'protean career'. Third, the PhD finds that neither sample experienced a working class male crisis due to feeling they could not satisfy traditional gendered identities and masculine practices. Instead, intergenerational transmission was based on each generation making something of what had been passed to them, a process Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1997: 93) term the 'transmission of equivalents'. The replication of occupations was not the desire of any generation in this study. Finally, this study finds that craft had a continued and evolving meaning for the majority of men. Craft gave men practices on which to structure a linear life narrative, produce familial solidarity and create a powerful labour ethic of performing quality work. Overall findings from this research challenge the idea that most men were/are passive victims of industrial change. By contrast, the majority of men in this study managed to carefully adapt to and navigate the transition from industrial to post-industrial work.

Whereas this study only speaks for a section of the skilled working class, these findings suggest that the current literature needs to be modified in three ways. First, the manual working classes should not be considered a homogeneous or static group when responding to deindustrialisation. The skilled men in this study demonstrate a distinct experience of work transitions. Second, the experiences of the men were mediated by the regional employment context of the south-east, whereas the current literature is largely based on relatively isolated communities in the North of England or Celtic fringes. This studies results therefore questions the validity of generalising the impacts of this process at a national or international level. Third, unlike static studies of geographically located collective community experience, this research has followed generations of families. These individuals' career stories reflect the important accounts of men who strategically moved away or commute to work outside these former industrial areas. Overall the omission of these factors has led to an over passive account of deindustrialisation and the move to the new economy, which robs many working-class men of their individuality and active agency.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> parts of this thesis have been published by myself in the journal article George Karl Ackers (2014): Rethinking deindustrialisation and male career crisis, *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, DOI:10.1080/03069885.2014.920077<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03069885.2014.920077>

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## Dedications and Acknowledgements

I would first like to express my thanks and gratitude to my supervisors at the University of Huddersfield Tracey Yeadon-Lee, Santokh Gill and Sharon Wray.

Second, I would like to thank my family: mother Moira, brother Harry both craftspeople and father Peter and sister Helen, both like myself useless academics. Also I should like to thank the older generations of my family my grandad Brian and late grandmother Helen. Alongside this I would like to express my gratitude to my friends and love ones Samantha, Edward, Peter, Briony, Hannah, Ewout, Arthur, Charlie and Joseph.



*Me and my dad at cafe Central in Vienna after we had both presented papers to the 2014 European Social Science History Conference.*

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## *Introduction*

Chatham Royal Dockyard closed in 1984. In the 1980s the dockyard had directly employed 7,000 people and had several thousand other local jobs dependent on it. Closure therefore left the majority of these workers unemployed and having to search for new employment; an event that inevitably created feelings of anger or despair. However just as people's feelings of death and bereavement cannot be fully understood by going to a funeral, deindustrialisation cannot be reduced to this single point of closure. Instead, to gain a more complete story deindustrialisation needs to be understood as a long term process. A process that identifies the social action and meaning people affected by this used to interpret, respond and navigate this transition. Mah (2012) suggests studies should map the process of decline, closure and the long-term, ripple effect of deindustrialisation's aftermath. With this in mind, this study began 27 years after the dockyard closed, to explore the effects this transition had on both men who worked in the 'dockyard' but also their sons and grandsons; to understand if these men could construct meaningful work and wider lives after deindustrialization.

The majority of British deindustrialization studies have focused on unskilled men in former industrial communities in northern England, Wales and Scotland. The effect of deindustrialisation on south east England and the experience of skilled workers has been largely unexplored. This research was therefore undertaken in Kent and developed from a sample of skilled men. The study assembled a multigenerational sample of 13 former Royal Dockyard tradesmen and 14 of these men's sons and grandsons. The first sample were all skilled tradesmen, having completed apprenticeships of 3–5 years at the dockyard. Further, all had been working in the dockyard in the early 1980s, during the period of decline and closure. The second sample was based on 14 of the former dockyard workers' sons and grandsons. In the second sample seven of these 12 men currently lived and worked outside the dockyard town, with 5 now based in London. In total 27 career history interviews were conducted with these two generational samples of men, in 2011–2012, with most recorded in the participant's family home.

The career histories of these men on the whole suggested the move from industrial to post-industrial work was not precarious. Indeed, the majority of these men managed to find relatively stable employment and gain internal promotion after the closure of the dockyard. Further, for a section of these men, this career transition led to promotion and a major increase in wages. Three intergenerational themes were central to the men's explanations of how they tackled this transition in their working lives. The first theme 'getting on' presents that men's career motivations and attitudes were primarily focused on upward career mobility and better job security. The second theme 'personal adaptability' reflects the men's strategy of adapting skills and embodying new work identities to actualize their motivation to 'get on'. However, this transition resulted in most of these former dockyard trade workers and a proportion of their sons and grandsons moving away from skilled manual work and into new types of paid work with very different skill sets. Interestingly, these new jobs did not mark the end of these men's trade work. The third theme 'craft' illustrates how the men developed unpaid Do It Yourself (DIY) projects, to retain a 'linear life narrative' (Sennett, 1998), which gave meaning to their evolving careers and lives.

These domestic projects were also of major significance in the lives of the former dockyard worker's sons and grandsons. For such 'craft projects' were where the majority came to understand and interact with their father's or grandfather's work, with these 'craft projects' developing into intergenerational based work performed by father's sons and grandsons alongside one and other. Career opportunities available to these men were in part a consequence of their geographical location, with a large number finding work in London. However, taking advantage of these opportunities was a product of their active agency, and can be put down to the initiative shown by these men in constructing their own careers. In this sense, they were not passive 'victims' of deindustrialisation.

This introduction chapter first situates the thesis by providing both the researcher's personal motivation and the academic merit and rationale for this research. Second, this chapter establishes the researcher's aims and questions. Finally, it briefly outlines the structure of the thesis.

### ***Situating the thesis***

My interest for doing this research originated whilst working as a teacher in a community college in north Kent. In this setting I came across a large number of disaffected young men. A group disinterested with gaining educational qualifications or planning for their working careers after they left compulsory education. In many ways displaying similar 'anti school' attitudes and behaviours to 'the lads' in Paul Willis (1977) classic study *Learning to Labour*. In short, these young men satisfied themselves with doing as little work as possible until they were allowed to leave at 16. However, whilst the young men in Willis (1977) study were fatalistically preparing themselves for going into low skilled manual jobs in manufacturing like their fathers, such jobs had now become scarce in this area. Since the economic transition of the 1980s, particularly deindustrialisation, industrial jobs have largely disappeared from Kent. In light of this, I began to question what effect deindustrialisation was having on generations of working class men, both those men who had worked in such industries when they closed, but also their sons and grandsons who had grown up in industrial working class families but, did not have the option of such work.

Within north Kent an ideal site to explore this topic was Chatham, because in 1984 the area's major site of manufacturing, The Royal Dockyard, had closed. The area was first used as a dock by Henry IIV and was officially established as a royal dockyard by Elizabeth I in 1567. In its heyday it employed more than 10,000 skilled craftsmen and covered an area of over a mile squared. The dockyard 400 year history meant this represented a long and interesting social, cultural, economic and political history. However as a site of deindustrialisation the dockyard in Chatham had been widely neglected by academics. So this institutional context was chosen as it meant this study would provide a largely unheard narrative.

The institutional context for the study found, next I reviewed the literature. The contemporary literature on deindustrialisation and the move to a post-industrial 'new economy' seemed to overwhelmingly portray working-class men as the victims of loss. With two related forms of loss commonly cited in a literature that spanned the topics of work, gender and community.

First due to deindustrialisation and globalisation, major social theorists Beck (1992, 2000), Bauman (1998) and Sennett (1998, 2006) argue the nature of capitalism in western nations has undergone a dynamic change that beckons an 'age of insecurity'. The 'job for life' disappearing and being replaced by precarious and poorly paid work. It is argued working class men are one of the major victims of this structural transformation, first due to their labour market position and the negative impact this has on their identity. Second, working-class men are commonly cited as the victims of gendered identities and masculine practices that they cannot fulfil. Studies on former industrial communities commonly cite a separation between the residual image of physical work and the jobs open to this generation of working-class men (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012; Nixon, 2009; Nayak, 2003 and Willis 1977, 1984). A separation and inadequacy that is further suggested to contribute to a 'crisis of working class masculinity' (Mac an Ghail, 1994), that results in more male aggression and protest masculinities (See Bourgeois, 1995; Connell, 1996; and Nayak, 2003 . However there are a range of writers that suggest these arguments are flawed as these account overlook how people navigate structural change and gender identities as active agents, adapting to and changing new employment contexts (Strangleman, 2007; McDowell, 2003 and Weis, 2004). Therefore six methodological limitations were highlighted within this literature on deindustrialisation that informed how this study structured its research.

First, despite using the label 'working class' the British literature almost exclusively focuses on the experience of unskilled working class men (see for example Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012; Nixon, 2009; Nayak, 2003; Willis, 1984 and McDowell 2003 as considered in detail in Chapter 3). Therefore the British picture of deindustrialisation was unrepresentative of the differentiated industrial workforces they studied. Given this gap in the literature I decided to focus this studies first sample on collecting the accounts of skilled workers. So 'the dockyard workers' chosen were all skilled tradesmen. On the NRS social grade classification systems all fell into grade C2 'skilled working class', having completed apprenticeships of 3–5 years at the Dockyard (Gayle et al.,2015).

Second, the small number of British studies only provided a limited picture of the process of deindustrialisation at a national level. The case because all of these studies are based on contexts in the north of England or Celtic fringes (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012; Nixon, 2009 and Nayak, 2003). Therefore this study was based in north Kent to focus on deindustrialisation in the prosperous south east, an area of the UK neglected by the current research on this topic.

Third, these studies also constructed their sample on spatially defined communities. So they did not present the stories of those men who were affected by industrial closure but then subsequently moved to find work. The overdependence on spatially defined communities uncritically combines a range of features into a uniform picture of deindustrialisation. For example, the effect of economic transition on individuals was mixed with the experience of long term unemployment and effect of deindustrialisation on a location. Within geographically isolated former steel or coal mining towns in south wales or northern England, these variables may appear as coherent parts of the same process. However, in other regional contexts and for geographically mobile workers such factors may have no relationship. To address this limitation intergenerational sampling was used so that participants were not restricted by a single location. This sampling method enabled access both to men who still lived and worked in north Kent and men who had moved for work to places such as London. The research therefore was able to reflect the geographical mobility of labour because it was not bound to the local.

Fourth, with the exception of McDowell (2003), the studies above commonly found and interviewed their participants in public spaces such as trade unions or working men's clubs. This left the voices of more private men and the domestic parts of their lives largely unheard. To address this gap, this study undertook the majority of its interviews in men's family homes, so men were in a more comfortable context to talk about both their private and public lives.

Alongside these methodological reasons, an intergenerational sample was also chosen because this seemed in keeping with the generational significance of the dockyard as an employer. The dockyards long history, meant a lot of dockyard workers could trace back chains of their families

working in this industry over hundreds of years. Furthermore, it was not uncommon to have many generations of the same family working in the dockyard at the same time. Given this historical picture of family lineages and networks within dockyard work, my research sample was constructed on, generations of male family kin. The concept of generation used in line with Alwin and McCammon's (2007: 221) definition: 'a kinship term referring to a discrete stage in the natural line of descent from a common ancestor'. Generation in this study is used to demarcate an individual's position within their family lineage. As reflected in Table 1 (page 117), the first generation are the former dockyard workers themselves, the second generation these men's sons and the third generation these men's grandsons. The study's purpose was not to simply record the life histories of different generations but to understand how these generations, inform, relate to or reject one another. This is an intergenerational study in the full sense that it aims to analyse 'chains of relationships' between different family kin in context and comparison to one another Jamieson (2013: 1). Jamieson (2012: 2) defines familial intergenerational relationships as 'the relationships up and down the generations between mother or father figures and son or daughter figures'. In this way, intergenerational research is often used to understand both how social change takes place, but also to assess how these changes affect people. To explore the impact deindustrialisation had on intergenerational relationships, the study set up the following.

### ***Research aims and questions***

#### **Aims**

This study aims to address the sociological significance of male work identities in transition. Through interviewing father's sons and grandsons it asks: does deindustrialisation lead to a rupture in male work identity between a generation of father's (who worked in the royal dockyard) and the generations of their sons and grandsons (who never worked in the royal dockyard)?

#### **Research questions**

1. Did deindustrialisation and employment in the new economy disrupt either or both generations' ability to narrate a linear career story?
2. Did either or both generations of men, reject traditional criteria, such as occupation and class, as the basis for their identities and instead construct their own 'project of self'?
3. Did deindustrialisation result in both or/either of this study's sample, experiencing a working class male crisis due to structural transformation and entrenched communal gendered practices?
4. Did craft have an evolving meaning in either or both samples working lives after the dockyard closed?

These research questions arose from the literature reviewed and are discussed in context to this on page 110 This chapter now presents the overall structure of the thesis.

### ***Structure of the thesis***

**Chapter 2: literature on the new economy.** This chapter examines social theory, which debates the impact of deindustrialisation and the transition to a post-industrial economy. A consistent premise across most of this literature is that since the 1980s, the majority of western societies have entered a new phase of flexible capitalism (Beck, 2000; Sennett, 1998 and Bauman, 1998). A transition that they believe results in the demise of collective and predictable employment and occupational identities alongside a rise in individualised and disjointed work. It is argued here building on Strangleman (2007) that these major social theories misleadingly present all working class men as the victims of structural transformation that robs many of their ability to manage transition as active agents.

This chapter then moves to the debate in this literature on how people construct identities in this post-industrial context. It reviews Giddens (1991), Beck (2013), and Sennett (1998) on the particular impact flexible capitalism has on individuals' identity construction. It is argued that Sennett's (1998) concept of the '*linear life narrative*' is a particularly useful tool for assessing the PhD's biographical data. However, this concept needs to be revised in light of the literature on career and life stage. To account for other forms of career coherence beyond working for a single company.

**Chapter 3: Literature on former industrial communities.** This chapter provides a review of the community based studies on deindustrialisation. These studies provide rich ethnographic accounts of the impact of deindustrialisation on particular locations and across generations living in these communities which this study builds on. A common theme in this research is that the decline in industrial work has led to a rupture in what it means to be a man in these former industrial communities (Walkerdine and Jimenez 2012; Nixon, 2009; Nayak, 2003 and Willis 1977, 1984). However this chapter contest that these studies only provide a partial picture of industrial decline and its impact on people's lives and sense of identity.

**Chapter 4: Craft and trade workers.** A central topic in the social and historical literature on industrial ship and dockyard work is 'craft'. Indeed a craft division of labour was sustained throughout the history of British Ship construction (McGoldrick, 1982, Roberts, 1993, Waters, 1999, Reid, 2004, and McBride, 2008). Essential to the identity of skilled men in this industry- the stratum of worker which this research focuses on -was the status of being a craftsman. This fusion of collective status and personal identity is also reflected in the work of Water (1999) who suggests the working environment within the Royal Dockyard could foster a purposeful labour outlook akin to that found in the normative work on craft (such as in Marx, 1844; Mills, 1951 and Sennett, 2008). Therefore craft is addressed on both a historical and conceptual level. The chapter concludes with the construction of a craft framework to appraise if the narratives of the men interviewed relate to craft as a normative value.

**Chapter 5: Methodology.** This chapter provides an overview of both the field of study and the methods used during this researches fieldwork. It begins by setting out the study's interpretivist research paradigm drawn from a Weberian (1920/1982) epistemology and based on the collection of 27 career history interviews. Next it establishes the concept of generation and intergeneration used in this research. The process of intergenerational transmission is particularly relevant to this study and draws on Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame's (1997) concept of the 'transmission of equivalents'. Finally, this section discusses the use of thematic analysis based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) phases of thematic analysis.

**Chapter 6 Results: A 'Getting on' Philosophy to Work.** This chapter reflects this study's data on its first cross-generational theme, which has been termed a *getting on* philosophy to work. *Getting on* as a theme developed from the frequent and recurring rationalization that these men used to make career choices during their working lives. For both samples, different career decisions were made with a consistent focus on long term upward career mobility and better job security. Although created in the men's relationship with their parents a *getting on* philosophy to work commonly recurred as the men described their developing careers.

**Chapter 7 Results: Personal adaptability a work strategy.** This chapter demonstrates that the majority of both samples careers, developed and changed significantly over their working lives. The study created to explore the effect of deindustrialisation this was not unexpected. However, it became clear first that these men did not see themselves as passive victims of economic change and second, as individuals they felt a large degree of control over change in their career. This theme principally builds on the career concept of 'career adaptability' (Savickas, 1997, and Super and Knasel, 1981) and 'job crafting' (Wrzesniewski and Dutton 2001). Thus '*personal adaptability*' is defined as, the on-going strategy of adapting skills and embodying new work identities with the aim to 'get on' in career terms.

**Chapter 8 Results: a 'craft outlook' sustaining a linear life story.** This chapter reflects the intergenerational theme a *craft outlook*. This theme reflects the large number of men in both

samples who talked about the long term feelings of satisfaction they gained in the performance of their labour. For the first sample while most men's careers moved away from their practical trade in the dockyard this transition did not end the majorities' engagement with trade learning and hands on work. Instead most talked about their major leisure interests being DIY. Their continued engagement in non-paid craft projects allowing them a consistent theme to construct a 'linear life narrative' (Sennett, 1998). Further, this *craft outlook* also played a second function as a repeated channel through which fathers, sons and grandsons could talk about their growing and changing relationship with one another. Many sons and grandsons feeling it was in these formative and on-going experiences that their own craft outlook developed and was sustained.

**Chapter 9 Conclusion.** This chapter reflects the study's overall suggestion that the current literature needs to be modified in three fundamental ways. First, the manual working classes should not be considered as a homogeneous or static group when responding to deindustrialisation, as demonstrated by the distinct work transitions experience by skilled men in this study. Second, the experiences of the men in this study were further mediated by the regional employment context of the south-east, whereas the current literature is largely based on isolated communities in the North of England or Celtic fringes. Third, unlike static studies of geographically located collective community experience, this research has followed generations of families. These individual career stories reflect the important accounts of men who have strategically moved away or commute to work outside these former industrial areas. The omission of these three important factors presents an over passive account of deindustrialisation and the move to the new economy, which robs many working-class men of their individuality and active agency.

### **Original contribution to knowledge**

*Theoretically-* this thesis first provides significant new data on deindustrialization in a neglected part of the UK, which enables a better understanding of this process at a national level. Second, this study demonstrates that skilled working-class men's individual career strategies allowed them to navigate the transition from industrial to post-industrial work. In contrast to the current

knowledge on this topic, these men did not see the move to non-industrial work as causing conflict with their working-class image of masculinity. Third, this research provides evidence that flexibility was common within the men's narratives. However, this did not occupy the same dichotomy reflected in the literature on the emergence of 'flexible capitalism'. Instead, for the first sample, flexibility and individual motivation were embedded in their industrial work and individual working lives as tradesmen. These men viewed their work as non-static before deindustrialisation, so adapting to roles in the new economy seemed consistent with their flexible attitude to work and learning. Fourth, unlike in Sennett (1998), none of these men felt that flexibility in their paid work disrupted their ability to construct a 'linear life narrative'. Instead, for the first sample, the practice of their trade skills in non-paid craft projects allowed them to retain a sense of identity and a continued narrative from their time as apprentices through their changing working lives and into retirement.

*Methodologically-* unlike static studies of geographically located collective community experience, this research has followed generations of families. These individuals' career stories reflect the important accounts of men who have strategically moved away or commute to work outside these former industrial areas. The omission of these three important factors presents an over passive account of deindustrialisation and the move to the new economy, which robs many working-class men of their individuality and active agency.

*Public Policy,-* this research has Implications for career work with working-class males. To label working-class men as 'the passive victims of loss' offers only barriers to this group's ability to construct meaningful careers in today's job market. Through this lens, this social group seems destined to fight over an ever-declining pool of physical jobs in order to fulfil a notion of what male work should be. Although the men here did not fulfil this label or fall foul of these negative outcomes, caution should be taken not to propose generalised answers to questions about working-class men and careers from the limited scope of this sample. Even so, given the depth of generational data, this approach could be a useful tool when giving career guidance to young working-class men. This career guidance, would ask young men to write narrative accounts of their own families' working histories and to explore the values embedded in these accounts. This would allow them to make links between the work values they see as significant and the types of career opportunities open to them. A focus on values and socialisation could help to remove any negative stereotypes associated with particular careers and enable these young men to see their

lives in continuity with their social and family backgrounds. Therefore young working class men would be able to see a far wider range of jobs and careers as compatible with their backgrounds and meaningful to their sense of malehood. A narrative process reflected in this study, as men constructed links between physical trade learning and the process learning they did for their careers in information and music technology.

## **Chapter 2 literature on the new economy ‘working class men as the victims of structural transformation’**

### ***Introduction***

This chapter examines social theory that debates the impact of deindustrialisation and the transition to a post-industrial economy. First, it describes the current premise in much literature that since the 1980s the majority of western societies have entered a new phase of flexible capitalism. A transition that beckons an ‘age of insecurity’ according to social theorists such as Ulrich Beck, Zygmunt Bauman, Anthony Giddens and Richard Sennett. The move from ‘Social’ to ‘flexible’ capitalism’ is marked by the decline of ‘strong unions, guarantees of the welfare state and large scale corporations’ (Sennett, 1998: 23). Employees therefore become unprotected from the risks and instability of global market capitalism. With the consequence that predictable employment and fixed occupational identities are replaced with disjointed and individualised work. This ‘age of insecurity’ thesis maintains that not only the decline of manufacturing, but also the nature of ‘flexible capitalism’ erodes the opportunity of working-class men to construct meaningful and rewarding careers.

This chapter then discusses the range of recent critiques of this thesis. First, Strangleman (2007) criticises this approach for its oversimplified juxtaposition of social and flexible capitalism, plus the lack of agency this gives to workers. Second, Doogan (2005) argues that whilst this theory assumes that long term employment is in decline, statistics suggest this is simply not the case. Overall the ‘age of insecurity’ thesis is criticised for an over-structural, passive account of the move to the new economy, which robs many working-class men of their individuality and active agency.

Next, this chapter considers the effect of 'flexible capitalism' on people's ability to construct meaningful identities. The majority of grand social theorists agree that the relationship between work and identity has changed due to new divisions of labour in post-industrial societies. However, there is a disagreement between two sets of theorists on the impact this has on individual's construction of identity. On one side, Giddens (1991) and Beck (2000) argue that individuals reject traditional criteria, such as occupation and class, as the basis for their identities. However, on the other side of this debate, Sennett (1998) believes that transient employment has a negative effect on identity, because this disrupts individual's ability to read their lived experience as a coherent story. The final section of this chapter evaluates these theories in relation to Devadason's (2007) empirical study and in light of the careers literature.

### ***The 'age of insecurity' thesis***

Over the past two decades a number of major social theorists contest that the nature of capitalism in most western nations has undergone a dynamic change since the 1980s. This new stage has been labelled 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 1998) 'risk society' (Beck, 1992) 'post-traditional' (Giddens, 1991) or as favoured in this discussion simply for descriptive reasons 'flexible capitalism' (Sennett, 1998). Although each emphasise subtly different features of this transition, they have been broadly categorised as part of an 'age of insecurity' thesis (Tweedie, 2013). A categorisation based on three common themes in their argument. First, that new technology and globalisation has accelerated and intensified capitalism since the 1980s. Second that globalised capital, results in developed nation states and embedded industrial bargaining having far less power to restrict or regulate employment. Third, capitalism in this new largely unobstructed form begins to dismantle traditional forms of labour security and permanent employment. This has the impact of 'disembedding' (Giddens, 1991) the traditional transition to adulthood and collective forms of identity, leaving the individual to construct their own, personal sense of self. Overall the replacement of standardised 'social capitalism' with individualized 'flexible capitalism', is argued to produce a new 'age of insecurity' for employees (Beck, 2000).

## ***Social Capitalism***

These theorists tend to juxtapose their criticism of 'flexible capitalism' with a characterisation of the capitalism this replaced (Strangleman, 2007). The label 'old' or 'social capitalism' used to denote the distinct relationship between national institutions and forms of employment that developed during the post war economic boom. Employment is characterised during this period as based on fulltime male employment in large Fordist companies. Although the disciplined nature of work is referenced, more emphasis is placed on the security of a 'job for life', stable working conditions and benefits safeguarded by strong trade unions. A security cemented by a post-war political consensus, as consecutive governments in the 50s and 60s adopted interventionist Keynesian policies to reduce the volatility of the market, and provided universal benefits to protect citizens. Beck (2000: 69) believes social capitalism 'did not only mean fixed time for holidays and other activities but it underpinned a standardized life together in family, neighbourhood and community'. This system therefore enabled individuals a stable collective work identity and a socially achieved sense of dignity and respect.

However, Beck (1992) Bauman (1998) and Sennett (1998) seldom acknowledge that social capitalism is based on the construction and normalisation of a male breadwinner model. As they give little reflection on the patriarchal consequences of such regimes. Pascall and Lewis (2004: 373) among others have argued this system: 'put women at a disadvantage in paid work and pensions, and discouraged men's participation in care work'. Duncan (1995) also argues this system excluded women outside the family and that women's lack of independent capital within marriage meant they were less able to escape domestic violence. Added to this critique Pascall and Lewis (2004) conclude that social capitalism in gender terms was not a single entity. Instead different nations had varying gender policies, countries like Britain legitimising a male breadwinner model more than a country such as Sweden.

This androcentric perspective is first reflected in the 'age of insecurity' thesis as it is argued paid employment is the central sphere of society. Bauman (1998), for example believes that paid work

played the normative role of translating individual endeavour into collective forms of action and respect. Therefore work was not an atomized individual project, but a social and collective enterprise affirmed by occupation and community. Bauman proclaims: 'Work was the main orientation point, in reference to which all other life pursuits could be planned and ordered' (1998: 7). In this regard, Bauman's framing of employment in social capitalism seems to borrow heavily from Durkheim's (1893/1961) concept of 'organic solidarity', that held occupation formed the basis for solidarity in industrial societies. First, occupations generate a sense of belonging and collective character for individuals. Second, professional and occupational groups play the essential role of intermediating between the needs of the state and needs of the individual. Organic solidarity therefore produces collective norms and ethics that allow individuals to understand these complex industrial societies.

A second feature of Bauman's argument is that in this context a work ethic was not an individualized concept. A work ethic was in contrast a social value that held communal status and gave dignity to an individual's labour, indiscriminate of the level of skill or market value of this work. Alongside Bauman, the solidarity created by the relationship between stable jobs, civil society and community, is also a theme of Beck and Sennett's work. Beck (2000) stresses the permanence of a 'job for life' afforded by social capitalism. He portrays employment in this period as provided by fixed locally managed businesses. In this context Labour was organised by collective and standardised means and performed in a single physical location. Standardized and permanent employment therefore offered workers a shield against the economic instability and 'risk' inherent to market capitalism. The full employment produced during this period, allowing even the lowest stratum of the working class the opportunity of stable work.

Bauman (1998) and Beck (2000) largely focus on how stable work enabled employees to find solidarity and structure to their lives. Although the themes of solidarity and belonging are also emphasised in Sennett (1998), he further tackles the discipline of work under Fordism. Sennett aims to redress the negative connotation attributed to routinized work and draws on Weber's concepts of rationalisation and bureaucracy. In the preface, he states that flexibility has emerged due to a context where 'rigid forms of bureaucracy are under attack, as are the evils of blind

routine' (1998: 9). Rationalized employment at the time was argued to dehumanise and alienate workers (see Marx, 1884 and Braverman, 1974). However Sennett (1998) argues that over this period a marked power shift happened in the employment relationship. Although Fordism began as a repressive tool used by management to control workers' productivity, it later became a means for trade unions to establish their collective power. For Sennett: 'Routinized time had become an arena in which workers could assert their own demands, an arena of empowerment' (1998: 43). The Fordist system of production ironically therefore produced a context in which workers could negotiate for better working conditions. He also believes this employment enabled workers to rationally organise their lives in a simple, accumulative way. He contests however deskilled the nature of work, routine allowed workers to develop a long term sense of identity. 'Routine can demean, but it can also protect; routine can decompose labour, but it can also compose a life' (1998: 43).

This characterisation of social capitalism is seen as romanticised for a range of reasons. First, as Strangleman (2007: 98) argues they view this period as just a 'functional system', which naturally produces good stable employment. Instead he argues this period was 'marked by real people engaged in a struggle to improve their lives rather than the faceless passive automata that seem to populate the work of Bauman, Beck'. Further, the blanket security these writers attribute to employment in the past is simplified, (Strangleman, 2007). For example the fixed 'job for life' does not reflect that the majority of industrial workers were contracted on hourly paid, 'piece work' and not paid a permanent salary. To focus specifically on the ship construction industry during this period, employment for the majority of workers relied on market demand, thus most experienced seasonal unemployment and periodic insecurity (Roberts, 1993). In fact one of the distinct features of the Royal Dockyard (the focus of this PhD) is that its establishment system offered a minority of tradesmen a guaranteed 'job for life' and pension (Galliver, 1999).

Second, this interpretation ignores the often dangerous and unhealthy manual work of this period. For example Johnston and McIvor's (2004) research on health and injury in shipbuilding during this period argues: a 'competitive, risk-taking workplace culture was capable of destroying health and earning capacity, thus eroding the essence of provider masculinity'. Manual work in

social capitalism could therefore emasculate and degrade workers identities. Third, there is little acknowledgment of the range of gender inequality and feminist critiques of this social system. Walby (1990) argues during this period women had to struggle against both institutional and ideological patriarchy. Illustrated by Oakley's (1974) research that found this system was sustained by the subjection of women's unpaid labour. At the same time in paid employment it was not until the 1970s and the equal pay and sex discrimination legislation that women began to be paid an equivalent wage to men. Legislation that came as the result of women as active agent's using industrial action, not the passive result of structural change. Overall these arguments support Strangleman's (2007) conclusion that removing the human dynamism of workers in social capitalism, portrays them as passive victims of the transition to flexible capitalism.

### ***Flexible capitalism***

Whilst the 'age of insecurity' thesis proclaims that the permanence and routine of 'social capitalism' produced security and coherence for workers, the conditions of employment in 'flexible capitalism' are alleged to have the opposite effect. The prevailing employment themes of short termism and destandardization lead to personal fragmentation and persistent anxiety for workers. Working class men are argued to feel the most acute effect of this transition for two major reasons. First, they are the most negatively affected by the restructuring of work and employment. The outcome of this is a decline in the wages and standard of employment available to this group. Second, this transition leads to a transformation in the collective social status of class and gender around which men traditionally shaped their identities. Although Bauman (1998) and Sennett (1998) again emphasise different features of employment in flexible capitalism, Beck (1992) seems to capture best the overall themes of this thesis. He distinguishes four main dimensions of the move to non-standard work. The transformation of employment, he argues, can be defined by the changes in the location of work, the labour contract, working time and the gendered division of labour.

First, Beck (1992) suggests the location of work has changed under flexible capitalism. The office or factory as a distinct and specialised work space is in decline. Paid labour becomes far less demarcated by physical boundaries and is performed over multiple sites. Commonly promoted as a form of liberation for employees, working from home Sennett (1998) argues is really a new form of bondage. As working from home is commonly regulated through a host of new technologies such as software that can record and control employees computer activities. Sennett contends, 'Work is physically decentralized, power over the worker is more direct. Working at home is the ultimate island of the new regime' (1998: 59). He suggests two adverse impacts of working from home. First, the traditional demarcation of domestic space and leisure time become blurred and subjugated by employers. Second and as also emphasised by Bauman (1998), new individualised employment patterns detach workers from engaging in work as a collective pursuit. The impact of this they argue is that the collective status and solidarity formally produced by work deteriorates.

However, Felstead et al's (2003) empirical study suggests the workplace being destandardized has only significantly affected some areas of employment. In support of Sennett's argument (1998) they found the number of people using Information technology to work from home doubled between 1997 and 2007. Their data shows an increase in the amount of work performed outside discreet office spaces. They argue we are in a period when office work is being transformed from work defined by place to work defined by activity. However their data rejects the argument that this is a generic theme as : 'for the vast majority of people- such as those in factories or shop- work still remains a designated physical place and not an activity' (Felstead et al., 2003: 2). In terms of class this finding is significant, as it suggest the most dramatic trend to destandardized workplaces, are happening to white collar workers. Whilst traditional working class workplaces such as manufacturing and retail have seen little change.

However, according to Beck (1992), the destandardization of the workplace is only one negative feature of flexible capitalism. The second dimension of non-standard work, the deregulation of employment contracts further compounds the individualisation of work. Beck (1992) argues collectively negotiated employment contracts are now progressively deregulated and replaced

by individualised agreements. Beck (1992), Bauman (1998) and Sennett (1998) each argue this has a very detrimental effect on the working class. With capital becoming globally mobile the less mobile working class are left in a much lower position of negotiation (Bauman, 1998). Further, the deregulation and individualisation of employment contracts results in workers losing their collective power in numbers. As a result centralised collective bargaining and trade unions decline. In developed nations working class people struggle to compete against the much lower cost of labour in developing nations. However, such largely material explanations for the decline of trade unions and collective bargaining are contested, as little attention is given to how the decline of trade union power is linked to a shift in the political climate and also how this decline has happened to differing degrees within different national contexts (Ackers, 2015). These contextual issues do not seem to concern Beck (2000) who goes on to argue that the labour markets of western societies are becoming dramatically more polarised, forecasting these will soon resemble the inequality of countries like Brazil. The working class who have to rely on local employment and due to their lack of social capital are forced to accept, precarious and poorly paid employment. In this context 'Work and Poverty, which used to be mutually exclusive, are now combined in the shape of the working poor' (Beck 2000: 90). Therefore the stable working class in developed nations decline to the level of a global precariat (Standing, 2011).

The third form of destandardization focuses on the move to temporary or part-time work. Sennett sees this as the most implicit theme of flexible capitalism: 'The most tangible sign of change might be the motto "No long term"' (Sennett, 1998: 22). All three theorist argue the working class 'job for life' based on a predictable working week is being exchanged by fixed term or part time employment. However, seeing this in involuntary terms has been contested by Carnoy, Castells and Bennett's (1997: 137) study of computer operators and software engineers in Silicon Valley. This study demonstrate that short term contracts are often promoted by high skilled workers, concluding: 'Flexibility represented a new form of entrepreneurship in which the individual workers markets his or her human capital portfolio among various 'buyers''. However Beck and Sennett see this trend as having the opposite regressive effect for the majority of western employees. Beck's work on 'Brazilianization' (2000) thus evokes the return of informal employment and subsistence lifestyles to developed nations. Whereas Sennett believes that, 'Flexibility today brings back this arcane sense of the job, as people do lumps of labour, pieces of

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work over the course of a lifetime' (1998: 9). Finally all agree decline of permanent employment results in the fragmentation of people's lives.

A steady, durable and continuous, logically coherent and tightly-structured working career is however no longer a widely available option. Only in relatively rare cases can a permanent identity be defined, let alone secured, through the job performed (Bauman, 1998: 27)

Beck's (1992) fourth dimension of work in flexible capitalism highlights the changing gender composition of the labour force. He argues that the destandardization of work merely reflects the advance of working conditions always characteristic to women's paid employment. Beck (1992) sees the growth in female employment as having a mixed impact for women's liberation. On the one hand he argues, 'demographic liberation, deskilling of housework, contraception, divorce, participation in education and occupation' (Beck, 1992: 111) demonstrate emancipation from a range of patriarchal features common to social capitalism. However this is not simply positive as women are still restricted from good employment due to the social association of having and caring for children, which: 'reconnect women to their traditional role assignment' (Beck, 1992: 111).

The conditions of flexible capitalism are nevertheless having a more dynamic effect on the gendered status of men, according to Beck (1992). Since the male breadwinner model of employment, normalised by Fordist employment and institutionalised by agreements such as the family wage, is in decline: 'displaced by a family in which the role of earner and provider, care giver and child-rearer are shared and alternated, depending on phases and decision' (Beck, 1992: 134). Flexible capitalism consequently results in male paid employment losing its place as the central sphere of society alongside a major decline in traditional collective working class occupational action and respect. As a result in the 'age of insecurity' thesis, working class men are both the victims of structural transformation due to their position in the labour market, and also have to deal with the effect of this transition on their identity. However, Weis's (2004) study

suggest the contrary, that new flexible employment and the decline of the family wage, in gender terms had a positive impact on young working class men. In her study the economic necessity to have dual earner couples led men to construct androgynous masculinities. Thus settled family lives were based on a far more egalitarian division of care, domestic and paid work (as will be reviewed in more detail in the next chapter).

Fervre (2003: 530) also criticizes this argument for universalising sector specific examples of employment insecurity. He argues that a major reason why the age of insecurity thesis has gained any social purchase is: 'like media commentators, theorists were especially prone to nightmares because their own workplaces were some of the few places where temporary work increased'. Whilst set up as a radical critique of capitalism, he concludes this thesis has instead been co-opted by governments to legitimise moves toward job insecurity in the public sector, as simply mirroring wider employment trends.

### ***Overall Critiques of the 'age of insecurity' thesis***

Alongside the topic specific critiques above, the 'age of insecurity' has been criticized as an overall thesis. First, this thesis for Strangleman (2007: 82), 'over-generalises a complex situation' of employment change. This contrast nostalgically portrays employment in the past as inherently stable whilst employment today is constructed as inherently precarious. Ironically, as Strangleman (2007) points out, this new thesis reflects a conservative turn within the sociology of work. The old criticism of industrial work as deskilled and dehumanised replaced by a rose-tinted view of this as providing fixed employment and collective working class identity. In short industrial society now becomes viewed as a golden age instead of the age of mass alienation. Whilst these accounts glorify the past they also portray 'the contemporary workplace as a sterile, anaemic space devoid of all colour, stability and human agency' (Strangleman, 2007: 95). The effect of this he argues is just as the industrial worker was characterised as an impoverished figure against the pre-industrial craft worker, the same rationale is now used to liberate the

industrial worker from his alienation, but cast the employees of flexible capitalism 'as devoid of all meaning and identity, either individual or collective' (Strangleman 2007: 99).

Strangleman (2007) is also critical of the over use of social capitalism as an era, as this was not characteristic of capitalism in the past but reflects an untypical period of stability. He argues the stability of this period is a historical anomaly and is misread as 'representative of the norm rather than the exception' (Strangleman, 2007: 95). As a result the instability in current flexible capitalism is more typical of the historical nature of market economies. This misrepresentation, he argues, has the impact of presenting an overly structural analysis of the past, removing the importance of workers' agency and trade unions in producing better working conditions. So this 'denies the transformative power of human agency in both the past and the present' (Strangleman, 2007: 98).

Doogan (2005, 2009) too sees a fundamental problem with the flexible capitalism thesis, finding at its core a flawed premise. Whilst the age of insecurity argues long term employment is in decline, statistics do not reflect this:

The statistical evidence strongly suggests that the contemporary labour market change in the European Union is moving in the opposite direction with significant increase in long term employment across member states (Doogan, 2005: 65).

Doogan (2005) therefore rejects the premise that work has become more flexible and destandardized, as Sennett (1998) and Beck (1992) argue. First Doogan argues this thesis conflates and confuses a range of employment themes. For example, it conflates full time work with permanent employment, indiscriminate of the fact that full time work can be both permanent and temporary. Second, this thesis over-generalises the expansion of temporary work. As in relation to the whole workforce temporary work only reflects a tiny proportion of employment. As a result this is not a large enough employment theme to evidence their

conclusions. Thus Doogan (2009) reveals the all-encompassing generalisation made by the grand social theorists rely on selective and often anecdotal evidence. He concludes that the multifaceted nature of employment restructuring is not part of a general move toward insecurity, but instead this is sector and population specific.

However, Doogan's (2009) criticism has been questioned due to his analysis being largely based on employment statistics from the European Union and United States. Castells (2001) argues the institutional flexibility of employment contracts in the United States means employers do not have to use non-standard employment contracts, as such flexibility is inherent to U.S employment law. Finally, whilst Doogan's (2009) demonstrates the lack of concrete evidence for the move toward more part-time and fixed term employment, his critique does not cover other dimensions of the age of insecurity thesis, such as the spatial destandardization of work.

Alongside his criticisms, Strangleman (2007) recognises a number of positives in this thesis. First, the emphasis it places on the declining security and value of employment for those at the bottom of the labour market. Second, that such approaches are important in the sociology of work as they make the reader engage with 'alternative ways of organising work and society' (2007: 99) beyond viewing this as 'business as usual'. Tweedie (2013), in a similar vein, argues whilst the statistical merit of the age of insecurity thesis can be questioned, simply rejecting this argument could lead to missing the textual and hidden harm such changes have on employees sense of wellbeing at a micro level. For example a 'business as usual' argument does little to explain why there has been a 'rise in work-related mental health problems across OECD nations' (Tweedie 2013: 102).

This doctorate builds on Strangleman's (2007) analysis and questions whether the working-class men in this study were and are the passive victims of structural transformation. Or, as Strangleman (2007) suggests, is deindustrialisation actively negotiated by workers? Building on these criticisms, a further blind spot of the age of insecurity thesis is that it does not account for the impact of this economic transition on different strata of the working class. As a result they

misleadingly present all working class men as the victims of structural transformation, robbing many of their ability to manage transition as active agents. Second, the critique by Doogan (2009) will be explored in context to the careers of the men in this PhD, but from a more human and personal level as Tweedie (2013) suggests. Thus, do the men after deindustrialisation move into new forms of stable full time employment? The next section of this chapter reviews the effect the changing nature of work is contested to have on the construction of identity.

### ***Identity construction in flexible capitalism***

The social theorists (Bauman, 1998; Beck, 1992 and Sennett, 1998) discussed so far, seem in broad agreement that the new divisions of labour in flexible capitalism have changed the relationship between work and identity. However they are in less agreement on the role that employment and social class now occupies in peoples' construction of identity. This part of the chapter therefore particularly focuses on the disagreement between two sets of social theory. Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992), on one side, believe that individuals can self-construct meaningful identities without stable employment. The causation that class is simply becoming an irrelevant social concept has recently been questioned by a new generation of cultural (Reay, 2011) class analysis. However, on the other side of this argument Sennett (1998) argues, to the contrary, that fragmented employment leaves individuals without a coherent character.

The premise of Giddens (1991) argument is that the nature of self-identity has profoundly changed in high modernity. Like Beck (1992), he believes that in this new context people become sceptical of established customs and traditions resulting in a process of individualisation. Individualisation, Beck (1992) argues, is the tendency for people in flexible capitalism to become detached from the collective foundations of identity such as class and family. For Giddens (1991), this process means reflexivity becomes core to individual self-awareness as they must now construct their own project of self. Whilst in social capitalism adulthood is frequently argued to be defined by the culmination of three inter-related social transitions. Namely the move from education to employment, house ownership and the formation of family (Jones, 2000); in flexible

capitalism Giddens (1991) believes these social transitions lose meaning and instead people experience their life in 'fateful moments'. 'Fateful moments', according to Giddens, constitute any number of self-perceived biographical events, which have a lasting impression on the individual sense of self. Unlike standard transitions, these moments are not based around a socially ordained pathway to adulthood. The life course in the 'project of self' therefore becomes uncoupled from the traditional social transitions that defined a linear path to adulthood. This means that people no longer feel the same social pressure, for example, to be married or paying a mortgage by a particular age. In terms of employment this means, the temporal nature of work in the new economy should not have a negative impact on individual's identity. The 'project of self' should instead allow people to self-construct dislocated episodes of work into their own biography. The external structure of a linear bureaucratic career should therefore not be important, as the socially defined meaning and status which once belonged to this is now redundant.

This argument is further developed in Beck (1992: 14) in what he terms the 'do-it-yourself biography'. In a similar vein to Giddens (1991), Beck (1992) argues individuals are free to construct and order their own biographies. The fixed social status attached to positions such as gender and class roles having declined the individual, as a consequence, has a far larger degree of autonomy to interpret their own position within society. The construction of a 'do-it yourself biography' therefore radically changes how people narrate their identity. In social capitalism identity was constructed to establish belonging through collective sources of solidarity. However, the opposite is now true as the 'do-it-yourself' biography is actively constructed to express a distinct self. The focus becomes personal ownership: 'My biography, my life project, my story' (Beck, 1992: 13) therefore identity is constructed to demonstrate personal choice and action. But, he stresses there is 'risk' attached to narrating lives in this way. First, these narratives need to be persistently maintained and modified. Thus the influx of new experiences and life events need to be constantly synthesized into these stories. The upkeep of these biographies causes anxiety, with the 'risk' of these stories breaking down. Second, he believes the theme of individuality which these biographies are constructed holds 'risk' for individuals. As the breakdown of collective forms of identity removes the protective force of solidarity:

Opportunities, dangers, biographical uncertainties that were earlier predefined within the family association, the village community, or by recourse to the rules of social estates or classes, must now be perceived, interpreted, decided and processed by individuals themselves (Beck 1992: 4).

Therefore in individualised flexible capitalism people no longer have buffers between their social actions and the precarious nature of market capitalism. Individuals may as a result mistakenly interpret structural events as a consequence of personal attributes and decisions. For example, in this study macro deindustrialisation and the job loss this caused might be internalized by the former dockyard tradesmen as a consequence of their personal insufficiencies. Given such events can be misinterpreted as based on personal decisions, people's life stories can easily become 'breakdown biographies' (Beck, 1992: 13). In summation both Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992) see traditional structures such as class and occupation as having an ever declining influence on people's identity construction. However this argument has been empirically criticised by a new generation of class theorist labelled the Bourdieusian turn (Reay, 2011) as will now be considered.

### **Criticism of the death of class thesis: the Bourdieusian turn**

Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992) see today's 'post-traditional' societies as detaching individuals from concepts such as class and thus have been termed part of the 'death of class' thesis. However the causation that class is simply becoming an irrelevant social concept has recently been questioned by a new generation of class theorist. This new generation of class analysis has been coined the cultural (Reay, 2011) or Bourdieusian turn (Flemmen, 2013). When these writers have a common argument they will be discussed as a group. However when referring to the number of disagreements and nuances within this discourse direct reference will be made to particular theorists. The central premise of this group is that class as a collective identity shaped by occupation has declined but this has not resulted in the 'death of class' (as reflected by Beck 1992; Bauman 1982 and Giddens 1992). Class they believe is not defunct, but significant as a means of differentiating against others. Seldom is class now used to identify with collective

economic standings, such as being working class. Savage, et al.'s (2001) and Skeggs (1997) see people's current relationship with class as more complex. Savage, et al.'s (2001) study suggests that class is still an important marker people use to locate their background and the status of other people within society. Their study supports Giddens (1991) and Beck's (1992) assertion that most people see themselves as 'outside' class. However, they argue class non-identification by their participants was the result of anxiety and not reflexivity. As they found people without substantial cultural capital 'felt threatened by the implications of relating class to their own personal identities' (Savage et al., 2001: 875). Instead people were more comfortable with the label 'ordinary', since this avoided any of the political connotations they saw in class. As a result the label ordinary was used by people as a means of seeing themselves as individuals whose lives were not constrained or reducible to class. Skeggs (1997) also found that her sample of women, who in occupation and income term would be categorized as working class, did not identify with this label. These women instead wished to seem respectable, so dissociated from being working class as they saw this as a stigmatised identity. Although the majority of people in Savage et al (2001: 884) no longer wished to label themselves in class terms, a minority 'were not ambivalent about their class membership, a significant number highlighted their 'working classness' as something to be proud of, as a badge eliciting respect'. So in contrast to Skeggs (1997) study, being working class was not a stigmatised identity for all. They argue this could have been a result of gender since all self-confident working class identifiers were men, and of interest to this study the vast majority of this group were also tradesmen. Savage et al's (2001) last category was those people who exhibited self-reflexivity. However in contrast to Giddens (1991) this largely middle class group used this in a manner to connect their identities and life stories with class. Therefore Savage et al (2001) conclude that class had become more silent not due to class dissipating as a social concept, but because class still had a very entrenched and archaic meaning for most people. For this reason whilst most people felt defensive about attaching their own identities to this, class was still a significant factor in them locating themselves within society. Reay (1998: 269) characterises this view as based on people making distinctions between "people like us" and "people unlike us". For example Skeggs, (1997: 94) states whilst her study of working class women 'dissimulate from class, their dissimulations are produced from it'.

This new class analysis has not only been used in ethnographic studies but as the methodological base of Savage et al. (2013) macro survey of British class identity. This study is based on the data from the Great British Class survey, the largest survey ever undertaken on class. This survey Savage et al. (2013) argue reveals that the contemporary class structure of Britain has seven distinct classes. The stratification of class presented in this study provides interesting results on working class mobility and identification after deindustrialisation. At the bottom of the scale their data shows the growth of a 15% 'precariat'. This gives some empirical support to Beck's (1992) forecast that the end of social capitalism has caused a radical decline in the wages and working conditions of unskilled people. A favourable backdrop to the crisis of masculinity thesis that a proportion of the current generation of working class men will find gaining employment that reconciles their masculine status far more difficult. But, In contrast to both these argument Savage et al. (2013: 246) data suggests this is far from a universal outcome. Their data also reveals the development of a range of interstitial classes between the middle and working class that are far more affluent then the precariat. The development of these interstitial classes they argue directly relate to deindustrialization:

'The 'new affluent workers' and the 'emergent service workers' are an interesting focus. They seem, in many respects, to be the children of the 'traditional working class', and they might thus be said to exemplify the stark break in working-class culture which has been evident as a result of de-industrialisation, mass unemployment, immigration and the restructuring of urban space. They show high levels of engagement with 'emerging cultural capital' and have extensive social networks, so indicating that they are far from being disengaged in any conventional sense.'

In the quote above we see that Savage et al. (2013: 246) provides a more varied account of the generational fragmentation of the traditional working class after deindustrialization. This reveals a proliferation of the working and middle class with three new classes establishing themselves. Below the established middle class, the technical middle class and new affluent workers reflect 21% of the population. These two classes have less cultural and social capital but still earn between 37 to 29 thousand pounds a year. A further 19% of the population the emergent service workers sit between the traditional working class and precariat. This class has an average age of 34 and income of 21 thousand pounds a year and is far more socially engaged then the precariat.

Overall this suggests a more nuanced class outcome than the pessimism forecast by Beck (1992). Savage et al (2013) study consequently gives useful contemporary context to this PhD study and the outcome its samples may achieve.

However in three other regards Savage et al (2013) study is of limited methodological and theoretical usefulness for this PhD study. First, Savage et al (2013) comments on deindustrialization and their comparison between class today and class in an industrial context are limited due to their lack of comparative generational data. A major problem here is that new class dis-identification is contrasted with an image that class in the past was an overtly collective identity. This contrast is rather flawed however as Bottero (2004: 996) states 'class dis-identification is not just a recent problem of the working classes'. A point made clear in Reid (2004:1) historical account that argues the working class were rarely a 'unitary figure' or as labelled by Savage (2013) a 'class-in-itself'. Second, this PhD's primary focus is how the men associated or differentiated their identity from those around and related to themselves- instead of a macro focus on how their identity fit into overall social inequality. To evaluate the crisis of masculinity thesis (as discussed in chapter 3) through intergenerational relationships, the men in this studies class is considered at the level of their family and peers, and while broader hierarchies of inequality might become a sub-topic this is not this PhD's primary focus. Third, Savage et al (2013) model does not directly map occupation or factors such as going to university. However these are fundamental criteria for this study's sampling and analysis. This is not a criticism per se, but a question of the level of analysis. Broad notions such as social or cultural capital, are useful in characterising class at a quantitative level. However this study's qualitative focus aims to unpack in more contextual detail how particular social or cultural criteria effect mobility. For example it would be reductionist to see university as social or cultural capital, as defined by Savage et al (2013) as this would give little detail about the impact of credentials on the men's career transitions and how they used and understood such experiences.

This cultural turn also has a broader relevance to this study. Crompton (1998) Reay (2011) and Skeggs (1997) argument that class is not just a category for identifying with, but also a means of demarcating oneself against others, could provide an interesting insight into the multifaceted nature of trade identities. First, to consider the role gender plays in structuring men sense of class, and second in understanding the plurality of their occupational identities as reflected in Reid (2004) historical argument. Finally, this study should answer the call for more qualitative

class studies. For example this should provide data on as Reay (1998: 272) suggested 'ethnographic examinations of how class is "lived" in gendered and raced ways to complement the macro versions that have monopolized our ways of envisaging social class for far too long'. People's need to attach their identity to social structure such as employment and class is still considered to be fundamental for Sennett (1998) as will now be considered.

### ***Sennett: the loss of a 'linear life narrative'***

For Sennett (1998) the decline of collective and durable forms of identity is an innate consequence of employment within flexible capitalism. Sennett's (1998: 15), *The Corrosion of Character*, explores the personal consequences of this transition through a comparison of Enrico, a janitor, and his son Rico, a technology adviser. He argues that Enrico viewed his work in terms of a self-discipline 'service to his family'. But is labelled a 'time-server' by his son because his career is viewed as laborious and lacking creativity. However, Sennett believes this conception of bureaucratic careers misses the value of how linear time was for workers of this generation. He maintains that Enrico's life could be measured and planned in an accumulative manner, moving forward one mortgage payment at a time. A process that gave him embedded status, 'as a man made good on the outside, a worthy elder' (Sennett 1998: 16) when he returned to his old neighbourhood each Sunday for Mass. Enrico's career therefore provided him the foundation on which to build a clear story for himself as the author of his own identity. So his working life as a janitor had provided him a stable occupation and local community through which to understand his life as a 'linear narrative'. Narratives are significant Sennett (1998: 30) believes since:

Narratives are more than simple chronicles of events; they give shape to the forward movement of time, suggesting reasons why things happen, showing their consequences. Enrico had a narrative for his life, linear and cumulative, a narrative which made sense in a highly bureaucratic world.

Sennett (1998) next gives Enrico's son's story to demonstrate what happens to individual's ability to narrate their lives on the dislocated work of flexible capitalism. Rico fulfilled his father's desire for him to achieve upward mobility. After graduating university and business school he married a career woman and started work as a Technology Adviser in Silicon Valley. Initially this allowed him to do very well economically. However, due to the short-termism endemic to 'flexible capitalism', he had to persistently move between disjointed jobs across America. This was partly due to adapting to the needs of his wife's career, but also due to the temporal nature of work in flexible capitalism. For example, when the firm he was employed by was absorbed and downsized, he lost his job and had to start again in a new career. Further, whilst his father retained an embedded sense of self through his continued engagement with his old community, Rico, due to having to relocate constantly for work had few long term friends. Sennett argues this had the effect of rendering him 'adrift' without a secure sense of character. This was also exacerbated by his inability to use his career as an example of substance, loyalty and self-discipline for his children. As a consequence, he questions what meaningful message he can give to his children: 'It's like I don't know who my kids are' (1998: 21). Sennett believes this is more than the personal consequence of Rico's life choices. Instead, he argues the moral character of a 'work ethic' built up through long term commitment is lost in the short termism of flexible capitalism. He concludes that in flexible capitalism: 'the qualities of good work are not qualities for good character' (1998: 21). Therefore, without this sense of character, Rico's 'linear life narrative' disintegrates.

Sennett's (1998) criticism of the disjointed careers that flexible capitalism produces hinges on the hermeneutic idea that people need to understand their life course as more than a disparate group of events. Instead, he argues people have a fundamental need to chart their lived experience as a journey in which their past, present and future have a coherent relationship with one and other. The traditional career path therefore provided people a clear structure to story their experience and gain an overarching understanding of their life goals and achievements. Further, long service tenure with a single company allowed individuals institutional recognition of the meaningful contribution of their lives work.

How can a human being develop a narrative of identity and life history in a society composed of episodes and fragments? The conditions of the new economy feed instead on experience which drifts in time, from place to place, from job to job ... (Sennett 1998: 26)

Whilst Beck and Giddens declare the importance of self-mastering life stories in the 'post traditional' context of flexible capitalism, Sennett (1998) in contrast reflects it is the traditional career of Enrico, which allowed for personal control and authorship of his identity. Whilst the individually constructed career of Rico left him without control of both his working life and self-identity. However given Sennett's argument reduces Rico's ability to produce a linear narrative to his paid career, this inadvertently justifies a male breadwinner model. Rico portrayed as powerless to find other meaningful criteria on which to structure his identity outside the workplace and paid employment.

Sennett's (1998) concise style of writing and engagement with single humans deserves defending, as this provides a social science 'both interesting to the specialist and the lay audience' (Down 2001: 1639). However *The Corrosion of Character* as a work of empirical research does have major drawbacks. The most obvious being the book's lack of a discreet or coherent methodology. The absence of a sampling method, for example, leaves the reader to conclude these are simply 'people he has met on planes, in factories and in bars' (Down 2001: 1642). That these haphazard meetings are mediated by his own social circles and so not generalizable to the world at large, goes largely without question. The people stories thus provide illumination to his discussion instead of empirically justifying his concepts as research findings. Sennett's (1998) disregard for methodological conventions means this work does not have the empirical depth or rigor to be used as a straightforward data comparison. Instead it provides normative concepts that can be evaluated by this study's data. This is also reflected in his use of literature and theory. In contrast to providing a critical review of the contemporary literature he largely communicates with the likes of Adam Smith and Max Weber. Although this links his discussion to the classical theorist of work and employment, it does make simple comparisons with contemporary discourses difficult as he seldom acknowledges or engages in detail with these.

In this regard Devadason (2007) empirical study is useful as this uses the biographical interviews of 48 young people to assess these three sets of theories. The young people in his study he contests were able to construct coherent narratives by piecing together episodes of employment, unemployment and education. He argues the ability to produce a 'coherent narrative' was therefore not based on external employment but instead individuals' internal ability to order their life stories. So a coherent identity was not based on a sustained relationship with one company. However, he argues there was a critical distinction between the types of reflexive plots established by the young people. Whilst high-income individuals constructed their biography around actively affecting change and personally producing career outcomes, low income individuals used their narratives instead to distance themselves, emphasising how structural events were outside their control. These two sets of narrative plots, demonstrate that young people's biographies were not simply self-authored. Instead these two different uses of reflexivity revealed a clear relationship with individuals' labour market position and social class.

In this regard, 'high-income professionals are able to embrace the project of the self through engagement with their careers, actively pursuing new experiences and challenges' (Devadason, 2007:219). Success gave these high-income individuals narratives and a plot so they could construct a coherent journey on meeting personal goals. Whilst these young people moved through numerous jobs, if this reflected a trajectory of upward mobility, constructing a coherent story was simple. This group, Devadason (2007) argues, reflected the psychological notion of 'self-efficacy' (Bandura, 1997). High-income individuals were able to both manifest a present sense of well-being, but also project how they could affect their future lives to achieve their life goals.

For the young people who moved between low paid service jobs 'self-reflexivity' took a very different form. Their service jobs both lacked permanence and did not push their careers upward in the short term. A 'coherent life narrative' was produced, but this was based on an 'everyman' story of how structural events had acted on them. This 'everyman' story was thus used to

distance themselves from their career outcomes, by emphasising dynamics beyond their control. He argues, this biographical plot still produced a 'coherent life narrative' but with reflexivity based on hindsight, not 'self-efficacy' like the first group. Thus reflexivity was not centred on individuals' actively changing their life stories. Instead, the narrative produced was 'in the form of an 'apologetic' rather than reflecting a reflexive engagement with the project of the self' (Devadason 2007: 219).

Devadason (2007) concludes that Giddens' (1998) concept of the 'project of self' is most useful to understanding how these young people constructed their biographies. Further, in relation to Beck's 'do-it-yourself biography' these narratives were constructed around the themes of individuality. Thus the young people's life stories reflected an 'internalisation of the social obligation to actively shape one's own biography' (Devadason, 2007:205). However, he criticises Giddens project of self because it does not effectively conceptualise reflexivity. He argues there is a major difference between reflexivity at a decisive moment, and reflexivity 'post hoc' after the event. In simple terms, all participants were able to reflexively construct a story of their lives when interviewed 'post hoc', but only the high-income professionals demonstrated how, at their lives' decisive moments, reflexivity guided them to make an active decision. This distinction, he argues, was 'contingent upon social structure and labour market experience.'(2007: 219). Thus, whilst all participants demonstrated the ability to reflexively construct a linear narrative, only those with positive career outcomes felt they could affect change over their lives.

Devadason's (2007) article suggests that people were able to establish coherent narratives without permanent employment. As a result he suggest Sennett's (1998) concept of a linear life narrative is flawed. However this flaw seems to be in application and not conceptualisation. Therefore it is argued if modified the concept of a linear life narrative is still useful. The major problem with Sennett's application of a linear life narrative is twofold. First, it does not clearly distinguish the effect of 'lifestage' on people's narratives. Second, its application is too inflexibly connected to the bureaucratic long service career. The next two parts of this chapter discuss these two limitations in detail and suggests how the concept of a 'linear life narrative' will be modified and used within this PhD.

### ***The impact of 'lifestage' on a 'linear life narrative'***

A fundamental difference between Sennett's (1998) and Devadason's (2007) research is the 'lifestage' of the people they interviewed. Unlike the life cycle, which is based on the biological ageing of the body, 'life stages' refer to different experiences people encounter over their lives. Super (1990), proposes five stages through which individuals commonly progress during their lives. These are: first, growth (childhood), second, exploration (adolescence), third, establishment (young adulthood), fourth, maintenance (middle adulthood) and fifth, decline (old age). In utilising this concept we can see that Enrico and Rico are at different stages in their lives at the point when Sennett collects their narratives.

Sennett interviews Enrico when he is retired, thus Enrico can assess his working life from the vantage of being a finished event. This gives him the retrospective ability to see where his working journey has taken him. Arguably, this vantage lends coherence to his story, as he has the security of knowing the outcome of his career at the point of being interviewed. However Rico is still in the middle of both his working life and his experience of being a parent with dependent children. Therefore, indiscriminate of the flux or security of his career, he is in an arguably more unstable 'maintenance' life stage (Super, 1990). This stage affects the vantage point of his life story. First, he has the insecurity of not being able to see his career as a finished event. Second, he is no longer a young free individual but instead has to make career decisions in context to having a wife and children. In contrast the young people in Devadason's study are between the ages of 20 and 35, 'prior to (or in the early stages of) family formation' (2007: 205). Devadason (2007) group are at an 'establishment' life stage (Super, 1990). Their careers have just started and they have few external constraints on their ability to make short-term decisions. This could be seen as an over-structural description of this life stage, but using Rico's story provides a more human example of the impact of lifestage on people's careers. Rico at this stage in his career had got married, worked as a Technology Advisor in Silicon Valley and saw his wages 'shot up to the top 5 percent' (Sennett, 1998:18). As a result at this stage, Rico might well have narrated his life framed by a feeling of 'self-efficacy' in a similarly positive fashion to the 'high-income professionals', in Devadason's study (2007). However as Rico enters a 'maintenance' life stage,

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dealing with employment insecurity becomes far more problematic. An argument supported by Burchell's (2002) research that found in Britain mid-career employees with children and mortgages are far more likely to feel insecure about their jobs than young employees.

In contrast Devadason (2007) sample are 20-35 year olds so their 'life narratives' are only in their infancy, particularly in career terms. Therefore is it a surprise for these young people that, 'The notion of a working life that is linear and cumulative is downplayed in favour of a life characterised by new experiences, challenges and continual personal development' (2007: 218). We can see the problem with these comparisons is that they ignore life stage in their analysis of life narratives. In short these do not compare like with like. Enrico is at a decline life stage, Rico a maintenance stage and Devadason sample an establishment stage each of which comes with different opportunities, responsibilities and constraints. Therefore each life stage will affect how individuals narrate their lives. This exposes both a limitation of Sennett's (1998) comparison, but also of Devadason (2007) critique. In this regard, whilst Devadason places emphasis on 'coherence', he seems to ignore Sennett's emphasis on 'long term' experience. Sennett's (1998) concept of a 'linear life narrative' is structured on individual's ability to turn their long term lived experience into a sense of character as reflected in the quote below.

'Character particularly focuses upon the long term aspect of our emotional experience. Character is expressed by loyalty and mutual commitment, or through the pursuit of long term goals, or by the practice of delayed gratification for the sake of future ends.'(Sennett 1998: 10)

To evaluate Sennett's concept, the life narratives of 20-35 year olds need to be contextualised by their 'life stage'. Given the early stage of their careers, their biographies should be considered as unfinished narratives. Therefore, Sennett's comparison may be problematic, but his concept of a linear life narrative with modification is not.

Whilst a coherent narrative may be formed by employees who move between different jobs as reflected by Devadason (2007), we are still left to question if people in the long term need a continued work identity to establish a 'linear life narrative'. For example Devadason (2007) refers to success being these individuals major narrative plot however this seems a precarious notion

on which to hang a whole working biography. At the core of Sennett's (1998) concept is that people need to story their lives by connecting stages in their working lives as a meaningful journey and not just a patchwork of disconnected jobs. Given the limitation, set out above, of simply comparing across life stages, in this study the generations of male life narratives will be contextualised in terms of the men's particular life stage. Thus most of the former industrial workers will have an almost complete working life upon which to construct their stories. However most of the sons and grandsons will be mid or early career, thus offering unfinished narratives. This brings us to the second problem with Sennett's (1998) application of the linear life narrative to careers. In short, Sennett's (1998) and Devadason's (2007) application is based on a false binary between a career with a single employer and a completely self-constructed working life. This is a false binary because it ignores other common forms of careers, which might enable individuals to produce a linear life narrative on a different notion of coherence. Therefore the next section discusses different ways of conceptualising careers. It argues that whilst Sennett's (1998) application is based on an outdated structural career as reflected by Wilensky's (1961). Giddens (1991) Beck (1994) and Devadason (2007) arguments exaggerate individualized 'boundaryless careers' (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) and ignore external forms such as professional identity that give careers coherence. Therefore it is advanced the concept of a linear life narrative could be constructed on a career defined by profession or vocation (Kanter 1989).

### ***Career forms and the construction of a linear life narrative***

In Sennett (1998) the career of Enrico is used to illustrate his concept of a 'linear life narrative'. This career is based on a very traditional and structural definition, since Enrico is employed his whole working life within the same company. Therefore Enrico's career typifies Wilensky (1961: 523) organization-driven concept of: 'A career is a succession of related jobs arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons in an ordered, (more or less predictable) sequences move'. In this definition, a career is a structural notion which exists independently of the individual and is based on a lifelong tenure with a large bureaucratic organisation. Sennett (1998:9) reflects he is defining a career as external to the individual when he calls Enrico's career

a 'channel'. Enrico's job as a janitor further illustrates this point as this career would have existed without him and the permanence of this position was not a result of his individual action.

However Giddens (1991) Beck (1994) and Devadason (2007) situate their arguments on the opposite side of the spectrum. Their notion of a career as an almost exclusively self-constructed pursuit relates best to Arthur and Rousseau's (1996) concept of a 'boundaryless career'. The premise of this concept is that the organization-driven career is in terminal demise and being replaced by an individual-driven career. So the 'Boundaryless Career' is an almost exclusively agency-based concept. In this regard, Arthur and Rousseau (1996) do not seek to establish a single new career form, but instead reflect a wide range of career themes to demonstrate the demise of the career as an external structure. They describe four major themes of which: 'A common factor in the occurrence of all these meanings is one of independence from, rather than dependence on, traditional organizational career arrangements' (1996: 6).

In flexible capitalism, Arthur and Rousseau's (1996) argue, people need to be both psychologically and environmentally open to change, developing what they call a 'boundaryless mind-set' (1996: 10). At an individual level, the 'Boundaryless Career' reflects a radical change in the way people think and structure their careers. A mind-set, that requires employees to learn the ability to respond to changing work structures and to gain knowledge or skills that cross old organizational boundaries. Careers may reflect episodes of re-skilling or education as individuals make lateral as well as upward career moves. Career pathways therefore become cyclical rather than linear.

The boundaryless career in the abstract does not have a linear direction which Sennett argues is essential for individuals' to story their lived experience as a narrative. The boundaryless career also advocates that individuals self-reflexively construct their own careers around what Giddens (1998) and Beck (1994) would call 'fateful moments'. Given that Doogan's (2009) employment statistics suggest the majority of people are still in long term employment with a single organisation, the percentage of people who really have a boundaryless career can only be a statistical minority. Moreover, Arthur and Rousseau's (1996) argument is based on external

judgements of how new career forms affect people. This work does not therefore reflect how individuals themselves define and understand their careers.

This study therefore proposes a middle ground that, although moves beyond the structural organisational driven career as reflected by Wilensky (1961: 523) and utilised by Sennett, still reflects the importance of external occupational identity and career forms in people's lives. Kanter's (1989) career model is useful in revising Sennett's concept of the 'linear life narrative'. This was one of the first accounts to question the established structural model of careers, used across careers literature. She argued careers could not only be understood as an organisationally bound concept but also needed to reflect the more fluid arrangements of individuals building up skills and knowledge. Therefore she produced a new model to better reflect the changing context of careers and particularly the decline of the bureaucratic career. Her plural model reflects three distinct career forms. The first of these is the standard bureaucratic career; defined by 'the logic of advancement that involves a sequence of positions in a formally defined hierarchy'. The bureaucratic career she argues was never the universal form of career but always coexisted with other career types such as the professional career. This second, professional career is defined by: 'craft or skill, with monopolisation of socially valued knowledge the key determinant of occupational status, and "reputation" is the key resource for the individual (Kanter, 1989: 510-511). Interestingly, this definition cuts across the commonly held notion of profession, as an exclusively middle class occupational group, and very directly reflects trade workers like the dockyard tradesmen in this study. This is the case because the men's trades based on their apprenticeships could be used to claim a monopoly on valued craft skills. The autonomy of professional groups, Kanter argues, results in more complex relationships within an organisation, in comparison to those following a bureaucratic career. The first two career forms are both established in social capitalism, however the third entrepreneurial career can be seen as a more common feature of today's flexible capitalism. Kanter (1989) defines this entrepreneurial career as, 'one in which growth occurs through the creation of new value or new organisational capacity' (p.502). Therefore employees' key resource in this career form is their individual capacity to create valued outputs. However Kanter's (1989) career forms are based on a macro analysis of careers so this does not scrutinise how people in practice construct these careers. Cohen and El-Sawad (2005) also point out that, whilst Kanter (1989) defines these three forms of careers, there

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is little reason why other forms could not exist or develop. How career forms and life stage's effect the construction of a linear life narrative discussed, this chapter now considers how the concept of a linear life narrative will be used and modified within this research.

### ***Modifying the 'linear life narrative'- professional and vocational coherence***

Sennett's (1998) concept of the 'linear life narrative' is used to evaluate the data from this research for three main reasons. First, this concept is a good means of understanding and evaluating the biographical material collected in career history interviews, since career history interviews tend to encourage people to discuss their identities across their life course. Sennett's concept therefore has continuity with the type of accumulative and holistic identities collected by this method. Second, this concept is also relevant because Sennett (1998) uses it to assess a similar cross generational sample of fathers and sons. Therefore it will be interesting to assess if this sample will provide the same picture of intergenerational continuity or change advanced by Sennett. Third, Sennett's (1998) concept is suitable because it considers people's ability to see and narrate their lives as a coherent story over their whole life course, as a means to maintain a sense of identity and efficacy in their lives. Overall therefore this is a valuable concept to evaluate whether deindustrialisation and employment in the new economy disrupted men's ability to narrate their working lives as a linear story. However the concept of a linear life narrative does have a number of weaknesses. First, at least in Sennett (1998) application, this concept seems to reduce people's life narratives to paid employment stories. So people's identities become almost completely constructed from/and by work with little reflection on how identities are informed by other sources. Maris and Hall's (1994) concept of the 'protean career' is useful here as it suggests considering how people's sense of coherent career identities are informed and maintained by wider life interests and activities. They contend a career should be viewed as 'cumulative work experiences and careers achievement, and also through work as a spouse, parent and community member' (Mirvis and Hall 1994:387). They contend to strictly demarcate a career in terms of only paid employment, as reflected in most careers literature, is an artificial division for a wide range of people. Therefore emphasis is placed on expanding the notion of a career over simply dismantling the traditional structural aspects of this concept. Although not

directly engaging with this concept, Kirton's (2006) research on the careers of women provides a good illustration of people constructing careers on both paid and non-paid work. In her research, women showed commitment to a number of long term life activity such as paid work, union work and family work each of which constituted part of their whole life career. Kirton's (2006) concludes that many women used this multifaceted approach to gain a sense of subjective purpose that paid careers alone did not allow them. She further claims there is no reason why the 'experiences reported in the article are uniquely female' Kirton (2006: 50). Thus it will be interesting to explore if the men in this study had similarly multifaceted careers. Therefore, in this research men's histories are contextualised with reference to the interviews collected from other members of their male family kin and their wider life responsibilities and interests.

Second, Sennett does not consider peoples role in constructing their narratives; instead treating these as almost non-edited reflections of structural reality. This research will assess to what degree men's narratives in this study were simply non-edited reflections, or if narratives were internally structured by individuals ability to order their life stories as suggested by Giddens (1991) Beck (1994) and Devadason (2007).

Third, this chapter reveals the need to consider different career forms. Given the three career forms discussed by (Kanter, 1989) we can see that different occupational groups define and organise their careers along different lines. It is only the bureaucratic career which has an entrenched relationship with a single employer. On the other hand it is only the entrepreneurial career where value is generated exclusively by the individual employee. Whilst the careers of professionals are not bound to an organisation, these are still based on a collective relationship with an association, trade or guild. Thus professions reflect collective forms of solidarity and most still have hierarchical career paths, but neither of these features is disrupted by leaving a single organisation. In fact it is the autonomy from a single employer which gives professions their distinct status. Therefore professionals' working lives are based on the development and practice of a particular range of skills or knowledge. Whilst many professionals work for a single organisation for their whole working lives, their occupation still has a meaningfully autonomous identity.

Consequently professional career coherence does not simply relate to employment with a single organisation. A professional career also reflects what Goffman (1961: 127) calls the 'two-sidedness' of careers, whereby these are both an individual construction and an institutional and collective product. Thus subjective and structural notions of a career have an interactive relationship with one and other; instead of being viewed as binary opposites as in Giddens and Sennett. For example a teacher to gain access to their profession has to do a teaching degree PGCE. They often get their first job at a different school to develop their profession and might move again to become a head of department and once more to become a head teacher. In this modest example, the teacher was employed by four different organisations. However, each time they moved it was for a clear reason and so their narrative retained a linear path and worked in a cumulative fashion- as Sennett suggests is essential to producing a 'linear life narrative'. Further, each move was based on developing their practice and expressing loyalty and commitment to their teaching profession, which Sennett claims are the core components of character as 'the long term aspect of our emotional experience' (Sennett, 1998: 10). For professionals establishing a linear life narrative therefore need not relate to a career with a single organisation. A linear life narrative could instead be established on a notion of profession based around a lifelong commitment to skills or craft. This postulation will be explored by analysing the biographies collected within this research.

Additionally, 'vocational' coherence is suggested as a further platform on which a linear life narrative could be built. Sennett (1998) makes it clear he does not see working from home in flexible capitalism as a new form of freedom. However, as is reflected in Maris and Hall (1994), to strictly demarcate a career in terms of only paid employment is a false distinction for many people as they claim: 'work and non-work roles overlap and shape jointly a person's identity and sense of self' (1994: 369). The pervasive nature of paid employment is therefore only one instance of how peoples work identities can breach the divide between the private and public. The concept of vocation expresses this relationship moving in the opposite direction, as a person's major life interest also provides them with paid employment. However some careers writers (see for example Fitzgerald and Betz, 1994; Leong, 1995; Naidoo, 1998) have critiqued

such new self-driven careers as only representative of white middle class professionals. Thus it will be interesting to see if the notion of career and particularly more self-driven models have any significance to this studies skilled working class men.

A vocation could also enable people to produce a linear life narrative. In which a narrative is constructed around a lifelong development of a personal interest or a devotion to a meaningful cause. This could reflect a deep spiritual relationship, or the profane day-to-day enjoyment of fixing motorbikes. The concept of a vocational career as informed and enriched by wider life interests is further linked to the notion of craft in Chapter 4. The literature discussions in this chapter have particularly informed the first two research questions in this study as reflected on page 111.

## ***Conclusion***

This chapter first reviewed the arguments around the transition to flexible capitalism since the 1980s. This debate was reviewed because the generations of men in this study's working lives took place during or after this period. The majority of the former dockyard workers' careers straddle this economic transition, starting their employment in the period termed social capitalism and still working after the event of flexible capitalism. However their sons and grandsons have overwhelmingly experienced only employment in flexible capitalism. Therefore both generations' working lives provide interesting case studies for evaluating the personal consequences of employment change during this period. Therefore these men's biographies include the lived experience of a group of skilled working class men a social stratum that is largely overlooked by this literature. The consequences of this being that all working class men are viewed as generic victims of structural transformation.

Second, this chapter has considered the impact this transition is having on individual's construction of identity. Both generations are well positioned to empirically assess the theories

of Beck (1991) Giddens (1994) and Sennett (1998) on the changing impact of employment on people's sense of identity. As a result this research will explore if the role and importance of employment changed, during the men's working lives, or across the generations. Alongside: if deindustrialisation caused the loss of a linear life narrative for both or either generations of men? This chapter has highlighted the values of Sennett's concept of the 'linear life narrative for contextualising and analysing intergenerational biographical data. However, in line with Kanter's (1989) career model, the application of this concept needs to be revised given the plurality of career forms. As a linear life narrative should also account for other forms of career coherence beyond working for a single company.

Whilst this chapter has established the broad debates on the impact of the move to post-industrial 'flexible capitalism' on working class men, the next chapter provides a more focused review of the community based studies on deindustrialisation. These studies provide rich ethnographic accounts of the impact of deindustrialisation on particular locations and across generations living in these communities, on which this study aims to build. However, once more this literature overwhelmingly portrays working class men as the victims of loss, defined by gendered identities and masculine practices which they cannot fulfil.

# **Chapter 3: Literature on deindustrialisation in former industrial communities: The working class as the victim of gendered identities and masculine practices**

## ***Introduction***

This chapter reviews the literature surrounding deindustrialisation. First, it establishes the historical context of the deindustrialisation debate; a process initially described by Bell's (1973) optimistic post-industrial thesis, that forecast the decline in industrial employment would be offset by the growth of a new knowledge economy. However in the nineteen eighties Bluestone and Harrison (1982) contested this and reconceptualised the decline of industrial work as deindustrialisation, as they argued far from industrial work being neatly offset, this process was in fact creating mass unemployment for industrial communities.

Second, the chapter reviews the recent literature on framing and understanding this process. This literature argues that to gain a more rounded picture of deindustrialisation, studies need to 'widen the scope of discussion' and move beyond 'the body count' of displaced workers (see Strangleman et al., 2013 and Cowie and Heathcott 2003). This PhD supports the aim to 'widen the scope' of discussion by gaining a more long term perspective. However, it is more sceptical of the second aim: to move deindustrialisation beyond 'the body count' and away from the first-hand accounts of displaced workers. For often the consequence of moving away from clear human stories is to obscure whose experience and feelings are being cited. To overcome this problem this study proposes a human-centred perspective on deindustrialisation as it affects the men interviewed in this particular place and time.

Third, this chapter discusses the literature on how deindustrialisation impacts men's sense of self and work identity. The core theme in much of this research is that the decline in industrial work

has led to a rupture in what it means to be a man in these communities (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012; Nixon, 2009; Nayak, 2003). Whilst industry has left, it is argued, communities still adhere to the residual norms that men should do heavy manual work. This literature tends to paint working class men as the victims of their gendered socialisation. A causation that is also used as a line of argument beyond the deindustrialisation literature in a range of cross-national gender studies (Bourgeois, 1995; Connell, 1996). These argue that the decline of physical working-class 'men's jobs' create an inadequacy which directly contributes to a 'crisis of working class masculinity' (Mac an Ghail 1994).

However, this chapter's fourth section reflects the work of McDowell (2003) and Weis (2004) both of whom argue that working class men as active agents are able to negotiate their gendered identities in new post-industrial contexts. The chapter closes that the current literature and studies on deindustrialisation only provide a partial picture of industrial decline and its impact on men's lives and sense of identity. To address these gaps this study has constructed its sample around skilled men and their male kin. Further its setting in the south east is neglected within the British literature, so this study will provide a largely unheard narrative on deindustrialisation.

### ***The deindustrialisation debate in historical context***

Historians now recognise that the decline of industrial employment began in the mid-1960s, with the loss of jobs in primary industry such as steel and coalmining (Reid, 2004). However Daniel Bell at the time greeted this decline with a level of academic dispassion. In his watershed work, *'The Coming of a Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting'* (1973) Bell argued this economic transition was not problematic. The macro statistical trends he produced showed a decline in the percentage of manual semi-skilled jobs and an increase in professional and technical work. As a result he argued this transition was merely the growing pains of developed capitalist economies moving into a new post-industrial stage. To understand these trends he used Schumpeter's (1942) concept of 'creative destruction'. So forecasting that the demise of heavy manufacturing would produce the conditions for an emerging 'knowledge society' (p.212). As

basic production relocated to less developed countries, companies would reinvest savings in science, engineering and services. This process he believed would conclude with western countries becoming the design offices of the world. Further optimism, he felt, could be gained from the impact this would have on the nature of employment, as primary industries declined so would the alienating, unskilled, physical labour these produced. These new 'knowledge societies' would produce a surplus of creative and skilled employment (see Blauner, 1964). In 'knowledge societies' Bell proclaimed what would 'count was no longer raw muscle power, or energy, but information' (Bell 1976: 127). The worker would have far more freedom and autonomy over his labour and lifestyle and rise to the standard of a professional in post-industrial societies.

The central person is no longer the entrepreneur, manager or industrial executive but the professional, for he is equipped, by his education and training, to provide the kinds of skills which are increasingly demanded in the postindustrial society. If an industrial society is defined by the quality of goods as marking the standard of living, the postindustrial society is defined by the quality of life as measured by the services and amenities health, education, recreation, the arts which are now deemed desirable and possible for everyone (Bell 1976: 127).

By the late 1970s this optimistic forecast began to be questioned, as areas reliant on heavy industry, saw few emerging new industries to offset employment at a community level. For example, the manufacturing belt of north-eastern America and 'the North' and 'Celtic fringes' of Britain suffered very high unemployment without the predicted growth in new knowledge based professions. Unequal regional growth was not the only limitation of this thesis. Equally, as Bradley et al. (2000) reflects, a large percentage of employment in the new service industries was semi or unskilled work, so many new jobs offered lower wages, conditions and job security than the industrial jobs they were meant to offset.

The term deindustrialisation was first used to label industrial decline in Bluestone and Harrison's (1982) work *The Deindustrialisation of America*, a term they borrowed from the Allies' policy of stripping Germany of its industrial power after the First World War. Bluestone and Harrison

(1982: 6) defined this as 'a widespread, systematic disinvestment in the nation's basic productive capacity'. As a result, they challenged Bell's (1976) post-industrial premise that western companies were reinvesting profits saved by moving production to developing countries. Companies like General Motors redirected capital saved, by not updating old plants and building advanced factories in newly developing countries to exploit their cheaper labour and lower working conditions. Investment also appeared to be working in the opposite direction as domestic industries were used as 'cow plants' with old factories milked for profit and subsequently closed. Bluestone and Harrison (1982:6) concluded for most industrial communities this was not a forward moving process of 'creative destruction' but instead a regressive process of decline. However contemporary research is now highlighting a number of problems in using both these macro theses to understand deindustrialisation.

### ***Contemporary debates on framing and understanding deindustrialisation***

A range of recent writers have come to a consensus that to gain a more rounded picture of deindustrialisation we need to 'widen the scope of discussion' and move beyond 'the body count' of displaced workers (Strangleman et al., 2013 and Cowie and Heathcott 2003). Bell (1973) and Bluestone and Harrison (1982) both pictured deindustrialisation as an event captured by the point at which the line stopped or the gates of the factory closed. In contrast the new consensus is that deindustrialisation should be understood as a process and mapped across decline, closure, and aftermath. Therefore deindustrialisation needs to be reconceptualised as an on-going process and not a discrete event (Mah, 2012).

This perspective was first introduced in Cowie's (1999) study *Capital Moves*. This study mapped, the company Radio Corporation of America (RCA) search for cheaper labour over a 70 year period. Over this time RCA moved its production from New Jersey to Memphis, Tennessee and then finally to Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. Cowie concludes that this illustrates how both deindustrialisation and industrialisation happened at the same time in different regions of North America. Alongside mapping deindustrialisation during decline, Mah (2012) suggests mapping

the long-term, ripple effect of deindustrialisation after closure; a perspective she terms 'ruination'. This comparative study of four different national cases reveals that the effects of deindustrialisation should not simply be generalised outside their context. The case they argue because factors like the geographical size of a country and level of state intervention deeply mediate this process. Therefore this produces what Harvey (1999) and Smith (1984) have termed uneven geographies of development and regeneration. A concept illustrated by Mah's study as whilst Niagara Falls in the USA was still deeply experiencing the effect of industrial ruins and toxic contamination, Manchester in England due to a high level of state intervention and investment was now rebranding itself as a new context shaped on culture and leisure industries. Mah (2012) rejects a simple post-industrial description of growth and innovation instead showing how deeply contextual the process of deindustrialisation is in these different locations. Together these long-term studies have produced an emerging consensus in this literature that deindustrialisation is not a single event. Instead as Strangleman, et al. (2013: 8) argues: 'The immediate understanding of deindustrialisation by academics was limited; its meaning, consequences and long term effects were only possible to really appreciate over the long duree'

To view deindustrialisation as a living historical process and not a 1980s phenomenon has ramifications on how this topic should be studied. It is declared that researchers need to widen their focus beyond the feelings of workers immediately after closure, and account for the on-going effect of deindustrialisation on communities, people and place. In the introduction to their special edition on deindustrialisation, Strangleman et al. (2013: 8) suggests three questions for framing such contemporary research:

How do people remember both industrial work and its loss, and how do they remember the aftermath of closing? What strategies and media do they use to frame and comment on the past? And how do they use the history of deindustrialisation to understand the present and build for the future?

When designing this research these framing questions were taken into account. These were particularly useful in considering issues of men's changing perspectives over time and the use of

memory, in three ways. First, it is now over a quarter of a century since the dockyard closed. Thus the men's perspectives on deindustrialisation will have developed in light of their own lived experience before and since closure. Men's memories of deindustrialisation will now also be shaped by their current position and working lives since. Second, to gain a picture of deindustrialisation's residual impact, the life stories and memories of industrial workers' sons and grandsons were also collected. Third, the intergenerational approach of this study, also engages with topics such as the transmission of memories and values across generations, from both men who worked in the dockyard and men who did not. This study's approach to studying deindustrialisation, therefore, is consistent with the new consensus to 'widen the scope of discussion' and see deindustrialisation as an on-going process in people's lives.

However the second aim to move deindustrialisation 'beyond the body count' seems more problematic as an agenda for research. High (2005) believes to move studies away from a focus on workers and examine topics such as, the place based struggles for meaning and memory is a problem. This focus he argues neglects workers, the group who were truly defined by this experience. However, this PhD argues this issue is more subtle and lies in how far beyond the body count research should go? In one respect, the aim to move 'beyond the body count' of displaced workers is reflected in this study's use of an intergenerational sample. In addition to the accounts of displaced workers, this study explores the impact of deindustrialisation on industrial workers' sons and grandsons. A clear family lineage therefore links these men to this process and to the original industrial location. So this sample is still directly related to deindustrialisation as a process due to the status of their fathers and grandfathers. However the problem in much of the literature which proposes to move 'beyond the body count' is that a clear relationship with deindustrialisation is not established or becomes obscure. For example, Strangleman et al (2014: 45) proclaim the significance of: 'filtered memories of the industrial, either as articulated by those who lived through it or inscribed on the landscape, heritage and the meaning assigned to deindustrialisation in the contemporary'. However in this quote it becomes confusing who such 'memories' would belong to and gives no indication of why and in what context these feelings would be recited. In this way the agenda to move 'beyond the body count' can remove or conceal the individual human experience and voice, so place becomes the major site for a discussion of 'deindustrialisation' in abstract, not real people.

The main issue with moving 'beyond the body count' therefore is the need to distinguish between a descriptive analysis of the changing nature of place and the human consequence of deindustrialisation. If this clear distinction is not made, it becomes obscure where analysis and description end. The aim to move beyond 'the body count' can therefore read as academics reciting their own feelings. To recite the consequences of deindustrialisation on place or landscape seems particularly problematic. As such landscapes may hold very different meanings for academics than people directly affected by deindustrialisation. The problem of academic transference is reflected in the quote below in which historical change is painted with emotive meaning, but whose feelings are being voiced is unclear:

Gone are the steelworkers and their union, the United Steel Workers of America; gone are their wages, their product, and the bustling civic life they supported. On that once world-famous bend in the Monongahela River are now a Loew's Cineplex; a McDonald's; a Target; a Bed, Bath and Beyond; and other national chains displaying wares produced in an immense global network of production. They mark the completion of Homestead's move from center stage in the drama of labor and business history, to an industrial ghost town in the 1980s, and finally to "Anytown, USA," at the dawn of the twenty-first century. (Cowie and Heathcott 2003: 43)

To deal with the problem in distinguishing between analysis and description this study will restrict its lens of analysis. This means it is not the effect of deindustrialisation in broad terms which are being collected or explored in this study. Instead, it is the meaning of this process as given by the participants interviewed. I hope therefore to overcome 'academic transference' by handing over the meaning of deindustrialisation to my research participants. The study's conclusions are therefore limited to the human consequences of deindustrialisation as voiced through the men's narratives. Through this human-centred perspective, the men have licence to reflect on the multifaceted impact of deindustrialisation. However, it is also possible that they might believe that deindustrialisation is of little consequence to their lives or sense of self. In simple terms even if Chatham through the eyes of an outsider has become 'Anytown' U.K, this is only significant within this study if it manifests itself in the men's narratives. In summation this study proposes

to keep a human-centred perspective on deindustrialisation as it affects the men interviewed in this particular place and time. This chapter now moves on to consider the literature which discusses the impact of deindustrialisation on men's sense of self.

### ***The Impact of deindustrialisation on men's sense of self***

The sociological literature on how deindustrialisation impacts men's sense of self and work identity is still small. Strangleman and Rhodes (2014) believe this is because deindustrialisation has an uncomfortable fit with the established divides between the sociology of work, unemployment, urban and community studies. Although this lends academic value and purpose to this study, it does mean reviewing a disparate literature. This consists of geographical, anthropological, psychological and social history studies of former industrial communities.

Although based on different academic fields, a coherent theme that working class men are the victims of loss can be drawn from most of these studies. A loss that is attributed to gendered identities and masculine practices that men cannot fulfil in a post-industrial context. The Studies on former industrial communities in large cite a separation between the residual image of physical work and the jobs open to this generation of working-class men (Jimenez and Walkerdine 2010; Nixon, 2009; Bourgeois, 1995; Nayak, 2003). Therefore, before considering men's identity in a post-industrial context, it is first worth establishing the effect of industrial work on the construction of male identity.

### ***The construction of industrial male working class identity***

While the work itself was often boring, unpleasant, and dangerous (accidents were common, and former industrial workers sometimes battle work-related diseases and injuries for the rest of their lives), the mythology surrounding productive labor, with

its associated benefits of the family wage, labor solidarity, and physical prowess, has long played a key role in defining working-class and masculine identities (Linkon 2014: 148).

This quote captures well the major aspects of industrial work, as commonly reflected in the deindustrialisation literature. First, that the nature of industrial work should not be lionized as this can hide the dirty, dangerous and often alienating reality of much industrial employment. However, whilst industrial working conditions could be hard, the deindustrialisation literature also points to a range of positive features generated by such work. Linkon (2014) highlights four features of industrial work that had a major role in constructing and sustaining working class masculinity. First, a decent and largely stable wage, allowed men to sustain a gendered status as breadwinners and head of the household. Second, the nature of such work enabled men to expend physical effort or find pride in the craft of production. Third, the outputs of these industries gave men a sense of status in the belief they were building the goods and structures that defined their nation's power and affluence. Fourth, industrial employment produced wide-ranging masculine networks of friendship and social interests that shaped a shared sense of solidarity both at work and beyond.

For Linkon (2014) such resources were not just central to sustaining masculinity, but also vital to men's transition to adulthood. This is famously illustrated in Willis's (1977) study *Learning to Labour* that focuses on the transition to manhood made by young men growing up in industrial communities. Willis argued that although his sample gained little intrinsic value from industrial work, these jobs provided relatively well paid and stable employment. Further this provided the 'lads' a working environment in keeping with their working class definition of masculinity. Mac an Ghail (1994) comparative study argues that the decline of manual labour is the leading cause of what he term's a 'crisis of white working class masculinity'. Likewise, Connell (1995: 33) argues that, 'definitions of masculinity are deeply enmeshed in the history of institutions and economic structures'. In this regard, the move from education to work represented more than material reward, but was also a key component in the construction of hegemonic manhood in this context. Although critical of such provider masculinities, Connell (1995) believes the structural disruption

of this transition has led to problematic protest masculinities for many working class men. An argument that has developed further in the current literature on the transition to adulthood, as deindustrialisation is seen as disrupting social transition and damaging men's construction of masculinity.

### ***Contemporary 'working-class men as the victims of loss'***

Consequences extend beyond the lives of those who were laid off when plants closed. Their sons inherited that loss. Having lost both employment opportunities and the role models of their blue-collar fathers, the sons face continuing challenges as they attempt to reconstruct masculinity in the absence of industrial work (Linkon 2014: 150).

The inheritance of 'loss' is a major theme in much of the literature on the construction of male identity following deindustrialisation. Collective lament is consistent throughout Walkerdine and Jimenez's (2012) psychosocial ethnography of deindustrialisation in a small former 'Steeltown' in South Wales. In fact this study begins by defining the Welsh word: "Hiraeth", a term for the loss of home and country/landscape that stretches right back to the English conquest of Wales.' (2012:1). Akin to Linkon (2014), they argue this loss was deeply embedded in the construction of masculinity, as hard masculine bodies shaped through heavy manual work had for generations provided the means of economic security for family and community. However with deindustrialisation: 'the strong gendered aspects of the community matrix are ruptured and the loss of these gender relations is traumatic' (Walkerdine and Jimenez's 2012:62). This loss is not just a new feeling produced by the current closure of the steel mills, but instead a communal by-product of enduring 200 years of employment instability passed down through generations. They argue that two centuries of hardship had produced two core features in this community's ongoing identity. First, a very 'close-knit' community based on mutuality cooperation and solidarity. Whilst it is not unique for industrial communities to be characterized as 'close-knit', this study takes this concept one step further. Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012:49) contend 'that the close-

knittedness is a way of beingness that allows the community to survive all insecurities that beset it'. Thus they stress over time social collectivism penetrated people psyche resulting in a psychological 'communal being-ness'. This is interrelated to the second feature of this community's identity an 'intergenerational transmission of historical trauma', a process they define as:

trauma is transmitted from one generation to another, without the next generation not necessarily even knowing what it is that causes the anxieties they experience... often silently because the experience of the parent generation are so painful that they cannot bear to talk about them (p.10).

In this process feelings of distress are transferred from one generation to the next. The result is that inhabitants of 'steeltown' not only have to deal with the struggle for employment in their day to day, but also the effect of 'trauma' as inherited from the previous generation. This transmission leaves the current generation feeling deep anxiety. Anxiety which cannot be resolved because these feelings do not belong to this generation, but instead derived from hurt experienced by former generations.

Walkerdine and Jimenez's (2012) description of this community as a homogeneous working class mass, with the same 'communal beingness', has major limitations. This gives little sense of the stratified nature of working class workforces, since they do not separate skilled workers' experience from that of non-skilled workers. For example they do not reflect if skilled workers find career transition easier due to their level of social capital and skills. Related to this, many references are made to the community's developed network of self-help groups. But little discussion is had on whether these were used by people as a means for self-improvement or economic mobility. Instead all workers are treated as a single group who experience deindustrialisation in the same collective way. Yet Waters (1999) argues that the desire for upward mobility was an essential part of working class communities, while Reid (2004) suggests the aspiration for economic improvement was a part of the occupational culture of most groups

of skilled tradesmen, dating back to eighteenth-century craft societies. As a result Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012), in reducing all forms of action to the community level, obscure all forms of individual values and motivation. Overall, this leads to an antiquated Marxian portrayal of industrial communities as a collective proletariat.

This collective portrayal is further reflected in Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012: 94) characterisation of masculinity. They argue a very rigid masculinity was universally produced as a structural necessity of the harsh labour conditions of industrial employment. The embodiment of masculinity, 'sediment[ed] over time to be simply what one needed to do,' passed down 'from father to son, central to community survival'. To be a man in this community was structured by the exertion of physical labour, exhibited by hard, dirty hands and performed through male collective camaraderie. Given the historically entrenched need for such masculinity they believe capitalism is responsible for these men's identity crisis and not the men personally. As a result, the men in 'Steeltown' seem to display the beliefs and behaviour commonly associated with a crisis of masculinity. For example, they believed service work was non-masculine, because it is not hard, dirty physical labour and is based in working environments constructed as feminised. This identity crisis has a distinct impact on different generations of men according to Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012).

For the older generation this has the impact of leaving them with a deep sense of being 'redundant' as the end of steel work not only removed their role as provider, but also their sense of social purpose and standing. Deindustrialisation according to Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012) had the most acute effect on the masculinities of the younger men in 'Steeltown'. The emotion that resided for this generation was the 'shame' of having to choose between unemployment or non-masculine work. This 'shame', was not just the product of imagined feelings of inadequacy but also based on real social stigma. 'Men and women both scapegoat and ridicule young men if they take work that is considered 'feminine', such as supermarket work, pizza delivery or cleaning' (Walkerdine and Jimenez 2012: 63). This generation are therefore caught in a 'catch 22'. Where their opportunities for employment are overwhelmingly in service work, but such

work is incompatible with their communities' definition of masculinity. So these men are the victims of both gendered socialisation and structural transformation.

Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012) conclusion also seems warped by their emphasis on the community over the experience of individuals. In Chapter Five a number of the interviewees talk about finding new work identities due to moving into new rewarding careers. For example John discusses setting up his own business based on making and giving guitar lessons:

Started doing the guitar training but it was more as a hobby. I didn't think at the time that it was going to go that way. But it er, that's the way it's gone and well it been really successful from my point of view and to work from home as well (Walkerdine and Jimenez 2012: 113-114).

This seems to demonstrate an alternative narrative to that of men being the victims of 'loss'. The men instead seem to be gaining a sense of personal enrichment and a feeling of individual purpose that could be related to a notion of craft. However these stories of rewarding career transition disappear due to Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012) 'one size fits all' conclusion of community loss.

### ***Limitations and criticisms of Walkerdine and Jimenez***

Overall, Walkerdine and Jimenez's (2012) study is based on the narratives of a spatially bound community, defined by those people who are still left living in this town after the steelworks closed. For this reason its major focus is what happens to communities whose core function was to help people overcome the harshness, and insecurity of industrial work, after deindustrialisation. Thus it explores how these forms of social help become redundant and how communities adapt to changing times. By contrast, this research focuses on what happens to

individuals and families after deindustrialisation. The two studies' different perspectives on deindustrialisation will therefore capture different results of this process. However beyond this methodological difference, a major problem of their study is how they conceptualise community as an 'isolated mass' (Kerr, 1954).

'Steeltown' is portrayed as largely removed from other industrial contexts and static over time. This misrepresents the larger story of industry and deindustrialisation in a British context. First, the histories of most industrial communities were shaped by the domestic migration of labour. As Blokland (2001: 268) argues, the use of 'community' as a concept and unit of study can be very problematic. The concept is often used in a nostalgic and uncritical way that presents, 'neighbourhoods as relatively class homogenous, small-scale, easily delineated areas with clear borders, hosting relatively cohesive communities'. The concept of community can therefore ignore internal factors such as religion, status and migration that produced division, competition and even struggle between working class groups in industrial areas. As a result, this presents a misleadingly cohesive and united view of industrial areas, both historically and today.

Second, Britain is a relatively small country with a well-developed and linked-up transport network. The conceptualisation of 'Steeltown' as a very isolated community therefore, seems poorly imported from American literature on deindustrialisation. In an American context this concept of an isolated mass is used to understand cities like Detroit which are very removed from other large centres of economic growth. The impact of such geographical isolation in America is that people cannot feasibly commute to work in other places or move to other parts of the country because their houses become largely worthless. However there are very few former industrial areas in Britain so remote as to experience this. The inhabitants of 'Steeltown' could thus commute to places such as Swansea, Cardiff, Bristol or Oxford, as some men did in Walkerdine and Jimenez's (2012) study.

Although acknowledged that people did commute and even leave 'Steeltown', the experience of these workers is consciously ignored, as Walkerdine and Jimenez's (2012) choose not to interview

any workers who have moved out of this local area after deindustrialisation. Their claim to reflect the effect of industrial closure as a total experience is therefore flawed because their study is only based on those people who are left in this town. Accordingly the picture of a rigid and static community is vastly exaggerated due to this study's research sample. However the loss suffered by deindustrialisation, causing a crisis of masculinity, has also become a common argument in much cross-national sociology and gender studies literature.

### ***The theme of 'loss' in cross-national sociology and gender studies***

Large numbers of youth are now growing up without any expectation of the stable employment around which familiar models of working class masculinity were organized. Instead they face intermittent employment and economic marginality in the long term, and often severe deprivation in the short term. In such conditions, what happens to the making of masculinity? (Connell 1995: 93)

Connell (1995) argues men in his study responded to this sense of powerlessness by constructing what he terms 'protest masculinities'. These protest masculinities were not a rejection of traditional masculine values, but instead an aggressive exaggeration of masculine inadequacies. These exaggerations were performed through aggressive masculine conventions such as gay bashing and wild riding. Nayak (2006) found similar examples of protest masculinity in his study of youth transition within a group of working class young men who labelled themselves 'Real Geordies'. Whilst the majority worked in service sector jobs, they reacted against this work in constructing their masculinity. In its place, they constructed their masculinities around what they believed it meant to be a real industrial man. Like in Connell's study, industrial working class masculine customs were aggressively exaggerated and adapted, such as their overstated dedication to Newcastle United. Further the body became an important agent in symbolising and performing this identity, used within collective fights during nights out, group horseplay and sexual conquest. He concludes that young working-class men tried to reproduce traditional rough and respectable working class demarcations in their leisure time. 'In this way, the subculture

recuperated older forms of an industrial white masculine culture through collective rituals related to male drinking, fighting, football, and sexual conquest.’ (Nayak 2006: 179).

The reaction against service work as a means of constructing appropriate masculinity is a theme reiterated in Nixon’s (2006) study that explores the job aspirations of 35 unemployed working-class young men in a former industrial area. These men did not identify with work as a means for intrinsic fulfilment; instead they believed all work was mundane and boring, but worth it for the money. Like the ‘Real Geordies’ in Nayak’s (2006) study, they believed that self-actualization lay outside the work place. These men saw work in warehouses as most desirable, for two main reasons. First, they enjoyed being surrounded by men and the space this gave them to ‘have a laugh’ and ‘muck about’. Second, this work also kept them ‘away from authority, customers and women’ (Nixon 2006: 311). Young men therefore disregarded service work because it presented both social and educational barriers. Educationally, the young men assumed that their poor skills in Maths and English would be evident in this sector. In social terms they neither wanted nor felt they could control their emotions if presented with difficult customers or authority figures. Nixon (2006: 318) concludes:

‘Unemployed low-skilled men rejected growing forms of low skilled customer oriented interactive service employment because such work calls for dispositions, skills and ways of being that are antithetical to the male working class habitus.’

A major theme in this literature is that working class men find service work incompatible with their gender socialisation and residual images of working class masculinity. However two studies, by MacDowell (2003) and Weis (2004) argue that working-class men are capable of constructing multifaceted masculinity that allowed them to negotiate their gendered identities in post-industrial work.

### ***Men as active agents in negotiating their gendered identities in post-industrial work***

MacDowell (2003) begins by making a criticism of research in areas such as urban sociology, which tends to focus on male groups in unusual contexts. These include, for example, Bourgeois (1996) on crack dealers in East Harlem or, in a British context, Dunning's (1999) on football hooliganism. She argues the circumstances of these studies often involve deviant forms of conflict and violence, yet these actions are attributed to working-class men as a whole. This criticism is equally evident in research on young working-class men set in less unique environments. For example, in *Learning to Labour*, Willis (1977) chose to study the most deviant group in the school while Nayak (2014) focuses exclusively on young men's leisure time. In these works, little reflection is given to the construction of masculinity within normal work or domestic settings. Moreover, they do not question whether these types of male behaviour are specific to current working class men or if they occur across generations, social classes and occupational groups.

MacDowell (2003) reflects that although forms of protest masculinity were present in her sample, these were only part of the young men's construction of masculinity. Protest masculinities were largely performed within particular leisure settings and around their male peer group. Overall, these young men constructed 'hybrid masculinities', which were adaptive in different roles and settings. The young men: 'seem able to negotiate the construction of masculine identities in such a way that they attain credit and reputation in the eyes of their peers and in the eye of wider working class community' (MacDowell 2003: 225). This active adaptation was reflected in their relationships with girlfriends, as most of the sample talked of a desire for romantic love and domestic respectability. In class terms, the young men defined themselves as members of the respectable working class and different from the rough working class. Whilst in work, the group on the whole prescribed to a 'protestant ethic', highlighting values of punctuality, commitment and hard work, since they believed such values would make the role of sole provider attainable. MacDowell's (2003) notion of 'hybrid masculinities' therefore suggests working-class men are capable of constructing multifaceted masculine identities, which they can utilise to reconcile service work and residual physical images of masculinity. In contrast to much

of the literature discussed previously, this portrays men as active agents, able to negotiate their gendered identities in post-industrial contexts; in contrast to the picture of men's gendered identities being pressed upon them as a result or reaction to structural transformation and gendered socialisation.

Weis's (2004) research on working class America male identity also reflects the importance of men as active agents in the construction of masculinity. The sons of redundant steelworkers she found had produced a more androgynous construction of masculinity. This androgyny an active result of work becoming more service based and that a decent family income was now only achievable through both partners providing an income. As she claims:

the sons and daughters of the white industrial proletariat are engaged in an ongoing process of reshaping a new white working class as a distinct class fraction, one distanced in key ways from other parts of what might be considered a broader working class (Weis 2004: 6).

Thus many men in her study were able to achieve 'settled lives' in the new economy. 'It is those men who are willing and able to transgress the constructed working-class gender categories and valued masculinity of their high school youth for whom the new economy can produce 'settled lives' (92). This settled life was thus based on constructing a new masculinity where purpose was derived from their 'caretaking' roles as fathers, instead of their productive role as exclusive breadwinners. Indeed, Weis's (2004) findings demonstrate that many white working class couples have produced a far more egalitarian division of labour than most of the middle class. However, this was less the consequence of cultural values than a pragmatic family strategy. The demand for both partners to earn a wage meant each felt they must do domestic labour in the others absence.

While both provide a counter argument to the structural causation of the crisis of masculinity these studies still have limitations in providing an overall picture of working class men. First, McDowell's (2003) study again focuses on unskilled working-class men and thus does not reflect the experiences of the skilled working class. Second, Weis (2004) study exclusively interviews a post-industrial generation. Yet this generation is juxtaposed with industrial workers constructing their masculinities around physical labour and breadwinning. This is problematic since this study does this without giving voice to this older generation of men. Thus her argument that such 'caretaking' is a rupture between male generations is largely without evidence. The drawbacks of the current literature on deindustrialisation therefore informed how this research constructed its own study as will now be discussed.

### ***Gaps and limitation of the current literature on deindustrialisation***

The current literature and studies only provide a partial picture of deindustrialisation due to six main limitations. First, the small number of British studies only provides a limited picture of the process of deindustrialisation at a national level as all of these studies are based on contexts in the North of England or Celtic fringes. Thus deindustrialisation in the south and middle of England is a major blind spot in this literature at present, particularly given the emergence of new knowledge economies and wider employment opportunities in these areas. Second, due to these studies being based on communities defined by location, they only represent the experience of working class people who still live in these former industrial areas. Thus they overlook the stories of those men who were affected by industrial closure but then subsequently moved to find work. Third and related to the last point, these studies overwhelmingly focus on the experience of unskilled working class men. With the result that these studies are unrepresentative of the differentiated industrial workforces they study.

Fourth, in structuring their samples around location, this literature combines a range of features into a uniformed picture of deindustrialisation. For example, the effect of economic transition on individuals is mixed with the experience of long term unemployment and the effect of

deindustrialisation on a town's sense of history. Within geographically isolated former steel or coal mining areas in south Wales or northern England these variables may appear as coherent parts of the same process. However in other regional contexts there is no reason these factors should be interrelated. To address these limitations this study constructs an intergenerational sample of skilled men and their male kin to give voice to a population not currently heard within this literature. Additionally, the setting of this study in the south east of England will provide an account of deindustrialisation in a largely un-researched part of Britain. The closeness of this to London should provide a unique case, because of this region's very different employment context.

Fifth, the current literature also reflects a collective lament at the loss of a location sense of identity. This sense of loss is amplified as a result of a community based sample, constructed on the notion of homogeneous occupational communities, which assumes these are representative of the industrial working class, a portrayal that Blokland (2001) contests is an over romantic view of such industrial spaces, both historically and today. In context to ship construction Robert's (1993) study of shipbuilding in Sunderland, for example shows working class occupational communities and identity were in a major process of change before deindustrialisation. The post-war building of large council estates dispensed simple occupational communities, as the majority of skilled craftsmen subsequently moved away from these areas.

Sixth, and building on the last point, such a community based sample tends to amplify the collective and public nature of working class life. These studies finding interviewees in occupational or community groups, such as trade unions or working men's clubs. As a result, the voices of more private men alongside the domestic roles and activities of working class men are largely ignored. Given this type of sampling is it a surprise that such studies tend to conclude that working class men's lives can be characterised by solidarity and chauvinism? Just as many of the traditional studies of work were correctly criticized by feminism (Oakley, 1974) for ignoring the domestic and unpaid work of women so such studies of deindustrialisation tend to ignore the domestic and unpaid work of working class men. So to gain a fuller picture of men's domestic lives this study uses a familial generational sample and undertook the majority of interviews in

men's family homes. The literature discussions in this chapter have particularly informed the third research question in this study as is reflected on page 110

## ***Conclusion***

This chapter first reviewed the macro debate between Bell (1973) and Bluestone and Harrison (1982) on whether industrial decline should be conceptualised as a progressive move to a post-industrial society or a process of universal decline for industrial communities. Next, this chapter moved to review the contemporary debates on framing and understanding the process of deindustrialisation. It supports the aim to 'widen the scope' of discussion by gaining a more long term perspective. However it is more sceptical of the second aim, to 'move beyond the body count'. So to keep clear stories this study will take a human-centred perspective on deindustrialisation. Third, having reviewed the literature on how deindustrialisation impacts men's sense of self and work identity, skilled men are also neglected in most studies, so it is argued this only provides a partial picture of how industrial change effects men. The next chapter provides a review of the concept of 'craft'. This is because this is a recurring and central subject in the social and historical literature on ship-construction and dockyard work. The chapter as a result, examines the wider meanings of craft and further how this concept is been reimagined within a post-industrial context.

## Chapter 4 literature on craft and trade workers

### *Introduction*

A central theme in the social and historical literature on ship construction is 'craft'. Craft normally evokes images of small-scale, preindustrial production. It may seem surprising then that 'craft' was the principle factor in organising production in enormous, complex, industrial shipyards. However, a craft division of labour was sustained throughout the history of British ship construction (McGoldrick, 1982; Roberts, 1993; Waters, 1999; Reid, 2004 and McBride, 2008). In simple terms through a process of struggle and negotiation craft workers were able to keep control of labour at the point of production. The status of being a craftsman was also essential to the identity of skilled men in this industry, the stratum of worker on which this research focuses. Roberts (1993: 2) memories of his father reveal the significance of this status: 'I knew both where my dad worked and, as importantly, that he was a craftsman and a plumber, on no account to be confused with 'git big daft boilermakers''. Robert's quote on his father suggests that craft was not just an occupational label but a personal means of identifying himself. The fusion of collective status and personal identity also appears in Water (1999), who suggests the working environment in the Royal Dockyard could foster a purposeful labour outlook similar to the normative use of craft (in Marx, 1844; Mills, 1951 and Sennett, 2008). Given the structural and personal importance of craft, this chapter gives a schematic picture of this concept addressing this on both a historical and conceptual level. First, what constituted a craft division of labour in British ship construction will be considered and why this survived. Second, craft as a normative and conceptual concept will be reviewed. The purpose of this discussion is to construct a craft framework to appraise if the men interviewed relate to craft as a normative value. The framework will then be used to evaluate which men in this study had a craft 'outlook' (in chapter 8 page 221)

To address the first topic, craft as a practical division of labour within industrial ship construction is explored through the social and historical writers on this industry. It is important to make a distinction between the two main industries of British ship construction namely commercial shipbuilding and military ship construction in the Royal Dockyards. Both industries retained a similar labour process organized on a craft division of labour. However each had a different history of industrial relations (Lunn and Day 1999). While commercial craft groups were very militant trade unionist, Dockyard craft groups were far less radical (McBride, 2011 and Lunn and Day 1999). The Royal Dockyard of Chatham is the context for this study. However, literature on both industries is used as craft although negotiated differently was central to each. When referring to both industries the term ship-construction will be used, whilst if only discussing the commercial 'shipbuilding' will be used and if exclusively focusing on the military 'dockyard work' will be used.

To debate the second topic, the conceptual and normative definition of craft, this chapter reviews an eclectic literature that uses craft in a varied range of contexts. This include how this relates to art Becker (1978) and Kritzer (2007), its place in education Marchard (2008) and Frayling (2011), as a feature of contemporary employment in Holmes (2014) and Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001), and its connection to unpaid DIY as reflected by Campbell (2005) and Moisio et al. (2013). Whilst the concept of craft can applied to a multitude of settings and debates, it seems to have three discrete but interrelated features. These three features are used to organise this literature and produce a craft framework to assess this studies interviews. First, craft is defined as an attitude to labour as initially established in the work of Marx (1845) and revitalised as a contemporary discussion by Sennett (2008). Second, craft is used as a description of practice where knowledge transmission happens through a process pedagogy (Atkinson, 2013; and Marchard, 2008). A learning process driven by an 'internal aesthetic' (Kritzer 2007) grounded in a craftsperson achieving technical mastery in the eyes of their craft community. Third, craft is considered a vocation as particularly advanced by the work of Mills (1959) and Sennett (2008). Craft in this guise is an engaged discipline that develops over the long duration and gives meaning to how people conduct their working lives (Savickas 1997). The three features of craft therefore are used as the criteria to evaluate if the men interviewed for this study relate to craft as a normative value.

### ***The craft division of labour in British ship-construction***

Before considering why the craft division of labour continued within ship-construction, it is worth briefly describing the five major features of this system namely: demarcation, specialized training, autonomy and sectional responsibility. Craft workgroups had a monopoly over demarcated aspects of work within ship production (Roberts 1993 and Lunn and Day 1999). These demarcations gave a craft the exclusive ability to perform particular jobs or work on specific aspects of a ship. Craft agreements were often regionally negotiated by trade unions and commonly the subject for industrial disputes between different craft groups (Ritchie, 1992 and McBride, 2011). For example in Royal Dockyards, shipwrights would have disputes with patternmakers or joiners over which aspects of the woodwork on ships belonged to each craft group (Galliver, 1999). Often, the specialised skills needed to become a craftsman were trained on an indentured apprenticeship. Lee (1981) argues that unlike professional groups such as teachers or doctors, craft groups did not manage to centrally control the content or amount of apprentices. The case in Royal dockyards where apprenticeships were centrally organised through the admiralty and dockyard school, but apprentices would be taught their trade by craftsmen. Although the length of craft apprenticeships varied, the vast majority lasted between 3–5 years by the 1970s (Galliver, 1999).

Apprenticeships were not just about developing the knowledge and practical skills of a craft, these were also rites of passage where young men would be taught the status, identity, norms and customs of their trades. Brown's (1972: 59) work on apprenticeships in the shipyards in the 1960s and early 70s claims apprentices 'not only acquire skills during their training... they also internalise certain standards of work and came to accept and cope with the far from easy working conditions of shipyards'. The socialisation of craft apprenticeships in commercial shipbuilding focused on transmitting occupational identity in the Royal dockyards, these apprenticeships also came with other messages. Casey (1999) suggests the two major ideological focuses were to instil the value of industrial peace and to reproduce the class structure. So men were led away from collective industrial action such as strikes and toward a belief in individual endeavour and meritocracy. However Water (1999: 88) does not agree that meritocracy was just an ideology

used by management. Instead he argues meritocracy was a practical reality for his sample of tradesmen in Chatham dockyard. As he states education: 'was a way for the able and industrious lads to rise from the labouring level to middle class status, have better lives and feel the superiority of their own style of knowledge. This was a genuine ladder of advancement'. In both industries of ship construction, once the full term of training was successfully completed, an apprentice would become a 'journeyman' until they had their test pieces approved by their craft (Regnard, 2008). Craftsmen then had the freedom to run their own gangs and train apprentices.

Most craftsmen were overseen by a foreman (Roberts, 1993). This position reflects how embedded the craft system was to ship construction, because whilst foremen were the first rung of management, all foremen were former craftsmen (Roberts 1993). As a result, craft workgroups had a large amount of autonomy over production. In everyday work the contact a craftsman had with management who had not completed apprenticeships was negligible. Illustrated in the 1970s Industrial Relations Report extract below:

Because the work lends itself to self-supervision the traditions of the industry protect the autonomy of the workgroup. It is a common feature of the industry that this often extends to some control over the time when work actually starts and finishes. It also affects decisions about manning and about allocation and distribution of overtime ... The extent the organisation of craft content of work has led to the emergence of a large number of distinct craft specialisation, each with its own skills, pride in work and control of much work in process, (COIR Report No. 22 Shipbuilding and Ship-Repairing 1971 as cited in Roberts 1993).

Both McGoldrick (1982) and Lorenz (1980) emphasise union strength in keeping control at the point of production from management in commercial shipbuilding. For example McGoldrick (1982:66) states, 'the Boilermakers in shipbuilding were able to exert considerable control over their work because of their organised strength and also because of the division within the ranks of employers'. However Roberts (1993) and Reid (2004) see this control as based more on a

pluralist employment relationship (Fox, 1966). Both emphasize that a craft group's freedom came with the expectation from management that they would work responsibly and act as an example to non-skilled men. Friedman (1979) characterises the organisation of production along these lines as based on responsible autonomy. This meant craft workers had an unwritten sectional responsibility and stewardship status over less skilled workers.

Marxists, Hobsbawm (1978) and Kelly (1988), argue sectional control by different trade groups is counterproductive to workers united struggle against management. Hobsbawm (1978: 284) defines sectionalism as 'a growing division of workers into sections and groups, each pursuing its own economic interests irrespective of the rest'. It is argued these divisions reduce class solidarity as they isolate employees from their united interests as workers. In contrast, Ackers (2015) argues sectionalism does provide clear occupational solidarity. As craft apprenticeships, with their clear hierarchy of expertise and seniority, socialise strong embedded occupational identity and shared purpose. He also maintains this is a more effective strategy for negotiation than simply organising into general unions, as their specialised skills and training can be used to gain power within the work process and this legitimizes their status in negotiations with management. In the same manner as teachers and doctors use training and qualifications to patrol and legitimise their status within organisations. Craft union's best strategy for collective bargaining was to position themselves like professionals by producing effective work practices and quality outcomes.

British examples of craft groups making the full transition to profession are scarce; however, in Sweden and Germany this is more established. As within a number of 'high-skill, high-productivity workplaces' manual workers have managed to become professionalized. For these workers the transition to professional status led to them gaining salaried work, pensions and sickness benefits. As Ackers (2015: 122) opines:

Under this model, professional trade unions not only bargain better wages and conditions but also seek to raise the status of labour from a cost to a resource, thereby transforming mere jobs into careers.

However McBride (2011) in her empirical study of shipbuilding argues collectivism and sectionalism are not simply at odds with one and other. Although there was evidence that sectionalism produced divisions in the workforce this was complex and contextual. Divisions were produced by shop stewards pursuing their trade interests, at the exclusion or expense of other work groups in negotiations. Also trade workers did engage with negotiating for conditions at a regional and national level as most would move to different yards as it was in their interest to retain their status across organisations. However workers still maintained a strong collective and shared labour identity. Further finding some issues that originated as sectional tensions became powerful collective matters that the whole workforce united around. She concludes 'The evidence shows how the 'collective identity' can divide as well as unite, which implies that there is 'solidarity within sectionalism' (McBride 2011: 285). Whilst the aim of this study is not to evaluate the internal industrial relations within craft unionism, both Ackers (2015) and McBride (2011) provide contextual insight on the occupational identities of craft workers. First, as McBride (2011) highlights, the multifaceted collective identities of ship workers could both unify and divide them, dependent on context. Second, as Ackers (2015) reflects the occupational identities of craft union bear comparison with professional groups both in their autonomy and career structure. The major characteristics of a craft division of labour established, this chapter now explores why this pre industrial system continued and survived into the twentieth century.

### ***The survival of a craft division of labour in British ship-construction***

Although production was modified through technologies and aspects of scientific management, craft workers still preserved their power at the point of production until the decline of British shipbuilding in the 1980s. McBride (2011: 293) states craft groups: 'claimed exclusive rights to new tasks and trade union sectionalism became embedded in the labour process itself where it

still exists today'. The vitality of the craft division of labour is suggested by the literature to have three major sources. First, the preindustrial character and scale of shipyards made these difficult spaces and workforces for management to directly control or rationalise. Second, bespoke and specialised production in each yard was dependent on skilled and versatile workers. Third, employers promoted the craft system as this gave British shipyards a market edge.

### ***The preindustrial character and scale of shipyards***

Unlike car factories, shipyards did not begin in the twentieth century mass production era. Instead shipbuilding is among the most ancient forms of organised production (Dougan, 1975). For example, the Royal Dockyard in Chatham long predates the industrial revolution and was established by Elizabeth I in 1567. In this pre-industrial era the construction of ships became organised around a craft division of labour. At first the whole construction process was overseen by Shipwrights, one of the earliest artisan groups to form craft guilds Dougan (1975). However, as production became more sophisticated, new craft groups entered and construction was divided into more specialized parts (McBride, 2011). Alongside this division of labour, shipyards also retained much of their pre-industrial character as physical spaces. Reid (2004) expresses the strange paradox that, whilst British ship construction produced some of the most advanced and luxurious vessels in the world, these were made in some of the most primitive and dirty industrial spaces imaginable. The labyrinth-like space of a shipyard is well described by Roberts (1993: 120).

One of the hardest features of the shipbuilding industry to convey to people who have never seen a shipyard is the sheer complexity and size of the physical workplace. Even in relatively small yards such as those on the Wear the absence of a single workspace is compounded by the multiplicity of activities occurring in differing vertical as well as horizontal planes.

For Roberts (1993) and Reid (2010) the complexity and size of shipyards contributed to a craft division being retained as labour could not easily be managed through direct control or surveillance in these spaces. For example Roberts illustrates that if workers wished to these spaces could be used to hide or escape supervision. The craft system was therefore attractive to many employers, as this allowed them to get the labour force to manage and organise large parts of production itself. Also this reduced the cost of supervision and technical staff as many of these roles would be performed by craft groups (Edward 2003).

Whilst features of scientific management such as pre-fabrication were used, the labour process was never centrally rationalised along Taylor's principles. As a result, the literature on British ship construction roundly questions the universality of Braverman's (1974) deskilling thesis. Reid (2010), work demonstrates that shipyards never became the designed control spaces of Taylorist factories. To cite McGoldrick (1982: 1), 'the UK Shipbuilding industry represents an example where 'deskilling', as Braverman defines it, did not take place'; a point supported by Roberts (1993: 4): 'Historically, the British industry appeared to offer a null case for Braverman's (1974) iron law of deskilling'. Instead this industry retained a craft division of labour and continued to be managed through the power of the workgroup. This craft division of labour is also commonly cited as enduring due to the nature of ship production.

### ***The bespoke and specialised nature of production in ship construction***

Ships were largely produced to individual orders and shipyards commonly specialised in the production of particular vessels. Varied production and demand therefore led to unique craft divisions and techniques in different shipyards. As Robert's (1993) and McBride (2011) reflect each of the major shipbuilding rivers in the U.K had their own individual and distinct character. So this was unlike mass production industries, where the uniform products allowed the labour process to become very predictable and derivative. Instead shipyards rely on a local labour market of craftsmen to build their unique vessels (McBride 2008). As Brown and Brannen (1970: 197) characterise:

The two essential features of the technology of ship-building are that the product is not standardised and that mechanisation and rationalisation have not proceeded to any great extent. For the most part each ship is individually designed, programmed and constructed. Lack of standardisation of product and the fact that shipbuilding is a construction industry have limited the extent to which there can be standardisation, rationalisation and mechanisation of the production processes. Even though a great deal of equipment is supplied by outside sub-contractors, the building of a ship depends essentially on the manipulation of tools and materials by men who have acquired craft skills over a period of years.

The military context of the Royal Dockyards' also amplified the bespoke nature of ship production. Rapid development of the technologies of war meant design and construction were focused on new and unique ways of giving ships an advantage in conflict (Dogan, 1975). As the nature of production changed so workers skills had to constantly adapt and evolve. A craft workers role was therefore based on creative problem solving not repetition. The singular nature of each ship was also extended as each vessel would have repairs and upgrades done whilst in active service. Therefore each ship had to be approached as a different project so while craft' skills and experience were fundamental, these had to be adapted to context and developed in light of new advances and technology. However Roberts (1998) contests development and adaption was not only a simple top down process. He argues, much research has ignored 'the scope of individual craftsmen to initiate change' (1993: 65). As common to all craftsmen was that they did not just react to change in the nature of production but also actively propelled this process. With significant change coming from: 'Adaptation made by individual craftsmen or foremen to particular problems that faced them, rather than change more formally' (1993: 64). Adaption for craftsmen therefore took two forms updating skills in line with developments but also driving change by adapting the nature of production themselves. The evolution of production as a result was commonly thrust forward by the innovation of individual craftsmen. The depiction of the craft division of labour advanced by writers such as Denny and Nickell (1992), as inflexible and resistant to change, is consequently too simplistic, as will be discussed in the next section.

### ***The market edge gained through craft adaption***

Lost production time due to strikes and strict working patterns within commercial shipbuilding has led many to dismiss a craft division of labour as an obstacle to progress and efficiency (See for example Denny and Nickell; 1992, Crouch, 1993 and Crafts, 1999). Whilst restrictive practices certainly became a tool for inefficiency during the 1970s and 1980s, Robert (1993) believes this hides the more primary reason for decline. That is the downturn in global demand and loss of the high trust relationship between management and workers. In the post war boom years, management and craft workgroups had come to an agreement that production could be organised on the lines of responsible autonomy (Friedman 1979). Roberts (1993: 138) states in practical terms, this meant 'craftsmen become responsible not only for the operation of their own autonomy, but also for the work rate of ancillary workers, their mates'. Responsible autonomy reflected a high trust relationship, which worked well during the period of high global demand in ships. However as Friedman (1979: 101) argues, when global demand started to decline: 'It became difficult to get those workers to behave 'responsibly' in accepting layoffs without struggle'. The good faith built up between management and workers began to become embittered with the consequence that, both sides stopped investing in this relationship. Management attempted to directly control and change the working patterns of craft groups to speed up production, whilst craft groups attempted to use demarcation disputes as a tool for wresting back control. Therefore craft practices became a tool of restriction due to the wider context of insecurity and low trust, as opposed to this being an endemic problem of this division of labour itself. He suggests craft groups historically had held a pragmatic and even progressive approach to modernisation within this industry.

Roberts (1993) believes craft flexibility was not a product of virtue, but pragmatism. That to retain a hegemonic position long-term they had to navigate change in the shipyards. In simple terms, if a craft held a static definition of what its role encompassed it could easily become obsolete as new technology; techniques and processes changed the industry. So Craft groups defined their status on a versatile range of skills and knowledge, instead of demarcating their craft by the expertise of a single practice. Individual rationalisation and deskilling of single

practices was therefore unproblematic to the retention of skill status, as long as a craft group could demonstrate the 'cumulative skill content of the 'collective craft worker'' (Roberts 1993:77). However the craft system was not sustained simply due to customs of convenience, historically employers continued to be enthusiastic advocates of this division of labour for two simple reasons:

The potential threat to the 'craft' division of shipbuilding was diffused by pointing first at the historically cost ineffective nature of shipbuilding in the USA and secondly by the apparent enthusiastic advocacy by trade union leaders of several 'management practices'. However as has been argued earlier, the types of 'scientific management' advocated by trade union leaders in the industry had the aim of increasing output and earning proportionately within the established boundaries of craft rather than establishing a fundamentally different system of organisation labour (Roberts 1993: 76)

The Royal Dockyards show a non-reactionary craft division of labour was sustainable until the 1980s and during a period of economic decline. In the dockyards industrial relations between craft groups and management were on the whole far less combative. A major reason for this was the distinct security offered by these national yards (Lunn, 1999). The management of the dockyard the Admiralty were also responsible for the navy so had to be prepared for quick militarisation. This meant they had to maintain a range of skilled workers in case of emergency. For this reason they produce the establishment system which gave craftsmen the opportunity of a 'Job for life' and pension at sixty. The 'establishment system' worked by employing the Dockyards core workforce on a permanent basis. Galliver argues (1999: 102) this gave these craft workers a level of security unmatched in commercial ship building.

At the heart of the security afforded by Admiralty employment was the establishment system. Established workers, subject to 'behaving' themselves, were in guaranteed employment and entitled to pensions at the age of 60. Although some workers in

private shipyards were given preferential treatment in the allocation of work ... there was nothing in the private trade genuinely to compare with the institution of the Admiralty establishment list, (Galliver, 1999: 102).

The establishment system's aim to secure the fundamental skills needed for dockyard work, this has also been linked to breeding a peaceful, disunited workforce (Casey, 1999). Galliver (1999) proceeds to argue, the establishment system for a long time was effective as a means of keeping unionism outside the yard. In the establishment system, hired workers would earn more money than established workers during periods of high trade. However this worked as a powerful pull in an industry normally governed by the tides of unpredictable global demand. This system also contributed to a distinct demarcation of trades in the dockyards. In commercial yards the move from wood to iron ship production marked the end of shipwrights as a trade, leading new trades to claim the top positions of skill and status. However in the dockyards, shipwrights managed this transformation and kept their privilege position as 'the artisan trade' (Lunn and Day 1999). Lunn and Day (1999) argue the admiralties reluctance to dispense with shipwrights, was due to their desire to not deal directly with new trade's demands for status, pay and conditions. Also, unlike other elite trades, they had the status and range of skills to cross the complex horizontal demarcations within the yard, so Shipwrights retained their status at the top of the dockyard hierarchy. Galliver (1999: 105) suggests, 'Shipwrights were used to supervise not just fellow shipwrights but unskilled and skilled labourers and could be used to supervise minor trades'. Shipwright's status also worked in the vertical hierarchies of the yard as shipwrights were the only trade that could become 'Chargemen'. The position of 'Chargemen' meant they would be put in charge of a number of gangs and responsible for reporting work progress to the inspectors. So shipwrights were 'the artisan elite' which could move through the complex web of both horizontal and vertical classification within the dockyard. Hence they were indispensable for the admiralty.

Thus shipwrights' freedom from the strict demarcation imposed on them in commercial shipbuilding allowed these tradesmen a surprisingly diverse role and ability to preserve much of their craft. Even during the 1970s and early 1980s, with the likely fate of the yard becoming more

apparent and industrial strike action in industries such as mining making front page news across Britain, the anti-strike culture within the dockyards stayed largely unchanged. Although in the 1970s there was growing disquiet within the internal system of industrial relations and a number of strikes over pay and conditions by some trades, these were notably not supported by establishment workers. Lunn (1999) argues that in the hostility to the closure of the Chatham Dockyard by the local community and workers, feelings were mediated by an acknowledgment of the realpolitik of the situation. The meaning of craft as a division of labour and why this was sustained within British ship construction established, this chapter now moves on to discuss the meaning that craft holds within different social theories.

### ***The normative and conceptual debates on craft: producing a craft framework***

This part of the chapter addresses how social theories have used the concept of craft to understand people's relationship with their labour. In the normative and conceptual debates, craft seems to have three distinct but interrelated properties which this chapter will use to produce its craft framework. Craft is used first as an attitude to meaningful labour. This emanates from the work of Marx (1845) and Morris (1883) craft denoting a labour of self-realisation. Sennett (2008) uncouples this use of craft from Marx's (1845) determinist theory of 'species being' and develops this as a contemporary ideal to signify a personal engagement with fulfilling labour. Craft is used secondly to reflect a description of practice, in which all craftspeople adhere to collective principles of quality and a drive for expertise. This craft knowledge is based on the pedagogy of learning through process, as performed in practice (Atkinson 2013, and Marchard, 2008). Marchard (2008) and Sennett (2008) claim that with conceptual learning becoming socially privileged craft learning has been devalued. However writers, such as Kritzer (2007), McCullough (1996) and Holmes (2011), illustrate that craft learning is still central to a range of contemporary sectors of employment. The practice of crafting is further applied to individual role negotiations by Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001). Craft thirdly is seen as a vocation to labour. An argument that again finds its roots in Marx (1845) and is advanced by Mills (1959) who, argues craft should be a guiding force across people's lived careers. As a vocation, craft can also be linked to Savickas (1997) concept of life themes, as craft can be seen as giving people a continued meaning on how

to conduct their paid careers. Since vocation rejects an instrumental market relationship to work this section then considers the range of new literature on unpaid craft and DIY (Campbell, 2005). Finally these three related properties are used to construct a craft framework.

### ***Craft as an attitude***

The notion of craft has deep romantic roots; it became established as a major philosophical idea with Marx's theory of 'species being' (1845). Marx (1845) contest that people cannot be separated from their work, as through labour humans become conscious beings. Labour and human consciousness are therefore inextricably linked, so if work is creative, human consciousness will be stimulating, but if degrading the human mind will be unsatisfied. As a result humans have an essential need for fulfilling labour, because: 'The nature of individuals depends on the material conditions determining their production.'(Marx, 1846/1932: 30). However, industrial capitalism, according to Marx, had produced labour characterized by: 'Immorality, deformity, and dulling of the workers and the capitalist' (121). Alienation caused by wage labour is therefore an inherit feature of capitalism that is only resolvable through the abolition of this economic system. The notion of craft for Marx reflects a utopian relationship between a person and their labour only realisable in a communist society. Because only under communism can labour become the 'complete return of men to himself as a social being' (ibid.: 121).

In this context, craft and alienation are constructs of a normative political argument and not measurable concepts that can be used to distinguish between types of employment. In short, work within a capitalist system could not be made less alienating by reorganising, or empowering labour. Marx gave little detail on the components which made for craft work instead giving this a very metaphysical description as a 'form-giving activity' (ibid: 301). Although, in using this to contrast to the personal separation caused by capitalism, craft can be defined as a holistic unity between person and labour that enables the: 'all-round development of the individual' (Marx 1844/2013: 324). However William Morris (1883) sees this in more practical terms and makes illustrative links to an idealized system of medieval craft production.

The pleasure which ought to go with the making of every piece of handicraft has for its basis the keen interest which every healthy man takes in healthy life, and is compounded, it seems to me, chiefly of three elements; variety, hope of creation, and the self-respect which comes of a sense of usefulness; to which must be added that mysterious bodily pleasure which goes with the deft exercise of the bodily powers... Now this compound pleasure in handiwork I claim as the birthright of all workmen. I say that if they lack any part of it they will be so far degraded, but that if they lack it altogether they are, as far as their work goes, I will not say slaves, the word would not be strong enough, but machines more or less conscious of their own unhappiness Morris (1883: 174)

Morris (1883) defines craft as non-estranged labour, but gives more detail on the personal values that should guide production. First, the craftsmen must have autonomy over how they conduct their work and use their body. Second, this work should transcend a depersonalized cash nexus relationship between labour and capital. Therefore craft is the performance of activities that are both pleasurable and useful rejecting the economic distinction of labour defined as paid work and not personal fulfilment. Craft as a labour of self-realization has most recently been renewed as an ideal within Sennett's (2008) book, *The Craftsman*.

Sennett (2008: 20) breaks with Marx (1844/2013) determinist notion of 'species being' that people are indistinguishable from their labour, as he argues, 'it's certainly possible to get by in life without dedication'. Yet in the personal pursuit for a fulfilling life, most people could gain a great deal from having these factors in closer harmony. Sennett draws on the work of occupations as diverse as doctors, writers, conductors and software designers. Craft in this context is thus an outlook gained through the enactment of tangible activities and processes, he argues, a 'craftsman' is a worker who engages in the long term practice and development of skills, driven by 'the desire to do a job well for its own sake' (ibid.: 9). More than an abstract sense of self direction, the disposition of a craftsperson is also marked by the personal sense of harmony arising from the long term practice of skilled labour. Although this study focuses on men it prefers the term craftsperson (Becker, 1978; and Kritzer, 2007) because Sennett (2008) provides no

reasonable justification why such a term needs to be gendered. This is reflected on page 20: 'The craftsman represents the special human condition of being engaged'.

Whilst Sennett's (2008: 9) definition of a '*craft outlook*' is not demarcated by occupation, he is explicit on the sense of personal harmony which derives from craft work. As he states: 'Every good craftsman conducts a dialogue between concrete practices and thinking; this dialogue evolves into sustaining habits and these habits establish a rhythm between problem solving and problem making'. The power of this personal engagement with embodied practices is that, it allows individuals to transcend the majority of the negative dichotomies established within the world of work today. Craftworkers engage in labour as a holistic affair, satisfying themselves as full people. Whilst Kritzer (2007: 326) also echoes the harmony created within embodied craft practices, his work suggests examples where such involvement is not solely positive for a person's wider sense of wellbeing. A point reflected in his example of the obsessive practice of musicians 'tuning and retuning an instrument well beyond anything anyone would recognize as being out of tune'. Therefore this research will evaluate if the internal harmony craft can create as an outlook can also lead to difficulty in men's wider life and responsibilities.

A further problem within Sennett's (1998) work is that, whilst he uses example such as cooking, he clings to a definition of craftwork as a 'stabilised product'. Holmes (2014) sees the flaw in such a classification and argues craft work should include work without a tangible end product. The definition of craft should include the potential for craft work in service sectors where production provides 'transient, unstable and intangible objects' (2014:480). A point illustrated in her study as, many hairdressers adhere to a '*craft outlook*' and found an intrinsic harmony in their labour. This amendment is also useful, as it allows the inclusion of types of work without practical links to artisan communities. Given Sennett believes anyone can become a craftsman, it is reasonable craft does not exclude a wide range of occupations because they don't produce a static object.

In summary, common to all the writers above is the idea that craft reflects a motivation to quality work and that the immersive performance of labour produces an intrinsic reward in and of its

own right. The development of this attitude is further linked within the literature on craft to a distinct description and engagement with work as a practice.

### ***Craft as a description of practice***

The description of craft practice's based on two connected factors. First, craftspeople define and evaluate work through communities of practice and collective aesthetics of excellence. Second, craftwork has a distinct pedagogy, with the majority of knowledge based on process learning as achieved through the performance of production. When looking for communities of practice and collective principles of excellence, many theorists evoke the idealised images of a carpenter's workshop where master and apprentice talk and labour collectively (Morris, 1883). Although such a context does provide a productive environment for craft, it is important to not exclusively use such trade images for two reasons. First, craft should not be conflated with trade, a point made clear by Sennett (2008) Kritzer (2007) and Holmes (2014), who all use examples of craft in non-trade areas such as in the work of judges, hairdressers and lab technicians. Even though craft and trade overlap historically as occupational standings it is important at a normative level these are used as distinct terms. Second and related to this, Frayling (2011) believes a problem with the term craft is its recurrent use, to evoke nostalgia for anti-modern and non-mechanized production. This he contests is a largely mythical portrayal that has a counterproductive effect on craft gaining a meaningful place in education and society today. In light of these two critiques, Kritzer's (2007) concept of the 'internal aesthetic' seems valuable as this removes the link to craft as a tangible practice:

The aesthetic inherent in craftwork provides an important standard by which one craftsperson can assess the work of another. Importantly, while the layperson may be able to recognize differences in quality among producers, it often takes a practising craftsperson to be able to identify what it is that distinguishes a first-rate job/product from an adequate or typical job/product. Kritzer (2007: 325)

For Kritzer (2007) this 'internal aesthetic' stems from a craft socialisation but becomes an internalised set of virtues which a craftsperson labours by, even when beyond the observation of other craftspeople. In the quote above, the craftsperson's assessment is based on subtle distinctions of technical mastery. This concept therefore can understand the actions of groups as varied as skilled tailors, who notice how accurate stitching is, but also professional musicians who can hear each note played out of tune. As a result this aesthetic is not specific to trade work but provides important guidelines to understand a craft practice. While ability and talent play a role in craft development, the precise skills of craft are learnt under the supervision of an expert who has already achieved the mastery of their craft. Second this aesthetic is retained throughout a person's practice, as they continue to adhere to collective standards in the pursuit of excellence.

For Sennett (2008) another part of this craft assessment is that experience is intrinsically linked to technical expertise and status. Craft therefore is an intergenerational practice where the experience of the older generation is used to develop the abilities of the next. Sennett here builds on the theme he established in his work *The Corrosion of Character* (1998), that a modern fixation with talent upsets many people's ability to reach their full potential. Therefore craft is seen as the development of skills through grounded practice. Although Patchett (2015: 215) agrees with the significance Sennett places on expertise as a by-product of experience, she argues that Sennett's emphasis on the slow time development of craft results in practices and skills seeming static and unchanged over time. The transmission of knowledge is presented as 'seamlessly passed from one generation to the next'. This she sees as a poor description of the relationship between craft, time and generations because craft is not an act of reproduction but a persistently developing practice, as she states, every craft performance 'picks up the strands of past practice and carries them forward in current contexts'. To conceptualise craft in this more active manner has two particular outcomes. First, craft people are not performing acts of replication but a dynamic process evolving with each practice. Second, in generational terms, craft practices work by a 'maieutic logic' (Kellerhal et al., 2002: 224). In which craft learning is not solely based on skills being passed from master to apprentice in one direction, instead, learning also happens through exchange as people develop and hone their crafts in interaction with one and other. This is linked to the second feature of craft learning: its distinct process pedagogy where learning is achieved through practice.

The pedagogy of craft is a topic well developed within Atkinson (2013) and Marchard (2008). Atkinson's (2013) ethnography of glass blowing emphasises the substantial amount of craft learning which is inseparable from the technical practice itself. He argues the 'instructor's guiding hand' (2013: 401) is a critical communicator of knowledge, so learning cannot be transmitted by predetermine learning objectives. Lessons are instead conducted through the instructor reacting and adapting to the circumstances students find themselves in whilst performing a craft practice. As a consequence, production and learning happened simultaneously within a craft process and are inseparable as a pedagogical approach. For example, the instructor cannot guide the student to understand the significance of pressure or posture in glass blowing outside the process of production (Atkinson 2013). The inseparability of learning from practice is further built upon in Marchard's (2008) cross-national study of craft apprenticeships. Marchard (2008: 245) argues that crafts are 'largely communicated, understood and negotiated between practitioners without words, and learning is achieved through observation, mimesis and repeated exercise'. However in western education he believes process learning has been labelled as inferior and marginalized. This marginalization finds its roots in the enlightenments emphasis on objective reason that distinguishes the body from the mind. The outcome of this is that conceptual thinking has become the social privileged form of education whilst embodied learning is regarded as 'unthinking imitation' (Marchard, 2008: 266). A privilege of written and spoken skills he argues that is still evident in recent educational agendas to reengage with embodied forms of practice because students are still persistently judged on their ability to translate their embodied learning into the inappropriate media of written communication. Marchard (2008: 245) concludes: 'promotion of skilled practice as 'intelligent' is necessary for raising the standard and credibility of apprentice style learning within our western system of education'. In short, craft learning needs to both become a more established part of standard education and assessed on appropriate criteria. Both Atkinson (2013) and Marchard (2008) are useful in setting out craft pedagogy, as process learning accumulated through tutelage within practice. However both rely on the performance of traditional craft areas. Sennett (2008), McCullough (1996), and Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001) all seek to understand if and how this pedagogy can translate to very modern work in the new economy.

Sennett (2008: 10, 53) discusses how the separation of the labour of 'hands and heads' in western societies, goes beyond education and into the world of work. The growing specialisation in the division of labour, he argues has led to higher value being attributed to intellectual over technical skills. To distinguish people's abilities in this way he sees as illogical because 'all skills, even the most abstract, begin as bodily practices'. The sophistication of such embodied practices is well described in Pirsig (1974) work *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*.

An untrained observer will see only physical labour and often get the idea that physical labour is mainly what the mechanic does. Actually the physical labour is the smallest and easiest part of what the mechanic does. By far the greatest part of his work is careful observation and precise thinking. That is why mechanics sometimes seem so taciturn and withdrawn when performing tests. They don't like it when you talk to them because they are concentrating on mental images, hierarchies, and not really looking at you or the physical motorcycle at all. They are using the experiment as part of a program to expand their hierarchy of knowledge of the faulty motorcycle and compare it to the correct hierarchy in their mind. They are looking at underlying form.

In the quote above we see that embodied practices are informed by the use of reason and experience. The mechanics knowledge compiled over there years of experience used to advance their deductive process of hypotheses testing. Sennett believes such embodied learning is now coming under particular attack because of the current faith in the automation afforded by computers. As a result many workers lack practical knowledge due to an over-reliance on software like computer aided design. In architecture he argues structures are built ill-suited to environment due to an underdeveloped knowledge of the physical qualities of materials. However unlike Braverman (1974), Sennett does not argue that technology inevitably deskills workers. On the contrary, a large number of the examples he uses to illustrate his concept of craftsmen are workers in information or communication technology. Machines he believes only become problematic when they are used as a quick fix, disrupting the process of learning through grounded repetition. The role of craft in high modern work is also the topic of McCullough's (1996) book 'Abstracting craft'. This portrays high-level computer workers as digital artisans. As they engage with the craft pedagogy of process learning and tool development, to construct non-physical models. Alongside this their work is also enabled and judged by online communities of

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practice, which he likens to medieval guilds. However Broeckmann (2014) has criticized this work for universally idealising the information technology sector and ignoring the Taylorized working conditions of many workers. Digital craftwork, he argues is only realisable by the few with many instead reduced to a digital proletariat.

The concept of craft is most clearly abstracted from its traditional roots by Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001: 179, 180). Their work uses the concept of 'job crafting' to define 'the physical and cognitive changes individuals make in the task or relational boundaries of their work'. This expresses how employees attempt to actively create meaning in their work and make a job their own. Employees do this by actively interpreting and adapting the margins of their job role on a cognitive or physical level. On a cognitive level, job crafting reflects how individuals subjectively change the way they see their job and the meaning of their work. On a physical level, changing task boundaries means employees adapt the nature and number of activities they undertake as they do their jobs. However, the two are often linked, as workers actively try to shape their work identity as 'a set of actions as well as a set of cognition'. Job crafting is therefore a means for workers to write themselves back into the work they do, to gain personal meaning and recognition.

The process of job crafting, Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001) claim, is becoming a more important aspect of employment in the new economy. Because the new economy rhetorically emphasizes that employee should actively manage their own work and produce their own opportunities. However the popularity of job crafting is not just drawn from employers or organisations. Instead they hypothesise that this could be a major factor in the renewed amount of employees going it alone. As heightened entrepreneurialism could have a correlation with people leaving their job due to the lack of opportunities to job craft within their current positions. In this respect, job crafting relates to the normative understanding of craft because in this process workers are demonstrating the desire for more than an extrinsic relationship with their labour. However such crafting should not be seen simply as an individual capacity. Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001: 32) instead claim that crafting is mediated by the structural constraint and contextual opportunities of people's jobs, as they note 'differential occupational status, prestige, standards, and

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requirement bestow or deny individuals with varying resources the opportunity to evaluate, interpret and act within job categories'. Moreover, individual's aptitude to job craft is also significantly informed by the collective identities within a particular occupation or job role. However, Van Eijnatten and Balkin (2010: 132) empirical study of job crafting, while positive about this as a strategy for full time workers, questions if this is attainable for workers in standardized or short-term contexts. As they state, 'in such a context, finding the time to "sharpen the axe", or to seek more sustainable ways of working, may be even more challenging'. The limitations of employee's ability to craft while in short term employment has a clear affinity with topics discussed in Chapter 2: literatures on the new economy in this thesis.

To summarise craft as a description of practice is perceived to have not retained the status it deserves within Western societies (Marchard, 2008 and Sennett, 2008). Yet this is still used as a meaningful part of the work practices of a wide spectrum of contemporary employees (Patchett, 2015; McCullough, 1996 and Wrzesniewski and Dutton 2001). Craft in this context can be understood as a practice learned through distinct process pedagogy, as evaluated by communal aesthetics of excellence. Craft or even job crafting, as accrued by a practice of long term commitment, also has a significant link to craft as a vocation, as will now be discussed.

### ***Craft as a vocation***

Vocation as a concept held a highly religious and very anti-work meaning until the 15th century (Dawson 2005). However after the Reformation this concept lost its generic antipathy to work, but was retained as labour directed by more than an instrumental economic agenda, as clearly developed within Weber (1930/1976). Dik and Duffy (2009:427) define a vocation as 'an approach to a particular life role that is oriented toward demonstrating or deriving a sense of purpose or meaningfulness'. Marx (1932/1846) never directly used the term vocation, but Dawson (2005:225) argues, 'his view of work was imbued with a sense of vocational meaning'. In contrast to meditating to God, Marx (1932/1846) felt profane salvation derived 'in contemplating

ourselves in the works of our own hands' (as cited in Hardy, 1990:30). This quote both connects work to vocation but also suggests a link to craft as work is portrayed as an embodied practice.

Marx had a clear impression on Mills' (1951 and 1959) work on craftsmanship. Like Marx (1970/1959) he believes craft labour should be in unison with 'family, community, and politics' (Mills, 1951: 220). Unlike Marx, he did not see craft as simply determined by the means of production. Instead he saw craft as a set of guidelines and principles individuals could use to shape their own outlook and enactment of their careers. A point crystallized in *The Sociological Imagination* (1959), where he argues for scholarship as a craft career.

Scholarship is a choice of how to live as well as a choice of career; whether he knows it or not, the intellectual workman forms his own self as he works toward the perfection of his craft; to realize his own potentialities, and any opportunities that come his way, he constructs a character which has as its core the qualities of a good workman... In this sense craftsmanship is the center of yourself and you are personally involved in every intellectual product upon which you work (Mills 1959: 196).

In the connection of craft to vocation this quote makes two substantial points. First, like in Kritzer (2008), craft reflects an internal aesthetic to guide the development of excellence, in contrast to a set of physical trade tasks. Second, his use of career reveals the long term meaning of a vocation, as an ingrained sense of purpose practiced across a work life. Therefore Mills understands craft as an outlook that constructs a vocational career. Sennett (2008) also uses the concept of craft to denote a vocation, by arguing such embedded discipline enables people to sustain a career narrative. While this is reflected in his early work on a linear life narrative (Sennett 1998), in *the Craftsmen* he seems more open to a narrative being sustained across career transitions, if the nature of work and learning are alike. For example he suggests the common use of process learning in both IT and manual trade work could allow people to transfer successfully between these two sectors. However, such retraining is still seen as the exclusive

feature of a career with a single organisation. As he states, 'the drive to do good work can give people a sense of vocation; poorly made institutions will ignore their denizens' desire that life add up while well-crafted organisations will profit from it' (2008: 267). Although Sennett (2008) believes career transitions breakdown individual's vocation, Savickes (1997) argues people sense of vocational coherence is in fact fundamental to navigating such transitions.

People's ability to retain vocational coherence while dealing with career transition is a topic fully developed in Savickes' (1997) career construction theory. Although this theory comes from a social psychology perspective, it can be seen as relating to Mill (1959) and Sennett's (2008) portrayal of craft as a vocation. In social psychology craft as a value retained across a career would be termed a 'life theme'. Savickas (1997) argues that life themes are the principles that people subjectively use to impose personal meaning on their careers. Life themes also have infinity with Sennett's take on craft, because such themes are often born and rehearsed in people's interests and activities. People's career stories thus allow them a space for these themes to be constructed. He defines these themes as:

'The theme is what matters in the life story. It consists of what is at stake in that person's life. On the one hand, the theme matters to individuals in that it gives meaning and purpose to their work. It makes them care about what they do. On the other hand, what they do and contribute to society matters to other people. The belief that what they do matters to others sharpens identity and promotes a sense of social meaning and relatedness (Savickas 1997: 248).

These themes constitute the lasting values and practices people use to understand their experience across their life cycle. Savickas (1997) believes understanding these themes is becoming essential as more people now have to deal with transitions in their careers and mobility across occupation and work. People as a result require a more cohesive understanding of their life themes as these enable them, 'to adapt to a sequence of job changes while remaining faithful to oneself and recognizable by others' (Savickas 1997: 2). People use these themes within their

career to construct their vocational personalities. Vocational personality he describes as an umbrella concept for people's values, interest, abilities and needs that are enacted through individual career adaptation. This personal sense of vocation therefore provides the tools for people's career adaptability.

Savickas (1997: 254) defines career adaptability, 'as the readiness to cope with the predictable tasks of preparing for and participating in the work role and with the unpredictable adjustment prompted by the changes in work and working conditions'. This concept emphasises the importance of individual's capacity to adapt to the changing nature of employment; a process the majority of men in this study will have encountered. But, a drawback of this concept is that while it reflects individual adaption, as people react to circumstance, it does not seem to account for individuals as active agents, using their sense of vocation to change their work and transform the nature of employment within an organisation. This therefore overlooks 'proactive crafting' (Wrzesniewski and Dutton 2001) that as reflected by Roberts (1993), was an essential feature of skill tradesmen's sense of vocation in ship construction.

Although Sennett (2008) and Savickas (1997) highlight that people sense of vocations are informed by their interests and activities, neither clearly distinguishes the role people's domestic work and unpaid craft play in the construction of vocation. In fact a strange feature of the majority of literature on craft is the almost exclusive focus on paid employment. This is also odd given that Marx (1844) argued all work based on a buyer-seller relationship was inherently alienating and consequently void of craft. Thus it should be logical to argue that the most fertile sphere in which to find craft would be non-paid work. Also, a vocation defines labour that is directed by more than an instrumental and economic agenda, so it would seem peculiar for this to be limited to public paid work. Therefore the following section considers the literature on unpaid craft work and how this contributes to the development of a vocation.

## ***Unpaid craft and DIY***

Mills (1951) argues craft should not be confused with unskilled hobbies. Yet to label all forms of domestic labour as unskilled seems too universal. First, this inadvertently gives credence to the argument that labour only has value in a market context. Second, such a perspective denigrates rich domestic craft histories such as quilting to an unskilled hobby, with obvious patriarchal implications (see for example Parker 1984 and Koumise 1994). The performance of non-paid tasks, such as home building and maintenance, were linked to the virtue of a craft vocation by the American transcendentalist, Thoreau (1854). He believed the abolition of alienating work was to be found in removing oneself from the division of labour and the vocational development of labouring with your hands, and for oneself. As he advances:

If men constructed their dwellings with their own hands... the poetic faculty would be universally developed, as birds universally sing when they are so engaged?... But we do like cowbirds and cuckoos, which lay their eggs in nests which other birds have built' Thoreau (1854: 300).

In the first academic description of DIY by Roland (1958), Thoreau is held up as the philosophical forefather of American home maintenance. Quotes such as: 'Drive a nail home and clinch it so faithfully that you can wake up in the night and think of your work with satisfaction' (Thoreau 1854: 222), thus gave home maintenance a wider sense of meaning as a measurable accomplishment. Roland (1958: 38) concludes, 'millions have taken to heart Thoreau's example, withdrawing to their basement and garage workshops to find there, a temporary Walden'.

This type of craft has regained public popularity today (Frayling 2011). Reflected in the sociology of consumption where new terms have emerged to define this such as 'productive consumption' (Moisio et al., 2013: 300) or 'prosumption' (Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010). Both terms refer to forms of consumption, to which people add their own labour and thus generate instead of reduce value.

This study wants to keep the centrality of craft, so Campbell's (2005) concept of 'craft consumption' is most relevant.

The term 'craft' is used to refer to consumption activities in which the 'product' concerned is essentially both 'made and designed by the same person' and to which the consumer typically brings skill, knowledge, judgement and passion while being motivated by a desire for self-expression (2005: 23).

A limitation of this concept for analysing the intergenerational sample of this PhD is that it individualises craft production. So this study will use the term 'intergenerational craft projects', which reflect the same motivation and skill, but are performed as collaborative kin activities. Alongside theorising, empirical studies have also begun to focus on the renaissance of unpaid craft communities (Greenhalgh, 2002; Levine and Heimerl, 2008; Minahan and Wolfram-Cox, 2007). Campbell (2005) believes this renewed interest in craft is not only important as a new social movement, but also reflects a consumer engagement toward objects both made and designed by the same person. However, according to Metcalf (1994) domestic crafts like woodwork and textiles are still culturally branded as physical labour absent of aesthetic virtue. This marginalised position, they argue, is in part due to craft still being compared to fine art. However in their research on the global craft community, 'Stich'nBitch', they demonstrate that unpaid craft holds both aesthetic virtue and made a cultural critic of mass production and individualisation. But a gap in this literature according to Moasio et al., (2013: 298), is that 'we know little about how and when productive consumption contributes to domestic masculinity, in particular among men varying in social class positions'. Although as Moasio et al., (2013) suggest small, the studies on male identity and the performance of DIY do have two linked themes: first that men use DIY as a means of negotiating role conflict, and second that work is performed with a sense of family care.

### ***Male identity and the performance of domestic improvement***

DIY as a means of negotiating a domestic masculinity is first established in Gelber's (1997) history of the emergence of household maintenance in North America. In the 1860s household maintenance was a task most men saw as below them, but by 'the 1950s the very term "do-it-yourself" would become part of the definition of suburban husbanding' (Gelber 1997:67). DIY thus became a role in which men could meaningfully contribute to the family and engage with their wives and children, without feeling a sense of gender role conflict. Unlike research that suggests masculinity is constructed in opposition to the domestic (for example Schouten and McAlexander 1995), Gelber (1997: 73) argues sheds and workshops allowed men to create domestic masculinity through the creation of 'a male sphere inside the home'. He concludes that DIY is not performed simply to save money, but as a means of being a proper man and involved husband. Moisio et al., (2013) builds on this, arguing that studying men's domestic labour provides significant insight into men's more rounded identities. Men in their study interpreted this labour in a manner which allowed them to negotiate their wider class and employment role conflicts. Their sample of middle class men used DIY to: 'fashion themselves as suburban-craftsmen involved in 'autotherapeutic labor'(2013:298). Lower class men in contrast used this same work to establish their contribution to the family displacing their inability to be the exclusive provider. Men's domestic labour hence was a means of them doing or sustaining vocations they did not find in their wider lives, to keep a consistent sense of class-based masculine identity. As a result DIY became a major forum to overcome classed based feelings of insufficiency. Gorman-Murray (2011: 218) focus on the anxiety caused by the global financial crisis, finding home repair was used by men to negotiate wider work tensions. As an alternative to committing their masculinity to only paid work his sample 'resituated the role of home in work/life balance. This involves greater commitment to the domestic sphere, spending more time at home, engaging in domestic labour, and prioritising family time'. Craft therefore enabled them to replace the self-worth that had declined in their paid employment with a sense of family belonging. This group of studies can therefore be linked to men using craft work to construct more 'protean' type careers Maris and Hall (1994). Like the women in Kirton (2006) these men's craft work was a long term life activity that constituted part of men's whole life careers.

Cox's (2013) study of DIY in New Zealand considers the emotional significance of domestic labour. In her study men saw DIY as a duty of care to their family and reflective of a sense of the right way to be a man. A coherent principle for all these men was that paying others to do such work was seen as a personal failure of family duty. Cox concludes that DIY should as a result be reconceptualised as care work. 'This is significant because men are too often invisible in discussions of care, a conceptualisation which lowers the status of all caring activities' (Cox 2013: 588). The themes of family care and male role negotiation could provide insight into the wider meaning of men's domestic craft in this study. Cox's argument is that care is about maintaining and repairing human relationships. However still invisible in this literature is how intergenerational craft projects are used to create and sustain bonds between male kin, a topic this research aims to explore. In relation to vocation, the literature above suggests that men's craft work is not restricted by boundaries between paid and unpaid work or between domestic and non-domestic labour. Instead men perform and understand such work to construct or develop vocational identities in an active manner. For this reason when accounting for craft as a vocation, men's domestic lives and interests should not be discounted. Craft as a vocation reflects a sense of long term purpose derived from the development of a body of knowledge. This section has explored such labour not just as the feature of a discreet job role, but also how this interacts with people's unpaid work and life during career transitions.

## ***Conclusion***

This chapter set out to explore the notion of craft. Craft has a practical historical meaning, defined by a division of labour based on an organised hierarchy and means of training. To denote the organisation of work in shipbuilding and individual's trade identification, Craft is a real world term as reflected by Roberts, (1993) Reid (2004), McGoldrick (1982) and Waters (1999). Although this is a significant contextual usage this is not used within the studies craft framework as it does not engage with craft as a normative and personal construct. In the production of a craft framework, therefore, craft is first seen as a holistic symphony between labour and consciousness. Craft in

this form is a philosophical term defining people's need for affirmation in their labour, the particular focus of Marx (1844) Morris (1883) and Sennett (2008). Second, craft is used to reflect a description of practice as drawn from a craft pedagogy (Atkinson, 2013 and Marchard, 2008) this pedagogy produces an internal aesthetic (Kritzer, 2007) within the craftsman. Third, craft is used to signify a practice becoming a long term and embedded vocational career (Mills, 1959). This purposeful practice is directed by an engagement in conducting work as more than an instrumental and economic affair as reflected in the work of both Sennett (2008) and Savickas (1997). That can also be meaningfully enriched and performed as unpaid family labour (Moisio et al., 2013; Murray, 2011 and Cox 2013). However, it is contested by a number of the writers discussed. That these meanings are deeply interrelated with one and other: for Sennett (2008) Morris (1883) and Mills (1951) it is through a craft an embodied practice that people can gain a feeling of craft as an outlook, in a normative holistic sense. Further it is through a continued engagement in a craft practice that this becomes a vocation. Therefore these three meanings are used to structure this researches craft framework below, with a commitment to all three used to define which men had a craft outlook (in chapter 8 page 221).

### ***Craft framework***

To evaluate the men's narratives, collected for this research, craft will be evaluated by: (1) description of practice, (2) attitude to labour and (3) vocation.

1. Description of practice: The individual's practice demonstrates a development and adaption of skills to versatile contexts with the aim of mastering techniques in contrast to static reproduction. Craft performances are informed by communities of practice as internalised by an aesthetic of technique and process. Craftspeople consequently respect the status of experience and enjoy communicating knowledge to enable the development of the next generation.
2. Attitude to labour: Craftpeople demonstrate a motivation to quality work, with a desire to conduct meaningful labour guided by personal integrity, variety and the

hope of creation. Individuals find satisfaction in their practice as a reward in and of its own right; hence this holistic practice makes labour and human consciousness seem inseparable. As a result this intimate practice should reject distinctions between paid work and personal fulfilment, function and beauty, process and outcome.

3. Vocation: craft is a practice based on the acquisition and progressive development of a linked body of skills across people's lives. In this respect, craft is more than a one-off activity, but a vocation constructed through a dialogue between problem solving and problem making. The individual enacts the freedom to test and experiment with their tools and in their projects. However, their practices must still retain continuity and rhythm as a disciplined embodied career.

### ***Concluding summary***

Given the literature reviewed in the last 3 chapters the study wishes to highlight the main theories and debates that are utilized and inform this studies four research questions.

The last three chapters have reviewed a wide range of literature. Therefore this section wishes to highlight the main theories and debates which are taken forward into the analysis and were used to construct the PhD's four research questions. First, the study aims to evaluate the 'age of insecurity' premise that stable long term employment has radically declined since the 1980s. The first research question therefore aims to explore whether this sample experienced a range of short term employment, as suggested by Beck (1994), Bauman (1998) and Sennett (1998), or in contrast found long term employment as reflected by Doogan (2005). This argument will be addressed in three main ways. First, in terms of historical period, it will consider whether both samples of men's careers became based on a range of short term jobs after the 1980s. Second, in terms of generations, it will find out if there was a marked difference in the number of jobs the generations had. Third and moving beyond assessing this question in numerical terms, this

research also aims to explore if there was a generational difference in career orientation between the generations, as suggested by Sennett (1998) and Devadason (2007).

Second, this study seeks to assess the debate on the impact this economic transition is having on individual's construction of identity. Therefore, research question 2 explores on one side Giddens (1991) and Beck's (1994) argument that individuals are rejecting traditional criteria such as occupation and class as the basis for their identities; alongside Sennett's (1998) argument that transient employment is having a negative effect on individual's identity, because individuals can no longer read their lived experience as a coherent story. Also, this research wishes to explore if a 'linear life narrative' can be constructed around other forms of career coherence such as profession or vocation.

Third, the study wishes to explore the impact of industrial and post-industrial work on men's sense of self and work identity. Therefore research question 3 considers: If the sample of former trade workers constructed their identities around being a breadwinner, labour camaraderie and physical power, as argued by Linkon (2014) and Weis (2004). In addition, did deindustrialisation result in either or both of its samples, actively modifying their identity in line with the finding of Weis (2004) and McDowell (2003)? Or did this transition lead to men feeling 'redundant' or 'shamed' as a result of structural transformation and entrenched communal gendered practices as argued by Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012), Nixon (2009) and Nayak (2003). Moreover, did these men as, suggested by Bourgeois, (1995) Connell, (1996) and Mac an Ghail (1994), experience a 'crisis of working class masculinity'.

The fourth and final research question aims to explore if and how craft was discussed by the first sample of former dockyard tradesmen and if this was a topic within the memories of their sons and grandsons. Did a craft division of labour have a comparable effect on these men's working lives at the dockyard, as was found by the findings of Roberts, (1993) Reid, (2004) McGoldrick, (1982) and Waters (1999). A particular focus is placed on the research of Waters (1999), because this was also based on interviews with dockyard tradesmen. So it will aim to find out if the

dockyard working environment nurtured a personal relationship with craft similar to that discussed by Marx (1844) Morris (1883) and Mills (1951). Second the study wishes to explore in more detail if and how craft held an enduring or developing meaning within the working narratives of either sample. Therefore craft is appraised by the craft framework as set up in Chapter 4 with the aim of exploring if these three meanings are useful in understanding how these men narrated their working lives. Or, were any of these meanings linked up by the men and if craft held relevance beyond these established definitions. Therefore this study will evaluate whether craft was used as a tool by these men to map and narrate their working journeys. To explore if this allow them to see their labour as a more comprehensive vocation and navigate transition in their working lives without feeling they were losing themselves.

### ***Research questions***

1. Did deindustrialisation and employment in the new economy disrupt either or both generations' ability to narrate a linear career story?
2. Did either or both generations of men, reject traditional criteria, such as occupation and class, as the basis for their identities and instead construct their own 'project of self'?
3. Did deindustrialisation result in both or/either of this study's sample, experiencing a working class male crisis due to structural transformation and entrenched communal gendered practices?
4. Did craft have an evolving meaning in either or both samples working lives after the dockyard closed?

Having established this studies research questions the next chapter moves on to discuss this study's methodology and give an overview of both the field of study and the methods used during the research's fieldwork.

## Chapter 5 Methodology

### *Introduction*

This chapter describes the purpose of the research and how the study was carried out. It begins by establishing why an interpretivist methodology was chosen to explore the impact of deindustrialisation and move to a post-industrial 'new economy' on working-class men. This methodology was chosen in accordance with the argument that studies of industrial decline need to move beyond static statistical data and instead record the on-going negotiation of deindustrialisation as a process (Strangleman et al., 2013 and Cowie and Heathcott 2003). However, it is argued that whilst 'widening the scope of discussion' it is important not to lose a clear human voice. Therefore this research restricts itself to an active human-centred perspective on deindustrialisation, as fashioned by the career history interviews of the men within this study. That means it is not the broader economic or geographical effects of deindustrialisation which are collected or explored in this study. Instead it is the meaning of this process as given by the participants interviewed. In short, the focus is on how men understood the social transition of deindustrialisation and the effect they felt this had on their sense of wellbeing and their relationships with the values of their family and social milieu.

This chapter then moves to consider how this study was constructed and how it uses an *intergenerational sample* to extend and deal with the limitations of the current literature. This allowed the study to focus on how different generations understood the complexities surrounding economic restructuring and also explore how the cultural legacy of the past was transmitted across generations and affected subsequent generations' search and take up of work. The structure and purpose of the study defined, the chapter then discusses how its data was collected and the study carried out in practice.

Next the nature and collection of the study's 27 career history interviews of two samples is outlined. The majority of interviews were recorded in the participant's family home. The impact of this was that interviews often developed into active cross generational family dialogues with numerous family members discussing their memories or perspectives on shared events. The analysis of this data followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) phases of thematic analysis. Interviews from these two samples of men were initially analysed separately, with the aim to make a

comparison between work identities in the different generations. However during the process of data analysis it became apparent that three main cross-generational themes were being continued and reinterpreted by all these men to understand and navigate their working lives in relation to one and other.

### ***Interpretivist or positivist methodology***

This study's research is constructed in line with an interpretivist paradigm encompassing associated ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions (Guba and Lincoln 1994:107). Jamieson (2013) maintains the underpinning methodological decisions a researcher makes will have a lasting effect on the conclusions a study will reach. Interpretivists argue that sociological research should not transplant the natural science model to the study of the social world, because human agency is distinct from studying chemicals, rocks or plants. Given individual consciousness makes the social sciences distinct from the natural sciences, it is argued sociology should not use mechanical causation. Interpretivists instead believe people's behaviour can only be understood through gaining an empathic understanding of the meanings behind individual's social actions. In simple terms 'meaningful' social actions are the exclusive property of the individual, but these are not constructed in a vacuum, as Marx (1852/1975: 1) more eloquently put it:

'Men (sic) make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like an Alp on the brains of the living.'

Thus individuals and their motives and choices are shaped by their social context and opportunities. Weber (1947: 88) defines interpretivist sociology as a 'science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at a causal explanation of its course

and effects'. This approach is therefore built on the constructionist ontology that 'social reality is something that is constructed and interpreted by people - rather than something that exists objectively 'out there' (Denscombe 2002: 18). Therefore what is considered to be valid or true is negotiated since there can be numerous claims to knowledge. This study plans to gain 'the inner experience of individuals, how they interpret, understand, and define the world around them' (Faraday & Plummer 1979: 776). With the goal to understand: 'the social world through an examination and interpretation of that world by the participants involved' (Bryman 2008: 336). Therefore the role of the researcher is to try and get inside the skin of his or her research subjects. So the researcher did not take on a scientific testing role, but instead more of a role observing the situation in its social context (Silverman, 1993).

A qualitative approach was chosen for this research because it aimed to investigate the lived experience of deindustrialisation. As discussed in detail in chapter 2, this methodology was constructed in support of the contemporary call for studies on deindustrialisation to 'widen the scope of discussion'. This argument had an implication for this study's choice of research methods because statistical data cannot provide us with an understanding of responses to deindustrialisation as a human process (Strangleman et al., 2013 and Cowie and Heathcott 2003). Numbers cannot express how the consequences of deindustrialisation are still being negotiated and interpreted within peoples' identities today. Alongside informing this study's approach this perspective has also guided the research in three further ways.

First, to gain a more long term perspective, the research studies the effect of dockyard closure after 25 years. Men's memories of deindustrialisation will now also be shaped by their current position and working lives since this transition. Thus the men's perspectives on deindustrialisation will have developed in light of their own lived experience before and since closure. *Career history interviews* were therefore considered to be the most appropriate method because these allowed the research to explore the lived biographies of dockyard workers, and how these related to the career histories and work identities of other generations of their male families. Second, to gain a picture of deindustrialisation's long-term residual impact, the life stories and memories of industrial workers' sons and grandsons were also collected. Third, the

intergenerational approach of this study, also engages with topics such as the transmission of memories and values across generations, from both men who worked in the dockyard and men who did not. My approach to studying deindustrialisation, therefore, is consistent with the new consensus to widen the scope of discussion and see deindustrialisation as an on-going experience in people's lives (Strangleman et al., 2013 and Cowie and Heathcott 2003).

However, as discussed in Chapter 2, this study is more doubtful of this agenda's second aim: 'to move beyond the body count' and away from the first-hand accounts of displaced workers. This research focuses on the experience of those affected by deindustrialisation. So it is not the broader economic or geographical effects of deindustrialisation which are collected or explored in this study. Instead it is the meaning of this process as given by the participants interviewed. The study's conclusions are thus limited to the human consequences of deindustrialisation as voiced through the men's narratives. Due to this human-centred perspective, the men had licence to reflect on the multifaceted impact of deindustrialisation. However, it was also plausible that they might believe that deindustrialisation is of little consequence to their lives or sense of self. This human-centred perspective on deindustrialisation reflects how this process affects and is understood by the men interviewed in this particular place and time. This research also shaped its study around five major limitations within the current literature on deindustrialisation as established in chapter 3.

### ***Methodological approach, constructing an intergenerational sample***

The focus on different generations allowed this study to understand the complexities surrounding personal responses to work and economic restructuring. This also explored how/if the cultural legacy of the past constrained or enables subsequent generations in their search and take up of work. Additionally, this was a good method to explore if pressure was exerted on younger men not to take up service sector work and instead search for 'proper masculine' labour along more traditional lines as has been found in the studies discussed in chapter 3 (see Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012; Nixon, 2009; and Nayak 2003). Alongside choosing this method

of sampling to address the gaps and limitation of the current social science, an intergenerational sample was also chosen as this seemed in keeping with the generational significance of the dockyard as an employer.

### ***The Intergenerational framework of this study***

This section sets out to consider the methodological decisions which have informed this study's use of an intergenerational framework to collect its data and how the concept of 'intergenerational transmission' has informed how this data was analysed. It starts by establishing the concept of 'generation' and 'intergeneration' used within this research. Next it discusses how intergenerational research data relates to the subject of structure/agency in people's lives. It is commonly argued that life history narratives inform these questions very well because such accounts sit at the juncture of structural process and individual agency (Jamieson, 2013; Brannen, 2003; and Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame, 1997). However, whilst most social scientists would agree that 'intergenerational transmission' plays an important role in constructing the identity of the next generation, literature on this topic demonstrates that this is far from a simple process. Therefore it is concluded that 'intergenerational transmission' as a process does not reproduce 'sameness' (Kellerhals et al., 2002). Instead, In line with the research of Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1997), intergenerational transmission should be seen as a process of innovation in which each new generation has to take possession and make something of what has been passed to them. Therefore within my study the process of intergenerational transmission is informed by Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame's (1997) concept of the 'transmission of equivalences'. This concept argues generations transmit common values, motivations and practices in contrast to transmitting complete replications of occupational or work identities.

## Concepts of generation and intergeneration within this study

The multiple meanings attached to the concept of *generation* in social research have led many to argue that this concept is often used in a misleading or unsatisfactory manner. 'The meaning attributed to the concept of generation in social and behavioural science frequently appears to be confused and /or confusing' (Alwin and McCammon 2007: 219). To clarify, therefore, the concept of generation in this study is used in line with their definition of this concept as:

A kinship term referring to a discrete stage in the natural line of descent from a common ancestor. This concept of generation serves as a fundamental unit in defining kinship relations, for example parents, grandparent, children, grandchildren, (p.221).

In this study the label generations will not be used to denote the other meanings of this concept such as non-related cohort groups. Instead, when this study demarcates its samples by a historical point of reference, it will use the term 'generational cohort'. A generational cohort defines 'a group of individuals born and living at about the same time' (Webster, 1996). Therefore generation in this study demarcates an individual's position within their family lineage. As reflected in Table 1 below, the first generation are the former dockyard workers' themselves, whilst the second generation are these men's sons and the third generation these men's grandsons. The former dockyard workers' fathers are also listed in Table 1 under the label the 'pre generation'. However, these men were not interviewed, due to most being deceased, so the information on these men was extracted from the interviews with their sons, the former dockyard workers. As a result the pre-generation is only used for context on the family and occupational backgrounds of the former dockyard workers. All of the men's names in the table below have been changed to culturally appropriate pseudonyms and are the names they will be known by throughout the research.

(Table 1) The research samples – main occupation across generations of male kin (all names are pseudonyms)

Pre-generation (a)	First generation, former dockyard workers (C)	Second generation, sons of former dockyard workers		Third generation, grandsons of former dockyard workers	
James Wood, Engine fitter, 17th generation (b)	Peter Wood, Age 86 former Patternmaker and Woodwork teacher	Philip Wood, Age 58 Shipping agent		Andrew Wood, Age 30 PhDs student in music Technology	
Frank Hermiston, Bus Conductor	Ben Hermiston, Age 85 former Shipwright Recorder and retired Co-op worker	James Hermiston, Age 58 former BT engineer and Senior manager	Paul Hermiston, Age 51 Machines engineer to Senior management	Patrick Hermiston, Age 30 Self-employed, valeting business Son of Paul	
Bill Copper, unskilled Labourer, 1st generation (b)	Francis Copper, Age 85 former Shipwright, Inspector of Shipwrights and Health and safety adviser	Chris Copper, Age 60 former marine engineer and London police officer	Harry Copper, Age 53 Electrical fitter		
Derek Plummer, Plummer, 4th Generation (b)	Henry Plummer, Age 82 former Shipwright, Chief draughtsman and Ship surveyor at the Department of Transport	2 daughters one is the Mother of Robert and Anthony - works in admin for Barclays Father is a mechanic for the AA		Anthony Cartwright, Age 30 Tug skipper	Robert Cartwright, Age 28 Self-employed Gardening business
Graham Bekker, Delivery driver	Joe Bekker, Age 73 former Engine fitter and Senior engineer at slow water Thames	Ted Bekker Age 38 Electrical supplier			
Bill Hooper, Lorry driver	Ryan Hooper, Age 73 Engineer	(no children)			
Adam Steele, Boiler marker 7th Generation (b)	Ben Steele, Age 72 Former Engine fitter, Recorder and foreman at an Aviation factory ,Shop manager	Jack Steele Credit control	Gary Steele Hospital manager		
Les Cleaver, Milkman	Cameron Cleaver, Age 70 Former Electrical Navel and Electrical engineer	(No sons or grandsons )			
Jeff Draper Van Driver in the Dockyard	Dominic Draper Age 67 Former Patternmaker, Duty Inspector	(No sons or grandsons)			
Arnold Sexton, Tug skipper	Benedict Sexton, Age 65 Shipwright, Chargehand and Social worker	Miles Sexton, Age 35 Social worker			
Alan Naylor, Electrical tester , 4th generation (b)	Jerry Naylor Age, 64 Shipwright, Chargehand and BT engineer and regional manager	(No sons or grandsons)			
Colin Carrin, Accounts clerk	Darrel Carrin, Age 55 Shipwright, draughtsman Ship surveyor with 'London Registry of Shipping'	Noel Carrin, Age 30 Carpenter			
Doug Wright, Army chef	William Wright, Age 51 former Shipwright, Draughtsmen and HRM executive manager with 'London Registry of Shipping'	Mark Wright, Age 32 former army Mechanical engineer and current MD of his own IT subcontracting firm			

A The pre-generation were not interviewed but referenced by the first generation of former dockyard workers in their interviews.

B number of generations of male family kin to work at the dockyard before

C see, Appendix E Royal Dockyard & Naval Establishments Craft Trades description for outline of each trades roles

## ***Narrative and memory***

It is worth highlighting that any individual's biographical account is recounted and understood in the present. It is for this reason, as argued in chapter 2, that the men's narratives should only be understood in context to their current situation, particularly life and career stage (Super, 1990). Beyond acknowledging that biographical accounts are products of the present this is also important as it means these need to be understood in relation to memory. Barash (1997: 713) argues, 'memory can ensure the coherence of identity'. Memory can therefore be seen as the material from which identities are fashioned. However, Keightley (2010) claims the relationship between memory and identity is not simply a process of reflecting past experience. Instead identities and narrative accounts are formed in 'processes of "working through", remembering is an active reconciliation of past and present' (Keightley, 2010: 57). The past is not understood passively but instead used as a means of understanding the present and vice versa. However this is not always a unifying or happy process. As Beck (1991) and Sennett (1998), argued, social change can make reconciling past and present as a narrative very difficult for individuals, to the extent identities become broken down or corroded. Given memory is a subjective and imperfect view of the past many have questioned the historical validity of oral histories (Bodnar, 1989). Thus when using men's accounts as a historical source these will be cross-examined using other historical data and material. However the primary focus of this study is to understand men stories as a subjective account of their identity. Therefore this research is evaluating how men produce narratives about their lives, alongside how memories are transmitted across generations and how an understanding of the past effects men today within their social milieu.

As a result of this intergenerational and social dynamic, the concept of memory in this study is not just an individual property. As Keightley (2010:58) argues: 'Remembering is not just an articulation of individual psychologies, but a performance rooted in lived contexts'. One of the first writers to discuss this social process was Maurice Halbwach in 1920, whose concept of collective memory defined the joint and shared memory of groups. This concept has particularly been used to understand the impact of traumatic histories on communal memories. However collective memory has been criticised for presenting a homogenised view of memory- as was argued to be the case in Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012) who draw heavily on this topic and

concept (see chapter 3). Hence this research prefers the concept of social memory because as Mah (2008:52) argues, social memory suggests a: 'less homogenised, more complex interplay between the individual and the collective'. This concept has been used within intergenerational research to describe the process of how familial relationships structure and negotiate a common sense of past (Bertaux, 1981; Bertaux and Kholi, 1984). This research will use Fentress and Wickham's (1992:25) definition of this as an 'Expression of collective experience [which] identifies a group, giving it a sense of its past and defining its aspirations for the future'.

Men's career history interviews and other first-hand ethnographic accounts were in a large part constituted from their memories. Like any form of life story these were not simply accurate reflections of the past. Jedlowski (2001:29) portrays memory as 'constantly selected, filtered and restructured in terms set by the questions and necessities of the present, at both the individual and the social levels'. In this regard, these accounts tell us as much about their understanding of the present as they do their ability to recall the past. This study's research questions were constructed with this understanding of memory in mind. The evaluation of these accounts rested on whether men could still narrate a linear story out of their pasts after experiencing the process of deindustrialisation. Or had deindustrialisation and the move to a new economy created a crisis between the men sense of past and present as suggested by (writers such as Sennett, 1998; Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012; Nixon, 2009; Nayak, 2003 and Willis 1977, 1984).

This does not mean the historical facticity of men's accounts was unimportant. This study was also interested in what these interviews could tell us about these men as a group, their intergenerational relationships and the changing world of work. Although the men's narratives cannot offer strictly objective accounts of the past and have limitations due to men's power of recall, this study took a range of steps to mediate these effect as much as possible. First, it was over 25 years since the dockyard closed. While this raises questions of men's ability to recall certain events, this passing of time does reduce men having a direct agenda in telling their stories. Second, all men were aware I was interviewing both other tradesmen and potentially their sons and grandsons. In the process of being interviewed this knowledge should have worked as a caution against men providing consciously embellished accounts. Further at an analytical level this researches sample allowed the researcher to cross check the historical information men gave both by comparing this with other men's accounts and secondary historical sources. Therefore although this data could not be measured for reliability in a statistical sense the individual

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limitation of men's recall were to large extent mediated by a wider collective response and existing material in this area. However, since all the men were tradesmen this limits the studies ability to reflect the experience of others worker in the dockyard. This is an intergenerational study in the full sense that it aims to analyse the relationship between these generations of men in full context and comparison to one another.

Intergenerational research focuses on the '*chains of relationships*' between different family kin and how these relationships are informed by one and other but, also mediated by social structures and historical change. Jamieson (2012: 2) defines familial intergenerational relationships as 'the relationships up and down the generations between mother or father figures and son or daughter figures. In this way, intergenerational research is often used to understand both how social change takes place, but also to assess how these changes affect people. Yet as Jamieson (2013:1) argues, intergenerational relationships can also be seen as the 'drivers of social change', as one generation reacts against the values of their parents, which results in a change to societal culture. Therefore this research uses an intergenerational sample to assess both how men were affected by social change, such as deindustrialisation, but also to explore if men produced social change by reacting against the values of their families and social milieu.

In this regard, intergenerational research not only provides data of historical interest, but also data which informs the core sociological debate on the relationship between structure and agency - as discussed in the next section.

### ***Intergenerational data as a study of the relationship between structure and agency***

One of the most skilful examples of using intergenerational research to inform the agent/structure debate is Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame's (1997) case history of a French rural family. At one level this case history reflects the slow upward social mobility achieved by four generations of men, as the family moved from being rural millers to becoming cattle feed

manufacturers. But on another level, this case history is used to evaluate the impact of agency or structure on creating this family trajectory:

by looking at a very small piece of social historical reality, and finding out which of these two grand theoretical approaches, structuralism or actionalism, appears to be most successful in making sense of what really happened in this small piece of reality (p.63).

However, Jamieson (2013:1) argues such an appraisal cannot simply be completed by analysing data on the individual, as the agent or recipient of social change. She argues both perspectives are a 'matter of theoretical taste and an empirical question that will give different answers at different times and places'. Hence conclusions are not simply objective but instead informed by the ontological and theoretical decisions made by the researcher. For this reason it is worth acknowledging the theoretical decisions made by this study. First the main question of this study was: 'to examine the impact of deindustrialisation on masculine work identity'. This therefore directed the research to an analysis of how the social process of deindustrialisation affected men's sense of self. In this regard, it places process before the individual and it is more likely to generate results in support of a structural approach. However, due to the qualitative methodology of this study being largely shaped by Weber's (1920/1982) theory of social action, my study inclines to more actionalist outcomes. Thus, in support of Jamieson (2013), the findings here will be considered in the context of these individual decisions. Given my wish to understand the complexities surrounding the human consequences of economic restructuring, and explore the ways that the cultural legacy of the past both constrains and enables subsequent generations in their search and take up of work, the process of intergenerational transmission is significant to how men understand themselves and relate to each other.

## ***Understanding the process of intergenerational transmission***

*'Intergenerational transmission'* concerns the course of action whereby resources, capital norms and values are passed from one generation to another (Jamieson, 2013). Guillaume (2002) defines intergenerational transmission as, 'the transfer from one generation to the other of both property and know-how by means of heritage and learning, that is the process by which assets and constraints are handed over'(p.13). Within the social gerontology literature, this process is often used to consider the transmission of tangible assets and capital between generations. However, in this study the focus is largely on the transmission of intangible features such as norms, values and practices between family members. The transmission of these nonphysical quantities is a far more complex and murky process. A process affected by human agency, changing social structures and conflict in family relationships. As Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman (1981) argue, intergenerational transmission will never cause full replication of values in consecutive generations. This is because culture is fashioned by a continued interaction between individuals and their social environment; so it is hard to establish externally the exact factors that shape the process of transmission in practice. However, the literature in this area suggests four common factors which frequently play a major role, as will now be discussed.

First, intergenerational transmission is commonly cited as being affected by parents' perceptions and expectations. Kellerhals et al's (2002) research on the process of identity transmission in families strongly emphasises that parents seldom attempt to simply recreate their values in their children. Instead, values are adapted and shaped by parent's own perceptions and expectations. These values are both adjusted in the context of the perceived character of each child and, usually, the desire for them to have a better, easier or more fulfilling life than their own. The nature of such expectations is reflected in Harden et al's (2012) study of the transmission of employment orientations between parents and children. This found that working class parents felt it was their responsibility to push their children to improve their socio-economic standing and aim for better paid white collar jobs. Parents rationale for stressing 'doing better' for their children was largely based around them not wishing for their children to have to encounter the same hardships they dealt with, as they argue:

While comments from parents and children were often not specific to particular occupations, there was a clear sense that working class jobs were associated with bad futures (Harden et al., 2012: 6).

Given this study's sample of skilled working class men this research will explore if the transmission of employment orientations follows this pattern of parents pushing their children to 'do better'. My study will investigate if, in both work and economic terms, parents shaped value transmission around progression and not replication. Harden et al's (2012) study was based on parents and children between the ages 7-11, so it will be interesting to see if the theme of 'doing better' is replicated in my study's sample and how this is developed over men's life courses and across generations. Having considered how parent's agency affects value transmission, it will now be considered how this process is also affected by the agency of the next generation.

The second factor reflected by the literature is that intergenerational transmission should be understood as a two way process. However, this is not reflected in many of the studies which use a generational sample, since the role of the younger generation is commonly portrayed as largely passive. For example, in Willis' study *learning to labour* (1977), the 'lads' seem to have accepted their family and class culture in a very submissive manner. Likewise much of the community-based literature on deindustrialisation still reflects the younger generation's relationship to value transmission as largely passive, as in Jimenez and Walkerdine's (2010). However, as is well illustrated in Holdworth's (2007:67) study of mothers' and daughters' mutual support relationships, the process of intergenerational transmission does not work as a one way process. Instead values are negotiated and established by both mothers and daughters across their life course and changing relationships together. As she states: 'what is of particular interest here is the extent to which women's shared lived experiences have shaped their relations with each other, over and above the dominant cultural practices and discourses'.

The importance of seeing intergenerational transmission as a two way process is further developed in Kellerhal et al's (2002: 224) who claims that within contemporary privatized family culture, intergenerational transmission is becoming a more egalitarian process based on conversation: 'It is through frequent, serious exchanges among individuals that a specific family culture and specific mode of identity transmission take shape'. This mode of identity transmission they term the 'maieutic logic'. This means intergenerational transmission is an interactive process and reflects values being passed from child to parent alongside the conventional parent to child. Therefore, as reflected in the contemporary literature, this study will consider intergenerational transmission as a two-way process between generations and not simply a top down process where values are handed down from older generations to their younger kin. The former dockyard workers' experience of the closure of the dockyard could be a particularly interesting juncture with regard to this 'maieutic logic', so it will be interesting to explore if any of these men sought advice or guidance from their sons at this point in their working lives (Kellerhal et al., 2002).

Common in the two factors discussed so far is the focus on transmission as a conscious or conversation discourse-based process. However, as Bernstein (1996) and Brannen (2003) argue, transmission does not just work as a conscious project. As Brannen (2003:4) claims:

The transmission of resources of different kinds is likely to involve processes in which much of what passes on, or is passed on, is taken for granted; cultural transmission of class and family cultures can be implicit as well as explicit

Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1997: 81) use the term 'double messages' to reflect this process in how parents project contrary values to their children. The artisans' feelings about civil servants in their study are used to illustrate this term, as this group 'both resent and envy civil servants "who live off our back" but have stable jobs holidays and good pensions '(p.81). So the artisans' children have to deal with seemingly opposing values. On one level they are told this is a good career to have, whilst on another, they're aware of their father's dislike for this occupational

group. Beyond the double messages individuals may receive via intergenerational discourses, messages can also be transmitted through actions and practices. Kellerhals et al (2002) focuses in more detail on the range of social mechanisms such as education, media, gender and ethnicity which inform or effect individual identity. Beyond language they also make reference to how values are transmitted via symbols and rituals. Rituals of religious ceremony, such as weddings and christenings are commonly used as examples of 'transmission channels' a concept they define as 'the main collective practices by which the kinship seeks to affirm a family culture and thus helps to transmit an identity' (Kellerhals et al., 2002: 214). However 'transmission channels' can also be based around more prosaic rituals, such as understanding what is appropriate male work by repeatedly seeing your father repairing the car, or boiler. While fathers or grandfathers may view these projects as based on practical necessity, such practices may however assume more symbolic value for the next generation.

The fourth theme emerging from the literature on intergenerational transmission is the existential tension within generational relationships. The tension each generation feels between their individualism and their belonging to a family lineage. For Favart-Jardon (1996: 310) these, 'Tensions plague the contemporary individual: how can one be oneself while being an heir, how can one search for a balance between 'binding oneself to' and 'freeing oneself from'. This tension becomes obvious in intergenerational studies on inheritance, such as Favart-Jardon (1996) and Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1997). The former discusses women's feelings about the passing on of the family home and the latter reflects on the strategy of men joining a family business. Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1997) argue that in joining the family business, each generation wished to produce their own project, both as a strategy for wealth accumulation, but also as a means of distinguishing itself from the last generation. As a consequence, the existential tension of being involved in the family business was reconciled, because men were able to express their individuality by doing something new with the firm. As they argue: 'The new element involving both the rejection of the past and innovation, enables the heir to take possession of something that actually was passed on to him' (Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame 1997: 93).

However, Guillaume (2002) and Brannen (2003) advance that this tension is not confined to inheritance but instead exists within most intergenerational relations. Lusher (2000) uses the term 'ambivalence' to conceptualise the anxiety of balancing change and continuity in intergenerational relationships. He claims that if feelings of 'ambivalence' are not managed or resolved they can become key sites of bitterness between generations. Guillaume (2002) argues that to reconcile this tension people cannot simply mimic the values passed on to them, but instead must sort this information so they can feel a singular identity. In this way, generations do not passively assimilate values, but instead interpret these as a means of gaining a sense of autonomy from their parents.

### ***The application of intergenerational transmission within this study***

The four features of intergenerational transmission discussed above demonstrate a process that is far from based on passive assimilation and reproduction. Instead, in terms of identity, a series of factors mediate both what is passed between generations but also how these messages are received and interpreted. This point is crystallized by Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1997: 93): 'the transmission of sameness is the exception rather than the rule. A much more common occurrence is probably the transmission of equivalents'. This concept reflects how common themes, values and practices are passed on, as opposed to complete reproductions of social or work identities. This includes innovation and continuation. Therefore the next generation both take possession of what has been passed on whilst also being able to see their lives in context to their family lineage. As they argue:

'what is retained may be the occupational status (the physician's son who becomes a doctor) or vocational locus (the nurse's daughter who becomes a doctor), and compose the core of the equivalence... The point is not simply that he must 'make something of what was made of him', as Sartre put it so aptly, but that he make something of what has passed on to him' (Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame 1997: 93).

As a result, when discussing intergenerational transmission my research uses the concept of the 'transmission of equivalents' and not the 'transmission of sameness'. Given that this chapter has considered the methodological decisions leading to the use of an intergenerational framework, it now moves on to consider the use of '*career history interviews*' as a means of gathering generational and intergenerational data.

### ***Career and Life history interviews***

It is widely agreed that life history interviews are a rich source for understanding and analysing people's sense of self. As Rosenwald and Ochberg (1992:1) argue: 'Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one's life; they are means by which identities may be fashioned. It is this formative and - sometime deformative - power of life stories that makes them important'. The collection of life history interviews is the most common research method within the intergenerational literature (as reflected by Jamieson, 2013; Brannen, 2003 and Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame, 1997). This is because as discussed above, such narratives inform questions on the relationship between social process and social agency well. The central method of my study is therefore the semi-structured interview, based on collecting career histories which mirror the methods used by MacDowell (2003). This means the research will be able to make informed comparisons with a wide range of relevant literature. Career histories are used in this study for three reasons.

First, this study is interested in the variability of time, exploring the structural changes of the move from an industrial to a post-industrial society within the narratives of two generations of men. Second, these two groups should not be treated as static, so career histories will be used to consider men's memories of the past, reflections on the present and aspirations for the future. As Connells (1995: 89) suggests, 'the project that is documented in a life history story is itself the relation between the social conditions that determine practice and the future social world that

practice beings into being'. Third, using non-directive questions allows participants to construct and validate their own picture of work and the wider social world in which they live. Thus biographical accounts give rich documentation of personal experience, attitudes and how these are shaped and changed by social structures and the life course. Although my interviews had most of the features of life history accounts they did have a particular focus on the topic of work. The interview guide was structured around people considering their working lives and the working lives of the generations that went before and after them in their family lineage. As a result, it is reasonable to acknowledge that the interviews collected were not life histories in the full sense, as the men interviewed were aware that my main interest was the topic of work. Most men however engaged with this topic in its broadest sense with none confining their accounts to paid employment. Instead, their stories ranged and connected up their lives beyond work as they talked about things such as relationships, health and wellbeing, and their domestic life and unpaid work. Given the term 'life' history interviews is perhaps too all-encompassing, these are called 'career history' interviews. With the term career used as Goffman (1961: 119) did to refer to a person's 'course through life' as related to a particular social role or identity- in this case work. Given this focus this research was particularly informed by Watson (2008). He suggests research on the topic of work identities should not become narrowly focused on people's specific roles in work organisations:

There are dangers in the very notion of 'constructing identity in organizations'. There is a danger of failing to see the human individual as a 'whole person' and a danger of forgetting that organizational activities are only one part of a manager's life... It is thus important to look at the whole lives of people who do managerial work rather than at the so-called 'managerial identities' of organizational managers (Watson, 2008: 426).

The interviews carried out for this research thus aimed to understand people's biographic narratives in relation to and beyond work. Therefore work was seen in relation to people's wider lives and how this was negotiated and understood as 'whole people'. A biographical approach is also important according to Watson (2008), as it gives a sense of the interplay between the self and society, work and identity. Identity work thus reflects the process of how individuals develop

their own narratives and how these are constructed in relation with cultural narratives of their milieu from 'the tales our parents tell us about work' (431). Identity work consequently reflects the interaction between the internal and external features of people's identities which he defines as:

Identity work is the mutually constitutive process in which people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity and struggle to come to terms with and, within limits, to influence the various social identities which pertain to them in the various milieux in which they live their lives' (Watson, 2008: 129).

This concept works well with the intergenerational 'career history interviews' collected by this research. This suggests men think not just of their own stories but how these relate to or depart from the stories and values of their family and social milieu. Further Watson (2008) argues that whilst the internal and external features of people's identities are treated as distinct at the analytical level. This is not the case when people give biographical narratives as he argues 'When people offer us narratives of self, they are simultaneously talking 'inwardly' as well as 'outwardly'' (Watson, 2008: 130). Thus in such narratives people fuse both their subjective feelings and objective experiences. Plummer (2001: 395) agrees that life stories 'bridge the cultural history with the personal biography'. The function of people giving narratives of their lives is thus clearly connected to how people understand their identities. As reflected in chapter 2, while Giddens (1991) and Sennett (1998) disagree about precisely how narratives are constructed in relation to social roles both agree that having a relatively clear narrative is a significant part of people's self-identity. Giddens (1991:53) argues the self is 'reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography'. People's sense of self according to Giddens is therefore understood by their 'biographical narrative'. People's sense of wellbeing and security as a consequence relies on their 'capacity to keep a particular narrative going' Giddens (1991: 54).

However, some theorists have questioned the significance of narrative coherence as a measure of people's sense of identity and wellbeing. Strawson (2004: 447) for example argues that 'the narrative tendency to look for story or narrative coherence in one's life', is a 'gross hindrance to

self-understanding'. He instead contends certain individuals are 'episodics' that need 'absolutely no sense of [their lives] as a narrative with form, or indeed as a narrative without form' (2004: 433). However Watson (2009) questions as human beings are cultural animals how far they can simply remove themselves from engaging with social narratives. My study's focus on how social transition, such as deindustrialisation effect people's sense of wellbeing and their relationships with the values of their family and social milieu. Although this is understood through people's narratives, if people voice their lives in such an 'episodic' way, but are content and demonstrate this causes them little sense of identity brake down, this will be reflected as a finding. Further, whilst this emphasises individual and generational meanings of deindustrialisation and identity construction, at the analytical level these accounts are used as a means of understanding how these men as a group were affected by this process. It would be misleading to consider the men's interviews purely self-constructed narrative as these were produced in context to myself as a researcher therefore my own positionality will now be considered

### **Positionality**

In sociology, there has been a marked move away from the researcher being seem as a detached recorder of events, towards acknowledging the shared and reflexive role a researcher plays in the construction of data (Robert, 2002). Morley (1996) states a researcher's values and identity always effect the construction of interviews. The interviews collected for this study are a case in point as these were mediated by context and my own identity. However Sparkes (1994) argues that the researcher entering into their research too much can lead to a self-obsessed narcissism. A point developed by Farrow et al (1995: 101) who believes the process of situating oneself in research is to 'shed light' on the research process in contrast to 'navel-gazing'. Therefore, I will keep this section on my own identity brief. I am a white, middle class, early 30s, academic and unlike the men interviewed, I am from the Midlands not Kent. Also noteworthy to interviewing tradesmen I have very little practical or manual aptitude, a reality made clear to me first by my own father who once said 'sociology was best for me, as I couldn't do anything with my hands'; second by my brother who enjoys telling the story of me trying to fix a bicycle puncture without removing the silver foil from the repair patch. This said, working class people have never been a foreign tribe to me, as I went to a comprehensive school and most of my friends are not academic, many tradesmen themselves. I have also noticed that trying to explain my career as a

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Sociologist creates almost universal confusion among friends of all class backgrounds and occupations, and as a consequence have developed what Sennett (2012: 21) calls 'engaged empathy'. This 'engaged empathy' tends to work through acknowledging to my friends that what they do for work is strange but interesting to me, alongside the recognition that what I do is strange to them. Sennett (2012: 21) argues this empathy conveys "I am attending intently to you" rather than 'I know just what you feel'. This 'engaged empathy' became my general disposition when undertaking the interviews with the two samples of men in my study.

For the first sample of former dockyard workers my identity seem to have a number of interesting effects. Although too polite to openly state it, most seemed to view me as a young impractical man, who needed informing of the grounded reality of trade work in the dockyard. At the start of the interview process this was largely true and when I became more knowledgeable I decided not to disrupt this image. For example, asked if I knew what a boilermaker did or if I understood how a hydraulic periscope worked I would tend to say things like, 'a little, would you like to explain'. I was happy with being seen as ignorant in this context for a number of reasons. First, these in depth explanations were a good channel into the meanings men attached to their work. Second, this worked as a way of 'shifting a lot of power over to the researched' (England 1997: 82), because my inquisitive ignorance allowed the men to feel a sense of status in their knowledge against my own qualifications.

The age of this sample also had an interesting effect. These men being aged between 40 and 60, seemed to produce a paternal dynamic like having a conversation with my grandad or father. The men thus felt it their role to pass on their wisdom and experience to me as a member of the younger generation. I was happy to co-construct this atmosphere since this paternal dynamic gave men the freedom to discuss their feelings, emotions and meaningful relationships in a way they are often reported to be uncomfortable doing. This also appeared to me an avenue to understanding the manner they would have used when communicating with apprentices. Merriam et al (2001: 411) state that 'Positionality is thus determined by where one stands in relation to "the other"'. However Bourke (2014) and Rose (1997) provide examples of how a researcher's outsider identity can in fact produce an affinity in interviews. They conclude that differences in ethnicity and class do not always play out in a predetermined way in interviews. This was evident in my interviews with most of the older men as our age difference seemed to

work in my favour as men did not feel challenged in the way they might if talking to one of their own peers.

Mcdowell (1992: 403) argues that the researches should not 'draw a veil over the implications of her own position' and my identity did seem to effect interviews with this sample in a key way. Men seemed conscious of the difference between my educational qualifications and their own practical learning. Many wished to establish the depth and qualities of their own process applied learning against my academic background. However this classed and educational dynamic seemed far from two dimensional and could not be reduced to a divide of doers and thinkers. Instead most presented a nuanced dialogue, expressing the significance of learning while reflecting how their applied employment was different to my work. In essence the insider/outsider divide meant that the men saw themselves as 'thinking doers' while viewing me as a 'thinking none doer', but most felt it respectful to not directly tell me this. Therefore, it would be reasonable to acknowledge that this emphasis on applied learning did impact on the themes of personal adaptability and craft.

Many of the dynamics above were also reflected by the second sample, particularly the older men in this group. However, the interview dynamic was different with the men in this sample who were the same age as me. At the start of some interviews this caused a little anxiety with men seeming to feel I might judge them. Bourke (2014: 4) also reflects the effect of shared identities causing anxiety in his study of students going to predominantly white Universities. He argues that, 'Students of color were much more open to discussing issues of race with me, while white students were what can best be described as reticent'. The men in my study seemed more nervous than reticent, so I tended to break the ice by asking them what they been up to that day, to engaged them in conversation and tell them how thankful I was for their time. In the interview I would also start by asking about the work of their parents as this seem chronological and a less personal place to start. This encouraged them to talk about their Dads and seemed a good site to build a rapport, as I had already interviewed most fathers. This created an affinity founded on the experience of being a son. For example, in the early stages of these interviews I would often reveal things my own father had said to me such as the statement in paragraph one. Whilst this technique was effective in breaking down tensions between myself and these men, it did perhaps make father/son comparisons a more overt topic.

With the exception of one man once most got talking interviews required little verbal management; the majority of my own communication done through bodily gestures and eye contact. Further, this seemed a gratifying experience for both parties as most seem to actively enjoy telling their life stories and the space this gave them to think about the obstacles, choices and connections in their lives. In this way, it became very clear to me how important it was to these men to have a narrative story to understand their own lives; a story that both established their own powers of individual decision making but also embedded them in their background and demonstrated the coherence of their values to their families and occupational identities.

The significance of connecting their stories to those of their families was also established by post-interview family dialogues. After recording one-to-one interviews, commonly sons and fathers would continue to chat together about memories and experiences. I did not plan or foresee these dialogues, but they became a rich source of data. However, they did create a methodological dilemma as often alongside father and sons, mothers and wives would also be present and contribute to such discussions. On a practical level this was great as it gave a wider sense of family values and context. However this did raise a difficult question about the representation of these women as this study sample was consciously constructed to explore male work identities. Therefore, I decided such comment should be used as data but that it would be unrepresentative to present these mothers and wives as part of my sample since I had not recorded their full personal stories. Further, to do this would change the focus of the study from men to families, a topic I am interested to explore in future research, but not one I could do justice to in this study.

A final sampling decision was how and whether to represent men in the first sample of former dockyard workers who had no male children. In short, as this was an intergenerational study should these men's narratives be included or not? I decided they should be included. First, these men had given up their time, so I felt unease in acting like a bureaucratic deity excluding their personal stories because they did not neatly fit into my criteria. Second the occupation of these men father's contributed to the pattern of generational mobility in this sample as a whole. For example Les Cleaver's father was a milkman while he became a tradesmen, which was illustrative of the common upward mobility between the pre and the former generation; a factor that like other men affected his own narrative and career trajectory. Third, given I had interviewed a number of brothers in the second sample, the inclusion of these men in the first sample allowed for a more numerically balanced comparison. These decision were made with a pragmatism that

Higginbottom (2004) regards as common and unavoidable when undertaking ethnographic research. A pragmatism shaped by the constraints of time and context and the realization that however rigorous sampling criteria are due to size, location and time of ethnographic research, these will not provide representative results in a positivist sense.

***Undertaking the career history interviews in this study***

Interviews lasted on average between one or two hours with all being recorded and transcribed verbatim. A semi-structured interview guide was given to participants before being interviewed with a range of suggested topics for discussion see (Table 2).

(Table 2) Interview guide

<p><b>Self-history</b> Your memories of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The work of your parents</li> <li>• School</li> <li>• the move from school to work</li> <li>• First job</li> <li>• How did you get this?</li> <li>• What was your next step</li> <li>• Explain a Standard work ,Shift, Week, Year</li> </ul> <p>Did your work change or can it be unusual in any way?</p>	<p><b>Workspace</b> What was the work space like:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enjoy/dislike</li> <li>• Relationship with those (Around, above, below you)</li> </ul> <p>Who did you:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Get on with?</li> <li>• Any tensions</li> <li>• With particular work groups?</li> <li>• Who are your role models and why?</li> </ul>	<p><b>Work identity and social roles</b> What impact did your work have on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Your sense of self/character</li> <li>• who you socialised with</li> <li>• your interests or leisure time</li> <li>• How you identified yourself</li> <li>• And see others</li> </ul> <p>What do those around you (family, friend other people) think of the work you do?</p>
<p><b>Work Development</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Did the work Interest you (why)?</li> <li>• cause you stress</li> <li>• develop, push you</li> <li>• get you where you wanted to be</li> <li>• just a wage</li> <li>• satisfies you</li> </ul> <p>Is this what you wanted from your work?</p> <p>What did you/have you learnt from your work?</p>	<p><b>Time unpaid overtime or social</b> How did you spend your non work time?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• With work mates (who)</li> <li>• At work event</li> <li>• Or occupational association or clubs</li> <li>• at home</li> <li>• doing overtime</li> </ul>	<p><b>Concluding questions</b> What effect did your work have on your body?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• positive or negative</li> <li>• affect your health in anyway</li> </ul> <p>If you could get another type of job what would it be and why?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Did your work pay</li> <li>• Any other parts or features of your working life</li> </ul> <p>Any questions that you would like to ask of me?</p>

A slightly modified interview guide was given to the generations of dockyard workers’ sons and grandsons. This changed the tense of some questions, from the past to the present and future, to encourage them to also talk about how and where they felt their lives were going. Detailed in chapter 2, because most of the second generation and third generation of sons and grandsons were early or mid-career, these men’s interviews should be considered unfinished narratives.

The interview guide was given to participants before beginning the interview. However, I would always stress that these were only suggested topics and that this was their interview, also saying that what I really wanted 'were the stories and experiences they felt were significant to their lives'. Most participants then constructed their interviews on a chronological account of their lives and careers.

Interviews are often categorised simply as semi-structured or unstructured. However Brinkmann (2014: 285) argues in practice these are better seen as 'a continuum ranging from the relatively structured to the relatively unstructured'. This is a good description of the interviews carried out in this research. First, this reflects the differences across interviews with some more structured than others. Second, it also reflects that within a single interview there would be both structured and unstructured periods. At times men would concisely answer a number of questions quickly, so interviews became quite structured. At other times men would talk for long periods with only non-verbal support.

My approach to conducting interviews was most informed by Wengraf's (2001) work on biographic-narrative interviews. Although this study did not strictly follow this method his approach did inform how interviews were performed in a number of ways. He suggests the interview should start with a single question, 'designed to elicit the life story of the informant' (Wengraf 2004: 4). In this regard most of my interviews started with a question like, 'I am interested in your life story we could start with you telling me about the work of your parents?' Many then needed little subsequent verbal guidance, instead proceeding on their own to discuss their childhood, education and later their own careers. Wengraf's (2004: 8) concept of 'active listening' also informed how I conducted myself during interviews, as I tried to avoid consoling, advising and most importantly interrupting the men, I also followed his advice on real and fake endings as follows:

In particular, you need to allow the interviewee the length of pauses, of silences, that they need to think through or recall the material they are trying to access. Sometimes

they may be watching images or a film in their heads which need to be fully and silently accessed before they can start telling you about it. Bad listeners interrupt, or stop attending during, silences. Good listeners don't. They give non-verbal support in a non-intrusive way.

At first these silences seemed personally uncomfortable and I had to suppress my natural inclination to ask a new question to move the interview forward. But I was aware such interruptions would produce fake endings, since it would be me and not the participant who concluded their account. So in leaving people space and silence this allowed them time to sort their memories and decide when their narrative should end.

The majority of interviews were recorded in the participant's family home. This meant that after first recording the men's individual interviews, I also recorded the subsequent cross-generational family dialogues that commonly developed with various family members discussing their memories or perspectives on shared events. This dynamic was particularly notable in the case of interviewing the Copper family, because after interviewing both men individually, work and family became the topics for an open family dialogue between father, mother and son. This was also repeated when interviewing the Carrin and Herminston families. Second, this domestic setting allowed participants to illustrate their memories and interests through showing me photographs or describing their craft projects. For example, Darrel and Noel Carrin showed me the architectural drawings and around the two-storey extension they had built together, as they discussed the process of designing and building this onto the family home. Another example was Dominic Draper, who showed me around his hand carved bespoke wooden kitchen. These projects of home improvement were not only talked about by the former dockyard workers, but were also reflected on in the memories of these men's sons and grandsons. These open and non-structured family discussions, although not planned, have thus become part of the inspiration behind writing Chapter 9 on a '*craft outlook*' that explores sustaining a linear life story. Comparable open discussions about memories and perspectives of dockyard work were also recorded during the Thursdays spent with the men at the 'Dockyard Historical Society'. These discussions are particularly useful in reflecting on the relationships and sense of relative status between different tradesmen in the yard.

In this period of the research a range of other materials were also collected to enrich and give context to these accounts. First for basic factual context the research used a factual questionnaire which all of the men filled out. Second, for both context and depth, a number of follow up interviews, letters and phone calls were made to and received from different participants during this period. Alongside the primary data I also collected secondary data both from the dockyard archives and factual information given by the research participants themselves. An additional source of factual and contextual information also came from the men's oral histories themselves. These allowed the researcher to extract details of the working history of these men's fathers and other family member's. Hence, as referenced in Table 1, fathers of the former dockyard workers have been categorised as the pre-generation. Although none of these men were interviewed and most were deceased, their occupations do give some insight into the cross-generational mobility of this sample. This shows that the majority of men's fathers were employed in less skilled jobs than their sons. Moreover this also gives a picture of the men who were part of a long generational lineage of dockyard workers. For example, James Wood, Adam Steele and Derek Plummer were all part of a family lineage of five or more generations of men who worked in the dockyard. Whereas, Ben Hermiston, Joe Bekker, and Bill Hopper's families were all from London and the first generation to work in the dockyard. Thus unlike many of the deindustrialisation studies (for example Jimenez and Walkerdine's 2010) this demonstrates that the dockyard industrial community was neither static nor homogenous. Instead this was a mixed picture of some men having long generational lineage, whilst others followed a relatively recent domestic migration of labour.

### ***Data collection***

The primary data in this thesis is 27 men's career histories. These were divided into two samples, since this study is a comparison between former dockyard workers and former dockyard workers' sons and grandsons. The first sample of former dockyard workers is based on 13 career history interviews collected between May 2011 and 2012. Although all of these men formed part of the

same first sample, a number of other factors were considered in assembling this sample. First, six men were members of the 'Dockyard Historical Society' and seven were not. The six members of this society were on the whole easier to contact and most open to being interviewed. However I did not want to base my first sample on only members of the 'Dockyard Historical Society', since these men's membership of this group meant they were still actively involved in preserving the history of the dockyard. In an effort to gain a more balanced picture of the lasting significance of the dockyard, the study interviewed a further six men who were not members of this society. These 13 men also fell into two 'generational cohorts' (Webster, 1996), using as an historical point of reference 1984, the year the yard closed. Seven of the former dockyard workers were 45 years or older in 1984 and six were under 45 in 1984. Of this first sample all the former dockyard workers interviewed were skilled tradesmen, with all thirteen of the men interviewed completing a dockyard apprenticeship. Therefore this study can only comment on skilled workers and not semi or non-skilled workers in the dockyard.

The second sample of sons and grandsons of the former dockyard workers was initially more difficult to obtain. The main obstacle in generating this sample was that not all of the men in the first sample had sons or grandsons. Further, some of the men's sons or grandsons declined the invitation to be interviewed. However, with some persistence the researcher managed to interview fourteen sons and grandsons in total. In total 10 of these men were the sons of former dockyard workers and 4 were grandsons.

### ***Method of data analysis***

With the aim to understand how the men as a group were affected by the impact of deindustrialisation the study chose a thematic approach to data analysis. This choice was by no means an easy one, as this research empathized with the argument made by people such as Riessman (2008) that dividing people's stories into themes can reduce or even remove the richness and complexities of each individuals account. In particular my fear was that the men in this study would become, as Fantisa (2000: 3) argues of Lamont's (2000) study: 'In the necessarily

decontextualizing context of the interview, they have essentially become talking heads, throughout the research analysis'. This research therefore wished to avoid men's accounts being disembodied to simply justify themes and arguments within the research. While this tension cannot be completely overcome within a thematic approach, this research did take a range of steps to mediate this effect. First I used long quotes that not only illustrated the researches themes, but also gave men's own contextual justification for their accounts. Second, whenever feasible I presented complete segments of peoples narratives reflecting how men themselves started and finished a discreet section of their interview (Wengraf, 2004). Third, and again when feasible, I used episodes of intergenerational dialogue when fathers and son's discussed their history together. Although a difficult decision, the merit of a thematic approach seemed to outweigh its limitations. This method allowed the research to compare across men and generations to find coherent themes that spoke for the majorities' experience. Also it allowed a more egalitarian representation of all men's cases, a limitation of a narrative approach is that by devoting so much space to single narratives, this commonly results in other people stories being excluded from presentation.

Thematic analysis is one of the most frequently used methods for analysing qualitative data, although as a method it is often 'poorly demarcated and rarely acknowledged' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 77). It is for this reason that the research followed the phases of thematic analysis as set out by Braun and Clarke (2006) in the table below. Since the main aim of this research was to make a comparison between the two samples of men, thematic analysis was used in three separate stages. First, it followed the phases set out below on the sample of dockyard men. Second, these same phases were again followed but on the sample of non-dockyard men. The final stage then compared the two sets of themes as generated by steps one and two and highlighted the similarities and differences across these two data sets.

(Table 3) Six phases of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006:77)

Phases	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.

2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	On-going analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

This study set out as a comparison between two samples of men. However, in the last step of data analysis, it became apparent that cross-generational themes were being continued and reinterpreted by these men. Thus the research data from the two samples were compared to each other which led to the development of three overarching intergenerational themes based on the evidence provided by the data. In short, the evidence suggested continuity rather than rupture, with the three main cross-generational themes of a '*getting on*' philosophy to work, '*personal adaptability*' and a '*craft outlook*' becoming the major findings of my study (see table 4 below).

(Table 4) Themes addressed in this thesis

<b>cross-generational themes</b>	<b>A 'getting on' philosophy to work</b>	<b>'personal adaptability'</b>	<b>'craft outlook'</b>
<b>Defining the themes</b>	Men's two main factors in making career decisions were upward career mobility & better job security.	The strategies of adapting skills and embodying new work identities to achieve better career outcomes.	Defined by a (1) description of practice (2) attitude to labour (3) vocation As set out in the craft framework on page 221
<b>Relationship between the themes</b>	The men's career motivations and attitudes to paid employment. justified personal adaptability, as a means of gaining better extrinsic outcomes	1. Used to actualized their getting on philosophy to paid employment  2. Enable men to redefined their trade work as 'craft'	1. Compartmentalised paid work and craft projects, so men could retain a 'linear life narrative' to their career whilst still getting on 2. A fundamental cite of learning the skills and capacities for personal adaptability.
<b>Nature of intergenerational transmission</b>	Parents shaped values transmission around progression and not replication akin to Harden et al's (2012)	Decisions for career adaption shaped by in 'maieutic logic' of father, sons and grandsons exchanges Kellerhal et al (2002). A number of examples of motivation for career adaption in dockyard men a result of the guidance from sons or grandsons.	Theme shaped by a 'maieutic logic' but based on the 'transmission channel' of the physical performance and process of doing and learning trade skills alongside their fathers Kellerhal et al (2002).
<b>Where this theme emanated in the narratives of the First generation, the former dockyard Workers</b>	Pushed by the men's parents	The Royal Dockyard training taught them to be autonomous tradesmen, able to conduct a dialogue of problem solving and innovation.	A practice fostered in the atmosphere and nature of trade-work in the dockyard. But, interpreted in this way by the individual workers
<b>Where this theme emanated in the narratives of the second and third generations, of sons and grandson of former dockyard workers</b>	Intergenerational and socially constructed theme again pushed by the men's parents	Originating as a value socialized through family. However re contextualised by these generations as a strategy in their working journey and career transition	In generational craft project through which fathers, sons, and grandson spend time working and learning together But, interpreted as having a significant role in their career outlooks by the sons and grandsons

### ***The research ethics***

This research was granted ethical approval from the University of Huddersfield in 2011 (See Appendix A). The researcher respected and worked in partnership with the participants and local community, by gaining informal consent, anonymising respondents and offering to provide transcribed scripts if informants wished. Two of the first dockyard workers did request such scripts and once they had read these wished to clarify a range of historical and contextual details

about their working roles in the yard. However neither seemed in the least interested in editing or changing any attitudes or values they had presented.

### ***Conclusion***

In this chapter I have demonstrated how the research agenda of Strangleman et al (2013) and Cowie and Heathcott (2003) to study deindustrialisation as a process helped to develop this PhDs research approach. Next I outlined how this study was structured by an intergenerational framework, as informed by the work of Jamieson, (2013) Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1997) and Kellerhals et al's (2002). Then the nature and collection of the study's 27 career history interviews with two generational samples was discussed. Finally, this chapter described the methodology used, the data collected and the data analysis strategy adopted. The original aim of this study was to make a comparison between work identities in the different generations. However it became apparent that cross-generational themes were being sustained and reinterpreted across these generations of men. The three cross-generational themes were central to the men's explanations of how they tackled transition in their working lives and thus these became the major findings of my study. In the next three results chapters, the three main cross-generational themes of a '*getting on*' philosophy to work, '*personal adaptability*' and a '*craft outlook*' are presented.

## Chapter 6 results - a 'getting on' Philosophy to Work

### ***Framing the theme***

*Getting on* was a theme developed from the common and recurring rationalisation that the men use to make career choices during their working lives. Although the term '*getting on*' arose directly from the men's interviews, the theme itself was constructed by the researcher during the process of analysis from the entire interview data set of former dockyard workers and their sons and grandsons. A *getting on* attitude is defined by the men's career decisions being made with a consistency focus on upward career mobility and better job security. For both generational samples, this theme was a subject that occurred across their own career decisions but also in intergenerational advice they gave to their kin. As a philosophy to work, *getting on* became the coherent focus for the majority of men within the study. However this was not a passively assimilated system of beliefs for either generation. Instead, taking on this philosophy commonly went through a process of reaction, interpretation and appropriation at distinct parts of the men's life and career stages.

### ***Organisation of the chapter***

To reflect the process of men negotiating a *getting on* attitude across their working lives, this theme is broken down into ten subthemes. For the sample of former dockyard workers, this theme reflects six career stages, which map the common journey these men went on in establishing this philosophy. The initial four reflect the development of a *getting on* philosophy in the context to the men's careers at the dockyard. Subtheme five then reflects the enactment of this philosophy by these men when the dockyard closed and how this motivation was further utilised within their careers beyond this point. Subtheme six then demonstrates how a *getting on* philosophy was pushed as a value by these men to their sons and grandsons.

Next the chapter discusses how a *getting on* philosophy was interpreted and taken on by the sample of sons and grandsons. This process did not happen in such predictable or institutional steps for this sample, because, unlike their fathers or grandfathers who all worked in the dockyard, these men did not have a shared employment experience. Instead this group reflected a more diverse range of employment pathways. However, whilst occupationally more varied, these men's narratives commonly cited negotiating a *getting on* philosophy to work in two particular stages. Subtheme seven reflects that in adolescence and their early careers, the majority struggled with or reacted against their parent's assertion of this philosophy. However, subtheme eight shows that, in entering their 30s and establishing their careers, they commonly cited reinterpreting and re-appropriating this philosophy: a change they linked to new responsibilities such as becoming a husband, father or house owner.

Having established how *getting on* was interpreted as a work theme for both samples of men, subtheme nine and ten illustrate how *getting on* as a philosophy also informed men's wider world view and attitudes to others in society. On the whole, the men identified with any group who they felt held a similar desire to get on and further, empathised with the contextual struggles of these groups. However, these men were quick to identify themselves against a stratum in society, who they saw as able to work, but who consciously chose not to. This distinction seemed to emanate from the men demarcating themselves as respectable instead of rough working class.

### ***Getting on for the former dockyard workers***

The men's chronological discussions of their lives demonstrated that a *getting on* philosophy did not simply occur fully formed; instead it seemed socialised, struggled with and solidified through a number of junctures in the men's childhood and time at the dockyard. Additionally, the construction of a *getting on* motivation although concluding with the men defining themselves as individually driven workers, paradoxically illustrated how shaped this attitude was by external influences and pressures. Therefore these stages demonstrate both the major structural forces on the men's lives, but also how the men developed over their careers a growing level of

individual autonomy and agency. The first subtheme illustrates that this motivation and definition did not come about overnight or alone. Within the sample this theme seemed to first occur due to the influences of the men's parents. Of this generation of former dockyard tradesmen, the majority came from unskilled backgrounds, reflecting that their parents had advised them that doing a trade apprenticeship was a secure foundation on which to start their careers. Whilst craft and trade were used in a largely interchangeable fashion in the men's recollection of their work in the dockyard, trade is favoured within this chapter's discussion to keep a clear distinction between this theme and the third theme '*Craft*'.

### ***Subtheme one - choosing to take the dockyard exam***

The first step which was common in the vast majority of the first samples working lives was choosing to take the dockyard exam. Until the 1970s, passing the annual dockyard examination was the only means of starting an apprenticeship at a Royal Dockyard (Lunn and Day, 1999). In the 1970s, technical apprenticeships were introduced, which allowed boys with very good school records to become apprentices without taking this exam. However, within this study's sample, only two of the thirteen men took this route. What was apparent for the majority was that the decision to take the dockyard exam was not made alone. Instead, for most this decision was made under the guidance or pressure of their parents, as reflected in the quotes below.

*My father was a tug-skipper on the Thames which was a damn good job. Personally I would love to have served sometime on the river as a lighter man, but he wouldn't let me because I went to grammar school, so it wasn't a job for me. However my younger brother went to a secondary modern school, so he went on the river and earned a bloody fortune (Benedict Sexton, former Shipwright and Chargehand).*

*My father was an engine fitter and turner and he often came home very mucky. My mother wasn't keen on me getting my hands dirty she wanted a clean-coloured son; but my dad said It was a reliable government job, and if you became established you*

*got a pension. So I did the exam for my dad and became a Patternmaker which was less mucky partly to please my mum but ultimately it gave me the keys to the door for the rest of my career (Peter Wood, former Patternmaker).*

The quotes above reflect a common insight by the men as a group that their parents were a conservative and circumspect voice in their initial working decisions. In a similar manner to Harden's (2012) theme of doing better, the men's parents advised that a dockyard apprenticeship would act as a secure foundation for their son's future working lives, since getting their trade indentures would lead to a regular job within the dockyard or become a desired qualification in other industries. Additionally, as reflected by Kellerhals et al (2002), this demonstrated that these men's parents adjusted their expectation in relation to the perceived characters of their children. As for Benedict above, some men felt their parent's occupational advice was modified in light of their grammar school education. However, at this stage, there was little overt reference to aspirations of continued upward mobility post apprenticeship. Instead security seemed to be the main focus for the men's parents. Further, with the exception of Peter's mother, none of the men's parents suggested what type of trade might be best for their sons. The men's interviews revealed that this ambiguity came from two factors: first, that their parent's seemed to believe a trade held its own value; and second, that their choice of trade would be negotiated in the dockyard.

### ***Subtheme two - choosing a trade***

After passing the dockyard exam came the process of choosing a trade. Of the thirteen men, twelve recalled memories of taking the dockyard exam and the process of choosing a trade similar to that explained below by Henry Plummer a (former Shipwright, Chief Draughtsmen and Ship Surveyor)

*When you were successful in the examination you were invited back to the dockyard, I remember going into one of the big canteens ... which had plumbers, shipwrights, engineers, electrical fitters, every trade that had openings...and each had a number like they might've wanted say thirty shipwrights...or twenty engineering apprentices. If you came first on the examination, you got to choose first, and if you were last then you would be asked last, by calling out your name in order and say 'trade ?' ... As they went down the list the main trades that people went for was electrical and then station fitters, two station fitters, so the first two would be asked which one they wanted however they didn't necessarily have to go for that particular trade... So for example without being cocky about it shipwright was the, was one of the most important trades so they might choose that instead.*

Choosing a trade for many men seemed the point at which getting-on became a more overt and practical consideration, with a large number openly talking of being undecided or changing their minds on which trade to take. Commonly they referenced the influence or advice from dockyard employees or tutors in making this pragmatic choice, as is echoed in the quotes below.

*In the exam, I came half way down and the top trade were the electrical and the engineering department, so although I originally wanted to be an engine fitter, I had not passed the exam high enough, so the next best for getting on was shipwright which I took (Jerry Naylor, Shipwright and Chargehand).*

*It was a case of I wanted to be a, carpenter or joiner, but they recommended to get on in the dockyard you were better off to be a shipwright, so that was the trade I went for and I've never looked back really (Ben Hermiston, Shipwright and Inspector).*

Only one of the men in this sample talked about taking a trade commonly perceived as lower in status. In simple terms, he was the only man who rejected the popular advice of dockyard employees or tutors by not choosing the highest trade on offer. Although the vast majority

reflected a level of instrumentalism when selecting their trade, when talking about becoming a tradesman almost all were zealous about the high status of their trade in the internal hierarchy. This form of commitment and feeling of personal identification with a trade, Brown (1972) argues, is a common feature of the apprenticeship system. He argues that apprenticeships were not just focused on training, but were also passages of socialisation, in which young men would be instructed of the significance and status of the trade they were joining, a point further illustrated in the next theme.

### ***Subtheme three - learning and becoming a tradesman***

Whereas the first two stages in the process of the men developing a getting-on attitude happened over a short period, becoming a tradesman reflected a longer episode in the men's lives. This section will only focus on the effect this had on their sense of identity. The more textual detail of this period will be considered later in the theme '*craft*' (chapter 7). In the first two subthemes, the major external work influence on the men's lives passed from parental to dockyard guidance. However, alongside talking about learning the technical skills of their trades, men also discussed in detail being socialised into their trades' collective identities. Thus, as apprentices and tradesmen, most of the men seemed to ascribe their status to the sectional identities of a chosen trade (McBride 2011). Alongside Brown (1972) and McBride (2011) research on this form of identification is also consistent with the findings of Casey (1999) and Waters (1999) on the occupational identity of dockyard tradesmen.

*Without being cocky about it, shipwright was one of the most important trades it goes all the way back to Henry the Eighth. We were the trade that started shipbuilding. Also as a shipwright, unlike other trades, you could work up and become constructor and then chief constructor in the big design offices, (Henry Plummer).*

*As patternmakers we weren't afraid of taking on woodwork jobs from other trades because, without sounding funny, we were the most skilled. I mean you got some very*

*gifted shipwrights and joiners, but they didn't have our level of training, (Dominic Draper).*

*Some people thought, the most academic lads took patternmaking, but if they wanted to leave the dockyard there was very little work for patternmakers. Whereas in the electrical trades I've known people and they've become managers of power stations, (Cameron Cleaver, former Electrical Engineer).*

Sectional trade identities seem to work on two levels: first, socializing men into the shared identity of their trades and second, as a means to identify and demarcate their status against other trades and unskilled workers. Numerous men felt the relationship between sectional trade affiliation and personal identity became blurred within the dockyard, as both Jerry Naylor and Ben Steele discussed in some detail:

*Unofficially the different trades could be judged by character... so electricians were considered the top trade and they were slightly snobby. Engine fitters were the next grade down and 'not quite as bright, slightly more argumentative'. Next, were boiler makers who were rather rowdy and not quite as bright again! Then shipwrights, who could be very skilful but were not really pushy... so as an engine fitter you knew, if you had a row with a boilermaker it'd be a pig of a loud row, whereas if you had a row with an electrician it'd be quieter but you probably wouldn't win ...It didn't work for all men, but a high percentage did fit that bill, Strange!, (Ben Steele, former Engine fitter).*

*You could tell by the person the type of trade which they belonged to. Let's say for example a labouring grade as opposed to a trade, which sounds a little bit snobbish but it's not meant that way. But you knew full well when you spoke to them the type of work they did, so you could differentiate. An outside man would never see it; you wouldn't know the terminology he used. That terminology was part of your apprenticeship as a shipwright, you would talk about deck-head instead of the ceiling or bulkheads and stuff, and it did become a thing (Jerry Naylor).*

Although these thick trade identities were described by most of the tradesmen, they tended to be mediated by other forms of association and commitment. First, most men referenced age in forming friendships outside the yard. *'Remember you're not the same age as most of those you work with, so you tended to keep to the other apprentices socially or mates from school'* (Joe Bekker, former engine fitter). On the whole, the men believed that trade identities only held significance within the yard, and that friendship and socialising outside the yard was mostly based on age and location. Although most men talked about differences between trades, these attitudes were often qualified by comments about dockyard work being a collective endeavour and a sense of comradeship as reflected in the quotes below. This seems consistent with McBride's (2011) findings that collective identities within trade work were multifaceted and identified with in a contextual fashion. As she argues while sectional identities were prioritised within many internal contexts and negotiations workers still retained a clear collective identity as a whole workforce. This is reflected in the quotes below:

*Comradeship is the thing, you work with people that you don't choose to work with but you want to work with them because they're your workmates, you rely upon each other in many situations. I mean you've got a variation of skills and experience and not everybody can have the same experience, nor the same skills, so you work as a team, you contribute together* (Peter Wood).

*Each department depended upon each other, you couldn't manage without either one of them because in the dockyard you were sort of like a massive great family and you'd watch others, do their trade work and it was very interesting* (Derek Plummer).

*In one compartment typically you might have plumbers doing plumbing work, electricians working on electrics, you might have fitters installing some equipment, welders welding all going on in the same area, so as tradesmen you'd sort it all out together beforehand, so most of the time relationships were good. I mean as tradesmen we were all on the same sort of pay scale* (Benedict Sexton).

These quotes give a degree of credence to Galliver's (1999) findings that within Royal Dockyards, trade demarcations on the day-to-day were held in a less defensive manner than in commercial shipbuilding. Further, on one level tradesman appreciated that building ships was a united enterprise and held respect for the skills of other trades. As reflected above, although the men established the importance of the different forms of trade skills necessary in the repair, refitting and building of naval vessels, respect was almost wholly dedicated to the work of other tradesmen, with none making direct reference to the importance of work performed by non-skilled men in this collective endeavour. Therefore, expressing their respect for the sophistication of other trades seemed a means of inadvertently justifying their own status. Most men wished to establish that their status as tradesmen was warranted against non-tradesmen because of the effort and ability they had put into their careers. Yet the men in this sample refrained from openly criticizing unskilled men as most came from unskilled backgrounds themselves (As is further explored in subtheme nine).

#### ***Subtheme four - beyond trade***

As reflected in the last section, collective trade identities were important to the men, whilst training and working as tradesmen in the dockyard. These were used as an identity in presenting themselves, and as a means of identifying others within the dockyards labour hierarchy. However, the vast majority of men did not stay in trade work within the dockyard. Instead, of the thirteen men, ten gained promotion into non-trade positions. These roles moved their work away from an internal engagement with their trades. As reflected in Table 1, the most common promotion was becoming a Recorder or Measurer. Both these jobs were on the whole white collar and bureaucratic roles, based on Recording and Measuring the piece work of different tradesmen and calculating bonus pay as described by the three men below, in these new roles their work identities had to adapt beyond their former trade identities.

*You've got to become a Recorder, an all-seeing eye if you like, that can take whatever they chuck at you and bounce back, because you deal with everybody. You don't feel*

*like an Engine Fitter anymore. No, no you've got to be prepared for all the people even if you've been friendly with them before. If you're measuring their piece work they won't look upon you with the same eyes [laughs] (Joe Bekker).*

*So going up and down those dock steps it keeps you very fit. But I suddenly thought to myself I won't be able to do this when I'm sixty, you know, it'd kill me [laughs]. And to become a Measurer, you needed the knowledge from your trade to do that job, but you were no longer a Shipwright, you couldn't be, it wouldn't be fair to anyone (Ben Herminston).*

*As a young bloke I had a fire within me 'all management were always wrong, it's them and us', But as you get older and perhaps more mature you realise that some of these accusations against them were false, and that they were necessary. So when I became a Measurer and then a Chargehand my role changed, but I didn't change too much and I think people respected that you'd gone through the same journey as them and you've got a job to do (Jerry Naylor).*

Like in the quotes above, a lot of the other men reflected *getting on* through promotion was not only motivated by economic mobility but also factor such as physical ageing and maturity. Jerry Naylor particularly considered how he felt his attitude to labour relations had matured during his time in the dockyard.

An additional factor other men were quick to emphasize was that it was a common misconception that engineering work was mostly about physical exertion over mental consideration. Thus, physical work they argued was only ever one factor in their work as tradesmen. Therefore moving away from their tools simply extended their other skills, as reflected by William below:

*The misconception that people have is that for engineers, it's all technical and physical work, its wrong really. It's a lot more than just engines, for example. A lot of*

*shipwrights and boilermakers work wasn't production centred. A lot of them went as I did, into the design division or the trade offices, which were the planning side, in largely office based work (William Wright).*

Although for the majority of the men promotion took them away from their tools, this transition did not mark the end of these men's engagement with their trade learning and hands-on work. Instead this was extended in their domestic lives and leisure interests as will be explored in the theme 'Craft' (chapter 8). Hence, most considered the move away from manual work, 'at their tools', as a conscious career decision and necessary consequence of getting on. Non-physical work was thus not regarded as 'antithetical' to these men's sense of work or male identity as is advanced by Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012) and Nixon (2009). Instead the transition into white collar roles was reflective of their *getting-on* philosophy because it allowed them to earn extra money, gain a higher status and move into more secure positions. Thus moving from manual to white collar work did not cause a rupture in these men's work identities, but instead was viewed as a successful episode in their working lives and career development.

Further, the transition to white collar work was an active decision made by most, whilst still working in the dockyard and not a transition thrust upon them by the external force of deindustrialisation. In most of the men's interviews, it is only by this fourth stage that getting-on seems to have become a fully formed individual attitude to work. This is because the men's work identities are no longer based on subscribing to collective identities, but instead viewing themselves as individually autonomous and motivated workers. The emphasis on becoming individually autonomous workers seems well reflected by Ben and Joe's quote's above, as they no longer see themselves in sectional trade terms but as an objective '*all-seeing eye*'. Alongside Jerry and William, they viewed their new roles as the first step into self-motivated managerial roles in '*largely office based work*'. Thus to achieve their desire to get on in the dockyard, men embraced having to adapt their work identities to new and unfamiliar work contexts.

***Subtheme five - the enactment of a 'getting on philosophy' beyond the dockyard***

Whilst the details of the former dockyard workers transition to work beyond the dockyard will be considered in depth within the theme, *Personal Adaptability* (chapter 7), a *getting on* philosophy retained its core position within the men's career motivations. However this was discussed with different emphasis by different men, as reflected in the quotes below.

*Well I don't think my career outside the yard was that unusual. Perhaps the high level I got to was, but I think most had the same focus, yes on improving themselves and pushing for promotion. Also if you're a skilled Welder or you're a skilled Engineer you'll find work. It's only really the unskilled men, you know, that really struggled. But most of the tradesmen I meet, at the reunion, for example, seemed to do well after, work wise after the yard closed. It was an expectation of your background; it's a self-reliance thing actually (William Wright).*

*Companies were crying out for us, because there were a lot of us coming out of the dockyards as engineers and they knew you were ready, willing, and able. So yes, I didn't have that much trouble in terms of getting a job, or even earning a better income. It seemed as if companies greeted you, almost with open arms (Joe Bekker).*

*You were taught to be that way to push yourself, to act on your own...initiative so when it came to finding work after I used that and it seemed to help..., also my second daughter being born, pushed me to move up and get more money. I started as an engineer with National Telecom, it was quite an interesting job and I enjoyed it as much as working in Chatham dockyard ... I got three or four promotions and the money was good. The lads were good, I had good working relationships with all the workforce there and I had, ten, twelve happy years there (Jerry Naylor).*

*I got a job as a Work Study Engineer which, although well paid, it made me very unpopular with the workers, you know. I had to watch and time different men doing jobs, really boring, but at the time I had a young family so it paid to stick with it, but it wasn't fun no, not at all! (Benedict Sexton).*

William and Joe's quotes first suggest that most dockyard trades retained their value and were desired occupations with which you could easily find equivalent work. Thus their skills did not become redundant with the closure of the yard. Second, as reflected by William and Jerry was the sense that as dockyard men they had been taught the skills of 'self-reliance' and 'initiative' which enable them to achieve positive transitions to new types of work even if these were different to their former employment. The first three quotes above demonstrate that for some, *getting-on* was achieved almost without difficulty. Whilst for others, *getting-on* gained a new dimension as a rationale for persisting with a job they did not enjoy, as in the quote from Benedict Sexton. However, a common sentiment, expressed most clearly by William above, was that '*self-improvement*' was an ethos of dockyard trade work; a view consistent with the historical accounts of both Waters (1999) and Hilson (1999). This ethos thus enabled and motivated the men in this study, to *get on* in their careers beyond the dockyard.

#### ***Subtheme six - the intergenerational transmission of a 'getting on philosophy'***

Although the men's use of a *getting on* philosophy to describe their own careers post the dockyard showed some variation, this philosophy held a more coherent meaning when they discussed giving advice and trying to influence their own son's career choices. The majority reflected, like their own fathers a generation before, that they also tried to impress on their own sons the virtues of job security and upward mobility, when making career decisions. However, for this generation, advice on *getting on* took the form of encouraging their children to stay on in education and get white collar jobs.

*Well me and my wife always used to try and you know push, sorry, impress, the importance of education on James and Paul, you know go along to parents evening, make sure they did homework. I also used to give them talks, as I was saying before, when they were in the Scouts with me, about things like reading, you know tried to*

*instil a sense of discipline and development... I don't know if we had a particular career in mind but, more one with a predictable wage and which would, you know, give them room, space to develop, move up so to speak. I think I suggested at one point a manager at one of the local shipping companies, because Ron four doors down did that, but that didn't go down very well. Paul just wanted to get out at sea, but James seemed to take some of what I said on board [laughs] (Ben Hermiston).*

*We really wanted him to stay on, do his O, sorry A levels, because he was smart really, still is... I thought that would be best for him, to work in an office,... wasn't having it though, no, he was full of big ideas, restless really, 'wanted to start living' as he said to me...Jane thought I was partly to blame, because we spent so much time fixing stuff, like engines together, (Joe Bekker).*

Ben and Joe's quotes reflect well this samples generational development of the meaning of *getting on*. When giving early career advice to their sons, each impressed the significance of education as a means to get a secure white collar job, instead of replicating their own trade work.

A *getting on* philosophy is therefore particularly consistent with Harden's (2012) research on the transmission of employment orientations, which argues that working class parents in not wishing their socio economic hardship on their children, try to impress upon the next generation the value of 'doing better'. Although Harden's study was based on parents and children between the ages of 7-11, *getting on* can be seen as an active mobilization of this desire, but as navigated across men's working lives. In simple terms, each generation was pushed to better their economic lot and social standing in comparison with the generation that went before. As a result, *getting on* is akin to Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame's (1997) transmission of equivalents, instead of the transmission of sameness. Because *getting on* reflected an active expectation for the next generation to make something of what was passed to them. However in the quotes above whilst both men seemed clear on the career message they wished to pass to their sons, both suggest the merit of this message was not so transparent to their son's at this stage. Joe particularly, suggests his son's reluctance to follow his proposal of office work could have resulted from spending '*so much time fixing stuff, like engines together*'. A subject that recurred in many father

and son's discussions of this period as crystalized in the intergenerational dialogue of Francis Copper and son, Chris Copper below:

*Francis: He was a bit short-tempered, you know, so you had to be careful what you said, 'cause he'd flare up, he's settled down now. But I advised get your 'O' levels, and thought working at a Bank might be good for him because he went to the mathematical school at Rochester... so he was very good, good at maths. However when he got to his fifth year he said, 'I'm not stopping on any longer'. I said 'well you're not packing up until you get a job'. So he said 'alright then I'll get a job'. I said 'well you do, because you're not packing up school, thinking I'm going to keep you lying about indoors or anything like that'. But that back fired a bit at the time because he did get a job didn't you?*

*Chris: That's right, Yeah, I didn't want to follow dad's advice, to get my 'O' levels, go in a Bank and be a manager, it didn't appeal to me. I hated the idea of office work I'd rather be outside doing stuff, like working with engines like me and dad do together. It's just like being in a cage, or a cell. I also didn't really want to work in the same place as dad, so I ended up starting an apprenticeship in Rochester for four years.*

Thus whilst fathers overtly pushed education and white collar jobs as a means of *getting on*, for their sons the performance of craft projects with their fathers seem for many to have had a far more significant impact on shaping their first career decisions. The concept of 'double meanings' is apt here, since on one level the sons were told white collar work was best and a good career to have, whilst in their day-to-day spent long periods with their fathers, enjoying together the labour of technical trade work. So the next generation of sons and grandson recalled having to sort seemingly opposing values from their parents a situation Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1997) believe is common in intergenerational transmission and term 'double meanings'. These quotes also illustrate Kellerhals et al (2002) argument that channels of intergenerational transmission are not confined to language but this process is also informed by social rituals. In this case, the prosaic ritual was repeatedly seeing and working alongside their father's on craft projects. Further, as Brannen (2003) argues, these forms of transmission are often implicit and can be taken for granted by one or both party. In this study, some fathers and grandfathers made a

retrospective link to the impression their domestic labour left on their sons and grandsons, while others seemed largely oblivious or did not openly acknowledge this.

### ***Subtheme seven - sons and grandsons initial negotiation of a getting on philosophy***

In the last theme, quotes from Joe, Ben and Francis represented the common desire of the former dockyard workers as parents to push their children to get-on by advocating they stay in education and aim for white collar occupations. However, they also recalled that these paths were initially rejected by their sons. Discussed in more detail by the men's sons, the most common rationale for this decision was that they found school restraining and had plans to shape their working lives around a non-school interest.

*Always knew I wanted to be in the Merchant Navy, I had a dinghy, which I used to keep on the quay in Rainham, so all my free time, and some of the time I should have been in school [laughs], I would be out sailing on the Medway, I loved the water and used to see and talk to a lot of sailors, as a young lad ... It all seemed like such an adventure, so although I was doing well at school, I was fixed on joining the Merchant Navy. So as soon as I was allowed to leave, I wanted out... No mum and dad weren't happy, they wanted me to stay on, and get a stable, reliable job... dad tried to appease me by suggesting an office job, at, Marcus and son shipping company, but I wasn't having it, it was being at sea, that adventure I wanted (Paul Hermiston).*

*I suppose most of my mates at the time lived round me, and they went to, Hope Hill you know on the hill? [A comprehensive school in Gravesend] ... whereas I used to have to get the bus to Dartford grammar for boys...So I spent most weekends kicking around with my mates, fixing cars with my Dad, then I'd get on the bus on Monday ... Yeah it was strange, I felt very cut off so and sort of restrained... When I got the weekend job at City Electrical, around all those electrical products that my dad had*

*taught me about, that felt right. I thought this is me, this is what I want to do' (Ted Bekker).*

Similar to the men above, a large percentage of this sample recited memories of defying or rebelling against their fathers *getting on* philosophy of going into low risk white-collar employment. However, this was not the case for all, with five describing actively following their fathers' advice. For example Philip Wood discussed not knowing what to do after school and following his father's guidance, to join a friend's shipping company: *'I did go along, it was a small privately owned shipping office on the High Street, so I started as a tea boy really and worked my way up from there'*. However, in total 10 of these 14 men's working lives began between the ages of 16 to 18 without completing qualifications above GCE or GCSEs. A common motivation for leaving school was a desire for their lives to move quicker, as Anthony Cartwright refers to below.

*At 16 I got a job, part time, as a deck hand on a tug. It's hard to explain but it was such a different world. I always felt a little trapped at school, being talked at and told what to do, but on the tug I was away from all that. Billy the chap I worked for taught me so much about the job, and its history on the Thames. I loved it and knew, it was what I wanted to do. My parents weren't sure, wanted me to stay on at school, but I wasn't having it! (Anthony Cartwright).*

From an external vantage point, the second sample's common early exit from education could suggest a picture of class reproduction at a young age. However, this would mask the meaning men attributed to this transition, that, ironically, the motivation for this choice was a conscious reaction against their parent's advice to get on. For example Paul cites *'adventure'*, Anthony being *'trapped'*, Chris feeling *'caged'*: thus escape not generational reproduction seem the focus for many in their first career decisions. However, as the next theme illustrates this reaction against *'getting on'* was temporary for most.

### ***Subtheme eight - Interpreting and appropriating a getting on philosophy***

The last subtheme illustrated that, as adolescents making their first career choices, the majority distanced themselves from a simple *getting-on* philosophy as prescribed by their parents. But, this subtheme shows this was only a temporary challenge to this motivation. Thus men's orientation to work came round to a *getting on* way of thinking as their careers and wider lives matured. Many recalled that between their mid-twenties to mid-thirties their outlook to work changed from seeking gratification in the short term, to taking a long term perspective on their career development. The main reasons cited for this more careful long-term perspective were a combination of being in long-term relationships, starting a family, and/or becoming a house owner. Most men felt these three factors changed their carefree attitude to work; from this point on it was their main responsibility to stay in secure employment. As commented by Paul Hermiston and Jack Steele:

*That was when I got married, in my thirties, thirty four, yeah... And wanted career stability, you know, I 'ad a mortgage at the time and, and a dog and kid and everything else that costs money... and it was steady money (Paul Hermiston).*

*Having kids... right! That was an experience...changed the way I thought. Almost overnight, think it does for a lot; I've spoken about it with Gary he agrees, [his brother] it's the way you think and make decisions. You think: 'right my choices have to be careful now you know, make a bad one and the kids will suffer, couldn't have that...I've relaxed a bit now, but whilst they were little used to play on my mind 'alot' (Jack Steele).*

Interestingly, like Paul Hermiston above, many of the men at this point in their interview stopped calling their work 'a job' and started using the term 'my career'. In the last two sub themes we see how men's attitude to *getting on* is in part mediated by their life and career stage (Super, 1990). In the last theme, as adolescents the men were at an exploration stage with few external

constraints. Therefore they were able to make short-term, individual decisions about their careers shaped by ideas of adventure and gratification. Now they were at a 'maintenance' life stage (Super, 1990) as the quotes above suggest, in long term relationships with commitments such as dependent children and mortgages. Their career decisions were made in relation to their family responsibility. Thus their focus became long term stability. So whilst *getting on* seemed initially a confining philosophy, now it seemed a necessity for managing their more long term commitments. The term career seems symbolic of this transition, as their work was now viewed beyond the short term of jobs and instead as a long term commitment, a career. Chris Copper, who in the last subtheme talked about seeing office work as a 'cage' and had in his early career worked across the world as an engine fitter, expressed the change in his work perspective in very clear terms:

*Why did I stop, well you know, I had a young family. One time I came home from Mexico had brown skin and white hair from the sun, my little boy only 3 at the time ran away from me across the room, didn't recognise me. That was the point I knew, that I needed to come home and work over here again. At that stage I wanted job security, so, hence the application. Because I thought, well, police, it's a pretty steady career so for job security, for my family, I decided to retrain as a policeman. Some of my friends said, I don't know how you can deal with all those sights like bone's hanging out of people. But it's part of your job, 'and you get on'... I didn't go out socially much. I wanted to be at home with the family or doing practical stuff in the garage with the car or with my dad.*

Like Chris, most men who had children also remarked that this changed how they spent the majority of their leisure time. From this time forward, the men talked of spending less time at work functions or with work friends and more time with their nuclear and extended families. The family therefore seemed to become the men's main focus and source of emotional reinforcement. As Gary Steele said: *'don't spend social time with people at work much these days, not rude, enjoy the Christmas party, but on the day-to-day just prefer being at home, with my family'*.

However, balancing family time with their perceived role as the secure provider became a major tension in many of the men's lives. Five men felt that being a secure provider had required them at points to sacrifice time with their families to maintain this principal role in the long term. Like Ted and Philip below, a number of the men recalled regretful memories of having to miss events in their children's lives due to the pressure of work. This topic is further developed in the next theme, *personal adaptability* (chapter 7). However, this was particularly related to *getting-on* by a number, who suggested they felt some underlying anxiety about whether they could move jobs and still keep their levels of status and pay. These men suggested that their promotions had not simply been based on credentials or skills, which could be put on a CV, but on a level of trust built up over years with their bosses and employers.

*Really, pleased with my job. It's taken me all the way up into management. Don't get me wrong, it's been hard, hard, work, but I think I've been lucky for the opportunities I've had... I mean you see a lot don't you? Of workers who start at the bottom, but don't get any breaks 'so to speak' to develop working for companies, who won't, not prepared to invest in them, train them up. That's hard (Ted Bekker).*

Later, Ted went on to talk about having to commute from his family home in Manchester to his work place in Woolwich, London:

*You just have to get on with it. We couldn't just live on my wife's wage, we need both of us to be earning really...Spending time away can yes, get me down at times, feel a bit low...I miss the kids' football matches, waking up without Mary next to me, strange! But that can still throw me off at the start of a day. It's difficult, I worry I'd have to start again at the bottom if I moved to a place up North. But, spending time with my dad, that's a good thing definitely! We're really close and he's getting old, also he's been alone... since my mum died (Ted Bekker).*

*My career developed by what you might call 'natural progression'. You see I'm the sort of person that won't take any risks, so career-wise I stayed with one company until I retired. The most stressful period on my family life, [was] managing the company's office in Sheerness, although a step up in terms of my income. I had to*

*work longer hours on top of the commute to Sheppey... things like missing parent's evenings and other events like my son's recitals that was hard, alongside not seeing my wife as much. But because it was a small firm there weren't a lot of options ... Until at 48 I changed the direction of my career, running the companies deep sea pilotage service. Although in that role I had to be on call 24 hour a day, it being largely based around internet and phone communication, meant I had more freedom to work from home regularly. Thus I saw more of my family... which I did until I retired at 58. On the one hand I didn't get the big promotions, but on the other hand there aren't many with as good a pension as me... (Philip Wood).*

This change in attitude meant that the majority had gone from initially reacting against their father's *getting on* philosophy, to embodying this career outlook by their mid-thirties. Alongside the quotes above, as is represented in Table 5, 10 of the 14 men who were in full time employment in this sample had spent over 70% of their working lives to date with the same employer. This illustrated the significance of these men investing in long term careers with secure employment. This pattern is in contrast to the premise of the age of insecurity thesis that a job for life is outside the reach of most people today (Beck 1992, 2000; Bauman 1998; Giddens, 1991 and Sennett, 1998). However, as will be discussed in more detail in the next theme *personal adaptability* (chapter 7), the majority of this sample's career stability was not based on passive progression but individual career adaption. This process also reflected the tension of balancing their personal and family needs with the responsibility of their developing careers.

(Table 5) men in sample 2 who worked over 70% of their working life with a single company

<b>Research Participant</b>	<b>Occupational sector and main employer</b>	<b>Working life (WL) in years with this employer</b>	<b>Percent of (WL) with this employer</b>	<b>Other jobs</b>
1 ) Philip Wood Age Now 58	Peter Hammond shipping agencies	42*	100% (42 years)	None
2) Paul Hermiston Age now 58	Kent Echo Print company	41 ~	82% (34 years)	Merchant Navy Community officer
3) James Hermiston Age now 51	National Telecom Communication & telephone company	34 ~	95% (32 years)	Admin manager at Rainham bowls
4) Harry Copper Age Now 53	Electrical solutions	34#	72% (18 years)	Account officer

	Department stores electrical fitters			Apprenticeship with Short Brothers
5) Ted Bekker 49 year old	City Electrical Factors Electrical whole sellers	34#	100% (34 years)	Non
6) Jack Steele Age 45	Triumph insurance credit control	28#	96% (28 year)	Gates bar and Eatery
7) Mike Stevens 45 year old	Kent Care Social worker	22#	100% 22 year	None
8) Gary Steele Age 43	Kent region health hospital manager	25#	92.2% (25 years)	Gates bar and Eatery Gardens for you
9) Anthony Cartwright, Age 30	JP Knights Tug skipper	14#	100% (14 years)	None
10) Noel Carrin Age now 30	Grandson construction Construction firm	14#	71% (10 years)	Carpenter with 'Good Saws' construction

# Still in paid employment with the same company

\*Retired

~ Still in paid employment

The last seven subthemes illustrate the life course route that a *getting-on* philosophy took in becoming a personal value for both samples of men in this study. *Getting-on* can therefore only be mapped and understood as a career philosophy across men's life course. This means intergenerational transmission was an interactive process based on a 'maieutic logic' (Kellerhal et al., 2002) of advice or guidance being sorted and appropriated at different stages in men's lives. Further, when the men did come to adopt a *getting-on* philosophy, most placed significance on taking ownership of this to understand their own lived responsibilities - instead of passively succumbing to their father's life views. Thus *getting on* had a duality as a generational message. In embracing their family values of self-improvement, so men's working lives became more practically distant from the occupations of their fathers. Thus as Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1997: 93) argue, these men emphasised that they were making something of what had been passed to them.

However, it became clear in analysing the study's data that *getting-on* also held wider significance. Thus the remaining subthemes will consider how these men used this career philosophy in describing and evaluating their feelings towards other groups. The men's feelings toward these different groups on the whole seem to be based on whether these groups adhered to a *getting on* attitude.

### ***A getting on philosophy to different social groups***

The sociological work of Sennett (1997) and MacDowell (2003) and the historical work of Roberts (1993) and Reid (2010) all suggest that a key component of working class men's construction of identity is not just how they define themselves, but also how they define themselves against others within society. Alongside illuminating how these men constructed their motivation to work, *getting-on* as a theme also seemed to reflect this second dynamic of identity construction. Thus the next two subthemes demonstrate how *getting-on* was used as a wider philosophy to demarcate solidarity or differences to other social groups within society. This was fundamental because the men in this study seemed to identify with any group who they saw as having a parallel desire to *get-on*; empathising with the circumstance of their struggle. However these men were quick to identify themselves against a stratum in society, who they saw as able to work, but who consciously chose not to. Interestingly, whilst *getting-on* was used in a coherent fashion to demarcate other workers or non-workers, this career philosophy did not seem to provide a clear way of thinking about female gender roles, as will be discuss first.

### ***Subtheme nine - Attitudes to gender roles***

*Getting on* fashioned a gender role for men, in which they saw themselves as the stewards of family provision and self-reliance. As reflected in the previous subthemes, no men switched roles with their wives or became primary care givers after deindustrialisation. On the contrary, all sought and found new full time employment. Further, as reflected in the last theme, whilst most men's home lives became their central sphere of affirmation, most placed heavy emphasis on their central responsibility to the family being as a provider. A number suggested that at certain points they had to sacrifice key family events for their careers. However, the vast majority of these men's partners also worked in both samples. Although this came to an end for some women when they had children, this was only the case for a small minority. This theme aims to unpack men's gender comments and attitudes in more detail.

First, none of the men presented overt essentialist links to their wife being more suited to a nurturing role. Jerry Naylor did assert that having his wife at home with their children had a positive effect on their family life: *'My wife's never worked, but there's certain benefits I feel where, that your children gain, I helped at home and things like that, I think that made all together a more rounded family life'*. However even Jerry later mediated his views saying: *'I'm not opposed to it, I feel that women need to work today and I encourage my two daughters'*. But for other men a *getting-on* career philosophy seemed a coherent family strategy, based on both partners working full time. As Ted Bekker from the sample of sons and grandsons reflected above, for his family to *get on*: *'we need both of us to be earning really'*, a point that was reiterated by Peter Wood of the first generation: *'She's supported me in my work as I've supported her in hers, we're a partnership'*. Whilst in practice this sample suggested links to the production of 'settled lives' based on dual earner partnerships as reflected in the work of Weis (2004), this did not seem a novel feature of new economy work nor did the vast majority seem ideologically committed to gender neutral roles.

Moreover, there was little suggestion of an underlying generational gender pattern. For example, Henry Plummer at 82 was the second oldest man in the study, but nevertheless presented one of the most liberal attitudes to gender in discussing his experience of training the *'first lady constructor'*. This he considered one of his *'finest work achievements'*, because *'she was so clever, you know, she went straight in as a naval constructor. I was so proud because it wasn't easy in those days as a lady, but she was so natural at it, better than me, went to Greenwich with the Admiralty'*. A pragmatic gender outlook was not just reflected across the men as a group, but also at different points of individual men's narratives. For example Ben Steele's interview illustrated how seemingly opposing gendered statements would occur within the same interview:

*That was very positive, I felt, when the equality acts came in, I had several girl apprentices, most of them were very good, also had a good effect on the atmosphere of the yard, you know, meetings became far more polite, the men acted better with women around.*

However later Ben said,

*What some ladies would call sexual harassment today, weren't treated as that, they thought it was all humorous and treated it as such, which I think was on the whole a healthier way of treating such things.*

Overall, *Getting on* thus seemed to give men a clear gender role as the stewards of family provision and self-reliance. However they did not seem as unified on what the gender role of women should be. Some reflected the significance of dual earner relationships as a necessity or means to maximise *getting on* as a family strategy, while others felt to sustain a caring family that their wives main role needed to be as the primary family caregiver. However a general limitation of any study that only focuses on the perspective of a single gender is that the other genders views on family-and-work divisions are not coherently accounted for.

### ***Subtheme ten- Attitudes to Class***

'*Getting on*' as a career philosophy also seemed to shape on how men located and understood their class identities. First, this was evident in how men demarcated solidarity with other social groups within society, based on if they saw them as adhering to a *getting on* attitude. Thus, while most justified their own status against unskilled workers, they also empathised with them, because they saw this group as part of the same struggle to *get on* and provide for their families through work. However, most men were more pronounced on demarcating their class identities against people who they believed could, but chose not, to work. Thus they held little respect for this group because they saw them as actively rejecting a *getting-on* philosophy.

Attitudes to non-skilled workers were a site of some tension for the former dockyard tradesmen. Whilst they justified their own status against this group, they also did not wish to appear superior or condescending. This is best demonstrated by the men's use of linguistic qualifications when talking about this group such as: '*I wouldn't never criticise anybody who works*' (Francis Copper) or '*they were just making a living like the rest of us*' (Dominic Draper). In total, twelve of the

thirteen men qualified statements about semi or non-skilled workers by similar comments that any work held value or they did not wish to criticise other workers.

*Some of the labourers were your mates because they were your age, but inside the dockyard they were not, because they hadn't done what we had to get where we were. I mean I'm not going to criticise anybody who chooses any job...but we'd chosen to do the apprenticeship, we'd trained ourselves to pass the exam and we'd committed ourselves to the dockyard school and what that required (Peter Wood).*

*See painters, although classed as skilled labourers, were very good craftsmen. And some were even indentured. I would challenge anyone to do sign writing like they can, it's beautiful. But they weren't tradesmen, because they didn't have our level of training or knowledge (Ben Steele).*

This sensitive reframing seemed to emanate from two major values. First, the majority of these men were brought up in households where their father's worked as non-skilled or semi-skilled workers. Therefore, to overtly criticize these men would reflect badly on their own background. Second, any man who worked, and particularly those who did so to provide for their families, was deserving of respect and empathy, reflecting a wider *getting-on* attitude. However, like Peter Wood above, many men also commonly reflected that their status as skilled workers was justified against this group because of the effort they had made to *get on* in their careers. This distinction was also clear in how the dockyard men identified themselves in class terms as 'skilled working class'. This was consistently emphasised in their interviews, but also supported by the fact that all thirteen wrote this on their self-completion questionnaires. Thus the men's opinions of other social groups accord with Robert's (1998), who portrays shipbuilding occupational communities as deeply stratified in terms of class and work. Next, this has a wider echo to Reid's (2004) use of the term 'working people' over the singular working class. Whilst seeing unskilled workers as having the same values as them, they did however not see this group as part of the same occupational identity as reflected by Ben Steele above: '*they weren't tradesmen*'.

This direct tension with unskilled workers seemed far less marked for the second sample, even in the narratives of those who had done trade apprenticeships. However, this group did reflect the same underlying empathy for the labour of any workers. This empathy did show an interesting new context and message. Commonly, they regaled the lack of institutional means to get-on in many service occupations, and linked this to the personal need to actively push for opportunities or even become self-employed to get on.

*I mean you see a lot don't you? Of workers who start at the bottom, but don't get any breaks so to speak to develop, working for companies, who won't, not prepared to invest in them, train them up. That's hard I don't think it works as simply, as it did for a lot of men in my dad's time. More's asked of you individually, don't get me wrong there are some real opportunities, good ones, but you have to do the pushing, show your commitment or ability, not necessarily a nice thing 'but sell yourself (Ted Bekker).*

*You have to look at jobs, bit more carefully these days, tough to be an unskilled young person these days. I've known young people start working in pubs, 10 years goes by, they haven't really moved. Whilst if you take, Pat, Pete's son, his valeting business, is going great guns, making real money, because he had that drive, to go out on his own (James Hermiston).*

The sample of sons and grandsons were slightly less coherent than their fathers or grandfathers in identifying themselves in such specific class terms. However, this seemed to be because these men did not work in an organization with such an overtly stratified workforce as the dockyard, rather than any ambivalence to seeing themselves in class terms. In fact, all but two identified themselves as 'working class' with the four of those who had done a trade apprenticeship again using skilled as a distinction on their self-completion questionnaires, only Andrew Wood, a Lecturer and Mike Sextons, a Social Worker identified themselves as middle class. As discussed in the next theme, *personal adaptability* these men still used and saw their working class backgrounds as a powerful and positive narrative. That both samples clearly identified themselves in class terms can be seen in contrast to Savage et al (2001). He argues that most individuals today are reluctant to label themselves in class terms because this spoils their sense of individuality. However, for this study the opposite seems to be true. This is because identifying themselves as working class allowed them a clear starting point to plot their life as a *getting on*

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story. As a result, 'working classness' allowed both samples to be confident about both their class backgrounds and their sense of individual achievement. Thus the men's class identity seems best understood through Savage et al's (2001) category of self-confident working class identifiers, as reflected in the quotes below:

*My Dad was a labourer at Short Brothers, just an unskilled labourer but he'd worked hard all his life, literally, for the family. Mum was the same, raised seven children and all the work that goes with that, worked really hard for us. So whilst I am working class, I worked to be a tradesmen so I see myself as skilled working class, but my Mum and Dad expected that of us, there's no space for loafing around when there are 7 of you (Francis Copper).*

*My father was a plumber in this dockyard, he served...his time, he took his apprenticeship the same as I did so we were skilled working class but I continued to study and do night classes whilst working to get my...HNC and, other qualifications...so I could go into the drawing office and finish up as a naval architect so you could do that if you were dedicated and able (Henry Plummer).*

*I think I would say I was respectable, respectable working class same as my mum and dad, only difference being that going into management with NT allow me to earn that bit more money (James Hermiston).*

*I am a gardener first and last. Whilst I've made a good business of it and am proud of that, when you come into contact with some of the upper class people and business I do in the city of London, you know what class is, I am a manual worker so working class, and happy as that (Robert Cartwright).*

As reflected in James Hermiston quote above, another term that many used to distinguish their working class identity was respectability. This seemed particularly utilised to demarcate themselves against the rough working class. A group that a number of men from both samples

showed little respect for were people who they believed could, but chose not, to work. A number of men used the terms 'scroungers' or 'idle' to label this group. The majority qualified that they were not talking about people who were physically unable to work or unemployed, but people who actively chose not to work. In total eight men made reference to this group, but Chris Copper of the second generation and Ben Steele of the first made the most direct points.

*Interviewer: So how would you describe yourself as a worker then? What types of values to work do you have?*

*I hate scroungers. I think everyone who can work should. Obviously there are some people who can't work such as the old or disabled, but everyone else should have some sort of work where they earn money to pay for their everyday living. It's very bad for their kids because they don't know any different, so they go through life, come out of school with no education, drink and drugs, steal cars, don't have a job, scrounge benefits left, right and centre and they're out clubbing and drinking every night and I'm out working. I've worked since I was sixteen and I just hate people doing that. (Chris Copper).*

*I've never been idle all my life and I really dislike seeing people who are, I don't know maybe that's not a popular view, but I just think, if you can, you should work that's all. (Brian Jenkins).*

Locating this group in many of the men's statements seemed a tangle of both first-hand experience and reflection of ideas taken from the media. On the whole, the men's perspectives seemed to suggest a division in the working class between the rough and respectable. The eight men who commented on this universally felt they came from respectable working class backgrounds, whereas those who could, but decided not to work, were part of the rough working class. Peter Wood talked about his first-hand experiences of this group.

*Work, because of the way I've been brought up, let me give you an example. I had a paper round when I was thirteen, which is the youngest age you were allowed, on the*

*Brooks estate, which is renowned for being a run-down area. It was an eye-opener to me. They were the same houses as on my road but the whole area had rubbish and broken down cars in their gardens, and the people didn't seem to have respect for other people or the area. My road was different but I just lived alongside that.*

The men's attitudes toward non-skilled workers suggested a simple logic that beyond status any person who works should be treated with a level of empathy and respect. Attitudes to non-workers therefore appeared to complete this *getting on* logic that anyone who could work and chose not to should be treated with suspicion and disapproval. As reflected by Chris Copper, the condemnation of this group was partly based on an economic annoyance that his taxes were being spent on a group he perceived as idle. Further, the men seemed to feel that such idleness was not simply the actions of individuals, but instead was a consequence of generations of non-workers, who lived in particular neighbourhoods where they were socialized to just take and not value work. The notion of rough and respectable working class in both its everyday use and as a sociological concept has a very long history as reflected in the work of Hoggart (1958). The younger generations still adhering to these traditional distinctions today has also been recorded in MacDowell (2003). Her sample of working class young men similarly still self-labelled themselves respectable working class because they were employed.

## **Conclusion**

*Getting-on* as a theme overall reflects the common and recurring rationalization that these men used to make career choices during their working lives; with both generational samples making their different career decisions and with a consistent focus on long term upward career mobility and better job security. However, as reflected in the initial seven subthemes, for neither generation was this career philosophy either a passively assimilated way of thinking, or simply a self-generated value system. Instead by viewing the men's relationship with this career philosophy across their life course, we see that for both samples this theme was negotiated differently at particular stages in these men's lives. Interestingly, the life-course of both samples

demonstrated a degree of symmetry when seen in terms of their life stages and career decisions. As young men making their initial career decisions, both commonly recalled dissatisfaction with a *getting on* way of thinking. Next, the samples seemed to come to a point of convergence, within their mid careers, as they similarly claimed getting-on as a rationale for understanding their own careers and wider lives. The men's life course further demonstrates how this philosophy was a product of both individual agency and social structures. Whilst portraying themselves as active agents in navigating and constructing their careers, most did not see this *getting-on* value as simply their own creation. However, though relating their work philosophy to those of their family they also wished to justify their own individual ownership of this value. This career philosophy also held significance as a means of social identification, affecting how the men labelled others social groups within society. On the whole, they identified with groups who they felt held a similar desire to get on. In social terms, this reinforced the men self-demarkation as being respectable working class men. Whilst this first theme *getting on* reflects evidence that the men's career motivations and attitudes were primarily focused on upward career mobility and better job security. The next chapter discusses the studies second theme *personal adaptability* which is the strategy of adapting skills and embodying new work identities that the men used to actualize this motivation to 'get on'.

## Chapter 7 results: Personal Adaptability

### *Framing the theme*

Theme two, *personal adaptability* addresses how the men discussed change in their working lives. As a sample, the vast majority of these men's work had developed and changed considerably during their careers. This is not surprising in its self, as this sample was constructed to explore the effect of deindustrialisation. Thus its underlying assumption was that change in men's working lives would be caused by external economic forces which were outside their control. In the literature reviewed in chapter 3, the impact of deindustrialisation on male identity is commonly cited as contributing towards a 'crisis' of masculinity (Bourgeois, 1995; Connell, 1996; Nayak, 2003 and Mac an Ghail, 1994). However, what became clear while interviewing the men in this sample, was that, first, they did not see themselves as passive victims of economic change; and, second, as individuals they felt a large degree of control over change in their careers. Overall, this emphasizes the active role they had played as individuals in constructing their own careers.

My conceptualisation of *personal adaptability* amalgamates the two career concepts 'career adaptability' (Super and Knasel 1981) and 'job crafting' (Wrzesniewski and Dutton 2001) as fully discussed in chapter 4. The concept of 'career adaptability' emphasises individual's capacity to adapt to the changing nature of employment; a process the majority of men in this study encountered. However, this does not account for individuals as active agents, changing their work by transforming employment within their organisations. The concept of 'job crafting' does reflect this 'active adaption', but connects this to a single job, instead of to an on-going career strategy. Thus I define *personal adaptability* as the on-going strategy of adapting skills and embodying new work identities with the aim to 'get on' at work. This strategy also played a role in how the men redefined their trade work as craft and mediated this from a paid to an unpaid activity, as the next theme *Craft* (see chapter 8) demonstrates.

### ***Organisation of the chapter***

The aim of this chapter is to present the men's descriptions of *personal adaptability* across their working lives and in dealing with transitions, such as the move from industrial to post-industrial work. Before unpacking this in a thematic fashion, an intergenerational dialogue of father and son, William Wright and Mark Wright is presented. This illustrates the coherence of *personal adaptability* across their working lives and how this was negotiated and reinforced by 'maieutic' intergenerational discussions (Kellerhal et al., 2002). The organisation of *personal adaptability* as a thematic analysis then begins with the first subtheme, 'trades with a modern focus'. This concentrates on the first generation's accounts of their day-to-day trade work on naval military vessels. None presented this work as monotonous, instead describing how their trade skills were being continually adapted due to the developments in warfare and technology. Therefore change and adaptation were greeted not with apprehension, but with interest by tradesmen, who defined themselves as innovative and forward thinking.

The second subtheme, 'Adapting to new roles and translating experiences', focuses on this same men's accounts of being promoted in the dockyard. The effect of being promoted was that the men had to develop new office based skills and become accustomed to white collar roles. Whereas some of the men reflected that becoming accustomed to these roles was difficult at first, none felt this caused a long term rupture in their work identities. Instead they saw taking on these new roles as consistent with their flexible attitude to work and learning. The ability to actively translate former skills and experiences was also common in the men's accounts of moving into new sectors of work, in their careers after the dockyard.

The chapter considers next these men's career adaptations outside the dockyard. Although none experienced the same career trajectories post the dockyard, these can be divided into two subthemes. The 'internal transition' subtheme three characterises men who moved into new

long term employment with a single organisation. In total 8 out of the 13 men found jobs almost seamlessly after their employment ended with the dockyard, thereafter staying with the same company for the majority of their remaining working lives. This did not end these men's career adaption. Instead, propelled by their propensity for adaption, they demonstrated a significant amount of movement and mobility within these companies. Subtheme four considers 'the individual transition' of 5 of the 13 men whose career paths were severely affected by deindustrialisation. Instead of making a seamless transition to new work this group had to consciously adapt their skills, attitudes and orientations to completely new careers and sectors of employment. Additionally unlike the internal transition this change did not happen instantly, but was a process which took place over an extended period. Whilst many stated feelings of trepidation in starting their new careers, in the long term all expressed positive outcomes of these career transitions.

Next, subthemes five, six and seven consider the career trajectories of the sample of sons and grandsons, and are organised along the same lines as those in the first sample. Subtheme five, 'the new internal transition', reflects the pathways of 9 of the 14 men who had spent the vast majority of their career with the same employer. Like the 'internal transition' in sample one, these men also revealed internal career adaption in their working lives. Then subtheme six, 'the new individual transition', considers 3 of the 14 men who had made a conscious decision to construct their own career and become self-employed. Like the 'individual transition' made by men in sample one, this also showed a very personal negotiation of their careers. However, the decision to reconstruct their careers was not simply thrust upon them by structural change but motivated by their desire to have more control over their working lives and opportunities for upward mobility. Finally, subtheme seven reflects 2 of the 14 men who decided to take an educational path and go to University. To overcome feelings of generational 'ambivalence' (Lusher, 2000) produced by their educational trajectory, these men demonstrated sophisticated cognitive adaption in their careers stories to produce connections between their working lives and those of their parents and grandparents. Hence adaption was not created by deindustrialisation or employment in the new economy, but instead the men developed this personal capacity to navigate change and promotion across their working lives. Thus *personal adaptability* meant they were prepared for change and able to navigate their careers after

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deindustrialisation; a concept demonstrated first in the intergenerational dialogue of the Wright family.

### ***Intergenerational dialogue 1: The Wright family***

Using *personal adaptability* as a means to 'get on' was most clearly and concisely reflected as an intergenerational narrative by William and Mark Wright. Thus before unpacking *personal adaptability* into themes, this father and son narrative will be presented as an intergenerational dialogue. William's career had taken him in many directions and to work in various locations across the globe; a journey that had started when he trained as a Shipwright and then qualified as a Draughtsman in the dockyard. Early in his interview William discussed why and how he felt he had managed to construct his career in this way:

*I've had a very rewarding and fulfilling career because I've been willing to do those different things. It's what's quite frustrating about people who say, 'I'd like to do more' or 'I think I'm capable of doing more'. But when you actually see what they have done, they haven't done anything to prepare themselves, or anything outside of their comfort zone, or what you would normally expect; they have not put themselves forward for anything. So I think, how can they expect to have these things happen? It's not good enough just to be good at what you're doing. You have to put yourself out there, got to go beyond what is familiar and comfortable, to enable you to progress and advance... If you're not prepared to move or if you're not prepared to take on another challenge you can't really expect to progress further.*

Whilst on the surface his working life after the dockyard seemed to have little in common with his formative experience of working in the yard, he still felt there were important and direct connections:

*I think my practical background has helped me innumerable times. It gives you a much better insight into other areas, it helps you to visualize things and think about how you can alter them. People perhaps feel that in a digital age, that's not important, but I really think it is.*

William hence saw his aptitude for adaptation and innovation as a coherent development of his role and identity as a dockyard tradesman. Next, he discussed how he had learnt new skills in the dockyard when he achieved promotion from being a shipwright to becoming a draughtsman:

*Becoming a draughtsman, I thought I might end up doing drawings all the time, but actually, they gave me some interesting problems. One was to work out how Russian subs were getting from one location to another many hundreds of miles away without refuelling.*

In his career beyond the dockyard, this emphasis on proactive adaptation continued. One example he used to illustrate this was his foresight when he re-trained to become an IT expert in 1991:

*I recognised that information technology was the future, but apart from a few technical staff, very few people seemed interested in the early 90s. So although it was outside my skill-sets as a surveyor, I did a training course and got on a special project in London to introduce computerisation to business. That was a pivotal move in my career because I ended up writing a lot of the business cases for the implementation of introducing different programs and technology to the workplace.*

Of all the men in the study, William had achieved the highest level of economic mobility moving from earning £17 a week as an apprentice, to working as the Manager of Training at Crown's

Register earning a pay package of £140,000 a year. However William was still engaged with his trade skills outside his paid employment:

*The single biggest financial improvement I've made is by buying up houses. Doing them up and then moving onto the next one earning an income. This has now got me to the point where I have the privileged position as you say of having such a nice flat. Me and another former dockyard man at work have in fact put together a plan to start a small yacht restoration business when I retire in the next 5 years. Sorry I should also give my Mark some of the credit for this plan because he's given me a great deal of advice on things like how to structure the exposure of the business through gaining an internet presence and using computer forum and media for advertising. I think he also wants to get a little hands-on, but we'll see. I mean, I'd be managing mostly but it would be good to get the tools out from time to time.*

Having finished discussing his own career and the significance of his self-motivated capacities of adaption I asked him about his children's lives and work:

*Well Mark shocked us at first, he came to us and said he wanted to leave school and join the army. I felt as the world is, he should go to university but he had his heart set on it so we came to a compromise. With the requirement I put on him that he wasn't to go into the infantry, he was to do something which he could continue his education, so he ended up joining the Royal Electrical and Mechanical engineers.*

Near the start of Mark's interview he also discussed this same event:

*I said to my dad I can't stand it. This is, this is mind-numbingly boring. I've got to do something else and I wanna join the army, which he was surprised about at first. But*

*he let me on the understanding I'd get a trade. I think I got the idea partly from listening to my Grandad and the exciting times he got up to in the army.*

Mark spent seven years in the army doing four tours going to Bosnia, Kosovo, Germany and Northern Ireland - a time he found very satisfying:

*I really enjoyed it all, the challenges it threw at you both physically and mentally. With the engineering training we were constantly asked to use and change our skills to strange circumstances. Like right you have this river and we need to get so many tanks across what type of bridge would be best given this time frame. So it wasn't just a traditional engineering apprenticeship, well it was but the military context gave it a real exciting edge. Like me and dad have discussed, I suppose, problem solving, still miss it a little.*

After seven years he decided to leave the army due to wanting to spend more time with his then, long term girlfriend. Before leaving the army Mark and his dad again had a long chat as he reflected:

*Well the army gave you a lump sum for retraining after you left, but I wasn't certain what I wanted to go into next. So my dad kindly arranged a group of work experience for me, both at Crowns but also with contractors he knew. First one was with an IT contractor, found that dead interesting, didn't think I would at the time, but yeah once I got into it I thought that's what I want to do, and dad was really positive because of his experience. So with the army money I paid for a course to become a Microsoft certified systems engineer. It was tough, very tough. But there were similarities, not similar in material but, but both were practical step-by-step training, so my engineering trade background helped me to see it was a process and to not get annoyed all the time.*

Having finished his Microsoft training Mark spent the next 4 years both working full time and training for other IT qualifications. He acknowledged this left him little time for socialising. However, he commented that this period was *'tough but one thing that made it bearable was I could do most of the training and stuff from home'*. At the age of 26, Mark set up his own IT subcontracting firm and he reflected that his company is now doing well having secured a long term contract with the Department of the Environment, alongside doing consultation work for a number of other businesses. At present his company employs five full time members of staff. Although Mark was vague about his income his father said he was earning a *'six figure salary'*.

But, this was not just a happy period as this also came with problems. Mark felt at one stage he had become a *'workaholic'* due to the pressure of starting up his own business. For example, he did not go on holiday for two years and went through a period of not sleeping due to not being able to *'switch off'*. Due to this and now having a wife and two young children, he has organised a system where he consciously tells himself to stop working. As he said: *'sometimes I have to at night almost, almost tell myself out loud, stop and erm switch off'*. Further, Mark talked about having organised a timetable with his wife to plan time together with the family.

In the intergenerational dialogue above, four topics can be highlighted which seem to have recurring significance in the majority of men's career stories within this study. These are further unpacked within the subsequent seven subthemes. First within William and Mark's accounts, adaptation and innovation was seen as a coherent part of their roles and identities as tradesmen. In short, most men did not define their status as tradesmen by a fixed group of skills or static set of work tasks. Thus learning and embedding new skills was a sustained feature of these men's evolving careers. This was also the case for many men who did not do traditional apprenticeships, but were involved in other forms of learning through what Sennett (1998) terms *'grounded practice'*.

Second, both men's careers had started with a trade apprenticeship and then moved into information technology. The career transition from trade work to information technology was also a common path for other men in this study. Men on the whole had a very positive outlook on new technology, because they saw technological advances as having a natural link to both their technical backgrounds, but also with their personal outlook as being modern workers. Indeed for many, as reflected above, getting in front of technical developments, had led to positive outcomes in their careers. Ironically, therefore, many of the technical changes which writers like Beck (1992, 2000) and Sennett (1998) cite as having negative impacts on new economy employment, the men in this study recalled in positive career terms.

Third, both Mark and William's career stories show both reactive and innovative adaption, to produce and become accustomed to new challenges in their careers. Both went into some detail on how they had innovated in work to propel their careers. This demonstrated their orientation to job craft by actively changing 'the task or relational boundaries of their work' (Wrzesniewski and Dutton's 2001: 179). However, it also seemed of cognitive importance to craft these episodes of adaption into a pattern of career continuity. Both were quick to interpret these episodes as the extension of their former career experiences. For example, they emphasised the lasting and meaningful effect that trade learning had on their abilities to deal with new challenges. This pattern of embedding the new in the old seemed to demonstrate that *personal adaptability* was being used as what Savickas (1997) terms a life theme. Like William and Mark, most men saw adaption as an embedded principal which they could use to impose personal meaning on their careers. The process of continually orientating their different experiences by this principal therefore allowed them to construct coherent careers from changing work. That resulted in their ability to view their careers as a cumulative and meaningful linear life narrative Sennett (1998).

Fourth, intergenerational transmission through dialogue reflected a 'maieutic logic' (Kellerhal et al., 2002) and was not just a feature of a single life stage or transition. Instead, William and Mark's consistent discussions of their transitions with each other demonstrated that generational transmission was a long-term, on-going process of negotiation and discussion. *Personal adaptability* was being shaped as a familial value through recurrent and important exchanges

between these men across their lives; in contrast to the top-down process of transmission posited in studies like Willis (1977), Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012), Nixon (2009) and Nayak (2003). Having explored *personal adaptability* as an intergenerational dialogue this chapter now moves on to the thematic analysis by reflecting how this occurred across the two samples. In the first sample this theme was established by the men's description of their changing working lives in the dockyard.

### ***Subtheme one: Modern focused trades***

Throughout these men's experiences of training and working as tradesmen in the dockyard, the technology and nature of naval warfare was progressively changing. Perhaps the most obvious example of this was the development of nuclear submarines. Chatham gained a reputation for her work on nuclear submarines, as highlighted in MacDougall's (1987) history of Chatham dockyard. This reputation was further echoed in many of the men's interviews: '*Chatham was well-known to be the leading submarine repair yard in Britain*' (Darrel Carrin a former, shipwright and current, ship surveyor). Alongside this pride, doing work on these vanguard ships also seemed to symbolise the satisfaction men gained from the modern focus of their trade work:

*I had a fascination for submarines at the time. A submarine was a magical thing if you like it was like working on a rocket ship. Because you couldn't take anything for granted, the smallest mistake could be dire at a depth of 200 meters, so it was fascinating to work on submarine engines (Ben Steele a former, Engine fitter and retired shop manager).*

*The Aurora was a typical case. We stripped it completely, so it was a bare hull. In this case, it was going to be fitted with the new Acara missiles. So we had to amend the old magazines, fit the new Acara launchers. So you were learning on the job really because there was a lot of new technology being fitted so when it*

*came out refitted, it was almost like a new vessel, Because for the navy, there was no point in having an out-of-date ship, (Darrel Carrin).*

Through working on such modern vessels the men also recalled how they had to adapt their skills and gain new knowledge whilst working. Darrel termed this '*Learning on the job*', which is a good example of 'reactive adaption', because he had to adapt his trade knowledge to stay abreast of external technological developments. This form of reactive adaption was common to almost all of the men's trades, as new technologies and techniques meant trade work had to progressively be developed. Alongside this modernising dynamic, the need to adapt was also propelled by variety in the men's work. By the 1970s, Chatham dockyard's main focus had become refitting and repair work (MacDougall, 1987). This work was organised around the individual repairs and plans for refitting of each particular ship. Therefore, as the men described, their work had to be bespoke to every new project. As Benedict Sexton, a former shipwright and retired social worker remarked: '*You would have furniture to fit like bunks and tables, on one then you might be installing the electrical equipment, so yes it varied according to each new project*'. The varied nature of each project further meant adaption was not only reactive but also innovative, as tradesmen had to work independently and find new and unique solutions to problems. As Ryan and Ben recalled:

*You used your initiative as a tradesman, it was expected of you unless it was major you wouldn't bother your Skipper. So you were always adjusting the positions of the cables or pipes (Ryan Hooper a former electrical engineer, and retired power station manager).*

*You had to learn these techniques as you went along so it was constantly evolving. So you were learning and progressing all the time, working with new materials on different projects like when they did away with Sprayed Limpet Asbestos. Every day you could practically say you learnt something new (Ben Harmison a former, shipwright and retired Co-op Worker).*

Hence, the ability to use initiative and work independently of instruction was an essential part of men status as tradesmen. Forms of innovative adaption were a generic part of the men's work as their used they experience and initiative to solve small problems in their day-to-day work. Job crafting with regard to changing the physical boundaries of ones work was an inherent part of men's role as tradesman (Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001). Of all the men's trades however, the process of innovative adaption was most transparent in the description of draughtsmen's work. Here we see how alongside developing and adapting their own knowledge as tradesmen, the designs they produced actively propelled change.

*I had a job on submarine periscopes because of the Cold War submarines were more and more sailing round the Arctic. So periscopes had to work in frozen conditions. The problem therefore was to design a periscope which could punch through several feet of ice, [because] the standard model would get damaged or broken... So I started doing all the calculations, pressure, hydraulics, [detailed technical explanation removed]. Next I designed some models and tested them, then went back to designing... So in simple terms it was a bit like a cover. That acted like a hammer, the sub would release some pressure and the periscope would hit the ice at a given speed to punch through. So anyway, the chap above me came to see me a few weeks later, and said they're going forward with your design. So that was my invention you see, it felt like a big deal at the time, (Henry Plummer, former shipwright and retired DTI ship surveyor).*

In this way, progressive change led to both reactive adaption in how they worked due to new technologies, but also innovative adaption as the men worked on solutions to problems. In their trade work the men learnt to conduct a continuing dialogue between solving problems and adapting their skills. This dialogue the men on the whole found satisfying and interesting. Related to this, working as a tradesman was a modern role engaged at the cutting edge of industry. This section will now move to consider how the men's skills and attitudes were adapted and built on beyond their trade work in the dockyard.

## ***Subtheme two: Adapting skills and attitudes***

As explained in theme one *getting on*, ten of the thirteen men gained promotion into non trade positions whilst working in the dockyard. This section will therefore focus on men's comments on this transition and the skills they developed, particularly skills not commonly associated with industrial work. The size of the dockyard's workforce meant a collection of middle management positions were open to tradesmen, such as becoming a Chargehand or Inspector<sup>2</sup>. Due to the dockyard being a largely closed institution, it also had a range of ancillary sections, such as the finance and health and safety department, in which tradesmen could apply for roles. For example, the finance department was run by former tradesmen who had been promoted to the positions of recorder or measurer<sup>3</sup>. The finance department was also one of the departments in the dockyard that employed a large number of women doing bookwork and keeping the ledgers updated. In these roles men had to adapt and learn a range of new skills from management and teaching skills to office based accountancy work:

*Going into the financial side as a Recorder was like learning another language. At first I thought I've never done this before, how am I going to cope? But each job had a book with a payment scheme so, if the bloke said overhead welding, you open this book and find that scheme. After you collected all the measurements you next did all the calculations which had to be entered into a computer by eight o'clock on a Friday night. So it was daunting at first, but as you went along you got to know the different jobs and when people were taking the mick, as you know, I'd already been using maths so that side wasn't too difficult (Ben Hermiston).*

*Well a liner did all the ventilation, which was manufactured and put on board. So we used to line out compartments to make sure everything was going to fit in, and after it was fitted you had to check it had all been done correctly. After*

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<sup>2</sup> A Chargehand was the first tier of authority above tradesmen, in charge of a gang of tradesmen whose work he was responsible for organising and checking. To become a Chargehand you had to apply for the position and go along to an internal interview with a Foreman. Alongside the interview the Foreman would also have a detailed report of each tradesman's work and conduct as written by their Chargehand. Inspector was then the next tier authority up and was responsible for five or six Chargehands.

<sup>3</sup> Recorders worked in the clocking stations recording the amount of work people had done. Measurers on the other hand were responsible for recording the amount of piecework done by a worker.

*that job, I went to the interview for Chargehand and got the job, so I had a gang of probably about fifteen to twenty blokes I was responsible for. Organising refits and things like that, so my role was increasingly more technical and managerial. Because the whole job was your responsibility, so you had to organise and check work was finished right (Benedict Sexton).*

As reflected in Ben's quote above the transition from being a tradesman to becoming a measurer was 'daunting at first'. Adapting to this new work he likened to learning 'another language'. Whereas Benedict suggested that becoming a Chargehand seemed a natural progression, On the whole, the men in this sample reacted differently to the initial impact of working in their new roles. However like Ben all became accustomed to their position with time. For eight men, the new qualifications and formal skills they developed in these roles were the direct qualifications they used to get their first jobs outside the dockyard, as explored in the next subtheme.

### ***Subtheme three: The internal transition***

*For me, from working in the Drawing Office at the dockyard to working at Crown's in London, it has been an office job to an office job (Darrel Carrin).*

Deindustrialisation appeared to have little negative effect on the careers of eight of the thirteen former dockyard workers. In a similar vein to Darrel's quote above, most men felt the closure of the dockyard as an event had little lasting adverse impact on their sense of work identity. The only long-term effect of this event was that it changed the location and employer they worked for. This career path has thus been termed the 'internal transition', since for all seven men it was characterised by four conditions. First, this group managed to find new employment before being made redundant which left no break in their working lives. Second, the positions they went into initially were a direct extension of their roles in the yard with little pressure placed on them to retrain. Third, these men talked openly about feeling little or no conscious estrangement

between their careers in and outside the dockyard. Finally, these men managed to spend the vast majority of their remaining working lives with these new organisations.

Indifference to this career transition was apparent when I first contacted a number of these men. They felt it would not be worth my while interviewing them because their stories had little to tell about the effects of deindustrialisation. For example Darrel stated: *'I don't know whether I can be all that helpful to you, as the dockyard closure hasn't had a great effect on me other than the 2 hour commute'*. On the whole, whilst these men saw the dockyard as an important and evocative chapter in establishing their identities, its closure did not seem to cause them long term personal loss. In fact, for over half the men, their new jobs led to a growth in income and status as a consequence of the wider opportunities open to them. However, these men believed their growth in income and status was not merely due to passive internal promotion, but a result of their *personal adaptability*. All believed that this capacity had been conceived in their formative experiences of their training in the dockyard and their on-going relationship with their trades. Table 6 provides an overview of these seven men's career transitions.

(Table 6) Men's working lives, the internal transition

Research Participants	Job title and position on leaving the Yard	Period of time redundant	Job title and position in new company	Promotion within new employment	Other jobs
1) Henry Plummer Age 82	Chief Draughtsmen	Never redundant joined the Department of Business and Trade in (1982)	Ship surveyor	Naval Architect Codes of practice specialist	Aged 59 worked at Solent university
2) Joe Bekker Age 73	Engine fitter	Never redundant joined Slow Water Thames (1979)	Maintenance fitter		(Merchant Navy) Engine hand National service age 18
3) Ryan Hooper Age 73	Engineer	Never redundant joined Church House (1982)	Safety engineer		(Merchant Navy) Ship engineer National service age 18
4) Cameron Cleaver Age 70	Electrical engineer	Never redundant joined Kent nuclear Power station (1982)	Maintenance Engineer	Maintenance and Engineer station Manager	Somerset Point nuclear power station Engineer station Manager age 60
5) Darrel Carrin Age 55	Draughtsman	Never redundant Joined Crown's Register (1981)	Ship surveyor	Supervisor of surveyors Surveyor department manager	None
6) William Wright Age 51	Draughtsman	Never Redundant Went to the Royal Services University of Science (1981) Joined Crown's Register (1984)	Ship surveyor	Marine surveyor IT Manager, HRM executive Manager	None
7) Francis Copper Age 85	Foreman of dock and customers section	Never Redundant Worked at the coal board until 64 years old	Redundancies and transition advisor		Worked part time doing safety talks for industrial firms until 75 years old
8) Peter Wood Age 86	Patternmaker	Never Redundant Worked at chapel college (1979)	Teacher	Head of Department Ofsted officer	

Whilst their initial transition into new employment was based on the trades and skills they had gained from their training and work in the dockyard, for the majority career development did not stop here. Four men cited training and learning new skills as pivotal to gaining promotion or going in a new direction in their careers. This resulted in moving into specialised roles or going into managerial positions with higher incomes. In work terms, these men moved away from the

practical engagement with their trades, however, openly reference this development as being a continuation of their *personal adaptability*. To weave the development of new skills into their former experiences is expressed by William Wright in the Intergenerational dialogue on page 148, but also discussed by Darrel Carrin and Cameron Cleaver below:

*Whilst today I've moved to a more non-practical role due to my management training. I applied, as I said before, for some leave to do a management course, so my career moved into a supervisory role I suppose is the best way to describe it. Therefore I use less and less of my trade skill in an applied way, as I'm now overseeing the work of other surveyors... But in developing other surveyors now, the big problem is that surveyors today come straight from university, but they don't have the practical side. The old surveyors, they used to come through the shipyards, so they had that practical knowledge. It goes together they've worked on ships, crawled into dirty and oily tanks, that sort of experience with the things they're dealing with. I mean today they've got their degrees, and we send them on the training course, and I think that sets them up reasonably well. But it's never the same, as actually doing a lot of the work yourself. They always seem to struggle a bit, difficult to describe, but we always say they have trouble grasping the difference between working in 2 or 3 dimensions, if that makes sense (Darrel Carrin).*

*So yeah I did the national management qualification, that was quite hard to do, but no I don't think that changed me. I mean I don't think you can manage well in this context, without the engineering knowledge. Engineers don't respect you and if I'm honest why would they. It just doesn't seem to work well, I've seen it happen, and you can't just be a plug-in manager (Cameron Cleaver).*

In Cameron and Darrel's quotes on their transition above, we see them engaging in both physical and cognitive job crafting (Wrzesniewski and Dutton 2001). First, they use physical crafting, as they made self-motivated changes to the boundaries of their careers through gaining new qualifications and taking on different job roles. Second, they performed cognitive crafting by

describing their new jobs, as a development and validation of their former learning and experience. Darrel's quote also clearly echoes Sennett's (2009) argument on the significance of knowledge learnt through practice. He believes the dockyard background gave him an advantage in understanding the physical qualities of ships, a capacity lacking in the university graduates he now works with. So career adaptations seemed a relatively natural aspect of their working lives due to the context of their employment. Therefore on the surface, these men had most in common with Sennett's (1998) application of a linear life narrative, since the external security and predictability of their employment enabled them to simply plot their career stories as linear and cumulative.

However, unlike Rico in Sennett's work, these men's job roles had not stayed static within their new organisations. In contrast, many of their working roles had dynamically changed both in terms of content and context, as they moved from trade work to largely white collar and managerial roles. Alongside this, adaptability became a normalised feature of their career strategy for *getting on*. These transitions also seemed linear to these men, because they had been in control of these adjustments and thus the author of change in their working lives. As a result this gave their stories a clear direction whereby they were the active protagonists in their careers. In terms of identity this meant the men had to perform only relatively minor cognitive crafting to connect these adjustments up as part of a linear career narrative.

For this reason, the coherence these men found in their careers was not just a product of the external predictability of their employment status. Instead this was a result of the interplay between the permanence of their positions and the men's propensity for using adaptation as an ordinary feature of their work identities. Men were given the opportunity to read and suggest changes to their interview scripts, but only Ben Steele and Henry Plummer took the researcher up on this offer. After reading his interview, Henry Plummer sent me a letter to clarify a few points on his career transition after leaving the dockyard. The crafting of small career adjustments into a linear narrative was perhaps most concisely demonstrated in this short letter. He sees his relationship with naval architecture as the central theme of his working life. A similar organisation of career around a central theme was also presented by Peter Wood, who viewed

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his career as constructed around woodworking. Thus for both, career crafting seemed a long-term strategy based on constructing their working life around a central life theme (Savickas 1997).

**Extract from a letter sent by Henry Plummer about his career development (edited for reasons of anonymity)**

*On joining the "Department of Business and Trade Maritime Section" as a "Ship Surveyor". It was one of the best moves I ever made. When the "Sail Training" Vessel "Maracas" was lost north off the West Indies in June 198\*, I was asked if I could produce a sheer drawing of her as the Department had no details of her. We did have a "Tonnage Certificate", which measured the inside of the vessel, which I used to produce a sheer drawing from which I produced all the "Hydrostatics" and estimated "Stability Condition" at the time of her loss. Because of this work, I was one of the "Professional witnesses" at the "Court of Inquiry" into her loss.*

*After the Inquiry I spent the last five years of my career working on the development, with the "Bullson Unit" of Solent University and others, on the codes of practice for all "Sailing Training Vessels" up to my retirement in 1989, (Henry Plummer).*

*As far as I'm concerned my apprenticeship and training was a key to many doors, if I wanted to go through them. So the door I chose was teaching, everybody said to me: 'when you go for a job, get off the wood bench'. Well I didn't want to get off it, I enjoyed what I did. The workshop was a teaching environment, so I became a woodwork teacher, and then head of department (Peter Wood).*

Thus the internal transition reflects the ease with which a proportion of men found new careers outside the dockyard. This demonstrates the transferable nature of many of the trade skills learnt in the dockyard and how highly desired these were in the wider economy. Of course, the career opportunities available to these men were in part a consequence of their geographical location, with a large number finding work in London. However, taking advantage of these opportunities was a product of their active agency, evident by the initiative of these men in constructing their own careers. As a result, the closure of the dockyard had little lasting negative effect on their

career prospects. Looking back, many of these men viewed the dockyard promotion system as both too regimented and bureaucratic in comparison with their experience of private industry:

*It could be quite slow, moving from Draughtsman up to leading Draughtsman. It wasn't a case that after say a couple of years you'd become a leading Draughtsman. I mean it's like a pyramid, Draughtsman, leading Draughtsman, senior up to chief Draughtsman but they were fewer and fewer positions at each level. So sometimes it felt almost as if you were stuck waiting for someone above you to move. Yeah it was very procedural moving up and could take a long time. I mean, I really don't think I would have moved up at the pace I have now, if I'd still been in the yard, [why?] Well I think you're treated a little more personal, based on talent more. So if you demonstrate you're good, they'll find a route for you individually, so that's been a much better feature for me at Crowns' (Darrel Carrin).*

*You got little empires, in some parts of the yard. So if a Chargeman didn't like you or he knew the other chap who was going for promotion that could work against you progressing. But because it was so big, if you tried you could often find a way round it. But that could be really frustrating (Ryan Hooper).*

Finally, the men's capacity to adapt is also of interest since they felt this was part of a continued work philosophy as conceived by their work in the dockyard. Even in the cases where the men's careers had moved away from a practical engagement with their trades, they still felt a residual connection to their original work philosophy, as is also clear in the next subtheme. Having considered the men who were able to adapt internally within their careers, this subtheme will now consider five of the thirteen men whose career paths were severely affected by deindustrialisation.

### ***Subtheme four: The individual transition***

Unlike the men above, who made a largely seamless transition to new work, the five men in this subtheme had to consciously adapt to completely new jobs and sectors of employment. They were unable to find jobs in their original areas of work. This has been termed the ‘individual transition’, as these men had to adjust their skills, attitudes and orientations to find stable work as a consequence of deindustrialisation. Second, unlike the internal transition, this change did not happen instantly but was a process, which took place over an extended period. Although this period was uniquely experienced, leading to different second careers for each of the men, as a process it can be characterised by five common steps, discussed in detail below. Whilst many of the men stated feelings of trepidation in starting their new careers, they claimed positive outcomes of this career transition in the long term. This included both the satisfaction they gained from doing their new jobs, but also a deeper feeling of efficacy generated by the process of adaption.

(Table 7) The individual transition groups working lives

<b>Research Participants</b>	<b>Job title and position on leaving the Yard</b>	<b>Period of short term employment in years and number of Jobs</b>	<b>Job title and position in new company</b>	<b>Tenure in second part of their Careers</b>
1) Dominic Draper Age 67	Patternmakers Deputy Charge hand Inspector	9 years (4 jobs)	Meadowland Delivery Driver	18 years (retired at 65)
2) Benedict Sexton Age 65	Shipwright Chargehand	8 years (4 jobs)	County council Social worker	15 years (semi-retired at 65 year)
3) Jerry Naylor Age 64	Shipwright Chargehand	4 years (5 jobs)	National Telecom Network engineer Senior coordinator Regional manager	12 years (until semi-retired at 55)
4) Ben Steele Age 72	Engine fitter Recorder Measurer	10 years (4 jobs)	Shop manager	10 year (semi-retired at 67)
<b>Research Participant outside the two paths of transition</b>	<b>Job title and position on leaving the Yard</b>	<b>Year and age of early retirement</b>	<b>Work post the dockyard in years</b>	
5) Ben Hermiston Age 85	Shipwright Inspector of shipwright	(1984) 57 years old	57 years old worked as chauffeur for until made redundant at 59	59 year old worked as Handyman for the co-op until retirement at 65

As reflected in the table above, the process of career adaptation happened over a period of between four and nine years for these men, a process characterised in five steps. The first step was an extended period of short-term jobs in similar employment areas to those they had worked in the yard. Toward the end of this period came the second step, a growing awareness that work which demanded their trades was in decline and held little prospect for long term or secure employment. This awareness led to the third and most pivotal step in which the men consciously re-assessed their career outlook in terms of their skills, attitudes and orientation to work. The fourth step therefore marked the point at which the men put this awareness into practice by retraining or starting their new occupations. The final step reflects the positive outcomes the men expressed in working in their new occupations and their retrospective feelings about this period of adaption. What is also important to note is the role played by many of these men's families in encouraging and assisting them in their transition. A maieutic logic of family support and guidance became a major tool in finding a way through such difficult personal transitions (Kellerhal et al., 2002). This role was implicit in Benedict Sexton's story.

Due to Benedict's contract stating he could be used for 'versatile causes' when Chatham was closed in 1984, his job was transferred to the yard in Devonport. Benedict disliked this time, as he had to commute to Devon, meaning he spent his whole working week away from his family. Additionally, he found his role both boring and alienating due to the long period of waiting for the completion of work; alongside the problem of being viewed as an outsider coming to take work off other local dockyard workers. Six months later, he was allowed to leave, and became a woodwork technician at a local school, but the pay was '*not very good*'. A year later, he got a job as a work study engineer, which, although well paid, again made him '*unpopular and bored*'. After four years doing this job, he was made redundant due to the company folding. Benedict's next career move was to set up his own small ship repair business with a friend, which he did for 4 years until they lost their contract. At this point Benedict was 49, and recalled this being the most difficult time in his working life. However, with the advice and help of his family generally but son specifically, it was also at this point that he consciously changed the direction of this career:

*That was probably one of the most stressful times because (a) I was getting older and (b) there didn't seem to be any work about at the time. But myself and my son were talking about work because he'd become a social worker by that point. He said do you want to work with kids, because he felt I'd always been good with kids. So after a bit of encouragement and talking it through with my wife, my son introduced me to someone, at a kids home he used to deal with, and he just sort of said, well, when do you want to start. I never looked back because there was always plenty of work in that... I mean having had kids of my own; I found a lot of social workers, whilst good can be a little too soft. But being a father myself, I used to say to the children 'look I can't change what's happened in the past but what I can tell you is it'll never happen to you again. Sorry I'm jumping forward a bit, so yes, whilst working in the home, I also started retraining as a social worker, again partly due to my son's advice. So for the 15 years before I retired, I worked as a social worker, and became a specialist in working with young asylum seekers, which I still do some work in now, part time.*

Benedict's story illustrates well the first four steps of the men's career transition. The positive outcome expressed by these men seemed to reveal two levels of feelings. First, what they gain from doing these new jobs and, second, and perhaps more importantly, what they learned about themselves in being challenged and having to adapt. Benedict perhaps gave the most evocative story of personal affirmation, but Ben Steele also reflected a fondness common in most of these men's accounts of their new work:

*I worked with a girl called Emma at the kid's home. She was twelve-years old and had been kept as a dog under the stairs, used to bark and eat with the dogs, sexually abused by her grandfather and other unthinkable things. I got on well with Emma we clicked, because I would give her very clear boundaries. I used to tell her off, but she knew she would never get a smack or anything like that. So I think she felt very at ease with me but that was 15 years ago now. Anyway, about three years ago, there was a conference I went to in Croydon about the outcomes of children who had been in care. One of the talks was given by an Emma Ford, and I thought, no, it can't be the*

*same one. She was quite a clever kid and had done a degree and Master's in Psychology. Anyway, I sat down. And when she started her presentation she looked at me and she said 'that's Benedict' I said 'hello Emma, how are you', She said, and she stood up in front of everybody and said 'this man was my dad when I was in care', I could've cried'.*

*Working in the shop, my experience of being a Recorder, translated in another way, because I was used to dealing with people. If you can walk away from 18 big welders and tell them they've made no bonus money, you can take anybody... I sold loud shirts and braces to London Nat West managers and their wives used to scream up the stairs, don't you sell him anything like that again Ben!' So I had great fun running the shop, I've always loved talking to different people (Ben Steele).*

In terms of what the men gained from their jobs, three of the four talked about being better off financially in their new work. Second, a universal theme was the enjoyment of working with or helping people. Even Dominic Draper, who in the dockyard had enjoyed working alone as a patternmaker, came to find satisfaction in building relationships with the elderly as part of his new career delivering meals-on-wheels. As he reflected, *'Oh it, was an eye-opener, something completely different. I was surprised 'how well I got on with people'. You got to know them because you did the same ones quite regularly'*. This again demonstrates the men's openness to adapt to new contexts of employment by embracing new emotional and customer service skills. Skills which writers such as Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012), Nixon (2009) and Nayak (2003) argue were stigmatised or seen as antithetical to the working class men in their studies. Yet these men not only became accustomed to these new skills but, as reflected by Benedict Saxon and Ben Steele, embedded their affinity for such skills in their previous work and life roles. All found satisfaction in their new work, with three openly commenting how they found their new career more satisfying than work in the dockyard. Jack Nicholas for example, after having five jobs in as many years, started in his new career with National Telecom: *'It was quite an interesting job and I enjoyed it as much or more than working in the yard, I had good working relationships with all the workforce there and I had twelve happy years there'*.

For the men who had gone through an adaptive transition, their feelings of satisfaction did not come exclusively from doing their new jobs. Deeper than this was a personal sense of self efficacy generated by the process of adaptation as a whole. The most significant examples of this were their feelings of retaining a sense of purpose and worth during the difficult years in their careers, and the affirmation that came from the knowledge that they had the capacity to adapt in order to provide for their families. Thus these transitions, though difficult to disentangle, were now viewed as a stressful, cathartic and re-affirming process. While the men would not choose to go through this process again, this path now gave them a sense of pride and pleasure in their career outcomes. Having discussed the former dockyard workers' career transition, this chapter will now consider the career trajectories of the second sample of sons and grandsons. The next two subthemes are thus organised along the same lines as those in the first sample.

### ***The career transition of sons and grandsons***

Subtheme five, 'the new internal transition', reflects the pathway of 9 of the 14 men who had spent the vast majority of their career with the same employer at the point when they were interviewed. Additionally, like the 'internal transition' in sample one; this path also demonstrates the level of internal career adaptation these men made in their careers. Next subtheme six 'the new individual transition' discusses three of the 14 men who had made a conscious decision to construct their own career and for many to become self-employed. Like the individual transition made by men in sample one, this also illustrated a high level of self-management in constructing their careers. Subtheme seven 'the educational transition' considers the only two men who took an educational path and invested in higher education to construct their careers. Akin to subtheme six, these men also acknowledge heightened self-management of their working lives. However, the self-management approach of these men was to cognitively craft their career stories, retaining links between their lives and the lives of their parents and grandparents. Thus this was not just a post hoc rationale the men applied but instead a constant engagement through their lives.

### **Subtheme 5: The new internal transition**

The new internal transition encompasses 9 of the 14 men in the second sample, who at the point of being interviewed had spent the vast majority of their career with the same employer. As is reflected in Table 8, all of the men in this group had spent over 70% of their working lives to date with the same employer. Akin to the ‘seamless transition’ in sample one, these men also reflected a significant level of internal career adaption within their organisations.

(Table 8) the new internal transition

<b>Research Participants</b>	<b>Occupational sector and main employer</b>	<b>Working life in years with this employer</b>	<b>Percentage of working life with this employer</b>	<b>Other jobs</b>
1) Philip Wood Age 58	Peter Hammond shipping agencies	42*	100% (42 years)	None
2) Paul Hermiston Age 58	Kent Echo Print company	41 ~	82% (34 years)	Merchant Navy Community officer
3) James Hermiston Age 51	National Telecom Communication & telephone company	34 ~	95% (32 years)	Admin manager at Rams bowls
4) Harry Copper Age 53	Electrical solutions Department stores Electrical Design Engineer	34#	72% (18 years)	Account officer Apprenticeship with Short Brothers
5) Ted Bekker Age 49	City Electrical whole sellers Branch Manager	34#	100% (34 years)	None
6) Jack Steele Age 45	Triumph insurance Credit Controller	28#	96% (28 years)	Gates bar and Eatery
7) Gary Steele Age 43	Kent regional health Hospital Manager	25#	92.2% (25 years)	Gates bar and Eatery Gardens for you
8) Anthony Cartwright, Age 30	JP Knights Tug Boat Skipper	14#	100% (14 years)	None
9) Noel Carrin Age now 30	Grandson construction Carpenter	14#	71% (10 years)	Restoration carpenter Historical Restoration Kent

# Still in paid employment with the same company

\*Retired

~ still in paid employment

This theme first reveals that within this group all managed to turn their work into ‘long term jobs’. In fact, 5 of the 9 men had worked for the same employer for over 95% or above of their working lives. However, very few of these men considered their ‘jobs for life’ to have simply been

sustained due to them passively moving through an external career ladder. So, even these men did not see their career as reflecting Wilensky's (1961) structural definition of a career. Of all the men Philip Wood came nearest to characterising his career in this manner: *'I'm the sort of person that won't take any risks, I was very happy to plod along as a plodder I suppose and I stayed there, and in the end it's paid off'*. However, even Philip discussed actively redirecting his role in the company he worked for toward the end of his career. Thus retaining a 'job for life' had not happened naturally, but instead reflected episodes of adaption, and changing work roles and attitudes. On the whole they managed to navigate these changes and retain secure employment. Five were still mid-career between the ages of 30 and 50, meaning their careers could become more diverse in their later working lives. However at present, four of these five men felt secure in their employment and did not feel any desire or pressure to change jobs.

*'I've been working with Knights since I was 15, sorry 16, and everything seems to have gone to plan so far, plus it's a very old company, and they has been no let-up in work these past ten years. So I really can't see any reason I'd need to move or change my work. In the future I might go in the office for them, you know man the radios, but not yet, not for another five ten years as I've said I love what I do, and the money's good.*  
(Anthony Cartwright, Tug Boat Skipper).

*I now know credit control inside out. I am also keeping up to date by doing a course to develop some new technical skills in line with the new computer systems were using. You do get people who leap-frog about, but I think in the long term that can be negative. You gain a reputation, so as long as Triumph keeps giving me the prospects for promotion, I will stay with them. Trust is an important thing for me in this industry, and I trust TIC* (Jack Steele, Credit Controller).

Of the 9 men within this group, 7 had shown a pattern of rising income, promotion and/or growth in status. Additionally, of the seven men who had either began their career in unskilled or trade work, four had been promoted into management at their companies, with the other two developing more highly skilled and better paid jobs. 8 of the 9 men's income had increased

considerably since starting their jobs, even though only three had left school with any qualifications. Overall, with the exception of Noel and with the support of their partners, all men's incomes had enabled them to get and pay their mortgage, support their families and live relatively comfortable economic lives. Furthermore, seven of these men's incomes had surpassed those of their fathers. Both Ted and Harry discussed the mixture of their personal dedication and structural opportunities in defining their career progression:

*It's a bit funny really; my dad always believed I was daft for not sticking at being an accounts manager, and instead doing my apprenticeship at Shorts. But as an electrical fitter, I've had no problems, no problem progressing. I've worked hard to become the specialist I am now. But I don't think I would have had those chances and the personal drive for development at that small accounts office [laughs]. I'd probably still be looking at the same boring paper work I was then. [laughs] Shows what my Dad knows. I'll remind the old man, next time I see him (Harry Copper, Electrical Design Engineer)*

*Really pleased with my job. It's taken me all the way up into management. Don't get me wrong, it's been hard, hard, work, but I think I've been lucky for the opportunities I've had (Ted Bekker, Branch Manager)*

Only Noel Carrin was still living at home with his parents at 30. Noel's prospect for upward income mobility had seemed unstable in his early career due to the precarious nature of carpentry with the decline in the housing market. However, Noel seemed both dedicated to his trade and confident of this future, having spent the last five years developing as a restoration specialist:

*I was let go by Granson because with the recession there was less and less work in construction. I then had four months of moving around between smaller jobs because it was becoming more difficult to find good work. But then I had a stroke of luck really. I was doing some work on a church, just putting up some plaster board nothing too difficult. But at the same time there was also a group of craftsmen doing some restoration work to the wooden beams inside. Anyway I got a bit friendly with those*

*guys, and they told me that they had a bigger project coming up. At 'provender house' you know, where the Russian royal family had lived, and apparently the restoration company, Historical Restoration Kent, was looking for a carpenter. So yeah well I talked to dad about it and he said to write a letter to them outlining my work and interests. So then he went through and proof read it for my dyslexia mistakes and we sent it off. But I got a ring out of the blue to invite me in for a chat. So I went and talked about my work on churches, I think they liked my passion for historical work, so they took me on. Only temporary at first, but I've been there five years, and three years on a full time contract, so yeah I was really lucky I suppose.*

A further shared experience for a number of men within the new internal transition was the effect of working for companies that underwent dynamic change during their working lives. These men's narratives were not just of interest in terms of how organisational change occurred, but also due to the effect that men's life stage and social responsibilities had on their abilities to navigate these alterations. Many reflected that in their early careers, change produced new and exciting opportunities for promotion and career development. However, in their later working lives, many discussed the adverse effect on their family life and personal wellbeing that the dynamics of organisational change had. Paul Harfleet's career reflects this experience and its tensions and opportunities most clearly. Paul left school at seventeen for an engineering apprenticeship with National Telecom. After completing his apprenticeship he became a fully qualified NT engineer and spent the next eight years at his tools fixing and maintaining phone networks in the city of London, but at 28 he came to a career crossroads:

*I think you can exhaust your technical knowledge, and get to a point where nothing stretches you anymore logically and after a while you've done everything. I also could see that modernisation was coming. PSM as it was called the introduction of digital systems and exchanges. I saw an opportunity to do an ONC in Business Studies day-release, so I applied and I got that. Studying Business, I found really interesting, which is odd, because I would not have liked it at school, but I guess I'd matured by then. When I finished that I was 28 and got promoted to regional manager, initially my new*

*position felt odd, yeah because my natural impulse was to get my tools out and help the engineers in a practical way. So it took me a while to get used to using my more hands off managerial skills. But once I got that balance sorted and developed my practical business knowledge I was away. To be fair though, my engineering always framed my management thinking because it always helped me to think about how ideas would work in practice.*

Paul then talked in detail about the rapid changes that went on in NT during the late 1980s and through the 1990s. The major change Paul referenced was the process NT went through from being a public to private company. This period changed almost everything about the company, with the emphasis being placed on customer focused business alongside the development of communication technology. Paul remembered a persistent influx of new management focuses and ideas.

*If you went in NT in the late eighties it, was very much like a club. That needed kind of busting out and stretching a bit. For example if we went to a morning meeting they never started till half-past nine or ten o'clock. Because people wouldn't get there until half past, then you'd have a coffee, and biscuit. Next you'd stop at lunch for an hour to have sandwiches. But the American managers they started saying, right we will have breakfast meetings at eight o'clock, and they weren't relaxed meetings any longer. It was focused; 'these are all the faults. What are you going to do about them?' In the nineties, the company also massively changed due to different technological developments. First the development of cell phone technology, NT Cellnet. Then, there was the development of internet provision and digital television. So from a stuffy old national company, it became a radically different organisation, not just in terms of provision but also culture... It was exciting that period, because there were so many new opportunities, so my career started moving real fast. So in 1998 I was promoted from regional management into senior management where I was responsible for a national catchment of engineers. That was really good felt like I was doing something significant and I had a lot of control over the direction we were taking, also without sounding shallow, I started making real good money.*

However, by the age of 40 Paul's job had become progressively more stressful. As a result of the continued reorganisation of his role from above, he had to work longer hours and commute across the country for meetings. As a consequence, Paul had to take a number of periods off work due to stress-related illness. By 2009, aged 49, Paul took redundancy due to a mixture of factors. First his job had been reorganised and second he had recently been diagnosed with bone cancer. After six months off, Paul got bored of being retired and became an Administration Manager at a local indoor bowls club. He said this was '*a step down in terms of responsibility and income*'. However, he was pleased with this change on the whole, as the job came with less hours and stress, which meant he could spend more time with his family and take care of his ageing and ill father, Ron Harfleet.

Paul's working life therefore reflected positive and negative effects of working for a company which underwent 40 years of major change. The process of change NT went through during this period is consistent with a number of issues debated in the literature on 'the new economy' (such as in Bauman, 1998; Beck, 1992 and Sennett, 1998). Paul's career demonstrates the period of evolution, as companies moved from the old to the new economy. However, unlike most of this literature, Paul and other men within this sample consciously interacted with many of these new issues in work. The positives of this structural change were the level of opportunity this created for him. These opportunities enabled him to leave school with few formal qualifications and to progress by training as an engineer and then manager. This gave him access to being promoted from an engineer to working as a senior manager, for which he was both very well paid and provided him a 'job for life'. However, the negative outcomes of Paul's career were the progressively longer hours and stress caused by the continuous reorganisation of his role and responsibility, which had a damaging effect on both his health and work-life balance.

The development of new technology and working for a dramatically changing company was also reflected in the career stories of Peter Harfleet and Philip Hill. Peter's career had started on the shop floor as an assistant machine worker at a large newspaper printing company. However,

within 10 years he had been promoted into management. This rise he attributed to hard work and his personal adaptation to the needs and opportunities presented to him by his company. He described this attitude when talking about the changing nature of industrial relations and his view of unionism in the print company he worked for:

*I always worked on the basis if you didn't....move and change with the times it would leave you behind. Thus it seemed to me at that time with the Union, that they almost felt like they had things pretty well sewn up and that was how they wanted them to remain. But I thought at the time, it's not going to happen like that, you're going to have to change or get left behind. Well I imagine you know what happened to the print unions' right?*

Nevertheless, Peter was made redundant at the age of 56 having spent 35 years with this printing company. In these two cases, arguments about the 'burn out effect' of a career working in 'the new economy' would seem logical. Yet the process of modernisation did not have the same effect for all the men within this sample. For example, the career story of Philip Wood reflects the liberating effect that technological development had on his later career.

*At 48 I changed the direction of my career, running the company's deep sea pilotage service. Although in that role I had to be on call 24 hour a day, it being largely based around internet and phone communication meant I had more freedom to work from home regularly. Thus I saw more of my family... which I did until I retired at 58. (Philip Wood).*

The introduction of phone and internet based communication Philip thus felt had a positive impact as he could work from home more. This allowed him to strike a better work life balance and spend more time with his wife and family. On the whole, therefore, large structural transformations in the nature of business did not have a single, universal effect on men within

this study. Instead, this sample reveals that the effect of structural change on individual employees can only be understood, by taking into account how individual's interact with such events at a given point in their careers.

In short, the development of the organisations they worked for were both advantageous and detrimental to individuals within this study, at different points in their working lives and according to their wider social circumstances. Having considered the nine men in the second sample whose career transitions are best characterised by an internal transition, the next three men's careers took a different path, leaving secure employment to set up their own businesses and become self-employed. This subtheme, 'the new individual transition', also includes a number of interesting cases of another characteristic of the new economy, subcontracting. These men started their own companies largely based on providing subcontracted services for larger companies.

***Subtheme 6: The new individual transition***

(Table 9) The new individual transition sample

<b>Research Participants</b>	<b>Job title and employer in their first job</b>	<b>Age when starting their own business</b>	<b>Sector and nature of their business</b>	<b>Number of people employed and age of the business</b>
1) Robert Cartwright Age 28	Assistant park keeper (Local council)	22	Corporate Landscape Gardening	6 years 5 employees
2) Patrick Hermiston Age 30	Shop Manager N.T Cellnet	27	Valeting Firm	3 years 4 employees
3) Mark Wright Age 32	mechanical engineering In the Army	25	I.T subcontracting firm	7 years 5 employees

What unites all three men in the new individual transition is they came to a point in their careers when they decided to start their own business and become self-employed. This change in career paths came about due to different social circumstance in the men's lives. Nevertheless, there were two main motivations for this change. First, the individual drive to challenge themselves

and, second, the desire to have more autonomy and control over their careers. The sectors in which these men set up their businesses had little in common, varying from landscape gardening to information technology. But a common feature was the ancillary nature of each business, all performing a niche service, based on securing fixed term contracts and subcontracting work from larger businesses in London or the south east. All of the men felt their businesses were doing well. However, Robert and Mark's companies were more established and profitable, whilst Patrick's was still a fledgling business.

Parallel to many in the internal transition, all three men started their first paid jobs between the ages of 16 and 18. As Patrick reflected *'by my second year I seldom went to class, even when I did go I was there physically my mind wasn't*. By this time, his career focus was on his part time job at Novophone. Robert also knew he wanted to leave school by fifteen with his work experience in park maintenance giving him a clear career idea. Robert found this experience liberating: *I just loved being outside away from the classroom, you know the physical freedom of working in the park, walking round among the plants and watching things grow'*. When his work experience finished, he managed to get a part-time job over the summer at the same park and within a month this became a full time position.

Having left school, all three men reflected their initial enjoyment of their first jobs. Here Patrick and Richard will be focused on since Mark's story is reflected in the Intergenerational dialogue at the start of this chapter (see page 149). Patrick became a supervisor at the Novophone shop in which he worked. At 20, he moved jobs to an NT Cellnet shop to become the assistant manager, commenting: *'things were going really well, the sales side was exciting, plus I got a decent bonus every month*. Whilst Robert got: *'a real buzz out of working outside and gardening'* starting a GNVQ in gardening and horticulture at 18.

However between the ages of 22-26 all three men decided to become self-employed. Patrick became the shop manager at NT Cellnet and to begin with was happy with this growth in responsibility and the security that came with being paid a salary. However, over the next four

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years he felt the job was not moving fast enough and could not see a path for promotion. Robert, having finished his GNVQ and although still completely enveloped in the nature of his work, also felt he had hit a similar ceiling in his career, seeing no evidence of a park manager post becoming available.

*I just couldn't see what the next step was, when it was going to happen. Also the strange thing was due to being salaried, you didn't get paid for all the hours you worked, and you had less time to sell to individual customers, so your commission went down, so you were stuck really (Patrick Hermiston).*

*Just weren't any park management roles going in London so I couldn't see any route to use and earn from my new skills in park work. Also I'd made a good mate of Chris by that point from meeting at college. He worked doing contracting work for a number of large businesses around Westminster and the city and needed some help. It seemed sort of natural at the time... In a way I think about it more now, than I did at the time, if that makes sense. Chris was doing gardening work for some offices on Horseferry road near Channel 4 and needed a hand. I went along thinking it would be like an afternoon thing but it grew from there [laughs] (Robert Cartwright).*

At first Robert kept his job at the park, but as his contracting work developed he decided to resign. In the early days he didn't really consider it a business just, 'two men in a van fill with forks and gardening stuff'. However, as the demand kept growing, Robert and his partner decided if they were more organised it could become a real business. One of the key points in the growth of his business came quite by chance. When doing some general gardening for a large corporate headquarters, the man who was contracting them told Robert the company had a plan to landscape a disused area and plant a new garden. Thus he enlisted the help of his wife to write the proposal which led them to winning the contract. This was pivotal, as the business developed from simple gardening to planning and landscaping. Over the next six years the business further developed, first through existing contacts and second setting up an internet site to advertise their services. Currently the business employs two other full time gardeners, alongside training a number of work experience students, which gives Robert particular pride.

*I put it down to the fact even in the early days we were really passionate I suppose and always took pride in the work.... didn't do any half jobs, perhaps more because we cared about gardening. Still you can go around the gardens we did then and they look good. I do in the spring to take photos for the website. But I almost think unintentionally that's what's important. Take drainage. If you don't sort that out well, the garden will look alright for the summer, but after time it won't. So doing a good job first time means, you get called back and your reputation grows by word of mouth. The internet site was again the wife's idea. So we put all of the pictures of the gardens we have done on to it. So passion and doing a really good job, that's key (Robert Cartwright).*

Unlike Robert, Patrick's business is still only at a fledgling stage in its third year of trading. With a friend he provides a valeting service for boats, cars, decking and caravans. Like the other two men's businesses, Patrick's main source of income comes from subcontracting work. Due to his business partner's contacts, they managed to negotiate contracts with a number of the large yachting clubs along the Medway. They provide yearlong valeting services, for all members' yachts for a single fee. Patrick commented: *'It's developed over the last two or so years, we now clean for a number of local car dealers and a Caravan Park'*. He feels the business has been growing well. However, the last few months have caused Patrick more stress as he commented:

*Some people have said, well, it's a bit like having your windows cleaned when it's absolutely pelting down with rain. My wife keeps saying long term it will sort itself out and we still have a good base of permanent contracts. But it still makes me a bit jumpy when you wake up to grey skies, but that's the way I am, never quite satisfied.*

All three believed that being self-employed reflected a more accurate value of their individual labour. The men also talked holistically about their careers, not distinguishing intrinsic and

extrinsic satisfaction. In this regard they merged the categories of economic worth with personal definitions of status and integrity. Of the three, Patrick reflected this outlook in the most economic terms.

*I had a couple of 16 year olds working for the phone shop part time, their money its beer money really because they're living at home. But when they come in with hangovers, they don't want to work hard... well that affects me. But not just in terms of income but also you can't be natural with them. Because you're thinking all the time, he could do better or she could talk to customers better. I really didn't enjoy that. Being dependent on people who don't have the same investment or drive as you but now I don't have to worry. Because Chris he works hard, he's in the same boat as me. I mean it gets you going I suppose. It's the reason we took a long time before employing anyone. But Mekia he's driven... he's like a machine [laughs]*

For Patrick, gaining the full value for his labour seemed a major factor in his working career. However, it was not simply that he reduced his work to how much money he was taking home. Instead, Patrick disliked being economically dependent on other people he did not know and the unnatural effect this had on his sense of self. Mark and Chris also emphasised the autonomy that being self-employed gave them in doing their work. Both believed this had given them more control over how they engaged with their work.

Although limited in number, these three men's stories give direct credence to Wrzesniewski and Dutton's (2001) hypothesis that: *'employees may be leaving organizations to form their own entrepreneurial ventures out of growing dissatisfaction with the opportunities they detect for crafting their own jobs'*. All three men described their decision to become self-employed as motivated by feeling their previous jobs limited their ability to structure the types of careers they wanted. This group's orientation to work was also different, reflecting a modified getting on philosophy. Although all desired upward economic mobility, they saw the best means to achieve

this as to break away from secure employment. Instead, they viewed the risk attached to ‘going it alone’ as worth it and the best means to achieve their career aims to get on.

Further, the men described success as a relationship between intrinsic reward and extrinsic economic outcomes. To do a good job was hence innately linked to their good economic and business returns. For these men ‘*personal adaptability*’ was synonymous with a ‘craft relationship’ to their work (as is discussed further in the next chapter, *Craft*). Whilst these men crafted their careers around their own measurements of personal integrity and worth, the next subtheme considers this dynamic working in the contrary direction. Here, the men in the educational transition sought to craft their careers stories in harmony with the values of their parents and grandparents. Whilst each saw his career path as valuable in its own right, although different in content and context from the work of their families - they still saw their careers as in keeping with the generational values of their parents and grandparents.

**Subtheme 7: The educational transition**

Table 10) the educational transition

Research Participant	Grandfathers main occupation	Fathers occupations	Highest qualification	Current occupation
1) Andrew Wood Age 30	Peter Wood age 86 Patternmaker, Woodwork teacher	Philip wood age 58 Shipping agent	BS in chemistry and music technology MA in music technology PhD in music technology	Currently Part time Lecturing completing PhD At East Midlands university
2) Mike Sextons Age 45	Arthur Sextons Tugboat skipper	Barry Sextons age 65 Shipwright, Chargehand Social worker	BA in geography MA social work	Children and family social worker

In numerical terms what stands out the most, is that only 2 of 14 men decided to take an educational path and go to university. Thus these two men were exceptions as both careers went against the general employment pattern of this sample as a whole and wider trends in society. However, the men's career paths were not only an exception in numerical terms. Although actively encouraged by their parents to take an academic route, both talked of this route seeming ‘*alien*’ or ‘*strange*’ to their parents, particularly during their time as undergraduates. This

educational pathway at first therefore reflected Lusher's (2000) concept of 'ambivalence', as these men felt anxiety in balancing the change and continuity of their intergenerational relationships. Lusher (2000) argues that if feelings of 'ambivalence' are not managed or resolved they can become key sites of bitterness between generations. However, as in Guillaume's (2002) study these men sought to reconcile this tension, not by simply mimicking the values that were passed on to them. Instead they organized and adapted these to justify the new paths their lives took. Both took physical and narrative steps to bridge this gap as their careers developed, fostering real and metaphorical connections between their work and the work of their fathers and grandfathers. In this regard, these men reflected the most sophisticated cognitive career crafting, with the aim of connecting their careers to those of their fathers or grandfathers (Wrzesniewski & Dutton 2001).

*Grammar school was a bit strange, I mean my dad was dead positive he went to grammar himself, but yes at first I just felt a little cut off. People would put you on a pedestal, I think they were trying to be nice, but it made me feel like they didn't consider me one of them. I think my dad saw it, which helped. (Mike Sextons).*

Thus Mike Sextons felt going to grammar school created a separation between school and his life outside school. But neither he nor Andrew felt this path was seen as strange by their fathers because both had also gone to grammar school. Mike particularly talked about having a 'very close relationship' with his father during his school years, with his father helping him to do his maths homework. As Mike recalled '*He'd always try to put things in practical terms and use example from work, you know measuring things*'. As was normal in the schools, the two did their A levels and then went on to university, which was encouraged by their parents. However, the experience of going to university seemed more foreign to their parents. Andrew, for example, believed his father was pleased, as he had missed out in not going to university. As his father, Phillip, confirmed '*I would've loved to have gone down the higher education path first and then maybe gone into my job a little higher up*'. However, alongside this pride, both men felt that what they did at University seemed unfamiliar to their parents during this time, as Phillip recalled:

*It was a kind of an alien thing to them, they didn't know anything about it, when they came up to see me they tried their utmost to be encouraging, but I could just feel the underlying awkwardness they felt, and each time we walked past someone in posh clothing or with funny hair, I felt like saying that's not what I'm like'.*

However, both men finished their undergraduate degree and went on to do an MA. Mike did his undergraduate in geography and although enjoyed this felt it was a bit 'abstract'. Once he finished this, he applied to do a Social Work MA at the University of Canterbury. He was vague about what had drawn him to social work but mentioned a close friend going down his route and some youth work he had been involved with. However, what he was far clearer about was the deep satisfaction he found doing his Master's and becoming a social worker. He placed particular emphasis on the role of his tutor showing him patience and giving him guidance. This relationship Mark felt was key to his career development.

*I don't think I've ever been so absorbed if that's the right word. I can't put my finger on why, but yes my tutor played a big part; he was great, very patient with me. We used to talk a lot first through my experiences and then how this related to social work theory.*

As both went from undergraduate to postgraduate degrees, they talked about their relationship with their parents and grandparents changing again, in different ways. However, both stressed the common theme of trying to bridge the gap between themselves and their parents. Both made efforts to make the work they were doing seem relevant and meaningful and no longer 'alien' to their parents. For Mike, this relationship divide was bridged with the experience of enabling his father to become a social worker. This role in supporting his father was comparative to the relationship he had with his tutor during his masters.

*Me and dad had always talked work, less when I was doing my undergrad. But we really began to reconnect again when I started my social work. I mean it was me who brought up the idea of working at Green Oaks children's home. Started when we were chatting about his work problems, so yeah I suggested working with children. Because he was so good with kids, it seemed to come almost natural to him, never talked down to them. So it developed from there really. But I left it as a suggestion I didn't want to push him. Let him think about it, but he rang me up a couple of days later about arranging an interview. I think my mum had encouraged him. It was really good as it gave us common ground so we would talk on the phone most days. I wouldn't say I instructed but, yes I try to manage my comments in the same way as my tutor, you know let him talk through his experiences, then suggest some wider links I suppose.*

Mike's relationship with his tutor and then his father seemed to echo the circular role of going from apprentice to master in the dockyard. This link was not lost on Mike, who talked about it being a common theme in how he and his father would describe their working discussions. 'We always talked through practice, about learning by doing and reflecting'.

The significance of intergenerational learning and development was also at the core of Andrew's story. Due to the irregular working hours of both his mother and father when he was at school, he would spend three evenings a week with his grandfather, Peter Wood. Andrew discussed in detail his memories of spending this time learning and practicing woodwork with his grandfather in his shed:

*He's got a woodwork shed in his garden and I remember always being out there with him building things out of wood and learning all about the different techniques. He would say, 'think about what it is you want to do', and then he'd make us plan it out. I always really liked the tactile nature of working with materials and I think I use quite a lot of those skills now in my music.*

Andrew believed this formative experience had an enduring effect on his engagement with learning and his attitude to education and work. As he came to the end of his undergraduate degree, he recognized music technology was his true vocation. So he applied for and got on a Masters in music technology at EMU. He considered going straight on to apply for a PhD. But felt he 'needed to do another year to really focus on learning and mastering my skills before I took that academic journey then, it was very much I wanted to practice more music'. Alongside using craft terminology to describe the development of his career in music technology, he further used kinaesthetic language and processes to describe his work with sound.

*The idea of music as sculpture, electro-acoustic music it's called. Because it's created by playing electronic sounds through speakers into unusual spaces and then recording it back into sound again. So you create a composition by layering sounds together. I really like this idea of building pieces out of blocks of sound and I guess that comes from, to a certain extent, working with woodwork.*

Andrew's interview, suggest that he sees his work in clear craft terms, as is unpacked in the next chapter *Craft*. However, of more significance for this chapter, it also demonstrated the affinity he saw between his and his grandfather's work. Whilst Andrew visualised his work as a very meaningful extension of his grandfather's, both young men felt it significant to have the generational links they made recognised by their family members. However, unlike Mike, Andrew still felt bridging this divide was an on-going process.

*Yeah it's really good... [Laughter] I think it bores my mum and my wife to tears on Sundays. But we talk for hours I would say it really helps us. Gives us both someone who is in the job, but not involved in the day to day, (Mike Saxon).*

*They don't get it. They try and get it and I've taken them to some contemporary classical music concerts in London, but they kind of sit there like, what! But I think they're proud of what I've done and they see it something I'm very passionate about.*

*I think I'm proud as well for my grandfather. Because I know that he was teaching so I'm aware he sees the teaching link and we always talk about teaching and, and communicating knowledge to people, (Andrew wood).*

Although Andrew felt he had made some progress in educating his family to his work, he still felt this project was incomplete. He still sensed that his grandfather did not see the craft link between their careers. This was sadly partly reflected in my interview with his grandfather who said: *'Well the idea of going to a rave for example, I think it's horrendous. Well my grandson doesn't, he works with all the electronic music'*. However Andrew did talk to me about a new plan he had:

*The link between music and carpentry that still seems alien to him. But I have a plan to make a piece of music by going to his workshop and recording sounds of tools being used and and create a work that draws this association (Andrew wood).*

Although both of the men in this transition studied different topics and embarked on different career journeys, the experience of going to university held a common meaning in their lives. Additionally, although this section only reflects the career paths of two men, this seems to hold wider significance in understanding this sample as a whole. First, as reflected at the start of this section, formal education still seemed an unpopular avenue for the career development of the vast majority of men in this sample. Therefore, the two men in the academic transition were unique as they were the only two to follow their parent's advice. Yet, going to university for both men made their relationships with their parents and or wider families more complex, with both talking about their time as undergraduates being greeted with a mixture of emotions: family seeing their learning as foreign to their world and family history. This mixture of pride and distance seems to reflect a tension in the *'getting-on'* philosophy when it came to university. However, in moving on from this difficult juncture, we see that both men and their fathers and grandfathers took meaningful steps to reduce this *'ambivalence'* (Lusher, 2000). Whilst not completely resolved for both men, this was never a growing site of generational bitterness.

## **Conclusion**

The intergenerational dialogue and subthemes within this chapter demonstrate the multiple and individual uses the men made of the strategy for *personal adaptability* to navigate and utilise change across their working lives. Whilst each reflected varying levels of adaption in their working lives, none reflected a static job role. Nor did any narrate their careers as passively moving through a predetermined institutional career as defined by Wilensky (1961) or characterised by Enrico in Sennett (1998). Instead, the men often had to reactively adapt to the changing boundaries of their work, both as a result of micro reorganisation of their personal role by the companies they worked for, or as an effect of macro-economic structural shifts, such as the effect of deindustrialisation or technological change. Therefore these men engaged in career adaptability to adjust to the changing nature of their employment. However this reactive adaption only reflected one side of the men's relationship with change, with the majority seeing change not only as an obstacle to be overcome, but also as a springboard, which they could use to propel their own careers. In this regard very few reflected that the decline of manufacturing or the nature of new economy employment had eroded their opportunities to construct meaningful and rewarding careers, as advanced by writers such as Beck (1992, 2000), Bauman (1998) and Sennett, (1998).

Thus the men in this study, invested in their ability to change aspects of their work by proactive crafting; a strategy they used to make their careers meaningful. They were motivated by a 'getting-on' philosophy of upward career mobility. But this was not a mercenary strategy of discarding their old identities each time an opportunity for advancement arose. Instead, the men's *personal adaptability* illustrates their meaningful engagement with both their lived experiences and their familial generational relationships, as they embraced change so they consistently sought to understand this change, by embedding it in their personal history. Thus even the men who went into careers such as social work, school teaching, or shop keeping, did not see these new spheres of work as irreconcilable with their former identities. Instead, they established links between their new and old work practices. Therefore we see that intergenerational transmission was a two-way and on-going process between generations as

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reflected by Kellerhal et al, (2002) and Holdworth (2007). A process where values were not just handed down from older generations to their younger kin, but instead frequently and actively negotiated between generations.

The last two men perhaps provide the clearest engagement with this process, since in education and careers terms they became most distanced from their families. Rather than dis-embedding themselves from family lineage, (as they could have) they invested in repairing and producing new connections between themselves and their generational kin. *Personal adaptability* typified these men's strategy to 'get on', revealing the significance they placed on constructing their work histories as embedded linear life narratives (Sennett, 1998). These narratives were not constructed from isolated personal meanings but through gaining affirmation within their family values and seeking recognition from key family members. Although the men were active in fashioning their life narratives, these were embedded in familial values and not transient projects of self (Giddens 1991).

The way in which linear practices and identities were retained across the men's life course is a major topic in the study's next chapter, on *Craft*. Beyond their paid employment, many continued to develop their trade skills in non-paid craft projects. Thereby, they retained a continued narrative from their time as apprentices through their changing working lives and into retirement. However, such projects on the whole were not performed in generational isolation; instead these were often familial ventures. Craft projects as a result were repeated channels through which fathers, sons and grandsons talked about their growing and changing relationships with one another.

## Chapter 8 results: a 'craft outlook' sustaining a linear life story

### *Framing the theme*

A *craft outlook* was a theme generated from how the majority of both samples talked about their relationship with work. This became evident in the first sample's description of their relationship with dockyard trade work. However, a *craft outlook* is different from merely an occupational trade, since it reflects the personal outcomes that individuals felt they gained from their work. Trade in a more simple sense reflects the skills and demarcated work of a particular occupational group (Robert 1993).

Established in the previous two chapters, most men's paid work moved away from practising their dockyard trades. However, this transition did not end their engagement with trade learning and hands-on work since most talked of DIY as their main leisure interest. Although labelled DIY, this masked the quality, technicality and intrinsic value which these men associated with their craft (Mills, 1951; Sennett, 2008). These personal projects enabled men to understand their lives and identity as a continued story and not a disjointed range of events. Thus DIY was core to the men sustaining a 'linear life narrative' (Sennett 2008). However these projects were not only enacted or talked about by the former dockyard workers, but also passed on in the memories of these men's sons and grandsons. Due to the Official Secrets Act, most of the sons and grandsons knew their fathers' work through their home improvements and not what they produced within the yard. These projects thus played a key role in connecting generations, because most were not performed in generational isolation but were repeated channels through which fathers, sons and grandsons talked about their growing and changing relationships.

Many sons and grandsons felt their own *craft outlook* had originated in these formative and on-going experiences. Thus a *craft outlook* was transmitted to the next generation through these projects, in often a quite unintentional way. Only six men in the second sample had done a formal trade apprenticeship with others in occupations as varied as gardening and music technology. Yet, many reflected a similar outlook of finding satisfaction in the process of doing what Sennett

(2008:241) defines as 'quality driven work'. Therefore, for a number of these men a *craft outlook* was uncoupled from a trade or physical work. Instead this outlook became a means for defining their attitude to work. In this manner men found satisfaction in their continued work development by building on their experience and using their skills in new and creative ways. A *craft outlook* therefore reflected a continued theme across the generations of men within this research and held a residual meaning for 16 of the 28 men, who gained deep intrinsic satisfaction in doing their work (this satisfaction was evaluated by the craft framework on the next page).

The previous two results chapters have discussed the men's motivations to *get on* in their paid work using the strategy of *personal adaptability* to achieve upward career mobility and better job security. This theme demonstrated that most men were not only instrumental in their approach to work. Instead they also sought and found subjective purpose and fulfilment in their labour. Unlike the last two results chapters, this chapter will be organised in an intergenerational manner, where possible reflecting direct familial craft discussions. The chapter's subthemes have been organised around three interrelated features of craft, constructed from the craft framework as discussed, rationalized and defined in chapter four on page 108. A *craft outlook* is thus organised into three subthemes. The first subtheme, 'Description of Practice', explores the men's description of their working practice and the development and adaption of their skills. The second subtheme, 'Labour Attitude' focuses on the feeling and sense of intrinsic satisfaction the men revealed in doing their projects. The third subtheme, 'Vocation', considers how craft was enacted as a career throughout men's life course.

It is important to remember that the evaluation of craft in my research could only be based on if or how the men in this study talked about the meanings of craft within their career histories. This is the case because no direct questions were used or specific criteria arranged before the interviews to measure or scrutinise craft as an operationalized concept. Thus craft in this study exposes the verbalized meanings men gave to their work. Whilst some showed me the fruits of their labour or enacted particular techniques, this study's data is not based on men's embodied practice and makes no claim to evaluate men's craft performance. Instead a *craft outlook* was

evaluated by (1) description of practice (2) attitude to labour and (3) vocation (as was established in chapter 4, page 108).

### ***Craft Framework***

4. Description of practice: The individual's practice demonstrates a development and adaptation of skills to versatile contexts with the aim of mastering techniques in contrast to static reproduction. Craft performances are informed by communities of practice as internalised by an aesthetic of technique and process. Craftspeople consequently respect the status of experience and enjoy communicating knowledge to enable the development of the next generation.
5. Attitude to labour: Craftpeople demonstrate a motivation to quality work, with a desire to conduct meaningful labour guided by personal integrity, variety and the hope of creation. Individuals find satisfaction in their practice as a reward in and of its own right; hence this holistic practice makes labour and human consciousness seem inseparable. As a result this intimate practice should reject distinctions between paid work and personal fulfilment, function and beauty, process and outcome.
6. Vocation: craft is a practice based on the acquisition and progressive development of a linked body of skills across people's lives. In this respect, craft is more than a one-off activity, but a vocation constructed through a dialogue between problem solving and problem making. The individual enacts the freedom to test and experiment with their tools and in their projects. However, their practices must still retain continuity and rhythm as a disciplined embodied career.

Apart from Ryan Hooper, who repeatedly interpreted his work as simply a 'means to an end', the other twenty six men demonstrated at least one factor above. However, only eight of the former dockyard workers and eight of the sons and grandsons adhered to all three factors of a *craft outlook* as reflected in the table below:

(Table 11) Research participants with a craft outlook

Research participants and their last or current form of paid employment	Description of practice	Vocation	labour outlook
1. Peter Wood, Head of department Woodwork	√	√	√
2. Ben Hermiston, Co-op Worker	√	√	√
3. Francis Copper, Health and Safety Adviser	√	√	√
4. Henry Plummer, Ship surveyor	√	√	√
5. Ben Steele, Shop Manager	√	√	√
6. Dominic Draper, Delivery Driver	√	√	√
7. Darrel Carrin, Ship surveyor	√	√	√
8. Benedict Sexton, Social worker	√	√	√
9. Noel Carrin, Carpenter	√	√	√
10. Mark Wright, IT subcontractor	√	√	√
11. Chris Copper, London Police Officer	√	√	√
12. Harry Copper, Electrical Design Engineer	√	√	√
13. Miles Sexton, Social Worker	√	√	√
14. Andrew Wood, Music Technology Academic	√	√	√
15. Anthony Cartwright, Tug Skipper	√	√	√
16. Robert Cartwright, Landscape Gardener	√	√	√
17. Jerry Naylor, NT Regional Manager	X	√	√
18. William Wright, HRM Executive Manager	√	√	X
19. Cameron Cleaver, Maintenance Manager	√	√	X
20. Joe Bekker, Engine fitter	√	√	X
21. James Hermiston, Senior Manager	X	√	√
22. Paul Hermiston, Senior Manager	X	√	X
23. Ted Bekker, Electrical Supplier	X	X	√
24. Patrick Hermiston, Valeting Business	√	X	X
25. Philip Wood, Shipping Agent	√	X	X
26. Gary Steele, Hospital Manager	X	√	X
27. Jack Steele, Credit Control	X	X	√
28. Ryan Hooper, Safety Engineer	X	X	X

## Description of Practice

This subtheme considers how the men in this study saw the value of trained practice and experience as central to their work philosophy. The importance of locating themselves within their trade and the value of occupational learning was common in the men's interviews. The men's craft practices did not stay static, but instead they persistently discussed how they developed and adapted their skills to different contexts. First, the men believed a craftsman status was a by-product of their experience and craft skill (Kritzer 2007). In *The Craftsmen* Sennett (2008) sets his normative discussion of the value of experience in an artisan workshop. In this setting, knowledge is passed face-to-face between generations and in a spirit of collaboration. In the quotes below, we see the former dockyard men portray the work culture of the dockyard in a very similar manner.

*Every workshop had a sort of hero figure. In the pattern shop it was a chap in his early fifties, he made the work seem so natural and clear. Also he wouldn't look down on you, which was different from school. So he was the figure to look to as someone you could become like (Dominic Draper).*

*When working with apprentices you have to engage with all their abilities. By trying to get the most out of each one's different capabilities, some may be very good at stressing structures whereas others could be good at thinking out basic structures, so you can't judge them all on one thing. For example I had an apprentice called Simon Crown, and when I asked him how he was getting on he said 'well I'm in C4 he said but I'd love to get in the Ordinary National class.' So I went to see his tutor, a young chap about your age, and what annoyed me he said 'he'll never get anywhere because his arse is always facing downwards'. So I persuaded the head to let him try for the November exam, and took him on myself on alongside my other apprentices. So we worked through each of the problems in practice together until November. Well the head came to see me after the exam and said 'you won't believe it Simon's finished in the top 10 percent, so we are going to keep him on in the Ordinary National class'. That's a thing which was most gratifying to me (Henry Plummer).*

The quotes above are reflective of most men's fond memories of both their positive times as apprentices and then their later roles of training new apprentices themselves. A number like Dominic above highlighted '*hero figures*' and the constructive role of particular individuals. More consistent was men's emphasis on the confidence built from both teaching and learning through practice and the significance of developing through experience. The process of working '*through each of the problems in practice together*', as Henry Plummer put it, thus seemed the major pedagogy of dockyard learning. A second topic in the men's relationship with experience was the way they located their work within trade traditions which stretch back centuries. The rich heritage of their trades thus made them feel their work was more significant.

*When learning how to refit a ship's deck, you learnt things like how to use an Adze properly. Same as they used to use on, building the Victory. I used to like that; skills had been handed down over hundreds of years from one group of shipwrights to the next. I think it made it feel more substantial like you were involved in something'* (Darrel Carrin).

*When the tide came in, we used to walk along the docks and you never believe the artistry of the bricklaying down there of where one culvert went into another, absolutely outta this world. It opened my eyes to the way they built those things, all those years ago. Well I often marvel at all these churches and cathedrals and that when you see the, the work that they did, how did they even imagine those things, you know it's fantastic* (Francis Copper).

These four quotes together illustrate the circular process of learning from experienced workers the knowledge and techniques embedded in the rich histories of their trades. In this learning environment age is given gravitas. Experience is deeply connected to mastery of skills based on practising and developing techniques through time and in different contexts. Thus men adhered to craftwork as an identifiable set of skills as acquired under the guidance of a craft expert. Kritzer (2007: 327) believes this is inherent to craft learning, as he describes: 'the true skill of craft is specialized in nature and comes only with time and practice, typically obtained under the tutelage of a person who has previously mastered the craft'. Further, the working history of those tradesmen centuries before, whose techniques they learnt or labour was marvelled at, gave the men a tradition in which to locate themselves as craftsmen.

However, the significance of experience as learned through trained practice was not a feature of the former dockyard workers lives that ended with their employment in the dockyard. Instead they utilized this and embedded it within their relationship with their sons and grandsons as they performed craft projects together. This was particularly well reflected by an intergenerational dialogue between father, Darrel Carrin and son, Noel Carrin. This discussion happened quite naturally, as I sat listening to Darrel talk about his working life when Noel came home from work.

With his father beginning to talk about their domestic projects, Noel added his own memories. I asked Noel what he remembered about his father's work.

### ***Intergenerational dialogue 2: The Carrin family***

Noel: *Well I can't really remember the dockyard, or when my dad worked there. I was only young by the time it closed. So for me it's just always been where the cinema is, you know there is an Odeon cinema down there now. Obviously I've got my dad's memories but not my own. So in terms of the work my dad did, my first memories, when I was very young, are of sitting on a trestle table watching him working and being surrounded by nails and wood.*

Darrel: *And when you were a bit older, you got your own tools didn't you, and I showed you how to use them, how to hold a chisel so you didn't cut yourself.*

Noel: *We were taught how dangerous things like knives and chisels were. So me and my brother, we used to bash nails into bits of wood all day long for no reason (laughter). So from a very, very young age we were using tools to make all kinds of little things. Literally if dad was working we'd start to pick bits up as well. When I got a bit older we started working on the big extension (pointing) out the back here, together. When was that, dad?*

Darrel: *Well that project started in 1996, yes that's right I did the drawings in 1996. Sorry, to explain, we wanted an extension out the back, a conservatory on this level and another bedroom and bathroom upstairs. So I drafted all of the plans, during weekends and evenings. First starting with pencil drawings, you know like I did in the drawing office. So that was the first part of the project sitting upstairs with my drawing board and L square and when I was satisfied with them, I ran it past the clients, the wife (laughs).*

*That summer you and your brother started to help me. At the start I put them to the unskilled work, let's say digging and moving round cement bags and stuff, for the*

*foundations. So we built the majority of that together you know from scratch. But when you were 15 you started to help me with the more technical stuff. Now you're much better at most technical and carpentry work than me these days, which comes in handy! (Laughs)*

*Noel: Well I was about fifteen or sixteen, me, my brother, dad and my uncle all worked together on the bricklaying which was really good. Because at school we did little bits of practical work, but you were always being monitored and had to write down and explain what you were doing. You know, go through all the rigmarole of writing, why it is that shape and how the process worked; whereas with my dad, he gave us more freedom. I think he did that intentionally, so we had to think things through ourselves and work them out in practical terms, as opposed to written terms. My uncle also had a big impact on me because he was a tradesman too, a plasterer, so he knew a lot about the construction industry.*

*Darrel: Well I'm not sure how intentional I was being. First of all we had a lot of work to get through so naturally I had to give the boys quite a lot of freedom. But yes by that age Noel was very good practically so I had confidence he wouldn't go too far wrong. I mean, you were a similar age to me when I was doing my apprenticeship and I think maybe that was why I let you get on with it more. I think at school they're so worried about kids getting injured or hurt. Whereas I think it is through a level of freedom you learn about safety you know, learning through doing, **process learning** (My emphasis). I mean you don't learn a fire is hot by being told, you learn it through feeling the heat. Also with things like the bricklaying, I wasn't an expert so I had to discuss things as they came up, too. Later on when we were doing all the finishing, the wooden flooring and skirting boards, the tables were turned, because Noel knew a lot more about that than I did so, really he was advising me.*

Alongside revealing men's continued and developing craft relationships, this dialogue echoes a range of subtopics consistent within many of the men's narratives, as debated in the literature on craft. As Patchett (2015) argues in her criticism of Sennett's (2008) work, craft practices are dynamic and not based on static reproduction: a point well illustrated in the Carrin extension

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project above, since this was not simply a static rehearsal of their existing craft skills. First, whilst the project began with Darrel practicing his draughtsmanship as learnt in the dockyard, it also asked all of the men to develop new skills such as laying bricks. Second, we see the project started with Darrel taking the leadership role almost mimicking the master-apprentice relationships as he put his boys to the 'unskilled labour' and was the authority on craft knowledge. However, over time and with Noel developing his skills, the relationship became far more egalitarian, with Noel becoming the authority on carpentry. Thus this project demonstrates that generational transmission was not a static process of knowledge being passed from one generation to the next. Instead, all of the Carrin men developed new knowledge and skills as transmission worked through interaction with each other and the context at hand (Kellerhals et al's 2002). Thus although experience was core to leadership within the project, this was measured by expertise and not age.

All of the quotes presented so far also give insight into the nature of learning, with most men articulating hostility to inactive classroom learning. Instead all men emphasised the significance of learning through example whilst engaged in a practical process. As Dominic Draper reflected this made the learning environment one in which people '*wouldn't look down on you, which was different from school*'. The inseparability of learning from practice is a major topic within Marchard (2008). He argues that craft is 'largely communicated, understood and negotiated between practitioners without words, and learning is achieved through observation, mimesis and repeated exercise' (2008: 245). The significance of such process learning is well illustrated by the majority of quotes above. For example, we find it in Noel's feelings of frustration due to '*being monitored and had to write down and explain what you were doing*'. In short, his practical learning had to be constantly translated into a written medium whilst at school. In comparison, at home he enjoyed the freedom a craft environment gave him to escape written and spoken skills. This gives credence to Marchard's (2008) argument that embodied learning is still being judged by inappropriate written criteria in western education. Men who worked in non-trade settings within the second sample also universally cited the significance of learning through process.

*To become a Microsoft certified systems engineer, it was tough, very tough. But there were similarities, not similar in material but both were practical step-by-step training. So my engineering background helped me to see it as a process and to not get annoyed all the time. (Mark Wright, IT subcontractor).*

*My tutor played a big part; he was great, very patient with me. We used to talk a lot first through my experiences and then how this related to social work theory ... We always talked through practice, about learning by doing and reflecting. (Miles Sexton, Social Worker).*

*When I'm training up the work experience students we now get, which gives me such pride because I was in their shoes before. I always start by reassuring them that however well or more commonly badly they did at school, doesn't matter here. As long as they're dedicated and give me their best, they can become excellent gardeners. Because there are only really a few basic rules, the rest is care and observation. You know nine times out of ten a plant will tell you what it needs, which you gauge through look and feel as learnt through care over the years. (Robert Cartwright, Landscape Gardener).*

In these quotes, men place little emphasis on understanding their career outcomes as the result of raw talent. Instead, they commonly referred to their career advancement occurring over an extended period: a cycle based on making mistakes and then using these to modify their practice. As a learning style, the men saw their development as, 'a process by which behaviour changes as a result of experience' (Maples and Webster 1980, quoted in Merriam and Caffarella 1991: 124). This reflective cycle also gave them comfort because it allowed them to see not knowing the correct answer first time as part of the process. Thus as in Sennett (2008) and Kritzer (2007), these men engaged in process learning where problem making and problem solving happened in symphony.

Unlike their fathers or grandfathers, most men in the second sample could not locate their work in trade traditions, because most were not involved in occupations with such long histories.

However, the principles by which the characterized and understood craft work were not just individually created. Instead, the also felt guided by occupational codes of best practice and collective classifications of quality work. As Kritzer (2007) makes clear, a craft person's assessment of work seldom comes through the eyes of a lay person. Thus these men talked with disdain about anyone who they saw as not engaging with their occupations in a dedicated manner. Noel and Robert, for example, talked about particular work situations where they saw their personal values for quality coming into conflict with other people they worked for or with.

*At first, I was pleased to get back to my trade. It was a lot of secondary fitting work of office blocks and shopping centres. However the work there wasn't very interesting, also they seem to employ a lot of people who weren't really tradesmen. I wouldn't call them all cowboys, but a lot didn't seem to care about their work. They just seemed in a rush to finish, no care for the job in its own right. Personally I think those types of people are a bit of a problem in my industry, it does it some damage! They didn't finish work correctly, which can actually be very dangerous for other workers, particularly with things like electrics. That used to worry and annoy me because at Granson, as tradesmen we had a common idea of standards. But at Goodsaw it seemed to be all about rushing to finish, which I always felt was a mistake. I always think as a worker you are the face of the company so if we do a quality job you will get a reputation, and invited to do more work. It doesn't always work like that today. That really motivated me to leave (Noel Carrin).*

*I had a job for a company they had some Japanese business executives coming over. So they got all excited, 'let's have some orchids'. But orchids are very delicate and they only grow in very particular conditions, in fact most grow indoors and it was January. But I said 'that will not work, because with the frost they will die'. However they were not having it, they had more money than sense really. But being a bit stubborn, I did some research on hardy Japanese plants and found some flowers which grow in the mountains where it snows, you know they get a lot of snow up on Mount Fuji, and found a company I could source them from. So I went back in and said look we can get some orchids for the atrium but these flowers would look very special*

*outside, and they're from the same region as where the Japanese company is based. That was really a bit of a white lie because they grow in most regions of Japan. But that got the client on side, and the boss asked me to get him a bit of reading material on the plants so he could impress these executives. I always look back on that as a bit of a personal victory (Robert Cartwright).*

Robert and Noel's quotes above, both reflect their personal disquiet in having to be part of a work process that they saw as undermining their standards and norms as craftworkers. For Noel, this derive from the company focus on '*rushing to finish*' which he saw as promoting '*cowboy*' practices. Whilst for Robert tension was created from the client's poor knowledge and insistence of inappropriate plants that as he argued '*will not work, because with the frost they will die*'. Kritzer (2007:325) argues that levels of specification are a common area of tension in many craftworker client relationships, because specification on, '*One level is set by the customer or client and the other level is set by the norms of the craft. The client may recognize the absence of some aspects of the internal norms but will probably miss the more subtle aspects of it*'. Thus both men focused on their internal sense of how labour should be performed instead of adhering to what they felt were misguided agendas.

In the second sample, *craft outlooks* were however more than a reaction to other people's instrumentalism. They also talked about people who embodied standards they wished to live up to.

*Thinking about my dad's life has always pushed me, because he is an example of someone who has never just accepted the easy road. Instead he's always worked by and taught me the value, that if you have a good idea or passion for something you should pursue it. In that way he was very encouraging about me starting my own company. Whilst a lot of people said just work for someone else would be easier, he said if you think you can make a go of it on your own you should give it a shot. So he always taught me to back myself and value my own judgement. I mean when I look*

*at his life and the things he had to deal with like you were saying the closure of the dockyard, I always think if he still has the appetite for new challenges so should I.*  
(Mark Wright, IT subcontractor).

*I take my wife to the Chelsea flower show every year and have a nice lunch together to say thanks for all the help she has given me. But I also get a lot of inspiration from that. Not just practical ideas, more it always helps to reinvigorate me and shows me how much more I can learn. Talking to the gardeners there really excites me. I always feel we are connected to what we do in the same way. Kew's the same. I also seem to get a lot from listening to those people who are the real authority in my area. My wife gets bored but she thinks it is more interesting than me talking about football [laughs]*  
(Robert Cartwright, Landscape Gardener).

The quotes above reflect two clear elements of a *craft outlook*. First for Mark it is his dad's experience and advice which drives his own sense of work integrity and autonomy. Whilst the Chelsea flower show for Robert, is a forum where he finds his craft communities 'core aesthetic' (Kritzer, 2007). There he can meet and talk, not with lay people, but with what he terms, 'the real authority in his area', those people who have mastered his craft. The drive for work excellence was highlighted by all eight of the craftsmen in the second sample. This desire to conduct meaningful labour, whilst based on a sense of personal integrity, was shaped by adhering to principles and techniques they saw in the labour of others. Whereas most were not in simple occupational communities they did suggest powerful links to particular communities of practice (Kritzer, 2007). Alongside using the labour and principle of experts and experience to inform their practice, craft was also intimately reflected in how the men describe performing their work.

### ***Attitude to labour***

This subtheme considers how men demonstrated a motivation to quality work and found satisfaction in their practice as a reward in and of its own right. As a result, most practices

rejected distinctions between paid work and personal fulfilment, function and beauty, process and outcome. A central theme within writings on craft is the Zen-like experience of the body and mind becoming indistinguishable in the performance of labour. Morris describes the 'mysterious bodily pleasure' (1883:174) generated in such work, whilst Marx defines this harmony as 'form-giving' (1970/1859). A very good normative description of this embodied unison and its significance was expressed by Peter Wood:

*I enjoyed shaping wood, but it was more than that there's a philosophical aspect to it, Humanity depends upon these [pointing to hand and head], It makes us human, so to speak if nothing else, as I started out saying, your head and hands are attached, and if you don't use both together, you're not human, And it's a great tragedy that modern humanity doesn't use them together (Peter Wood).*

Kritzer (2007) believes consistency is one feature of craft that distinguishes it from art. However as illustrated in his discussion of a surgeon's work, consistency is far from mindless or boring. Sennett (2008) is of the same view and suggests that if people feel invested in their work and are given room to make their own decisions, routine teaches anticipation and makes the hands alert. Thus experts develop a rhythm of sophisticated hand skills through routine. *This rhythm of routine* was described in many different ways specific to the eight dockyard men's trades and skills sets. However two factors were shared. First, a sense of harmony between the mental and physical, and second, that the boundaries between themselves and their work became blurred.

*Routine in as much as the methods were the same, whichever job you made, or basically the same, but because they were different types of job, you got a sense of satisfaction in using these methods differently, you built up a real focus, not thinking outside your work (Dominic Draper, Delivery Driver).*

*When doing a Shear<sup>4</sup> drawing the ship talks to you, it becomes a part of you and as you're shaping it and looking at doing the calculations to find out what fits and everything else, it's part of you, (Darrel Carrin, Ship surveyor).*

*You get to know the ships you're working on, they do develop a character and no one is the same. You look at all the little things that the chap who built them first did, and make allowances working with them,' (Ben Hermiston, Co-op Worker).*

All three men above reflect a common sense of emersion in their labour. As Dominic put it '*not thinking outside your work*', or as Ben and Darrel described their labour and self inter-weaving: *it becomes a part of you*'. For most of these men their paid work moved away from practising their dockyard trades. But this transition did not end their engagement with trade learning and hands-on work. Instead, most men talked about DIY producing the same sense of inner satisfaction and feeling of harmony as they had formerly found in their trade work. In the quotes below we also see that such work took on a deeper meaning as personal projects allowed the men more freedom to experiment and develop their skills. Thus the men's labour was their own and it was used to fulfil meaningful as well as practical needs, as they constructed projects for making things of lasting significance and value instead of simply providing prosaic ends. Further, each project was an act of personal creation as none of the men simply pursued their dockyard skills; instead each produced something new and bespoke. Such projects seem to exemplify William Morris's (1883:174) seminal four elements of handicraft: variety, hope of creation, usefulness and embodied pleasure:

*It wasn't a new thing; I'd always done woodwork around the home. But it was one of my big projects [Dominic showing me around his Kitchen]. It was somewhat different as well from my work in the pattern shop because although making moulds I think were also quite impressive works of design, you made them with a focus on function. However this job gave me a lot more freedom, freedom to use my tools in a personal way. Because carving oak for kitchen cabinets you're obviously thinking about finish*

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<sup>4</sup> A shear diagram was a drawing draughtsmen did to indicate how forces would act on the axis and beams of a ship.

*and look more. I mean as you can see I didn't want them to look showy but I did end up working with a range of techniques I hadn't used a lot since I was on my apprenticeship. For example, I decided to use as few nails and fittings as possible, you know, really work with the wood. Some might think that is outdated, but it's not, in fact using pegs and dovetail joints is better because wood's a living material so much like the body it breathes with the seasons, and shrinks and expands. Nails don't allow for that so the wood will crack and split. Also I really went back to hand tools most of the time. But without using those easy fixes, you really had to spend time looking and working with each piece of timber. It's funny I would go in my shed in the morning on Sunday and next my wife would be calling me for lunch and I hadn't noticed the time. (Dominic Draper, Delivery Driver).*

*I make toys, old fashioned ones for my grandchildren, nothing too exciting, but I made a little music box for Emma, Miles' youngest. The box that is, not the moving parts, I bought those along with a little ballerina. But I handmade this little box around 20 by 15 centimetres, dovetailing the panels and carved floral details into each of the sides. It wasn't that taxing, but it was nice to put my skills to something so small and delicate chipping away with a little fishtail gouge... I like the idea she will always have something close built by her grandad and maybe she will give it to her children one day. (Miles Sexton, Social Worker).*

Common to all quotes above is that each project was conducted for a familial purpose. As shown most clearly by Miles Sexton, the satisfaction of making his granddaughter's music box also came from envisioning the place this would hold in her, and, perhaps further generation's lives. Thus the quote seems to suggest a link to craft in its broadest sense, as more than a practice but also a set of principles that inform family relationships. As Mills (1951:220) proclaims, 'finally, family, community, and politics are measured by the standards of inner satisfaction, coherence and experiment in craft labour'. Though Mills' conceptualisation is far too idealized to be confirmed by the quotes above, the men's projects did seem a measure of who they were and a means of communicating the importance of family relationships in their lives. Cox's (2013) contemporary and empirical study of DIY in New Zealand updates this idea, by arguing such male domestic

labour should be conceptualised as care work. Men in her study considered that such work was motivated and performed as a duty of care to their family. A duty of family care is explicit in both the men's work quotes above. Miles Sexton inspired by a desire that his granddaughter might have '*something close built by her grandad*'. Whereas Dominic finds pride in that he had '*always done woodwork around the home*'. This turn of phrase resonates with Cox's (2013) conclusion that paying others to do work was seen by men as a personal failure of their family duty.

The familial value of craft was particularly important to my second sample of men. Although the majority did not do formal craft apprenticeships many still reflected a *craft outlook*. This is best illustrated by Andrew Wood, Robert Cartwright and Mark Wright. None worked in a traditional craft area, yet an embodied craft feeling emanated from their labour.

*People don't often think about music as a physical medium but if you put your hand to a speaker you feel the pulsation, dum, dum, dum, you don't just hear it but also feel it. Like in the Beach Boys song music is just 'good vibrations' right. Now if we continue in those terms sound is created by what those vibrations hit. So when you're working with sound you need to envelop yourself in it. It sounds like a cliché but when you're making music in part it is a physical process. Both because it's your body that absorbs it but also because it is physical objects that alter it. (Andrew Wood).*

*You hit this head space, when you're fixing technological things. Doesn't matter if they are physical, to some extent I get it more with computers. Because they are inherently logical puzzles, computers always act in a rational programmed fashion. So to find a resolution you have to think in those terms. So yes after a while you hit this head space when the only thing you're conscious of is the problem, and everything seems still. (Mark Wright).*

*People always laugh at Prince Charles for saying he talked to his plants. But in a funny way he's not wrong, well he is about talking to them. But they do communicate with you and there's something very calming about being around them. Because things people build are pushed to move as fast as possible. However being around and, with nature, things grow at their own speed so moving like a mad man will not achieve*

*anything. So you settle into a more natural speed, it's calming. I don't know if it is also because they are producing a lot of oxygen. But it gives me a real feeling of wellbeing because you have to co-operate with plants not control them. (Robert Cartwright).*

Each quote above, although a product of a different context and practice, seems to reflect what can be best termed a transcendental relationship with labour (Thoreau 1854). It could be argued that this is to read too much into what the men are doing and saying, as on Face value these are deeply prosaic activities. However this is to miss what Pirsig in *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* highlights: *'The Buddha, the Godhead, [which] resides quite as comfortably in the circuits of a digital computer or the gears of a cycle transmission as he does at the top of the mountain, or in the petals of a flower.'* (1979:18). Sennett's (2008) discussion of the harmony between the mental and physical argues that problem-solving becomes an integral part of the process. Thus experimental problems solving is established through technical knowledge. When asked to discuss what they found interesting about their trade, the men referenced problem-solving above any other factor. Further, they felt work became most engaging and satisfying in the process of overcoming new and unique problems.

*Interest, sometimes it made work a damn sight harder. You'd have people saying, 'hey come on it's about time you packed up' and you'd be thinking, 'No, let me just finish this bit, I just want to see this through', because it's like a puzzle you'd be turning it over in your head all night not talking. Used to drive my wife up the wall (Frank Copper).*

Indeed, this could become an obsession, as witnessed in the exchange below between Ben Steels and Henry Plummer.

Ben Steels: *When you get a thought, a train of thought, you take it home with you and I think Henry would agree.*

Henry Plummer: *That's right you cannot switch it off, it can wake you up, you're thinking about it so much.*

Ben Steels: *You wake up thinking 'oh I've got to do that, if I alter that change this will work,' and you still do it. I was on a lining-out table in the factory and the job had become very difficult. It took me a time to sort out but I cycled home and had my dinner and sat down and you're still thinking of it and invariably at 2 o'clock in the morning.*

Henry Plummer: *You get your answer [laughs].*

Ben Steels: *You see it becomes your living, I don't mean monetary wise I mean your way of living.*

Henry Plummer: *We still do it today. This Italian cruise ship that sunk recently, me and you were on the phone for hours about that, I think your wife got sick of hearing the phone ring.*

Ben Steels: *She did [laughs] ...funny because it was only the vessel we talked about tonnages, buoyancy etcetera. Trying to work out why and how it sank, not the poor people.*

In the quotes above all three men talk about the internalization of their work. Henry Plummer felt he could not 'switch it off' whilst Ben Steels states work became his 'way of living'. However this was not because the men disliked their work but on the contrary because they felt so interested and involved in its performance. So craft problem solving became a creative obsession which had stopped them from sleeping, as technical issues were as Frank states turned 'over in your head all night'. Kritzer (2007) highlights that an introspective, drive to improve seems to consume most craft people, with a focus on detail that seems incomprehensible to lay people. These quotes therefore reiterate the men's involvement with problem solving in their trade work. But also reveal that for the men engagement and obsession were often one and the same. So engagement which gave them a feeling of harmony in their work also caused them to not be able to 'switch off' outside work. Sennett (2009:254) claims 'craft routines relieve stress by producing a steady rhythm to work'. However, there was little evidence that these former dockyard workers could separate engagement from obsession. Instead the internal calm in doing craft work caused the men internal disquiet outside work.

This was even more acute in the second sample, with seven out of eight men labelling themselves workaholics at one stage in their careers. Many talked about having to establish boundaries when they would and would not work, particularly timetabling family days to stay engaged with their wife and children. Whilst individually experienced, these men's obsessions were also enabled by new working contexts.

*When you're writing up your thesis, as I am sure you'll agree, you just work until 3 or 4, in the morning. Get up and start again at 7 the next day. It's the norm really, but I would sit in front of the computer so long my hands would shake, because I hadn't eaten for 12 hours. Just didn't think about eating, so I would chain smoke to keep that focus... I've found it very difficult since, to avoid those patterns. But my partner helped, it's good to have someone around who tells you this is not healthy. But that's just how it works sometimes you can't start, other times it comes out of you so fast, it's like you are possessed. (Andrew Wood).*

*It took me a long time to manage my work. I couldn't separate myself from the children's in care lives, couldn't switch it off. It is unnatural not to care too much, not to want to sort things, everything out for them - having children of my own helped. (Miles Sexton).*

*Sometimes I have to at night almost, almost tell myself out loud, stop and erm switch off... it's difficult when you know there is a computer in the second bedroom. (Mark Wright).*

*I can work very unnatural hours when I am away from home sorting out all of the electrical systems for a big shopping centre. I get into a just work mind-set, I can't see the point of socialising or hanging round the hotel, I go home shattered but at least I know, that is done. (Harry Copper, Electrical Design Engineer).*

Like the men in sample one, we again see the reiteration of work producing a seemingly inescapable '*mind set*' which had a detrimental effect on their ability to interact with others or '*switch off*'. Harry saw '*a just work mind-set*' as reasonable since it left him feeling closure when he was away from work. But the other three men felt this was something that needed to be managed so they could achieve a more even work life balance. However, one difference between the first samples dockyard work, was that both Andrew and Mark related their working extremely long hours to their access to home computers. So this technology removed geographical restrictions on their ability to work at any time or place. Other men without a *craft outlook* also discussed becoming workaholics. However, the cognitive satisfaction derived from craft, did not, as argued by Sennett (2008) or Mills (1951), naturally produce a balanced working life. Instead a *craft outlook* often led to personal fixation. All 16 'craftsmen' discussed having to draw a line between engagement and obsession, a process facilitated by their partners. Yet, craft did not only have negative effects on familial relationships. Craft was also a decisive performance through which fathers', sons' and grandsons' relationships with one another were affirmed, as is developed in the next subtheme vocation.

## **Vocation**

For both Marx (1932/1846) and Thoreau (1854) craft did not signify a single act of handiwork, but a lifelong pursuit of self-development. Thus craft as a long term commitment to practice can be defined as a vocation. The term vocation originally held the religious connotation of a calling. This seems apt in relation to the findings of the last subtheme, that men found it very difficult to regulate their impulses for craft work. In a non-religious context, however, a vocation means a personal dedication to the development of a particular field of interest across the life course. Thus a vocation reflects a non-instrumental career. In Dik and Duffy (2009:427) definition: 'A vocation is an approach to a particular life role that is oriented toward demonstrating or deriving a sense of purpose or meaningfulness'. So seeing craft as a vocation can be defined as a practice based on the acquisition and progressive development of a linked body of skills across people's lives. A continued engagement in a craft practice, Sennett (2008: 20) believes, allows employees to transcend a low commitment relationship with their labour. Long-term craft practices he contests 'represents the special human condition of being engaged'. A consistent theme in all the interviews with the sample of dockyard men was their recollection of making their own trade tools. This experience and the tools the men made seemed to hold the most potent symbolism as the origin of their craft vocation.

*We made our toolbox first, a small one, and a large one, and this special scraper, hand bone scraper. You'd make all the tools you needed, to become a shipwright. I've still got them out in the shed and I use them now doing the extension. (Darrel Carrin).*

*Oh I made dividers, callipers, internal and external callipers, sash cramp, sash cramp ends, etc., all useful tools. At the time I didn't think much of it, but when you started working it made you very careful and a bit possessive you know not to lend them, because it was your callipers not just one off the shelf, still got most of them (Jerry Naylor).*

In total 11 of the 16 men and all 8 craftsmen referred to still having and using these tools. During their apprentice years many emphasised a growing sense of value in their work and confidence in their own ability. Again possessing and developing one's own personal tools is widely cited as a feature of craft workers autonomy in both the historical (Reid 2004) and normative (Sennett 2008) debates on craft. Ironically, the second generation's memories of their craft origins could so easily have been missed by this research if it were not for a happy coincidence. In short, because dockyard work was protected by the Official Secrets Act most men were reluctant to talk in any detail about the particulars of their work in the yard to their families. The consequence of this was when I asked these men about the work of their fathers, most of their enduring memories were of watching and being involved in their father's domestic labour.

*Dad was always very hands on with me as a kid. Most Sunday afternoons to get out from under my mum's feet, we'd go to the garage, which he had turned into his work shop. It's funny because when I got older I realised he worked on massive Subs and Destroyers. But when I was young I knew his work through the small wooden inlaid boxes, tea boxes and chairs around the house. So we would always have a project on the go, and he would teach me little things as we went along. We did my GCSE woodwork project together, made a bedside table, a really simple thing, but he showed me how to carve Celtic knot work panels into the sides. I think my teacher was a little suspicious. But I still have that and we have other things he has made like Emma's beautiful music box. I think they're really important for the children, those keepsakes, they give them a sense of their family and history (Miles Sexton).*

*My granddad's house is really something. You wouldn't think it from the outside, it's just a terrace like the rest, but inside everything, almost everything he made with his own hands and the level of craftsmanship is out of this world. He can tell you about each chair or set of draws. I find that very impressive, because his house really is his own and it tells a story. You can't say that about a dinner table from MFI. That's what I'd like to do by recording him in his shed working, capture his story (Andrew Wood).*

As with Miles' quote above, most men referred to their own or their father's or grandfather's shed or workshop. As we see with Andrew, who found his grandad's shed such an evocative space, he planned to record the sounds of this space and his grandad at work. Both men highlighted how their grandfather's and father's unpaid labour told a story about their lives as could be viewed through their own homes. Therefore their domestic workshops seemed to allow many a temporal space for personal development through labouring with their hands for their own ends. This is supported by Moisio and Beruchashvili (2014:1), who argue that such spaces represent therapeutic settings that 'aid revitalization of men's identities as fathers and husbands'. These sheds seemed a partial haven from society, reflecting some characteristics of Thoreau's (1854) shed in the woods. Although none of the men openly rejected mass society, in their craft projects we see the recurring symbolism of producing their own functional domestic furnishings, in contrast to simply buying mass production goods. The significance of craft to family relationships and values was recognised and talked about with important symbolism by many other men. This topic was illustrated in the Carrin intergenerational dialogue in subtheme 1 'Description of Practice'. However a similar intergenerational dialogue of craft projects was also had by the Copper family. This dialogue was a three way discussion between father Francis, mother Sarah and son Chris.

### ***Intergenerational dialogue 3***

Francis: *Here you go [Francis handed me a picture of himself, Chris and Harry next to a small boat] no, we didn't build that one, But did others! But just refitted that one together from a battered old hull and used to take it out for weekends.*

Chris: *We always used to work together, as a youngster; we built the garage and put the workshop on the side. So we were always in there, taking apart gear boxes, putting new clutches in, rebuilding my first cars engine.*

Francis: *Hours I spent, changing gear boxes for you and putting the clutches in.*

Sarah: *Well your dad never did anything to your car, he always made you help him, not like next door, where the father used to do everything and the son used to stand there with his hands in his pockets.*

Chris: *We've always been a hands-on, practical people. If I didn't know how to do it, I'd ask dad. Still do now, were off in a bit today, to finish my mother-in-law's kitchen. She moved to a bungalow, so we've been doing that together for a while and the rest of our projects all the time, never been idle.*

Francis: *But as I said I'd fit new doors, like for my sisters, but also big projects like refitting the Cutter together, bit self-sufficient, as a family.*

Chris: *Mum was a Tailoress so there was always people coming up for measurements and different things weren't there. For different people round the area, she's always making something, including our school uniforms.*

Sarah: *Well he still hasn't been idle, Yes, I made wedding dresses and other things.*

Alongside the personal satisfaction generated from craft, this discussion reveals two issues also common in men's life stories. First, craft projects were familial ventures repeatedly enacted across men's life course. In the passage of quotes above, we see that for father, son and mother, performing craft was a sustained unpaid vocation. Thus these vocations were not simply individual practices, but instead generated family solidarity, established by staying engaged over the years with each other as the projects provided a collective interest. One example of this is both men fixing Chris's first car together. Adolescence is commonly characterised as the stage when father and son relationships become most strained, and it was during this time Chris had rejected his father's advice to stay in education. However this project illustrates that the two men still found a collective endeavour through which to talk and remain important to each other. This can be related to Sennett's (1998: 21) concept of a '*linear life narrative*'. Because one of the most telling illustrations he gives of the breakdown of a life narrative is Rico's acknowledgement that he didn't have a clear message to give to his children: '*It's like I don't know who my kids are*'. However we see that for the Coppers as was also true for the Steels, Carrins, Sextons and Woods, their intergenerational craft projects gave all a clear message. Second, all of the Coppers

in discussing their craft projects link this to their families' self-sufficiency and work ethic. Chris's claim '*We've always been a hands-on, practical people*' again this supported Cox (2013). The Copper family also felt it was a personal failure of duty, to pay or in this case watch, others doing domestic work.

Lamont (2000) found that for the white American working class in her study, self-reliance and maintaining close family ties was a major part of the moral boundaries drawn to understand themselves against others in society. Thus craft seemed important in transmitting the family values of keeping close bonds and the virtue of self-reliance. Familial projects were referred to by the vast majority of men, including sons or grandsons as shown in the two quotes below.

[Pointing to a picture] *you see it was a shell when we got it but we refitted that schooner, together as a project over a long time. Then we used to take it out for weekends. Well we got lost one weekend, we stopped in Belgium for a few days.* (Peter Wood).

*I think maybe it was to fill the space a little after the dockyard. My son brought this old mini which at first I told him was daft, and that he should have brought German, not something built by a bunch of militant Brummies [laughs]. Sorry, I'm only pulling your leg. But I fell in love with that car so to speak...I undid the clutch one time on and all the spring shot all over, across the floor. Many bits, well I looked at it and thought if someone can design this I can put it back together. So yes we took the engine apart, replaced all the bearings and the suspension together. I must say I was not sad but kind of low when we finally ended that project together and got it running like new and Gary drove it away. However Gary was pleased - he loved it. But that was the thing with my dockyard background, it gives you enormous confidence.* (Ben Steele).

Both men above use the term *project* to define this work. This was also commonly used by many other men, such as the Carrin's, Coppers, Sextons, and Dominic to demarcate their craft labour.

The word project seems significant to the men's descriptions, since this denotes a planned, long term, sophisticated scheme of work. In contrast to the simple one-off domestic fixes such as putting up shelves normally associated with DIY, the word project seems telling. A project is commonly used to define the whole process of 'something being conceived planned and made' (Oxford English Dictionary 2012); a process well reflected in the Carrin's extension, since they described performing the whole project themselves. Braverman (1972: 114) believes the estrangement of craft comes as the result of 'the separation of conception from execution'. However, we see in the men's craft projects that conception and execution are parts of the same process and thus the term project signifies an independent and complete production process. Hence, the men's craft projects reveal their long term commitment to developing their body of skills.

Ben Steel's car repair project above highlights, that his background as a Naval Engine fitter gave him the confidence to turn his skills to car maintenance. As with in Peter Wood's quote on refitting a schooner, his craft still held continuity and rhythm as a vocation. Moisio et al's., (2013) work on DIY, is particularly relevant to understanding this relationship with work. They argue men in their study used domestic labour as a means to overcome role conflicts in wider life and employment. This argument seems consistent with how men in my study used their craft projects to moderate their transition into white collar paid employment. Thus the projects cited above seem to allow them to retain both a sense of coherence to their working lives, but also a feeling of male purpose within the domestic. This echoes Gelber (1997) argument that DIY was and is a key way of men negotiating a domestic role as fathers and husbands. The significance of seeing skills development as a vocation is also highlighted within the second sample's career stories below:

*At the moment we're repairing proper oak doors, trying to bring them back to their former glory, their fifteenth century doors. With some, we've got to take them off their hinges and fit large metal brackets, because of disabled access, which I think is a little sacrilegious really. But I suppose you've got to balance the integrity of the old, with the modern use of the building. On the job we're doing now, we have been asked*

*to carve our initials into the wood, like the fifteen century tradesmen have, I haven't done it yet. Personally I've been doing some practising at home, because I haven't done any wood carving to that standard, for some time (Noel Carrin).*

*I got asked to speak about mastering computer engineering by someone at the Department of the Environment. But I'm not a master, you can't be with computer software, you're working in a moving industry. Yes I feel like an expert when I get one project finished but that doesn't stay the same. But I will always be learning new things, it is what drives me, so whilst I would say I had a body of knowledge, it only stays in shape through me exercising and testing it [laughs] (Mark Wright).*

The quotes above reflect that men in the second sample also saw their careers as vocations. They too were personally committed to continued practicing and developing a body of skills over time. Both felt anxiety about viewing their skills development as a complete venture. Instead, they emphasised their desire to enhance and hone their craft as a disciplined career. Having established each of the three compounds of a *craft outlook* this chapter now concludes with the overall effect this outlook had on men's identities. I have demonstrated that the practice of craft enabled the men to understand their lives as linear life narratives. However unlike Sennett (1998), this chapter illustrates that narratives were not simply a product of external career structure giving coherence to individual lives. Instead craft enabled the men to retain clear life stories whilst dealing with employment transition. Moreover, their *craft outlooks* were not restricted by paid/non paid boundaries. As through non-paid craft projects their sense of a linear life narrative was enriched and bolstered as a kinship practice.

## **Conclusion**

Men's narratives in this chapter illustrate the significance and evolving meaning of craft. Initially the dockyard men akin to Roberts (1993), Reid (2004) and McGoldrick (1982), recalled a craft division as the major organising factor of their labour in the yard. The majority as a consequence found autonomy, affirmation and fulfilment in their trade work. However these men's engagement with craft did not finish with their employment in the dockyard, or as a result of their transition to post-industrial work. Instead, they retained and developed this into a *craft outlook* that they also fostered and communicated to their sons and grandsons. This was reflected in their engagement in each of the three factors of a craft framework.

First, the subtheme *description of practice* showed all seemed to engage with a pedagogy of craft, based on mastering skills through repetitive practice in a context where production and learning happened simultaneously, in contrast to abstract conceptual learning Marchard (2008). This was extended by ten men into non-trade areas, who saw learning through process as an inherent part of their career development, in occupations such as music technology, social work and computer engineering. The men's accounts of performing craft projects stress the consistency and rhythm of routine as highlight by (Kritzer 2007 and Sennett 2008). However as Patchett (2015), argues men's projects were never acts of replication but instead revealed a persistent development of skills. Additionally, both samples of men highlighted how they used collective principles to understand 'quality work'. Family discussions of craft project showed knowledge transmission was not a process of passive generational reproduction. Instead, responsibility, skill and leadership were negotiated within craft projects and altered across time. Hence the nature of intergenerational transmission in this theme was again shaped on a 'maieutic logic' (Kellerhal et al., 2002).

Second the subtheme, *attitude to labour* although in many different contexts all sixteen men described how labour and human consciousness became intimately attached. All strived for personal affirmation in their labour as a purposeful activity (Marx, 1844). But whilst men found

internal harmony in their labour this seemed to leave many incapable of switching off. Thus cognitive fulfilment found in their craft work, did not, as argued by Sennett (2008) or Mills (1951), naturally produce a balanced working life. Instead their introspective drive to improve seemed to lead many to feel that they became workaholics (Kritzer, 2007). Thus it was only through the guidance and care of their families that they were able to manage their work. However as in Cox (2013), care was also a major aspect of men's unpaid craft projects as these were often motivated and performed as a duty of care to their family. Indeed, these craft projects also became a major site of building generational care between father sons and even grandsons.

Third the subtheme *vocation* illustrated that although many had to deal with transition the performance of craft was sustained. The interviews revealed that craft was a vocation, which ignored the margins between paid and non-paid work, suggesting a clear infinity with Mirvis and Hall's (1994) concept of a 'protean career'. Moisio et al's (2013) work on DIY, as a result is consistent with how men in this study used their craft projects to moderate their transition into white collar paid employment. These projects gave their career a continued theme which allowed them to retain a 'linear life narrative' (Sennett, 2008). However this research demonstrates the significance of craft, not just as a means for gaining personal affirmation from labour, but also a key practice through which fathers, sons and grandsons formed relationships. So craft enabled men's life narratives to retain coherence in both work and family terms. Unpaid craft projects became a clear channel through which men could connect their work and lives as a continued and intergenerational story. Finally, and building on both Moisio et al., (2013) and Cox (2013) DIY gave men a purposeful and caring role in the family. Overall, this chapter suggest men's craft projects were a central kinship activity that produced familial male solidarity, a topic still largely unconsidered in the craft literature.

In the final chapter, the findings from this study's three main themes will be used to answer this studies four research questions and illustrate how this research provides an original contribution to debates on the impact of deindustrialisation on working class men.

## Chapter 9: conclusion

### *Introduction*

This chapter addresses the four main research questions explored in this thesis. First, the research finds that although men had to deal with change in their careers this did not cause a rupture in their working identities. But, as discussed in the previous three results chapters, they used powerful life themes (Savickas, 1997), to take ownership of their own working lives. In this way they navigated deindustrialisation and employment change in a manner that left many now viewing these transitions as positive in either personal and/or economic terms. Second, this study found that class and occupations were still fundamental to men's identity. However, unlike those accounts that suggest the concept of a self-driven career is a largely middle class professional notion, men in this study did construct sophisticated career narratives that incorporated both their private and paid work. Third the PhD finds that neither sample experienced a working class male crisis caused by feeling they could not satisfy gendered identities and masculine practices. One reason was that none of the generations within this study pursued or sought to replicate the careers of their fathers or community peers. Thus intergenerational transmission was based on on-going negotiations of common themes, values and practices. Finally, this study finds that craft had a continued and evolving meaning for the majority of men. Craft gave men practices around which to structure a linear life narrative, produce familial solidarity and create a powerful labour ethic of performing quality work.

This chapter next explains how this PhD's findings should be used to modify the sociological understanding of men and deindustrialisation. Theoretically, this goes beyond the context and class sample to advance a more complex understanding of deindustrialisation at a national level. The intergenerational sample also enabled the accounts of men who moved away from former industrial areas to be heard, a group largely unrepresented in the current literature. The chapter

then finishes by discussing the public policy outcomes for career guidance of young 'working-class' men and its suggestions for further research.

### ***The PhD's four main Research Questions***

- 1. Did deindustrialisation and employment in the new economy disrupt either or both generations' ability to narrate a linear career story?*

This question was designed to assess the 'age of insecurity' thesis proposed by Beck (1992, 2000) Bauman (1998) Giddens (1991) and Sennett (1998), whereby most western nations have undergone a dynamic change since the 1980s moving from social to flexible capitalism. The 'age of insecurity' suggests that employment is now characterized by destandardized work and hours, deregulation of employment contracts, and fear of job loss. The social consequence of this being that employment is no longer the central sphere in society, so there is a decline of traditional collective forms of working class occupational action and respect. Working class men are seen to be one of the major victims of this structural transformation, due to their labour market position and the negative impact this has on their identity. However Strangleman (2007) criticises the 'age of insecurity' for presenting a nostalgic juxtaposition of social and flexible capitalism, which ignores workers active role in changing the context of employment both historically and today. Further, Doogan (2005) uses employments statistics to suggest that long term employment is not in such decline. The samples in this research, though small in numerical terms, are interestingly placed to assess this premise for three reasons. First, the generation of former dockyard workers were made redundant in the early 1980s. All have had to find and establish new employment during the period in which it is argued that work started to be radically reorganised. Second, the Royal Dockyard as an organisation embodied many features of social capitalism, such as a paternalist outlook and promise of a job for life (Galliver, 1999:102). Therefore, men's former employment in this institution provides an ideal test case for assessing this transition. Third, the second sample of sons and grandsons provides a clear comparison, because they spent most of their adult lives working in a period of flexible capitalism. Hence this research can explore if there was a generational difference in career orientation, as suggested by Sennett (1998) and Giddens (1991).

The careers of most men in this study did not confirm the forecast of the 'age of insecurity'. Overall, the first sample of former dockyard workers did not find themselves in a range of short-term jobs after the dockyard closed. Instead eight out of the thirteen men found jobs almost seamlessly once their dockyard employment ended, thereafter staying with the same company for the majority of their remaining working lives. Initially, six men's career paths did become fragmented; with on average four jobs in a period of between four to nine years. However, after this period they then had between ten to eighteen years with the same employer until they retired. This pattern was also largely the same for the second sample of sons and grandsons, with nine of the fourteen having spent the vast majority of their careers with the same employer. Further, for the remaining five men changing jobs and employment seemed personally motivated and not simply thrust upon them by structural change. The sample size and context of these results mean they cannot simply be generalised in a statistical manner. However, such qualitative data does give an in-depth picture of how some men understood and interpreted change in their career paths.

Beck (1992, 2000) Bauman (1998) and Sennett (1998) particularly emphasise employer's demands for flexibility and the negative consequences this has on employees working lives. The importance of flexibility was common within the men's narratives. However, this did not seem to occupy the same dichotomy as is reflected in the literature on the emergence of 'flexible capitalism'. Instead a consistent focus to 'get on' and achieve both long-term upward career mobility and better job security led both samples to embrace a flexible work identity - an attitude cultivated for the first sample by the organisational culture of the dockyard. The dockyard's promise of a job for life and paternalist training thus seemed to institutionalise a more adaptive and less reactionary craft division of labour (Galliver, 1999:102). This was reflected in the first sample's discussions of reactively and actively adapting to new technological and work contexts within the yard to achieve internal promotion, a finding consistent with Waters (1999). Thus deindustrialisation and work in the new economy did not introduce flexibility to men's working lives, but was instead seen as a continued feature of their adaptive work identities. The need to adjust to roles in the new economy, as a consequence, was consistent with their attitude to work

and learning. Unlike Fitzgerald and Betz (1994), Leong (1995), and Naidoo (1998), who argue that the concept of a self-driven career is a largely middle class professional notion, this sample of skilled working class men demonstrated a sophisticated and consistent individual career strategy. This '*personal adaptability*' was defined by the men's on-going approach of adapting skills and embodying new work identities with the aim to 'get on' at work. Theoretically, this form of adaptation builds on the career concepts of 'career adaptability' (Super & Knasel, 1981) and 'job crafting' (Wrzesniewski & Dutton 2001). Hence, men were active agents in both adapting to change in their work but also transforming the nature of their employment within organisations across their careers.

For the second sample of former dockyard worker's sons and grandsons, *getting on* was again mobilized through *personal adaptability*. However, for these men *personal adaptability* was disembedded from the dockyard as an organisation. Instead this disposition seemed to derive from family values as reinforced through consistent intergenerational dialogue (Kellerhal et al., 2002). In total, nine found their desire to get-on and aptitude for adaptation largely compatible with working for a single organisation. However three men made a conscious decision to construct their own career paths and become self-employed. Like the 'individual transition' made by men in sample one, this also reflected a very personal negotiation of their own career. But, unlike the men in sample one, the decision to construct or reconstruct their careers was not simply thrust upon them by structural change. Instead their decision to become self-employed was driven by feeling their previous jobs had limited their ability to produce the careers they wanted. This finding lends support to Wrzesniewski and Dutton's (2001) hypothesis that frustration with organisational prospects to job craft led them to go it alone and become self-employed. The last two men in this sample also illustrated the desire to have organisational autonomy and took an educational path to achieve this.

Certain features of flexible capitalism depicted by Beck (1992, 2000) Bauman (1998) and Sennett (1998) were cited by a minority of men in this study. First, non-standard work and hours did create tension in some men's work-life balance. However, unlike most of this literature, these men's narratives reflected a conscious interaction with this issue. A critical component in

negotiating change seemed to be men's life stage. For example, some believed that institutional reorganisation and the demand for dedicated dynamic employees had enabled their fast early career promotions. However, this same process in their later careers was commonly cited as having a damaging effect on both their health and work-life balance. Therefore it is suggested that organisational change needs to be understood in context to how life stage affects employee's ability to negotiate change at different junctures in their careers. The significance of situating organisational transformation in the context of men's wider lives was further compounded by how a section of both samples, discussed technological change. In their paid work, IT developments were viewed by many as pivotal to *getting on* because retraining in this area led to upward career mobility. However, in their domestic lives and leisure time some talked of the personal difficulties created by communication technology allowing them to connect to work from home. As a result, the factors that Beck (1992, 2000) Bauman (1998) and Sennett (1998) discuss did not have a generic damaging effect on the men within this study. Instead this studies result support Strangleman's (2007) critique of the 'age of insecurity' in two ways. First, the men's narratives did not reveal a clear opposition of social and flexible capitalism. Second, this studies results demonstrate that structural employment change needs to be understood in context to workers aptitude to navigate and change employment contexts.

Overall, the new economy did not disrupt either generation's ability to narrate a linear career story, because the features of work these men used to construct their narratives were not inherently linked to working for a single company. Instead *personal adaptability* worked as a powerful life theme (Savickas, 1997), in the men taking ownership of their working lives and career adaptations to actualize their motivation to '*get on*'; a process reinforced through consistent intergenerational dialogue. Men's adaption was not created by deindustrialisation or employment in the new economy, but instead the men developed this as a personal capacity. This *personal adaptability* meant they were prepared for change and able to navigate their careers after deindustrialisation and in the context of new economy employment.

2. *Did either or both generations of men, reject traditional criteria such as occupation and class as the basis for their identities and instead construct their own 'project of self'?*

Whilst the previous question was framed to explore the effect of employment change on men's lives in this study, this question uses this study's findings to evaluate the debate on identity construction in a post-industrial context. Giddens (1991) and Beck (1994) have argued that employment and social change in this period have resulted in individuals rejecting traditional criteria such as occupation and class as the basis for their identities. Instead individual's identities are constructed by a reflexive 'project of self' (Giddens, 1991), based on people self-selecting 'fateful moments' they believe have had an effect on their biographies. Therefore temporary work should not have a negative impact on individual's identity. Instead reflexivity should allow people to self-construct dislocated episodes of work into their 'do-it-yourself biographies' (Beck, 1994:14). However Skeggs (2004) has questioned the relevance of a 'project of self' to working class people's construction of identity. Whilst Savage (2001) argues people still use deeply class-based ideas to understand social divisions in society.

On the other side of this argument, Sennett (1998) believes temporal changes in employment does have an adverse effect on identity construction, because this leaves individuals without the ability to understand the links between their past, present and future and read their lived experience as a 'linear life narrative'. Devadason's (2007) research has criticised this, claiming that people were able to internally produce 'coherent narratives' to order their life stories without the structure of permanent employment. However, neither Sennett (1998) nor Devadason's (2007) distinguish the effect of different career models or life stage on a person's ability to narrate their lives. Therefore their application of a linear life narrative sets up a false binary between a career with a single employer and a completely self-constructed working life.

For the men in this study, occupation retained a central place in their identity construction. The tradesmen in the first sample gained an autonomous occupational identity from the dockyard. Though they worked for this organisation, their status was based on the exclusive practice of a group of skills. Therefore their occupations were structured on what Kanter (1989:501) terms a 'professional career model' not a 'bureaucratic career'. So these careers did not end with the

closure of the dockyard. Instead they saw their careers as more fluid arrangements based on a *craft outlook* of developing skills and knowledge across different institutions. This allowed them to 'story' their lives by connecting stages in their working lives as a meaningful journey. In a similar vein to Kirton's (2006) research on women the men in this study's career construction ignored the margins between paid and non-paid work. Their careers suggested a clear affinity with Mirvis and Hall's (1994) broad notion of a 'protean career'. Therefore as many men made the transition from trade to white collar work, the practice of their trades was transferred to domestic work and became their major leisure interest. These practices gave them a long term sense of coherence and understanding of their working lives as a clear journey. Sennett's (1998) concept of a 'linear life narrative' is structured on individual's ability to turn their long term lived experience into a sense of character. The men in this study did this. However, this was produced for the vast majority without simply having a career with a single employer.

The sample of sons and grandsons also produced a similar 'linear life narrative' to understand and structure their lives. However in line with the criticism made of Devadason's (2007) research, it is important to acknowledge that most of the sons and grandsons were still mid or early career, so their career stories were largely unfinished narratives. For this sample, their families seemed the key institution for structuring and negotiating their career orientations. A '*getting on attitude*' was overtly pushed by their parents; an attitude these men then re-contextualised for their individual working journeys and career transitions. Further, these men also emphasised intergenerational craft projects as a key practice through which they established their own *craft outlook* to work. Thus many in the second sample who had non-trade based careers translated their own orientation to work, through family, in terms of a *craft outlook*.

In terms of identity construction, this research findings suggests a middle ground whereby men's jobs did not make sense of their lives as argued by Sennett (1998), but instead men were active in interpreting their work. However unlike Devadason's (2007) sample, this study found that men's narrative coherence was powerfully structured and informed by traditions, cumulative practices and kinship relationships. Whilst the men constructed their life narratives from both their private lives and paid careers, these were used to create stable and continued life

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narratives, not transient projects of self. This duality of career stories has its root in what Goffman (1961) calls the 'two-sidedness' of the concept of careers. In this way men's career stories were both the product of institutional and external reality but also an individual construction. Consistent with Savickas (2012), a career story for these men was a means of telling others who they were in their work; an articulation of their work identities.

My findings also suggest that both samples of men saw their identities in a clearly class-based manner. The major thrust in their classed identities was based on improving their economic status and for most moving into more secure employment. This aspirational identity did not seem inauthentic or out of context with their social background, but instead another generational episode in their families' history of upward mobility. Savage et al (2001) argues that most people no longer label themselves in class terms because this spoils their sense of individuality. However for this study the converse was true. This is because identifying themselves as working class allowed them a clear starting point to plot their life as a story of individual improvement. Thus 'working classness' allowed the first sample to be confident about both their class backgrounds and their sense of individual achievement. The first samples' class identity is therefore best understood through Savage et al's (2001) category of self-confident working class identifiers. This was also the case for the majority of the second sample, with the exception of a small number who almost begrudgingly recognize the middle class nature of their occupation and lifestyles. However, these men still used and saw their working class backgrounds as a powerful and positive narrative. Their personal investment in the concept of craft therefore helped them to understand their own labour in continuity with the work of their fathers.

3. *Did deindustrialisation result in both or/either of this study's sample experiencing a working class male crisis due to structural transformation and entrenched communal gendered practices?*

This question was structured to assess both the findings of studies on former British industrial communities and the related gender literature on the so called 'crisis of working class

masculinity' (Mac an Ghail 1994). The majority of studies on former British industrial communities cite deindustrialisation as causing a separation between the residual image of physical work and service jobs now open to working-class men (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012; Nixon, 2009; Nayak, 2003 and Willis 1977, 1984). Therefore this literature commonly portrays working-class men as the victims of gendered identities and masculine practices which they cannot fulfil. In particular, that new work does not satisfy this generation's desire for physical labour; with the effect that they cannot replicate the masculine identities of their fathers and peers. A range of cross-national studies suggest that this contributes to a crisis of masculinity, resulting in more male aggression and protest masculinities (See Bourgeois, 1995; Connell, 1996; Nayak, 2003 and Mac an Ghail 1994). However, McDowell (2003) and Weis (2004) argue men can construct more multifaceted masculine identities to reconcile service work and residual physical images of masculinity.

The findings from this study suggest there was no evidence of either sample experiencing a working class male crisis. In the first sample, none lamented the loss of the dockyards in a deeply personal way, or believed closure had led to the loss of their gendered identity or function. Further, rejection of or reluctance to enter into more feminised work was not evident for this sample. In contrast, many remembered how their dockyard promotions into roles such as recorder resulted in them becoming accustomed to work in more gender mixed environments. As reflected in the themes *getting on* and *'craft'*, these men actively rejected the emphasis on the physicality of work, because they were skilled and not unskilled working class men. Unlike the families in Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012), manual work was not idealised. Instead, it was seen as one step on the path to *getting on*. Further, within the men's description of their manual trade work, emphasis was placed on *'craft'* and finding satisfaction in their capacity as tradesmen to adapt skills and innovate within their roles. For this first sample, losing their jobs due to the closure of the dockyard did not cause the majority long-term feelings of male redundancy. In fact, it was the men who experience the most practical difficulties in finding stable work who made transitions into more feminised forms of employment. As considered in the theme *personal adaptability*, these men went into occupations such as shop keeping, social work and teaching, a path that gave them a sense of pride and pleasure in their career outcomes and not

a sense of masculine shame. A process many now viewed as reflective of their resilient ability to adapt and get on in their careers.

The next generation also did not feel personal shame due to not having dockyard work to go into. In contrast to the dominant literature, these men did not see non-industrial work as causing conflict with their working-class images of masculinity. Like their fathers, they invested in their ability to change aspects of their work by proactive crafting; a strategy they used to make their careers meaningful. Although motivated by a *'getting-on'* philosophy of upward career mobility, this was not a mercenary strategy of discarding their old identities each time an opportunity for advancement arose. Instead, the men's *personal adaptability* illustrated their meaningful engagement with both their lived experiences and their familial generational relationships. As they embraced change, so they consistently sought to understand this change by embedding it in their family histories. Even the men who went into careers in areas such as music technology, or IT subcontracting did not see these new spheres of work as inauthentic with the working lives of their family kin. A minority did experience periods of generational ambivalence (Lusher, 2000), describing their anxiety in balancing the change and continuity of their intergenerational relationships. Yet all took meaningful steps to reduce this by establishing links between new and old work practices.

The entrenched communal gender roles were also different from the macho physicality reflected in the work of Nixon (2009), Nayak, (2003) and Willis (1977, 1984). However, the significance of men as economic providers was retained. The dockyard culture of self-improvement (Waters, 1999) thus fashioned a *getting on* value of men as the stewards of family provision and self-reliance. For example none became primary care givers or switched roles with their wives after deindustrialisation. On the contrary, all sought and found new full-time employment, although a high percentage of their wives did have their own paid employment. Moreover, there was little suggestion within the men's narratives of a thick residual 'communal being-ness' (Walkerdine and Jimenez 2012: 94), that constrained the younger generation's search and take up of work. Strong networks of male labour camaraderie as outlined by Linkon (2014) and Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012) were also of marginal significance to both samples of men. Instead, they

described their lives as largely privatized and viewed their family as their major source of affirmation.

Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012) Nixon, (2009), Willis (1977, 1984) and Mac an Ghail (1994) portray the younger generation as almost passive in the intergenerational transmission of working values. In short, these young men long to fully replicate the values and occupations of their fathers and male peers. Even for the industrial generation of men this was not the case here, as argued within the intergenerational literature (see for example Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman 1981 and Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame 1997) the crude replication of occupations was not the desire of any generation within this study. First, the older generation pushed their children to get-on and move into more stable and well paid white collar jobs. Second, the younger generation, particularly as adolescents, sought to distinguish their individuality from that of their fathers. This study found that intergenerational transmission was based on the transfer and on-going negotiations of common themes, values and practices; a process Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1997:93) have termed the 'transmission of equivalents'. This was enacted through a maieutic logic of recurrent, considerate and two way interactions between the generations (Kellerhal et al., 2002: 224).

This researches findings challenge the idea that most men were/and are passive victims of industrial change. Whilst in part this was a consequence of their geographical location, with a large number finding work in London, taking advantage of these opportunities was a product of their active agency, and should be put down to the initiative shown by these men in constructing their own careers. In this sense, they were not passive 'victims' of deindustrialisation, instead they rode the wave of employment change.

4. *Did craft have an evolving meaning in either or both samples' working lives after the dockyard closed?*

This question seeks to understand the meaning of craft for the skilled men in this study. As established by the historical literature, a craft division of labour allowed tradesmen a large degree of control at the point of production until the 1970s. Further in the Royal Dockyards, a non-defensive craft division of labour was sustained until the 1980s, even during a period of economic decline (Lunn, 1999). This study suggests that the dockyard men - akin to Roberts (1993), Reid (2004), McBride (2008) and McGoldrick, (1982) - found a craft division as the major organising factor in the yard, giving them a level of control, autonomy and responsibility as tradesmen. Beyond this men found affirmation and fulfilment in their trade work. Moreover it was this work which established their capacity as forward thinking and self-motivated workers.

The concept of craft by no means became redundant with the closure of the dockyard. Instead this became a powerful narrative in their careers and wider lives. Originally, in a very practical sense, it was men's trade status and qualifications that acted as the cultural capital used to get their next jobs after deindustrialisation. Next, craft was seen as the bedrock for learning the skills and capacities used for *personal adaptability* in their wider careers. However, it was men's development of a *craft outlook* that seems most significant to understanding the evolving meaning of this concept in their lives. This *craft outlook* had three main effects. First, unpaid craft projects were a clear channel through which men could connect their work and lives as a continued story. Second, craft projects were kinship activities that produced familial solidarity. Third, a *craft outlook* gave men a powerful labour ethic of performing quality work.

The first sample of men transferred and embedded a *craft outlook* in their lives after the dockyard, by developing unpaid DIY projects to engage and advance their trade learning and hands-on work. Many consciously went back to practising original techniques such as, working wood or doing pencil drawings by hand, as an alternative to using many of the more easy technological fixes they knew. This allowed them to re-engage with their time as apprentices, by both practicing old skills and recovering the feeling of self-discovery in developing new ones. Thus the men embodied Sennett's (2008: 20), idea of 'the value of experience understood as a craft'. Men's projects were never acts of replication but instead revealed a persistent development of skills (Patchett, 2015). This use of craft projects is also consistent with Moisio et

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al's (2013) study of the class-based role home improvement plays in men's identity. Here men used domestic labour as a means to overcome role conflicts in wider life and employment. In my study, men's craft projects allowed them to deal with deindustrialisation and the transition to white collar jobs by redefining their trade work as craft and shifting this from a paid to an unpaid activity. These projects seemed a significant means of retaining a 'linear life narrative' (Sennett, 1998) by continuing to develop practices they had learnt in their formative years as tradesmen.

A *craft outlook* was not just significant as an individual practice or feeling, or even as 'earned' cultural capital, but a continued kinship activity which produced familial, intergenerational male solidarity. The familial solidarity created between fathers and sons in doing craft projects together is to a large extent an overlooked theme within the literature on craft. Whilst writers such as Marchard (2008: 245) have written in detail about the close bonds created in master-apprentice relationships, they only explore men within paid non-kin relationships. Further, whilst the literature on contemporary craft communities (Greenhalgh, 2002; Levine and Heimerl, 2008; Minahan and Wolfram-Cox, 2007) comments on the significances of intergenerational relationships within craft projects, these are largely based on female mother-daughter relationships. However this research demonstrates the significance of craft, not just as a means for gaining personal affirmation from labour, but also as a key practice through which fathers, sons and grandsons talked about their growing and changing relationships with one another. In a number of cases, these relationships were still being affirmed through working with each other on existing craft projects, or by men in non-trade work translating a *craft outlook* into their own careers. Thus a *craft outlook* as a channel of intergenerational solidarity seemed very important to these men. Craft affirmed father-son and grandson bonds, as these projects allowed them collective common practices performed alongside each other over their lives. Additionally, craft projects held the familial meaning since teaching was based on developing new generations of their family. As a consequence, these projects actively and persistently reinforced family relationships. Finally, intergenerational relationships also gave men a significant party to recognise and value their craftsmanship. Overall, the kinship significance of craft therefore bolstered and enriched men's abilities to have a coherent and meaningful life story.

Craft as a notion had not simply retreated into men's private lives, but held a collaborative relationship with their outlook to paid work. A *craft outlook* enabled men across a wide variety of occupations to find fulfilment in the process of doing what Sennett (2008:241) defines as 'quality driven work'. This was true even when men in the second sample worked with nonphysical mediums such as software or music. These men adhered to the standards that Sennett sets, even though many worked with unstable products and could not exhibit static craft objects. As a result Holme's (2014) adjustment of craft to include work without a tangible end product was used within this research's definition. Thus a *craft outlook* was defined by the individuals' interactions and interpretations of their work, and for a number of these men a *craft outlook* was uncoupled from a trade or physical work. This outlook was a continued theme across the generations of men, as men defined their motivation to work and found satisfaction in their continued work development by building on their experience. Yet, a *craft outlook* did not have only positive outcomes since in contrast to Sennett (2009: 254), craft and obsession seemed entangled for many. The internal calm in performing their crafts caused some external disquiet in their wider lives. Many believed that this passion had led them to become workaholics at some stage in their careers.

The answers to the four questions above reflect both the clear themes the men used themselves to understand their careers, but also the multifaceted and individual ways they experienced and used these in their working lives. The vast majority of sociology books on class these days seem to start or conclude with a generic acknowledgment that their samples were neither heroes nor villains (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012 and McDowell, 2003). This is true of the men I talked with for this study, as they were the same deeply fallible beings we all are. However, many of their life stories revealed a 'prosaic poetry' of decency and resilience. While my findings challenge the common perspective of united working class experience or struggle, I hope it has also been clear that none of the people in this thesis were born into lives of privilege and that most had to deal with real and sometimes uncontrollable change. In doing so none saw themselves as victims.

### ***Original contribution to knowledge***

Whereas this study only speaks for a skilled section of the working classes, these findings suggest that the current literature needs to be modified in three fundamental ways. First, the manual working classes should not be considered as a homogeneous or static group when responding to deindustrialisation. These skilled men experienced work transitions in a very distinctive way. Second, the experiences of the men in this study were further mediated by the regional employment context of the south-east, while the current literature is largely based on isolated communities in the North of England or Celtic fringes. Third, unlike static studies of geographically located collective community experience, this research has followed generations of families. These individuals' career stories reflect the important accounts of men who have strategically moved away or commute to work outside these former industrial areas. This section thus highlights three key contributions this thesis makes.

*Theoretically*, this thesis provides significant new evidence on deindustrialisation in a neglected part of the UK, which enables a better understanding of this process at a national level. Second, this study demonstrates that skilled working-class men pursue individual career strategies, which allowed them to navigate the transition from industrial to post-industrial work. In contrast to the current knowledge on this topic, these men did not see the move to non-industrial work as causing conflict with their working-class images of masculinity. Third, this research provides evidence that flexibility was common within the men's narratives, but did not occupy the same dichotomy as is suggested in the literature on the emergence of 'flexible capitalism'. Instead, for the first sample, flexibility and an individual motivation were embedded in their industrial work and individual working lives as tradesmen. These men viewed their work as non-static before deindustrialisation. As a result adapting to roles in the new economy seemed consistent with their flexible attitude to work and learning. Fourth, unlike Rico in Sennett (1998), none of these men felt that flexibility in their paid work disrupted their ability to construct a 'linear life narrative'. Instead, for the first sample, by practicing their trade skills in non-paid craft projects, they managed to retain a sense of identity and a continued narrative from their time as apprentices through their changing working lives and into retirement. Further these craft

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projects were also a key site for creating male familial solidarity between fathers and sons and worked as a powerful narrative in transmitting and affirming a *craft outlook* across generations. The next generation interpreted this outlook to understand and shape their own work, even when their careers were disconnected from trade or physical work

*Methodologically*, unlike static studies of geographically located collective community experience, this research has followed inter-generational career patterns in families. These individual career stories are important accounts by men who have strategically moved away or commute to work outside these former industrial areas. Further, interviewing men within their family home had the significant impact that it enabled men to freely discuss their family lives and talk about the significance of their domestic work; a sphere which is commonly ignored in many other studies that only talk to men in public contexts. The omission of these three important factors presents an over passive account of deindustrialisation and the move to the new economy, which robs many working-class men of their individuality and active agency.

*In Public Policy terms*, this research has implications for career work with working-class males. To label working-class men as 'the passive victims of loss' offers only barriers to this group's ability to construct meaningful careers in today's job market. Through this lens, this social group seems destined to fight over an ever-declining pool of physical jobs in order to fulfil a notion of what male work should be. Although the men here did not fulfil this label or fall foul of these negative outcomes, caution should be taken not to propose generalised answers to questions about 'working-class men' and careers from the limited scope of this sample. However, given the depth provided by generational data, this approach could be a useful tool when giving career guidance to young working-class men.

Sennett's (1998) use of the term, linear life narrative, is closely associated with a single occupation within one organisation. By contrast, the men in this study managed to sustain their narratives through different occupations, jobs and craft projects across their working lives. For the majority, emphasis was placed on viewing their working life in the context of, or in active dialogue with, the generation that went before. Thus these narratives were given a linear

meaning by the men, who actively constructed their own links and themes to understand their working lives in coherence with their family backgrounds. This process embedded their careers in the values of their social class background, but removed their occupations from stereotypical ideas of male working-class jobs. Therefore, it was not the aim of these men to repeat the work of their father's, but instead to demonstrate to them that their working lives had been constructed along equivalent values.

In terms of career guidance, a useful tool could be to ask young men to write narrative accounts of their own families' working histories and to explore the values embedded in these accounts. This would allow them to make links between the working values they see as significant and the types of career opportunities open to them. As reflected in this study, men such as Andrew, Robert and Mark constructed links between physical trade learning and the process learning they did for their careers in information and music technology. A focus on values and family practices helped these men to remove any negative stereotypes associated with particular careers and also enabled them to see their lives in continuity with their social and family backgrounds. This sense of belonging and solidarity was fostered in a domestic context in this study. However this could be applied within an educational context. I am currently putting together a research proposal alongside my brother the head of Design Technology of a large educational trust with academies in Chatham and Portsmouth, to develop this aim. This research will aim to foster a similar embedded sense of belonging, by having former dockyard and new design technology workers teach their trade skills to students at the academy and display this work to the local community at the dockyard heritage sites. Next, students will be asked to record intergenerational accounts of the work of their own parents/guardians and grandparents and explore what they find interesting and attractive about the work/skills of generations that went before them. Then the students will have a career consultation to explore contemporary employment options that might involve different mediums but entail the same values and skills. The intended result of this would be to get young working class children to see a far wider bracket of jobs and careers as compatible with their backgrounds and meaningful to their sense of self.

### ***Suggestions for further research***

Just as Ann Oakley's (1974) examination of housework was a major watershed in how we understand and define work and its relationship to gender; men's unpaid domestic labour now needs similar focus. As in McDowell (2003), much masculinities research has addressed men in the public and in unusual circumstances such as football hooliganism or crime. However there is still only a small amount written on how male identities are produced and informed by their family lives and domestic work (Moisio, Arnould and Gentry 2006). It was never an express aim of this study to focus on this topic. Instead domestic and unpaid projects became a surprisingly central topic, because it was this these men talked about. Whilst there is a growing literature on craft, the intergenerational significance of domestic work as a channel of generational meaning and site of male solidarity is under-researched. Such research is not only of significance in gender terms, but also because in the public we seem to be moving toward more generationally exclusive spaces and activities. Thus men's craft projects in this study seemed an important sphere of constructing and performing meaningful intergenerational interactions. My first suggestion for further research would be to study family-based craft projects. Given my interviews suggested many of the men's wives and daughters were in their own craft projects, it could be hypothesised that craft was about more than simply male relationships, but for a section of the working classes held a coherent family value based on self-reliance.

Second, whilst this research fully embraces the agenda to widen the scope of deindustrialisation analysis, there is currently a wealth of studies on the impact that deindustrialisation has on place. Emanating from Cowie's (1999) path-breaking study 'Capital moves' the question of what happens to areas when industry closes or moves is currently the major focus of research on deindustrialisation. For Mah (2012) the process of 'industrial ruination' and its consequence on those people that still call these scarred landscapes home is a fascinating process. However the effect of depopulation and the impact of living in shrinking cities is also intimately related to the reality that 'labour moves' too. To take a British example, Liverpool's population has almost halved since the 1960s from 700,000 to 400,000. Thus to understand the effect of deindustrialisation we need also account for those 300,000 people who have moved. Intergenerational sampling thus seems to be a powerful tool, because it is not bound to the local but instead can reflect the geographical mobility of labour. Therefore, I would suggest the need for more comparative intergenerational studies which following generations of families and

careers, not communities. In this regard workers active social and spatial mobility need to be added to give a coherent picture within the literature. As suggested by this study doing this could challenge the simple top-down causation between deindustrialisation and passive victimhood.

# Appendices

## Appendix A Ethical Approval

THE UNIVERSITY OF HUDDERSFIELD  
School of Human and Health Sciences – School Research Ethics Panel

### OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL

Please complete and return via email to:  
Kirsty Thomson SREP Administrator: hhs\_srep@hud.ac.uk

Name of applicant: **GEORGE KARL ACKERS**

Title of study: **Deindustrialisation and masculine work identity**

**in the former naval repair community of Medway**

Department: **Centre for Research in the Social Sciences**

Date sent:

Issue	
Researcher(s) details	<b>George Ackers – Full time PhD research Student with the Centre for Research in the Social Sciences</b>
Supervisor details	<b>Dr Tracey Yeadon-Lee -Senior Lecturer in Sociology</b>  <b>Dr Santokh Singh Gill - Senior Lecturer in The Department of Behavioural and Social Sciences</b>  <b>Dr Sharon Wray- Reader in Sociology</b>
Aim / objectives	<u>Aim</u> The project aims to find out what effect the decline and closure of the Chatham dockyards has had on generation’s men livening in this community experience of work and sense of masculine work identity.  <u>Objectives</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To examine the experience of work of three generations of men livening in the former industrial community of Chatham.</li> <li>• What effect does/has work and forms of occupational community had on men sense of masculine work identity</li> <li>• how has the change form manual to non-manual work effected men sense of masculine</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• are men reconstructing their identity by seeking employment in the service sector</li> <li>• is working in the service sector satisfying men need for self-affirmation</li> </ul>
Brief overview of research methodology	<p>Qualitative framework</p> <p>The study will use semi structured interviews to explore the experience of work of the three generations of men.</p> <p>The study also hope to use <i>Oral history interviews</i> will explore dockyard working lives. <i>Interviews and self-kept diaries</i> will examine the working lives of the current generation.</p>
Permissions for study	Permission will be grated through participants themselves- there is no organisation that acts as gatekeeper
Access to participants	<p>Participants will be initially identified through organisations such as the Medway Trades Council and The GMB retired members association. Participants will be initially contacted by face to face contact, letter, email or telephone calls. I will contact all participants personally. Participants will be asked to opt in to the research after an initial discussion about the aims of the research and what it will entail, and having been provided with an information sheet about the research. If participants can't read, I will personally explain the information sheet to them.</p>
Confidentiality	<p>All of the data collected during this research study will be treated in the strictest confidence. Prior to conducting research with any participant, he/she will be reassured that the data collected will be treated in the strictest confidence, i.e. their name and address will not be recorded or disclosed to any third party and any information they provide will not be traced back to them. Individual participants will be shown the information sheet before commencement of the interview and then they will be asked if they are happy to proceed before any recording occurs. A consent form will be read and signed prior to each interview by all participants. Within the signed consent form, the participant agrees to take part in the study, understands that his/her participation is voluntary and that they are free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without their legal rights being affected. Participants understand that information from the interview will be treated confidentially.</p> <p>The collected data will be accessed by George Ackers, Dr Tracey Yeadon-Lee, Dr Santokh Singh Gill and Dr Sharon Wray Transcriptions, consent forms and original recordings will be stored in a locked cabinet on University of Huddersfield premises. Transcriptions of taped interviews will be carried out by George Ackers. All data will be stored and analysed subject to the conditions of the 1998 Data Protection Act. Transcripts will be stored securely for 5 years and then will be destroyed.</p>

	<p>NOTE: There are three exceptions to this commitment to confidentiality of which the participants will be made explicitly aware. If they divulge to the interviewer that :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) They are about to commit a violent/extreme act of crime or harm themselves</li> <li>2) That they have committed a violent/extreme act of crime</li> <li>3) That they have harmed or are /going to harm a child or elderly or vulnerable adult</li> </ol> <p>In such cases the researcher may have to share that information with the appropriate authorities.</p>
Anonymity	<p>Research participants will be offered the opportunity to have their identity hidden in the reporting of this research. Although, some participants may request that their identity is not hidden and this will be respected. Participants will have the right to change their minds on this aspect throughout the research until publication. Where anonymity is requested, culturally appropriate names will be used to ensure that the credibility of the account is not affected. The data may be edited in a way to protect the identities of third parties referred to by the research participant where it is appropriate to do so.</p> <p>If participants wish their identities to be disclosed in order to preserve ownership of the data, this will be respected if at all possible. It will be considered whether identifying one participant would lead to the failure to preserve the anonymity of other participants who choose not to disclose their identity. Those participants who may possess a combination of attributes that would make them readily identifiable will be reminded that it may be difficult to disguise their identity without radically changing and distorting the resulting data.</p> <p>Guarantees of confidentiality given to participants will be honoured unless there are clear and overriding reasons to do otherwise, such as if the participant reveals during interview something which is likely to harm themselves or others; particularly children, elderly or vulnerable adults. This would be discussed with participants at first contact, before commencing the study and prior to any consent has been given. If there is a concern regarding this aspect, then other colleagues may be consulted. This will also be discussed with the participant. Any breaches of confidentiality and the reasons compelling disclosure without consent will be noted in written form.</p> <p>The collected data will be accessed only by George Ackers. Transcriptions, consent forms and original recordings will be stored in a locked cabinet on University of Huddersfield premises. Transcriptions of taped interviews will be carried out by George Ackers. All data will be stored and analysed subject to the conditions of the 1998 Data</p>

	<p>Protection Act. Transcripts will be stored securely for 5 years and then will be destroyed.</p> <p>The thesis will be kept in the university repository and will be freely accessible to anyone. There is a likelihood that this research will be presented at conferences and within the journals. Data will be destroyed at the completion of the research study.</p>
Psychological support for participants	<p>All participants of the research will be given the contact details of local agencies which are able to provide them with support in connection with any issues raised by the research/interview. These agencies will include</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Samaritans</li> <li>• Victim Support (Medical Foundation)</li> <li>• Alcoholics anonymous</li> <li>• NHS Direct</li> <li>• Narcotics anonymous</li> <li>• Families anonymous</li> <li>• Al- Anon</li> <li>• ADFAM National</li> </ul>
Researcher safety / support (attach complete University Risk Analysis and Management form)	<p>1) I am aware of the university counselling service that might be approached- if at all I feel the need for support throughout the project. I am also aware that NHS offers services to combat stress and depression.</p> <p>2) Whilst on fieldwork I will maintain contact with a nominated person via mobile phone, confirming when I have arrived at an interview, and when I have concluded an interview.</p> <p>Attached: Risk Analysis and Management form</p>
Identify any potential conflicts of interest	None
<b>Please supply copies of all relevant supporting documentation electronically. If this is not available electronically, please provide explanation and supply hard copy</b>	
Information sheet	Attached
Consent form	Attached
Letters	N/A
Questionnaire	N/A
Interview schedule	Attached
Dissemination of results	It is intended that the results of the research should be disseminated as widely as possible. This would include briefing papers, conference papers and articles in academic and professional journals and a thesis. One or more of these will be sent to any individuals or organisations participating in the research who have expressed interest.
Other issues	The researcher is not, at this time, aware of any other ethical issues that might arise in respect of this research but he will keep himself alert

	to any such issues which might arise during the course of the research and will inform the SREP of any changes in circumstances that might require further ethical approval to be granted.
Where application is to be made to NHS Research Ethics Committee	Not applicable
All documentation has been read by supervisor (where applicable)	

**All documentation must be submitted to the SREP administrator. All proposals will be reviewed by two members of SREP. If it is considered necessary to discuss the proposal with the full SREP, the applicant (and their supervisor if the applicant is a student) will be invited to attend the next SREP meeting.**

**If you have any queries relating to the completion of this form or any other queries relating to SREP's consideration of this proposal, please do not hesitate to contact either of the co-chairs of SREP: Professor Eric Blyth [e.d.blyth@hud.ac.uk](mailto:e.d.blyth@hud.ac.uk); ☎ [47] 2457 or Professor Nigel King [n.king@hud.ac.uk](mailto:n.king@hud.ac.uk) ; ☎ [47] 2812**

***This research was granted ethical approval from the University of Huddersfield in 2011 By Professor Nigel King***

**Appendix B** Factual Question (some detail removed for edited to anonymous)



**Deindustrialisation and masculine work identity in the former naval repair community  
Of Medway.**

**Factual Questionnaire**

**Personal details**

Name: Telephone number:  
Address: Email Address:  
Nationality: British Gender: Male

Brief details of your career in the yard

1. Year joined the yard? **1969**
2. Age when joined? **16**
3. Age and year when left the yard? **28**
4. Trade/occupation? **Shipwright**
5. Which union did you belong to? **As Draughtsman IPCS**
6. Did any other members of your family work in the yard? **No**
7. Did you complete an apprenticeship? **Yes**
8. Were you a hired worker? **No**
9. Were you married when you joined the yard? **No**
10. Were you married during your career in the yard? **Yes**
11. How would you characterise your social class? **Skilled/working class**
11. Did you receive any job promotions or work in different roles in the yard? **From Apprentice Shipwright to Draughtsman**
12. How and why did you leave the yard? **After Dockyard closer was announced applied for a job at my present company (Crown Register) as didn't wish to move to another location.**
13. Did you do any other jobs after leaving the dockyard? **Yes but only at Lloyd's register.**

14. Do you have any children? If so what jobs do they do? Son- Restoration Carpenter

If you have any children especially sons it would be really useful to speak to them about their lives and work. Therefore if you could give them my contact details (see next page) or if you could give me their contact details, it would be much appreciated.

Contact details

Name: Telephone number:

Address: Email address:

Contact details

Name: Telephone number:

Address: Email address:

Contact details

Name: Telephone number:

Address: Email address:

Thank you for your help George Ackers

(Please keep this page and give these details to anyone who you think might be interested in talking to me about my research)

PhD Student

Studying- Deindustrialisation and masculine work identity

Email:G.Ackers@hud.ac.uk

Tel: (01484) 422667

Mobile: 07999510658

Address: The University of Huddersfield

School of Human and Health Sciences

Research Office (HHR2/04)

## **Appendix C Participant Information Sheet**



You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. (Note: this information can be translated and/or read by the interpreter, if needed)

### ***Study Title***

Deindustrialisation and masculine work identity in the former naval repair community of Medway.

### ***What is the purpose of this study?***

The purpose of this study is to find out what effect the decline and closure of the Chatham dockyard has had on generations of men living within the former naval repair community of Medway. The study will explore the experience and identity gained from work for men living within these communities.

### ***Why have I been chosen?***

Because you have worked as a shipbuilder or are involved or live in a former shipbuilding community.

### ***Do I have to take part?***

It is completely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. If you do decide to withdraw at any time, or decide not to take part, this will not affect you in anyway.

### ***What will happen to me if I take part? What will I have to do?***

First of all you will be asked to sign a consent form. I will then arrange a time to meet that is convenient for you. Prior to us meeting you will be given a list of the topic areas that the interview will cover. The interview will be conducted as more of an informal conversation than a formal interview with a list of questions. Please feel free to make notes for the interview to

remind you of certain details if you wish, but please don't write a word-for-word script as the information is usually more useful if it is more spontaneous and relaxed.

There may be a need to complete more than 1 interview with you. If this is the case and you are happy to do a second interview, I will contact you within plenty of time and give you a new consent form. Again, you are free to withdraw at any time.

***What if I have a concern about anything after the interview has been conducted?***

If you have any concerns about anything regarding this project you can contact me on the details below, or alternatively you can contact my project supervisor, **Dr Tracey Yeadon-Lee (See contact details below)**

***Will my participation be kept confidential?***

Everything you say during this research study will be treated in the strictest confidence. Your name and address will not be recorded or disclosed to any third party and any information you provide will not be traced back to you. Although you have to note that authorities maybe informed ONLY IF YOU DISCLOSE any act of violent/extreme crime committed by yourself (or someone you know) or your intentions of committing one such crime. Any act of crime against a child or the elderly will be reported straightaway.

With your consent the interview will be recorded. All recordings, Transcriptions, consent forms will be stored in a locked cabinet at the University of Huddersfield. All data will be stored and analysed subject to the conditions of the 1998 Data Protection Act. All recording and transcripts will be destroyed 5 years after the completion of my PhD

***What will happen to the results the research study?***

The results of the research project will be published in my PhD thesis and also presented at conferences and in academic journal articles. In addition, the data collected may be used for additional or subsequent research. Copy of the thesis or relevant sections will be available to participants by request.

Copy of the thesis will also be held in the University Repository, and may be consulted by other researchers in the field.

***Who is organising and funding the research?***

The research project is funded by the University of Huddersfield

***Contact for further information***

George Ackers

PhD Student

Studying- **Deindustrialisation and masculine work identity**

Email: [U1070173@hud.ac.uk](mailto:U1070173@hud.ac.uk)

Tel: (01484) 422667

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**Appendix D Interview consent form**



**Deindustrialisation and masculine work identity in the former naval repair community of Medway**

George Ackers

Interview consent form

Please tick

I have been fully informed of the nature, aims and purpose of this research and consent to taking part in it.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time without giving any reason, and a right to withdraw my data if I wish.

I give my permission for my interview to be tape recorded.

I understand that direct unattributed quotes from my interview will be used in the presentation of this research which may include journal articles and conference presentations.

I understand that any recording of interviews will be kept in secure conditions at the University of Huddersfield.

It has been clearly explained to me who will have access to my interview recording.

I understand that if I disclose any involvement in violent criminal activities (past, current or future), then the police or relevant authorities may be informed.

I understand that my identity can be protected by the use of religious and culturally appropriate pseudonym in the research report and that no information that could lead to me being identified will be included in any report or publication resulting from this research without my consent.

I have had the opportunity to ask any questions I have about this research

Name of participant (or pseudonym)

Signature/initials

Date

Name of researcher: George Ackers

Signature

Date

*Two copies of this consent form should be completed: One copy to be retained by the participant and one copy to be retained by the researcher*


**Appendix E** Royal Dockyard & Naval Establishments Craft Trades description from Regnard (2008)

Shipwright	Manufacture, erection, repairs & alteration to ships structures, ships plating, welding. Ventilation systems, trunking, thermal & sound insulation, fitting out compartments, deck coverings. Lining off & fitting wood decking, cutting & bevelling shores for dry docking of ships, gratings, ladders, benches and stowages. Mould Loft work including Laying Off lines for boats under construction. Manufacture dinghies & wooden small craft including mast & spars, and fitting out. Production of plate work. All structural work for new construction, refit & repair of ships involving metal, wood, plastics, GRP, including tanks etc. (originally included welding, riveting)
Engine Fitter	Main engines, steam, gas turbines, internal combustion engines & all associated valves, lubricating oil, diesel, missile launching equipment, propellers, shafts.
Boilermaker	Manufacture marine boilers, steam pressure vessels. Fabrication steel work for tanks, large structures, funnels, cranes. Plate Shearing & rolling machines. Riveting & welding, gas & electric welding MIG & TIG. Tube bending, expanding, rolling, boiler testing, boiler water treatment, zinc spraying, non-destructive testing.
Plumber	Manufacture, installation & maintenance of low pressure temperature pipework systems, domestic, sanitary, drainage including sheet metal & plastic composite materials
Patternmaker	Manufacture of patterns from wood for casting of engineering items. Sectional parts of mould for withdrawing & strong enough to withstand the wash of molten metal parts has to be understood, shrinkage allowances & machining allowances all incorporated to allow for accurate shape & size required. Complex drawing interpretation & metallurgy is essential knowledge. The patterns were prototype without aid of previous models. Metal, plastic, plaster, Wax & clay patterns are also part of the Patternmakers task.
Electrical Fitter	Manufacture, installation, repair, maintenance of Electrical circuits, switching equipment, armatures & stator winding, AC & DC starter & control gear, main engines machinery motors, wiring, electronic apparatus, generators, solid state circuitry, and all items electrical including telecommunications. Vast syllabus whereby specialism in particular aspects evolved within the Trade.
Electrical Station Fitter	The maintenance & upkeep involved in main electricity Generating Station providing electricity to Dockyard and Establishments. These were specialist Electrical Trade trained specifically as Generating Station employees in all aspects of electrical Fitter Craftpersons.
Chargehand	This was the first tier of authority above tradesmen, in charge of a gang of tradesmen whose work he was responsible for organising and checking. To become a Chargehand you had to apply for the position and go along to an internal interview with a Foreman. Alongside the interview the Foreman would also have a detailed report of each tradesman's work and conduct as written by their Chargehand. Inspector was then the next tier of authority up and was responsible for five or six Chargehands.
Recorders	Worked in the clocking stations recording the amount of work people had done.
Measurers	Were responsible for recording the amount of piecework done by workers.
Draughtsman	To become a Draughtsman a tradesmen would have to pass an annual exam and would then work in the drawing office at the yard. They produced drawing and designs of ships including technical details and specifications such as materials, dimensions and procedures using calculators, tables and technical handbooks.

Technician Apprentices	The introduction of Technician Apprentices scheme recruitment into a major Specialisation of Mechanical, Constructive or Electrical replaced the Student scheme in 1962. The Technician Apprentice followed the standard 5 year general specialisation 'craft trade' training, drawing office techniques and Management training in their studies for appointment into Draughtsman & Technical Grade Officers. The Technician scheme was discontinued in 1981 as it blocked promotion of Craft apprentices into Management roles.
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