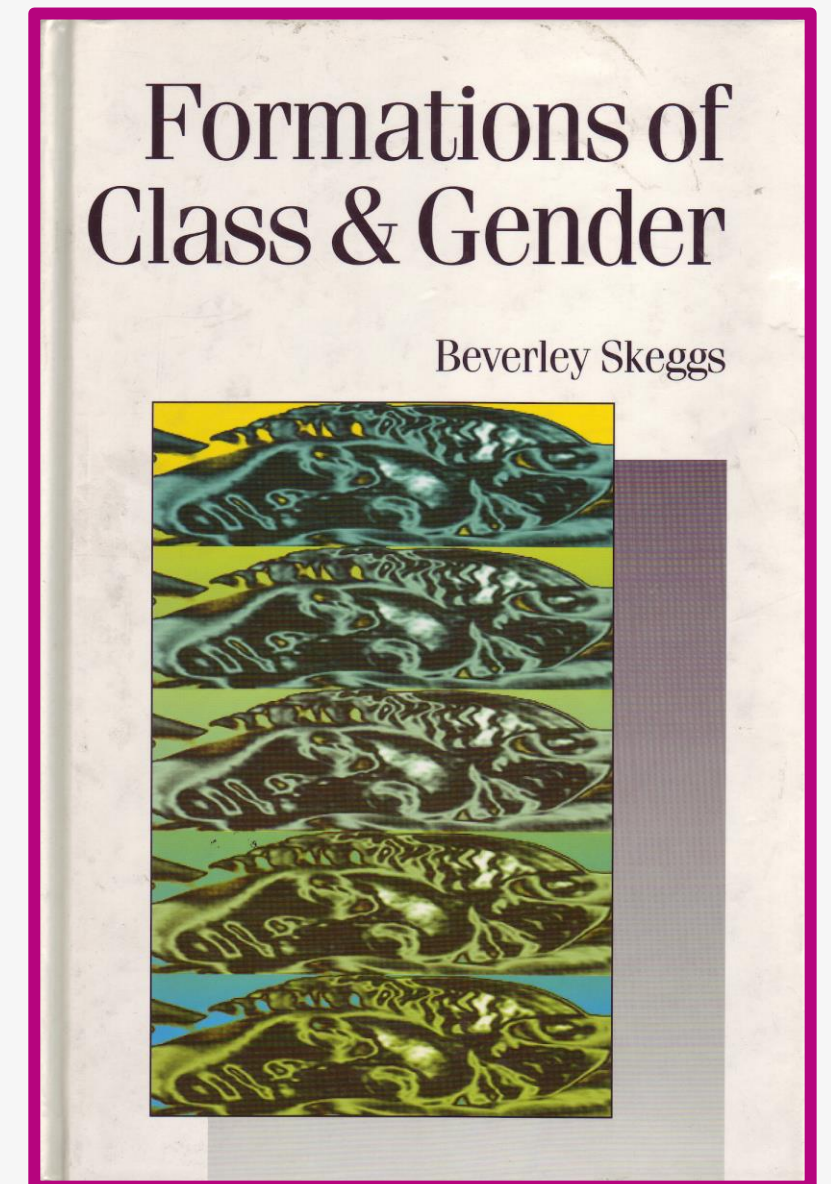


Formations: from respectability
to culture to emotions

Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable

Ethnographic study, *'Formations'* (1997) showed how white working-class women were **symbolically positioned without value** (through historical repetition).

- How their cultural dispositions were inscribed and **read on their body as pathology**.
- How they **re-worked this valuation by claiming respectability**.
(but did not want to be MC - just wanted value)
- How they were trapped in the **paradox of caring**- to care for (labour) to care about (emotions).
- How class is lived at the **intimate** level on a daily basis of judgment, practice and affect.
- How they **dis-identified** with the category working-class.
- How femininity did not fit them, but was both **performative and also consciously performed** when necessary.
- Morality was absolutely central to the formation of class and gender, intimately lived as judgment and value.



Use and critique of Bourdieu

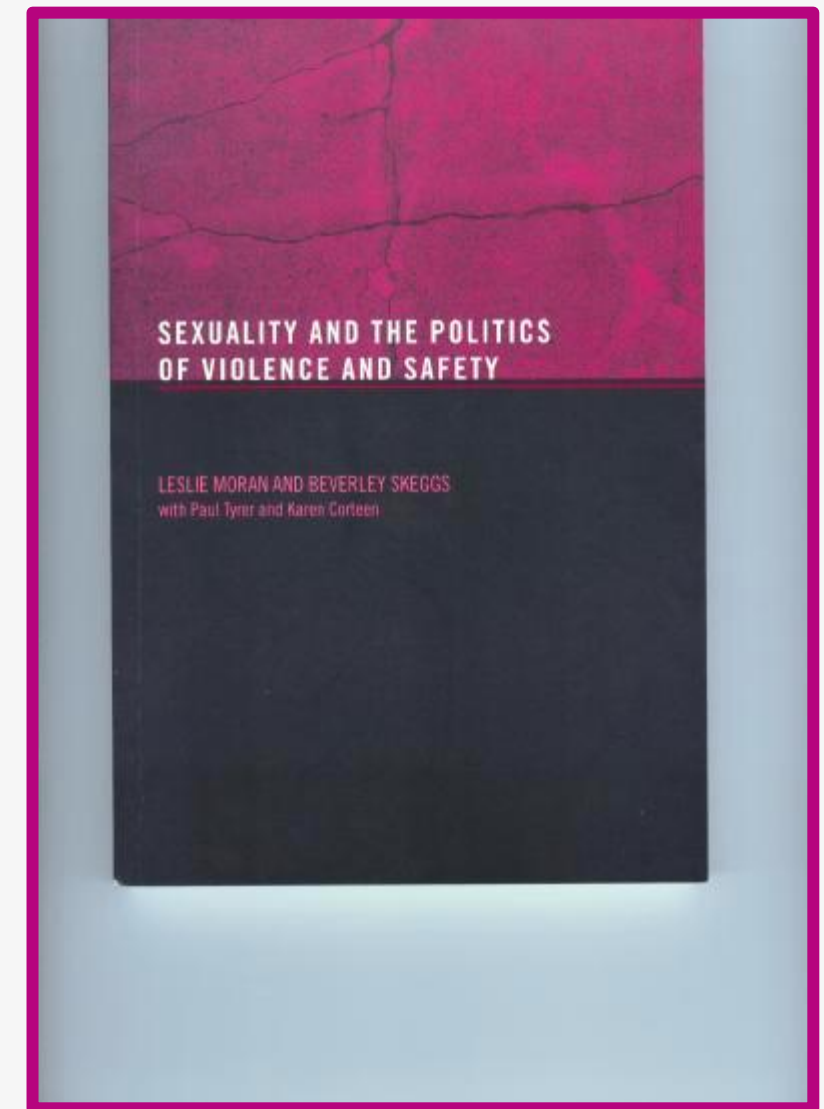
- Using economic metaphors, Bourdieu maintains that the different type of capitals (cultural, social, economic and symbolic) to which we have access as we grow up congeal in the body, generating dispositions, which he calls '*habitus*' (this led to a critique of how he utilises an unconscious self).
- The ability to *accumulate* different capitals in *volume* and *composition* over time enables bodies to move around social space with *ease, entitlement and value*, or to become fixed in positions and attributed with pathology.
- In a challenge to Bourdieu I argued that femininity could be seen as a form of cultural capital (a resource that could be put to use) (but there were limits to this exchange)
- Bourdieu would make a *structural homology* between people's positions and dispositions on the basis of class, yet when we add gender, sexuality, race and nation into the composition, we find a series of *disruptions* and *dispersals* rather than repetitions and habits.

Doing (not being) Gender

- Gender or sexuality is not an object or property of identity of the person. It is something we do, we repeat, we try on, we may habituate to, always doing and becoming (an achievement rarely made)
- Instead gender and sexuality are resources to which one does or does not have access, that can or cannot be deployed and put into practice in a variety of different ways to realize value in the 'self'.
- This is about the practice of gender and sexuality in which using (or not) the resources of gender and sexuality is about the production of gender and sexuality.
- It is about process, production and doing in particular ways that do or do not create value.
- It is about what can be utilized and how to utilize.
- The 'self' then becomes a metaphorical space for the storage and display of resources.

Significance of Redistribution to Recognition

- The processes of **resourcing subjectivity** become particularly significant in the current political climate when in the West the politics of recognition (Nancy Fraser and Charles Taylor), shape who is seen to be a valuable citizen, and who can make a claim on the state.
- **Identity** is still often the method by which many groups establish their public credibility. This process is nearly always informed by the **possibilities for visibility**; that is, one has to have an identity which is visibly recognisable as having **value, and respectability** (see Mariam Fraser 1999 TCS).
- This means that those who cannot use identity as a resource, because they are misrecognised as pathological and dis-identify with the identity positions), cannot make the same public subjective displays of worth, for even if they did they would not be recognised.



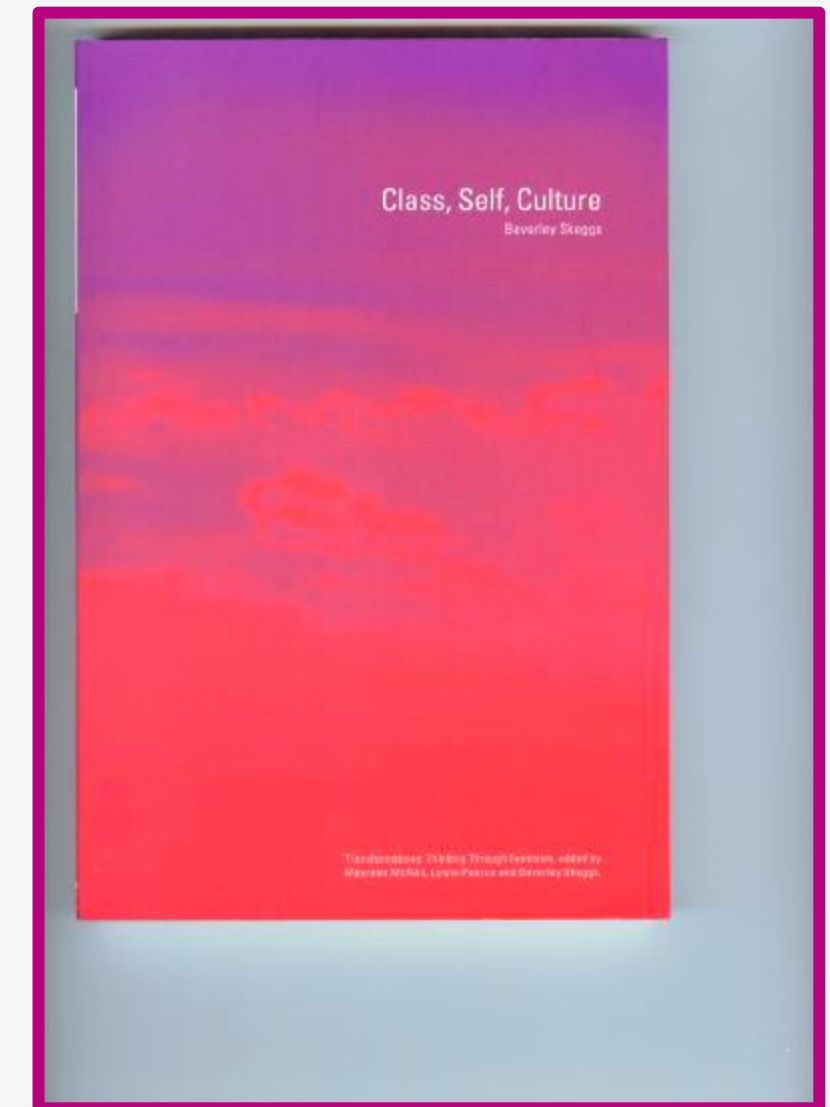
From ESRC project (with Les Moran, Paul Tyrer, Karen Corteen)

Sexuality, Violence and Safety Research Issues

- How some groups are able to make use of their cultural resources – even violence - as a demand for recognition from the state (turning the state against itself: good and bad violence).
- How categories do not just intersect- they disrupt and constitute and are put to use differently – highly volatile and contradictory (e.g. respectable gay men at CI wanting CCTV state protection for public sex).
- Depend upon being able to show respectable political subject (property and propriety), by gendered self-responsibility strategies (privatisation of security).
- Points to the centrality of ambivalence in political recognition.
- Comfort (ontological security) as the avoidance of judgement based on visibility was central to ‘being’ at home and safe.

CSC Arguments

- Crisis in middle-class authority (authorising).
- Re-arrangement of moral limits as the search for new markets expands.
- New constitutive limits: marginal symbolically central (Stallybrass)
- Not new process but massive extension and increased opening out of the cultural dispositions of the working-class (e.g. habits).
- MC self based on accruing value to itself through culture and experience which can be institutionalised (I.e. converted to jobs/increased social and economic capital)



Key processes for Making Class

1. Ambivalent morality and affect stripping: re-evaluation of morality
2. State regulation: distinguishing good or bad on the basis of culture, individualised as 'choice'.
3. Extending extraordinary subjectivity: through visible telling and display
4. Propertising culture (investing in oneself)

Shifts to Subjectivity

- Aestheticisation of the self: Foucault
- Discourse ethics: Habermas
- Governing the soul: Rose
- Intimate citizenship: Berlant
- Extraordinary subjectivity: Dovey
- Compulsory Individuality: Strathern

- DIY citizenship: Hartley
- Liquid Modernity: Bauman
- Biographical individualism: Reflexive Biography: Giddens
- Reflexive/risk individualisation: Reflexive risk self: Beck

Working-Class Culture

- Extension of cultural fundamentalism: culture used as the foundational explanation – expansion of relativised multi-culture.
- Long history of representing the WC as ‘natives’ (e.g. mass observation, *The Family*). Cultural essentialism.
- Significance of cultural capital: need **the right sort** with the **right knowledge** of how to operationalise.
- Changed identity positions of value (e.g. shift from dignity of labour to abject) Significance of technologies for telling: extension of victimhood away from the working class
- WC culture subject to greater civic surveillance (eg ASBOS)
- Significance of representations (symbolic source of value: repetition, circulation of devaluation, e.g. Chavs OED word for 2004).

Making Class through Televised Ethical Scenarios'

- Our Reality TV project ' (with Helen Wood and Nancy Thumim, started April 2005 for 22 months) shows how this highly technicised medium for:
- Different proximities to the proper;
- All premised upon a form of emotional fetishism.
- All about displaying and performing the intimate

Primary Features	Abject	Swaps	Passing Disguise	Challenges	Competition	Physical Make-over	Expert observation	Life overhaul
Work	HR,		FI	A, FI	A			GNL
Money				GNL		BMD		
Holidays /Travel	IU	HS		BB				GUG
Homes				DHA GNL		HB		NPF
Food & Health							YWE HKK	
Hygiene						TPW	HCH	
Families /Relationships		HS WS		DSS		WRR, BMD	SN, FC, DMDM MEO LA N9	
Sex							SEX,	
Appearance			FI, PIS	FI	PIS	TYY EM, WNT		
Manners		HS	FI, PIS	FI	PIS WBS	WBS		
Explicit Class Mobility			WBS MFL				LL,	

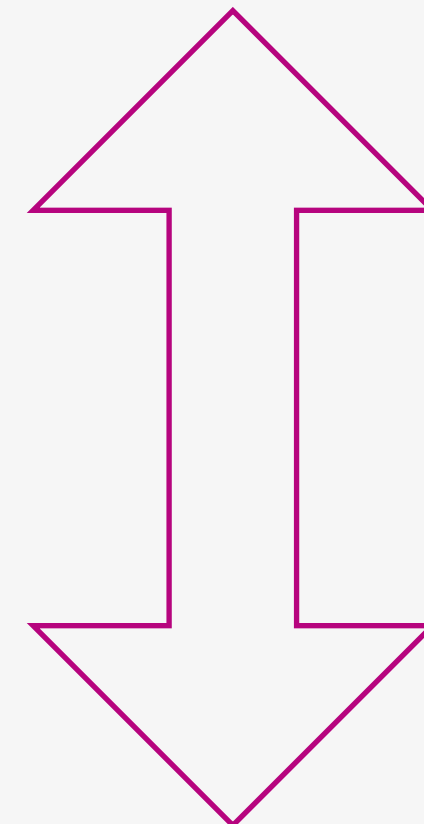
Programmes

- Holiday Showdown HS
- Ladette to Lady LL
- The Appearance A
- Ten Years Younger TYY
- Grown Up Gappers GUG
- Nigel's Place in France NPF
- Desperately Seeking SheilaDSS
- A dream home abroad DHA
- Driving Mum and Dad madDMOM
- Get a New Life GNL
- Who Rules the Roost WRR
- Super Nanny SN
- Wife Swap WS
- Faking It FI
- Bank of Mum and Dad BMD

- Playing It Straight PIS
- Extreme Makeover EM
- House Busters HB
- What the Butler Saw WBS
- Too Posh to Wash PTW
- You are what you eat YWE
- Sex Experts SEX
- Made For Each Other MEO
- Beyond Boundaries BB
- Holiday Reps HR
- Ibiza Uncovered IU
- How Clean Is Your House HCH
- My Fair Lady MFL
- Honey We're Killing The Kids HKK
- Nanny 911 N9
- Little Angels LA

Reality TV

Programme	Structuring Relations	Selfhood
Wife Swap	To 'other' wife	Better Mothers, better wives
Family Contract	To higher authority (psychologists)	Behaved selves,
Too Posh To Wash	To higher authority (hygienists)	Cleaner selves
What Not To Wear	To material goods (clothes)	Tasteful Self
What the Butler Saw	To absent higher authority	Culturally failed selves
Faking It	To mentor	An alter 'self'
10 Years Younger	Beauty Coach	Beautiful self
Who Rules the Roost	To spouse	Better spouses
Get a New Life	To potential self	Alter self
Nigel's Place in France	Absent	A more complete self?



Opening Out

- Historically we know the intimate can be the foundation to significant forms of power (repression).
- Emotions have become **intrinsic to what we know of as 'women's identity'** (Hoschild 1983)
- **(Illouz 2003) argues populr TV is now a form of moral entrepreneurship.**
- Extension of **therapeutic publicity (Governing the soul- extension of psyche speech)**
- Extension of the vocabulary of suffering, especially the extension of injury, as the **foundational claim of feminist and queer politics.**
- Extension of **the position of the victim** and the expansion of **ontological suffering as a public gesture.**
- Expansion of compassion carries the weight of ongoing debates about the ethics of privilege – shift to faith and morality as basis of political choice (Frank 2004)
- Significance of **emotional capital** in movement through social space (Reay 2004)

Opening out to Close Down

- What affect does it to produce gaps as relations (between cause and effect) so that we do not know what the cause is, we do not know what the effect is **but we know that there is a problem** (we have been shown and told) located in the individual that needs to be overcome by a skills, knowledge and techniques.
- People **not simply improper bad objects**, they are people with hope who are trying to envisage a better future for themselves (and usually their family).
- **Flatten out differences** as a matter of choice
- Experts offer **skills, narratives and solutions**
- **Reflexive commentary** becoming a measure of a person's moral worth
- **Opportunities** shows to exist where contradictions, difficulties can be resolved
- Emphasis given to **suffering (tragic stories = narratives of redemption)**
- Good subjects **improve, transform, learn**

Continuing Themes

- Shows gender (femininity and motherhood in particular, but also masculinity and especially heterosexuality) as an achievement is rarely made
- Shows how gender and heterosexuality can be used as resources, and how they are amalgamated.
- Shows the dispersal and ambivalence of gender roles (especially mothers)
- Shows how value (often via respectability) is inscribed on bodies.
- How we are implicated in judgement on the basis of the “choices” people have made. These are often closely controlled.
- Makes it look as if it is always the individuals ‘psyche’ that is generating the performance (hence the emphasis on personality).
- Visualises ‘bad emotions’
- Demonstrates attempts to re-value pathology

Recognition: Pity v Justice

- (Boltanski 1999) draws on Hannah Arendt to make a distinction between the politics of pity – abject and failed selves that need pity – and the politics of justice (groups).
- The affect of Freudian notion of *Schadenfreude* - to take pleasure in the pain of other individuals, or getting pleasure at the expense of others, often whilst being entertained, is central to the generation of pity.
- **The flattening out of difference occurs when certain groups: WC women, Black people, homosexuals are represented as having more person difficulties, experiencing more suffering** (life is more difficult therefore not a good choice). They are individually responsible for the sexism, racism and homophobia they experience.
- **The affect of pity and the display of failed selves, suffering or failed relations deserving of pity and compassion becomes a cultural commodity.** Displaying emotion sells TV to advertisers.
- Social understanding involves a **scalar change**, in which the opened out intimate psyche appears as the measure of social difference (structural, economic issues are eclipsed)
- Berlant (2004) suggests we have moved from **pity to the fantasy of compassion** – which requires that a distance always be maintained to the compassionate object: they struggle, we watch.