This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from Explore Bristol Research, http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk

Author:
Jacobs, Matt

Title:
White Men Talking

The Performance of Privileged Identities in an Era of Critical Visibility.

General rights
Access to the thesis is subject to the Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International Public License. A copy of this may be found at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode This license sets out your rights and the restrictions that apply to your access to the thesis so it is important you read this before proceeding.

Take down policy
Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions prior to having it been deposited in Explore Bristol Research. However, if you have discovered material within the thesis that you consider to be unlawful e.g. breaches of copyright (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please contact collections-metadata@bristol.ac.uk and include the following information in your message:

• Your contact details
• Bibliographic details for the item, including a URL
• An outline nature of the complaint

Your claim will be investigated and, where appropriate, the item in question will be removed from public view as soon as possible.

This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from Explore Bristol Research, http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk

Author:
Jacobs, Matt

Title:
White Men Talking: The Performance of Privileged Identities in an Era of Critical Visibility.

General rights
Access to the thesis is subject to the Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International Public License. A copy of this may be found at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode This license sets out your rights and the restrictions that apply to your access to the thesis so it is important you read this before proceeding.

Take down policy
Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions prior to having it been deposited in Explore Bristol Research. However, if you have discovered material within the thesis that you consider to be unlawful e.g. breaches of copyright (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please contact collections-metadata@bristol.ac.uk and include the following information in your message:

• Your contact details
• Bibliographic details for the item, including a URL
• An outline nature of the complaint

Your claim will be investigated and, where appropriate, the item in question will be removed from public view as soon as possible.

White Men Talking: The Performance of Privileged Identities in an Era of Critical Visibility.

by

Matt Jacobs

"A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law in September 2021"

[Word count: 80,329]

Abstract

Now as in the past, White, middle-class men in Britain, despite their numerical minority status, are over-represented in positions of power. The normative discourses of Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness have provided them the freedom to perform their identities 'unremarked upon' and afforded them intersectional privilege. However, the Black Lives Matter and #MeToo campaigns have shone a critical light on the day-to-day cultural practices of White, middle-class men and cast them as unacceptable. Consequently, the invisibility of their intersectional privilege is being eroded and the hegemonic social conditions their normativity creates are being challenged. This thesis seeks to understand how White, middle-class men are responding to these challenges and their new-found visibility.

The existing scholarship on privilege theorises that privilege is maintained through its invisibility and by hegemonic discourses' ability to adapt in changing social contexts. As such, existing accounts do not reveal how privilege responds when it is made visible. To resolve this problem, drawing on Foucault's and Butler's theories of subjectification, identity, and agency, whilst working with the literature on Whiteness, masculinity, class, and privilege, I develop a framework that identifies talk as the site of enquiry and provides for the examination of how White, middle-class masculine subjects agentively respond to this critical visibility. These processes are explored through qualitative sociological research involving 37 'conversations' with 19 respondents representing a range of ages, professions, and levels of income and education across 29 social settings over a 6-month period.

The study reveals that in conversation with each other White, middle-class men agentively articulate 'strategies of signification' in their talk about race, gender, and class that work to reconstitute their normativity, despite their visibility, and reinforce existing social hierarchies. They do this in ways that re-establish the acceptability of their identities without necessitating any change in behaviour or relinquishing their privilege.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor Therese O'Toole and Professor Jon Fox for their ongoing support, encouragement, humour, patience, and advice. Without them, I would still be down the pub with my respondents. I have to thank my daughters Madeleine and Grace just because they are remarkable, beautiful human beings, and I want to thank my partner Jo for her love, support, inspiration, and in being by my side in this endeavour and in life. I would also like to thank my parents because, as the old line goes, without them I would not have been here today. Finally, I must thank my respondents, without their words this would be a very short thesis indeed!

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

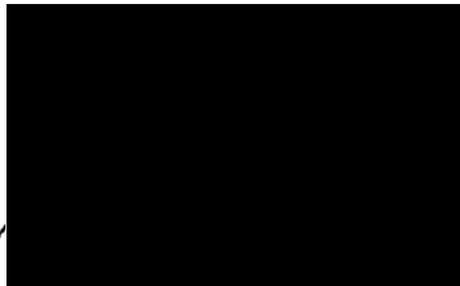
SIGNED:  DATE: 17th September 2021

Table of Contents

Abstract **2**

Acknowledgements **3**

Author's Declaration **4**

Chapter One. Becoming Visible to the 'self' – Threats to the Hegemony of White, Middle-class Men **8**

The Hegemony of White, Middle-class Men 9

An Era of Critical Visibility: Counterhegemonic Discourses and the Unacceptability of White, Middle-class Men 13

Visible to Myself 19

Thesis Structure 19

Chapter Two. Literature Review – A Spotlight on Intersectionally Privileged Identities **27**

Defining Privilege and the Invisibility Problem 29

Undoing Privilege and the Anti-oppression Literature 32

Dominant, or Privileged Identities and Their Performance 40

Privilege and Intersectional Analysis 54

A Spotlight on White, Middle-class Men 58

Chapter Three. Theoretical Framework – Privileged Identities and the Agentive Subject **61**

Maintenance of Privilege – The 'trouble' with Invisibility and Adaptation Theories 64

The Agentive Subject and Discursive Subjectification 68

Talking Through Butler 76

Intersectionality Theory and the Intersectionally Privileged 80

Why a Modified Butlerian Approach 86

Privileged Identities and the Agentive Subject 89

Chapter Four - Methodology – Conversations with Myself. **92**

Defining the Field 95

Selecting White, Middle-class Settings 98

Recruiting Respondents and the Sample Profile 109

Data Gathering and Everyday Conversations in the Field 109

From the Inside to the Outside and Back Again 119

Researcher Complicity in Knowledge Production and the Maintenance of Privilege 119

Privileged Power in the Field 126

Data analysis 130

Studying the Agentive Performance of Identities in Everyday Talk 133
Intersectionality and the Presentation of the Data 134
Chapter Five - The Race to the Top 137
'Yes, I'm White. Yes, we're racist, but it's not our fault' - Disappearing Invisibility & Declarations of Acceptable Whiteness 139
Cultural Differences and Acceptable Whiteness 163
Visible Whiteness and the Reproduction of Hegemonic Whiteness in Everyday Talk.................. 175
Chapter Six – Talking Gender: It's a White Middle-class Man's World 179
Constructions of Masculine Gendered Mosaic Identities of Self.. 183
Performing Acceptable Masculinity through the Construction of the 'Other' 195
Gender Equality as Oppressive to Men 207
Masculine Gendered Mosaic Identities: Resisting the Critical Visibility of Masculinity................ 220
Chapter Seven – The Class of White Middle-class Men 224
Class Ambivalence or Middle-class Resistance?.. 228
'You have to have a middle-class background to get that and appreciate that' – Unequivocal Significations of Class as Acts of Resistance 242
Classed Social Hierarchy 250
The Struggles of 'White, Middle-class Men'.. 253
Class as a Cultural Resource for Middle-class Normativity 260
Chapter Eight – Resistance to resistance: Reconstituting the Normativity of the Intersectional 'White, middle-class man' 264
Strategies of Signification in Talk about Race 269
Strategies of Signification in Talk about Gender 270
Strategies of Signification in Talk about Class 271
Intersectionally Speaking 273
Bibliography 276
Appendices.. 310
Appendix One – Respondent Pool Data 310

THIS PAGE HAS BEEN LEFT INTENTIONALLY BLANK

Chapter One. Becoming Visible to the 'self' – Threats to the Hegemony of White, Middle-class Men

"Privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily."

— Martin Luther King Jr (1963/1994).

"To be white, or straight, or male, or middle class is to be simultaneously ubiquitous and invisible. You're everywhere you look, you're the standard against which everyone else is measured. You're like water, like air."

— Michael S. Kimmel (2017: 3).

These quotes by Martin Luther King and Michael Kimmel point to the heart of a contemporary sociological issue that lies beneath the motivation for this thesis. For many years, White, middle-class men have occupied positions of power and influence in our society. Whether this be political, scientific, philosophical, economic, or cultural power; whether you look down the corridors of government, universities, businesses, or the media, you will see a preponderance of White, middle-class men in power (Green Park, 2020). Their ubiquity has been constructed as normal, despite their numerical minority status in society, and the hegemonic social context this normativity has created provides the conditions for the White, middle-class man to retain power relatively unchallenged.

Further, the normativity of their identity makes the privileges they hold simply by being and behaving as 'normal' White, middle-class men invisible to them, as to hold them is, to them, the natural order of things. However, over the last five years this invisibility has been increasingly eroded

by the national and international public debates on issues of race and gender inequality instigated by Black Lives Matter and #MeToo. As a result, the theories, ideas and concepts of White privilege, masculine privilege, and intersectionality, have moved from the margins of protest and the halls of academia into the mainstream discussions. These debates have shone a critical light on the everyday behaviours of White people and men, and the 'White, middle-class man' has been cast as a central character in the piece. This new, widespread critical visibility is holding a very public mirror up to White, middle-class men and presents a significant challenge to the normativity of their identities, their positions of power, and the maintenance of their privilege.

Whilst there is an existing body of academic literature that explores the production and maintenance of privilege, it rests on the theoretical assertion that privilege's ongoing maintenance is achieved through its invisibility and the ability of hegemonic discourses to adapt to changing social contexts. As such, it does not address called-out and visible intersectional privilege, or how those who embody the locus of this intersectional privilege respond and adapt to this critical visibility. Thus, the sociological issue and the core question that this thesis seeks to answer is how are White, middle-class men responding to this challenge, to their enforced, new-found self-visibility and the public demand that they give up their privilege?

The Hegemony of White, Middle-class Men

The invisibility of the White, middle-class man arises from the ability of this group, or representatives of it, to establish and maintain hegemonic social conditions. In Gramscian terms, this is the ability of a dominant class or group to exert social and cultural leadership such that their ideology is normalised as the accepted order of things. Thus, people consent to the groups' dominance in meaning making and power relations and, by these means, the dominant group maintains a power that is legitimised through popular consent, rather than imposed by force

(Hartley, 1994). However, this notion of popular consent is not an all-encompassing consent in that popular consent has never been universal. Dissent arises, but when it does, it is resisted and cast as abnormal and as antithetical to the well-being of the majority in society.

Historically, the hegemony of White, middle-class men in Britain has arisen out of the repeated articulations of discursive formations over time that have constructed Whiteness, masculinity and middle-classness as the norm. These have been understood individually as mechanisms of domination over People of Colour, women, and the working-class, which is reflected in the separate bodies of academic work on race, gender, and class. However, these articulations have always been intersectional.

Underpinning these articulations of Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness was the positionality of those with the power to articulate their ideologies in a manner that established their worldview as the norm, their doxa as the orthodoxy (Bourdieu, 1984). The White, middle-class men who controlled the spread of ideological and cultural norms through their dominance of politics, science, the media, and business, spoke about the world from their positionality. Thus, normative Whiteness was the Whiteness of middle-class men, not the Whiteness of the decadent aristocracy (Bonnett, 1998) or the 'dirty' working-class (Philip, 2002) who were constructed in similar terms to People of Colour and cast as 'a race apart' (see Booth, 1890/1976; Sims, 1883/1976; and Mayhew, 1861/1967), nor was it the Whiteness of White, middle-class women who were constructed as no more than the vehicle for "breeding a virile race of empire builders" (McClintock 1995: 47 in Byrne 2006a: 142).

Normative masculinity was White, middle-class masculinity, not the uncouth masculinity of the White, working-class (Skeggs, 1997a), or the barbaric and sexually aggressive masculinity of the Man of Colour, to which White women were constructed as either complicit - as amoral working-class

women, or vulnerable - as victimised middle-class women (Bland, 2005). Normative class was middle-classness, rather than the class possessed by the aristocracy or the working-class whose classed identities were abnormalised alongside their Whiteness and their gender.

In contrast to these articulations of intersectional others, White, middle-class men articulated for themselves a robust, adventurous, culturally refined, and aspirational identity that supported their ambitions for expansionist capitalism and imperialism (Cairns, 1965; Bonnett, 1998). These discourses constructed White, middle-class men as the legitimate leaders of the nation and the normative benchmark against which all others were judged and, usually, found wanting.

In more recent times, these discourses that underpin White, middle-class men's hegemony have been reiterated and rearticulated in more contemporary forms. That the discourses discussed below are also, in some form, articulated by non-hegemonic groups to reinforce their own race, class, and/or gender privileges is indicative of how pervasive Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness have become as mechanisms of differentiation and distinction. However, it is where they combine in reinforcing the hegemony of White, middle-class men that they are the most powerful, as those in non-hegemonic positions will experience simultaneous privilege and discrimination that will mark them as not meeting the normative White, middle-class, masculine benchmark. Thus, they are judged and made visible accordingly (Pease, 2010).

Today the White, working-class are constructed as the 'undeserving poor' in the form of the benefits scrounger, as exemplified in the 2014 Channel 4 series *Benefits Street* (MacDonald, Shildrick and Furlong, 2014), and as the figure of the 'Chav' and 'Chavette'. Chav men are constructed as violent, sexist, and racist (Webster, 2008) and Chavettes are characterised as recklessly promiscuous, draped in the 'bling' trappings of cheap excess (Nayak and Kehily, 2014). These discursive constructions of the White, working-class that Nayak and Kehily describe as "a reconfiguration of enduring class-

based social divisions" (2014: 1341) have their roots in the past. These articulations of the White, working-class men and women place them, as did their construction as a 'race apart' during the Industrial Revolution (Bonnett, 1998), "beyond the bounds of the British nation" (Haylett, 2001: 355).

In relation to women and People of Colour, Byrne (2006a) has pointed to the classed and raced nature of the middle-class construction of motherhood. Citing Walkerdine and Lucey, (1989), she argues that the working-class mother has always been constructed as inferior to the 'model' middle-class mother. Similarly, as mothers, Black women are often cast into a model of deviancy in contrast to the idealised model of White, middle-class motherhood (Phoenix, 1991). The Orientalist sexualisation and objectification of Black women in the form of the 'Jezebel' stereotype remains an oft articulated trope in the media (Turner, 2011; Anderson, Holland, Heldreth, Johnson, 2018) and Black men continue to be constructed as the 'Black Peril' of colonial times (Anderson, 2010) who are sexually aggressive and violent (Yancy, 2017; Castle Bell and Harris, 2017; Tapia, McCune, and Brody, 2010), and the mugger of the 1970's and 1980's (Hall, 1977) has been recast in the 2000s as the thug and absent father (Kumah-Abiwu, 2020).

These different, historically embedded, intersectional discourses of racialised, classed, and gendered others coalesce in constructing White, middle-class men as the legitimate and 'taken for granted' dominant group in society today. Whilst there have been challenges to this dominance in the form of movements for race equality, gender equality, gay rights, and socio-economic, or 'working-class', rights exemplified by the Trades Union movement and the establishment of the Labour Party, the normativity of these intersecting identity characteristics has, until recently, remained intact and the White, middle-class man has remained the invisible-to-self, normative benchmark against which all other identities are judged (Kimmel and Ferber, 2017).

An Era of Critical Visibility: Counterhegemonic Discourses and the Unacceptability of White, Middle-class Men

In recent years, though, we have entered an era of critical visibility. The invisibility of Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness is being eroded by the power and global reach of counterhegemonic discourses (Warf and Grimes, 1997), such as Black Lives Matter and #MeToo, that have been articulated across social and mainstream media in response to catalytic social events[1].

In 2013, Trayvon Martin was killed by George Zimmerman as he walked through his neighbourhood. His death and the acquittal of George Zimmerman (Alvarez and Buckley, 2013), followed by the highlighting of the killings of many other Black people by police officers in America (Hafner, 2018) resulted in widespread public outcry and the emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement (Thomas and Zuckerman, 2018). The reach of the #BlackLivesMatter tag on social media created a movement that generated protests and debates on the treatment of People of Colour by White people across the world.

In Britain, the names of "Edson da Costa, Sarah Reed, David Oluwale, Sean Rigg, Sheku Bayoh, Christopher Alder, Mark Duggan, Leon Briggs, Joy Gardner, Cynthia Jarrett, Smiley Culture, Dorothy "Cherry" Groce, Derek Bennett, Stephen Lawrence", and many more became synonymous with racism within the British police force (Joseph–Salisbury, Connelly, and Wangari-Jones, 2021: 23) and the symbols of Black Lives Matter UK. The National Lockdown Day of Protest in 2016, which Black Lives Matter UK staged on the anniversary of Mark Duggan's death, generated a particularly British form of the debate that focussed the discussion here on racism in Britain's police force (Francis,

[1] NB: This research was conducted prior to the murder of George Floyd, the subsequent resurgence in the Black Lives Matter protests, the increase in anti-colonial protests, such as the removal of the statue of Colston in Bristol, and the responses to these events across our society. As such, these events have not been included in this description of the context of this research. However, it should be noted that these events worked to further remove the invisibility of Whiteness and the responses to these threats in the form of discourses around 'cancel culture', attacks on the concept of White Privilege and the teaching of Critical Race Theory by senior politicians in the UK and the USA can be understood as strategies to undermine and resist these threats.

2021). The British emphasis of this debate denied White British people the space to deflect the problem as an American issue, and the brutalisation and killing of Black people became a very British issue (McVeigh, 2016; Joseph–Salisbury, Connelly, and Wangari-Jones, 2021).

Whilst the disproportionate imprisonment of People of Colour and the statistics about the rates of Stop and Search of young Men of Colour in Britain were a part of the discussion (McVeigh, 2016), the focus was much more on individuals, for example, the officer who shot Mark Duggan and those who suffocated Jimmy MuBenga (McVeigh, 2016). Equally, as in America, the lack of justice for those who died, as in the verdict of lawful killing in the Mark Duggan case and the acquittal of the G4S security guards of manslaughter charges in the Jimmy MuBanga case, further intensified the discussion on the differential value British society places on White lives over Black lives (McVeigh, 2016).

As a push back against Black Lives Matter developed, 'All Lives Matter' became a regular articulation in the discussions to undermine both the legitimacy and the rationality of the argument behind the use of the term 'Black Lives Matter' (Carney, 2016). The subsequent explanations of what the term 'Black Lives Matter' means expanded the discussion on the values society places on different lives (Carney, 2016; Shahvisi, 2020) and 'White Privilege' and how this works to afford people racialised as White significant unearned benefits emerged as a central feature of the argument (Olou, 2018).

This public discussion on racism and White Privilege spawned the publication of a plethora of commercial books on the subject e.g., *So, You Want to Talk about Race* (Olou, 2018), *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race* (Eddo-Lodge, 2018), *White Fragility. Why It's So Hard to Talk to White People About Race* (DiAngelo, 2019), *White privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (Bhopal, 2018), *Me and White Supremacy: How to Recognise Your Privilege, Combat Racism and Change the World* (Saad, 2020). In Britain, this was infused with a particular post-colonial perspective in the form of books like *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging* (Hirsch, 2018),

Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire (Akala, 2018), *The Good Immigrant* (Shukla, 2017). These publications and the media attention they received moved the discussion further into the mainstream and into the consciousness of all people. Through this, White people were enjoined to 'check their privilege', and concepts such as 'unconscious bias' became key to the discussions on the causes of racism and, indeed, how to 'undo' it. Significantly, much of the debate highlighted the day-to-day actions of White people as manifestations of systemic and institutional racialised oppression and privilege.

Whilst this debate played out in the public domain, gender oppression and masculine privilege also came to the fore and gained a global profile in the form of the #MeToo campaign. It was in 2006 that Tarana Burke started to use the phrase 'Me Too' as a mechanism through which Women of Colour survivors of sexual assault could feel a sense of solidarity and come together for mutual support (Ohlheiser, 2017). However, it was not until the exposure of sexual abuse by Harvey Weinstein in 2017, and further reports of sexual assault by high profile men, that #MeToo became a global campaign across social media platforms (Johnson and Hawbaker, 2019).

The pervasive, routine, and unchallenged nature of sexual harassment of women by men in powerful positions that #MeToo exposed raised questions in the public debate about the masculine privilege that results in the sense of entitlement over women's bodies that men in positions of power exhibit. Street harassment campaigns such as Hollaback (Epstein, 2013) and the Good Night Out Campaign (www.goodnightoutcampaign.org/) expanded the debate and introduced the everyday behaviour of all men into the discussion on masculinity and masculine privilege.

Much as with the Black Lives Matter protests and the discussions around White privilege, these campaigns focussed not so much on the statistics on inequality and oppression, or on the structural nature of gender inequality that previous work on gender inequality in politics (Mayhall, 2003),

employment (Meehan, 1985), law (Brophy and Smart, 1985), and reproductive rights (Hoggart, 2000) had done, but on the behaviour of men themselves.

The focus on individual actions and the differential values placed on the lives of People of Colour and women in our society in these public discussions created a context in which those with privilege were being subject to an increasingly widespread and public critical gaze. This phenomenon challenged normative understandings of what constituted acceptable everyday behaviour, not just in relation to specific individuals but in relation to all White people and all men.

Within these debates on White and masculine privilege, several commentators raised the issue of intersectionality and privilege. The significance of Tarana Burke's use of the 'Me Too' phrase in relation to sexual assault on Women of Colour gaining little public traction in 2006, in comparison to its use in relation to privileged White women in 2017 was not lost on the debate (Garcia, 2017) Critiques of White, middle-class feminism co-opting Black women's voices and creating movements in which solidarity is only for White, middle-class women began to emerge (Phipps, 2020).

Equally, the differential treatment of White, middle-class men accused of rape in comparison to Black men, as with Brock Turner and Stamford Sexual Assault Case (Young, 2016), also featured in the discussions on White Privilege. This highlighted not only the differences in sentencing but also how White, middle-class men perpetrating sexual assault and rape are discussed in the media with sympathy and empathy in response to their 'fall from grace', whereas Black men are constructed as if criminality is inherent to their nature (Lopez, 2016).

The emerging focus on the intersectional nature of privilege and the intersection of White Privilege and masculine privilege in White, middle-class men made the 'White, middle-class man' identity a central character in the debate. Indeed, many of the high-profile perpetrators of rape, sexual assault

and sexual harassment brought to light through the #MeToo campaign were men who society would recognise as White, middle-class men e.g., Harvey Weinstein (Producer and co-founder of the Weinstein Company); Roy Price (Head of Amazon Studios); Michael Douglas (actor); Philip Green (Chief Executive of the Arcadia Group) - see Glamour, (2019) and Carlsen, Salam, Cain Miller, Lu, Ngu, Patel and Wichter (2018). Equally, much of the discussion and, indeed, resistance to White Privilege in the public domain has been championed by White, middle-class men, for example, Lawrence Fox on Question Time (Harrison, 2020), and the public debate focussed on White middle-class men as holders and defenders of privilege e.g., Dr Mos-Shogbamimu's critique of Philip Schofield on This Morning and Piers Morgan on Good Morning Britain (Brewis, 2020). A light was being very publicly shone on White, middle-class men and the characteristics and behaviour traits associated with the performance of a White, middle-class masculine identity were being cast as socially unacceptable

This critique of White, middle-class men as the bearers of intersectional privilege was also articulated in the sections of the media that presents itself as critical and socially conscious. However, whilst much of this critique was presented as seeking to challenge the dominance of the 'White, middle-class man' in positions of power, little of it offered any real critique of middle-classness itself. Rather than exploring and critiquing the role that middle-classness plays in intersecting with Whiteness and masculinity to construct the locus of intersectional privilege, or even exploring how middle-class cultural practices construct and maintain inequality, the contribution from these publications focused more on issues of gender and race.

The 2018 piece in the BBC by Azana Francis was presented as a critique on how '*White Middle-class men are still seen as 'ideal' MP candidates*'. However, this focussed on the problems for women in entering politics and how the arena was 'masculinised'. The article paid little attention to middle-classness as a factor in the issue. In 2019, the Guardian, in a piece by Professor Tim Bale called

'*White, male and middle-class: why Britain's political parties must change*', sought to add some academic credibility to the argument but, despite referencing statistical data on the class make-up of political parties, the main thrust for change in the piece focussed on increasing the numbers of People of Colour in political parties. As with the BBC piece, there was no critique of how middle-classness as a social phenomenon contributes to the inequality he described.

This absence of a specific critique of middle-classness also exists within a key piece in the New Statesman by Grayson Perry (2014), *The rise and fall of Default Man*. In this he referred to White, middle-class, heterosexual men as a minority group in Britain who "dominate the upper echelons of our society, imposing, unconsciously or otherwise, their values and preferences on the rest of the population". Whilst this points to the normativity and hegemony of the intersectional White, middle-class man identity and the power and privilege accrued from this, much of his subsequent analysis focussed on masculinity and, to an extent, race, leaving the role of middle-classness in constructing and maintaining this dominance relatively unexamined. Indeed, his discussion on middle-classness was primarily on dress – the ubiquitous grey suit – and whilst he rightly said that the White, middle-class man "is rarely under existential threat; consequently, his identity remains unexamined", his own examination did not explore in any depth the role of middle-classness as a conditioning factor in White, middle-class men dominating the upper echelons of society.

This absence of middle-class critiques within the liberal, middle-class, media elite (Edwards, 2005) is significant in that whilst they were directly responding to the making visible of Whiteness and masculinity, they were not making 'middle-classness' visible, despite the acknowledgement that it forms a key aspect of intersectional privilege. Thus, as much as Black Lives Matter and #MeToo have created a context of critical visibility for White people and men, middle-classness has remained relatively unexamined in the debates. Critically, though, despite this lack of examination, that the debate constructed 'White, middle-class men' as key characters in the perpetration of racism and

sexism placed them very much in the spotlight. The once 'normal' and invisible White, middle-class men were being revealed and critiqued in the public domain, and their behaviours and attitudes cast as unacceptable.

These critiques, and the responses to them, have become part of a national, public debate that can still be seen to be taking place across mainstream and social media today. However, what is unclear is how these public debates are engaged with and responded to on a day-to-day basis by those who are the subject of these critiques and, consequently, experiencing a form of 'hyper-visibility of self'. My thesis seeks to address this and answer these questions - How are White, middle-class men responding to the critique of their identities and the challenges to their privilege in a context where that privilege is increasingly visible? Do they acknowledge the critiques and change their views and behaviours, or do they find ways to resist and minimise the critiques? In answering these questions in this thesis, I show that White, middle-class men re-signify their identities in transformative ways in response to their critical visibility, but in ways that reconstitute their normativity and do not require them to change their behaviours or give up their privileges.

Visible to Myself

So, my thesis is about White, middle-class men, a group of which I am a member - I am most definitely someone society would recognise as a White, middle-class man. I am racialised as White. I am CIS gendered, heterosexual, and identify as a 'man', and it is unlikely that anyone meeting me would not recognise me as a man – the shorn head and beard may have something to do with that. I come from a family of educators and am educated myself. The jobs I have held have, in the main, been ones of positions of relative power and influence within the 'middle-management' strata. So, I am one of those that this era of critical visibility is holding a mirror up to.

My positionality is important in this study, but I do not intend to make this about me by telling my story of how I came to do this research, or to centre my experiences in the process as a way of minimising my own culpability. The significance of my positionality in this research relates to my methodological approach and how I use my own discursive constitution and conditioning to define the field, recruit respondents, gather and analyse data, and how, ultimately, in being a White, middle-class, heterosexual man I am complicit in the production of knowledge about White, middle-class, heterosexual men by White, middle-class, heterosexual men.

The reflections on these processes and their results reveals the invisibility to myself of my heterosexuality. As I will discuss in the following chapters, whilst I was conscious in my use of my conditioning as a White, middle-class man to identify settings and respondents, perhaps, in part, driven by my own engagement with the counterhegemonic discourses of the time, my heterosexuality had an unconscious impact on these processes. As a result, the settings I selected were predominantly straight, heteronormative spaces and the respondents, almost inevitably, were heterosexual men. Thus, the context of the research and the data it produced was, albeit inadvertently rather than intentionally, homosocial (Bird, 1996) and heteronormative. As such, the findings of these thesis relate to White, middle-class, heterosexual men.

Thesis Structure

In Chapter Two I discuss the existing literature on privilege and privileged identities. This work reveals that much of the theoretical explanation for the persistence of privilege is based on its invisibility. Therefore, there is a problem with the literature in that it cannot and does not account for how privilege works when it is critiqued and made visible. Further, the literature on privileged identities theorises that hegemonic discourses adapt to social changes to maintain privilege. How this process works is not theoretically developed in the scholarship, and there is little empirical work

to support the theoretical assertion, which creates a further problem for the literature that seeks to explain how privilege is maintained. The literature review also reveals that there is a distinct lack of scholarship on privilege that takes an intersectional approach to understanding the workings of intersectional privilege. Much of the intersectional work that is in the scholarship focuses on those who are simultaneously oppressed and privileged, leaving intersectional privilege relatively unexamined. My research and the findings from it resolve these problems and contribute to the scholarship through its intersectional focus on the way in which White, middle-class men respond to the visibility of their privilege.

In Chapter Three, I discuss my theoretical framework. As existing accounts of privilege rely on theories of invisibility, the maintenance of privilege in this era of critical visibility requires a different approach to understanding how it works and is maintained. In this, I develop Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) theories of equivalency of meaning into a theory of communicative equivalency that locates micro-discourse production and subsequent meta-discourse production and adaptation in the talk of individuals, which offers a resolution to the underdeveloped theories of adaptation in the scholarship and provides for the site of enquiry of this study.

To account for the more response-oriented approach to the maintenance of privilege, suggested by a need to respond to visibility, requires an understanding of agentive identity formation. To develop this understanding, I adapt Foucault's and Butler's theories on the subject constituted in discourse to provide for an agentive intersectional subject that exerts a reflexive agency in fluidly shifting its identity through talk.

Importantly, the theoretical framework I develop indicates that, as contested meanings within the discursive field simultaneously seek to materialise bodies and condition behaviours, what I refer to as 'contested subjectivities' occur within subjects. These contested subjectivities generate within the

subject a need to exercise their agency in changing how they perform their identities to respond to the threat this contestation over their subjectivity poses to their identities. This agency is exhibited in the creative manner with which they draw from a range of discursive cultural resources to develop what I call 'strategies of signification' to fluidly alter their identity in responding to the critical visibility of their identities, and to work to reconstitute their normativity.

To address the inherent intersectionality of the respondents, I develop a theoretical position that accounts for how their material and embodied intersectionality intersects with the performativity of place to create a complex intersectional matrix that conditions the meaning and effect of the talk of the speaker.

I discuss my methodological approach in Chapter Four, which applies ethnographic sensibilities to discourse analysis to gain a deeper access to, and understanding of, the everyday meaning-making processes of White, middle-class men in their talk. The method involves me, a White, middle-class man using my own discursive constitution to identify settings, recruit respondents, and in engaging other White, middle-class men in conversations in the social settings we frequent. The data gathered in this way reveals how we agentively adapt and utilise discourses as cultural resources in talk to respond to the new critical visibility and the contestation over our subjectivities as White, middle-class men.

This chapter develops the methodological literature on identity research through an approach for gathering reliable data that directly deploys researcher positionality, but also through discussions on the fluctuating sense of insider/outsiderness of a privileged, critical researcher in researching the privileged. It further explores issues of privileged researcher complicity, and power relations between the privileged researcher and the privileged respondent, that is currently absent in the literature.

The subsequent empirical chapters explore how people at the locus of intersectional privilege – White, middle-class men – perform their identities through their talk in the context of their visibility. In these chapters I analyse the strategies of signification the respondents employ in responding to the threats they face from their critical visibility. Whilst this thesis takes an intersectional approach, the empirical chapters have been structured around the specific identity categories – Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness – that have featured in the public critiques. This is because, as much as my poststructuralist position holds that categories are not 'real' things in the world, as beings we employ cognitive processes of categorisation to make sense of the world (Brubaker, Loveman and Stamatov, 2004) and, in discursively locating ourselves and others in society, we use categories strategically for political purposes (Glenn, 2002; McCall, 2005). In light of this, I use race, gender and class as "anchor points" (Glenn, 2002: 14) around which to explore these dynamics and how they are perpetuated by White, middle-class men.

The analysis in these chapters also demonstrates, though, how the respondents' intersectional materiality and embodiment of their identities and the performativity of the settings in which the conversations took place intersect with their talk about race, gender, and class to articulate specific forms of intersecting Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness that are the preserve of White, middle-class men.

Chapter Five, *The Race to the Top*, looks at how the respondents react to the challenges to Whiteness and White Privilege. Critically, it reveals that alongside calling out their own Whiteness, they adapt discourses around unconscious bias to construct the holding of it as an acceptable cultural norm of Whiteness and, thus, respond to the contested subjectivities they experience due to competing discourses of normative Whiteness and those of racist Whiteness in the current public debates. In this analysis, the chapter contributes to the literature on racism by extending Van Dijk's (1992) 'I'm not racist but…' typology to include an acknowledgment-justification-legitimisation

structure that takes the semantic form of ‘I/we am/are racist but it’s not my/our fault, so we/I shouldn’t be blamed for it’.

Chapter Six, *Talking Gender*, looks at how they respond to the challenges to their masculinity that have arisen from the #MeToo and Hollaback campaigns, and from structural gender equality initiatives. The chapter identifies respondents’ contested subjectivities arising from the tensions between Hegemonic Masculinity’s precepts and the critiques of the performances of everyday masculinity by #MeToo, Hollaback, and others. The analysis reveals how the respondents respond by fluidly articulating a shifting gendered identity that resists the critique of sexism whilst continuing to rearticulate patriarchal norms that work to sustain their specifically White, middle-class masculine privilege. In doing so, the chapter contributes to the literature on masculinity and gender by demonstrating how Tony Coles’ (2008) conception of ‘mosaic masculinities’, that he suggests are constructed by selecting elements of Hegemonic Masculinity, needs to be expanded into a conception of ‘masculine gendered mosaic identities’ in which subjects also draw from a range of cultural resources outside of Hegemonic Masculinity to construct an acceptable masculine gendered identity.

The chapter also shows how the respondents adapt equalities discourses in their strategies of signification to construct themselves as an oppressed group, and that the responsibility for their behaviours that are critiqued by #MeToo, Hollaback, etc, lies with women. Thus, they articulate a variation of the ‘I am but it’s not my fault’ construction seen in their talk on unconscious bias in relation to their sexist behaviour.

Chapter Seven – *The ‘Class’ of Middle-class Men* – looks at how White, middle-class men talk about class in the context of their visibility. Revealingly, this chapter shows that there is a key difference in the way the respondents talk about class to how they talk about race and gender. It is explicit, it is

intentional and few exhibit contested subjectivities in relation to their class identity, indicating the absence of a specific public critique of middle-classness contesting with existing discourses of middle-classness over their subjectivities. For the respondents in this study, middle-classness is a key aspect of their identity, and 'class' is a cultural resource through which they reproduce class boundaries and seek to reconstitute the normativity of White, middle-class men. In a context in which Whiteness and masculinity are under considerable scrutiny, middle-classness operates as the nexus for intersectional normativity and becomes a haven from which White, middle-class men can shore up their acceptability, their normativity, and preserve their intersectional privilege and power.

This chapter shows that there is far less of a sense of having their middle-class identity challenged in modern discourses on privilege. However, when their talk referred to the intersectional 'White, middle-class man, or 'middle-class men', they exhibit contested subjectivities and the respondents' strategies change to ones that see them signifying themselves as oppressed, forgotten, or struggling 'White, middle-class men'.

In the concluding chapter of my thesis, Chapter Eight, I draw together the themes of the previous chapters. In this, I review the driving impetus behind this research that, in any work designed to undermine, or trouble, hegemonic social conditions, we need a suitable theoretical understanding of the workings of privilege, but existing approaches based on invisibility and hegemonic stability are inadequate for this task. I summarise my theoretical and methodological approaches that reveal how privilege works to maintain itself when it is visible. I go on to review the empirical work analysed in the preceding chapters, highlighting the original contribution this thesis makes to the scholarship on privilege and dominant identities. This is through revealing that through their talk and the articulation of strategies of signification, White, middle-class men re-signify their identities in transformative ways in response to critiques and their new-found visibility. They do this in ways that reconstitute their normativity such that their visibility becomes an aspect of its production and

maintenance, and in ways that do not require them to change their behaviour and give up their privileges.

Chapter Two. Literature Review – A Spotlight on Intersectionally Privileged Identities

The recent public debates on oppression, privilege, and identity instigated by Black Lives Matter and #MeToo, and the manner of their undertaking, particularly in the media, are changing the dynamics of how society works on a day-to-day basis. The everyday performances of people racialised as White, and men, and particularly White, middle-class men are being made visible, and they are being challenged on the acceptability of these performances. Thus, the hegemony of White, middle-class men is being undermined. Given these changing social dynamics, there is a need to explore how this public debate on privileged identities and the reduction in their invisibility is reflected in the academy. Equally, given the focus on White, middle-class men in the debates, the degree to which the scholarship on privileged and dominant identities provides an intersectional understanding of its impact on social relations requires examination.

In this chapter, I begin with an exploration of how the scholarship understands privilege to arise and how this constructs a basis for its normative and invisible nature, which has historically formed a core theoretical basis in the study of privilege. In this, I acknowledge the scholarship's contribution to the study of privilege in identifying the role of the performances of identities in the operations of privilege. However, I highlight how the theoretical position of invisible privilege, and the findings of research based on this position, are insufficient for an understanding of the workings of privilege in a context in which it is no longer invisible.

I go on to discuss the literature on privilege, which I locate in two bodies of work. The first is the body of work that explicitly states it is looking at privilege as a social phenomenon. Empirically, this literature includes research designed to further the 'undoing of privilege' in the context of anti-oppression movements, anti-racist research, and how individuals with certain types of privilege e.g., White Privilege, Masculine Privilege, Christonormative privilege, respond to self-awareness of their

privilege. This scholarship raises interesting questions about the awareness of privilege that provides some insight into how the privileged respond to its visibility, but the scholarship is restricted by limited engagement with responses of resistance, particularly by the privileged men who did not engage with activism or allyship that the research identifies. Equally, much of it is undertaken in experimental or structured, organisational context that limits its applicability to everyday settings.

The second body of work examines dominant identities that are discursively constructed as normative through articulations of the discourses of Whiteness, Masculinity, and Middle-classness, which construct positions of dominance and privilege for their bearers. The literature explores how these discourses impact on the identity of those subjects who are marked and materialised as White, middle-class, and/or women or men, and how they construct and perform their everyday identities as a result. This literature tends not to use the term privilege in the same manner as the privilege literature, rather, it refers more to domination and oppression as the results of the performance of White, masculine, and/or middle-class identities. In exploring the performances of these identities, the scholarship provides a powerful contribution to the understanding of the everyday workings of privileged identities. However, it is also limited by a lack of intersectional analysis and by a significant lack of analysis of those at the locus of intersectional privilege – White, middle-class men.

I then go on to discuss how intersectionality is treated in the privilege scholarship that explicitly states it takes an intersectional perspective. Most of this literature focuses on subjects who are simultaneously oppressed and privileged and few examine intersectional 'multi' privilege per se. This leaves a significant problem in understanding intersectional privilege and how those who hold it respond to visibility and challenges to their dominant status.

In the discussions that follow, I consider the positive contributions of this scholarship to the study of privileged identities whilst also identifying its shortcomings in that it does not reveal how the holders

of intersecting privilege negotiate social relations on a day-to-day basis in today's context of critical visibility, shortcomings that I will attempt to resolve in the following chapters of this thesis.

Defining Privilege and the Invisibility Problem

Across all areas of study on privilege and dominant identities, understandings of privilege include a crucial element that defines the benefits of privilege as being 'unearned' by the groups to which they are afforded (McIntosh, 1988). The inclusion of this 'unearned' element points to a relationship between the social construction of identities, power and structural factors, and social dynamics, which challenges arguments that suggest privilege is a function of a meritocracy in which it can be accrued through 'hard work' (Pease, 2010; Case, Iuzzini, and Hopkins, 2012).

In the social construction of identities, individuals and groups are discursively constituted with markers of identity categories, such as those of race, gender, and class. These discourses also carry the rules of cultural intelligibility that condition how individuals perform these identities in order to be recognised and accepted as holding them (Butler, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997a). These markers and rules intersect to differentially locate people in society and afford them relative positions of power and privilege based on this intersectional make-up of their identities (Levine-Rasky, 2011). This intersectional nature of identity results in identities that are oppressed in all their aspects, those that are simultaneously oppressed and privileged, and those who are the locus of intersectional privilege (Anthias, 2005).

In the scholarship though, the privilege accrued by individuals is not simply understood as a function of a person's location in society. It is also understood as a function of the performance of identities. Tappan suggests that domination and privilege should be understood as "appropriated domination/privilege" as "it results from the mastery and ownership of cultural tools that transmit dominating/privileging ideologies, messages, and scripts" (2006: 2127) about the 'other' in society.

The deployment of these cultural tools constitutes a form of power that intersects social interactions with social structures to construct conditions of domination/privilege and disadvantage (Tappan, 2006). These ideologies, messages, and scripts of dominance and privilege are articulated through formal and informal cultural practices such that the practices of privilege emerge as unconscious everyday practices of individuals and groups (Pease, 2010). Privilege, then, is understood as a "form of identity practice that constructs a difference which legitimises dominance" (Tillner, 1997: 2).

Tillner's (1997) and Tappen's (2006) work begins to demonstrate that the cultural practices used in the performance of identity and the construction of the self and the 'other' become a significant factor in the day-to-day performance and maintenance of privilege. However, the application of these understandings needs to be conditioned by the awareness that the degrees of ownership of the necessary cultural tools, and thus their scope to create conditions of privilege, are tempered by the intersectional nature of an individual or group's location within society (Pease, 2010). However, whilst the "mastery and ownership of cultural tools that transmit dominating/privileging ideologies, messages, and scripts" (Tappen, 2006: 2127), or discourses, at a societal level can be understood as the control of the means of mass communication (Castells, 2015), it is critical to understand that how people re-articulate these discourses in their talk is fundamental to the performance of their identities and the work of privilege (Pease, 2010).

The legitimisation of this dominance and privilege that Tillner (1997) refers to is effected, according to Rosenblum and Travis, through privileged identities holding an "unmarked status" that "does not require any special comment" (1996: 142). It is the unmarked status of the dominant group that constructs the hegemony of privilege, and it is the normativity of dominant identities that constructs the benchmark against which others are judged and social positions are structured. As Pickering states, "those who are 'othered' are unequally positioned in relation to those who do the 'othering'. The latter occupy a privileged space in which they can define themselves in contrast to the others

who are so designated as different" (2001: 73). However, it is the other who are marked in distinction to the normative self of the unmarked privileged. Through this marking of the other, differences are constructed as subordinate to the norm, which then accrues privilege through its legitimisation as rightfully dominant (Perry, 2001).

This unmarked status for privileged groups speaks to a theoretical underpinning across the scholarship on privilege and dominant identities. This is that not only is privilege, in being unmarked and normative, invisible to those who hold it, but that this invisibility is central to constructing conditions of hegemony in which privilege is maintained (Bailey, 1998; Johnson, 2001; Pease, 2010; Coston and Kimmel, 2012). The scholarship asserts that privilege and the dominant, normative identities that accrue it, for example, those constructed by discourses of Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness, are able to resist challenges because their privilege and their dominant positions are the normal, unremarked upon, and legitimised state of affairs; because of privilege's invisible nature (Robinson, 2000; Bucholtz, 1999; Connell, 2005; Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1994; Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Farough, 2004).

Whilst the work on the invisibility of privilege being key to its maintenance is primarily theoretical, Pratto and Stewarts' (2012) work *Group Dominance and the Half-Blindness of Privilege* provides some empirical work on theory of the invisibility-to-self of privilege. They analysed surveys asking University students in America questions on their socio-economic attitudes. From this, they show that members of dominant groups are aware of social inequality, but that the recognition of the disadvantage others experience does not equate to a comparable recognition of their privilege. From this, Pratto and Stewart conclude that acknowledgments of social inequality by those with privilege contain implicit assumptions "that dominance is normal" and "by taking dominance as normal, superior social positions and greater power do not seem to be privileges" (2012: 29) i.e., their privilege is invisible to them.

Harvey (1999) suggests that it is because of the normative, unconscious, and so invisible-to-self aspects of privilege that people do not see themselves as being privileged, or that they perpetrate oppression simply through being privileged, which are key to the operations of privilege (Pease, 2010). Bailey concurs in stating that, "one of the functions of privilege is to structure the world so that mechanisms of privileges are invisible…to those who benefit from them" (1998: 112). Thus, when an individual is privileged, they are blind to the interrelationship between privilege and oppression. (Coston and Kimmel, 2012).

Through this focus on normativity and invisibility in the scholarship, invisibility "has become a touchstone epigram for work on the 'super-ordinate'" (Coston and Kimmel, 2012: 97). It provides a theoretical underpinning in the literature on privilege, Whiteness, Masculinity, and middle-classness. However, the advent of #MeToo, Black Lives Matter, and other social movements have illuminated the existence of White privilege and masculine privilege and they are being made visible to those who hold them. The debates around these issues have also foregrounded middle-classness as a key identity within the intersections of privilege (De Benedictis, Orgad and Rottenberg, 2019; Francis, 2018; Jawad, 2018; Osbourne, 2020). This provides a significant challenge to research strands that see invisibility as key to the workings of privilege, dominant identities, and hegemonic social relations. To date, though, work that explores the everyday practices of privileged identities in a context in which privilege is no longer invisible is almost entirely absent from this literature, which constitutes a key problem that I seek to resolve through this thesis and so provide a more contemporary understanding of privilege.

Undoing Privilege and the Anti-oppression Literature

Recently, though, several attempts have been made to understand how awareness of privilege, which can be understood as a form of visibility of privilege, affects those who hold it, particularly in

the context of allyship in anti-oppression work, but also in critical research that seeks ways to undo privilege by making those who are privileged aware of it. I will discuss this scholarship in the next section, starting with the work on allyship, moving through anti-racist work, and ending with a discussion on a potential, research derived praxis in structured, organisational contexts for engaging the privileged in discussions about their privilege. However, I problematise this research's development of an understanding of everyday privilege in a context of widespread public critique and subsequent visibility for its focus on specific anti-oppression settings, and the experimental nature of some of its research design.

Much of the research on allyship explores how the simultaneously privileged and oppressed engage with and construct their allyship. It reveals a relationship between the respondents' own identity, their experiences of discrimination, their perspectives on the claims for justice made by the oppressed in society and the levels of allyship exhibited by the respondents. However, across this scholarship, there is a lack of exploration of the connections between individual resistances to allyship, who those resisting are, the positions of power they may hold, and institutional resistance to calls for equality.

Given the explicit nature of the conversations about privilege and oppression that occur in these studies, they do begin to reveal how people may respond in their talk when their privilege is made visible to them. Additionally, that the focus is on individuals in contexts that included some form of pre-existing activism or attempts at allyship i.e., an anti-racist group (Case, 2012), LGBTQ+ activism in a college (Montgomery and Stewart, 2012), and transgender activism in a college (Case, Kanenberg, Erich, and Tittsworth, 2012), the studies are in settings in which activism and protest are a key feature. However, these studies took place before the Black Lives Matter and #MeToo protests that led to widespread public critiques of White and masculine privilege. As such, the context of this research is very different from that of today. Nevertheless, the research provides some useful

insights into how the context in which conversations about privilege take place may condition privileged people's responses.

Case's (2012) work analysing the construction and performances of ally identities by White women in an antiracist discussion group explores how the respondents understand their own racialised identity by examining White Privilege. Several respondents claim a greater understanding of racial discrimination than White men can have due to their own experiences of gender discrimination. This provides an insight into how what are perceived as common experiences of oppression can be articulated to perform an ally identity. Although, a further exploration of how this process is reflective of the work of White, middle-class feminists critiqued by Kimberlee Crenshaw (1989) and others would have provided a deeper understanding of how the privilege of the simultaneously oppressed and privileged can reinforce the oppression of the intersectionally oppressed. The White women in Case's (2012) study also expressed how age, status, and gender power dynamics worked to keep them silent when witnessing racism outside of the discussion group setting, which reveals their simultaneous oppression and privilege and highlights the effect of contextualised positionality on the performance of intersectional identities.

That these discussions took place in the context of an antiracist group for White women is significant and raises questions about how the makeup of the group may have informed or conditioned their discussion of racial identity, White Privilege, and gender oppression. Equally, it also raises questions about how White men might respond in discussing these issues with each other, particularly in a context in which racial and gender equality activism has a particularly high public profile. However, this is not a feature of the literature.

The relationship between a privileged person's identity and their engagement with allyships is also explored by Montgomery and Stewart (2012). They undertook two studies to reveal if there were

any connections between the degree of engagement in LGBTQ+ activism among heterosexual college students from contemporary and historic cohorts and their levels of awareness of heterosexual privilege and/or resistance to heteronormativity. Their research revealed that that younger, heterosexual women with an awareness of their heterosexual privilege and a resistance to heteronormativity are more likely to engage with LGBTQ+ rights and activism than other groups (Montgomery and Stewart, 2012). This is useful in understanding some of the motivations and conditioning factors, such as age, being simultaneously oppressed and privileged, and awareness of social issues, involved in people's engagement with and performance of allyship. However, for a fuller understanding, we need an analysis of how those who are intersectionally privileged respond to a heightened awareness of anti-oppression activism that may threaten their privileged status, such as the men who did not engage with LGBTQ+ rights and activism in Montgomery and Stewart's (2012) study, and how they may construct mechanisms of resistance to movements for equality.

Case, Kanenberg, Erich, and Tittsworth (2012) research on attempts to effect policy changes in higher education to seek equality for transgender individuals and undermine gender-conforming privilege develops the discussion on allyship to include institutional power dynamics. They report on a project in which students, with the support of staff, sought to change their universities equalities policies to include transgender as a protected characteristic. This project ultimately failed in its objectives, which Case et al (2012) put down to institutional values that prevent policy change (Beemyn, 2005). This highlights a relationship between individual and systemic factors involved in undoing privilege. There is a need for further research to explore more deeply the relationship between individual responses to privilege and oppression and the institutional responses i.e., to what degree are these resistant institutional responses conditioned by, for example, the resistant responses of individuals, such as the men in Montgomery and Stewart's (2012) work, particularly if these individuals are privileged and occupying positions of institutional power?

In the work that is underpinned by a desire to develop anti-racist work by examining and thereby seeking to undo privilege, Lowery, Knowles, and Unzueta (2007) found that White people saw racism as an individual phenomenon, and not one that could be located in institutions. For these respondents, an acknowledgement of institutional racism forced them to also acknowledge White privilege, which they found threatening to their self-image. However, they located racism in people other than themselves, which points to a mechanism through which White people can deny the existence of White privilege and present a non-racist identity that the acceptance of institutional and systemic racism does not allow. However, in today's context, there is a further need to understand how White people respond when public debates on White Privilege and institutional and systemic racism are so strong as to make the denial of it an act that may result in greater vilification of the individual than the acknowledgement of it.

In a similar study that explored White people's response to discussing White privilege, Branscombe, Schmitt, and Schiffhauer (2007) reported that when White Privilege was discussed, White people exhibited an increased articulation of racist views and attitudes. This work suggests that in the revealing of White Privilege to White people, in making it visible, the most common reactions are those of higher levels of racism in response to what they perceive as a threat to their status. These findings indicate a change from an earlier study by Powell, Branscombe, and Schmitt (2005) in which respondents articulated feelings of guilt and reduced levels of racism when discussing White Privilege. Although it is unclear why this change may have occurred, it is, perhaps, indicative, of the range of responses White people deploy when their privilege is made visible to them.

Schmitt, Miller, Branscombe, and Brehm's (2008) work on male privilege also reveals articulations of guilt by individuals, from which ideas of collective guilt as a psychological response to awareness of privilege across dominant identities have been developed (e.g., Branscombe and Doosje, 2004). This suggestion of comparable psychological processes across dominant identity domains is interesting

but seems to treat these identity domains as individual and separate, rather than as intersecting. This is an aspect that needs to be understood to provide a comprehensive view of how people with intersectionally privileged identities respond when their privilege is made visible to them.

In a useful development, that may point to some organisational praxis in work to undermine privilege, Blumenfeld and Jaekel (2012) explore how Christian trainee teachers respond when discussing Christian privilege. Their findings show their respondents' reactions to discussions about Christian privilege fall into many of the eight resistance tactics in Watt's (2007) Privilege Identity Exploration Model. Watt's (2007) model describes a framework of resistances that arises in difficult discussions about social justice issues with people who hold privilege. Watt (2007) identifies eight positions that people adopt in the context of three different types of discussion. She elaborates on these types of discussions:

> "*Recognizing Privilege Identity* describes reactions when individuals initially are presented with anxiety provoking stimuli about social injustice...*Contemplating Privileged Identity* explains participant reactions when they are beginning to think more intently about stimuli related to diversity and social injustice…*Addressing Privileged Identity* portrays behaviours of participants who are attending to their dissonant feelings about social injustice related to this new awareness and are involved in some action to resolve the issue" (2007: 120 italics in original).

The eight positions that people adopt in the context of these three different types of discussion are all defensive positions that go some way to answering the questions about resistance to allyship left unanswered in Montgomery and Stewarts' (2012) and Case et al's (2012) work. The eight positions across the three types of discussions Watt (2007) describes are -

Recognizing Privileged Identity Discussion

Denial: A rejection of the existence of their privilege.

Deflection: The process of diverting attention away from the subject at hand to a less threatening form of social inequality. May also include the deflection of blame/responsibility away from the individual onto a third-party person or an institution.

Rationalisation: Presenting an argument about the cause of inequality that does not require them to explore the roots of that inequality or their role within it.

Contemplating Privileged Identity Discussion

Intellectualisation: A process of depersonalising the conversation by presenting objective and sometimes abstracted intellectual arguments about the cause of inequality.

Principium: A process of presenting a contradictory argument that carries a declaration of sympathy with those experiencing inequality, but this is followed by a declaration that they support the law, system or structure that brings about the inequality

False envy: A process of deflecting attention away from themselves by stating how the privileged persons admires or would like to be like the person experiencing inequality.

Addressing Privileged Identity Discussion

Benevolence: A process of deflecting attention away from inequality and the privileged persons position within it and onto the apparent benevolent acts of charity the privileged person undertakes in the name of the oppressed.

Minimalisation: A process of reducing the impact of privilege and oppression on individuals and often seeking to deflect attention away from the systemic and structural issues.

Whilst Watt's (2007) work seems to give some indication as to how privilege might work psychologically for the privileged in conversations about privilege and inequality, the responses she noted arose during intentionally convened "difficult dialogues" (2007: 116). Watt describes a "difficult dialogue" as "a verbal or written exchange of ideas or opinions between citizens within a community that centres on an awakening of potentially conflicting views of beliefs or values about social justice issues" (2007: 116). Whilst the context of public critiques of privilege today may be said to place privileged individuals into a 'difficult dialogue' with those discourses, Watt's difficult dialogues take place in structured, pre-arranged contexts and settings. Whilst this points to a potential for an organisational application of the model, it does not reflect informal everyday identity performances Tappen (2006) and Tillner (1997) identified as critical in maintaining privilege, which questions its full applicability in understanding the everyday work of privilege.

What is significant about the body of work reviewed in this section is its focus on the awareness of privilege by those who hold it and their responses when talking about or being made aware of their privilege. However, these studies took place prior to the advent of Black Lives Matter, #MeToo and the subsequent critical public debates on privilege. Crucially, the social context in which privilege operates is substantially different today than it was even just a few years ago and awareness of privilege is far more widespread amongst the privileged. (It also looks at what they do rather than how they do it). Equally, much of this scholarship was conducted either in specific anti-oppression contexts, or under experimental or semi-experimental conditions. As such, does not provide a full understanding of the reactions and responses of the privileged in their day-to-day identity performances, identity performances that are central to the perpetuation of privilege (Pease, 2010).

This scholarship usefully adds to the literature on privilege through its findings that the contextual factors and the identities of participants in conversations about privilege and oppression condition the way people respond to the highlighting of privilege. However, it fails to explore the responses of

the intersectionally privileged to an increased awareness, or visibility, of their privilege, which is vital to an understanding of how privilege is maintained through everyday practices. Drawing on its findings, my research seeks to resolve the problems in this scholarship by exploring how White, middle-class men respond to the increased visibility of their intersectional privilege in informal conversations with each other.

Dominant, or Privileged Identities and Their Performance

Given the significance of identity performances in the workings of privilege, the scholarship on dominant identities provides a body of work that further expands understandings of privilege. Within the literature on dominant identities, I engage with the scholarship on Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness as key areas of work, given the focus on Whiteness and masculinity in the public debates, and the associated construction of White, middle-class men as the symbol for intersectional privilege and power.

I begin with a discussion on Whiteness and the relationship between its everyday performances, particular aspects of racialised talk, and wider structural oppression. However, as much of the scholarship looks at identities where Whiteness intersects with class and gender, my discussion evolves into how scholars have worked across these domains. The discussion on Whiteness leads into a review of the literature that explores the intersection of Whiteness with class, particularly the scholarship that reveals how the White, middle-class discursively construct the White, working-class as the 'other' to their normativity. Subsequently, I discuss the literature that explores the intersection between middle-classness and gender in the identity performances of White, middle-class women and men. Given the lack of work that focuses on White, middle-class men that I identify in this, I then briefly explore some of the literature on masculinity to demonstrate how it is understood as a cultural tool for constructing and performing masculine identities, which is a

requirement for developing an understanding of the identity performances and talk of White, middle-class men.

In this review, I discuss the contributions to the study of privileged identities within this scholarship, but I also identify the problems it contains for studying privilege in the current context. These problems arise because of a theoretical underpinning based on the invisibility of privilege, and the absence of a significant body of work that provides an understanding of the identity performances of the intersectionally privileged White, middle-class men.

Additionally, within the theoretical understandings in this literature, is a further assertion that the discourses of Whiteness, masculinity and middle-classness also work to maintain hegemony by adapting to changing social contexts (Connell, 2005; Dyer 1997; Frankenberg; 1994; Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Farough, 2004). However, this theory is not fully developed and there is little empirical work to review that explores how these processes of adaptation occur. As such, a further problem exists for our understanding on the workings of privilege and how it responds to threats, which I seek to resolve in this thesis.

Whilst many of the writers on Whiteness focus on the American context, and there is a significant body of American literature that explores it (see Baldwin, 1955, 1984, 1985; Morrison, 1987, 1993; Roediger, 1991; Frankenberg, 1993; Du Bois, 1996 [1903], 1999 [1920], 1998 [1935]; hooks, 1992, 2000; Winant, 1997; Delgado and Stefancic, 1998; Jackson II, 1999; Brodkin, 2001; Lewis, 2004; Bonilla-Silva 2012; Feagin, 2013; Omi and Winant, 2015; Bebout, 2016), the focus of my research is the British context with its particular histories of colonialism, immigration, and class dynamics that are distinct from the American experience. Thus, it is predominantly the British focussed literature that I review here. However, I first want to draw attention to the relationship between everyday

identity performances, particularly everyday talk, and structural oppression that the broader literature on Whiteness identifies.

In the context of the day-to-day performances of identity, there are a number of writers who draw direct connections between everyday performances of White identities and institutional, systemic and structural racism. Levine-Rasky (2002) describes Whiteness as something that is performed or practised in a manner that constitutes a set of cultural practices that are comprised of a "myriad of ordinary, everyday social processes" (Knowles, 2003: 25). Knowles describes the enactment of these cultural practices as a process of "race making" (2003: 25) in which people reproduce structural racial inequality through these everyday cultural practices. Bush (2004) draws a further connection between day-to-day identity performances and structural oppression in arguing that there is a direct relationship between the articulation of racism by people and a racial hierarchy in social structures. These processes of 'race making' do not exist only in individual performances of identity but coalesce into the maintenance of Whiteness and White Privilege through group loyalty and material interests (Anderson, 2003). For these writers it is the day-to-day cultural practices of people racialised as White that sustain structural Whiteness alongside the privileges afforded to them. This is a critical point for understanding the significance of everyday identity performances, in which how people talk is key, in the perpetuation of structural privilege and hegemonic social conditions.

In their work on everyday White identity performances, Phoenix (1996), Frankenberg (1994), Farough (2004), and Byrne (2006a, 2009) explore the creation and maintenance of White racial identities and how this confers privilege, position, and status onto White people. Many of these pieces of research explore the discursive strategies and performative effects of the talk of the respondents on their racially privileged identities. In a similar vein Teun A. van Dijk (1984, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1993) has undertaken extensive research into racism in both everyday conversation and institutional text and talk. His broad position is that it is through the media of everyday talk and

institutional discourses that racist views and attitudes are acquired, and shared, and structural racism is perpetuated and implemented.

In his work, when talking about race and ethnic minorities, his respondents demonstrate a strategy of "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation" (Van Dijk, 1992: 88). This is done, in part, through denials of racism which serve as a signal that the talker "compl[ies] with the general, official group norm that prohibits racism, that, therefore, they are decent citizens" (1992: 88). The standard formula that this strategy takes is the "I'm not racist but...' construction in which the declarations that follow the 'but' are subtle, indirect or sometimes more blatant forms of negative other-presentation" (1992: 88).

Van Dijk (1992) identifies four main types of denials of racism -

- "act-denial ('I did not do/say that at all').
- control-denial ('I did not do/say that on purpose', 'It was an accident').
- intention-denial ('I did not mean that', 'You got me wrong').
- goal-denial ('I did not do/say that, in order to)" (1992: 92)

However, in Van Dijk's respondents' talk, and the typology of denials of racism, Whiteness remains normative, unmarked, and invisible, other than as not racist, whereas the 'other' is essentialised and marked as abnormal (Dyer, 1988; Phoenix, 1996). Given the changed social context in which the invisibility of privilege is being stripped away, we need to understand the applicability of this typology in a context in which the normativity of Whiteness, particularly middle-class Whiteness, is being challenged and its everyday performance made unacceptable.

The examination of 'Whiteness' that specifically explores the everyday experience of White people in Britain is, primarily, focused on its intersections with class and/or gender. In the work that follows on the intersections of Whiteness with middle-classness, and with gender, and the cultural practices of the respondents, the relationship between individual, everyday social processes and wider, structural oppression and privilege begins to take on an intersectional character. However, much of this scholarship explores the identities of the simultaneously privileged and oppressed and, as the subject matter suggests, it tends to elevate White identity as a focus of the research over other aspects of the respondents' identity. As such, intersectional examinations of the intersectionally privileged White, middle-class man are relatively absent from the scholarship.

The majority of the studies on White people in Britain focus on the construction of and experiences of White working-class men and/or women (Nayak, 1999a, 1999b, 2003; Nayak and Kehily, 2014; Phoenix, 1996; Reay, 2004; Hayward and Yar, 2006; Rhodes, 2012; Tyler, I. 2008; Tyler, K. 2015; Lawler, 2005, 2012; McKenzie, 2013), with a smaller number of academics examining the White middle-class experience (e.g., Byrne, 2006a, 2006b, 2009; Byrne and De Tona, 2019; Garner, 2012, 2013; Raveaud and van Zanten, 2007; Reay et al, 2007; Reay, 2008; Reay et al, 2011; Smith, 2014), which are focused almost exclusively on women and/or families. Given the examination of day-to-day cultural practices at the intersections of Whiteness, gender, and class, this body of work overall explores gendered and racialised cultural class relations.

For these writers, critical to understandings of gendered and racialised cultural class relations is a focus on the symbolic and how cultural worth is inscribed onto bodies and groups to create difference and social stratification i.e., on the deployment of cultural tools and resources to achieve this end. A number of the British works on the White, middle-class –- engage with the process as a discursive one that, rooted in cultural criteria, inscribes value and moral worth onto the self and onto 'others' (see Skeggs, 1997a, 1997b, 2004; Gunn, 2005; Lawler, 2005; Tyler, 2012; Reay et al,

2011). Much of this is expressed in terms of the 'disgust' of the White middle-classes towards the White working-classes (Skeggs, 2005; Lawler, 2005; Tyler, 2008). These discourses of disgust revolve around appearance, behaviour, and spaces of residence and occupation (Lawler, 2005) and find their contemporary expression in the construction of the 'Chav' and the 'Chavette' (Nayak and Kehily, 2014; Tyler, 2008; Hayward and Yar, 2006)

Tyler (2008), Lawler (2005, 2012), and Haylett (2001) show how the White, middle-class discourses construct the White, working-class as a people who live in areas of poverty, criminality, disease, and dirt, but also as a people who are responsible for their own decline, and for the decline of the nation. This body of work demonstrates how the articulation of discourses on cultural practices that inscribe difference into White working-class bodies and make the White, working-class hyper-visible serve to maintain the boundaries of normative, invisible middle-class Whiteness (Nayak and Kehily, 2014), and to justify and reproduce social hierarchies and privilege (Webster, 2008).

Reay et al's (2007, 2011) work explores middle-class identity formation in the White, middle-classes and looks at the combination of privilege with attitudinal factors to highlight how White, middle-class privilege operates. They assert that "choice and the ability to make choices across a wide range of areas lies at the heart of White middle-class identity" (Reay et al, 2007: 1). According to Reay et al (2011) it is this ability to choose linked to a range of 'qualities' such as ambition, educational prowess, confidence, competitiveness, and taste/cultural value that provide the elements of a common relationship between the White, middle-classes and of distinctions from 'others', and indicate how White middle-class privilege works. They suggest that these discursive constructions, and the privilege of choice, constitute an ability to erect boundaries that is a significant aspect of White middle-class privilege.

However, whilst these works provide insight into the discursive work of making visible the White, working-class that the White, middle-classes undertake to maintain their privilege, these studies were all undertaken in a social context in which there was little public debate or critique about these privileges – the invisibility of the White, middle-classes was not directly under threat.

Interestingly, despite the deployment of cultural markers to define and make visible the ‘other’ in classed terms, a key feature of the work of those taking a class as culture approach is an emphasis on the unwillingness of people to express a specific class identity (see Devine, 1992; Devine and Savage, 2000; Savage, 2000; Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2001; Reay, 1998; Skeggs, 1997a). This body of work suggests that “people are reluctant to claim class identities, and adopt a ‘defensive’, ‘hesitant’, ‘ambivalent’ or ‘ambiguous’ attitude to class labels” (Bottero, 2004: 987). There is a claim that inequality continues to be seen and engaged with as a feature of social relations, and that people are happy to engage with class as an abstracted political issue, but they are unwilling see themselves as classed, often explicitly denying class identities (Savage et al., 2001). This, in part, is understood to result from a desire not to appear ‘snobby’ (Savage, 2000) but is also a process of constructing the self as ‘ordinary’ and so not ‘classed’ (Savage et al., 2001).

The literature discussed here looks at the use of cultural tools and resources in White, middle-class discursive constructions of the ’other’ to create privileged spaces (Pickering, 2001) and advantage for the White middle-classes. This provides useful theoretical and empirical data that can be applied to researching the intersectionally privileged White, middle-class men and how they utilise cultural tools to perform their identities in a context in which the invisibility of their privilege is being eroded. A key question that I ask in this thesis, though, is how do White, middle-class men claim, or otherwise, a classed identity in a context in which their intersectional normativity is being directly critiqued in terms of Whiteness and masculinity?

The construction of White middle-class identities by women in London is examined in Byrnes' (2006a) key work *White Lives: The interplay of 'race', class and gender in everyday life*. In this, Byrne notes that "race, class, and gender intersect in complex and changing ways to produce differing subjects and subjectivities" (2006a: 3). Building on the work of Judith Butler, Byrne (2006a) examines the shifting nature of perceptual practices and the way in which the body and the experience of the body are discursively constructed and performed. For her, this is to understand how a group of White women's "experiences, sense of selves, ways of thinking, speaking and doing [are] shaped by ideas of race and racist structures" (Byrne, 2006a: 1). This study by Byrne (2006a) provides insightful findings on how race, gender and class as discourses inform the identities of her respondents.

Byrne's (2006a) work reveals a two-fold practice in relation to class, gender, and race in terms of how the mothers understood their children's engagement with them. There was little consensus across the mothers in terms of their children's understanding of the concept of race – some felt their children did not see racial difference, whereas others felt that even very young children had a sense of racial difference. Class was not felt to be perceived by children, other than one incident of a child mimicking a 'working-class' accent (Byrne, 2006a). However, with gender there was a strong consensus across the mothers that they wanted to raise their children "without reference to gender stereotypes", although, most gave lengthy answers in which traditional gender categories were treated as unproblematic (Byrne, 2006a: 75).

The two-fold process here is that the responses relating to race and class tended to focus on the children, whereas the mothers were reluctant to discuss these issues, particularly race, in relation to themselves. However, with gender, the mothers spoke at length about their aspirations for how their children would grow up and develop egalitarian understandings of gender. It is interesting that Byrne's respondents were proactive in educating their children about gender, but 'colour-blind' in terms of addressing race with their children. This suggests a degree of discomfort in discussing race.

There was a distinct sense that the best way not to appear racist was to not talk about it at all (Byrne, 2006a).

Byrne (2006a) locates discourses of Blackness as a key mechanism in “the White imaginary that delineates the field of intelligibility – Blackness represents the constitutive outside and thereby draws the boundaries to, and content of, Whiteness” (Byrne, 2006a: 86). In this regard, she reports that her White respondents imagined the figure of the ‘Black man’ as either threatening or sexually attractive (Byrne, 2006a). These tropes are redolent of the colonial tropes of both the sexually aggressive Black man and the vulnerable White, middle-class woman, which Byrne (2006a) links to the imperial project as being gendered, classed, and raced. In this, current and historic discourses intersect in the identity performances of White, middle-class women and inform their sense of self and the ‘other’ on lines of race, gender, and class.

Byrne’s (2006a) study provides important insights into exploring the identity performances of the privileged using a Butlerian perspective but, given the differing ways in which discourses of gender materialise women and men, and that her respondents are simultaneously privileged and oppressed, there is a need to research White, middle-class men to develop an understanding of how discourses of race, gender and class intersect in the identities of those who are intersectionally privileged.

This study of the identity performances of White, middle-class men is a particular aspect that is relatively absent from the work on White, middle-class identity. Two writers who do examine this, though, Mac an Ghaill (1997) and Smith (2014), focus specifically on the practices of identity construction by sub-groups of White, middle-class men. These works explore the creation of distinct White, national ethnicities by young men in education and through the consumption practices of upper middle-class men. These identities are constructed as English, as opposed to British, and focus

on a White authenticity and purity that separates White, middle-class men from others (Mac an Ghaill, 1997; Smith, 2014).

In his study of the performance of masculinities and sexuality in Birmingham schools and colleges, and the influence of schooling upon these in a range of young men, Mac an Ghaill (1997) identifies a group of White, middle-class, male students who refer to themselves as the 'Real Englishmen'. His findings from the interviews with these respondents are interesting in that they exhibit not only a resistance to their parents' liberal views but also a critique of their parents as being somewhat insincere in these views. The 'Real Englishmen's' reactions were to reject their parents' apparent liberalism and adopt a more conservative position that accentuated a form of White nationalism. Their articulations of the 'Real Englishmen' constructed them as a cultural elite in distinction to their peers but also in distinction to their teachers and their parents (Mac an Ghaill, 1997).

In some respects, these reactions by the 'Real Englishmen' can be seen as a response to a perceived threat to their sense of masculinity, sexuality, and ethnicity from their parents' liberal views, and from the school – they were particularly resistant to anti-racist initiatives in the school. However, there was little sense that there was a threat to their privilege or, indeed, that their privilege was being made visible. Rather, the students were seeking ways to carve out their own particular identity that was separate from their parents and one that defines them as superior to other groups within the school, groups that through their physicality – the Macho Lads - or their academic endeavours – the Academic Achievers - held some advantage over the 'Real Englishmen' in relation to normative standards of masculinity and success (Mac an Ghaill (1997). Overall, Mac an Ghaill's work is useful in furthering our understanding of how the schooling environment informs the development and performance of masculinity and sexuality in young men from a range of backgrounds. However, because of its specific focus in schools and its overarching emphasis on masculinities, it provides limited knowledge that is easily transferable to informing our understanding of everyday identity

performances of White, middle-class men in a context in which the normativity and invisibility of their privilege is being publicly diminished.

Smith's (2014) work seeks to understand how White, middle-class men are constructing a positive ethnic identity. He focusses on how the cultural consumption practices of upper middle-class men enable them to articulate the English 'Gent' as a positive White ethnic identity. Smith (2014) suggests that this idea of the White English gentleman is embedded in cultural practice, consumption, and social value. It is linked to performativity and the capitals that are rooted in the values placed upon the historic and mythologised idea of White English gentlemen. The power associated with these capitals are legitimised through hegemonic discourses of class, nation, and masculinity (Smith, 2014). However, Smith manages to divorce these present-day constructions of the English 'Gent' from any historic construction of the English Gentleman that would refract imperialism and racism into the present day. He asserts that the present-day gent is a post-colonial gent and that, rather than re-articulating the historic discourses, he/they are constructing an ethnic identity that, in the words of Pitcher (2014), who Smith quotes extensively –

> "is not … best understood as a protest against racial difference and an assertion of White supremacy, but an attempt at solving the problem of White identity in a postcolonial context … the imaginative return or retreat into an historical Whiteness is an attempt to occupy a subject position that does not symbolically depend on a relationship with non-Whites. It is, in other words, an idea of racial autonomy that presupposes the co-existence of racial others" (Pitcher, 2014: 62 in Smith, 2014: 395/396).

This work is achieved, and the problem of increased multi-culturalism resolved, according to Smith, by the consumption of ethnically appropriate products, which signify a "symbolic return to White

roots, or to a purer, more elemental Whiteness" (Pitcher, 2014: 71 in Smith, 2014: 397) that, presumably, is not constructed vis a vis People of Colour.

It is not clear how this divorcing process works; how it is possible to remove the traces (Derrida, 2004) of historical discourses from present day discourses, or how rearticulating the English Gent discourse would not intertextually represent these historical discourses as the dominant value discourses within its construction. It is also not clear how a racialised ethnic identity can be constructed that does not depend on the "co-existence of racial others" (Pitcher, 2014: 62 in Smith, 2014: 395/396) given that racialised constructions and the marking of bodies is a relational process, often constructed on the basis of what the subject is not (Skeggs, 2004) i.e., the White English Gent is, by default, constructed in relation to and as not a Person of Colour or a White working-class man.

However, Smith's work does highlight an intersection between race, class, and masculinity in which these factors are conflated into an over-arching discourse that legitimises certain constructions of identity in which the power and privilege of Whiteness, middle-classness, and masculinity is inhered into the bodies that possess them (Smith, 2014). In some respects, though, his focus on upper middle-class men and their patterns of consumption on expensive, luxury goods suffers from a lack of applicability across the heterogeneity of White, middle-class masculine identities. This area bears more investigation in terms of the everyday practices of those everyday White, middle-class men and how these practices maintain individual privilege and sustain conditions of hegemony, particularly in a context in which these privileges are under scrutiny and losing their invisibility.

In the context of the literature referred to above, outside of Mac an Ghaill (1997) and Smith (2014), there is a significant absence of discussion on how masculinity as a gender identity is constructed or how it intersects with race and class in the everyday interactions of the privileged. There is little, if any discussion of the patriarchy as a structuring factor (Buchbinder, 2013; Holter, 2005), or of how

discourses of ‘Hegemonic Masculinity’ affect both the identity construction of individual men and the structuring of social relations to create privilege for White, middle-class men (Connell, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Donaldson (1993) states that Hegemonic Masculinity is primarily a strategy for securing men’s dominance over and ongoing subordination of women. However, it also includes the subordination, to varying degrees, of men who deviate from the ‘ideal man’, especially in terms of class, sexuality, gender identity, and race (Buchbinder, 2013). Donaldson describes hegemonic masculinity as “a lived experience, and an economic and cultural force” (1993: 645), and as such it is a factor in the construction and performance of identity and in the structuring of society. However, the of notion hegemonic masculinity as a single “form of masculinity that is culturally exalted over all others at a particular place and point in time” (Coles, 2008: 233) has been critiqued for its reifying tendencies (Holter, 2003), particularly as most men cannot attain the idealised form of masculinity that it articulates (Jefferson, 2002).

More recently, models of multiple dominant masculinities (Coles, 2009), mosaic masculinities (Coles, 2008) and multiple mutating masculinities (Watson, 2015), have come to the fore in understanding that masculinity is a shifting, socially and temporally conditioned formation (Watson, 2015), and that men draw on aspects of Hegemonic Masculinity to weave together their individual performances of masculinity (Coles, 2008).

Tony Coles defines mosaic masculinities as referring to:

> “…the process by which men negotiate masculinity, drawing upon fragments or pieces of hegemonic masculinity which they have the capacity to perform and piecing them together

to reformulate what masculinity means to them in order to come up with their own dominant standard of masculinity" (2008: 238).

Drawing on Bourdieu, Coles (2008) develops the concept of the 'field of masculinities' in which there occur struggles over the meaning of masculinity that result in "a relationship of orthodoxy and heterodoxy as those with valued capital defend their position against those who seek change" (2008: 234). According to Coles (2008), men develop a mosaic masculinity that constructs for them a dominant masculinity, regardless of the degree to which they fully perform the ideal of hegemonic masculinity.

Coles' (2008) work on Australian men across a range of demographic characteristics, is useful for understanding some of the processes through which men construct an ideal masculinity for themselves in the face of the pressures of Hegemonic Masculinity's unattainable ideal (DiPiero, 2002). However, Coles focuses exclusively on these processes in relation to discourses of Hegemonic Masculinity and does not explore the use of other cultural resources and tools, such as those of class and race, available to men in the construction of their gendered or, indeed, their intersectional identities.

Equally, Watson's conceptual work on 'multiple mutating masculinities', whilst drawing on 'components' he describes as "material, energetic, systemic, cultural, and embodied' to construct 'masculinizing assemblages" (2015: 107), seems to deny the effect of race, class, sexuality, and other aspects of identity in the construction of these assemblages. Indeed, he refers to these masculinised assemblages as being "composed of assorted components, some biologically present at birth, others acquired during childhood at home or in school, and still others installed as optional add-ons during adolescence or even adulthood" (2015: 108), which not only is additive rather than intersectional in

its understanding but also introduces aspects of biological determinism into the social construction of a gendered identity.

The literature reviewed in this section reveals significant knowledge regarding the way privileged identities construct and maintain their privilege through day-to-day discursive constructions of the 'other', and how these performances condition the inequitable structuring of society. However, as with the literature on privilege discussed in previous sections of this chapter, this scholarship is rooted in the notion of an invisible normativity that provides for the maintenance of contexts of domination and privilege (Robinson, 2000; Bucholtz, 1999; Connell, 2005; Dyer 1997; Frankenberg; 1994; Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Farough, 2004). As such, it does not provide an understanding of how privilege works when this normativity is threatened, and its veil of invisibility is being lifted.

Equally, it suffers from a lack of research on the intersectionally privileged White, middle-class man. Indeed, little of the work is explicitly intersectional in its analysis. Therefore, I now turn to the literature on privilege that explicitly states that it takes an intersectional approach in its analysis to identify if and how this work informs our understanding of how intersectionally privileged White, middle-class men respond to the current visibility of privilege.

Privilege and Intersectional Analysis

In the following section, I will briefly discuss the emergence of intersectionality theory and its highlighting of the "multidimensionality of Black women's experience" (Crenshaw, 1989: 139) along lines of race, class, sexuality, and other dimensions of discrimination (e.g., Davis, 1983: Lorde, 1984; hooks, 1984; Crenshaw, 1989). This development itself includes the corollary of intersectional oppression in the existence of simultaneous intersectional oppression and privilege, and of intersectional privilege. The intersectionality of privilege has been acknowledged as an area that requires researching to expand our understanding of the workings of privilege (Pease, 2010; Case,

Iuzzini, and Hopkins, 2012) and I go on to review the privilege literature that states it takes an intersectional approach, critiquing it for its focus on the simultaneously oppressed and privileged subject and so leaving the intersectionally privileged underexplored.

The term 'intersectionality' and 'intersectional analysis' emerged from the critique of academic research and the feminist movement by feminists of Colour in the 1970s and 1980s (McCall, 2005). This critique highlighted that not only were women absent as subjects from the majority of analytical fields, and that women's voices were excluded from the theoretical underpinnings of this research (McCall, 2005), but that the White feminist movement erased the experience of Black women by presenting the experience of White women as synonymous with the experiences of all women (hooks, 1984).

Kimberlee Crenshaw critiqued "this single-axis framework" for erasing "Black women in the conceptualisation, identification and remediation of race and sex discrimination by limiting inquiry to the experiences of otherwise-privileged members of the group" (1989: 140). In a wider conceptualisation of intersectionality, the Combahee River Collective described a broader struggle against multiple oppressions calling for "the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking" (1977/1983: 210).

These interlocking systems of oppression that construct the intersectionally oppressed subject also construct the simultaneously oppressed and privileged subject, and the intersectionally privileged subject, depending on the nature of the subject's construction along axes of race, gender, class, sexuality, etc (Pease, 2010). Thus, to fully understand the complexities of the dynamics of privilege, an intersectional analysis is required (Dill and Zambrana, 2009). As Pease remarks, "intersectional analysis needs to move beyond the study of those who are subordinate on all levels of social division to explore the lives of those who occupy simultaneous positions of privilege and subordination, as

well as those who are multi-privileged. This is important if we want to understand how those with privilege reproduce the oppression of others" (2010: 20).

While Acker (1999), Dill and Zambrana (2009), Pease (2010), Case, Iuzzini, and Hopkins (2012) and other privilege scholars recognise this need for intersectional analysis, the review of the scholarship shows that those who occupy positions of intersectional privilege e.g., White, middle-class men, are under-examined in the literature. Most of the privilege scholarship that states it is intersectional explores those who experience simultaneous privilege and oppression. This work can be problematised for analysing privilege through the lens of disadvantage and thereby providing an expanded understanding of disadvantage, rather than privilege. For example, Atewologun and Sealy (2014) undertook research into what they refer to as "organizational privilege" (2014: 423) in the context of ethnic minority individuals in management positions and how their organisational privilege works in juxtaposition with their ethnic disadvantage. They selected twenty critical incidents from the journals of four respondents, two men and two women, and analysed them to "reveal how respondents constructed privilege (as senior individuals, and/or men) at its intersection with disadvantage (as minority ethnic individuals and/or women)" (2014: 427).

Through their research they observe that the experience of privilege is context bound, and perceptions of their privilege for respondents were dependent upon the status of others in their interactions. This usefully shows how privilege is heterogeneous, fluid and contextually conditioned, which reinforces the findings about contextualisation of positionality in the literature that explored the awareness of privilege in anti-oppression contexts. They note how the experience of privilege shifts and changes from encounter to encounter and claim that their respondents worked to maintain their organisational privileged in situations where it was challenged due to their ethnic disadvantages. From this, they conclude that minority ethnic individuals in senior managerial

positions “are hyper-aware of privilege”, and they contend that their research challenges notions of privilege being invisible and uncontested (Atewologun and Sealy, 2014: 427).

However, their respondents’ hyper-awareness of their privilege may be more a function of their experiences of oppression than a facet of privilege per se, as it is their experiences of discrimination that bring their then undermined privilege into sharp relief for them. Additionally, whilst the methodological approach of not specifically asking about privilege can be considered a design strength, asking respondents to keep a journal of “workplace encounters that raised the salience of their intersecting ethnic, gender, and senior identities” (2014: 427) may have led the respondents to focus on the tensions between the oppression and privilege they experience. This focus on those tensions, and their reflections on them, may have made their privilege more visible to them, rather than the research revealing an everyday awareness of privilege in the respondents.

Similarly, Coston and Kimmel (2012) also explore the simultaneously privileged and oppressed. Their study, in which they undertake secondary analysis of other scholars’ published work, analyses how sexuality, disability, and class condition men’s experiences of masculine privilege. They draw on Goffman’s (1963) work on stigma to explore how his three strategies of minstrelization, normification, and militant chauvinism to neutralise stigmatisation by a dominant group are deployed by disabled men, gay men, and working-class men whose masculinity, and thus their masculine privilege, is ‘compromised’ because of the marginalised aspects of their identities. Interestingly, in contrast to Atewologun and Sealy, (2014), Coston and Kimmel (2012) suggest that the respondents’ privilege is less visible to them because these marginalised aspects of their identity mean that they do not reap the full benefits of masculine privilege.

Whilst Coston and Kimmel (2012) emphasise an intersectional approach to ‘privilege’, their focus is on how a single axis of privilege – masculine privilege – is maintained by men who experience

discrimination due to other aspects of their identity. As such, their analysis reveals more about the performance of masculinity by the men with marginalised aspects of their identity in the face of hegemonic masculinity, rather than how they maintain masculine privilege itself. Whilst this study provides an understanding of how individuals respond to discourses that challenge their sense of self by oppressing aspects of their identity, its focus, like that of Atewologun and Sealy (2014), on the simultaneously privileged and oppressed reduces the applicability of their findings to the intersectionally privileged.

Whilst there exist considerable bodies of work that explore the experiences of intersectional oppression and, as this review shows, work that explores the experiences and identities of those who are simultaneously oppressed and privileged, there is little scholarship that explores the identities of those who occupy the locus of intersectional privilege (Case, Iuzzini, and Hopkins, 2012). Thus, the absence of research on experiences and identity performances of the intersectionally privileged in a context of critical visibility is a key problem that needs to be resolved to provide a more contemporary understanding of privilege. To resolve this, my research draws on the literature reviewed here in understanding privilege to be heterogeneous, fluid and contextually conditioned, and maintained through talk and the performance of identity, to explore how subjects afforded intersectional privilege respond in particular settings and contexts when their privilege is made visible.

A Spotlight on White, Middle-class Men

This review of the literature on privilege and dominant identities reveals certain useful understandings about its working. It highlights that privilege is reproduced in the performance of identities, and that understanding how this works is crucial for understanding structural privilege

and domination. It also shows that privilege and the responses of privileged identities is performed through talk, through what people say about themselves, or the 'other'.

It also reveals some critical problems with our knowledge on how privileged subjects perform their identities in the current social context. The research is predominantly predicated on the theory that the invisibility of privilege to those who hold it, and its normativity, maintain the hegemonic social conditions that create oppression. The social context has now fundamentally changed from when these theoretical determinations about privilege were made. Much of this is due to the proliferation of social media and alternate forms of mass communications that have provided a platform for discourses that challenge normative discourses. As a result, privilege is no longer invisible and so understandings of its operations that rest on its invisibility for its maintenance are no longer as sociologically useful for understanding how privilege works. Additionally, the literature review identifies an important under-theorisation and absence of empirical application of the theory of adaptation that is understood as being key to the maintenance and proliferation of privilege and hegemonic social conditions.

Furthermore, while much of the research claims to take an intersectional approach, or engages with the identity performances of intersectional subjects, there is a tendency to focus on one aspect of those identities and so an intersectional perspective is missing. It is also apparent that there is little research on White, middle-class men and none that is undertaken in informal, everyday settings. Whilst the research reviewed does provide useful knowledge across several areas of the operations of and reactions to privilege, and on the performance of privileged identities, there are problems with it that omit from our knowledge how White, middle-class men perform their identities in talk with each other in social settings in a context of critical visibility.

This absence of the exploration of the day-to-day functions of intersecting privilege across these scholarships is of crucial importance as, unless the ways in which privilege is reproduced through the practices of intersectionally privileged individuals is explored, one of the most important aspects of social, cultural, and structural dynamics is left unexamined (Pease, 2010). To fully understand systemic and institutional practices we need to understand how these practices are performed at an individual level.

The research that follows is deigned to begin to resolve the problems in our knowledge. In the next chapter, I draw on Foucault's, Butler's, and Laclau and Mouffe's work to develop a theoretical framework through which to analyse the everyday talk of White, middle-class men with each other in informal, social settings. Methodologically, their talk is captured through undertaking informal 'conversations' with White, middle-class men in social settings they frequent on a regular basis, such as pubs, coffee-shops, and restaurants. I am also a White, middle-class man and, as such, have access to the respondents and the settings with little respondent reactivity and a high degree of cultural proximity. I also serve as the other White, middle-class man in the conversations. From these conversations I look to identify patterns and commonalities in the talk that reveal their identity performances and how they agentively utilise cultural resources at their disposal in undertaking the work of maintaining and sustaining their privilege in the face of challenge to its invisibility and its hegemony. I will discuss these issues of applying my theoretical framework through my methodological approach in Chapter Four.

Chapter Three. Theoretical Framework – Privileged Identities and the Agentive Subject

The literature review in Chapter Two reveals that the social reproduction of privilege is rooted in the performance of privileged identities particularly through what people say - how they talk about the racialised, classed, and gendered 'other' or respond in conversation to concepts of privilege. The literature also highlights that an understanding of how intersectional privilege works and is reproduced at an individual level is critical for a fuller understanding of personal, cultural, and structural dynamics of oppression. However, it is also apparent from Chapter Two that there are some critical problems with the existing scholarship on the workings of intersectional privilege.

Firstly, it rests on theoretical conceptions of privilege that are based on an invisibility arising from normative discourses of identity. In both its understanding of structural privilege and in its engagement with the performance of privileged identities, the literature understands this invisibility to be key to its maintenance. However, this theoretical underpinning is inadequate for understanding how privilege is reproduced or defended when its invisibility is being eroded.

Further, there is a claim in the scholarship that the discourses that construct privileged identities maintain their dominance through adapting to changing social contexts (Connell, 2005; Dyer 1997; Frankenberg; 1994; Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Farough, 2004). However, this is underpinned by a further theoretical problem in that there is little explanation of where and how the discourses being adapted originate from. Equally, there is little explanation of how the processes of adaptation occur or empirical work demonstrating these processes in action. Given the significance of performing identities in the reproduction of privilege, these absences create a fundamental problem for understanding this process.

Additionally, outside of the work by Byrne (2006a), the scholarship does not engage with how normative discourses of identity may be utilised by subjects in their day-to-day identity performances. The scholarship tends to discuss the way privileged subjects talk and behave *because* their identities are constructed by normative discourses, rather than *how* they discursively perform their identities *through* these discourses to reproduce privilege.

Finally, whilst the literature reviewed engages with intersectionality, it primarily focuses on subjects who are simultaneously oppressed and privileged or elevates one aspect of a subject's identity over another. Consequently, it does not address the workings of intersectional privilege at an individual level that the literature itself highlighted as being key to understanding the dynamics of oppression.

To resolve these problems there is a need to reveal how the bearers of intersectional privilege talk about themselves and 'others' in their identity performances. To achieve this, we need to develop a theoretical framework that includes a detailed conception of subjection, agency, and identification through talk and provides a lens for understanding the complexities of identity performances. This needs to be a framework that can account for the visibility of privilege and provide a sufficiently nuanced understanding of intersectionality such that the day-to-day functions of intersectional privilege can be revealed.

In this chapter, I will review the problematics of taking the invisibility of privilege as a core theoretical premise that explains its functioning and its maintenance given the changing social context of today. I will then explore the theoretical conception of adaption, noting the changing nature of threat that is understood to trigger adaptations. I go on to problematise adaptation theory due to its reliance on the idea of meta-discourses that seem to exist before they are adapted and propose a resolution that locates both the creation and adaptation of meta-discourses within the iterative articulation of micro-discourses by subjects. This identifies talk within individual

performances of privileged identities as the key site of enquiry to understand both local and wider societal dynamics of privilege.

Given the role of discourses in constructing privileged identities, I go on to address the need to account for a subject that is constituted through discourse that allows the subject agency in its identity performances. In this, I draw on Foucault and Butler to discuss subjectification and propose a conception of agency that allows for the agentive adaptation of discourses in a subject's talk. I further suggest that the plurality of discourses in the social environment can work on the subject to create a 'contested subjectivity', which provides the need for change and so the exercise of agency.

From here, I critique Butler for a lack of engagement with the role of talk in the production and maintenance of hegemonic social conditions. In doing so, I illustrate why focussing on talk is fundamental to understanding the performance of identity, as it is, perhaps, the most dynamic and flexible vehicle for communicating meaning. I then adapt Butler's theories on the citation and reiteration of discourses in embodiment practices to apply them to talk. Engaging with talk in this way allows us to explore how the everyday identity performances of White, middle-class men work, through the agentive deployment of cultural resources, to respond to their new-found visibility and threats to their privilege.

Critically, in seeking to understand how White, middle-class men are responding to their privilege being made visible, an understanding and application of intersectionality is required. Consequently, I discuss intersectionality theory as it applies to the privileged in society but also propose that the intersection of the materiality of the body and the performativity of place constructs an intersectional communicative setting that informs and affects the meaning and power of the talk of White, middle-class men.

I then discuss why approaches that do explore talk, such as Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis, and Discursive Psychology, do not provide a basis for exploring the identity performances of White, middle-class men through their talk as they do not fully account for the way in which subjection works or explain the 'work' the subject undertakes to constitute itself through talk.

Finally, I conclude by discussing how this theoretical framework informs my methodological and analytical approach to understanding the day-to-day identity performances of White, middle-class men and their responses to the new visibility of their privilege.

Maintenance of Privilege – The 'trouble' with Invisibility and Adaptation Theories

Theoretical work on privilege and on dominant discourses, such as Whiteness, middle-classness, and masculinity and the associated privileged identities that arise, theorises that it is the dual function of their invisibility and the capacity for adaptation of hegemonic discourses that maintain their dominant position (Robinson, 2000; Bucholtz, 1999; Connell, 2005; Dyer 1997; Frankenberg; 1994; Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Farough, 2004). Invisibility is theorised to arise from the normative effect of the discourses. It is the normalising of those with certain identity markers – e.g., White, man, middle-class – as not only being the legitimised bearers of dominance but also as the definition of 'normal' within society that creates a certain invisibility (Tillner, 1997), and its ongoing invisibility works to sustain hegemony by obscuring it from view and comment (Rosenblum and Travis, 1996)

However, whilst the normalisation of the holders of these identity markers as the legitimately powerful and privileged in society may create hegemonic social conditions (Butler, 1988) that all, to one degree or another, consent to (Hartley, 1994), the invisibility aspect applies only to those who carry those identity markers. Whiteness and masculinity have only ever been invisible to White people and 'complicit' men (Connell, 2005). Whiteness and masculinity have been very visible to People of Colour, women and 'non-complicit' men for centuries (Ahmed, 2004; Buchbinder, 2014).

Whilst it is the ‘other’ to the normative discourse that is ‘marked’ and thus made *visible* within that discourse (Robinson, 2000; Skeggs, 2004), rather than considering masculinity and Whiteness invisible, it would be more appropriate to consider the normative discourses creating a context in which privilege is ‘blind to itself’, or purblind. Indeed, referring to privilege as ‘invisible’ is to describe it through the eyes of the privileged, which seems to erase the perspective of those oppressed groups who have been witness to it for centuries. However, we are now in a social context in which this invisibility is being eroded by critical, counterhegemonic discourses, and the normative power of privileging discourses is being challenged – privilege is no longer allowed to be blind to itself. Thus, we need a better theoretical understanding of how privilege might work whilst being visible to itself. This research seeks to develop this understanding through the analysis of how White, middle-class men perform their identities in response to public critique and visibility.

The adaptation processes of hegemonic discourses are theorised to occur in response to threats to its dominance that arise in changing social contexts (Connell, 2005; Bucholtz, 1999; Garner, 2007). These threats are commonly understood to be alternative discourses of identity that emerge. For example, Demetriou (2001) discusses how heteronormative masculinity discourses are understood to have adapted to gay discourses through appropriating elements of gay men’s styles and practices to reduce their threat to normative heterosexual, masculinity.

There is a fundamental difference between these processes of adaptation to threat and the context of critical visibility today. Gay discourses were understood as a threat to heteronormative masculinity in that they presented an alternative way of performing masculinity that, if not responded to, would undermine the dominance of heteronormative masculinity. Within this was not so much a critique of heteronormative masculinity itself but rather, it was an attempt to create a space of alternative cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1990), within which gay men could perform their identities, to which heteronormative masculinity responded. In the context of today, though, the

threat is the direct critique of how ~~heteronormative~~ masculinity is performed that #MeToo, Hollaback, and other gender equality movements articulate. This threat, much like the threat constituted by Black Lives Matter and the critiques of White Privilege in relation to race, is different in that it shines a light on and makes visible ~~heteronormative~~ masculinity and its associated privilege in a way that the emergence of gay discourses did not. We need to understand whether and how this difference in threat, this new visibility, affects any process of adaptation of hegemonic discourses.

Critically, though, whilst the literature on privileged identities does refer to the heterogeneity of articulations of hegemonic discourses (e.g., Frankenberg, 1994; Skeggs, 2004; McKenzie, 2013; Connell, 2005), I problematise the existing work on adaptation for its tendency to assume that some form of meta-discourse of identity existed *a priori* any form of adaptation or heterogeneity of articulation. In her work on White men, Robinson states that "normativity, constantly under revision, shifts in response to the changing social, political, and cultural terrain" (2000: 4) within which this normativity is an apparently pre-existing Whiteness and masculinity. Equally, Connell and Messerschmidt refer to hegemonic masculinities that "were open to historical change" (2005: 8232) and, whilst this change was driven by struggles over hegemony, it appears that the meta-discourses of masculinity that articulated "the most honoured way of being a man" (2005: 8232) pre-existed this struggle over what constituted normativity. In the literature, though, the theorising is not clear where these meta-discourses come from, nor is there empirical work on how the processes of adaptation to threat operate. This creates crucial problems in developing an understanding how dominant and privileging discourses respond to the threat of visibility in today's social context.

To address these problems, I understand meta-discourses not as specific discourses with predefined lexical content but rather as the vehicles for normative meanings, values, and ideologies (Howarth, 2000) that are heterogeneously articulated at a local level (Butler, 1990). I understand them as being

the product of local ‘micro-discourses’ articulated through embodied and, critically, verbal identity performances that spread across temporal, social, cultural, and geographic boundaries due to the operations of equivalency (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) in communication. Processes of communicative equivalency occur when discourses across different social/cultural contexts combine in their articulations to be mutually reinforcing of certain meanings. The mutual reinforcing of meanings in different contexts extends the normative reach of the discourse into macro- and meso- discourses. Meta-discourses, then, are the composite of these normative points of equivalency, which are articulated as ‘ideal’ meanings and standards that materialise bodies, regulate behaviours, and create the conditions of hegemony. In their articulation, macro- meso- meta-discourses form ‘feedback loops’ to provide cultural resources for further heterogeneous and iterative articulations of micro-discourses in local level identity performances. The responses of meta-discourses to changing social contexts emerge from these iterative identity performances through the articulation of revised micro-discourses that can then, in turn, through processes of communicative equivalency, adapt, inform, develop, and reinforce meta-discourses.

This spreading of meanings and the power of communicative equivalency has historically been conditioned by those who control mechanisms of communications. These have been, primarily, “the guardians of the established order” who to try to “constitute the doxa as orthodoxy” (Bourdieu, 1984: 480). It is the already privileged who usually hold the “mastery and ownership of cultural tools that transmit dominating/privileging ideologies, messages, and scripts” (Tappan, 2006: 2127). However, in this current technological and digital era the means of communication, particularly via the internet, are more democratised than communication vehicles in previous eras and so the ‘spread’ of counterhegemonic discourses is subject to less control and restriction than ever before (Warf and Grimes, 1997). As a result, alternative domains of cultural intelligibility that allow for the performance of alternative identities (Butler, 1990), and discourses that critique, make visible, and threaten the normativity of dominant discourses and identities move more easily from micro-

discourses on the margins to emerge as meta-discourses that can challenge the meanings, values, and ideologies of the dominant meta-discourses.

Thus, the adaptation of discourses occurs not through a localised, heterogeneous articulation of an *a priori* over-arching, meta-discourse. Rather, meta-discourses emerge from local articulations of micro-discourses and processes of communicative equivalency. The adaptation of them in response to threat occurs through the iterative articulation of a revised micro-discourse that may spread into an adapted meta-discourse. In this, the adaptations of meta-discourses such as Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness take place in the everyday talk of individuals and this talk provides the site of enquiry to reveal how these processes work. Thus, if we want to understand how privilege works in relation to the wider social context of its new visibility, then we need to understand its operations in individual interactions and identity performances deploy.

The Agentive Subject and Discursive Subjectification

To develop a framework that allows us to analyse and understand how privilege works and responds to threat through the talk and identity performances of the privileged, we need a conception of discursive subjectification, and of agency, that allows for varying and fluid identity performances and the iteration and adaptation of discourses of identity. In this section I will critique the Bordieuan approach much of the literature takes on the social reproduction of privilege due its problematic approach to speech acts. I then discuss my Foucauldian and Butlerian informed understanding of discursive subjectification by power/knowledge relations and develop a conception of agency that allows for the creative adaptation of discourses in the talk of a subject that is constituted in discourse.

Much of the literature that explores the performances of privileged identity and social relations utilises a Bordieuan approach (see Stoudt, Fox, and Fine, 2012; Atewologun and Sealy, 2014; Aavik,

2015; Bialka and Morro, 2017; Friedman and Laurison, 2020; Skeggs, 2004; Gunn, 2005; and Lawler, 2005). While usefully exploring the roles of habitus and symbolic capitals in identity performances and the social reproduction of privilege and disadvantage, this work does not fully explore the role of speech acts and everyday talk.

Furthermore, the Bordieuan perspective on speech acts itself is problematic, as it is based on a notion that social institutions are static and that the conditions for the utterance of a speech act pre-exist the speech act itself. His position, as Butler argues, suggests that "utterances are functionally secured in advance by the 'social positions' to which they are mimetically related" (Butler, 1997: 145). This position does not account for the iterability of discourses, nor does it allow for the Derridean 'break' with context that utterances perform and, in doing so, acquire force and meaning that contribute to the possibility of agency and social transformation (Butler, 1997). In essence, the Bordieuan position reduces, if not removes, the possibility of agency by suggesting that speech acts are pre-determined by the pre-discursively defined social position of a subject.

To account for an agentive subject that is constituted through discourse, and the exercise of agency through talk, I draw on Foucault's (1977, 1978, 1982) theories of the subject and processes of subjectification in power/knowledge regimes, Butler's (1990, 1993, 1997) theories of a subject constituted in and materialised by discourse, and her conception of the possibility of agency existing within discourses' inability to suture meaning.

Foucault's power/knowledge regimes are discourses, which Edward Said calls "epistemological enforcers" (1988: 10). They communicate rules of knowledge about what can and cannot be. They can be seen as "verbal and non-verbal ways of organising the world, creating some ways of conceptualising that are seen as axiomatically obvious and 'true', while others are outside sense"

(Lawler, 2014: 72). In this, for Foucault, power and knowledge are bound together to constitute power/knowledge relations in the social world.

> "…there is no power relationship without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1977: 27).

The 'truths' power/knowledge regimes construct are normative and form an underpinning aspect of the coherence of the social world for those who populate it. They construct the basis of understanding about the place of the individual within the world through which identity becomes apparent (Lawler, 2014). This understanding of the individual is conditioned by the regulatory, disciplinary, and normalising effects of power/knowledge regimes. They work on the subject through discourses that categorise and normalise but also that condition the subject to self-scrutinise and discipline themselves according to the precepts of the power/knowledge regime (Foucault, 1977, 1978, 1982).

This regulatory power suffuses the social world (Allen, 2000). It works to locate subjects within society by marking them in some way, for example, as White, or as woman, and conveying this marking as a truth about them. Those similarly marked constitute categories of subjects. In Butlerian terms, this power does not simply mark a subject but, rather, the power/knowledge regimes, or discourses, materialise the body of the subject, imbuing it with meaning, and conveying the rules of cultural intelligibility that condition the ways in which a subject can perform an identity to be recognisable within that materialised body. As such the subject is constituted in discourse, rather than existing in some pre-defined, pre-discursive form (Butler, 1990, 1993, 1997).

Critical in connecting Foucault's concepts of power to the ideas of identities, groups, and discourses is his assertion that "struggles revolve around the question: Who are we?" (Foucault, 1982: 870) and that the

> "main objective of these struggles is to attack not so much 'such or such' an institution of power, or group, or elite, or class but rather a technique, a form of power. This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize, and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects" (Foucault, 1982: 781).

In the context of this power that makes individual subjects, Foucault is concerned with investigating strategies of power within specific socio-historically conditioned power relations and "most importantly, the relationship between power relations and confrontation strategies" (Foucault, 1982: 794). Foucault (1982) identifies several oppositions within power relations. He lists these as "the power of men over women, of parents over children, of psychiatry over the mentally ill, of medicine over the population, of administration over the ways people live" (Foucault, 1982: 780). To these we can add oppositions and struggles in relation to race and class

Thus, there are Foucauldian power struggles and power relationships in which individuals and groups of individuals have a 'law of truth' imposed upon them regarding their identity and their social position, which they work to either resist or sustain. Foucault's (1982) interest is in the points of resistance to power. However, in any struggle, resistance dynamics are multi-directional. Forms of domination, exploitation, and subjection seek to resist the efforts of those who attempt to subvert domination, exploitation, and subjection. Rather than studying those who are traditionally

understood to resist, my interest here is in those who dominate and how they respond when faced with points of resistance to their dominance.

To understand the resistance dynamics within any struggle for dominance requires an understanding of the agentive subject. Foucault (1979) understands subjects to exercise power and agency through acts of discursive resistance that allow “the possibility of multiple subject positions to emerge within discourses, and so discourses can be subverted by alternative subject discourses” (Caldwell, 2007: 776). This power to exercise discursive resistance exists in discourses that, whilst transmitting power, “also undermines it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it…Paradoxically, discourses that make us into subjects also allow the creation of a space for discursive resistance and change” (Foucault, 1979: 100). Knowledge/power regimes are vulnerable to this exercise of power, and the truths they seek to propagate and normalise can be challenged and changed such that a new ‘truth’ comes into being.

However, critics of Foucault’s position claim that in his theory the subject is no more than the product of discursive power relations and both subjectivity and agency are eradicated from the subject (for example, see Habermas, 1987; Honneth, 1991; McCarthy, 1991; Walzer, 1986; Alcoff, 1990). According to these critiques, the subject is, in effect, erased and there is no possibility of self-reflection, self-awareness or agentive compliance or resistance to the effects of the power/knowledge relations that constitute the subject.

Whilst acknowledging the problematic absence in Foucault’s work of a detailed conception of the agentive subject, I reject these criticisms of Foucault’s theorising in favour of Allen’s (2000) position that reads his work as an account of how the subject is understood as having some form of engagement with its subjectivity through cognitive and psychological processes. In this reading “individuals actively and reflexively constitute themselves” in particular subject positions, ones of

resistance or compliance, “via a particular kind of ethical relation to self” (Allen, 2000: 118) – an exercise of agency - within a culturally and temporally conditioned field of meaning.

Butler (1990, 1993, 1997) further develops this conceptualisation of the Foucauldian agentive subject. For her, the agency of the subject is to be found in the impossibility for discourses to close off, or suture, meaning such that it occludes any other possible meaning. Butler argues that this failure to suture meaning provides the conditions of possibility for subjects to articulate adapted iterations of the discourses that regulate them and, thus, provide the conditions for agency, and the ability of a subject to resist, or comply with, the discourses that work to constitute them (Jagger, 2008). The inability of discourses to bring closure over a field of meaning is due to their existence being contingent upon and relational to alternative discourses (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). The discursive field contains a plurality of discourses that are reliant on each other for their existence whilst simultaneously competing for dominance – it is a contested discursive field in which the conditions of agency are inherent (Butler, 1990).

In terms of the subject’s constitution within this plurality of discourses, I suggest that, as a reflection of the field of discursivity in which all meaning is contested (Laclau and Mouffe 1985), the simultaneous engagement with and by multiple discourses creates a ‘contested subjectivity’ in subjects as these discourses compete over the subjectification and materialisation of them. The degree of this contested subjectivity is, in part, determined by the strengths of differing discourses as they simultaneously contest to bring the body into being, and in part through psychological and emotional reflections and reactions of the subject to this contestation (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). That a sense of ‘discomfort’ can arise when the meaning of the ‘self’ is contested over, and the prevailing discourses seek to materialise the subject in ways not wholly consistent with the ‘sense of self’, is indicative of both the inability of discourses to completely close off alternative meanings of who we are, and of the potential for change – without a sense of ‘contested subjectivity’, of the

essential tension of experiencing the contestation over the subjectified self, there would be little drive to 'change' and the deployment of agency. In the context of this thesis, the critical counterhegemonic discourses arising from Black Lives Matter and #MeToo seek to materialise White, middle-class men in a way that contests their materialisation by hegemonic discourses of Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness. As a result of these tensions, contested subjectivities are likely to arise for White, middle-class men and so prompt a response.

Butler's (1990) perspective on gender suggests that agency, the potential of variation of discourses, allows for alternative modes of cultural intelligibility that provide the possibility of 'troubling' gender norms in the hetero-normative binary framework of gender. This potential for variation is realised through alternative discourses themselves carrying rules for the performance of intelligible identities and "enable the assertion of alternative domains of cultural intelligibility" (Butler, 1990: 145). However, Butler's notion of agency has been critiqued for failing "to draw out fully . . . the ways in which the symbolic realm is composed of conflicting values and resources which may be actively, and sometimes, creatively, appropriated by actors to institute new value systems and new forms of collective identity…her account is lacking a more active concept of agency" (McNay, 1999: 187).

To address this problem and fully conceive of an active agency, we need to have an understanding that includes material and cognitive agency. In this material agency is the ability to undertake actions in the world that effect some form of material change. Cognitive agency is the ability to engage with, creatively re-work, and articulate meanings in such a way that they can be changed, new ideas, attitudes and understandings formed, present and future desired states be mentally constructed, and the actions of material agency decided upon - a form of reflexive agency (Kögler, 2012).

In my theorising on cognitive agency, the process of conscious cognition is not considered comparable to the Cartesian transcendental self or to Enlightenment rationalist understandings of the 'self' as an individualistic capacity for reason and morality that is separate from the material self. In my understanding of agency, the discursive field that materialises the body also constitutes the 'self' that undertakes conscious cognition and so the body, the self and cognition are inseparable.

Further, my position on cognitive agency employs a Leibniz inspired Nietzschean understanding of the conscious and unconscious (Katsafanas, 2016) to extend the notion of the 'self' from the conscious to include the unconscious as an integral aspect of the constitution of self and the embodiment and performance of identity. In this, the conscious, the place where cognition and thinking takes place, is the product of the rising into consciousness of meanings from within the unconscious because of stimuli in the environment and the agentive engagement with these meanings.

These conscious and unconscious 'meanings' take the form of schemas (Strauss and Quinn, 1998), or mental models of meanings, that have evolved through experiences within the field of discursivity. In this sense, schemas work as discourses. The unconscious operates as the psychic space in which the multitude of schema reside, and where the simultaneous stimuli that we experience each moment are processed into meaning through these schemas (Strauss and Quinn, 1998). As the consciousness cannot actively engage with all the meanings and possible meanings in an experience simultaneously, our unconscious processes the information in the environment and, as per Leibniz, schemas are triggered to rise to the surface, which we actively and consciously engage with. The schemas and so the meanings that rise to the surface of our consciousness are conditioned by the strengths of the discourses in the environment that convey the rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1990) and seek to regulate the subject's understanding of themselves and their position within the world (Foucault, 1977).

As with discourses though, schemas cannot close off meaning completely and they contain Derridean traces of all other meanings and potential meanings. Much as discourses are contested, given the plurality of meanings, so schemas are too. In a context of a highly contested discursive field that triggers competing schemas to arise in a subject's consciousness, cognitive antagonisms are created in which the 'self' seeks to resist or comply with the particularities and restrictions of the construction of self and the materialisation of the body that the competing discourses seek to impose. It is in this that contested subjectivities arise and the relationship between the plurality of discourses in the environment that contest to materialise the body and the agentive, reflective, and emotional engagement by the subject with these competing processes of subjectification can be seen.

Additionally, the relational nature of the conscious and the unconscious provides the capacity for 'reflection' in that, through agentive thinking, a subject can intentionally access schemas in the unconscious and re-work, combine, and articulate them in response to contestation over their subjectification. This formulation provides the space, resources, and capacity for cognitive agency and the possibility for the agentive use of cultural resources to address the antagonisms of a contested subjectivity and resist or comply with the regulatory powers of discourses of identity. This reflexive agency is observable in the ability of a subject to fluidly shift presentations of identity within an interaction through the re-working, adaptation, and combining of discourses in their talk to perform an identity that either maintains or troubles the power/knowledge relations.

Talking Through Butler

In this section, I discuss Butler's approach to performativity, materialisation and embodiment and the performance of identity. In doing so, despite her focus on the productive power of language I critique her lack of attention to the power of language in everyday talk and its role in the

performance of identity. Taking Butler's ideas of citation and iteration of discourses through acts, gestures, and appearances that communicate meaning about the body, I argue that these ideas need to be applied to the talk of individuals to fully understand how subjects agentively adapt discourses to fluidly perform their identities.

Butler's (1993) understanding of the materiality of the body and identity performances involves the development of an account of performativity through Derrida's reworking of Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory and the notions of iterability and citationality of discourses. For her, the performance of identity is one that is an act that constructs and communicates a specific meaning of the body and the subject. It is performative[2] in this sense, but it is a performativity that is conditioned by the normative discourses that convey the rules of cultural intelligibility and regulate the acceptable limits of the performance of a particular identity (Butler, 1993).

However, the discourses that materialise bodies, or bring them into being carrying specific meanings, and convey rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1993), do not exist as uniform repetitions of a set of rules of cultural intelligibility. Rather, they are subject to heterogeneous articulations by individuals and groups across social and temporal contexts. I propose that it is more accurate to refer to parameters of cultural intelligibility, as this provides more scope for heterogeneity whilst maintaining cultural intelligibility. However, even these parameters are not uniformly fixed at some meta level of discourse. They will also be subject to temporal and social conditioning. Thus, intelligibility is not fixed or static and is subject to the variations of discursive

[2] In recent times the term 'performative' has come to mean something quite different from the way Butler used it. Now, it is often used to indicate that something is a 'performance' and so not real or genuine. I use the term performative in the same way as Butler i.e., drawing on Austin's theory of Speech Acts in which performativity is the capacity of speech and communication to act or to consummate an action. Butler defines performative and performativity as "that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains" (Butler, 1993: xii). Thus, in this thesis, 'performative' means the production of a tangible effect, albeit constituted in discourse and language, and 'non-performative' means the absence of this effect despite the articulation of a discourse e.g., non-performative anti-racism articulates anti-racism discourses but does not effect any real change or work towards creating change.

articulations by individuals. Normative discourses do, though, act as 'vehicles' for the communication and perpetuation of meanings, values, and ideologies that impact upon subjectivity, materialisation, identity construction and performance, and subsequent social relations (Howarth, 2000; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Hartley, 1994).

Butler (1993) theorises that, in performing identities, subjects will 'cite' discourses through their acts, gestures, and appearance i.e., subjects will reflect in some way the discourses that seek to materialise them in their embodiment of the parameters of cultural intelligibility and so signify their coherence to them. It is these signifying practices that communicate meaning about the body and the self (Butler, 1990) and serve to locate subjects in a hierarchical relationship with the 'other'. To perform an identity, to convey a specific meaning, requires a repetition of the signifying practices that demonstrate the achievement of coherence to an audience, whether this audience be the self, or the social realm (Butler, 1990).

For Butler, the productive power of language is about a materiality that is bound up with the signification of it through discourse, and that the citation and iteration of discourses by subjects involve stylised appearance, bodily movements and gestures that are politically controlled and sanctioned (Jagger, 2008). However, despite her focus on the productive power of language and its role in producing the materiality of the body, Butler pays little attention to the power of language in everyday talk and its role in the performance of identity, or the structuring of society, which I see as a critical absence in her work.

Butler is not concerned with describing the everyday practices of identity interactions, such as talk, and her work is criticised because it does not explore these aspects of 'doing' identity (see Namaste, 1996). Butler asserts that whilst such individual acts might be necessary to the continuation of inequalities and oppression, "it doesn't follow that oppression is a sole consequence of such acts".

For her, “the transformation of social relations becomes a matter of transforming hegemonic social conditions rather than the individual acts that are spawned by these conditions” (Butler 1988: 525). Her particular focus is on how hegemonic discourses of phallocentrism and heteronormativity convey and seek to impose gendered rules of cultural intelligibility onto identity performances and subsequent interactions (Jagger, 2008).

Rather than individual acts being spawned by hegemonic social conditions, I understand individual acts as agentive, heterogeneous articulations of discourses and that these acts, through processes of communicative equivalency, develop into meta-discourses that may then, depending on their normative power, create hegemonic social relations. Without understanding how discourses work as individual acts - how they are articulated and performed by individuals, or “how signification and resignification work” (Butler, 1990: 144) in talk - the revealing of the ways power/knowledge regimes structure social relations becomes obscured by the localised variations of the overarching power/knowledge regimes Butler seeks to reveal.

Informed by Butler’s (1990, 1993, 1997) work on embodiment, performativity, and identity, I do though, understand bodies as materialised through discourses that create subjects who perform their identities as a “public action” (1990: 140). I recognise that bodies, the meanings, and values they carry, the manner of their appearance in dress and style, and the significance of their communicative function through gesture and body language, are key elements of the performance of identity. However, I hold that talk is a key mechanism of identification as a public action because of the scope of its use to alter the meaning and identity of the subject from moment to moment that exceeds the scope of embodiment practices to do the same.

Thus, while I draw on Butler’s theories and her focus on the power of language as a means to understand mechanisms of signification and re-signification in the performance of identity, my focus

is not on embodiment per se but rather on the verbal discourses subjects articulate. I propose that to fully understand the exercise of reflexive agency and the mechanisms through which identities are performed it is necessary to examine the signifying practices – the citations, iterations, and adaptations of discourses - of individuals undertaken through their talk. Talk is, perhaps, the most dynamic and flexible vehicle for communicating meaning. Through talk, the subject can draw on a wide range of cultural resources to adapt discourses and signify meanings about itself and others. As acts of speech, they are signifying practices that both affect and exceed the body in communicating meaning about the subject and others. Through their talk, the subject agentively deploys what I call 'strategies of signification' – the exercise of agency in drawing on and combining different discourses to convey a particular meaning, driven by the subject's need to respond to their contested subjectivities, and perform their identities. As such, to truly understand how the intersectionally privileged White, middle-class men are responding to the public critiques and their new-found self-visibility, then, we must examine how they construct strategies of signification in their talk on a day-to-day basis.

Intersectionality Theory and the Intersectionally Privileged

Despite the extent to which I draw on Butler's and Foucault's work in developing my theoretical framework, I also problematise it in that it pays little attention to the simultaneous effect of multiple constitutive power/knowledge regimes, or the plurality of discourses, on the subject. That is, it does not account particularly well for intersectional subjects or identities that are central to the understanding of the workings of intersectional privilege, as performed by White, Middle-class men, and critical to my thesis.

To address this, in this section I will discuss my approach to intersectionality in the study of the talk of White, middle-class men and how they perform their intersectional identities. This approach

combines the intersectional materiality and embodiment practices of the speaker and the performativity of space with their talk to create a complex intersectional matrix that conditions the meaning and effect of the intersectional utterances of the speaker.

From a theoretical perspective, drawing on the work of the Combahee River Collective (1977/1983), Davis (1983), Lorde (1984), hooks (1984), Crenshaw (1989, 1991) and other feminist scholars, I understand intersectionality to refer to the cumulative and multi-dimensional experience of oppression (and/or privilege) that arises from the effect of being simultaneously marked with multiple identity categories, and the implications of these categories to the subjective self, the subject’s psyche, the subject’s relative location(s) within society, and the performances of their intersectional identity.

In my understanding, as there are multiple identity discourses simultaneously articulated in the field of discursivity (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), subjects must be simultaneously materialised by all these discourses. Materialisation is always intersectional. Multiple discourses intersect in the materialisation of subjects as ‘White, middle-class men’ and, in this materialisation, one is not separable or divisible from the others.

For me, intersectionality is about the multi-dimensional relationship between processes of subjectification, the fluidity of agentive identity performances, and the processes of “collective exclusion and belonging in relationship to other groups whose borders are permeable and fluid” (Levine-Rasky, 2011: 242), which are conditioned by the power of discourses to convey the parameters of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1997). Brah and Phoenix encompass these elements in their definition of intersectionality:

> “We regard the concept of ‘intersectionality’ as signifying the complex, irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensue when multiple axis of differentiation – economic, political, cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential – intersect in historically specific contexts. The concept emphasizes that different dimensions of social life cannot be separated out into discrete and pure strands” (2004: 76).

Intersectionality, then, can be conceptualised in a manner that highlights the fluid and relational natures of identity, exclusion and belonging, and the attendant privilege and oppression that accompanies these processes. The focus of theoretical work on intersectionality has, in the main though, been on those who experience intersectional oppression and discrimination, or those who experience simultaneous privilege and oppression, rather than those on the other side of the relational dynamic – those who experience intersectional privilege and advantage (Pease, 2010). However, in her paper *Intersectionality theory applied to whiteness and middle-classness,* Levine-Rasky (2011) has explored the manner in which domination is an aspect of intersectionality theory. She says –

> “Dominant positionality is embedded in intersectionality theory in two ways: (1) as part of a complex, postmodern identity formation in which even at the individual level oppression co-exists with domination. No ‘pure’ position exists. Identity is not static nor attributional but emerges from particular social processes enabling political practice; (2) in the emphasis on relationality in which oppression and domination are co-conditional” (2011: 243).

In her discussion, Levine-Rasky (2011) draws heavily from Anthias (2005), for whom it is the material differences experienced by subjects that condition the relative locations of intersectional subjects and the degrees to which they are excluded. Anthias makes a further assertion that the different components of an intersectional identity may either reinforce or contradict each other.

Levine-Rasky understands this as indicating that, “in power relations, class and ethnicity will reinforce each other in some circumstances while they will contradict each other in different circumstances” (2011: 341). She states that “…while the disempowerment lodged in womanhood is known, it is contradicted by white womanhood. Indeed, whiteness confers advantage upon white women, certainly for middle-class white women” (2011: 249). Whilst it is not the purpose of this thesis to deeply interrogate intersectionality theory per se, there are some theoretical and conceptual comments that I wish to make in response to Levine-Rasky (2011) and Anthias (2005), and to clarify how I am utilising intersectionality in my analysis of the privileged in society.

Firstly, the apparent binary of reinforcing and contradicting effects described by Levine-Rasky (2011) seems to assume ethnicity, race, gender, and class to be discrete systems of domination and subordination. One cannot, though, negate or contradict the other as they do not exist in separation from each other. Instead, there are multiple positions within each system that combine or, more appropriately, intersect to create a multi-dimensional field of fluid positions that are temporally and socially conditioned.

By way of an example, and in response to Levine-Rasky’s example, yes, Whiteness confers advantage on White women over Women of Colour, but that Whiteness does not negate their gender disadvantage in relation to men. Their gender disadvantage is not 'contradicted' by their Whiteness but rather it is altered by their Whiteness to create a different experience of disadvantage and, simultaneously, their Whiteness is altered by their gender disadvantage into a different experience of privilege. Equally, their relative positions within the spectrums of gender and Whiteness will create alterations to the disadvantage/privilege they experience. Further, their relative locations of gender and Whiteness will also intersect with their class, sexuality, disability, faith, etc in each circumstance they find themselves in to create a particular intersectional experience of privilege/disadvantage.

Secondly, my position is that gender, race, class, etc are not shaped by material differences, as Anthias (2005) suggests, but rather it is the discursive construction of these categories and the access this provides to resources that shape the material differences and differing lived experiences of those so materialised. This is an important point in terms of processes of subjectification, which cannot be conditioned by material difference, as this would locate the subject as existing through material difference and *a priori* to its discursive constitution.

Thirdly, how intersectionality works with my emphasis on the field of discursivity and given the awareness that interlocutors and situational context are key elements in the performance of privileged identities, as identified in the literature review, requires some elaboration. Whilst my focus is on the talk of individuals as mechanisms through which identities are agentively and fluidly performed through the reiteration and adaptation of discursive cultural resources, the discursive materialisation of bodies with particular meanings is critical to the function of intersectionality in talk. The talk of my respondents is not uttered in isolation from their materiality. When they talk, whatever they say, they are talking from and with bodies that are intersectionally marked and materialised as White, middle-class, and masculine. As such, their bodies, their appearance, even their accents, condition the meaning of their talk, of the discourses they articulate. Thus, whether they draw on and combine different discourses of class, gender, race, etc to construct intersectional articulations, or talk exclusively about, for example, class, they articulate these from an intersectional materiality and embodiment that effects the overall meaning and imbues intersectionality into what they say.

As the materiality of the body is an echo-chamber for the discourses that materialise it, the subject materialised as White need do nothing agentive in their identity performance to communicate their Whiteness. This body's materiality as White is, in this sense, discursive and we draw meanings from what is said from this position of Whiteness. Thus, bodies communicate the meanings of the

discourses that materialise them in both the beholding of them by others and as meaning elements of the talk of the subject themselves. In their materiality, bodies constitute an aspect of the communicative situation in which the talk takes place and, therefore, inform readings of the meaning of the utterances by those who hear them.

Further, the performances of identities occur in specific temporal, spatial, and social contexts that have their own conditioning effect on the subject, their subjectivity, and the performance of identity (Butler, 1990). Gregson and Rose (2000) argue that the physicality of spaces is discursive and performative and so is a factor in the production of meaning, subjects, and subjectivities. Thus, the communicative situation is a Foucauldian 'place of speaking' that combines the recognition of the subject by an audience, the 'institutional site' or setting of the talk, and the subject position of the speaker that combine to confer degrees of legitimacy and power onto what is said (Foucault, 1972). The intersectional communicative setting, then, includes the intersectional materiality and embodiment practices of those involved in the talk, the discourses articulated through the talk, and the performativity of space, which intersect to create a complex intersectional matrix that conditions the meaning and effect of the utterances of the speaker.

Thus, I understand the performance of intersectional identities as incorporating the materiality of the body, the embodied performance of identity through gesture, dress, movement, accent, etc, and critically to my thesis, the significatory practices of talk in particular settings. Further, I understand the performance of intersectional identities to constitute not simply the repetition of the discourses that materialise the body. They are the ongoing agentive and fluid reproduction of intersectional identities through the deployment of symbolic cultural resources in strategies of signification in talk. I use this perspective to understand the manifested intersectionality of White, middle-class men, their reproduction of intersectional privilege, and to develop an understanding of their responses to the new visibility of privilege in their performance of their identity in particular settings.

Why a Modified Butlerian Approach.

In this section I will discuss Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis, and Discursive Psychology to illustrate that they are not suitable approaches for this study because of their reliance on a pre-discursive subject, highlighting that my modified Butlerian approach provides a better understanding of and approach to studying how privilege is reproduced through talk.

Whilst Goffman's (1959, 1963, 1970, 1971, 1981) and Garfinkel's (1967, 1974, 1996) work describe the everyday practices of talk that Butler omits, and so might be seen as a productive theoretical perspective to take in the study of privilege through identity performance, their approaches are theoretically problematic. Their work holds that there is a separate, pre-existing subject that in some way determines and authors the performance of identity, as if looking at it from the outside (Jagger, 2008). Hood-Williams and Harrison argue that Goffman explicitly bases "his discussion of gender identity…in a general human capacity: the capacity to depict and to read depictions" (1998: 83), which constructs the subject as pre-existing this depiction. Indeed, in the *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman (1959) discusses identity as the performance of roles and, as Butler (1988) points out in her critique of Goffman, suggests a "pre-existing self which assumes and exchanges various "roles" within complex social expectations of the "game" of modern life" (1988: 528). Equally, in his study on everyday gender interactions for a pre-operative transgender woman, Garfinkel (1990) described her speech as revealing that gendered norms regulate verbal and non-verbal interactions. However, his analysis relies on a humanist conception of the self at the core of identity, which is a self that can, apparently, step outside of its cultural and discursive context to self-actualise itself (Jagger, 2008).

This problematic is also visible in approaches such as Discursive Psychology, which is heavily informed by Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, that some scholars have used to explore

how gender is performed through talk. Indeed, some scholars in these fields draw on Judith Butler for their theoretical framework (see Cameron, 1997; Rodino, 1997; Delph-Janiurek, 1999; Speer and Potter, 2002). Speer and Potter (2002) seek to describe how Judith Butler's theoretical approach applies to Discursive Psychology and Conversation Analysis with reference to the similarities and differences between these analytical approaches and Butler's theories. Whilst their stated aim is to describe how Butler and Discursive Psychology can be brought into a productive dialogue, their explanations of the ontological and epistemological differences between them actually reinforce their unsuitability for empirically applying Butler's theories due to their reliance on a pre-discursive subject.

Both Discursive Psychology and Conversation Analysis approaches understand identity not to be constituted in or by discourse but as produced endogenously, or 'originating from within', through discourse as a social practice (Speer and Potter, 2002). This endogenous sense of identity construction suggests that subjects are the sole authors of the discourses of identity, as they originate from within, and the existence of a pre-discursive subject that is this 'author', which is antithetical to my approach and has serious implications for the conception of the subject, subjectification, and agency.

Further, Discursive Psychology seems to deny any role for the psyche in identity performances. Rather, it treats aspects of identity, such as gender, as a 'topic' to which participants in talk will either 'orient' to or not. As Speer and Potter indicate -

> "In DP, identity is not a feature of an individual's psychology, or something that may 'congeal' in recognizable, though albeit unfinal and tenuous forms through a process of performative re-citation. Instead, identity is reconceptualised as topic, and as something that is oriented to" (2002: 159).

In doing so, Discursive Psychology sees aspects of identity as worked up in conversation through the existence of participants' orientations to them and the relevancy of these aspects of identity to the conversation, rather than as discursive conditioning factors (Speer and Potter, 2002). In this is no explanation about what might drive a particular orientation to what is said and seems to deny the impact of broader societal discourses on demographic and contextual features that condition how elements such as gender, race, class, etc are made relevant in an interaction. It presupposes a pre-existing orientation, or a pre-existing 'need' to orient in a particular way and seems to locate the subject as removed from the context in determining how they will orientate or, indeed, how they perform, for example, gender. This further reinforces the sense of a pre-discursive subject, one that has a pre-existing orientation to particular identity characteristics.

This conception of a separate subject that orients, or not, to particular 'topics' is made more problematic by Speer and Potter's (2002) conceptualisation of the 'resistances' that Butler is interested in. Speer and Potter state that these resistances are "not treated as the outcome or instantiation of agentive psychic and social processes made possible through the internalisation and displacement of constraining social norms…[but rather] the causal locus for resistance, as it were, is interaction, not cognition" (2002: 161). This creates a problematic sense of agency as there is no explanation of where the impetus for resistance, the need for change, comes from to determine the nature of the interaction as resistance.

Thus, work rooted in Goffman, Garfinkel, Discursive Psychology and Conversation Analysis do not fully account for the way in which subjection works, nor do they account for the way in which the subject, as constituted by discourse, also engages in the re-iteration of discourse and its own constitution in everyday talk. As such, their theoretical and analytical approaches cannot provide a basis for my exploration of the identity performances of White, middle-class men through their talk, or how they respond to the new visibility of their privilege. Rather, by developing Foucault and

Butler's conceptions of subjectification and agency, and by modifying Butler's theoretical position on signifying practices and applying them to talk, I develop an understanding of how individual subjects agentively construct strategies of signification in their identity performances as ongoing responses to the threats to their normativity.

Privileged Identities and the Agentive Subject

In this chapter, I have developed a theoretical framework to reveal the workings of privilege in a context of the erosion of its invisibility. Most theories of privilege are oriented towards social reproduction within durable and enduring systems of signification that create its invisibility. My thesis, by contrast, engages with possibilities for privilege to be maintained in a context where systems of signification are being destabilised - crucially because the taken-for-grantedness of privileged identities is increasingly challenged. The development of the theory of adaptation of meta-discourses that locates their origination and their adaptation in talk provides the site of enquiry into the workings of both individual and structural privilege and how it responds to threat.

I have developed a Foucauldian conception of subjectification through discourses and modified Butler's understanding of agency into a conception of reflexive agency. This agency is exercised within the spaces left by discourses failure to suture meaning. It allows us to understand how subjects can change, modify, adapt the meanings in the discursive environment in response to their contested subjectivities, and to agentively articulate these adapted discourses as acts of resistance or complicity through their talk.

To fully understand how subjects verbally adapt discourses and fluidly perform their identities, I have modified Butler's theories of the embodied citation and iteration of discourses to apply them to talk. In this is a further development of Butler's ideas on agency in that analysing talk in this way

allows us to identify how subjects agentively develop strategies of signification from a range of discourses to fluidly perform their identities throughout an interaction.

To account for intersectionality, I have developed an understanding and approach to it that incorporates not just the intersectionality that is inhered into bodies through the cumulative effect of multiple discourses of identity but also incorporates how the intersectional embodiment of a subject intersects with the performativity of a setting and the talk of the subjects. This creates a complex matrix of intersectionality that affects the meaning and impact of the utterances of the speaker. This understanding of intersectionality provides the lens through which we can understand how the intersectionality of the White, middle-class man reproduces intersectional privilege in specific settings through their talk.

In developing this theoretical framework, alternative theoretical approaches, such as Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis, and Discursive Psychology have been considered and rejected as unsuitable for this thesis. This is primarily due to their reliance on a subject that is separate from its discursive constitution and outside of its performance of identity, which is inconsistent with my understandings of subjectification, agency, and the processes of identification through talk.

In this chapter, I provide a theoretical framework through the application of which the problems identified within the literature on privilege can be resolved and we will gain a better understanding of and approach to studying privilege, particularly intersectional privilege, and how it responds to contexts of critical visibility.

In the next chapter I will discuss the methodology I use to deploy this theoretical framework and explore intersectional identity constructions of White, middle-class men in talk in certain settings,

and how I analyse the data I gather to reveal the strategies of signification they deploy in the face of their increasing critical visibility. I also discuss my role as a White, middle-class man researching other White, middle-class men and the methodological implications of this.

Chapter Four - Methodology – Conversations with Myself.

In the previous chapters, I have identified a key gap in our knowledge about how White, middle-class men, as the locus of intersectional privilege, respond to a context in which their identities are being publicly critiqued, and their privilege made visible to them. I have developed a theoretical framework that explores and removes the problematic of a theory of the maintenance of privilege based on its invisibility. It is a framework that locates the development and adaptation of normative discourses in the talk of subjects and, thus, identifies talk as the site for this research on understanding how privilege works and responds in contexts of change and visibility. It is a framework that identifies the emergence of contested subjectivities in subjects arising from the contestation over their materialisation and the imposition of differing parameters of cultural intelligibility by different discourses as the driver of the need to act in response to threat. It identifies and explains the workings of a reflexive cognitive agency that allows for the adaptation of discourses through talk. This is a theoretical framework that provides a lens through which to explore how White middle-class men might agentively adapt discourses in their strategies of signification and articulate them in their talk to perform their identities in response to the visibility of their privilege.

In seeking to answer the overarching research question of how White middle-class men respond to their privilege being made visible from this theoretical position, it is necessary to utilise a methodological approach that allows for, as far as is possible, the unmediated and immediate access to the verbal processes of identity performance (Hammersley, 2018; Korbut, 2014). Specifically, it must allow access to the everyday talk of the subject to reveal the way discursive cultural resources are adapted and deployed, identities are performed, and whether the privileged give up their privilege or seek alternative ways to normalise, naturalise, or conceal their privilege.

Further, the findings in the privilege scholarship showed that the contextual factors, and the identities of participants in conversations about privilege and oppression, condition the way people perform their identities. In a context in which critiques of Whiteness and masculinity are high profile, White, middle-class men are likely to moderate their talk when in the presence of People of Colour and/or women. As such, exploring their talk when in conversation with other White, middle-class men in settings in which they feel comfortable is critical for accessing their talk in its least guarded form.

The focus on informal social settings that White, middle-class men frequent is important for accessing the discourses the respondents construct in settings in which not only do the respondents feel at home in (Hammersley, 2018), but also settings that constitute a White, middle-class masculine communicative setting. Although my focus is to analyse the production and use of discourses by White, middle-class men in conversation i.e., I am undertaking a discourse analysis, in seeking to explore talk in everyday settings, I apply an ethnographer's sensibilities to gather a rich body of data.

These requirements for the research project raise several methodological issues. For example, how to define the field and recruit respondents without reifying identity categories or imposing state defined definitions upon them. It also raises questions about how to best identify those informal social settings that are understood as performative (Gregson and Rose, 2000) of intersecting Whiteness, middle-classness and masculinity. Further, it raises questions around how to engage White, middle-class men in conversations that reflect their everyday talk with someone who they don't know, and how to minimise the reactivity of the respondents to the researcher (Hammersley, 2018).

In this chapter, I will discuss my approaches to answering these methodological questions and how I recruited 19 respondents, undertook 37 separate conversations with them in 29 different venues, and collected a total of 99 hours of audio data. I begin this by discussing my approach to defining the field. In this, I utilise statistical demographic data to identify a geographic area in which Whiteness, middle-classness, and masculinity are likely to predominate. Subsequently, I discuss my approach to identifying White, middle-class venues in this area in which to recruit respondents and how I deployed my own positionality as a White, middle-class man in this work.

I then discuss my approach to recruiting respondents. Whilst my first method for sampling was to approach people who appeared to me to be subjects materialised as White, middle-class men, I also incorporated a predominately 'open question' demographic survey to try to establish the respondents' sense of their own identity and minimise the imposition of my presumptions about their identities upon them.

I then discuss my approach to undertaking the multiple 'conversations' I held with most respondents, developing rapport and identifying commonalities, and the tensions between my underlying research agenda and the need to access genuine conversations i.e., not leading the conversation but also eliciting the data that will answer my research questions.

This leads to a discussion on the fluidity of my insider/outsider positionality (Ergun and Erdemir, 2010) and how this affected me throughout the course of my fieldwork. I discuss the tensions my fluctuating insider/outsider positionality created between authentically performing my own White, middle-class, masculine identity, managing my complicity within the conversations, and responding to the respondents in such a way that reactivity is minimised (Hammersley, 2018). I go on to discuss more deeply the issue of my complicity (Sumara and Davis, 1997) in both the production of knowledge and in the re-production of privilege through being a White, middle-class man engaging

in these conversations. This develops into a discussion on the exercise of power in the field and how this applies to a privileged researcher researching the equally privileged.

In the final section, I discuss my analytical approach to the data I gathered and how this enabled me to identify the discourses deployed and, ultimately, the strategies of signification used by the respondents. Whilst there is no dedicated section on ethics in this chapter, I address ethical issues in the relevant sections.

Defining the Field

Identifying White, middle-class men as respondents presents some of its own problems. In taking a post-structural/post-modern perspective in researching identities there is a problem in trying to grasp any tangibility of identities that are both socially constructed and continually being accomplished (West and Fenstermaker, 1995). It is not a problem that is resolvable through imposing some form of fixity to identities, as might be implied by adopting reifying identity categories such as 'White', 'middle-class' and 'man'. In my approach, I also seek to avoid the problems with Frankenberg's work, which Nayak critiqued for adopting "a social constructionist approach to Whiteness" whilst "tether[ing it] to the weighty anchor, and seemingly fixed idea, of the white body" (Nayak, 2006: 742). As Nayak (2006) points out, that Frankenberg claims "there is a cultural/racial specificity to white people" (1993: 5) whilst deploying a social constructionist stance on race in exploring the "locations, discourses, and material relations to which the term 'whiteness' applies" (1993: 6), she conflates "whiteness as a social process - fluid, malleable and endlessly reconstituted - with a secure, apparently knowable object, 'white women', [and] we are left with the tangible irreducibility of race" (Nayak, 2006: 416).

So, for me to use fixed identity categories risks leaving me with the irreducibility of race, gender, and class. Further, it runs counter to my understanding that identities are, as far as possible, agentive,

and fluid in their performance. Whilst the effects of discourses on materialisation, embodiment, and signification (Butler, 1993) provide some degree of stability and durability of meaning that inheres into the bodies, behaviours, and talk of people, the agentive performance of identities provides the scope to breach the boundaries of fixed definitions of 'White', 'middle-class' and 'man'. So, having decided to research White, middle-class, men, how do I go about finding and recruiting them in a manner that avoids a reification of 'White', 'middle-class', and 'man' and the imposition of 'state' or institutionally defined understandings of these categories that deny the agency of subjects to redefine their identity?

Butler and Robson (2003) identified the existence of different metropolitan middle-classes in different city locations but concluded that their commonalities outweigh the differences. These commonalities have a spatial and social impact in that, as Butler and Robson say, "they huddle together in essentially White settlements" (2003: 2) that, whilst not identical, are comparable.

In identifying a locale in which to find these 'White settlements' and explore White, middle-class, masculine identity performances, Bristol serves as a context that has a cultural history that is replete with the normative discourses of Whiteness, masculinity and class. Due to its history of involvement in the trade of enslaved people, it has a physicality that is materially imbued with the signifying practices of these discourses and, as described later in this chapter, is today socially segregated along lines of race and class.

However, Bristol's present-day articulation is one of cosmopolitanism, modernism, and equality, to the extent that its deep disadvantage and discrimination is almost hidden from the view of the privileged and the wider world. Indeed, in 2017, the Sunday Times declared Bristol as the best place to live in England and Wales (BBC News, 2017). Yet, research in 2015 found Bristol to be the 2nd worst place in England and Wales to live for people racialised as Black (Finney and Lymperopoulou,

2015). Thus, it seems appropriate to be researching the effects of privilege being made visible in a city where disadvantage and oppression are being made invisible.

In examining the social make-up of Bristol and identifying those wards in which Whiteness, middle-classness and masculinity predominate, the use of state defined measures on race, class, gender, and other demographic factors provides useful mapping tools, despite the problematics of their tendency to reify and impose identity when applied to individuals and groups.

The social cartography of Bristol reveals a starkly spatially segregated city along lines of race and class. Bristol's six wealthiest wards are Clifton, Clifton Down, Cotham, Redland, Westbury on Trym and Henleaze, and Stoke Bishop - 24 of the 25 most advantaged Lower Super Output Areas (LSOA) in Bristol are in this area. Of the 50 LSOAs across these wards, 22 are in the 20% most advantaged nationally and 5 are in the 4% most advantaged nationally (UK Government, 2015).[3] The populations of these wards are principally White British with percentages ranging from 80% White British in Clifton up to 87% White British in Westbury-on-Trym and Henleaze (ONS, 2017). In contrast, the average for Bristol itself is 78% White British and the most ethnically diverse ward in Bristol, Lawrence Hill is just 36.5% White British (ONS, 2017). The recorded gender make-up of the area is in line with the average - 50% men and women (Bristol City Council, 2017).

The percentage of the populations in these wealthy, White dominated areas with Level 4 or higher qualifications range from a low of 46% in Stoke Bishop to a high of 62% in Redland. Significant percentages of the residents across all these wards work in professional careers with figures ranging from 50% to 55% of the working population in professional or managerial roles (NOMIS, 2018). As a comparative measure, in the White dominated 'working-class' wards to the south of Bristol, only

[3] As a point of clarification, this data is from the Index of Multiple Deprivation, which is comprised of measures of income, employment, health and disability, education, skills and training, crime, barriers to housing and services, and living environment that are weighted and combined and for which each LSOA is ranked. As such, it can also be considered an Index of Multiple Advantage.

12% have a qualification of Level 4 or higher and just 14% work in professional or managerial roles (NOMIS, 2018).

So, the wards of Clifton, Clifton Down, Cotham, Redland, Westbury on Trym and Henleaze, and Stoke Bishop can be described as urban contexts that are predominantly populated by wealthy, White, highly educated, professionally employed, advantaged individuals. They can be understood as areas where Whiteness, middle-classness, and masculinity are part of the established order of things and, therefore, in the past, largely invisible. It was in these wards, one of which I happen to live in, that I began the process of identifying informal social settings from which to recruit respondents.

Selecting White, Middle-class, Heterosexual Settings

The choice of the setting to both recruit and to engage respondents in conversation was critical in terms of the data collection, partly because of the recognition that context and situation affect how people talk, and partly because the setting itself is performative (Gregson and Rose, 2000) and forms a key aspect of the communicative setting. The meaning of the settings as 'White, middle-class, and heterosexual' do not pre-exist their discursive materialisation as 'White, middle-class, and heterosexual'. My respondents, as White, middle-class, heterosexual men only know them as such because of the parameters of cultural intelligibility that discourses of Whiteness, middle-classness, and heterosexual convey. Crucially, as a White, middle-class, heterosexual man, I also know them as such because of these parameters, which informed my selection of settings in which to recruit respondents. Equally, the performances of Whiteness, middle-classness, heterosexuality, and masculinity the subjects articulate within these settings rearticulate them as White, middle-class, heterosexual, homosocial settings (Gregson and Rose, 2000) which intersects with the materiality and embodiment practice of the subjects to construct the communicative setting for their talk and

conversations. Thus, the choice of setting is central for an intersectional understanding of the performances of privileged identities.

Whilst my intent had been to use my own discursive conditioning to identify settings in which White, middle-class men socialised and engaged in informal conversations with each other, the reality of my heteronormative conditioning and the unconscious influence of my heterosexuality led to these settings being heterosexual homosocial spaces frequented by White, middle-class men. The compound impact of this conditioning resulted in all my respondents being White, middle-class, heterosexual men.

In understanding bodies to be materialised by discourses and behaviours, to one degree or another, conditioned by them (Butler, 1990, 1993,1997), I approached the processes of selecting settings in which to recruit respondents from the perspective that, not only am I materialised as a White, middle-class man, but my perceptions are also conditioned by these discourses. Thus, I used my own conditioning to identify the social settings, initially pubs, that I would use for recruiting respondents. The pubs needed to be ones that I felt epitomised White, middle-class pubs, partly on the patrons I observed, partly on the décor and design of the pubs, the drinks they served, and the food and entertainment on offer, and partly on how ‘comfortable’ I felt in them as a White, middle-class man. I chose pubs as they are key venues for socialising and informal conversations. However, I also visited several independent and artisan coffee-shops across the area due to the recent boom in a middle-class, coffee shop culture in Britain (Gander, 2016) as well as a gym and a local golf club.

Whilst I identified and selected the settings within which to recruit respondents, when it came to gathering data, I asked the respondents to choose the settings to minimise researcher bias and the imposition of my own ideas of White, middle-class settings onto my respondents and the research setting.

Beginning in May 2018, I visited 11 pubs and coffee shops across the area at different times of day, spending time in them, observing the settings and the clientele to assess for myself whether they felt and performed like White, middle-class settings. That these settings were located within the wards of Bristol I had identified as being predominantly White, middle-class areas, it is, perhaps, no surprise that few that did not carry a feel of 'middle-classness' in them. It would be an interesting business decision to establish a social venue that did not cater to your local market, after all. So, for me, it was a process of trying to identify the settings that felt the most 'middle-class' to me.

Indeed, one pub I visited but rejected immediately was on the edge of Westbury-on-Trym, one of Bristol's wealthiest wards but which is bounded by one of Bristol's 'White, working-class garden estates'. My feeling about the pub when I visited was that it was likely to have been catering to that market, rather than the demographic of Westbury-on-Trym that the data suggests live there – In the interests of anonymity, I have changed the names of all the pubs I visited. My final comment on this pub in my research journal reflects my engagement with it.

The Village Arms. 6.30pm. 8th June 2018

> The pub is large and relatively empty inside. I buy my drink and go through to the large and busy pub garden at the back. I sit towards the rear of the garden, where I can see everything within it. I received a number of long looks as I took my seat. Why this might be, I don't know – I am wearing jeans and a t-shirt, and I do not particularly stand out from the crowd. The picnic bench style tables and chairs are populated by a mix of groups. Some seeming to be families, others occupied by groups of men in work clothes that matched the company transit vans in the car park. Most of the men were heavily tattooed and talking loudly. At one table a group of older, equally tattooed women sat, drinking pints, and laughing loudly. Westbury-on-Trym's working class pub. End of story!

My assumption was that not only were the clientele of the pub not middle-class but that they probably lived in the neighbouring ward. Some of my sense of class distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) that I displayed in assessing this pub was also reflected in the next pub that I visited in Westbury-on-Trym.

The Oak and Whistle. 8.00pm. 8th June 2018

> 'The clientele is mixed. Mainly groups of men wearing shorts and t-shirts with the sun-burned look of men who work outside…Outside in the small smoking area is a pair of men. One very young and trendily dressed. The other much older, dressed in dirty shorts and a t-shirt. His teeth are bad, and his face weathered. They are talking expressively about 'old school' cars made by Ford and stolen motorcycles'

I also rejected this pub because the clientele did not appear, to me, to be middle-class. This was, undeniably, my own middle-class perceptions, or prejudices, at play. I felt that I would not get the sort of data I was looking for from men who appeared to be builders or extolled the virtues of stealing motorbikes, which is not to say that people who build and people who steal motorcycles can't be middle-class. Rather, my prejudicial conditioning caused me to believe that they wouldn't be…

It occurred to me that the middle-class population in Westbury-on-Trym might tend to go out to pubs for meals, rather than drinking and informal socialising. This notion was reinforced for me by the final pub I visited in the area.

The Queen's Head. 5.30pm. 8th June 2018

> 'The pub has recently been refurbished. The interior is a modern dark grey with cream. The public bar area is very small and situated in a long thin room that would make socialising difficult. There are no 'taps' visible on the bar. Most of the interior is laid over to dining and it even has a maître d' pedestal at the entrance. The staff are dressed smartly in black and white uniforms. It feels much more like a restaurant than a pub, or even than a gastro-pub. There is a two-level outside area that is accessed through the large, main dining area which would make getting there feel awkward, if full of diners. It doesn't feel suitable for my research and, at 6pm on a Friday evening, it is empty apart from a couple from Fishponds…'

As much as it the clientele of the Queen's Head would engage in conversation over dinner, and it may be that dining out here is a part of their day-to-day experiences, I wondered how often the men here would go out to dinner together? It is certainly not something that I, as a White, middle-class man, do with my White, middle-class men friends, as a matter of course. Although, this may also be indicative of my performance of a heteronormative White, middle-class masculinity that suggests two heterosexual men going out for dinner together is not something that we do. As such, I felt creating a research situation along those lines would be too much like a forced setting and not produce as reliable data to answer my research question.

In the more suburban wards within my target area – Westbury-on-Trym and Stoke Bishop – the number of pubs and coffeeshops was markedly fewer in comparison to the more centrally located wards and so there were fewer informal social settings to choose from. The pubs and coffeeshops that I visited in Redland, Cotham and Clifton, which are wards located closer to the centre of Bristol, had a very different feel to them. Whilst they all served food and one or two might be described as gastropubs, they very much felt to me like drinking and socialising spaces.

There were some common themes to the décor and even the layout of the pubs and coffeeshops in these areas that felt very middle-class to me. Many used old fashioned, exposed filament style lighting that seems to be the height of middle-class interior décor fashion at the moment - I have some at home… A lot had seemingly randomly but very intentionally placed 'ornamental' books, empty bottles, and plants scattered on window ledges, tables, shelves and in odd corners. Some, like the Bristol Arms had a stack of board games in the corner, which all included the ubiquitous middle-class Scrabble and Uno amongst them. The Bristol Arms also seemed to take a directly gendered approach to advertising its wares to a middle-class clientele. 'Real Ales' was stencilled onto one of its large front windows and 'Botanical Gins' stencilled onto the other, beneath which sat empty gin bottles with plastic flowers in them. Although, my engagement with this configuration as gendered across beer drinking men and botanical gin drinking women is indicative of my heteronormative conditioning.

Interestingly, the pub had taken several different sets of chairs and scattered them between the tables such that they did not match, giving a 'shabby chic' impression to its interior. However, I was put off by the 1970's flock wallpaper on the chimney breast, the lava lamp on the mantlepiece, and the painting of the orange octopus in the hearth. With these and the plastic flowers, it just didn't feel quite 'middle-class' enough to my sensibilities.

Other pubs in this area, such as The Hounds Tooth, being close to the University, seemed set up to cater more to student nightlife and, as such, were not suitable for my research. Added to that, I felt somewhat out of place in them, which confirmed for me their exclusion from the project.

The Hounds Tooth. 2.00pm. 16 May 2018

> 'The furniture is a mix of matched tables, chairs and church pews. The décor is very dark. The walls are either painted a dark grey or covered with an abstract dark grey and silver wallpaper. A large, heavily framed mirror hangs on one wall of the front room. Flickering, white fairy lights adorn its frame. The other lighting is minimal and comprised of 'old' wall mounted lights and a chandelier. The music is a mix of jazz and modern dance music. The place has a feel if a night-time venue, rather than a pub.'

The Toad and Sprocket was one of the pubs that classed itself as a gastropub and it was one that I ultimately chose to recruit respondents from.

The Toad and Sprocket. 7.30pm. 16th May 2018

> 'The pub is split into two with one area given over exclusively to dining. This is a 'gastro-pub'. The pub is busy in both rooms. The clientele is a mix of men and women, all White to my eyes, and a range of ages. They are all dressed smartly or in smart-casual attire. There is a small chalk and slate sign on the bar promoting an event – 'Foraging, lunch and 'wild' cocktail making. £50 per person'!!
>
> The décor is subtle cream and moss shades with a mix of small, black and white photos and small animal skulls in picture frames on the walls. I am not sure the relevance of the animal skulls to the pub, unless they have been foraged and served on the menu…'

The Toad and Sprocket. 6.00pm. 12th June 2018

> 'The pub is not so busy tonight, but it is earlier in the evening. I am sitting outside in the sun. There is a group of youngish people sitting outside as well. They appear to be having drinks

after leaving work together. They are all smartly dressed. As time passes more customers arrive in small groups. They are all expensively dressed, whether casually or smartly. Everyone here exudes wealth. Interestingly, tonight I feel somewhat distant from them, although I am 'marked' the same as many people here. Whether this is due to occupying my identity as a researcher or due to some other, personal sense of difference, is difficult to say.'

Despite this slight sense of discomfort, or distance, that I felt from the clientele in the Toad and Sprocket, the pub, to me, oozed middle-classness. The patrons exuded wealth and education. The food was expensive and high-end pub food, and that they offered foraging and wild cocktail sessions at £50 per person all seemed to me to speak of middle-class cultural practices (Bourdieu, 1984). Equally, although unaware of it at the time, the nature of the clientele being seemingly heterosexual couples, or groups of seemingly heterosexual men – none of the men were, to me, 'recognizably' homosexual - also spoke to my heterosexuality and the homosociality of the setting. So, I decided to use it as a venue at which to try to recruit respondents.

During this part of my fieldwork, the 2018 Football World Cup was in full swing. Many of the pubs had TVs showing games and my engagement with the clientele in these pubs also became a factor in choosing certain ones to try to recruit respondents from. The Golden Key in Clifton was one such pub.

The Golden Key. 6.15pm. 21st June 2018

'The Golden key is set at the end of a short, no through road. Its frontage presents itself to you as you approach over cobblestones. In front is a courtyard with long, bench tables. Pole based heaters are dotted about and a retractable awning sits at its mid-point. A TV screen,

> showing a World Cup match is attached to one wall and a blackboard declaring a daily special on prosecco between midday and 5pm sits next to it.
>
> A group of men dressed in suits sit at one of the tables, attention flickering from a rapt focus on the screen to laughter with the others. Four couples sit together across the other tables and three pairs of young women make up the remainder of the outside clientele. All are White and all appear expensively and fashionably dressed.'

In addition to its geographical location, its appearance as a setting, its drinks offer being on prosecco, and the smart casual attire of the non-football watching clientele, that the football fans were wearing suits, rather than team shirts and shorts – it was a hot day – again spoke to me of middle-class cultural practices. Additionally, the engagement of the football watchers with the match was muted – there was no shouting or gesticulating at the screen despite the game being an England game – which further reinforced my sense that these were middle-class football fans. In all these assessments, my own middle-class sensibilities about cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1993) and recognition that have been conditioned by the various middle-class discourses of distinction were brought to bear. That the groups of people watching and engaging with the football, albeit in muted, middle-class terms, were all men reveals the homosociality of the setting. However, the presence of couples and groups of women also socialising in the space speaks to and further indicates the heteronormativity of both the setting and my setting selection processes.

Having identified four pubs that I felt epitomised White, middle-class pubs due to their décor, layout, ambience and clientele, and several coffee shops across the area that also ticked my middle-class sensibilities boxes, I also identified other social settings through which to recruit. These included a private gym/health spa – which I happen to be a member of - and a golf club, which I'm not. I discuss my engagement with the golf club and my sense of fluctuating

insiderness/outsiderness later in this chapter. My research journal notes on my engagement with the gym provide some interesting insight into both my middle-class sensibilities and the operations of heteronormative hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) on me.

The Gym/Health Spa. 11.00am. Sunday 5th August 2018

> The gym/health spa is one of a national chain of health centres featuring a gym, swimming pool, sauna, steam room, jacuzzi and a franchise of Health Spa's offering a number of services from massages to facials. The Bristol branch is a low-slung, two storey building located in a quiet complex that also includes a tennis club and a Crown Green Bowling club.
>
> It is mid-morning on a Sunday. There are a few people reading papers in the café. I notice a preponderance of The Sunday Times and The Observer in people's hands. The gym is a rectangular space located on the first floor. It is light and airy with big windows and the air conditioning blowing softy. A range of machines and free weights areas populate the floor in orderly rows. Pop music is playing gently in the background. TV screens on either of the long walls silently play different TV channels. The gym is being used by approximately 15 people, roughly 50:50 men and women. They are predominantly middle aged or older with one or two younger people dotted around. This is a different cohort from those who are usually here when I attend at about 3:30pm on a weekday. That crowd is younger with more men in attendance than women.
>
> After I complete my workout, the café is somewhat more populated, including a few people lounging in white towelling dressing gowns. They are either 'resting' after a treatment in the spa or awaiting their next one. I find the presence of people in dressing gowns in the café a bit disconcerting, as if such attire should be reserved for private spaces. I wonder if this is my

> middle-class sensibilities about propriety, decency, and privacy at play. However, as most of the clientele strike me as being middle-class, it may be that my discomfort is not a particularly middle-class trait!
>
> I am aware that I am much more conscious of my own positionality, particularly masculinity today than I have been in the pubs and coffeeshops. I believe this is because of the location/context. The discourses of masculinity are strong in such an environment, and their influence on me are heavy. It is interesting to reflect on the manifestation of this here – the competitive nature of masculinity between men, and the obvious 'figure flattering/demonstrating' nature of the attire worn by some women in the gym. Yes. I notice. Yes. There is an element of admiration of men with better physiques and sense of relief that there are those with worse than mine! Yes, I notice with admiration and sexualised attraction those women whose physiques are close to that prescribed as attractive by discourses on beauty, but I am careful not to look/watch….honest!
>
> Class and race are not as apparent, although I am conscious of the predominance of White and middle-class people here. Those with 'accents' and visible tattoos are few and far between, but they do stand out. There are a few People of Colour here, but they are very much the minority.

In addition to the simple fact that I, as a White, middle-class man, am a member of this gym, these feelings, and observations I noted that I had on this day spoke to me of the appropriateness of the setting for recruiting respondents. Interestingly, though, and perhaps because of the towelling dressing gowns, I chose not to approach people to recruit but rather left flyers with tear off contact strips pinned to the notice board.

Recruiting Respondents and the Sample Profile

Whilst the use of state data gives us a sense of the demography of the areas, it does not tell us about how those who live within them identify. To assume that all who live within these wards, and to whom the category labels of 'White', 'middle-class' and 'man' could be applied, identify in this way is to not only reify the categories but also to impose identity on to those inhabitants. Thus, my approach to recruiting respondents within these social settings was designed to recruit initially through my processes of recognition of subjects who appeared to me to be White, middle-class men and subsequently through self-identification.

Having identified suitable locations to undertake recruitment, I attended the pubs during the evenings and used my own 'conditioning' to identify and approach patrons who, to me, looked and, if overheard, sounded like they were White, middle-class men, men who, it transpired, were also recognisable to me as heterosexual. It might be argued that through using my processes of recognition, I am imposing an identity onto the potential respondents. However, due to the heterogeneity of the articulations and performances of Whiteness, masculinity and middle-classness, using my own understanding, performance, and articulation of them represents not the imposition of a fixed identity category but rather the fluid engagement with processes of recognition, and my own subjectivity, to identify respondents who might be White, middle-class men. This is particularly so as my sense of self as a White, middle-class man changed throughout the identification of settings and the recruitment of respondents, as at the Golf Club and the Toad and Sprocket. Thus, my recognitions and identifications were not fixed but, rather, were themselves fluid and contextualised.

My decisions on who to approach were informed by my own subjection to the parameters of cultural intelligibility that define White, middle-class, heterosexual men and condition my

recognition other White, middle-class, heterosexual men. I noted not just their attire, which was something of a determining factor - I did not approach men who, to me, appeared out of place in the pubs due to their clothes - but I also noted, where possible, how they spoke. Their accents were an element but particularly their eloquence in articulating themselves and the confidence with which they seemed to express their views and opinions.

In these assessments is a clear perception I have that education, confidence, accent, and the ability to articulate are facets of middle-classness, which is consistent with discourses of middle-classness that seek to distinguish us from the working-class (Lawler 2005; Reay et al, 2007, 2011). In many ways, in my process of identifying potential respondents, I was performing a White, middle-class, heterosexual masculine identity that emulated the day-to-day processes of recognition and identification of White, middle-class men, and thus reproduced the processes of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) that the White, middle-classes undertake to establish symbolic boundaries (Jarness, 2017). This then firmly embeds the research and the processes of respondent recruitment I undertook in the discursive field, and its dynamics, that I was seeking to explore. Perhaps unsurprisingly, in the main, my conditioning and processes of recognition and the respondents' materialisation, appearance and behaviour proved to be in tune. Only one of the 35 possible respondents I approached turned out to be of a mixed heritage, and only two dismissed the research project as not relevant to them because they identified as 'working-class'.

When approaching potential respondents, I verbally explained the research project and provided them with information sheets to read. I had also developed flyers to leave in the pubs and other settings so that respondents could self-select, should they wish to. The flyers and the information sheets explained the research project to be about 'Being British, Middle-class Men - Identity and Living in Bristol Today' and invited them to have a few beers with me and talk about it, if they were interested.

I used ‘British’ as a proxy for ‘White’ due to findings, such as those by Byrne (2006a), that people are reluctant to talk about race and I did not want this to alienate potential respondents or put those who agreed to participate on their guard, particularly as Black Lives Matter and the public debate on White privilege were high profile in the media. However, it was also due to the discursive association between British and ‘White’ that other research has identified that indicates, for many people, being British means being White (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984; Gilroy, 1987; Bonnett, 1998; Chambers, 1993; Clarke and Garner, 2010; Flemmen and Savage, 2017).

It could be argued that the absence of explicit information about my intention to analyse how intersectional privilege works diminishes the ability of the respondents to give informed consent. However, to have informed them of this reality could have caused them to modify their behaviour and so reduce the reliability and validity of the data. Given the objectives of the research and in the interests of gathering reliable and valid data, I deemed the information sufficient to meet ethical requirements for informed consent.

In the pubs and coffee shops, I left research information flyers on tables. At the Golf Club, I did approach people but also left information sheets with tear off contact strips in the changing rooms. At the gym, I left information sheets with tear off contact strips on the notice board. In total, I distributed 150 flyers and sheets with tear off contact strips in informal social settings across the area.

This approach to recruitment was relatively successful. However, it is interesting that more respondents were snowballed into the study than were recruited by direct approaches by me, or through the flyers and tear-off contact strips. Snowballing respondents (Goodman, 1961) was not a specific strategy of mine, and I did not actively seek gatekeepers and ask them to identify respondents for me. That so many were snowballed into the project may speak to the relevance of

the research topic as something the respondents wanted to talk about, and to the pertinence of conducting this research at this time of critical visibility.

Of the 19 respondents recruited, only four were recruited through a direct approach from me. Of the others, four self-selected through responding to flyers - one at the golf course, one from a coffee-shop, and two through flyers left at the gym. A total of nine other respondents were snowballed into the study by respondents, either directly or through introducing me to them at events I attended with them during the fieldwork. One other respondent was an acquaintance of mine who expressed an interest in participating when I bumped into him in a bar one evening. Another was a professional contact of mine who expressed interest in being a respondent when discussing my research after a meeting.

All respondents who agreed to take part were sent consent forms and a link to a brief survey that I asked them to complete in advance of our first meeting. This survey was designed to gather some demographic data on the respondents (see headings of Appendix 1 for key survey questions). However, as its function was also to try to establish the respondents' sense of their own identity to aid the sampling process, most of the questions utilised text boxes, rather than multiple choice, or yes/no answers. As such, answers to questions about ethnicity ranged from 'White British' through 'White English' to 'White Anglo Saxon', and the question on sexuality included answers such as 'straight' as well as 'heterosexual' and 'gay'. In response to the question 'Do you identify as middle-class?', 11 said 'yes', four said that they 'Hadn't really thought about it', two indicated that they 'Preferred not to say', and two said 'No'. The data from the two respondents who said 'No', whilst collected, has not been used in this thesis.

All told, the respondent pool included 19 men ranging in age from 27 to 76 with incomes spanning under £20,000 per annum to over £100,000 per annum, all of whom were heterosexual. They were

middle and senior level managers in finance and banking, software development, and professional services, but also included retirees, small business owners, post-graduate students, and freelance professionals. The majority were in some form of a relationship in which they lived with their partners, and many had children ranging from recent babies to adults. Interestingly, only one of the five who were born in Bristol had lived here all his life. Others came from across the country, predominantly from small towns and cities, with just two having moved to Bristol from London. As such, the pool is reflective of the varied, 'ordinary' White, middle-class man in the street, rather than an elite group distinguished purely by wealth and education (a full breakdown of the respondent pool is available at Appendix 1). In presenting the data in the remainder of my thesis, and to meet the ethical requirements of anonymity, I have used pseudonyms for all the respondents and other people specifically named by them during our conversations.

Data Gathering and Everyday Conversations in the Field

To research everyday talk, there is a need to strip away, as far as is possible, the aspects of formal research that transform a situation into a 'research experience' for the respondents (Hammersley, 2018). Traditional interviews, whether they be structured or semi-structured convey a degree of formality and introduce a structure to the interaction that guides each interview along a similar path. Even 'in-depth interviews' that Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault refer to as "face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed toward understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words" (2015: 102) are usually conducted in formal research contexts (Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault, 2015).

As my research focus was to explore the everyday talk of the respondents in their social settings, I rejected undertaking interviews in favour of holding unstructured 'conversations'. Holding a series of conversations with the respondents in their informal, social settings not only provided direct data in

the form of their responses to me as someone they recognise as a White, middle-class man, but data that may allow us to understand how they would perform in comparable 'real world' settings (Coulon, 1995; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

To further this aspect, after recruitment, I asked the respondents to choose where they would like to meet up, rather than specifying venues myself, thus diminishing researcher bias in the setting selection, and ensuring the settings were a pre-existing element of the respondents' lives in which they felt comfortable (Ergun and Erdemir 2010; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Critically, though, given the performative nature of space and its intersection with identity performances in the construction and articulation of meaning (Gregson and Rose, 2000), asking the respondents to select the settings themselves enriched the data as reflecting the talk of White, middle-class men through the effect of the setting as a White, middle-class setting intersecting with the discourses they articulated.

For some, the settings for our conversations turned out to be the pub I recruited them in, as it was their regular or local pub. Others chose different pubs and some preferred to meet in coffee shops. Other conversations were held at restaurants. Two respondents invited me into their homes, although, in both these situations we ended up going to a pub anyway. One respondent chose to meet at an art-house cinema that has a large bar/restaurant area.

How, though, to construct a research situation in which someone who has never met me before, and who knows they are engaging in a research process, will engage with me in such a way that provides the data required to answer the research question? My own positionality as a White, middle-class man was key in developing rapport, due to processes of recognition and inferred similarity, but also in accessing their talk in its least mediated form, as they would see me as one of them. I also decided to undertake 1-1 conversations rather than group sessions, given that their talk would be more

mediated in a group of strangers than in 1-1s that, themselves, imply a degree of confidentiality and, perhaps, conspiratorial fraternity. Crucially, though, how to conduct my fieldwork in such a way that the conversations would model, as far as possible, an informal, everyday conversation? This was a key issue that caused some consternation for me – if I developed too much of a fixed strategy to how I approached the conversations, they would lose the natural spontaneity and flow of an informal, everyday conversation.

In the first instance, to achieve this aim, I knew I needed to develop a rapport with my respondents in a way that provided the space for them to talk about themselves and their views in a relaxed manner. This also needed to be an approach that shifted the conversation from what they might have expected of a research session into something more informal and, hopefully, everyday for them.

Other than gathering data in informal, social settings of the respondents' choice, my strategy to achieve this was to conduct a series of conversations with each respondent so that rapport and informality were built over time, rather than seeking to achieve this in a one-off conversation. Additionally, at the beginning of my first, and every subsequent meeting with each respondent, I bought them a drink and simply asked them how they were and how their day or week had been. This was designed, as far as possible, to instigate an informality into the conversations. In the first conversations, after the informal exchange of 'news', I then asked each respondent to tell me about themselves, about who they were.

Often, the respondents would begin to narrate some form of life story starting with their younger years and working their way forwards. As these stories progressed, I occasionally asked respondents questions about their schooling, their friendship groups, their parents, etc, as the topics came up. This was primarily designed to maintain the flow of the conversation, as I wanted them to relax into

a sense of themselves, but also to move our engagement forward to replicate one in which the participants were familiar with each other. To further achieve this, during the conversations I would tell what I call ‘agreement stories’ in which I shared my own life experiences that compared in some way to the respondents.

In truth, my narration of these agreement stories was not a pre-planned or forced narration - I did not know what I was going to narrate about myself in advance. The articulation of my stories came naturally and unbidden in direct response to an experience of the respondents that I recognised. This was, perhaps, the first instances in which my role as a researcher began to blur for me, as my own sense of self and need to be myself became an aspect of the process. It is difficult to tell, but it may be that this spontaneous presentation of myself to the respondents in these conversation settings contributed to their sense of ease and familiarity with me because they could sense the authenticity of it.

Even in our initial conversations, as the examples from some of the conversations below demonstrate, some respondents wanted to express opinions and seemed to welcome the opportunity to opine on the condition of the White, middle-class man. Indeed, having this opportunity was a key motivation for them participating. This may point to a sense of scrutiny they were feeling due to the existing public debates, to their new-found visibility, and a need to express their views in response.

> Daniel: I think the question you asked, ’Do you identify as middle-class?’ and I said prefer not to say
>
> Matt: Sure

Daniel: and I just felt I don't know if it needs more debate…I said that to a colleague of mine that I'm doing this and he went 'Why do we need, we don't need this. What struggle have we had ? Nothing'

Matt: Hhhhh[4]

Daniel: and I just, I kind of I backed it up a bit by saying 'Well, I think there is a need to look into this area. I do feel that there's friends of mine that, or this particular age group struggles in a bit of a way cos there is that expectation that we 'Well, everything's alright for you'

Matt: So, what did you think when you saw the flyer at the golf club?

Ian: Yeah, cos I think this all the time but I'm the forgotten minority, if you know what I mean?

Stephen: Let's kick start on a random basis then. I find the whole kind of class thing quite fascinating, as many people will do.

Others, such as Ben, also stated that he had 'conversations about class and stuff with my friends'. So, whilst aspects of these conversations were more 'research' like, as respondents sought to discuss the 'topics' on the research information sheets, these were instigated by respondents as something they wanted to discuss, which the research programme simply gave them a platform to do. This led

[4] Transcription note – I use hhhh of varying lengths to denote laughter and its duration

to an initial discussion on some of these topics that elicited some significant data. However, I always returned to my processes of establishing rapport by asking the respondents to tell me about who they were, once this initial discussion seemed to subside.

After we had explored our life-stories and points of commonality that arose from them, the conversation turned to more of the present-day context and the conversational flow became much more everyday and fluid – we discussed the pain of the commute, work being stressful, relationships, plans for Christmas, the news, etc. This shift in the exchange dynamics happened with all my respondents, whether I met them once, or several times. However, the shift became more natural and embedded the longer I spent with them, or the more times I met with them. Some of the 37 conversations I had across the respondent pool lasted for several hours with one 'session' running from 4pm to 11pm. None of the conversations were shorter than an hour and the average duration was 2.5 hours. Of the 19 respondents, I held more than one conversation with 11 of them.

As the conversation flowed into present day discussions, my questions shifted from asking them about themselves to asking general interest questions, as per a conversation, but also more probing questions about the views and opinions they were expressing. Again, these probing questions were not predetermined, and my asking of them very much reflected how I converse with my friends outside of any research situation. As such, whilst they may have been probing, to one degree or another, they still reflected the everyday conversations amongst White, middle-class men that I participate in.

Throughout the fieldwork, the development of rapport with the respondents, my comparable positionality with the respondents, but particularly my sense of discomfort and, at times, conflict with myself about how I responded to statements that were racist, sexist, and/or classist, raised

specific questions about the nature, dynamics, and problematics in what might be called 'insider research' (Merton, 1972), which I discuss in detail in the next section.

From the Inside to the Outside and Back Again

Much of the early discussions on insider/outsider research tended to construct these positions as diametrically opposed, each with its own advantages and disadvantages, and a researcher was considered either an insider or an outsider (Merton, 1972; Olson, 1977; Griffith, 1998). However, as the 'status' of insiderness and outsidernesss is linked to a researcher's identity, which is fluid and shifting from context to context and never sutured in meaning, a fixed either/or construction of insider/outsider positions is inherently flawed (Naples, 1996).

The risk of the either/or insider/outsider debate reifying these positions as a binary has received significant academic attention (e.g., Ergun and Erdemir, 2010; Woodward, 2008; Mercer, 2007; Kusow, 2003; Naples, 1996; Narayan, 1993). In essence, this critique posits that it is not possible to determine the relationship between the researcher and the researched in advance of the fieldwork such that the researcher can be categorised as an insider or outsider (Kusow, 2003). However, as with my own experience, it is not just the inability to predetermine the relationship that affects the position of the researcher. Even within the interactions of fieldwork the position of the researcher cannot be understood as fixed to the inside or the outside. The processes of ongoing identification (Hall, 1996) that occur within an interaction, and the nature of our fluctuating emotional and psychological responses to what is being expressed and observed, creates a changing sense of insiderness/outsiderness. The nature of the interaction being relational, and these shifting processes, creates a dialectical dynamic in the fluid positioning of the researcher along an insider/outsider continuum (Ergun and Erdemir, 2010; Bilecen, 2014). Critically, this dynamic is underpinned by the intersectional nature of identities, and the relational yet never completed

nature of identification (Hall, 1996) suggests that identities between researcher and respondents are continually changing. Ergun and Erdemir (2010) cite Naples argument that, insiderness and outsiderness are “ever-shifting and permeable social locations…negotiated and renegotiated in particular everyday interactions [that are] embedded in local processes that reposition…socially constructed distinctions” (1996:84).

Van Mol, Mahieu, De Clerck, Piqueray, Wauters, Levrau, Vanderwaeren and Michielsen argue that the shifting, relational nature of identity performances creates instances of proximity and of distance that constitute “moments of insiderness and outsiderness” (2014: 70). They suggest that these moments arise from the processes of identification and interaction in each context. Thus, participants in interaction construct fluid relations of equivalency or difference based on the perceived commonalities and differences that emerge through the interaction (Van Mol et al, 2014).

My own experience of the fluid nature of insider/outsider positioning varied from respondent to respondent, and from conversation to conversation. For much of the time I felt like an insider. My identification of settings to recruit from was informed by my own sense of ‘comfort’ in those environs. The sense of visual familiarity I experienced when identifying people to approach was also a facet of my insiderness. At times, though, I felt very much like an outsider. The golf club and a subsequent golfing weekend I was invited to attend were settings and occasions in which I felt uncomfortable and ‘out of place’, despite the heteronormative homosociality of these settings, which shifted my insider status closer to that of an outsider (Ergun and Erdemir, 2010; Bilecen, 2014). However, that I had, upon instruction, dressed ‘appropriately’, those I engaged with in these settings treated me much like I was one of them. The following excerpt from my field journal describing my visit to the golf club to recruit respondents illustrates my sense of discomfort and begins to demonstrate the fluidity of insiderness and outsideness.

The Golf Club. 12.15pm. 15th of August 2018.

> 'I feel a sense of reluctance about coming here. The conception I have of golf clubs and golfers is one that I am personally at odds with and uncomfortable about. I sense that I will feel awkward and out of place. I arrive. The car park is full. Most of the vehicles are expensive and new. The building is low slung and comparatively modern. Immediately through the entrance, the wall is adorned with old style wooden plaques bearing the names of club captains and presidents, past and present, and national golfing honours that members have won. I feel a sense of tradition, history, and elitism. I do feel awkward and out of place.
>
> I am shown through to the bar area where I have been asked to set up an information table. I am here when most golfers have finished their rounds. Many stay for a drink. Everyone is dressed in 'appropriate' attire – I had been told that I had to wear a shirt with a collar. The staff are dressed in white shirts, black trousers, and ties. It may be just me and my preconceptions, but there feels to be a rarefied atmosphere of entitlement and exclusivity. It is for them as members who have 'earned' the right to be there, whether by birth right or wealth.
>
> Approaching the members feels harder and more problematic than approaching people in pubs. It feels less sociable.'

However, this movement from feeling like and insider to feeling like an outsider was most significant when engaging in conversation where opinions were expressed that were not consistent with my views. Additionally, these were opinions that I would have challenged in a non-research context, in my everyday performance of my own White, middle-class man identity.

In many ways, these situations were more difficult to navigate. I was being treated like an insider but felt like an outsider. These situations triggered my own contested subjectivity and internal negotiations with myself about the degree to which I was prepared to be 'just like them' – to be complicit with them - in the interests of eliciting data. Revealingly, at no point did I feel or was I treated like an outsider in relation to my heterosexuality. There was, in fact, no conversation that related directly to sexuality perhaps due in part to the exclusive heterosexuality of the respondents and, in part, due to no sense of threat or critique they felt specifically about their heterosexuality. Indeed, in their responses to counterhegemonic discourse around their behaviour, such as #MeToo, they exhibited no sense of a critique of their heterosexuality per se but rather simply a sense of a critique of their behaviour as heterosexual men. Thus, my contested subjectivity was only triggered in relation to their comments about People of Colour and racism, women and gender equality, and working-class behaviours.

My internal conflict in how to respond to my contested subjectivity in these situations was heightened by my need to perform an authentic version of my own identity as a White, middle-class man to give the interaction authenticity as an example of White middle-class men talking to each other. This authenticity of my own identity performance was a key element of my methodology, as I was one of the White, middle-class men engaging in conversation. Thus, to not perform my own White, middle-class man identity in the way I would outside of the research context seemed to be counter to my methodological approach.

Often, I found myself voicing responses such as 'Right' or 'Okay' that seemed to agree with or confirm their statements whilst, internally, I was feeling discomfort at this and wanting to disagree with and/or challenge their statements. My expressions of 'Right' and 'Okay', whilst not explicit statements of agreement with what they were saying, served to reinforce their sense of me as one of them but, more so, I often told 'agreement stories' in response to their narratives about their

experiences that reinforced this construction of similarity. These acts by myself made me complicit in the adaptation of discourses that preserved or maintained privilege. Indeed, as a White, middle-class man actively choosing to not challenge certain statements and opinions expressed by the respondents, I was also complicit through my silence. It is only through the process of completing this thesis that I can address my complicity in knowledge production and the maintenance of privilege.

Researcher Complicity in Knowledge Production and the Maintenance of Privilege

By actively locating myself within the research process i.e., by being a participant in the conversations that generate the data, I am wholly complicit in the knowledge that these conversations produce. Complicity in some form is understood as being inescapable due to the inevitability of the outcome of a researcher/respondent interaction being constructed by both parties in the interaction (Sumara and Davis, 1997). However, as much as I am the researcher in the setting, I am engaging with and responding to the respondents as a White, middle-class man and, together, we are generating data about White, middle-class men in conversation. This is particularly so once rapport and commonality have been established and the conversations shift into a form that is more comparable to everyday conversations. As a subject materialised and conditioned to be a White, middle-class man, this complicity is, in many respects a central aspect of my methodology. However, in my reflections on these conversations, on how I conducted them and how I felt within them, this complicity raised tensions and questions for me regarding my role in perpetuating privilege and discriminatory views through participating in them.

Researcher complicity in researching disadvantaged subjects and 'giving them voice' to avoid complicity in maintaining power dynamics of knowledge production has received attention in the scholarship (Becker and Aiello, 2013; Pollack and Eldridge, 2015), as has 'researching up' or

researching those who are privileged (Becker and Aiello, 2013). Much of the critique relates to researcher complicity with power and, in researching the privileged, it focuses on how a researcher should respond when hearing or witnessing acts that are discriminatory (Becker and Aiello, 2013).

There is a debate within critical research as to how a researcher should respond to these situations, partly to minimise complicity and partly to remain true to their critical foundations. Some argue that the challenge to these acts should occur in the analysis and description of the study once the researcher has left the field (Hurtado and Stewart, 2004; Presser, 2005). Others argue that the ethical priority for a researcher is to employ the power they have to challenge and undermine a powerful respondent, rather than moderating and limiting their power over them (Conti and O'Neil, 2007; Green, Barbour, Barnard and Kitzinger, 1993). Some argue for researchers to directly challenge discriminatory behaviour exhibited by respondents during fieldwork (Gallagher, 2000; Hurd, 1998). Ultimately, my approach to my complicity was a combination of these three positions.

In the conversations I had with the respondents, there were numerous occasions when individuals expressed views and opinions that were discriminatory, whether consciously or unconsciously, whether overtly or subtly. My responses to these incidents varied from no challenge to probing challenges, the choice of which seemed to be dependent on my degree of familiarity and rapport with the respondents – the greater the rapport, the more I challenged. Thus, my degree of complicity seemed to be proportionate to my sense of a relationship with the respondents, and not purely driven by an ethical stance to challenge, or by any fear of losing access, a differential in power or status, or by the seriousness of the incident that Becker and Aiello (2013) suggest are key factors. It is significant, though, that the expressions of prejudicial views were central to the subject area, and I needed them to be free in their expressions of their views.

In the end, I resolved the tensions around my degree of complicity and my methodological approach through an indirect approach to challenge. This involved asking respondents questions about what they were saying that were designed to encourage them to think more deeply. These 'Why do you think?', 'What if?' 'What about?' and 'Could it be?' type questions allowed me to gently challenge and perform my own identity as a White, middle-class man whilst not alienating the respondent, or causing them to be defensive. This way, I was able to preserve my methodological approach, my sense of my own authenticity, and elicit data from the respondents. Interestingly, because of this approach, several respondents commented to me afterwards that they 'had never thought about it this way before'. The following excerpt comes from a discussion I had with Ian about transgender identity

> Ian: I wouldn't for a minute want to go and talk to them.'
>
> Matt: Why not?
>
> Ian: Because I'm very picky about who I talk to and I wouldn't want to talk to 'most' people who walk in here, let alone somebody I fundamentally don't understand. If you want to be transgender and want to talk to me, it puts you down the pecking order of people I want to talk to
>
> Matt: Why?
>
> Ian: Well, because I've got nothing, well, personality maybe, but the screening thing, the initial thing you have to get through because you're such a fucking minority is that I don't understand what I'm looking at, you know. There needs to be a lot more abnormality in the world for me to think you're normal.

From this point I asked Ian questions about whether he thinks there are just two genders, and whether he thinks an effeminate man is still a man because he does not display the masculine qualities Ian recognises. He responds by articulating biological discourses around the chromosomal make-up of a person. He does though express the view that the existence of transgender people is as a result of evolution. When I feed back to him that his evolution argument means that transgender people are, indeed, 'normal', he states that he was 'prepared to think differently about it'. This point to a potential area of praxis in challenging privilege that can be drawn from my fieldwork. However, it may be that this form of challenge would be received differently, if delivered by someone who was not as privileged as the person being challenged.

My reflections on issues of complicity and my fluctuating sense of insiderness/outsiderness also raised for me certain questions about the ethics of making analytical statements that I am conscious the respondents would not like whilst seeking to present work that challenges the hegemony of White, middle-class men. Equally, this led to thinking about how power flows in a research context where the privileged is researching the privileged.

Privileged Power in the Field

In their paper exploring their role as an ethnographic researcher, Parameswaran observes that "the process of conducting fieldwork . . . calls for negotiations of power relationships between researchers and people they encounter in the field" (2001:69). The discussions in the methodological scholarship around these power relations often revolve around the notion that the researcher holds more power than the researched and display an assumption that the research is being conducted upon those disadvantaged by society (De Andrade, 2000). However, when researching the powerful there are a different set of power negotiations and tensions to consider. Often, though, the discussions here locate the researched in a position of power over the researcher (see Welch,

Marschan-Piekkari, Penttinen and Tahvanainen, 2002; Morris, 2009; Rice, 2009; Harvey, 2010; Mikecz, 2012; Perera, 2020). However, for me, as a White, middle-class man researching White, middle-class men – the privileged researching the privileged - the power footing between researcher and researched is more equal. Access to the field and respondents was easy, acceptance by them and the development of trust was easy, the interplay in conversation between them and me was, in the main, relaxed, easy, and unguarded. This was due to an intersectional cultural proximity between us that not only accounted for visible makers of identity but also the cultural practices and reference points that signal belonging and condition certain hierarchies within the in-group of White, middle-class men (Jarness, 2014). There was little, if any, sense of hierarchical positioning between the respondents and me, either by the respondents or myself.

In this context then, the issue of power is more on my power as a researcher. This raises ethical questions about the use of that power in a context in which I am seeking ways to trouble the maintenance of privilege by those I am researching. This is privilege that I also hold, which means the respondents see me as like them and so, maybe, as an ally in the defence of our privilege. In this context, given the over-arching aim of the research being to 'trouble' the hegemony of White, middle-class men, it strikes me that, as a White, middle-class man with all the attendant power and privilege that comes with my positionality, it is my ethical responsibility to use that power and privilege to trouble it, even if this causes some form of emotional consternation and discomfort for my respondents. This is particularly so if this discomfort brings about their own reflection and, ultimately, a reduction in the hegemony of White, middle-class men.

In thinking about power from a different perspective, Kusow described the research power dynamic as "frequently situational, depending on the prevailing social, political, and cultural values of a given social context" (2003:592). Volodor (2014) expands Kusow's (2003) position beyond the relational and shifting nature of subjectivities within a particular interaction to highlight how the dynamics of

insiderness and outsiderness reveal the ways in which the research context refracts and reflects broader societal issues of dominance and discrimination. In this regard, there were a few examples of hierarchical, power-driven interactions between myself and respondents. For example, Henry, right at the beginning of our first conversation, just after we had signed the consent form, sought to position himself in a more powerful position than me through threats of legal action.

> Matt: Do you want a copy of this after I've signed it as well?
>
> Henry: No
>
> Matt: You've got a paper copy at home. Do you want another one, just in case?
>
> Henry: No. Don't need, it'll be somewhere
>
> Matt: Yeah
>
> Henry: Well, my only recourse is to sue you or the university or some others
>
> Matt: Oh, right, okay, well in that case, sue the university
>
> Henry: Hhhhh, yes
>
> Matt: Hhhh not me.
>
> Henry: I probably would

> Matt: You can sue me, if you like, but you won't get anything cos I haven't got anything! Hhhh, but, well, no, as it says in there, anything that is used of yours is completely anonymised anyway so

> Henry: Yep, no, that's fine

However, in the main the interactions between myself and the respondents contained little that could be said to reflect broader societal dynamics of dominance and discrimination. Rather, the interactions could be said to reflect the manner in which 'in-group' relational dynamics between those who are privileged serve to maintain their group privileges.

Expressions of 'in-group' membership by respondents that included myself in that group, such as 'we', 'us', and confirmatory expressions such as 'you know' constructed me as one of them and 'us' as a group. Indeed, some overtly expressed their sense of this commonality –

> Jack: Is it a class kind of thing?

> Matt: I don't think it is

> Jack: I don't know cos we've been having this conversation for a while now and we sort of have like a mutual understanding between us.

In this sense, the points of proximity constructed between the respondents and me constitute articulations of belonging (Volodor, 2014) to the 'in-group'. A critical difference between my research project and those of Volodor (2014) and others is that the articulations of belonging are to a normative, previously invisible, positionality that encompasses privileged ethnicity, class, and

gender, rather than a minoritised ethnicity. Thus, the points of proximity, and distance where they occur, are intersectional in nature. These conditions of proximity and similarity within the research context of privilege can reveal the broader societal dynamics of how intersectional privilege is maintained.

Data analysis

I was interested in how subjects use language in everyday interactions, in the cultural resources that are deployed by the respondents in performing their identities. Whilst the data from my fieldwork was in the form of conversations, I was not exploring the procedural organisation and micro mechanics of conversation that Conversation Analysis and Discursive Psychology focus on – the turn taking, the openings, the closings, the distribution of speaking rights, etc (ten Have, 2007; Speer and Potter, 2002). This was due to ontological and epistemological differences regarding the subject, as I outlined in the previous chapter, but also because Conversation Analysis and Discursive Psychology techniques employ a belief in the analyst's ability to achieve absolute objectivity in their analytical work (Speer and Potter, 2002), which I do not believe is possible.

In my analytical approach, it is the contextualised, intertextual semantics of language that provides for the meaning construction for the actors. It is the 'expressive' dimension of language that reveals a subject's attitudes and ideologies (Fairclough, 1989). How we talk and the meanings we construct and convey are not simply tied to grammatical or linguistic rules that are applicable in every context (Garfinkel and Sachs, 1970). Rather, words and utterances only acquire their full meaning in the moment and the specific context of their articulation (Coulon, 1995). It is in the content of the talk, the discourses that are adapted or cited, and it is through the strategies of signification that are deployed that meaning becomes observable. Traditional Content Analysis' "concern with being objective, systematic, and quantitative" (Kassarjian, 1977: 9), combined with its insistence that the

meaning of a 'text' is static and can be consistently understood across different researchers applying the same analytical rigour (Silverman, 2001), makes it incompatible with my post-structural, social constructionist position. To provide an analytical approach that can explore how the respondents perform their identities through talk, whilst engaging with and managing the complexities of fluid identity performances and the contextual nature of meaning in the social world, I drew on strands within Discourse Analysis.

Discourse Analysis is both interpretivist and constructionist. It seeks to understand the constructive effects of language of which the meaning is fluid, context dependent, and subject to interpretation (Hardy, Harley and Phillips, 2004). It seeks to uncover the ways in which social reality is constructed for and by subjects within the social world (Hardy, 2001; Phillips and Hardy, 2002). It also includes a belief that it is impossible to remove discourse and its meanings from the wider social context (Fairclough, 1995, 2009, 2010). Discourse analysis can be critical in having a focus on the way power, domination and subjugation in a social and political context can be complied with, supported and/or resisted through text and talk (Fairclough, 2009, 2010; Van Dijk, 2015).

Much discourse analysis, critical or otherwise, examines how identity is constructed in the grammar of language and is heavily informed by linguistics and the micro study of language production and use (see Gee and Handford, 2012; Tannen, Hamilton and Schiffrin, 2015). However, my interest is in the semantic and productive use of language as speech acts, rather than these micro processes, and to analyse these, my analytical framework draws on Laffey and Weldes' idea of discourse as "structure and practices" (2004: 28).

Here, the understanding of 'structure' is one in which the discourses that materialise bodies, condition knowledge/power relations, and convey rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1990), are cultural resources that people use, or are affected by, to structure and communicate meaning

(Laffey and Weldes, 2004). The ‘practices’ are the way people use these discourses as cultural resources in their talk, which I refer to as strategies of signification. These strategies of signification connect meanings in people’s micro-discourses to institutions and meanings of wider political projects (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) such as those of gender, race, and class. They are, to Laffey and Weldes, “practices of meaning-in-use’” (2004: 28).

In this sense, the analytical framework I apply to the data explores the way respondents agentively cite and weave together different discourses through their talk to establish relations between them, modify their meaning, and create the micro-discourse the person seeks to communicate. In modifying meanings, these strategies of signification, this weaving of discourses through talk, are processes of adaptation and an exercise in agency that, depending on its effect, either maintains or challenges the existing power/knowledge relations and their effects.

In my management of the data, to preserve respondent confidentiality, during the fieldwork I uploaded audio recordings of the conversations to a secure server at the University of Bristol at the end of each session and deleted the audio from my recording device. I then stored the raw data and my transcriptions of it in a manner that adhered to the Data Protection Act and the University of Bristol’s Data Protection Guidance.

In undertaking the analysis of the audio recordings to understand the meaning making processes of the respondents through their talk, and how they agentively utilised discursive cultural resources, my approach was iterative and layered. I initially sought out the intertextuality in what they were saying i.e., the current or historic discourses in the environment that they drew on in their talk to construct and perform their identities. In this, I coded the data based on the discourses that, to my ear, they were citing. This provided me with an array of discursive cultural resources that ranged from, for example, control, competitiveness, and drive that intertextually cited masculinity, to art,

where to live, and being socially conscious that intertextually cited middle-classness. This analysis also identified the instances in which the respondents cited the counterhegemonic discourses in the environment and coded these articulations as resistances or adaptations.

A subsequent iteration of the analysis identified contested subjectivities arising for the respondents when their talk indicated the tensions they were experiencing from counterhegemonic discourses seeking to materialise them as racist and sexist White, middle-class men competing with hegemonic discourses of Whiteness, masculinity and middle-classness that sought to materialise them as normal and acceptable.

What became apparent was the degree to which a range of cultural resources where being adapted and utilised by the respondents to talk either about themselves in relation to an articulated 'other', or about an articulated other in relation to themselves. However, the more I listened to the audio, the more it became apparent that they were also adapting these cultural resources in relation to an 'other' that took the form of the critiqued White, middle-class man in the public debates. Within this, I drew out articulations that either signified the respondents as normal and/or acceptable, those that signified the range of 'others' as unacceptable and/or abnormal, and those that signified them as not the 'other' of the critical discourses. This iteration pointed to their practices that would work to reinforce privilege. From this point, a further iteration of the analysis drew out the connections between these coding themes to identify the strategies of signification that I will discuss in the empirical chapters that follow.

Studying the Agentive Performance of Identities in Everyday Talk

This chapter describes a methodological approach that creates a framework for the empirical study of the agentive performance of identities through talk by subjects that are constituted through

discourses and provides the empirical data to support the theoretical developments discussed in the previous chapter.

The methodological approach used to gain access to the field and respondents, and gather data from informal, everyday conversations of White, middle-class men applied ethnographic sensibilities to discourses analysis in the way the field was defined, settings identified, and respondents recruited. This, along with my own positionality as a White, middle-class man, allowed me to gain a deeper access to and understanding of the everyday meaning-making processes of White, middle-class men, and of how these relate to wider, societal critiques of their identity.

My approach is an approach that identifies how White, middle-class men utilise and adapt discourses in their everyday talk and identity performances. It is also an approach that, in focussing on the way discourses are adapted and cited, makes connections between semantic aspects of micro discourses and meta-discourses, between individual identity performances and wider structural factors, that fine-grained analysis of the micro-processes of talk does not.

The chapter engages with the methodological literature on identity research, develops an approach for the privileged to research the privileged, and provides a discussion on privileged researcher complicity, power relations between the privileged researcher and the privileged respondent, and the manner of fluctuating insider/outsiderness for a privileged researcher in researching the privileged that can inform further research on the privileged by the privileged.

Intersectionality and the Presentation of the Data

In operationalising my understanding of intersectionality in this thesis, I take an “intracategorical approach” (McCall, 2005: 1781) in that the focus of my study is one particular group – White, middle-class men – and analyses their identity performances “at the intersection of single

dimensions of multiple categories" (McCall, 2005: 1781). However, my poststructuralist position is rooted in the belief that identity categories are socially constructed and, importantly, constituted by discourse. As such, they are heterogeneous in their articulation and these 'single dimensions' are fluid across settings and contexts. Within this, though, is an understanding that not only do we require processes of categorisation to make sense of the world (Brubaker, Loveman and Stamatov, 2004) but that it is, as McCall points out "impossible to fully escape the normalising confines of the language of categories because new relations of power/knowledge are continuously reinscribed into new systems of classification, and it is impossible to avoid using categories strategically for political purposes" (2005: 1777).

Alexander and Mohanty point out, despite the poststructuralist belief that identity categories hold no analytical utility the "relations of domination and subordination that are named and articulated still exist…and they still require analytic and political specification and engagement" (1997, xvii). This is not to assume an essentialised, homogenous understanding of identity categories. They are 'unfixed' in the heterogeneity of their articulation and ascription onto subjects, yet they perpetuate dynamics of intersectional inequality and privilege along intersecting lines of race, class, and gender, even in their fluidity. Therefore, in projects such as mine that seek to reveal and undermine the processes that perpetuate these dynamics of intersectional inequality and privilege, specifically within changing social contexts, an understanding of how these categories are articulated is essential. As advocated for by Glenn in the study of intersectionality, I use race, gender, and class as "anchor points" (2002: 14) around which to explore these dynamics, and how they are perpetuated by White, middle-class men.

In seeking to understand the dynamics of intersectional inequality and privilege then the following empirical chapters are presented as examinations of how the respondents talk about, and within, the anchor points of race, gender, and class. The analysis I used to construct these chapters also

employed my conceptualisation of a matrix of intersectionality in that it paid attention to the effect on meaning of the intersectional communicative setting i.e., the intersectional materiality and embodiment of the subject, and the performativity of the setting. As such, and by way of an example, any talk on race by a White, middle-class man in a White, middle-class setting is imbued with masculinity and middle-classness, even if they are not referencing gender and class in their talk about race. Thus, it has a different impact on the power dynamics of race than if articulated by a subject with a different positionality, or in a different setting. In addition to this, the analysis identifies areas of their talk that is either explicitly intersectional, or intersectional by intertextually citing other aspects of their talk.

Chapter Five - The Race to the Top

This chapter reveals White, middle-class men's production and performance of their Whiteness in a social context in which Whiteness is increasingly being made visible and under public scrutiny. The recent high-profile discussions on Whiteness and White Privilege include critiques of intersectional Whiteness, specifically critiques of White, middle-class feminists (De Benedictis, Orgad and Rottenberg, 2019) and White, middle-class men (Francis, 2018; Jawad, 2018; Osbourne, 2020), rather than exclusively being critiques of the White people in general. Indeed, it is fair to say that the Whiteness of the 'working-class' has long been made visible and unacceptable by the White middle-classes themselves. The articulation of discourses of disgust (Lawler, 2005) and the construction of the 'Chav' (Nayak and Kehily, 2014), and the degenerate poor White through TV programmes such as *Benefit Street* (Price, 2014) have worked to mark the working-class with a visible, dirty, or extreme Whiteness (Tyler, 2008). In these current debates on Whiteness and White privilege, then, the new phenomena that we are seeing are the erosion of the invisibility of middle-class Whiteness and that there now exists an unacceptability to the performance of this middle-class Whiteness.

In this chapter I will show how this new public visibility of middle-class Whiteness affects the identity performances of White, middle-class men - their strategies of signification and the mechanisms through which they negotiate this new social context and respond to the contestation over their subjectivities through talk. I will show how the men in this study articulate complex, nuanced, and interwoven strategies of signification to construct and perform an acceptable middle-class White identity and, through being acceptable, seek to reconstitute the normativity of their privileged identities.

I will reveal how the performance of this acceptable middle-class Whiteness includes an acknowledgement of individual and whole group racism due to unconscious bias in White people,

but that this is articulated with an inference that this is a racism that is normal to hold. I demonstrate that this is a strategic, agentive adaptation and re-articulation of discourses on unconscious bias to articulate micro-discourses that make holding Whiteness socially acceptable, despite maintaining its inherent racism. It also begins to locate the existence and holding of unconscious bias in the 'standpoint' of middle-class White people (Frankenberg, 1993) and develops the exercise of it as an acceptable, legitimised, and normative White, middle-class cultural practice (Knowles, 2003), in which its visibility is an aspect of its composition and production. As well as revealing these strategies of signification, this data provides for an expansion of Van Dijk's (1992) typology of racist talk to include an additional construction: acknowledgment-justification-legitimisation ('I/we am/are racist but it's not my/our fault so I/we shouldn't be blamed for it').

In addition to these articulations of acceptable middle-class Whiteness, I will discuss how some respondents articulate discourses of cultural difference. However, these are not discourses that are "marked by a mixture of desire and unease" that Byrne found in her study (2006a: 172). Rather, these are discourses that construct Britishness and Britain as exclusively White and objectify the cultural practices of People of Colour as something to be consumed through a White gaze. However, even in these articulations that reinforce a racial hierarchy and attendant White Privilege, I propose that the underlying strategy of signification is the construction of an acceptable middle-class Whiteness. In doing so, acceptable middle-class Whiteness becomes a mechanism for maintaining the status quo whilst minimising the threat of alternative discourses that challenge its normativity.

Critically, the respondents in this study articulate discourses of middle-class Whiteness from material and embodied positions of middle-class White men within White, middle-class settings. As such, these discourses on Whiteness, middle-classness, and masculinity that privilege them intersect with their discourses on race to construct an acceptable White, middle-class identity that is the preserve of White, middle-class men.

~~'Yes, I'm White. Yes, we're racist, but it's not our fault' -~~ Disappearing Invisibility & Declarations of Acceptable Whiteness

In exploring the identity performances of White, middle-class men, I draw on the positions of Frankenberg (1993) and Byrne (2006a) to understand Whiteness as a political and cultural identity (Winant, 1997) that is discursively conditioned by racialised discourses. In the next section, I show how the respondents agentively undertake processes of adaptation of these discourses, particularly those on diversity and unconscious bias, in responding to contested subjectivities that arise from critical discourses that make them visible.

In the main, they articulate a 'strategy of acknowledgement' in actively declaring their Whiteness and proceed to articulate micro-discourses of an acceptable middle-class Whiteness that is blamelessly racist to counteract the effect of the erosion of their invisibility. However, this is undertaken whilst simultaneously articulating discourses about problematic behaviours of People of Colour to maintain a racial hierarchy that perpetuates their privilege.

Much like the respondents in Byrne's (2006a) study, there was little talk about People of Colour initiated by the men I spoke to. However, many of the respondents did talk about being White and the Whiteness of their worlds. This, as we shall see, acted as an element of their strategies to resist the public critique of their Whiteness but it was not expressed with resentment (Johnson, 2001), or guilt (Powell, Branscombe, and Schmitt, 2005) in response to these critiques. Nor was there any significant expression of resentment towards Black Lives Matter, or specific anti-racist work that has been found in other research (e.g., Gillborn, 1996; Nayak, 1999a). If anything, most of the respondents articulated positions that were supportive of equality initiatives to some degree.

All the respondents live in the predominantly White areas of Bristol, most talked about a very 'White' and often rural childhood, and the majority work in White dominated workplaces, as these snapshots from my conversations with different respondents show.

> Jack: I was born in Bristol, but I grew up in Oxfordshire which is very kind of White and British

> Simon: Oh, university was 99% White English

> Tony: Well, we're very, we're not very good at ethnicity, except in terms of we've got a lot of Eastern European boys and girls, he says patronisingly. I think I've got one Black lad working in the team, probably about 15 Eastern Europeans in the team other than that it's very White British

> Matt: What's the gender make-up of the office?

> James: It's pretty mixed. It's very White. very White. Everyone's very White there. Even people on the bottling lines. Eastern European but very White

These are not specifically contextualised acknowledgements of their Whiteness that might arise in specific situations, for example, such as ones where White parents are considering which schools in multicultural areas are best for their children (Byrne, 2009). These are explicit acknowledgements of their everyday White identities, albeit in a wider discursive environment in which Whiteness has a critical profile. Interestingly, despite this wider critical environment, across the respondents in this study, unlike in Garner's (2007) work, there is less of "an unease at thinking of themselves as White per se" (2007: 36). Indeed, if anything, there is a willing acknowledgement of their White identities.

Contrary to Rosenblum and Travis (1996) White privilege is no longer ‘unmarked’ and, importantly in a context of its critical visibility, unlike the respondents in Pratto and Stewart (2012) work, the respondents in this study exhibit an awareness of it.

During the courses of my conversations with the respondents, with only two, Alfie and ~~Jack~~ Jeremy, did I ask any questions about being White that may have brought the issue of their racial identity to the fore. The rest talked about their Whiteness unbidden, although, that this was within a research context exploring identity may have been a factor. However, this strategy of acknowledgement, this willing and self-instigated declaration of their Whiteness, indicates the degree to which the invisibility of their Whiteness is being removed from them. It also reveals that respondents’ contested subjectivities are driving a need to agentively seek ways to minimise the critiques of their Whiteness and normalise their visibility by calling it out themselves. This is further evidenced through their combination of declarations of Whiteness with adaptions of diversity discourses and the language of unconscious bias to present a complex identity that is blamelessly racist whilst also supportive of race equality initiatives and, so, acceptable – they are not the ‘other’ White, middle-class man of the critiques.

Henry is a 64-year-old entrepreneur and social entrepreneur who describes himself as a ‘disrupter’. He is married with adult children. He was born in the South East of England and after a number of years working abroad, he and his wife settled in Bristol. We meet at lunchtime in a Clifton branch of a local chain of coffeeshops. There is a very ‘middle-class’ feel to the environment and the ambience. The coffee shop is set over three levels. There is wooden flooring throughout, and tin replicas of old advertising adorn the walls. A display of pastries sits within the glass section of the front counter. A large blackboard on the wall behind the counter advertises a range of coffees and the food menu. On the counter is a sign stating that, in the interests of the environment, they no longer use disposable take-away cups. Customers who want a take-away coffee must either

purchase a reusable cup from the coffeeshop or bring their own in to be filled. The clientele all appear to me to be White. We have been talking about Henry's life, his education, professional success, and his work with 'disadvantaged people'.

> Henry: So, my Whiteness and privilege has given me so much. If others had that, well, sorry, my privilege because of my Whiteness, if others who dreamt like me had had the same privilege, they would be on an equal footing and therefore it gives me great hope for the communities that are disadvantaged that if we were to do something about disadvantage that actually out of them would be significant productivity

Henry's self-correction about his 'privilege because of his Whiteness' rather than his 'Whiteness and privilege' reveals his awareness of the visibility of his White Privilege and shows, in some way, the agentive nature of his use of discourses of privilege as a cultural resource in his identity performance. Henry's 'in the moment' awareness and reflection on the significance of separating out his Whiteness from his privilege demonstrates this reflexive agency in his talk. Driven to act by a contested subjectivity, he is taking the visibility of privilege and adapting it away from a critique into a mechanism in which his acceptance and acknowledgement of it creates an acceptability to his identity.

Interestingly, Henry emphasises the capacity to dream as a key component to success and so infers a sense that those who dream, those who have ambition and vision, are those who are deserving of success. This emphasis on dreaming and ambition cites middle-class cultural discourses on success and particular personal attributes that work to set the middle-classes apart from 'others' (Reay et al, 2011). Further, his use of the term 'disadvantaged' and the notion of 'significant productivity' cite economic class discourses and intersect his discourses on Whiteness and privilege with his middle-classness to articulate his success as being that being that of the White middle-class. That this

intersectional articulation on middle-class Whiteness occurs within a setting that is performative of Whiteness and middle-classness further reinforces this meaning. However, in his hope that something can be done about disadvantage he signifies himself as supportive of equality and seeks to perform an ally identity (Case, 2012). Thus, despite acknowledging his possession of White privilege that is being critiqued in the public debates, he constructs his visible middle-class Whiteness as acceptable to hold and perform.

In discussing disadvantage further with Henry, the issue of bias in recruitment came up. Initially, this revolved around postcode discrimination of White working-class young men, but the conversation moved on to include race as well.

> Matt: But is the person from Hartcliffe just as less likely to get the job as the person from Lawrence Hill? Are their chances the same?
>
> Henry: If the person from Lawrence Hill is Black, they're less likely
>
> Matt: Than the person in Hartcliffe...
>
> Henry: Yeah, because of the fact that the Black person, if I'm interviewing them, I don't really understand them, or I don't think I understand them the way I do the White person. So, there'll be that immediate, unintentional thing of them not being so suitable.
>
> Matt: Right
>
> Henry: because I, on the whole, will look for somebody like me.
>
> Matt: Right

Henry: and I'm the person who has always tended to favour those people and then got into trouble with colleagues because I take them on, and they don't really know how to behave properly. There was a Black kid I took on as a programmer who been to borstal and goodness knows what else. He was fantastic but boy, did he disrupt everything around him

Matt: which, presumably, you liked? Hhh

Henry: which I liked, yes. I felt him totally impossible to manage. He'd say no to everything and then do it all. He had really long fingers and when he was typing the keyboard, they were blurred he was so quick

Matt: Right

Henry: But, but, but yeah, I think we all do that. Unconscious bias is something we all have

Henry's assertion that unconscious bias is something that everyone has is a reversal of the 'social dimension' of denials of racism that Van Dijk (1992) explores. In contrast to "strategies...defending the in-group as a whole: 'We are not racists', 'We are not a racist society'" (Van Dijk, 1992: 89), stating that we all have unconscious biases articulates a discourse that says, 'we are all racist but it's not our fault and so we shouldn't be blamed for being racist'. Henry develops and adapts unconscious bias discourses to create a strategy of signification that responds to the critical visibility of his Whiteness by normalising this visibility and removing personal culpability for the impact of holding it. In combining this with the articulation of his desire to resist or fight unconscious bias by 'favouring those people', Henry, despite the othering nature of this phrase, seeks to signify a further acceptability of his middle-class Whiteness by performing an ally identity (Case, 2012). In this, we see the articulation of Henry's responses to the contestation around his subjectivity. This is a

contestation derived from a tension between those critical discourses that make his White privilege both racist and visible, and his own sense of entitlement to success through his ambition that middle-class discourses materialise him as holding. However, his acceptable middle-class Whiteness is articulated whilst maintaining a discourse about the problematic behaviours of People of Colour, which rearticulates and reinforces the normative discourses that result in structural and psychological White privilege and renders his ally identity as non-performative[5] (Ahmed, 2004).

The strategy of 'we are all racist but it's not our fault so I/we shouldn't be blamed for being racist appears in other respondents' talk about unconscious bias. The following conversation I had with Alfie is particularly interesting as his oscillating and shifting position suggests an agentive process of reflexively working through his views and ideas on unconscious bias and race as we talk.

Alfie is 33 years old. He is married with two young sons. He was born in Wiltshire but raised in Devon with his older brother. He moved to Bristol to undertake a degree. He now works at a large firm in the financial sector. He and his family recently moved out of Bristol to a small town in Somerset. Alfie expressed an interest in my research project when I met him on a golfing weekend I had been invited to attend by Ian. A couple of weeks later, Alfie emailed me to offer 'any help I might need with my project'.

We arranged to meet for lunch at the Clifton branch of a chain of American influenced diners. The diner is large and spread over a single floor. Green leather booths line the sides and the central element of the room. Green plants are prevalent throughout the space and pictures of Americana line the wood panelled walls. The staff are in uniforms and particularly attentive to the needs to the clientele. This lunchtime clientele is primarily composed of smartly dressed office workers and a

[5] Ahmed uses performative and non-performative in the same way as Butler does i.e., the production of something distinctly real that has an effect on the world, albeit constituted in discourse and language

number of people, presumably, out shopping in high-end, middle-class Clifton. The following conversation took place in our second meeting there.

After we order lunch - a Halloumi salad and a Quinoa cake salad - Alfie commented that he had only just realised the research was not just about class identity but also about being White British and a man. He puts his misunderstanding down to his sense that issues of race and gender are ‘clear cut’.

> Matt: Okay, let me ask you a couple of questions about that. Given that it's clear cut for you, what does it mean to be White?
>
> Alfie: Ahhh, it's probably easier. I was, I'm going to, I'm going to tell you a story, partly because I don’t know the answer to your question hhh
>
> Matt: Hhhh
>
> Alfie: and I'm going to think about it while I tell you the story hhh
>
> Matt: Hhh Okay
>
> Alfie: I was part of a panel two or three weeks ago. So, we had an evening event where a few people were asked to part of a panel to speak to potential grads, or placement students, both, and this guy turned up late. For what that's worth, he was a black guy, in a room that was 75% - 80% White and then the rest was probably an even split between Asian origin and Black and so we did a little bit of spiel, pre- not rehearsed but pre-considered, at least, spiel about what we're doing, what we do there now, why the placement thing is so great and then there was a bit of an Q and A and he said, this guy stood up, unlike anyone else, they all

just sat down and asked questions. He stood up and said, he asked about cultural diversity and how sitting in a group, in a room in front of a panel who were all White, and at that point everyone looks around and 'Oh! Bollocks! Missed an opportunity there!' Hhh, and how that doesn't, how that hurts him to see that, that a company like [company name], a big company is represented by 6 or 7 White people and how seriously we are taking that? I just thought it was interesting and I thought it was interesting on reflection actually that no one had considered that diversity within the panel. There was very much a few seconds of like 'Who's ah who's taking that question?' hhh

Matt: Right

Alfie: So, I think in that respect it's easier. It's because I, we talk a lot about unconscious bias in recruitment and I wouldn't for a second think that I have any racist tendencies. That just isn't a thing for me. Yet, I see this guy. He's turning up late. He's dressed differently to everyone else. So, there's a lot of people in shirt and ties because it's a business and people are trying to look good. This guy’s got a hoodie and t-shirt on and so without meaning to I think I have formed a judgement straight off

Matt: Mm hmm

Alfie: and I think people find it probably easier to form those judgements based on what they see and the first thing you see is colour of skin, right? Whereas I don't think that if a White guy turned up wearing those clothes, I would have formed the same

Matt: Okay

> Alfie: Yep. I think that's fair. So, what does it mean to be White? Well, I think, yeah, I think it's easier. I think there probably would be situations where I'm better placed to take an opportunity than somebody who'd had exactly the same CV as me but who's Black, maybe? Because I think those subconscious, those unconscious biases do exist, as much as we'd say they don't.

It is interesting that after saying that matters of racial and gender identity are 'clear cut', in response to my question about what it means to be White, Alfie states 'it is probably easier' but then immediately goes on to say that he doesn't know the answer. This, perhaps, indicative of a complexity in his contested subjectivity brought on by an awareness of the critical visibility of his own Whiteness and some nervousness in how to answer such a direct question and perform an acceptable middle-class White identity.

Alfie then goes on to narrate a story to demonstrate his awareness and acknowledgement of his own unconscious biases towards People of Colour. It is significant that he specifies that his biases are to do with skin colour and not the way people dress, yet much of his description of the key character in his story revolves around his attire and behaviour. In this, much like Henry, Alfie draws on class-based discourses of distinction. That the event he narrates his story around is for 'grads, or placement students' and that most attendees are 'in shirt and ties…and people are trying to look good' infers a level of education and attire that is often associated with middle-class identities (Reay et al, 2011). Despite his assertion that he wouldn't make judgements about a White man who wasn't wearing a suit, his description of the young Black man in his narration as wearing a hoodie and t-shirt 'others' him in this regard as well as along racial lines. As does his description of him standing up to ask a question as being 'unlike anyone else'. As such, there is an inferred middle-classness that he, the other panel members, and those attendees wearing suits are marked with.

In prefacing his discussion on his unconscious bias with 'I wouldn't for a second think that I have any racist tendencies. That just isn't a thing for me.' Alfie is overtly signifying himself as not racist to pre-empt any potential critique of him as a result of what follows. This is redolent of the work undertaken by Van Dijk (1992) on denials of racism. In this, Van Dijk suggests that in the context of everyday talk, "many White people follow a double strategy of positive self-presentation, on the one hand, and a strategy of expressing subtle, indirect or sometimes more blatant forms of negative other-presentation on the other hand" (1992: 89). Yet, Alfie immediately articulates and acknowledges his biases in his description of the person in question. His fluid and agentive performance of identity emerges through the complex interweaving of his declaration of not being racist with his acknowledgement that he does have unconscious biases. His positive presentation of himself is as racist whilst not being racist.

Whilst there is some negative other-presentation through his descriptions of the lateness, behaviour, and attire of the person in question, this is not owned by Alfie but rather articulated as a trigger for Alfie's unconscious biases. Consequently, rather than an unqualified denial, Alfie's strategy of signification is more of an admission of racist perspectives but ones that are beyond his control. In this, Alfie's talk on unconscious bias oscillates between signifying him as non-racist whilst acknowledging that he is being racist yet also valorising himself for his awareness of his own biases. In doing so he is articulating a strategy of signification that presents an acceptable, albeit racist, middle-class White identity that normalises both his visibility and his racism.

Subsequently, Alfie makes several statements about the existence of unconscious bias and society's perspective on it. In recounting his first experience of a Person of Colour as a friend - a person he met at university - he refers to society's attitudes towards issues of race and sexuality changing since he was in school. However, this is qualified by a reference to unconscious bias not having changed.

Alfie: I was living with that guy, who actually turned out to be a really good mate of mine, was first time I'd really interacted, there certainly wasn't anyone in my primary or my secondary school.

Matt: Right

Alfie: No one and actually I sort of feel sorry for anyone that, back in those days, I don't know if it's any different now but anyone that was in a minority, I guess sexuality wasn't, again, not diverse at all, again, am feeling a little bit sorry for, anyone that wasn't heterosexual.

Matt: Yeah

Alfie: But maybe that's changed. Maybe the posture of society on those things has changed since the time I was at school

Matt: Do you feel that it has?

Alfie: Ah, hmm, yeah, I think society's changed. I'm not sure the underlying, the unconscious bias towards them has changed. People would say it has but umm, I'm not sure it has really.

In some respects, Alfie's last statement here can be understood as an acknowledgement that, whilst awareness of unconscious bias is greater now, perhaps due to the public debate on Whiteness and racism, awareness of its effects is not. The subject of unconscious bias comes up several more times when talking about diversity and recruitment in his place of work.

Matt: But most of those in the management structure are White men?

Alfie: Right. Ah, so yeah, there's a mental brainwash but there is also, one could argue unconscious bias to recruit some people out of a similar mould anyway…I just think I need, we need, it has to be about removing the unconscious bias and recruiting for the right reason…Well, so, yeah, so we need to trust that, we need to tune into those unconscious biases and trust that they don't exist, which is maybe easy for me to say.

Matt: The thing is that we know they do exist, don't we?

Alfie: Well, yeah. I assume so

Alfie contested subjectivity causes him to oscillate between expressions of acknowledging the existence of unconscious bias and a 'trust' that they do not exist. In doing so he is shifting between significations that present an acceptable identity for himself through an awareness of and desire to remove unconscious bias and other significations that defend the ingroup, including himself, as non-racist (Van Dijk, 1992; Condor, Figgou, Abell, Gibson and Stevenson, 2006) through 'trusting' that unconscious biases don't exist.

Alfie's micro-discourses on unconscious bias are not restricted to himself and his own identity. They are extended societally in his acknowledgement that 'it's easier' to be White and that he gains benefits, or privileges, because of this. However, as our conversation progresses, Alfie articulates a qualified view that the colour of a person's skin does not actually make a difference. His qualifications are revealing in that he signifies himself as 'naive' to believe this, that he knows it is wrong, and that he would get 'torn apart' by someone 'with a different coloured skin' for saying it.

Alfie: That said, this is my sort of naive view that I think that it doesn't make a huge amount of difference

> Matt: What? The colour of your skin?
>
> Alfie: Yeah. That's, aha, even as I'm saying it, I know that's wrong and I know that in different company, I'd get torn apart for that
>
> Matt: In which company?
>
> Alfie: In in, I'm sure that someone with different coloured skin would say 'That's ridiculous. You haven't got a clue what you're talking about'
>
> Matt: Right
>
> Alfie: But in the, in the things that I do, in the areas that I socialise, and in my work, I don't think it really does, but then I don't really deal with people from mixed races, truth be told.

This shifting, retracted, and qualified statement about the impact of racialisation is indicative of his contested subjectivity that instigates in him a need to act in response to the critiques of his Whiteness, and the discursive work he is undertaking to present an acceptable middle-class White identity whilst working through opinions that he knows are racist. In this we see Alfie exercising his reflexive agency that results in him articulating strategies of signification that construct him as not a racist whilst also seeking to maintain the normativity of historic discourses of hegemonic whiteness. His contested subjectivity arises from critical discourses that seek to mark him as racist, normative discourses of Whiteness that enjoin him to reject the idea of racial privilege, and his own reflective sense of self for whom 'racism just isn't a thing'. Throughout his talk on race and unconscious bias, Alfie is adapting and re-articulating discourses on unconscious bias as cultural resources to construct and signify himself with an acceptable middle-class White identity that locates the holding of

unconscious bias as a named, visible cultural practice of the White, middle-class man that is acceptable and legitimate, even in its visibility and its racism.

NEW SECTION HEADING? -

For some respondents, the declaration of an exclusive White experience combined with limited knowledge of People of Colour constructed an identity that is firmly White British/European and positioned People of Colour outside of the European and British identity. Crucially, the way this White British identity was articulated also served as a strategy to minimise or deflect the extant critique of Whiteness by presenting an acceptable White identity.

Jack is a 32-year-old Masters student. He was born in Bristol but moved to rural Oxfordshire with his parents when he was very young. He went to university in Southampton and after a couple of years working in warehouses for 'pocket money' with Eastern European and particularly Polish workers, he spent a year in Poland undertaking a Polish Language and Culture course. Subsequently, he qualified as a TEFL teacher and spent 7 years living and working in Poland. When he returned, his parents had returned to Bristol, and he moved here to do his Masters. Jack now lives in a waterfront apartment his parents bought for him and his brother. Jack is single. His brother is married with a young family and now lives near to London.

We arrange to meet at his flat, which is relatively small and neatly furnished. There are many posters on the walls, most of which are maps, and some are of Eastern European flags. Jack makes tea for us both and serves it on a tray with a tin of biscuits. We talk about his childhood.

> Jack: I was born in Bristol, but I grew up in Oxfordshire which is very kind of White and British. Not really any, not really any, you know, Afro-Caribbean communities or anything. Then again, I was in university in Southampton and although there are, kind of, Asian

communities there, we didn't really see any of them really. We were just, kind of, university Halls of Residence situation where actually everyone else I knew was also White British. Then being in Poland for 7 years, which again is very kind of

Matt: Mm

Jack: White European country and then I was coming back to Bristol and it, kind of, made me, kind of, think quite a lot cos when you think about things like the whole Brexit issues about 'Okay, do we feel European?'

Matt: Mm

Jack: Do we feel closer to kind of Commonwealth? Who are we as a, kind of, a country? I always kind of think I feel a lot more European than I feel close to countries in the Caribbean and stuff basically cos of that background I've described to you.

Jack's talk constructs Britain and Europe as fundamentally White, and his national affinity ties with other countries, such as Poland, are due to their Whiteness. He distances himself from Commonwealth countries and so signifies People of Colour as an 'other' who are not British. This Whiteness of Britain he constructs then feeds into his positioning of himself as anti-racist.

Jack: I didn't really know anything about the history or relationship all these other countries have with the UK

Matt: Mm

Jack: and, kind of, things like that and it is kind of interesting because you notice yourself, kind of doing it, like, you know, when, for example, for example when, just after the, kind of, Brexit vote you had quite a few instances of either vandalism or in some rare cases violence against, kind of, Eastern Europeans and I was really, like, aghast and angry about it cos, like, you know, and I and my eye is kind of drawn more towards, kind of, racism or injustice towards Eastern Europeans than I guess it would be towards, kind of, towards people of other, kind of, backgrounds, Islamophobia and I don't think it's, kind of, I don't think it's a racism kind of thing, I mean, it's just that when I, when I see, when I hear about some injustice against a Polish person

Matt: Yep

Jack: I can physically imagine how or know Polish people that I kind of know and you kind of imagine it happening to them

Matt: Mm Hm

Jack: and that kind of makes you feel kind of sad or angry

Matt: Okay

Jack: not that kind of racism and violence and things against other communities aren't like kind of bad as well but because you lack that kind of connection with those kind of communities

Matt: Mm

> Jack: it doesn't kind of stir the same kind of feeling in your kind of anger and your kind of heart or your head although you can still be kind of outraged or disgusted by it

Here, Jack is signifying himself as anti-racist, but it is a qualified anti-racism in which racism toward White people takes on a greater personal importance than racism towards People of Colour because of the affiliation he has with people who are racialised as White. He is responding to a contestation of his subjectivity in which the tension is between him being materialised as an unacceptable, racist White man, and discourses that seek to materialise his Whiteness as superior to racialised others. His strategy in response is to signify his non-racist credentials whilst simultaneously reinforcing White supremacy. There is a denial of racism in his talk when he states that he doesn't believe his affinity to White people is 'a racism thing', although, the formula is different from Van Dijk's (1992) typology in that the 'but' does not precede a negative 'other-presentation'. Rather, it is articulated within a discourse that intertwines personal experience, historical understandings, and recent politics as cultural resources to develop a strategy of signification to construct an acceptable a position on racism that is underpinned by White 'in-group' allegiances.

This sense of in-group allegiance is reinforced through his switch from the 1st person to the 2nd person towards the end of this section. This serves to re-articulate the perspective on racially motivated attacks on White people from an individual one to one shared across a number of people i.e., the White in-group. It is also a process of drawing me into his strategy of signification and making me complicit in it, which I recall feeling discomfort about, but I did not, in this situation, challenge him on. In this is a form of Ahmed's (2004) non-performativity of anti-racist declarations by White people that effectively re-centre Whiteness in a discourse about anti-racism and so Jack, in performing his articulation of an ally identity (Case, 2012), reproduces Whiteness in its articulation. In many respects, this non-performativity of anti-racist declarations across the respondents work as strategies of signification to deflect the public criticism of middle-class Whiteness that has eroded

their invisibility. Despite this non-performativity, their ally identities construct their visible middle-class Whiteness as acceptable and constitute a revised normativity to their intersectional identities without requiring fundamental changes in behaviour.

For only one respondent, Jeremy, was there a sense of discomfort in his declaration of Whiteness (Garner, 2007). Jeremy is a 27-year-old Project manager working for a governmental department. Born in the West Midlands, his family moved to rural Devon when he was young. He attended university in Liverpool and recently moved to Bristol with his girlfriend. We meet in The Golden Key pub in the Clifton area of Bristol on a warm, July afternoon. A canvas canopy has been extended to shade half of the cobbled outside area where the tables are full of patrons. The outside area is busy with predominantly younger drinkers and a couple of families with children. There is no football on, but it is noisy. We move inside where it is quieter. Jeremy has been telling me about growing up in Devon and his experiences at university.

> Matt: So, you've talked about your halls of residence being, and your friends being predominantly male, what about ethnicity? Were they all White? Were they mixed?
>
> Jeremy: Yeah, all White. All White, yeah. I don't think, I don't think, I don't think there was anything, there that was like, there was no racism or anything like that. It just happened that way to be honest. I mean there were lads from Leicester and stuff but, yeah, all White lads, my age or slightly older and they've all gone off into different paths as well. We've all come from different places Leeds, Huddersfield, Burnley, Exeter, Stafford, you know, it's just, everyone's combined together, and just get on really well like. There's no real clashes at all but, no, we haven't had any Black friends or anything like that. It just, it just hasn't, I mean, I've got like people that I know and stuff but, no it's always been just, yeah, White lads. Sounds awful really hhhhh

> Matt: Why does it sound awful?
>
> Jeremy: I dunno. It just it just sounds like typical classic English. From my perspective, it's a bit cringey
>
> Matt: Okay so why is it cringey?
>
> Jeremy: I dunno. It's just in this day and age, it's like, I dunno, it's probably media, isn't it? I mean it's just everywhere. It's always different ethnicities and stuff in everything

Jeremy is clearly aware of discourses in the media that problematise and make visible Whiteness and all-White spaces. Within his discomfort in acknowledging the all-White nature of his peer group, which reveals his contested subjectivity, he constructs and articulates a strategy of signification through which he seeks to reduce the power of those discourses to mark him as racist by claiming a form of diversity for himself, and by raising questions about the origins of those discourses to undermine their validity.

Jeremy blames his awareness of and discomfort about his Whiteness and his sense that all-White spaces may be positioned as racist on the media for having 'different ethnicities and stuff in everything', rather than talking about Black Lives Matter or the critical public discussion on White Privilege. This serves to signify White people as victims of anti-racism work to represent the diversity of Britain in the media but avoids a discussion on the specific critiques of Whiteness that, perhaps, lie behind his discomfort and his contested subjectivity that triggers his need to respond. In subtly blaming the increase in diversity in the media for his sense of discomfort, Jeremy's is a strategy that involves ressentiment, in which White people adapt and co-opt anti-racist discourses that construct

people as oppressed due to the colour of their skin to signify themselves as oppressed due to their possession of Whiteness (Probyn, 2004).

There is an explicit statement in Jeremy's talk about there not being any racism within his group, and this coincides with a further strategy to demonstrate his and his group's non-racist credentials because he and his friends come from different places, yet 'there's no real clashes at all'. He is claiming a form of 'White diversity' as evidence that he is not racist and so, in his strategy of signification here, he is agentively adapting discourses of diversity and multiculturalism as cultural resources to signify himself and his friends as acceptably White in a context in which Whiteness is being critiqued and made visible. Jeremy articulates a dual strategy that enhances the acceptability of their now visible Whiteness by seeking to signify them as not racist whilst also erasing their White privilege due to the oppression of White people by diversity work.

There is only one example in the talk of my respondents that fits more closely with Van Dijk's (1992) typology of denials. Mark is a 46-year-old business owner who I have known socially for several years. He was born in London, the eldest of four children, and moved to Bristol to go to university. He has been here ever since. The following conversation with Mark happened in his place of business. It was our second meeting, the first one being a chance meeting in a bar one evening during which he expressed an interest in being a respondent in my research.

That evening involved the consumption of a significant amount of wine and descended into something of a drunken exchange of views. I have excluded elements of the conversation from the data as he revealed very personal information that at the start of the conversation below he expressed some discomfort about, and because of ethical concerns around Mark's awareness of what he was saying was in a research context, and, hence, his ability to continue to give consent when that drunk. However, at the start of the second meeting Mark talks of some of the things he

said, which I have included, given his specific awareness (and sober condition) that this was a research context.

> Mark: I mean, cos, you know, I've thought about some of the things I said and the next day I was a bit like 'Oh, shit!' cos a lot of those things, I think that part of this is that, as the questions go along, I'll probably end up being asked questions about things that I either don't have an opinion on
>
> Matt: Mm
>
> Mark: or that I haven't thought about for like, 40 years or something like that, you know
>
> Matt: Mm
>
> Mark: and I think I think when we were talking about school, and we got into the bullying
>
> Matt: Mm
>
> Mark: and I kind of said 'Well, yeah, I had a phase where, you know, where I felt the Black kids were ganging up on me
>
> Matt: Mm
>
> Mark: and, and then I actually thought about it afterwards and I thought 'actually, I was wrong'
>
> Matt: When you say you were wrong, what do you mean?

Mark: well cos, I mean, at one point I was like 'Right, I just hate all Black kids' I was just like, you know and, didn't last very long it was about, maybe for a week

Matt: Mm

Mark: Yeah, yeah and but it was interesting thinking about it cos I hadn't really thought about this since, I mean, I haven't really thought about this since I was 14 really and cos I mean, I got over it, obviously, but it was interesting cos I was thinking 'Was it just?' It wasn't just the Black kids. It was everybody. That was the problem

Matt: Right

Mark: and it was, you know, and South London was a was a melting pot

Matt: mm

Mark: at that time and the Brixton riots at the time and we were all just thrown together in a school and there were all these influences and basically, we were all just trying to figure it out

Matt: Mm

Mark: and I think so I think that's why I had that, you know, cos I don't, you know, I try my best absolute best not to judge people on their backgrounds, you know

Matt: Mm Hm

Mark: So, but that's the one time in my life when I did, and I think I mentioned it because I thought it might be interesting to you

In this, Mark is exhibiting what might be described as an intention-denial (Van Dijk, 1992) in that he didn't mean what he said when he was a teenager and didn't want me to think that he thought this way now. However, there isn't a 'but...' in what he says. Rather, it is his assertion that he tries his 'absolute best not to judge people on their backgrounds' that serves as a declaration of his non-racism and his signification of himself as holding an acceptable White identity. Indeed, his explanations around his racist expression of how he felt as a teenager are re-articulated as an example of behaviour that is the exception for him and only articulated as of interest to my research. Much of this is indicative of his awareness of his visible Whiteness and the extent of the critiques of it in the media today. It is revealing of his contested subjectivity here, though, that in his description of the context in which he was bullied by 'everybody' he uses terms like 'melting pot' and references the Brixton riots, both of which invoke images of problematic urban multiculturalism and violent, racialised social unrest that rearticulate the 'othering' discourses of Whiteness that act as processes of 'race making' (Knowles, 2003).

Other than Jeremy, JACK and Mark, the respondents here draw on the discourse of unconscious bias as a cultural resource in their strategies of signification to minimise the critical elements of their new-found visibility. In doing so, they reconfigure Van Dijk's (1992) formula from 'I'm not racist but…' to 'I am racist but it's not my fault so I shouldn't be blamed for it' to signify themselves with acceptable White identities.

Indeed, most of the respondents' talk about race revolved around DECLARATIONS OF Whiteness, White privilege, and unconscious bias. This is revealing of the impact of the visibility of Whiteness on their identity performances and the exercise of their reflexive agency in their talk. In this, they

agentively cite and adapt discourses on unconscious bias, privilege, and Whiteness in their talk that convert the components of critical visibility into a mechanism through which this visibility is normalised and made acceptable. This works to reconstitute the normativity of middle-class Whiteness in a visible form. Whether this reconstituted normativity ultimately means a return to invisibility is yet to be seen. However, the respondents adapt and creatively rearticulate the discourses they cite to "institute new value systems and new forms of collective identity" (McNay, 1999: 187) for White, middle-class men in Britain.

These processes speak to Sara Ahmed's concern that a focus by White people to turn their Whiteness into something that is acceptable for them to hold reproduces that very Whiteness, and its attendant privileges, simply by the act of being declared (Ahmed 2004). However, given the intersection of Whiteness, middle-classness, and masculinity in the materiality and embodiment practices of the respondents, THE INTERSECTION OF THEIR TALK ON WHITENESS WITH THEIR TALK ON MASCUINITY AND CLASS, and that their talk was articulated in essentially White, middle-class settings, the acceptability and reconstituted normativity of the Whiteness that they construct is a normative, acceptably racist, middle-class Whiteness that is the preserve of White, middle-class men.

Cultural Differences and Acceptable Whiteness

Throughout the talk on being White, and on racialised social encounters, by the respondents there was very little discussion of People of Colour. In fact, People of Colour were rarely referenced at all in these conversations. This may speak to Byrne's (2006a) findings that people avoid talking about People of Colour as a strategy to not appear racist, but it may also speak to the sense of a spotlight on their Whiteness that the respondents held, and their need to respond to this.

However, there were some examples of articulations of cultural differences in the respondents' talk. I will discuss these in this section and how these articulations also work to perform and acceptable middle-class Whiteness. These examples do not include the articulation of racialised discourses Byrne found in her work that were "marked by a mixture of desire and unease" (2006a: 172) about People of Colour themselves. There were, though, some expressions of objectification and consumption of People of Colour and their lived experience through a post-colonial touristic gaze (Urry, 2002), as the following excerpt from a conversation I held with Stephen demonstrates.

Stephen is a 58-year-old senior executive at an international telecoms corporation. He is married with adult children. He was born in London, attended Cambridge university and after working in London for several years, he and his wife relocated to Bristol. We meet in The Playwright Pub in the Redland area of Bristol on an evening in early September. We are sitting outside in the garden at the back of the pub. It is an enclosed space laid to grass with rattan style tables and chairs in uniform rows. We are seated at the one bench style table. The sun is shining and several of the tables are occupied, mainly by couples who appear expensively, if casually dressed. All the clientele are White, to my eye. Stephen is a self-professed student of Marxism, and our conversations were often very politicised. We have been talking about the Middle East when the subject of Palestine and disaster tourism comes up.

> Matt: I've never been to Palestine. I have to say, for me, now, there is a little bit of a sense of, it's not quite disaster tourism but I think there's an element of a percentage of generally middle-class people from the West going to places like Gaza and like the West Bank to almost consume the experience
>
> Stephen: There is, and I'll give you a good example of it. When we went to Bombay for Christmas a couple of years ago and I paid to go to do a tour of the Dharavi slum and that is

> an example of it. Now, do I feel bad about that? No, I don't. The purpose was to expose the children to stuff they hadn't seen before. It was supposedly, I've no idea but, supposedly, you know, money gets reinvested and all the rest of it but, well l, we were very alive to the irony. I mean the, you know, the car comes and picks you up takes you there and takes you back again, etc.

Stephen is articulating a discourse of consumption of poverty that he legitimises through the apparent benefit this would have for his children. This works as a means of enhancing White privilege in a similar way to that found by scholars exploring how White, middle-class parents chose mixed secondary schools for their children, provided it was the 'right mix' (Reay et al, 2007; Byrne, 2009; Byrne and De Tona, 2019). Critically, though, he expresses an awareness of the problematics of this, and the privilege that he and his family have, as a strategy to impart an acceptability of this activity, an activity that the public debate on White privilege would critique. In some ways, this expression by Stephen is classed, not only through the intersecting discourses of his materiality, embodiment, and the setting, but also through the classed nature of viewing and consuming poverty (Frenzel, Koens and Steinbrink, 2012).

This classed element of signifying an acceptable Whiteness appears in other respondents' talk about other cultures that included elements of celebrating cultural differences, as Byrne (2006a) found. In my respondents, though, these expressions were articulated in a wider discourse that objectified those undertaking these cultural practices and cast them as the practices of ignorance.

The following exchange with Jack takes place during our third conversation held in early October. We meet at a pub in Bristol that Jack knows and recommends because its owners are Polish. He has invited me to join him there and try the Polish food they serve. The pub is dark inside with dark wooden floors and dark wooden tables and chairs. The lighting is dim, and it is dark outside. The pub

is quite busy with mainly younger people. We are eating perogies and have been talking about religion.

Jack: I've met Americans who were, you know, really religious

Matt: Very religious, yeah

Jack: Yeah, and they can be quite strange cos you almost sort of don’t expect it, kind of, of them. It's almost- it's kind of weird religiously and also culturally. When you go somewhere like Eastern Europe or the Middle East or Africa and you see foreign looking people dressed differently, kind of look differently in skin colour and everything else and they're doing a kind of religious event or they're devoutly, kind of, religious, things like that, there's always a sort of value we attach to it. Somehow, it’s about, it's their, kind of, their heritage, their, kind of, special understanding or things like that.

Matt: Right

Jack: and it's some kind of value which doesn't seem to translate when you see someone like an American or something like that. We always kind of feel 'Well, you should know better' something like that

Matt: Hhhhh

Jack: it's some kind of, maybe that was kind of rude to, maybe I was too rude because I've had too many drinks

Matt: I'll bear that in mind

> Jack: yeah, bear that in mind hhh but I don't know but it does seem different when it's somebody like a White, kind of, American and whose speaking in his own language being so devoutly religious. You don't feel there's the same need to be respectful in 'Oh, he's doing his own thing'
>
> Matt: Sure
>
> Jack: I mean, come one, you've had the same upbringing as I've had.
>
> Matt: Yeah
>
> Jack: It doesn't make any sense. I know your culture because I'm from the same culture, if you're a White, kind of, American, Anglo-Saxon, kind of, people, you shouldn't be believing in it. Or at least there's more of a desire to question what they're doing than if see someone who you think 'Well, they've kind of got their own way of doing it.

Jack signifies the cultural practices of People of Colour as having value, but this value is that of the middle-class, "colonial imagination' through which the West defines itself against the colonial 'other'" (Korpela, 2010: 1299). Jack's expressions of value produce specific subject positions of an 'authentic other' that is interesting, yet backwards and irrational (Bott, 2013), as this 'other' is contrasted to the White Americans who 'should know better'. This implies that we should not expect 'foreign looking people dressed differently' to 'know better'. It is also against this backdrop of the value of expected exotic backwardness that an acceptable Whiteness and a failing Whiteness that does not live up to secular and rational norms are constructed.

These “discourses of exposure” (Byrne, 2006a: 172) articulated by Jack do not leave Whiteness unexamined but rather articulate a hierarchical Whiteness (Tyler, 2012) in which the British, Anglo-Saxon Whiteness is signified as the norm and other forms of Whiteness are made visible through failing to meet this normative benchmark. Indeed, Jack’s discourse positions the failed Whiteness as having less value than the cultural practices of People of Colour because those practicing this failed Whiteness ‘should know better’. It is in this that the articulation of Whiteness by Jack becomes classed through his comparison with me and our backgrounds, which he has described as middle-class in a previous conversation. This classed element is further reinforced by the intersection of our materiality and embodiment of White, middle-class men with his talk. In doing so, and by explicitly talking positively about the ‘value’ of the religious and cultural practices of ‘foreign looking people dressed differently’, he articulates a discourse of acceptable middle-class Whiteness that he makes me complicit in - one that is not racist, even though his discourses serve to ‘other’ People of Colour, and one that ‘knows better’ than its more extreme White counterparts.

Other expressions of cultural difference did, through implication, articulate a racialised discourse of negative other-presentation (Van Dijk, 1992), although, for Henry this became something of a celebratory discourse about his Whiteness and his privilege. In the following section, Henry initially adapts and re-articulates discourses of privilege to signify himself with an identity of acceptable middle-class Whiteness, one that recognises the privilege he holds and one that seeks to use that privilege to address disadvantage. However, this also cites his middle-classness through articulating the difference between himself and people from ‘disadvantaged backgrounds’. He subsequently alters strategy by articulating a comparability between himself and People of Colour, which becomes a strategy of signification to construct his identity as acceptably White through similarity of experiences with People of Colour.

Henry: I guess for me now, I've, I think I said a little bit about my work but for the last three and a half years I've been working helping people with, coming from disadvantaged backgrounds to run their own businesses

Matt: Is this through [name of business]?

Henry: Yes, through [name of business] and through that I'm doing various other things like that, but I guess, you know, I'm in contact with a lot of people who are very different from me. Very few people I meet day-to-day have got the advantage that I was born with in different ways and also through my education had, I think, great advantage and I think I've been very intentional in trying to understand and listen and respect people who are different from me and, you know, also I have to live with the fact that for a lot of people I represent something that they might even despise. So, that's, that's a really interesting challenge

Matt: Okay

Henry: which I find more interesting rather than threatening. See, I'm not threatened by it, which makes me a threat, probably

Matt: Yeah, okay

Henry: So, to give you an example, I went to an event that was at the council, sorry, City Hall on inclusion and it was really disappointing. It was, you know, everybody talking but not doing anything and, you know, there was, in particular, one of the people who spoke who comes from a B.A.M.E background who, one felt, she just was on the wrong side. I was

feeling quite cross about it, but somebody had said 'You must talk to this woman, Bolasie'. She is someone with really disadvantaged background. She's a mixed heritage, she has a PhD but there's very little respect for who she is, really because of her background. I was probably a bit angry because of that and I went to talk to her, and she was probably feeling, well, she had a lot more reason to feel angry from this this event than I did

Matt: Sure

Henry: and she saw me as the complete sum of all the things that makes her cross. She just laid into me, and I hardly said anything

Matt: Mm

Henry: but she treated me like the enemy which, for me, in ways I love that. I love that raw emotion and I said to her 'Hey, you know I think maybe this isn't the time to talk and let's have a coffee and I'd love to explore some of these things with you' and actually, when we met, we unpacked things and one of things we found we both have a kind of dyslexia. It's very similar it makes us do things, very different things and we ended this meeting like brother and sister, Hhh, which was just extraordinary and I love those kinds of encounters but, going back, I know that for especially for people in the B.A.M.E community, for some of them, they would see me as arrogant in my behaviour and they would also see me as representing some of the things that brings them disadvantage and that's an interesting place to be.

Henry's complex contested subjectivity emerges here from the conflict between the critical discourses in the public debates, normative middle-class discourses, and hegemonic masculinity

discourses that all compete to materialise him intersectionally. Henry's agentive response, driven by this contested subjectivity, is a strategy of signification that cites and inverts discourses of oppression by suggesting that being despised because of his positionality is challenging for him to live with - he is oppressed by being despised for embodying oppression. However, he then fluidly changes his strategy to re-invert this oppression by de-escalating the challenge for him by constructing it as something 'interesting', which he then uses to signify himself as a threat to People of Colour. Critically, though, in doing this he re-signifies the nature of his 'threat' away from the Whiteness that he represents and that Black Lives Matter and other discourses in the public domain would critique him for holding into his reaction to them 'despising' him i.e., he is not a threat because of his Whiteness but because he is not threatened by being despised. This complex strategy of deflecting his Whiteness to avoid the public critique is reinforced by his use of the terms advantage and disadvantage here, which acts to de-racialise the relationships he is discussing, but also intersect them with class discourses. His strategy of signification also cites masculinity discourses as he re-signifies his identity from one that experiences and feels challenged to one that is strong enough to not allow being disliked to affect him emotionally and, so, is intersectional in this regard.

In talking about his engagement with a Woman of Colour, as his narrative progresses Henry's strategies of signification further re-signify his racial identity away from the oppressive White, middle-class, masculine identity he infers would be 'the complete sum of all the things that makes her cross'. Through this, he re-signifies his identity to the extent that he and a Woman of Colour who 'treated him like the enemy' end up 'like brother and sister' because of a shared experience of dyslexia. Thus, he deploys a strategy of signification of self as non-threatening to materialise himself as acceptably White, even to People of Colour who previously saw him as 'the enemy'. However, this also serves to erase the racialised differences and deny the reality of the different barriers he and his interlocutor would face due to their positionality.

Henry's statements about 'loving the raw emotion' of a person who is expressing anger and pain at the impact of the Whiteness objectifies Bolasie and her feelings as something for him to consume and enjoy (Urry, 2002). There is a degree of paternalism in his articulations about People of Colour, but this is interwoven with significations of similarity between him and People of Colour and his declarations of helping people from disadvantaged backgrounds that serve as a strategy to signify him with an acceptable middle-class White identity. As with other strategies deployed by the respondents to signify an acceptable identity, this works to reconstitute the normativity of the White, middle-class man against the 'other' White, middle-class man that is subject to the current public, critical debate. This presentation of his acceptable middle-class White identity reoccurs in a subsequent conversation in which Henry laments the absence any People of Colour from long-standing communities 'standing out' due to long-term discrimination.

> Henry: One of the things that grieves me though, the B.A.M.E people who stand out are nearly all people who have come to this country even but certainly to Bristol in the last 15 years. So, you know, they tend to be the more recent immigrants to the UK
>
> Matt: Why do you think that is?
>
> Henry: Because the community that have been here a long time have been so disadvantaged and discriminated against that all their self-confidence has gone and they end up, the entrepreneurial ones, the only way they can make money is through illegal ways. So, you know, we have very good, high quality, profitable drug trafficking and from the Jamaican community particularly. We have a lot of Jamaicans in, you know, the St Paul's area. That was the main island that we got immigration from. The Ja- Jamaica was the island where the troublemakers went to off the slave ships which was probably a reflection that they were the more entrepreneurial people. You know, they were the disrupters.

Matt: They were the disrupters. Right.

Henry: So, actually no. Potentially they're the people who should be running the businesses and so on but 60 years of discrimination and disadvantage.

Matt: So, if they were the disrupters and you described yourself as a disrupter, had you been African Caribbean or Jamaican, do you think you would have been a drug trafficker now as opposed to doing what you're doing?

Henry: Wow!! Umm, well, I would hope to think, so, I hope to think I was a trafficker and not a user

Matt: okay

Henry: and that there would be a bit of me that would have the social conscience that would put some of the money I made into good causes

Matt: Hhhhhhhh

Henry: So, I think that would be my

Matt: A drug trafficker with a social conscience?

Henry: Yeah, yeah

Matt: Okay

> Henry: I think there's probably, there are a few Jamaican families where people seem to be doing really well despite all the discrimination and disadvantage which has, you know, allowed them to be entrepreneurial, I think and, I mean, it's really interesting. So, the question is, how different am I from someone like that because I'm White and middle-class rather than Black? For me in some ways, no different at all.

Throughout his talk on race, Henry fluidly shifts his strategies of signification of self and the 'other' to perform a middle-class, White, identity that is socially acceptable. Whilst there is no overt declaration of anti-racism and little about his Whiteness – this is articulated in terms of 'advantage' and signifies him with an intersectionally privileged identity due to the collective privileges that sit under the term 'advantaged' - his shifting significations make his articulations of having a social conscience non-performative (Ahmed, 2004). The interweaving of articulations of racist discourses on Jamaican 'troublemakers'/'drug dealers' is a process of essentialised and negative other-presentation (Van Dijk, 1992). However, his statements of similarity, albeit as a drug dealer with a 'social conscience', combined with his statements of comparability with Bolasie, articulate an 'I'm not racist' position through its transformation of his negative other-presentation into a positive self-presentation (Van Dijk, 1992).

The respondents in this study who expressed some form of cultural difference deployed strategies of signification in their talk that constructed them as holding acceptable middle-class White identities that can be seen as a response to the public critique of Whiteness. However, their strategies of signification also included those that served to maintain the 'otherness' of People of Colour and so reconstitute the normativity of middle-class Whiteness.

Despite the critiques of their 'White worlds', most of the men in this research explicitly acknowledge their 'White' identity. However, for the respondents, the awareness of their Whiteness, this making

visible of their Whiteness to themselves, does not alter its normalcy (Bonilla-Silva, 2012). Rather, the declarations and their associated racialised articulations operate to make their visible Whiteness something that is acceptable for them to hold. Through their articulations, they alter the content of Whiteness, or at least, the rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1993) of Whiteness, in a way that works to reduce and minimise the public critique of it and, through the intersectionality of their talk, seeks to reconstitute the normativity of middle-class Whiteness as for White, middle-class men.

Visible Whiteness and the Reproduction of Hegemonic Whiteness in Everyday Talk

The chapter has shown how White, middle-class men are responding to the public critique of their Whiteness. It reveals a number of strategies of signification that the respondents deploy in a context in which their White privilege is no longer invisible to them. The analysis of their racialised talk in conversation shows that Van Dijk's (1992) over-arching strategy of signification of 'I'm not racist but…' can be expanded to include strategies of 'I/we am/are racist but it's not our fault so I/we should not be blamed for it'. While Van Dijk's (1992) four main types of denials of racism all stem from explicit verbal denials of some overt act or expression of racism, whether these be around acts, control, intentions, or goals this chapter demonstrates that denials in everyday conversations between White, middle-class men are rarely explicitly stated.

However, this does not negate the validity of the typology. The reasons for the lack of overt denials may be, in part, due to the admission of biases, albeit only the unconscious ones, negating the need for denials and, in part, due to there being no direct challenge to them that what they are saying is racist. It seems likely that, had I directly challenged respondents on some of the comments, they would have articulated one or more of Van Dyke's (1992) denials. Whilst this absence of challenge makes me complicit in their articulation and reproduction of Whiteness, it also reveals more subtle

and nuanced mechanisms of denial that are much more frequently articulated through implications of comparability that seem to deny the possibility of being racist. These can be categorised as -

- I'm White but I'm also from a diverse group.
- I'm White but I'm like them.

Drawing on Van Dijk's (1992) work that racist views and attitudes are acquired and shared through everyday talk, as well as through institutional discourses, this chapter shows how the discourses of acceptable middle-class Whiteness articulated by respondents in conversations work to maintain the hegemony of middle-class Whiteness at a societal level. The repeated articulations and reiterations of the adapted discourses on diversity and unconscious bias across the respondent group's talk contain points of communicative equivalency and work to "implement the overall structures and processes of dominance and inequality at the meso- and macro-levels of groups" (Van Dijk, 1992: 88). Despite the heterogeneity of their articulations at an individual level, the individual micro-discourses coalesce socially to construct a normative discourse that informs racialised power/knowledge relations (Foucault, 1984) and adapt hegemonic meta-discourses.

The collective effect of these heterogeneous discourses on socially acceptable White identity articulated by the respondents work to create a domain of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1997) for an acceptable middle-class White in-group that incorporates acceptable racism. This is not just articulated in relation to individual identity but also in relation to the broader, middle-class White in-group. The holding of and the discriminatory impact of unconscious bias thus begins to form part of the standpoint of middle-class White people and becomes an acceptable cultural practice of middle-class Whiteness.

However, this is not an unmarked or unnamed cultural practice. Rather it is clearly marked and named through strategies of acknowledgement and the discursive processes of the respondents. The agentive adaptation and re-articulation of discourses (Butler, 1997) on diversity and unconscious bias in Whiteness by the respondents signifies an acceptable, visible middle-class White identity and reinforces middle-class White hegemony by articulating a normative expectation that middle-class White men are blamelessly racist and so condition social relations of dominance and inequality (Butler, 1997).

However, this naming and marking of unconscious bias as a cultural practice of middle-class Whiteness by the respondents to make it acceptable is interwoven with qualifications, denials and articulations of cultural difference, negative other-presentation, and the objectification and consumption of People of Colour that enhance the respondents' White privilege and social position. This 'othering' of People of Colour re-articulates a broader discourse that re-produces and reinforces the normativity and privilege of middle-class Whiteness that discourses on diversity and unconscious bias seek to dismantle. However, it is a reconfigured normativity that includes the holding of racialised unconscious biases as a legitimate and acceptable middle-class White cultural practice.

I have shown how the respondents were open in accepting and articulating their awareness of their own Whiteness. Thus, the visibility of middle-class Whiteness becomes an aspect of its composition and its production (Knowles, 2005) through their articulations their awareness of it in their everyday talk. Invisibility, then, is no longer a mechanism through which middle-class Whiteness maintains its hegemony, rather, the specific form of visible-to-the-self Whiteness performed by the respondents now contributes to the maintenance of a reconstituted hegemonic middle-class Whiteness.

Critically, this research explores the informal conversations of subjects who are intersectionally materialised as White, middle-class men. Therefore, because of their materiality, their talk on race

and their significations that they hold an acceptable White identity also cite masculinity and middle-classness. These intersectional citational practices are reinforced by the performativity of the settings that the conversations occurred in because, as White, middle-class spaces, they summon an increased semantic power to the intersectionality of their discourses. Thus, the acceptability of the Whiteness the respondents articulate and the acceptable White identities they signify are specifically those of White, middle-class men, rather than any person who is racialised as White.

In the next chapter I will explore how the respondents construct and perform their masculinity in the conversations I held with them, given the focus on masculinity and masculine privilege that the #MeToo and other sexual harassment campaigns have created in the public debates on privilege and oppression.

Chapter Six – Talking Gender: It's a White Middle-class Man's World

This chapter explores White, middle-class men's engagement with and production of masculinity in a social context in which masculinity is increasingly under scrutiny. The invisibility of masculinity that sustained its dominance (Robinson, 2000; Bucholtz, 1999) has been challenged by events in the current social milieu that have shone a light on gender inequality and, crucially, the day-to-day behaviour of men. Historically, attempts to highlight gender inequality focused on structural inequality, for example, in politics (Mayhall, 2003), employment (Meehan, 1985), law (Brophy and Smart, 1985), and reproductive rights (Hoggart, 2000). However, currently, whilst discourses about structural inequality, such as Equal Pay and the Gender Pay Gap are part of the context, the #MeToo campaign, street harassment campaigns such as 'Hollaback', and social media exposés of casual sexual harassment (Anderson, 2017; Darmanin, 2017), focus much more on the unacceptable, everyday behaviours of men towards women.

The erosion of the invisibility of masculinity differs, in some regards, to the processes of reducing the invisibility of Whiteness. Whilst the public debate on men's behaviour towards women has worked to draw back the veil of invisibility, unlike the discourses making Whiteness and White Privilege visible that tended to focus on White, middle-class men and women, the critique of the production and performance of masculinity spans all ethnicities, classes, ages, and faiths. The campaigns to expose sexual harassment have highlighted the behaviours of men who occupy a range of positionalities – it is not just White, middle-class men who are having their masculinity made visible to them. Indeed, some of the men exposed through the revelations of the #MeToo campaign have sexually harassed and assaulted other men. Despite this, the primary focus of these counterhegemonic discourses has been on heterosexual men and their behaviour towards women and on critiquing the normative privilege of heterosexual masculinity that has for so long gone unexamined in the public domain

Additionally, there is little data from the respondents in this research that indicates any sense of threat to or contested subjectivity about their heterosexuality and whilst it is possible to analyse the data as expressions of heteronormativity, the focus of this research is to develop an understanding of how those with privilege respond when it is threatened. As such, the focus of this chapter is on how heterosexual men perform their masculinity in response to the extant critiques of their behaviour. However, the degree to which counterhegemonic discourses such as #MeToo reinforce heteronormativity due to their focus on men's behaviour towards women, and how heterosexual privilege intersects with White, masculine, and middle-class privilege in the day-to-day reproduction of intersectional privilege is an area for further research.

There have long been discourses that have marked the masculinity of Men of Colour and White, working-class men as problematic and, therefore, visible (Haylett, 2001; Bland, 2005). As White, middle-class, heterosexual men have been constructed as the normative masculine identity in society, their masculinity is the one manifestation of it that has been consistently invisible. In many respects, then, despite #MeToo, Hollaback, and other campaigns highlighting sexual assault and harassment by men of all ethnicities and classes, the making visible of White, middle-class, heterosexual masculinities is a new phenomenon. How, then, do White, middle-class, heterosexual men respond to the new visibility and critique of their masculinity?

In exploring the respondents' strategies of signification, the chapter engages with the symbolic patriarchy that establishes a gendered economy of power (Buchbinder, 2013) and discourses of Hegemonic Masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) that carry rules of masculine cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1993) as key regulatory powers (Butler, 1990), and Cole's (2008) concept of 'mosaic masculinities' that suggests men combine elements of Hegemonic Masculinity discourses to perform their ideal masculinity.

This chapter reveals how the discourses of Hegemonic Masculinity and other masculinities, such as discourses of the 'new man', compete for meaning dominance with #MeToo, other critical discourses, and structural gender equality discourses to constitute a contested discursive field (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) as they seek to materialise masculine bodies in particular ways and convey competing rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1993). In this I show how these dynamics create contested subjectivities in the respondents and how they reflexively and agentively respond, through their strategies of signification, to the need to act they engender, and perform acceptable masculine identities without fundamentally altering their behaviour.

In the first section of this chapter, I show how the respondents cite, adapt, and combine a range of cultural resources from the discursive field to deploy strategies of signification that construct their masculinity in relation to themselves. Interestingly, despite the visibility of masculinity, there are few, if any, examples of respondents articulating strategies of acknowledgement. This is likely due to a fear that the 'calling out' of their own masculinity would constitute an acknowledgement of culpability in the context of #MeToo and everyday sexual harassment of women.

The data shows that the discourses the respondents draw on are not exclusively drawn from discourses of hegemonic masculinity, which is the under-pinning premise of Coles' (2008) concept of mosaic masculinities. Given the range of cultural resources the respondents draw on in responding to their contested subjectivities and performing their masculinity, I propose an expansion of Cole's (2008) concept into 'masculine gendered mosaic identities' i.e., the mosaic nature of the respondents' gendered identity is not confined to discourses of hegemonic masculinity. The respondents create an intersectional 'masculine gendered mosaic identity' that utilises masculinity discourses as its gendered core but exceeds masculinity to intersect with class, race, age/youth, fashion, nationality, education, and other discourses to create a complex intersectional performance of a masculine gendered identity.

In the second section of this chapter, I reveal how the respondents articulate strategies of signification that construct their masculinities in relation to a gendered other, most often their wife or partner. Whilst the range of discourses they cite to perform their masculine gendered mosaic identity in this is less varied, and the sense of their contested subjectivities is less strong, they do cite and adapt femininity, parenting, the 'new man', magnanimity, and discourses on gender roles to intersect with masculinity. These strategies of signification introduce an element of being oppressed to their identities that locates responsibility for any sexist behaviour in their wives or partners. This signifies them as reasonable, not the sexist White, middle-class man in the public debates, and so socially acceptable, which works to reconstitute a normativity to their identities without necessitating any fundamental change.

In the final section of this chapter, I show how the respondents cite, adapt, and respond to specific equalities discourses in their talk to defend their masculinity and resist the critiques in the current public debate that create significant contested subjectivities for them. Their strategies of signification change to use discourses of diversity, oppression, and inequality to signify the respondents, and men in general, as in some way oppressed, and disadvantaged. This works to resist them being marked as sexist, but without the need for a significant change in behaviour, as they are now the victims. In citing this range of discourses in their performance of masculinity, the respondents agentively and fluidly construct themselves and the gendered 'other' in a way that maintains the patriarchal economy of power and so their masculine privilege (Buchbinder, 2013), despite its current visibility.

Critically, as with the performance of Whiteness discussed in the previous chapter, the respondents in this study do not perform their masculinity in isolation from their Whiteness or their middle-classness. As such, in being White, middle-class men talking in White, middle-class settings, they cite discourses on Whiteness and class to intersect with their discourses on masculinity to construct an

acceptable masculine identity that is the preserve of White, middle-class men. This chapter also reveals how heterogeneous, and fluid individual articulations of acceptable, White, middle-class masculinity coalesce to reinforce wider hegemonic social relations, even as they revise the contents of acceptable White, middle-class masculinity.

Constructions of Masculine Gendered Mosaic Identities of Self

In this section, I will show how the respondents articulate their masculinity with reference to themselves as the subject. I show how discourses of Hegemonic Masculinity, more acceptable masculinities, and the new critical visibility of masculinity create contested subjectivities for the respondents. Their strategies of signification show how they agentively respond by citing and adapting a range of discourses to perform a masculine gendered mosaic identity that it acceptable both to Hegemonic Masculinities precepts, and in the face of their newfound critical visibility. However, despite this need to demonstrate an acceptable masculinity, they do not 'call themselves out' as they did with Whiteness, or articulate specific 'strategies of acknowledgement'.

The degree of contested subjectivities of the respondents and the subsequent complexity and fluidity with which men talk about and signify themselves as masculine in every day talk appears in the following discussion with Ian that occurred very early on in our conversation. Ian is a 36-year-old property developer whose stated job title is 'Main Man'. He is married with two young sons. Born in rural Northern Ireland, after university he moved to London and eventually to Bristol because his then girlfriend, now wife, lived here.

We meet in a wine bar in Clifton. It is around 7pm on a Wednesday evening in late September. The bar is situated on the corner of a street with large windows facing both frontages. The interior is set out with a mix of high tables with bar stool-style chairs and standard tables and chairs scattered across polished wooden flooring. The bar is quite busy and is gearing up for a pub quiz. The clientele

are predominantly groups of young, casually but expensively dressed, men and women. There are a few older people and one or two couples. The atmosphere is lively and loud.

Interestingly, in Ian's talk on being a man, he initially draws on cultural tropes of hyper-masculinity (Behnke and Meuser, 2002) that signify him as an exaggerated version of the masculinity that is subject to critique in the public domain. This suggests that Ian is not aware of the critical visibility of masculinity, and it seems to be his version of the ideal man (Coles, 2008) that he wishes to perform. He articulates this through discourses on sport which, for him, is the quintessential medium through which men demonstrate their masculinity.

> Ian: I think sport is one of the most important things in current society because it's the only thing we can do to kick off and become amazing, at the moment, we've got sport. It's a celebration of the way humans can move, interact and be competitive. It's so important to have competition, especially if you're a bloke, you know. We're able-bodied, precise hunters and we have to sit around being nice to each other all the time, it's ‘Argh!’
>
> Matt: Hhhh so we have to find some ways not to be nice to each other and live out that, kind of, innate aspect of us?
>
> Ian: Yeah

He goes on to talk at length about men being physically designed to be hunters with eyes constructed to focus on a single point, and bodies designed to be strong and have the stamina to chase down our prey. Whereas women, he claims, have better peripheral vision to 'keep an eye on all the babies'. Ian’s connection between masculinity and the ‘hunter’ goes further when he talks about the act of killing.

Ian: All of us, I don't care who you are, would enjoy killing an animal with your bare hands to eat. If you needed to, and you were in that situation, you would get a satisfaction out of completing that task; of fulfilling the killing instinct, which is much more a male thing than a female thing and men have evolved separately to women to be better at it.

As much as these articulations of hyper-masculinity seem to ignore the current critical visibility of masculinity, his citation of evolutionary discourses of masculinity (McCaughey, 2007) may be a specific strategy in response to a contested subjectivity arising from these critiques. The articulations of these discourses by Ian deploys a pseudo-scientific moral and factual authority in asserting 'naturalness' of the masculine behaviour (McCaughey, 2007) that is subject to critical visibility from #MeToo and Hollaback, thereby defending his sense of masculinity these critiques threaten. The articulation of this hyper-masculinity also signifies his compliance with the parameters of cultural intelligibility for Hegemonic Masculinity. However, amid these expressions of hyper-masculinity, Ian changes his signification of himself to a more refined and 'gentlemanly' version of masculinity, albeit one that still includes a focus on competition and winning (Feasey, 2008).

Ian: Yeah. It's actually another reason why I love golf because

Matt: Okay

Ian: It's a calm, gentlemanly not aggressive you know, that it doesn't really work unless you're in control of yourself but you still, you're still fervently trying to beat somebody, especially if it's a one-on-one match then, you know, then it really it becomes dynamic, becomes really all about the win and nothing else.

In talking about golf, Ian fluidly and agentively re-signifies his masculine identity by citing discourses of a more polished and civilised masculinity, which may indicate a response to the critical visibility of a more barbaric masculinity and speaks to the contestation over how to perform his masculinity. Yet it retains an idealised aspect through the re-articulation of competitiveness and winning away from the physical violence of killing to the more middle-class, cerebral, and self-controlled golfing competitiveness. In this he is agentively citing and weaving together these differing discourses to construct his masculine identity as socially acceptable, whilst re-asserting the validity of those elements that, to him, are foundational to his sense of his masculine self, elements that comply with aspects of Hegemonic Masculinity. This tension in his talk between complying with Hegemonic Masculinity, resisting critiques of it, and the need to present an acceptable, middle-class masculinity is indicative of his contested subjectivity. In his talk, he not only cites masculinity discourses but also 'class as culture' discourses of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) to draw on cultural resources outside of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995) and construct a masculine gendered mosaic identity for White, middle-class men that is acceptable in its visibility.

Jack also exhibits, perhaps more clearly, the process of agentively drawing on a variety of cultural resources outside of Hegemonic Masculinity to fluidly signify and re-signify his masculinity. Jack spent several years living and working in Poland. During our meeting in the pub when we discussed religion and an American Whiteness that 'should know better', as we eat more perogies, he talks about his time in Poland. He describes it as 'a conservative, traditional country. A very masculine country. A Catholic country where they believe in a certain image of the man. Heavy drinking, meat eating', which cites hegemonic masculinity in its construction of Poland as a whole. He then goes on to talk about himself and his appearance in Poland.

> Jack: There's no specific reason for this but, I didn't have a hair band when I was in Poland. It wasn't a conscious decision at the time, I just had shorter hair at the time and then I went to

university and started growing my hair hhhh. It wasn't a conscious decision because they wouldn't like it and young people would be fine. You see young people in Poland with hairbands and ponytails and stuff but there might be an element possibly older, to an extent there is a working-class in Poland, you know, and the football crowd might possibly take exception to a man with a hairband or ponytail.

Matt: Interesting

Jack: Yes, it is kinda interesting being in that environment to an extent, that kind of very, because I've never considered myself to be you know 'Alpha male' or anything like that and never have done, partly because of my size and my interests and all these kinds of things. Even though I go to football and drink beer which is a very masculine kind of pursuit, I'm not aggressive or anything like that and actually, in Poland, there is an element of, especially the young and educated, you meet Polish people at University of Bristol, the fact of it is, they're all educated, slighter kind of, pretty much more like British, kind of. There is an element of Poland where you have to be aware of that and that kind of thing, and where you wouldn't. It is kind of interesting to live there in that kind of way.

The emphasis Jack places on his not wearing a hairband in Poland not being a conscious decision points to a desire to present an identity that will not conform to Hegemonic Masculinity, but also one that does not fear criticism of its performance of masculinity by those who ‘wouldn’t like it’. This is revealing of a complex contested subjectivity driving Jack’s need to act. His resistance to Hegemonic Masculinity the wearing his hairband would demonstrate cites displays of courage and strength that are aspects of Hegemonic Masculinity itself, but he performs this resistant masculinity in the context of this Hegemonic Masculinity being under significant public scrutiny. Interestingly, in a different conversation, Jack says that 'aspects of modern society in Britain are a little bit sensitive

about things and possibly over-reacting to things' which cites 'PC gone mad' discourses (Graefer, 2019) and suggests a further resistance to the public scrutiny of his identity. The contestation of his subjectivity and his subsequent responses here, then, are driven by competing needs to resist the Hegemonic Masculinity that is made visible through the critiques, thereby performing an acceptable masculinity, and a need comply with Hegemonic Masculinity's parameters of masculine cultural intelligibility.

In responding to this contestation, Jack cites discourses on fashion and youth to signify that his long hair is an acceptable aesthetic of youthful masculinity (Ricciardelli, 2011) and one that stands in distinction to the conception of masculinity held by older and working-class elements in Poland. This is an inferred Hegemonic Masculinity that cites his own description of Poland. His statement that older, working-class, and football crowds might take exception to his ponytail also articulates 'othering' class discourses (Lawler, 2012) in a strategy to signify his masculinity as an acceptable youthful, White, middle-class masculinity.

However, he then re-signifies his masculinity through referencing his watching football and drinking beer as being masculine pursuits. This articulation of his masculinity is prefaced by a qualifier about his behaviour and interests that positions him away from the macho and aggressive beer drinking football fan who would take exception to his ponytail. These oscillating shifts of signification of his masculinity in his talk reveal the fluidity of the processes of continually becoming (West and Fenstermaker, 1995) and his reflexive agency as he responds to his contested subjectivity and his need to act. His construction of his masculine gendered mosaic identity is further refined in terms of a British middle-class masculinity by interweaving middle-class discourses of education and British nationalism with his embodied middle-class masculinity by comparing young, educated Polish people as more like him in build i.e., 'slighter', and generally more like British people.

In deploying strategies of signification in this way, Jack is agentively citing and adapting discourses of masculinity, youthfulness, fashion, race, nationalism, and middle-classness to signify a British middle-class masculinity and construct and perform an acceptable masculine gendered mosaic identity. This intersects with his talk on race discussed in the previous chapter, which constructed Britain as exclusively White and British Whiteness as rational and normal in contrast to an extreme, religious, American Whiteness, to create an intersectional articulation that constructs his masculinity as a White, middle-class masculinity. This intersectional articulation is further reinforced by his materiality and embodiment of this White, middle-class masculinity.

Despite the existence of a significant increase in the focus on men's bodies and embodied masculinity in both popular media and academic literature (McKay, Mikosza and Hutchins, 2005), few of the respondents expressed issues of body image despite the varying sizes, shapes, and ages of my respondents. Only one, Mark, expressed any sense of being pressured by an idealised masculine physicality.

The following conversation with Mark is taken from our first conversation. We bumped into each other in a bar on Gloucester Road and, after Mark expressed an interest in being part of the research programme, we begin to chat. The bar is a dark venue with low lights and a 'post-industrial' feel to the décor. It was relatively early in the evening, about 6pm, and the bar was empty apart from Mark and me. We are drinking red wine and seated at a table next to a large, avant-garde picture of a gorilla on the wall. It had been a hot day and Mark starts talking about preferring autumn and winter to the summer. He feels under pressure to take part in physical displays of dominant masculinity that indicate conformity to the cultural intelligibility of hegemonic masculinity.

> Mark: I've got to strip off instantly and get a couple of beers and let's do all the festivals. I feel under pressure and so I avoid it.

However, in part of the conversation in which I ask him about his childhood, he begins to talk about a change in perception of himself as masculine and, therefore, as acceptable to his peers, which influenced who he is and his life today.

> Mark: It was basically around the time I'd punched somebody in the face. I'd lost my virginity before anyone else and so I think at that point, yeah, I think I found my feet
>
> Matt: So, when you when you say that situation influenced your life to today, basically it was all kinda happening at the same time, you found your feet, etc?
>
> Mark: Yeah, and I think it's part of that and it probably, you know, cos there's this thing about masculinity, you know, I think it was almost like, all of a sudden, I felt I had to prove myself. Well, I didn't. I just happened to prove myself, as, so, in their eyes. I didn't just walk in and say 'hey, look what I've done', I was quite quiet about it
>
> Matt: Do you equate how they saw you changing to your sense of finding your feet?
>
> Mark: Yeah I think so, and also you know, I just, although, I probably didn’t analyse it then, the sort of buzz that I got from, almost like stepping away from all the shit and well, I don't have to, you know, like, well, 'How do you like me now?' kind of thing, you know, and I think maybe that, so, and the pattern ever since has been, so when I go clubbing I'm the DJ, if I go to a record club, I own a record shop or if I, yeah, festivals, if I go to a festival I want to be working at it. I do find myself wanting to step out of the fray and go 'well, actually I'm…’, and I'll be, yeah, and it's not even a subconscious thing it's like, I think I gravitate towards a [inaudible], you know

Matt: and what do you put that down to, that need to be that?

Mark: I think on a very base level, especially earlier on, I just thought 'I just want to get laid', you know? So, as a, I think starting early actually also made me, I was much more aware of women and, you know, just the pleasure of it you know like

Matt: There's something in there about not just wanting to stand out from the crowd but stand above it, and that's because you wanted to get laid?

Mark: I, ah, yes, so, if I'm being really honest, I think, at points were about, maybe I was low in my life or, at a point where I've needed to feel value or worth, I've, yeah, I mean, I measured that by how many women I've slept with, so I have made a link with status and

Matt: Status or value?

Mark: Value, yeah, yeah, yeah, no, value is good and, I mean but, telling this, like, but the thing is, you know, like, I'm not, I have thought about this quite a lot and it is pretty messed up, but I think it's fairly common and I think a lot of people would connect to it, but actually fairly uncomfortable admitting to it, you know, but it has stayed with me even now, there's still, like, so as a 46 year old single guy, I definitely feel better knowing I had some attention or you know like but I'm not, I don't do the predatory. I don't do the games.

Mark draws on different discourses to fluidly shift his significations of his masculine self. He initially cites discourses that reject the masculine competitiveness inherent in that act ‘stripping off’ that would demonstrate conformity to the idealised masculine body of Hegemonic Masculinity (Connell and Messchersmidt, 2005). This can be seen as a strategy of signification to distance himself from

the masculinity critiqued in the public debates. However, it also points to his sense of masculine vulnerability that he later articulates, and it may indicate a contested subjectivity he holds about his physique in relation to the 'ideal' body of Hegemonic Masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Mark, though, articulates a 'coming of age' story that is rooted in Hegemonic Masculinity, as it is linked to losing his virginity and an expression of masculinity through physical violence (Frosh, Phoenix, and Pattman, 2001). His use of the expression 'I think I found my feet' relates these acts as a process of gaining some acceptability and social status within his peer group, from which he drew a self-confidence. However, he articulates this 'coming of age' as a natural process, something that just happened, rather than because of him feeling he has to prove himself. This works as a strategy to distance himself from the social pressures of Hegemonic Masculinity (Connell, 1995). His subsequent expression of 'How do you like me now?' may diminish the reality of his not subscribing to these pressures, but it may also be a response to his experience of being bullied.

That Mark now has to be seen as above the ordinary, as holding a certain status in the social situations he finds himself in, can be understood as an attempt to be seen as the 'man' of Hegemonic Masculinity. Although, this may also be as a result of being bullied as a child (see previous Chapter) and an attempt to perform an identity that precludes the possibility of further bullying. This itself is a performance of Hegemonic Masculinity as it locates him as the sort of man who demands, or even deserves respect and admiration, particularly, as it transpires, by women. Mark goes on to draw directly on the discourses of Hegemonic Masculinity to signify himself as an embodiment of this Hegemonic Masculinity by dint of sexual conquest (van der Watt, 2016), and his signification of himself as the hedonistic pleasure seeker. In this, his strategies of signification seek to construct him as 'acceptable' to the ideological components of Hegemonic Masculinity, which his identity performance serves to reinforce the normativity of.

However, his strategies of signification alter quite dramatically at this point to ones that draw on a vulnerable masculinity that seeks validation in the sexual attention of multiple women. This emotional vulnerability, at least the admitting of it, is somewhat antithetical to Hegemonic Masculinity and cites discourses of emotion more readily associated with "emphasised femininity", (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 831).

Mark's declaration that 'it is pretty messed up' points to an awareness that the seeking of personal value through sexual intimacy may be problematic, revealing a contested subjectivity arising from the discourses that question and critique the behaviour he is exhibiting, behaviours from which he draws personal value. In this is the citing of the discourses on toxic masculinity that describe its detrimental effects on men i.e., in stating his seeking value through sex is 'messed up' in conjunction with his articulation of discourses that reject the physicality requirements of Hegemonic Masculinity, Mark is subtly positioning himself as a victim of and oppressed by Hegemonic Masculinity. However, he limits the potential social stigmatisation of his search for value through sexual promiscuity by articulating it as 'fairly common' and so normalises the behaviour.

His reflexive agency is apparent as he seeks to signify himself as acceptable through a strategy that draws on a denial of the extant critique of masculinity by articulating that he is not being 'predatory', and that he does not 'do the games'. This works to perform an acceptable masculinity in the current social context. However, throughout his changing strategies of signification, women are constructed as sexual objects, regardless of Mark's expressed motivations, and his strategies of signification work to reduce threat whilst maintaining masculine privilege over women's bodies, as the presentation of acceptability is not accompanied by significant attitudinal and behavioural change.

Within his talk there is an agentive shifting of his masculinity that resists the construction of his masculinity as the one that is critiqued in the public debate on masculine behaviour, but also as one that complies with aspects of Hegemonic Masculinity's precepts of cultural intelligibility. In doing so,

Mark's micro-discourse cites and adapts discourses on Hegemonic Masculinity, toxic masculinity, hedonism, social status, vulnerability, and personal value in his strategies of signification to construct a masculine gendered mosaic identity that is acceptable in its denials of the critiques of masculinity contained within the #MeToo and Hollaback movements but also works to reconstitute hegemonic masculine normativity.

In both Mark and Jack there are significations of self that seem to work as resistances to the dominant conceptions of masculinity – Mark admits his vulnerabilities with regard to his self-esteem and Jack adopts non-dominant-masculine hairstyles and proclaims himself not to be an 'alpha-male'. Ian articulates similar significations of non-dominant masculinity, as we shall see later, when talking about his relationship with his wife. Despite their other significations that position them within Hegemonic Masculinity and provide them with an aspect of acceptability to Hegemonic Masculinity, these strategies of signification of non-dominant masculinity work to signify that they are not the stereotypical men that are being critiqued in the public debates.

The respondents use strategies of signification to agentively weave together a range of cultural resources to construct fluid, masculine gendered mosaic identities that retain, what is for them some essential aspects of masculinity that comply with Hegemonic Masculinity – sexual accomplishment, physical prowess and the competitive 'hunter's' instinct, enjoying sport and drinking beer – whilst presenting this masculinity as socially acceptable in response to the critical visibility of #MeToo.

These respondents extend Cole's (2008) mosaic masculinity to draw from and adapt a range of discourses beyond those of Hegemonic Masculinity to construct their masculine gendered mosaic identities and signify themselves with an acceptable White, middle-class masculinity. Furthermore, whilst articulating their masculinity as socially acceptable in the current context, their strategies of

signification reconstitute the normativity of White, middle-class masculinity and rearticulate the discursive strands of the symbolic patriarchy to maintain patriarchal economies of power (Buchbinder, 2013).

Performing Acceptable Masculinity through the Construction of the 'Other'

In this section I will show how the respondents articulate and perform their masculine identities through their construction of a gendered other, specifically the women in their lives, and their discourses on the relational dynamics between them. In this, discourses on gender roles come to the fore and are interwoven with discourses of the 'new man' (Brown, 1994) in the respondents' talk to signify them as holding an acceptable masculinity without necessitating any change in behaviour. The theme of women being a barrier to men performing their gendered identities is a recuring one that is articulated alongside discourses of magnanimity and understanding that construct an acceptable masculine identity in response to their critical visibility, whilst locating responsibility for any consequential inequity in the behaviours and traits of women.

For many of the respondents, their signification of themselves in gendered ways tends to focus on their partner's behaviour, rather than on their own gendered characteristics or behaviours - a process of constructing the gendered self by constructing the gendered 'other'. This is different from the way the respondents articulated their gendered identity in the previous section, and how they spoke about race on the previous chapter, both of which focussed on themselves.

In Ian's talk there is a fundamental shift in how he signifies his gendered identity when talking about his relationship with his wife in comparison to his earlier construction of his masculinity. It is worth pointing out here that all of the data from Ian comes from a single, albeit long, conversation. This shift in Ian's construction of his masculinity indicates the degree to which the contestation of his masculine subjectivity is heighteNEd in the context of his relationship as he responds to the tension

between being materialised by, and performing Hegemonic Masculinity, and the critiques of this masculinity. In contrast to his earlier talk, in the dynamic Ian portrays between himself and his wife, he re-signifies his identity to include characteristics of emphasised femininity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). His strategies of signification also draw on discourses of the "'new man' who embodies many of the cultural characteristics of the social construction of women" (Brown, 1994: 54).

> Ian: …at home I'm the playful, emotional fuzzy one and am always saying to the wife 'yes, of course you can go and do that'

Whilst this excerpt contains what seems to be a process of permission-giving by him in relation to his wife, it is delivered with a somewhat put-upon tone in the context of him 'running around picking up all the slack'. Here, his wife is constructed with traits of hegemonic masculinity, which he finds difficult.

> Ian: She's the clever one who's in control and I'm running around picking up all the slack because I'm not in control. It's hard for me

It's not entirely clear what 'hard' means for him in this, or what 'slack' might exist, given that his wife is in control… In a different segment of our conversation, though, he does talk about needing to be in control in work, which may point to what he means – it is hard for him not to be in control at home too. In contrast he also says he relies on his wife at home.

> Ian: Yeah, but I do rely on my wife to be the one who is, who knows that [child's name] has to bring his swim kit tomorrow or something like that. The reason why, and she gets annoyed at me for not knowing these things, but I would make the effort to know, to

understand these things if she wasn't already doing it. It just seems ridiculous for me to be, you know, but she can't function without knowing how to be, you know, having her shit in order. She is always on top of things. She has to be. It's how her brain works. So, she doesn't have a lot of room for the emotional fuzzy wife, although she is a very nice lady, obviously hhhhh.

Matt: But she's very ordered and

Ian: Yeah. She's in control. She's just very...

Matt: but then so are you, in a way

Ian: Yeah, I am. I like to feel like I'm in control, generally, it just, the detail has been stolen by my wife [drowned out by PA for the pub quiz]. I think the only, the hard, it only feels like a hardship to yourself if you think the other person isn't pulling their weight.

Matt: right

Ian: I can't pull my weight with my wife because, I can, but I'd just be doing the same stuff as her and it'd be a waste of time. So, it's easier for me to feel that I'm not. She's not pulling her weight because every now and then she can just switch off and go and do something else. Just disappear.

Matt: Right

In his somewhat contradictory articulations – he has to 'run around picking up the slack' whilst relying on her to know what needs doing but 'can't pull his weight', as his wife is 'on top of things',

although, clearly, ‘she’s not pulling her weight’ because she sometimes has a break… - Ian signifies himself with an acceptable masculine identity through complex articulatory practices. He signifies himself as a ‘new man’ (Brown, 1994) through his marking of himself with characteristics of ‘emphasized femininity’ and his apparent willingness to undertake day-to-day parenting duties, but this is counterbalanced by his earlier signification of himself as competitive, yet in a ‘gentlemanly not aggressive’ manner.

In addition, Ian’s strategy of signification as the somewhat put-upon man adapts and rearticulates traditional discourses about gender roles (Donaldson, 1993) in the home. He signifies his wife as ordered and in control and so, by implication, better at the domestic labour of running a home than he is. Although, this is due to the stereotypical masculine traits he constructs her with, rather than those of emphasised femininity that might cite maternal and nurturing instincts (Newman and Henderson, 2014). In doing so, he signifies himself as the new man but publicly gives himself permission to let his wife take on this labour and so reconstitute patriarchal gender dynamics in a manner that is cloaked in his acceptable middle-class masculinity. In his strategy of signifying her with masculine traits, and himself with more ‘feminine’ emotional traits, he is adapting the component elements of Hegemonic Masculinity and reconfiguring his materiality away from the historic rules of cultural intelligibility contained in phallocentric discourses (Butler, 1993). However, he does this in a manner that allows him to reinforce the patriarchal economies of power (Buchbinder, 2014) and gendered divisions of labour, whilst performing an acceptable White, middle-class masculinity.

Across his talk in this chapter, Ian cites a range of discourses to fluidly signify and re-signify his masculine gendered mosaic identity from the hyper-masculine precision hunter through the refined, middle-class gentleman sportsman to the soft and emotional, somewhat oppressed man at home. His strategies of signification cite and adapt on these discourses as cultural resources and indicate

that his contested subjectivity generates in him a need to act in response to the current critical visibility of masculinity. His response is to construct a masculine gendered mosaic identity that is a socially acceptable, White, middle-class masculinity that also meets and reinforces a number of the value conditions of Hegemonic Masculinity.

David also draws on and adapts gender role discourses (Donaldson, 1993) to signify his masculine gendered mosaic identity. He is 55 and works as a CAD Manager in professional technical services. He was born in Burton-on-Trent, to which he attributes his love of real ales, but moved around a lot in his childhood. He went to university in London and trained as an architect. He is a divorcee, and his ex-wife and adult children still live in the Midlands. He and his new partner moved from Bournemouth to Bristol about 18 months ago because they 'knew it was a good place'.

David and I meet at the Toad and Sprocket in Redland. Outside, at the front, there are some long tables and bench seats enclosed by a low wall. It's 5:30pm on a Thursday in July. The dining area is quiet, but the outside area and the bar are quite busy. It is here that I note again the sign on the bar promoting 'Foraging, lunch and 'wild' cocktail making. £50 per person'. The clientele are a mix of men and women of various ages. All appear to me to be White. All but two are dressed in expensive looking, smart or smart casual clothes. Some appear to have come straight from work. The chatter in the pub gives off a low murmur, punctuated by the occasional loud, 'masculine' laugh. The two men dressed differently sit outside. Both appear to be in their 50s. One wears jeans and a hoodie. The other wears what looks like hunting apparel, and I wonder if he will be taking a group of the clientele foraging. David and I sit outside. A real ale for him and a lager for me. We crack pistachio nuts as we talk. It is quieter here and the sun is shining.

David's articulation of gendered relations is more traditional than Ian's and, in many ways, more explicit in the articulation of the symbolic patriarchy (Buchbinder, 2013). When talking about his

previous marriage, he talks about gender roles in childrearing and his sense that women should be the ‘caregiver’ because women have ‘better interpersonal skills’. However, he expresses this not as an affirmation of gender roles within the family but, rather, as something that is detrimental to the father.

> David: If the mother always does it the man never gets the chance to improve his interpersonal skills and it just perpetuates the situation…The situation becomes ‘Dad's no good at baking cos mum always does that’ or ‘Dad's no good at homework because Mum always does it’.

He then talks about how he and his now ex-wife ‘tried the division of labour’ in their marriage.

> David: It kind of worked until something didn't get done. If you're both doing all the jobs, are you each doing them to the standard the other might expect? 'I've done the hoovering’ but the other person saying, ‘Well I do it better than that'.

I asked him if that actually happened and he rolled his eyes as if to say, 'oh yes, a lot'. The implication of the exasperated eye-roll is that it was his wife who often told him she could do the job better than him. David goes on to elaborate his view on gender roles in the home

> David: ‘…it would be better to say, well, the man does this, and the woman does that because they are the best at it and then at least you know it’s going to get done to the right standard’.

In narrating this dynamic, David, like Ian, is adapting gender role discourses to shift the effect of those discourses from one that constrains women to the home and ‘domestic duties’, to one that

oppresses men and fathers because they are prevented from fulfilling this role. In all of this, he is signifying himself as a 'new man' (Brown, 1994), one who is not the man being critiqued in the public discourses, because he wants to participate in and share the domestic and parenting duties. However, despite this sense of inequity for the father based on traditional gender roles (Hofstede, 1998) and a suggestion that, in the perfect world, duties would be equally shared, he does subsequently indicate that he thinks there should be clear gender roles in the house. In articulating this position, after adapting gender role discourses to construct himself as oppressed, he maintains a socially acceptable identity without needing to change his behaviour – after all, he tried, but wasn't allowed to.

What is absent here, that was seen in Ian's and Jack's talk, is the degree of fluid signification of himself utilising a variety of discourses when talking about gender. However, in a different section of our conversations that I discuss in the next chapter, David is categoric about being middle-class which, alongside his materiality and embodiment as White, intersect with his talk here to construct a masculine mosaic gendered identity that draws on race and class as well as masculinity to articulate an acceptability that is exclusive to White, middle-class man.

For both Ian and David, the citing of emphasized femininity and gender role discourses is a process of creative adaptation of those discourses (Butler, 1993) through which either the taking up of the characteristics of emphasized femininity, or the prevention of them assuming the domestic roles of emphasized femininity, provides them with an acceptable White, middle-class masculine identity. However, their strategies of signification construct their identities as acceptable without the need for any significant change in attitudes or behaviour in relation to their relationships. For both, responsibility for this lack of fundamental change is located with their wives, which absolves them of culpability, and is a strategy to further enhance the acceptability of their masculinity.

This construction of the women in their lives as a barrier in the way of them being able to do what they want to do is a recurring theme. Having initially met on a golfing weekend away with Ian and a group of other golfers, in our first conversation over lunch in the diner, Alfie talks about his love of golf and how he has to negotiate his playing time with his wife. He and his wife have two young children who she has given up work to look after, a decision that Alfie says was very much her own. Although, his use of the term 'instinct' in this section cites biological discourses on parenting and emphasised femininity's tropes of the woman as the nurturing and maternal one (Newman and Henderson, 2014).

> Alfie: My wife was quite senior at [name of company] and she got pregnant and didn't come back
>
> Matt: Would she have come back to the same position of seniority? Would she have been able to come back to the same position of seniority?
>
> Alfie: She would have but she wouldn't have been able to sustain it cos seniority, there's typically, until fairly recently when there's been a bit of a trying, a movement away from this, has typically meant work your arse oFf, work all hours. So, she, no, so that's not true. I could have done pick-ups but, I think, that instinct says being a mother and feeding and those sorts of things don't lend themselves to working 10-hour days and actually I, she didn't want to.

As the conversation progresses, Alfie initially talks about having to 'sell' his golf trips to his wife. This constructs her as having some form of power, in that he needs to convince her it is okay for him to go, or he will not be allowed. However, when asked why this is, Alfie re-signifies his wife as being resentful of his ability to pursue hobbies outside of the home and so it is her feelings that he has to

manage, rather than her power. This is a rearticulation of patriarchal discourses of the emotional, irrationality of women (Kulik, 2006), but also locates responsibility for his behaviour in his wife i.e., it’s not his fault.

> Matt: Do you feel you have to sell it to your wife as well?
>
> Alfie: Yep
>
> Matt: That's interesting. Why do you think that is?
>
> Alfie: I think that she has less hobbies than me and that's always been like that. If I wasn't playing golf, I'd like to be out on the bike or, I guess, at the moment, she doesn't work, and I've got Christmas parties coming up. So, there's, feels like I've always got a few things going on and I think she probably feels like, because she isn't, hasn't got the same hobbies, she's stuck at home.

Alfie then begins to articulate a strategy of signification that positions him as reasonable and supportive of her in pursuing any hobbies that she may have, although this is underpinned by a degree of paternalistic permission giving on his part. However, he also signifies his wife as someone who does not have the necessary desire to pursue a hobby, which is reversal of Hegemonic Masculinity discourses that inscribe drive, ambition and determination into men, and so reiterates the precepts of the symbolic patriarchy.

> Alfie: So, I'd say, I mean, just whatever you want to do, even if it's just, go to the pub for lunch, or go out and watch a film or whatever

Matt: yeah

Alfie: It's fine but, if you haven't got that strong desire to play golf, or ride a bike, or do whatever, then, just saying, right, I'm going to go out and watch a film on my own, it's a bit

Matt: Yeah, and if she doesn't have those kinds of social networks that come from work or from hobbies or what-have-you

Alfie: I don't know if, yeah, so that's true, I don't know that I'd say that. I think she probably has

Matt: okay

Alfie: got the networks but umm okay, so that's made more difficult by us moving out into the country now, but even when we're in the city, just calling up a friend and saying, 'Do you want to go and watch a film?', isn't as easy as

Matt: Mm

Alfie: saying 'Shall we go and play golf?'

In doing this, Alfie locates responsibility for his wife's resentment of his ability to pursue hobbies with her, irrespective of the context of her life. However, he seeks to minimise this critique of her by saying how it is easier for him to call a friend and say, 'Shall we go and play golf?' than it is for her to say, 'Do you want to go and watch a film?', although it is not clear why one should be easier than the other. This articulation, though, constructs a more socially acceptable, understanding, and

considerate masculine identity for him whilst locating responsibility for any consequential inequity in the behaviours and traits of his wife.

Alfie goes on to talk about a golfing weekend in Ireland next year that Ian is currently organising, which is causing 'a bit of tension' due to it being expensive. Alfie says his wife is 'exercising her right to be a bit awkward about it.' and 'not unreasonably cos it is, yeah, it's a weekend away and it's a few quid.' This theme of his wife's complaints at him playing golf not being unreasonable in the context of a whole weekend away and the cost of recur in relation to home improvements they are undertaking.

> Alfie: Yeah, and then, and that's the difference between doing a couple more rooms at home
>
> Matt: Right
>
> Alfie: So
>
> Matt: bit of pressure there
>
> Alfie: Yeah, for sure and that's entirely fair. You can't argue with that
>
> Matt: It's an, it's a, but again, it's back to this idea of negotiation and compromise, isn't it?
>
> Alfie: But I don't really have a leg to stand on, in that respect
>
> Matt: Hhhhhh

However, despite this he's clear that he will go on the weekend to Ireland regardless.

Alfie: Mm Hm yeah. Oh, she's absolutely right cos it's not. I'm still going to go.

Matt: Hhhhhhh, which interestingly was going to be my next question

Alfie: Hhhh umm, no, I will go umm but

Alfie's strategies of signification reveal something of a subtler, perhaps more unconscious gendered constructions of himself and his wife. Alfie talks about his interactions with his wife but does not explicitly articulate gender role differences in the way David did, or overtly construct masculinity in the way Ian did. What emerges from Alfie's focus on the transactional nature of his relationship is a gendered discourse based on who the characters in his narrative are and evaluations of what they do.

Alfie signifies himself as reasonable and considerate of his wife's feelings and views on him playing golf whilst insisting that he will play golf regardless. Any sexist behaviour that he demonstrates is cast as not his fault and so he signifies his masculine gendered mosaic identity as acceptable and inconsistent with the masculinity critiqued in the public discourses, without changing his behaviour. This constructs a gendered transactional dynamic that results in the construction of a masculine gendered mosaic identity for Alfie that draws on discourses of magnanimity (Robinson, 2007) and fairness alongside those of masculinity and femininity. These strategies of signification result in masculine dominance through a reinforcement of the gendered economy of power, but it is a masculine dominance that is cast as reasonable and understanding of his wife's complaints (even if these complaints are her own fault…) and so acceptable in the current social context.

Throughout the data on how respondents construct and perform masculinity in reference to themselves and to a gendered 'other', the respondents signify their middle-class masculinity,

sometimes explicitly and sometimes more subtly, with varying degrees of fluidity. A range of discourses beyond Hegemonic Masculinity are agentively cited to adapt or re-purpose them in ways that construct masculine gendered mosaic identities that draw on a wider range of cultural resources than Coles' (2008) conceptualisation of mosaic masculinities suggests. They respond to their contested subjectivities by agentively citing and adapting the cultural resources at their disposal to reiterate Hegemonic Masculinity and phallocentric discourses that serve to maintain the regulatory power (Butler, 1997) of the symbolic patriarchy (Buchbinder, 2013) whilst performing a socially acceptable masculinity that resists the critiques in the public domain and works to reconstitute the normativity of White, middle-class masculinity.

Gender Equality as Oppressive to Men

The majority of the talk on gender articulated by the respondents revolved around themselves and personal relationships with women. Unlike in their talk on Whiteness, there is little acknowledgement of masculine privilege, or strategies of acknowledgement that call out their masculinity. This may be due to the critiques of #MeToo being specific about the day-to-day behaviour of all men, whereas White Privilege is more nebulous and undefined in the critiques of it, and so discussing #MeToo in terms of privilege was avoided by the respondents. Perhaps they felt that, as with race in Byrne's work (2006a), the best way not to appear sexist was to not talk about it. However, a few respondents did raise the subject of gender equality in a more societal sense.

In this section I will show how the respondents' strategies of signification respond to and resist the critical visibility gender equality initiatives, and particularly #MeToo, have brought to their masculinity. The over-riding discourse articulated was that men are discriminated against and oppressed by gender equality initiatives and that the responsibility for their oppression, and the gender oppression these initiatives seek to address, are the responsibility of women. The data shows

how the competing discourses of gender equality, #MeToo, and hegemonic identities create contested subjectivities in the respondents that they respond to through their strategies of signification. These strategies work to articulate an acceptable masculine gendered mosaic identity whilst reconstituting the normativity of their masculine privilege in the face it its current visibility.

Harry is a 43-year-old CEO in the Business and Finance sector. He is married with a young son. He was born in Hammersmith into what he termed 'a middle-class family.' He has two younger brothers and, as he described it, 'lived a fairly charmed existence'. He states that he was born into a right-wing family and says he is 'a child of capitalism and benefited as a youngster from that capitalism.'

Harry and I meet at 5pm on a late September afternoon in a coffeeshop in Bristol. The coffeeshop occupies a single-story building just off a main commercial road in Bristol. It is set in an old, redbrick building that used to be the local Conservative Club, and they advertise themselves as a 'breastfeeding friendly café that also welcomes dogs.' The floors are exposed, sanded floorboards that stretch back to what used to be the Conservative Club's skittle alley. Booths with high-backed, red leather bench seats, long bench-tables with stools, and smaller individual wooden tables and chairs work their way from the front to the back of the coffeeshop. The serving counter is cut from roughhewn wood, its surface adorned by a selection of cakes and pastries that sit alongside delicate ferns and other greenery in pots.

This is our second meeting, and he only has an hour to talk, as he 'must get home to help his wife with their 16-month-old son'. After initial greetings and a brief catch-up on our weeks, Harry asks if there's anything I want to talk about. I say 'Anything', and Harry launches into an issue that he's clearly keen to talk about

Harry: Here's a topic - I saw something on the news that I got quite angry about. At UWE, there were 3 roles advertised in students. One was a female rep; one was a transgender rep and the other was a men's rep. The men's rep basically from a national perspective was vilified for daring to think that such a thing was ever needed, and I was like, hang on, that's ridiculous. There are issues that men will undoubtable face and will undoubtably want supporting regardless of the power structures in the world and the inequality of opportunity. The fact is that men are still human beings hhhhh and why can't they have a specialist representative for their needs, because there may be some issues to do with anxiety and mental health issues that blokes want to talk to another bloke about and I think, you know, this is where there's a risk potentially that the gender, is going too far the other way and it starts to get White men like me thinking in the wrong way towards feminist agendas

Matt: because?

Harry: Because I just get, I want to go onto Twitter and say they're talking bollocks hhhhh

Matt: So, there's a sense of inequality

Harry: Correct!

Matt: because it's seen as a bad thing for there to be a male rep, or a rep for young men

Harry: yeah, yeah! If the male representative is designed to increase the power control and opportunity of man full stop then there may be something in that because actually men have enough of that

Matt: It's unlikely that a men's SU rep will be doing that

Harry: Correct, correct, correct but if it's probably some sort of pastoral care for, you know, young 20-year-old blokes who might be struggling at university and need a bit of support then that's just terrible that that's been...Yeah, I kind of found myself, cos normally, you know, I'm generally sympathetic to, you know, equalisation agendas, broadly speaking but it just felt to me too far and actually, potentially, it could be quite damaging to the equalisation agenda in its own right

Matt: because it creates resentment in men?

Harry: Correct!

In his initial exposition on the issue, Harry draws on discourses that critique equalities work and identity politics from the trope of ‘PC gone mad’ (Graefer, 2019). Harry signifies himself as ‘angry’ and passionate about equal rights for men. As with the respondents’ talk on Whiteness, he adapts equalities discourses to present men as being inequitably treated by the equalities discourses he critiques. Harry articulates that there is a risk from gender equality initiatives ‘going too far’ in that it will ‘get White men like me thinking in the wrong way towards feminist agendas.’ Harry is articulating a perspective that is born of the discourse that seeks to inscribe a ‘loony Left’ extremism and unreasonableness into those who actively support gender equality (Curran, Gaber and Petley, 2018). Harry is responding to the public critique of masculine privilege with a critique of that discourse itself. In a creative adaptation and reversal of these critical discourses, he is working to undermine any potential normativity that gender equality initiatives might gain through communicative equivalency (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) and so preserve masculine privilege.

The significance of the racialisation of himself and others like him serves to emphasise his intersectional positionality and that he feels personally impacted upon by all equalities initiatives that, in his terms, are 'going too far'. This racialisation of himself when talking about gender equality initiatives and his expression that they are 'going too far' acts as a strategy of signification to resist the making visible of his intersectional privilege that exists in the critiques of White, middle-class men, and in the intersecting of #MeToo and Black Lives Matter discourses.

In articulating a position that the opposition to gender equality initiatives arises from them 'going too far', he locates responsibility for negative reactions with the initiatives themselves and positions them as failing to advocate for real equality. In fact, his strategies of signification suggest that equalities initiatives are themselves inequitable and oppressive to 'White men like me.' This reference to himself intersects with his materialisation and embodiment of a White, middle-class man to articulate White, middle-class men as the group experiencing this oppression and so reconfigures the traditional rules of cultural intelligibility of masculinity (Butler, 1993). However, in presenting himself as cognisant of patriarchal power structures and an advocate for equality by articulating support for 'equalisation agendas', he constructs a legitimacy to his position whilst also signifying a socially acceptable 'ally' identity (Case, 2012). These seemingly conflicting articulations point to the contestation of his masculine subjectivity as he works to perform a masculine identity that retains its hegemony through resistance to gender equality, whilst also being acceptable and resisting the critiques that make it visible by expressing support for equality. He is resisting being materialised as the criticised subject of these discourses whilst working to reinstate the normativity of his materialisation by hegemonic discourses of Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness.

These strategies of signification re-emerge as I ask more about his sense that 'things have gone too far'. In this, he contrasts the #MeToo movement with increasing media attention on transgender

people. We talk about his views on transgender identities. I then return to ask him more about the #MeToo movement and his engagement with it.

> Matt: You mentioned, Philip Green and the #MeToo stuff and that's a relatively recent phenomenon. How did you engage with that and has it changed you and how you do things?
>
> Harry: Has it changed the way I do things? I suppose, the only thing, so, at the moment, in terms of my company it's three blokes and two women. For a while I was the only bloke and to be quite honest, I'd hardly share anything personal and it was all work simply because it engendered a fear of accidentally, without intending, of doing something wrong. So, there's an element of, it does create an element of fear about saying or doing the wrong thing. Not that I've ever been like that in a workplace situation. You just kinda think you've got to be really 100% careful. If there's a misunderstanding or something like that could be very difficult. So, it kinda means that if I was 'bantering' with a bloke I'm less likely to banter with a woman, actually. So, it kinda impacts, it does detach us slightly, men and women, as an employer, if you see what I mean
>
> Matt: Yeah, it changes the way you engage or interact with women?
>
> Harry: I became a lot, I essentially put up a shield of impersonality
>
> Matt: and is that something that's changed?
>
> Harry: Yeah

Harry goes on to narrate a story about an incident in his workplace. He talks about a 'very politically incorrect board member' about whose behaviour he suggests I'd be appalled by but then says, 'I kind of know it's bluff and bluster most of the time. He does it to get a laugh and to break what he considers to be boring'. Despite this minimisation and justification of the person's behaviour, Harry does talk about it as being a problem in the context of #MeToo and that his company needs 'to get it right otherwise as an organisation, we're at risk.' He talks about this organisational risk being the other aspect of #MeToo that makes him nervous. Indeed, he goes further to say, 'It's a fear thing actually.' I ask him what this fear is about.

> Harry: I think it's just around, it's misinterpretation. I'll give you a practical example. A member of staff said to me about a year or so ago that one of our non-exec volunteers had been too friendly at a drinks event. Maybe put a hand on her shoulder or something like that? and I know the guy and he wouldn't have meant it in any other way, I'm pretty sure, than just being friendly at a drinks thing dah but this felt to me like the start of an employment tribunal, if we got it wrong, you know and I suppose thinking about it now again that was probably the trigger point for me going 'okay, this stuff is real'
>
> Matt: What are the consequences there?
>
> Harry: Insolvency of [company name] simple as that. I can trace a path through from an employment tribunal to the withdrawal of all investors and projects to me losing my job to the folding of [company name]. It's easy, I can see it. It can kill an organisation, that sort of stuff.

Harry has shifted his position from defending the rights of men to be treated the same as everyone else to a position that casts doubt on the legitimacy of claims of sexual harassment made by women

in the context of the #MeToo movement. Throughout his talk on the impact of #MeToo on him personally and in the workplace, he constructs incidents of sexual harassment as 'misunderstandings', which works as a rearticulation of a 'women cry rape' discourse (Gerger, Kley, Bohner and Siebler, 2007).

He cites these discourses to signify himself as a man in fear of an accusation of sexual impropriety, albeit a man who has never 'been like that in a workplace situation', and so has been forced to change his behaviour. However, as the fear is rooted in a position that constructs sexual harassment as a misunderstanding and, therefore, the man as innocent, the implication is that men are oppressed by #MeToo movement itself. This is a re-working of the gender equalities discourses and re-signifies men as the oppressed parties in the context of a movement designed to highlight the sexual harassment of women by men.

When I ask Harry why the woman in his example reacted the way she did to what he described as 'just a friendly hand on the shoulder', Harry's response is to blame the media for giving the issue of sexual harassment in the workplace a high profile and so causing the woman in question to believe that it was the right thing for her to do. He further casts doubt on the validity of her complaint as, at a work event, he 'saw her in my eyes being slightly flirtatious with this guy that she's almost lodged a complaint against' which he further describes as her 'egging him on'. In this he is constructing the man as the victim of the woman and blaming her for his behaviour.

> Matt: That example that you gave, what was your view on that? Because you said that you know him and from your perspective it was just a friendly hand on the shoulder much like he might do to you. So, what's your view on her reaction to it?

> Harry: Well, I think, at the time it was big in the media, so I think. Again, this is why, like our earlier conversation, the impact of the media is strong. I think the reason it was made an issue was because, partly because of that. I mean she was a very independent, forthright young woman, basically, as well. Ah, she raised it because she felt it was the right thing to raise, particularly because of the way the world was going. I said well, we must treat it seriously. I gave it to another member of staff to write it up blah blah blah and tried to deal with it properly. I suppose the hhhh when I get disappointed was at future events where I saw her in my eyes being slightly flirtatious with this guy that she's almost lodged a complaint against
>
> Matt: The same guy?
>
> Harry: yeah, lodged a complaint to me and I thought 'hang on, that's not fair, you lodged a complaint against this guy and then you're egging him on a bit'

Harry is rearticulating rape myth discourses (Gerger et al, 2007) that support the maintenance of patriarchal economies of power and masculine privilege by trivialising, minimising, and normalising the sexual harassment of women by men (Grubb and Turner, 2012). Rape myths are usually articulated through drawing on one or more of four specific positions - blaming the victim; disbelieving claims of rape; absolve the perpetrator of any blame or responsibility; and suggesting that it is a specific sort of woman who is raped (Fenton and Jones, 2017). Whilst Harry is not talking specifically about rape, he is deploying rape myths as a cultural resource in the context of #MeToo and unwanted sexual advances to absolve culprits and minimise the significance of the acts, which constructs a sexualised gendered economy of power in which negative attitudes towards women are foregrounded to maintain masculine power (Peters, 2008).

In his talk, Harry's contested subjectivity and his need to act in response to the threat posed by #MeToo to his masculinity, and the masculinity of all men, is clear. He resists his subjectification by #MeToo whilst reinforcing his subjectification by Hegemonic Masculinity and patriarchal discourses. He works to construct an acceptability of masculine identities in response to their critical visibility and works to reconstitute the normativity of masculinity by locating blame with the women who experience rape and sexual harassment, rather than locating it in the men who perpetrate these acts.

Through his talk on gender equality and the #MeToo movement, Harry's strategies of signification draw on different discourses to construct a masculine gendered mosaic identity and signify himself, and men generally, as oppressed by gender equality and so resist the public critique of White, middle-class masculinity. However, he also signifies his White, middle-class masculinity as socially acceptable through support for 'equalisations agendas'. Ironically, through this oppression that he claims, he signifies himself as subject to feelings of fear and constraint of behaviour, which is likely to be the feelings women experience in the face of men's unwanted, sexually aggressive advances that Harry blames them for. In articulating this he reinforces patriarchal economies of power and rearticulates compulsory heterosexuality and phallocentrism (Butler, 1993) through the citation of a number of rape myth discourses.

In my second conversation with Alfie at the American-styled diner, he raises the topic of initiatives that seek to create gender equality in the workplace and the problems he has with them. The discourse he constructs on the issue is prefaced by talking about his manager, a woman who is 'a real strong believer in equal opportunities. As I am, but she's right at the forefront of it.'

In this, his strategy of signification constructs her as something of an extremist feminist through locating her at the forefront whilst signifying himself as a more reasonable supporter of equal

opportunities. In doing so, he is, by implication, drawing on the same 'PC gone mad' (Graefer, 2019), 'things have gone too far' discourses as Harry, alongside subtle citations of extremist discourses, to delegitimise his manager's position and position his as more socially acceptable by dint of not being extremist – he is the reasonable ally (Case, 2012). These constructions of his manager and himself cite gendered discourses that construct women as emotional and men as rational (Kulik, 2006); rational to the extent that it is men who have the right to determine what is extremist feminism and what is a more reasonable and acceptable form of feminism.

After describing his manager 'as it turned out' being 'quite successful', having worked internationally and 'has done very well' – implying that these achievements are surprising for a woman, particularly one at the forefront of equal opportunities work - he reiterates his earlier construction of her and of himself as an introduction to explaining his problem with aspects of gender equality at work initiatives.

> Alfie: She wants it to be a world of equal opportunities for her daughter. So, she's right on the forefront of all of this, all this movement that's around at the moment, which is to do with pay gaps and gender equality and equal opportunity, and I'm all for it. I really am. What I'm not sure about, so there's this thing called the 30+ club. Ring any bells?
>
> Matt: No
>
> Alfie: So, there's two things for me. The first thing, 30+, however you look at it has to be a quota. That's what a quota is. Saying 3 out of 10 people on the board are women. That's a quota
>
> Matt: Yep, okay

Alfie: and yet, so, on that, on one hand we're part of that and we celebrate being part of that because we're trying to push the right message and then on the other hand, we're saying 'we don't believe in quotas, we believe in diversity of thought'. So, that's diversity between male and female. It's diversity between age, ethnicity, sexuality, everything. So, it doesn't matter that you and I sort of broadly look the same if we're coming from different directions, different backgrounds, that's diversity of thought. So, brilliant! Doesn't matter that we're both male. Doesn't matter that we're both white. Doesn't matter that we're broadly in the same age range, but that all just feels very undermined by this 30+ thing. That's a quota, which just feels like, if you're saying 30+, 30% of the Board must be women then why don't we have say 30% must be gay and 30% must be over the age of this and under the age of this, 30% must be Black. That doesn't, I can't calibrate that. I can't compute that.

Matt: So, the diversity of thought perspective is the one that resonates more with you?

Alfie: Well, similar to the pay gap thing. So, the pay gap as opposed to equal pay are two separate things. Where equal pay means that anyone doing my job to the same ability as me gets paid the same but pay gap doesn't look at the job or responsibility. So, ours was something like 38%. Men got paid 38% more than women and if you include bonuses. So, it was split into two - salary alone and then salary with bonuses. If you include bonuses, it was something like 70% Big numbers. Pretty standard for finance actually. Actually, it was better than many of the financial.

Matt: Right

> Alfie: So, it's really easy to fix that. You just put a woman as the CEO and that just reduces if down straight away
>
> Matt: Right
>
> Alfie: So, our CEO last year got paid something like 13 million, so, and I think the next people down, this is all public stuff because we're listed, the next people down got paid something like, with bonus something like 800 grand. So, you just put a woman as CEO, boom, sorted! But then, if I'm interested in becoming CEO, probably not quite at that level, unfortunately, but if I was interested and I saw a woman become CEO instead of me, I'd be thinking 'Hmm, is that for the right reasons?' So, it's a similar sort of thing.

In this section, Alfie cites gender equality discourses to signify White men as a diverse group through 'diversity of thought'. In some ways, this echoes Jeremy's position that White men are a diverse group because they come from different places in Britain discussed in the previous chapter. Alfie's articulation of the quota approach as both unfair and undermining of the diversity of thought approach is a process of re-articulating gender equality discourses as discriminatory towards men. These varied positionings of White men as a diverse group that is discriminated against by equality initiatives signify Alfie with an acceptable White, middle-class masculine identity whose acceptability is underpinned by his declaration that he is 'all for' gender equality and equal opportunity.

Much like Harry, Alfie's strategies of signification draw on different discourses to construct his masculine gendered mosaic identity and construct men as oppressed by gender equality. Similarly to Harry, he responds to the contestation of his subjectivity brought about by competing discourses by signifying his masculinity as socially acceptable through him being 'all for [gender equality]'. However, these significations also serve to rearticulate phallocentric discourses (Butler, 1993)

through delegitimising the claims for gender equality and the claims that men as a group are not diverse, which seeks to reinforce patriarchal economies of power (Buchbinder, 2013) and reconstitute the normativity of White, middle-class men.

In essence, the strategies of signification of the respondents operate as mechanisms of resistance and reproduction. They serve to resist materialisation of a sexist identity, whether that be through magnanimity, articulated support for gender equality, or the holding of and desire to manifest character traits of emphasised femininity, whilst reproducing patriarchal economies of power through their repudiations of the legitimacy of gender equality initiatives and the rearticulation of the symbolic patriarchy that benefits men over women (Buchbinder, 2013).

Masculine Gendered Mosaic Identities: Resisting the Critical Visibility of Masculinity

This chapter shows that in their strategies of signification of their masculinity, the respondents do not just draw on discourses of Hegemonic Masculinity but also on discourses of emphasised femininity, race, class, equalities, diversity, youthfulness, fashion, sport, parenthood, magnanimity, rape myths, and others. They adapt these discourses into their articulations of their masculine identity and so Coles' (2008) concept of mosaic masculinity is expanded to become 'masculine gendered mosaic identities' that include a range of discursive fields outside of Hegemonic Masculinity.

Respondents cite these differing discourses throughout their talk to weave together micro-discourses and articulate strategies of signification that signify and re-signify their masculinity such that their masculine gendered mosaic identity shifts fluidly from one construction of self to another. However, in responding to their contested subjectivities, their strategies of signification cite sometimes competing discourses, which has the effect of minimising the threat of discourses to

masculine dominance by adapting them to reconstitute the normativity of their now visible masculinity.

In deploying these complex strategies of signification, the respondents are exhibiting agency in constructing a discourse that shifts the boundaries of cultural intelligibility on White, middle-class masculinity to one that is not sexist but if it is, it is not its fault, such that it is a socially acceptable identity in a context in which masculinity is subject to a particular critique. They do this, though, whilst also reconstituting the normative phallocentric power/knowledge relations (Foucault, 1984) that provides their privilege and social status.

In some ways, the strategies of signification deployed by these respondents in general conversation are more nuanced and sophisticated than those they deployed when talking about Whiteness. There is not an obvious 'justificatory factor' within the critical public discourse on masculinity, such as unconscious bias, available for them to draw on as a cultural resource. As a result, they have to work harder to present an acceptable masculinity and reconstitute the normativity that the public critiques challenge.

However, much like with unconscious bias, they seek to locate responsibility for sexist behaviour elsewhere – either in their wives/partners, or in gender equality initiatives. As such, they are articulating the 'I am but it's not my fault' model discussed in the previous chapter in relation to sexism and gender inequality. However, it excludes the explicit 'acknowledgement' element of the construction developed in their talk on Whiteness and unconscious bias.

Equally, similarly to their talk on Whiteness that constructs racism as an acceptable cultural practice of middle-class Whiteness, by locating responsibility for misogynistic behaviour away from themselves, gender inequality and sexism, albeit unnamed, are cast as acceptable cultural practices

of White, middle-class masculinity. This making of their 'sexist but not sexist' masculinity acceptable works to reconstitute its normativity, despite its visibility, and so preserve their privilege.

Outside of specific discussions on gender equality initiatives, the public critiques of masculinity are far less clearly referenced or cited by respondents than discourses of unconscious bias and White privilege were. However, there is a clear pattern of respondents seeking to articulate and perform a masculinity that would be socially acceptable within the social context of #MeToo, Hollaback, and other gender equality campaigns and initiatives. As such, their performances of everyday White, middle-class masculinity cannot be fully understood outside of this context, as these discourses form key elements of the discursive field in which the respondents perform their identities.

In constructing and performing their masculine gendered mosaic identities, respondents are responding to these critiques by altering the component aspects masculinity to those of an acceptable White, middle-class masculinity. In doing so, they are reconfiguring the meaning of their bodies and their identities away from the historic rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1993) carried by Hegemonic Masculinity and constructing new parameters of cultural intelligibility that combine Hegemonic Masculinity with of a range of other discourses. The respondents are altering the rules of cultural intelligibility for White, middle-class masculinity and undermining the threatening regulatory powers of discourses, such as gender equality, to claim back, reinforce and maintain the privilege afforded them by patriarchal economies of power.

This chapter shows that the strategies of signification utilised by the respondents serve to rearticulate the symbolic patriarchy in some way. The comparability of the meaning elements within the variety of strategies of signification and micro-discourses articulated indicates a communicative equivalency (Laclau and Moufee, 1985). The heterogenous articulations of the respondents can be said to coalesce into a wider hegemonic discourse through communicative equivalency that

reinforces the symbolic patriarchy (Buchbinder, 2013). Critically, these strategies of signification intersect with the materialised and embodied positionality of the respondents, the performativity of the settings in which the conversations took place, and the respondents talk on Whiteness and class, such that the acceptability of the masculinity they articulated is restricted to White, middle-class men.

In this and the previous chapter, I have discussed the manner in which White, middle-class men construct and perform the racialised and gendered aspects of their identities in the current social context. In the next chapter I will go on to explore the classed element of their intersectional identities and discuss how the strategies of signification they deploy to construct an acceptable middle-class identity are very different from their talk on Whiteness and masculinity.

Chapter Seven – The Class of White Middle-class Men

The focus of this thesis is to explore how those at the locus of intersectional privilege - white, middle-class, men – perform their identities through talk in a context in which the invisibility of their privilege is being stripped away. In the previous chapters, I have explored how they respond to the visibility of Whiteness and masculinity in society today - how their contested subjectivities trigger in them a need to act and they deploy various strategies of signification to perform an acceptable identity whilst simultaneously reconstituting the normativity and attendant privileges of their identities. In this chapter, I turn to how White, middle-class men perform their middle-classness in the current context of the critical visibility of Whiteness, masculinity, and the 'White, middle-class man', but a context in which middle-classness itself is not subject to comparable critiques. In this, I ask how do White, middle-class men articulate class, if at all? If they do, what might this achieve for them, and how does it intersect with their Whiteness and their masculinity? How does class function as an aspect of their identity performances now that they are in the spotlight?

'Class' has long been bound up in the discourses on Whiteness and masculinity. Historically, the White working-class have been cast as 'a race apart' from the White middle-class, and variously whitened and un-whitened through history by middle-class discourses (Bonnett, 1998). More modern notions of unacceptable or extreme Whiteness have revolved around the White, working-class 'chav' as the 'undeserving poor' (Tyler, 2008; Lawler, 2012; Nayak and Kehily, 2014), or `underclass' who are marked as the quintessence of "familial disorder and dysfunction; of dangerous masculinities and dependent femininities; of antisocial behaviour; of moral and ecological decay" (Haylett, 2001: 358). Visually, these discourses have been communicated through the iconographic stigmatisation of the White working class through docu-tainment television programmes such as *Benefits Street* (MacDonald, Shildrick and Furlong, 2014) and characters like Vicky Pollard in *Little Britain* (Nayak and Kehily, 2014).

Equally, working-class men have been 'judged' as demonstrating an unacceptable, criminal, violent masculinity (Haylett, 2001) and Black men have been portrayed as embodying a sexually aggressive masculinity (Bland, 2005). In these discourses of unacceptable identities, unacceptable Whiteness is tied to the working-class, and unacceptable masculinity is tied to White working-class and Black men. Through these discursive processes, middle-classness becomes the acceptable, respectable, normative nexus against which not only class, but also race and gender are judged as they intersect with class.

There has recently, though, been a shift in how middle-classness appears in discourses about unacceptable Whiteness and masculinity, and 'middle-class' appears in headlines of many articles that critique the 'White, middle-class man' (e.g., Perry, 2014, Walsh 2014, Francis, 2018, Jawad, 2018, Bale, 2019, Osbourne, 2020). 'Middle-class' is now a key signifier in how these discourses of unacceptable privileged identities are constructed and communicated and the phrase 'White, middle-class man' has become a strapline for the epitome of those who hold unearned privilege and inequitable levels of power. 'White middle-class man' is being cast as an unacceptable or even unrespectable identity to be marked with.

However, as discussed in Chapter One, despite this focus on White, middle-class men, 'middle-classness' itself has remained, in the main, unexamined in the public discourses that seek to shine a light on privilege. As such, it is not the normativity of middle-classness per se that is being challenged but rather, it is the normativity of the specifically intersectional 'White, middle-class men' that is under threat. This creates a different discursive context for the talk of White, middle-class men on class to that of Whiteness and masculinity, which requires exploration to provide a fuller understanding on how White, middle-class men are responding to the public critiques of their intersectional identities.

In seeking to develop this understanding, I concur with Savage that "a culturalist approach to class analysis" (2000: 41) must explore "how inequality is routinely reproduced through both cultural and economic practices" (Bottero, 2004: 986). It is within this cultural class analysis that I locate this chapter. I provide a contribution to the literature in relation to how 'middle-classness', as a cultural practice, conditions identity performances and, specifically, how it informs the strategies of signification of White, middle-class men in a context in which their intersectional privilege is being made visible, and their identities cast as unacceptable.

Much of the data that follows in this chapter deals with expressions of judgement on the value of the cultural practices of groups that the respondents refer to as 'working-class' or 'lower class', 'middle-class', and 'upper-class.' For the respondents, in contrast to Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst's (2001) findings, 'class' and its categories are, as signifiers of identity, important and relevant to their sense of self and the 'other'. Their talk is replete with processes of 'distinction' that establish and mark differences (Bourdieu, 1984), and reiterations of the rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1993) of different classes.

However, despite these identity performances being processes of social reproduction, given that Bordieuan approaches to speech acts do not allow for the possibility of agency (Butler, 1990), we need an alternative approach to fully explain how White, middle-class men are agentively deploying social reproduction as a strategy to maintain privilege. To do this, I use my modified Butlerian position to argue that classed identities are performative effects of language and signification. The respondents agentively draw on the cultural resources available to them in developing strategies of signification that produce a classed self and a classed other to reconstitute the normativity of their critiqued and now visible intersectional identities.

In this chapter, I present data that illustrates that when talking about class, the respondents fall into two groups. There are those who resist or deny a classed identity and those who were explicit in claiming a middle-class identity. In the first section, I discuss those who resisted or denied class identification, showing that these were not expressions of ambivalent attitudes to class labels to avoid a class identity that Savage and other cultural class analysts (see Devine, 1992; Reay, 1998; Savage et al., 2001; Skeggs, 1997a, 1997b) found. Rather, they are strategies to avoid being judged as middle-class and therefore 'snobby' and socially unacceptable (Savage et al, 2001). However, despite this desire to perform an acceptable middle-classness, these respondents articulated clear class distinctions and value judgements that served to reinforce the hegemony of middle-classness. Crucially, though, this position was adopted by a minority of respondents.

In the second section of this chapter, I show that most respondents, despite the association of 'middle-class' with 'White' and 'Men' in discourses of unacceptability, were comfortable in claiming a middle-class identity and articulating clear class differences. This did not appear to be a strategy of acknowledgment to call out their middle-classness and so be acceptably middle-class. Rather, their claiming of a middle-class identity, and their judgments and articulations about the working-class, combined to reiterate the normativity of middle-classness as ordinary and 'normal', and reinforce the social acceptability of middle-class cultural norms in distinction to those of the 'working-class'.

As these discourses intersect with the micro-discourses on race and gender the respondents articulate, they work as an act of resistance in a context in which the intersectional privilege the respondents accrue through being racialised as White and 'marked' as men is being made visible and critiqued. Their talk works to reinforce 'middle-class' as the normative nexus that underpins a reconstituted normativity of their intersectional identities as White, middle-class men. I then go on to show how the comparability of their strategies of signification operate to rearticulate a meta-discourse of a classed social hierarchy through processes of communicative equivalency that further

reinforces the hegemony of middle-classness and its role as the nexus of normativity at a societal level.

Whilst the respondents did not appear to feel that their middle-class identity is under particular threat when it is discursively disassociated from their Whiteness and masculinity, when they referred to the intersectional 'White, middle-class man, or 'middle-class men' their talk indicated a greater awareness of the unacceptability of this identity. In the subsequent section, I show how this awareness elicited a response from the respondents that saw them signifying themselves as oppressed, forgotten, or struggling 'White, middle-class men' - a socially disadvantaged group who experience significant but unrecognized struggles in society today.

This is a strategy of signification that draws on discourses of oppression, disadvantage, and inequality to signify the respondents not as privileged and powerful, but rather as oppressed and disadvantaged. This acts as resistance to the discourse in the media about the 'White, middle-class man' but also, significantly, transforms the meaning of 'White, middle-class men' such that their identity transforms without the requirement for them to give up their privileges, for they are, in their words, already disadvantaged.

Overall, whether through the unequivocal reiteration of class distinctions that reinforce the normativity of middle-classness, or through strategies to avoid being judged as middle-class, or through the resignification of White, middle-class men as oppressed and struggling, the strategies of signification agentively deployed by the respondents all work to resist the threat to the privilege of their intersectional identities that Black Lives Matter, #MeToo and the subsequent critical public debate constitute.

Class Ambivalence or Middle-class Resistance?

A key feature of the work of those taking a class as culture approach is an emphasis on the unwillingness of people to express a specific class identity (Devine, 1992; Reay, 1998; Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2001; Skeggs, 1997a, 1997b). This body of work suggests that "people are reluctant to claim class identities, and adopt a 'defensive', 'hesitant', 'ambivalent' or 'ambiguous' attitude to class labels" (Bottero, 2004: 987). The scholarship suggests that people will discuss class as an aspect of political dynamics but are unwilling see themselves as classed, often unequivocally denying class identities (Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2001).

In this section I show that the respondents in this study, though, are happy to explicitly categorise themselves as middle-class, and that those expressions that might be deemed ambivalence, or what Bottero (2004) terms dis-identification, aren't driven by shame or guilt as Sayer (2005) suggests. Rather, in the context of the new visibility of privilege, they are driven by a need to present a socially acceptable identity and so resist threats to the normativity of White, middle-class masculine identities, and the privilege accrued from them. Significantly, though, these strategies to present an acceptable middle-classness were articulated whilst also reiterating class differences that rearticulate the extremes of working-classness in distinction to the normativity of middle-classness.

Ben is a 30-year-old Event Manager. His disclosed job title is that of 'Director'. Born in Yorkshire, Ben grew up in a small town in the West Midlands. He is educated to degree level and recently moved to Bristol from London. We arranged to meet at his flat, which he shares with his girlfriend. It is a top-floor apartment in a Georgian era, sandstone building in the heart of 'middle-class' Bristol. We are in his bright and high-ceilinged kitchen. There are 'Happy New Home' cards on the shelf.

Ben is relaxed and chatty. He is wearing dark grey jeans and a t-shirt. He is barefoot. We sit at the wooden kitchen table and chat. We talk about work, through which Ben positions himself with a high degree of moral reflection and consideration about his work – he works on events for 'big

pharma', but has it written into his contracts that he doesn't work with the defence industry, although he does recognise some of the irony in this position.

When talking with Ben about his working arrangements – he currently works from home – he struggles with articulating cultural and behavioural wants in his life that, to him, are middle-class.

> Ben: What I really want, and I'm going to sound very middle-class now, is a Soho House in Bristol that's like a members' club, has got a gym, has got a meeting space, somewhere to hang out, somewhere to meet like-minded people.'

Whilst it might be argued that Ben's expression here is defensive or hesitant, it is not a defensiveness at being categorised as having a middle-class identity at all as Savage (2001) contends, but a resistance to being judged for being middle-class and having middle-class wants. This resistance begins to suggest a contested subjectivity for Ben in response to a tension between the discourses that work to materialise him as middle-class and convey to him the associated rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1993) and discourses of snobbery (Morgan, 2018) that cast his performance and embodiment of middle-classness as problematic. This resistance reappears in further conversations about class. Ben talks about his sister and her interactions with people he considers to be working-class and how they influenced her after she left a public boarding school and returned home to attend a local state school.

> Matt: So, these kids that your sister was hanging out with when she came back from boarding school, who were they?

> Ben: They were from a poorer town, yeah, just kind of, you know, they're like people who would be, yeah, they're from working class families, a lot of these folks and were more, you know, (sigh) it's quite hard...I'm trying to

> Matt: What were their attitudes and values that were distinctly different that your sister then picked up?

> Ben: Yeah, I'm seeing it through the eyes of an 11- to 15-year-old boy and what I was experiencing was like garage music and going out to The Works in Birmingham every weekend and the fashion was all like sportswear and big hoop earrings, you know, wearing your tie in a certain way and things like that and, yeah.

> Matt: and you said it influenced your sister's path from there on, even to today?

> Ben: Yeah, yeah, yeah. So, she's always had like, they were really nice guys, but she's always had proper working-class boyfriends or her husband, soon to be her ex-husband, like, yeah, they've always been like from working class backgrounds and like, speak differently, act differently, and kind of, like…

Throughout his significations of his sister's friends, Ben struggles with what he is saying. His sigh and 'it's quite hard...I'm trying to' are expressed with a sense that he doesn't want to be seen as openly critical of the working-class. He qualifies his further description of the cultural behaviours he observed by prefacing them with 'I'm seeing it through the eyes of an 11- to 15-year-old boy'. These expressions all point to his contested subjectivity and evidence his exercise of reflexive agency in his talk as he articulates his attempts to appear not to hold 'snobbish' middle-class attitudes (Savage et al, 2001) – '(sigh) it's quite hard...I'm trying to'. However, despite this, Ben is clear in his differential

descriptions of working-class behaviour compared to his own middle-class tastes (Bourdieu, 1984) which, combined with his expressed desire not to make negative statements, serves to articulate his judgements as 'facts', rather than prejudices. It is an 'I'm not classist, but…' formulation that allows him to be both middle-class but not a snob while rearticulating class distinctions as truths. There is no ambivalence (Savage et al, 2001) in Ben's classed identifications and he signifies the men in his sister's life as 'working-class' with fundamentally different characteristics and attributes to his middle-class values and behaviours.

> Ben: I remember going on the stag do for her soon to be ex-husband's thing and it was in, where did we go, it was in Benidorm and it was this group of like, it was great fun, it was brilliant, but just, like, yeah, just, I don't know, a really, really different way of looking at the same celebration as some of the other ones I've been on hhhh, you know, and yeah, it was like a, never really been on a holiday like that and I don't think I'll go on one again. It was quite an experience but it's just
>
> Matt: Go on, tell me about it!
>
> Ben: Oh, it's, no one was really fussed about eating at all. All anyone did was hang around by the pool, or upstairs at the top of this pretty ropey hotel where we were 4 in a bedroom, and would, like, just get straight on the lagers as soon as they got up in the morning and, yeah, like, I say no one was really, no one was fussed about doing anything other than drinking. I've been on stag dos where even though everyone gets pretty shit-faced you might go, whatever, like, carting,
>
> Matt: outside of the hotel? hhh

> Ben: yeah, or go to watch a rugby match or whatever, you know, yeah, yeah, so, outside of the hotel or away from the strip, whereas the sole purpose of this four-day stint was just to get as pissed as possible constantly without any kind of, yeah, it was pretty boring by the end of it, to be honest. Some really nice guys but again some of the conversations I was trying to have with them, well, I didn't even try to have them but, you know, trying to scope out and realising it was not an avenue you could go down, yeah, things like culture.

Again, Ben's concern at being openly critical of working-class behaviours is evident here. He intersperses his talk with statements about having fun and how the other men on the stag do were 'nice guys' to signify himself as not overly judgemental, whilst critically evaluating their behaviour as distinct, unusual, and somewhat unfathomable to his middle-class sensibilities.

Ben's sister's friends are described and so signified in terms that recall the 'chav' attire, although this term is not used - 'the fashion was all like sportswear and big hoop earrings.' His talk combines strategies of signification to interweave this emotive chav iconography (Tyler, 2008) with his descriptions of his sister's boyfriends and husband as 'working-class' and discursively link the working-class to the stereotypical 'chav' (Haywood and Yar 2006). His strategies of signification construct and articulate a micro-discourse on social hierarchy that draws on ideological constructions of the working-class in the media (Haylett, 2001; Lawler, 2005) and constructs a distinct group divide that works to maintain the normativity of middle-classness, whilst presenting an acceptable middle-classness to his identity through his articulated desire not to be judgemental.

Alfie is an example of the two respondents who did openly disavow a class identity. He initially positions himself as not knowing what class is about, that he is classless in his life and in his perspectives.

> Alfie: I think class, for me, isn't, just isn't a thing in my life. I don't aspire to be anything, and I don't, I don't value it in anyone else. I don’t think that's on my radar.

Ultimately, though, his talk reveals a distinct, but seemingly unconscious, classed identity that through the course of our conversation he eventually acknowledges.

Alfie and I meet for lunch at the same branch of a higher-end chain of American styled diners/bistros we met in for all our conversations. I start by asking him about his childhood. He talks of his memories of growing up in Devon and how he had moved around a lot, but his parents bought and developed a couple of houses that ‘were mind-blowingly nice’ and that their proximity to the countryside and the beach meant that he had the ‘childhood of dreams, really.’ Alfie talks about his mother and the value of manners that she taught him. He states that he lives ‘her value of manners above all else’. I ask him why he thinks his mother valued manners above all else.

> Alfie: Cos I think that it was absolutely hammered into her by her mum. She was, so, she's from, not money by any means, but class, for sure. She, her family were right poshos and that sort of manners thing and doing things right.

Alfie’s answer about the source of his mother’s focus on manners, particularly his slightly pejorative description of them as ‘right poshos’ that cites snobbery discourses (Morgan, 2018), prompts me to ask him about his understanding of class. Alfie initially claims ignorance about class and goes on to raise questions about the validity of ‘class’ as a concept and resists categorisation, although he does claim a middle-class identity that is his because of what he is not.

> Matt: So, what's your, I can't remember what, you did answer as identifying as middle-class, on your form, didn't you?

Alfie: Well, only because I think, I don- wouldn't know the answer to it. I wouldn't know what defines any of that and where the boundaries are. No, I wouldn't know where the boundaries are

Matt: You mentioned class in relation to this manners thing

Alfie: Yeah, yeah, so, I can see they are from class and I guess that permeates down, right? But what defines, where are the lines?

Matt: I'm not answering that question, I'm asking it Hhhh. I'm interested to know where you think they are

Alfie: Hhhhh, I couldn't even confidently tell you what the different categories are. If you, like, upper-class, middle-class, lower-class? Working-class is the same as lower-class, right? Yeah, well, so, I don't think that I hhhh actually don't know the answer. I would think that upper-class is, a lot of it is where you're from and what is important to you and the circles that you mix with and that's probably all I'm thinking about and I don't mix with that crowd, the upper-class crowd. I got people, an image of one of those people in my mind and the sort of things that they do and the sort of events that they attend and the sort of things that are important to them. That's all in my mind and I'm not that

Matt: Okay

Alfie: and equally I have a similar sort of image of someone as a lower-class person and what's important to them and what they do with their spare time and where they're from and that's probably not me either. So, by default, I'm in the middle

Matt: so, what, in terms of those images that you've got in your head, and what they do and what's important to them, etc, what are those things?

Alfie: So, I knew you were going to ask me that. Ahh hhh an upper-class person is as much about image and keeping up with the elite and being seen to be attending certain things and being seen to be wearing certain things and that sort of stuff. What do they look like? White, probably. I don't know, dressed probably differently to me. I suppose that's what that person looks like and that's what they do and that's what's important to them and then the lower-class person, same, dresses differently to me, probably talks differently to me, same with upper-class actually, probably values time in the boozer on an evening higher than going to, being seen to be at Ascot, is not necessarily less aspirational, that's not what I mean, but, in many cases, possibly hasn't invested the effort in their education to achieve the same not necce- quite some terrible sweeping generalisations going on here. I think there has to be, if you're categorising people into three categories, there has to be, that's, you're making me do these generalisations

Matt: Hhhhhh

Alfie: It's entirely your fault Hhh

Matt: That's my fault? hhh

Alfie: Yeah! hhh I mean, I don’t know that I can’t, if the question is there are three types of people, if the meaning of it, I, it's not really a thing for me, you can probably tell. I don't know what even the categories are called. I don’t know that if there should be categories or

> even if there are categories, why should there be and what does that actually equate to. What's the point?

In this part of our conversation, whilst repeatedly signifying himself as being ignorant of class, Alfie also articulates some clear, culture-based distinctions between classes (Skeggs, 2004). His articulations of ignorance about class, his questioning of the validity of it as a concept, and the critique of processes of categorisation are, then, strategies to resist negative judgements of his own classed perspectives and middle-class identity. By denying that class is relevant to him, he is able to articulate class judgements, such as the working-class valuing 'time in the boozer on an evening higher than…being seen to be at Ascot' and 'in many cases, possibly hasn't invested the effort in their education', from a position of relative safety.

I ask him about his views on social mobility, mentioning that some of my respondents who claim a working-class background, now claim a middle-class identity. Alfie again says he does not know the answer to the question. However, Alfie goes on to give an example of the Director of the company he works for to illustrate his position. He describes his boss as 'worth a ton of cash' and narrates a story about his boss buying a new car.

> Alfie: This is, again, for context, do with it what you want. He's from Liverpool, used to be a policeman. He drives a Lamborghini, which he's just bought brand new. Before that he drove a Bentley, bright blue, and again, do with this what you want, for context, his Bentley, when he bought it brand new, he had it delivered to the office. Where he sits, there's a window, he sits on the ground floor and there's a window next to him along with a lot of the people who work for him and he had it delivered to outside that window. He lives in Thornbury in a very big house, that's new and is very new in appearance with big electric gates. The end. So,

I would, having said that class isn't a thing on my radar, I may have in the past said or thought that guy isn't middle-class, or I may have said ‘that's new money’.

Matt: Bit ostentatious?

Alfie: I may have thought that, yes. So, can you switch between class?

Matt: So, the implication behind that is just because you've got lots of money and a big house, etc, etc, doesn’t mean that you have the etiquette, the manners, the cultural capital to shift class cos you've still got the working-class attitudes?

Alfie: Yeah, he couldn't be better placed to shift class. He has 300 and something people working for him

Matt: Right

Alfie: He's mixing with people, day in day out who are certainly, if we're categorising people, in a different class to him, yeah.

Matt: Yeah, it's, yeah.

Alfie: If anyone was going to shift class, it's that guy there.

Matt: It's interesting because this kind of discussion around him is that actually, despite his wealth and his position, he's still working-class because of the way he behaves, the way he presents his wealth?

Alfie: Yeah, what's important to him, yeah

Matt: So, some strong ideas around values but also presentation of self?

Alfie: Yeah. It's crass, hhhh at times. It, I mean that delivery of the Bentley, is something comparable to nothing else I've ever seen, in terms of behaviour

Matt: Does he have a private number plate?

Alfie: No, he doesn't

Matt: Okay! Alright hhh. He's one step away from it though?

Alfie: Yeah, but that sort of, that behaviour isn't important to me. So, maybe lots of other people within that 300 or so that do work for him, who wouldn't have even, that wouldn't have been on their radar, 'Oh, he's got a new car. Let's go and check it out. That's cool. I wanna be more like that guy'

Matt: Right

Alfie: Whereas, if I'm ever worth that much money I'll sure as hell not behave like that. That's really important for me. For others not. I don't know what that means but, yeah.

This narrative on class behaviour and social mobility is revealing, particularly as he prefaces it with another statement that he does not know the answer to my question, which acts to re-articulate his class-less identity, as well as distancing him from what he subsequently says. Equally, his statements 'do with it what you want' prior to describing aspects of his boss, along with his accusation that I am

forcing him into categorising people, are strategies to divorce himself from class judgements that his description might articulate. Alfie's response of claimed ignorance is a pattern for him. He responded in the same way to questions about what it means to be White, and his claims of ignorance work as a strategy to disassociate him from, and therefore avoid any criticism for any prejudicial statements he may subsequently make. This is a repeated agentive strategy of signification that can be understood as responses driven by a contested subjectivity for Alfie. This is a contested subjectivity that is derived from tensions between the normative discourses of White, middle-class masculinity and the critical discourses that reveal privileges and prejudicial behaviours and seek to materialise him as someone who is racist, sexist, and in this case, 'snobby' (Savage, 2000).

Alfie then proceeds to differentially categorise his boss, himself, and other people by class based on behaviour and values. His story about his boss is replete with classed judgements and distinctions to the extent that he insists that he would not behave that way. Alfie has signified himself as being middle-class by default and having 'manners' whereas his boss is signified as working class and demonstrating 'crass' behaviour. In this, Alfie is rearticulating middle-class discourses of disgust and unacceptability (Skeggs, 2004, 2005; Lawler, 2005; Tyler, 2008) and, indeed, that his boss' behaviour is not respectable (Skeggs, 1997a, Watt, 2006), that signify him as a working-class 'other' and, Alfie as acceptably and respectably middle-class. This works to re-assert the normativity of middle-classness that intersects with his talk on race and gender to reconstitute the normativity of his White, middle-class man identity.

Interestingly, though, it is through this discussion that Alfie comes to realise that he is contradicting himself about the degree to which class plays a role in his life. Ultimately, through his discussion on class-based behaviour, he recognises that class affects his sense of identity and his judgements of others far more than he thought.

> Alfie: I sort of contradicted myself there in many ways because I don't think that really class is a thing for me but I can, rightly or wrongly, call out where classy behaviour exists versus not classy behaviour exists and equally, there will be situations, I struggle to name on off the top of my head, but where I would see a behaviour and think 'That's classy'…and if I'm if I drill into that a little bit maybe I maybe I do react to that more than I think
>
> Matt: quite possibly
>
> Alfie: Probably, if I'm being honest
>
> Matt: okay
>
> Alfie: almost certainly.

At the end of his involvement in the research programme, Alfie commented to me that, because of our conversations, he had begun to think differently about the issues. This, perhaps, points to an approach to anti-discrimination work that could move the methodology of this thesis from research into praxis. It would be interesting to see how Alfie's realisations about the classed nature of his identity combined with his engagement with issues of race discussed in a Chapter 5 would affect his sense of identity going forwards, and how further conversations with him could inform this process of self-realisation, but this research project did not have the scope to explore this further.

The expressions by Ben and Alfie that Savage et al (2001) might refer to as mechanisms to avoid identifying in a particular class and as a "way of repudiating the entire 'class' discourse altogether" (Savage, 2000: 35) are, instead, strategies of signification to present a socially acceptable middle-class identity whilst reproducing classed social hierarchies. Despite significations of the self as either

not judgmental or as essentially classless, these respondents articulate clear class judgements that construct the working-class as extreme in some manner and in contrast to the 'normalcy' of the middle-class cultural behaviours and sensibilities. This serves to reinforce the normativity of middle-classness. Critically, these articulations of a normative middle-classness intersect with the respondents' positionality as White, middle-class men and their talk on race and gender to work as the nexus of intersectional normativity in the acts of resistance to the public critiques of White, middle-class men.

However, though, these strategies of signification of being 'class-less' and the desire not to be judged for being 'snobby' are a minority position and, in the main, respondents do not hesitate to articulate clear and unequivocal judgements and class distinctions when talking about one 'class' or another.

'You have to have a middle-class background to get that and appreciate that' – Unequivocal Significations of Class as Acts of Resistance

Mike Savage states that "Britain is not a deeply class-conscious society" as "although people can identify as members of classes, this identification seems contextual and of limited significance, rather than being a major source of their identity and group belonging" (2000: 40). In this section, I will show, contrary to Savage's (2000) findings, the significance of class to the identity of my respondents, and how they 'recognise' (Taylor, 1992) the identity of others is clear in their talk and the way they articulate social hierarchies based on class related cultural practices (Lawler, 2005). Most of the respondents were categoric about their sense of being middle-class.

Matt: Do you identify as middle-class?

David: Oh, definitely, yeah. I mean, when I lived in Nottingham, I was even accused of being a Southerner, you know, because of my accent, you know, and have got a fairly, fairly Southern accent, it's true to say, you know, ahh, but, yeah, but also, I think in my, sort of, values and things.

Ian: I was born into a lower middle-class family…actually, fuck it! I was born into a working-class family but just didn't know it because I had two very good parents. I can't see myself as anything other than middle-class because of how I was raised and because I'm living a normal middle-class existence'

Henry: Yeah, I'm actually quite lucky in that my wife and actually a number of my kids both love both rugby and cricket

Matt: That does help

Henry: which are the things that I, you know, being a White middle-class male, I am.

Stephen: I do self-identify as a middle-class person, very much so

However, this does not work as a process of calling themselves out, as it did with Whiteness, as clear prejudicial judgements of class and class identity are frequently articulated in the conversations I

had with the respondents. In discussing class with Ian, as our evening in the wine bar progresses and the pub quiz gathers pace, he finds it easy to define the working-class, to whom he attributes characteristics and behaviour traits that keep them as working class. He employs a number of men whom he categorises as ‘working-class’ and he claims a ‘good understanding of their lives’.

> Ian: A working-class person allows distraction to take over more
>
> Matt: What do you mean by distraction?

Ian describes this ‘distraction’ in terms of cultural pursuits - ‘drinking too much, taking too many drugs, staying up until 3am playing Xbox.’ He says that his working-class staff 'all bugger off to Subway at lunchtime and spend £15 on shite'. He goes on to say that his staff are ‘all earning relatively good money but don’t save any because their lifestyles are distractable by society, by advertising, by bad things in life, you know.’ He sees this as a particularly working-class issue as ‘the middle classes will make a ham sandwich in the morning and take it with them.’

Ian is articulating a discourse of distinction based on cultural consumption, background and behaviour that is conditioned by a person’s class (Bourdieu, 1984). These articulations are strategies of signification that seek to reinforce the boundaries around classes by signifying working-class behaviour and cultural consumptions as the extreme in contrast to the ‘normal’ and seemingly more reasonable and rational behaviour of the middle-class (Gunn, 2005). The generalisation in his talk in referring to ‘a working-class person’ marks all working-class people as the same and he is discursively constructing a homogeneous group by dint of their apparent sameness. These unequivocal significations of class work to reiterate the normativity of middle-classness and are strategic acts of social reproduction in a context in which his intersectional White, middle-class man identity is being made visible and critiqued.

During our conversation at his flat, Jack provides a further example of class identity determined by behaviour-based differences between the working-class and the middle-class in his discussion of his childhood years. Jack attended a small, rural primary school with 'very nice grounds'. He remembers being ‘really happy as a child’ and ‘playing lots of football’. He emphasises that ‘it was not competitive’. He describes this as having a 'cute and friendly countryside naivety to it. We just wanted to be friends and play in a friendly kind of manner'.

He introduces behaviour-based class distinctions into his narratives when talking about attending secondary school in the nearest town. He and his friends called people living there 'Townies', which he equates to the term 'Chav' and cites discourses of the ‘underclass’ that construct working-class masculinities as dysfunctional and dangerous, exhibiting anti-social behaviour and as the picture of moral decay (Haylett, 2001). He signifies them as the 'town boys' who were ‘mean and hung around in the park drinking cider when they were 13 years old.’ He compares football in the playground at the school in the town with his earlier memories and describes it as people 'kicking lumps out of each other even though they were only 13/14.' He goes on to say that in primary school he and his friends didn't have a sense of ‘friends’ banter' when they were younger. He describes this banter as ‘taking the mickey out of each other or each other’s families’, which 'the people in the town did'. Jack talks of living in the countryside as having a place to retreat to and articulates a further distinction when talking about ‘town people just calling round to people's houses’ whereas in the countryside they'd phone up first to see if their friend was available. He relates this to both being polite and having a sense of privacy, which town people didn't have.

Jack’s talk articulates strategies of signification on class identity and behaviour that draw a clear distinction between urban and rural contexts. He positions the urban context and those living there as working-class by drawing on wider chav and underclass discourses (Tyler, 2008; Haywood and Yar, 2006; Haylett, 2001) in contrast to the polite and friendly countryside. Jack articulates a discourse of

a classed social hierarchy that, much like the other respondents, is rooted in judgements on morality, values, manners, and behaviour and one that ascribes these characteristics to class groups, rather than individuals. In doing so, Jack, reiterates the normativity of middle-classness through strategic acts of social reproduction and signifies contrasting working-class behaviours as unacceptable extremes.

There is a class distinction born of rurality in Jack's talk. He articulates differential behaviours between those 'townies' and his countryside friends that cite discourses of a middle-class rurality (Tyler, 2012) and urban working-class decay (Lawler, 2005). This intersects with his talk on race, in which rurality also features as a distinguishing characteristic – 'I grew up in Oxfordshire which is very kind of White and British'. Additionally, in talking about football as a vehicle for articulating class distinction, he cites his discourses on masculinity to intersect with his articulations of a White, middle-class rurality and his micro-discourse becomes a reconstitution of the normativity of the intersectional White, middle-class, man.

During our conversation at the Toad and Sprocket, David expresses his understanding of class behaviour differences by narrating the differences he noticed with his ex-wife, who he describes as working-class, particularly in relation to going out for meals.

> David: There was quite big differences between us. I think one of the things about being middle-class is, you know, sort of, for example, if you go out for a meal, it's not just about the food on the plate that's put in front of you. It's about the whole experience. It's the service you get from the staff, and all of that is part of the experience that you're paying for
>
> Matt: Sure

He also references his ex-mother-in-law's habit of talking to the staff about 'how many hours they've got left on their shift', rather than about which wine they would recommend. This is, for him, antithetical to middle-class behaviour.

> David: Connecting with the per-, you know, which actually is, yeah, it's a good thing, you know, really, but if the purpose of you going out for a nice meal in a nice place is just to, you're not really caring about what time the person finishes work because you're paying
>
> Matt: Mm Hm
>
> David: to be waited on
>
> Matt: Yep
>
> David: and for somebody to say 'Ah, yes, this week the special is this and we've just got this new wine in from Italy' you know. That's what you're paying for
>
> Matt: Right
>
> David: and you have to have a middle-class background to get that and appreciate that and if you haven't got a middle-class background, it's like, 'Well, I'm just coming in for a bit of food', you know hhh

David is articulating a discourse about what he deems to be differences in values and behaviours that creates a sharp distinction between the working-class and the middle-class. There is no hesitation for David in articulating these positions and he exhibits no fear of judgement about this. For David, as with all the respondents in this study, the definitional content of working-class and

middle-class is based on cultural knowledge, behaviour and consumption that seeks to re-assert the normativity of middle-class attributes and reproduce a classed social hierarchy. It is interesting, though, that David claims a working-class background and a father who 'worked hard' and 'pushed himself so much so that he ended up, you know, in a good management job in Surrey'. It is possible that David's explicit articulation of his middle-classness and class difference may indicate a contested subjectivity and be a distinct strategy of signification to reaffirm his middle-class identity to me as another White, middle-class man despite his working-class background.

Savage et al (2001) and Devine (1992) found that when questions about class were posed to respondents, they often sought to establish an 'ordinariness'. This reaction is understood by Savage to be "an indirect way of 'refusing' class identity, and hence might be an indirect way of repudiating the entire 'class' discourse altogether" (2000: 35). However, the 'ordinariness' that my respondents sought to establish was a normative ordinariness, an 'ordinary' that located their cultural attitudes and behaviours in a hegemonic position in relation to how they defined other class cultures and behaviours. In this way, their talk that I discuss below, constitute strategies of signification to maintain the normative nature of middle-classness (Skeggs, 1997a) and preserve both its social acceptability and the privileges accrued from being the 'norm'.

When talking about himself, Ian refers to himself as middle-class, which he describes as being 'normal'. This normalcy is central to Ian's understanding of what middle-class means. He finds it very difficult to define what middle-class is other than as 'normal'.

> Matt: Why do you define yourself as middle-class?
>
> Ian: Because I'm extremely normal

Matt: and what does that mean? What does normal mean?

Ian: I live and work within a society to the best of my ability, it seems to be good enough and I can do pretty much what I want within that society, as long as I keep within the law.

Matt: Okay, but how do you define normal? What does normal mean?

Ian: Umm, doing, doing normal things

Matt: What are normal things?

Ian: Hhhh Things that anyone would expect you to do

Matt: Hhhhh okay, we're floating around in the area of vague here hhh

Ian: yeah hhh

Matt: Hhh so, what are those things that people would expect you to do?

Ian: I don't know what they are cos they're just normal. I can't think of a normal thing.

Similarly, Alfie, in his burgeoning realisations that 'class' is relevant to his sense of self and of others cannot describe behaviour that he defines as 'classy. This inability to think of behaviours that, to him, are 'classy' speaks to its normativity for him.

> Alfie: I can, rightly or wrongly, call out where classy behaviour exists versus not classy behaviour exists and equally, there will be situations, I struggle to name on off the top of my head, but where I would see a behaviour and think 'That's classy'.

The inability of Ian and Alfie to articulate and define what ‘normal’ or ‘classy’ means is indicative that middle-classness still operates as an invisible norm for them, despite the current visibility of the White, middle-class man. However, they are not refusing a class identity or repudiating the entire class discourse but rather they are reproducing middle-classness as normal and ordinary in distinction to the extremes of other classes.

Whilst their classed articulations are understood as strategic acts of the social reproduction of class boundaries, this is not all that they do. These articulations of distinctions and symbolic boundary markers (Jarness, 2017) are being articulated by subjects materialised as and embodying White, middle-class masculinity in a social context in which their intersectional privilege is under scrutiny. As such, their explicit and unequivocal articulations of class identity and class difference act as the nexus of normativity and intersect with their Whiteness and their masculinity as agentive acts of resistance to this scrutiny and attempts to reconstitute the normativity of their intersectional identities.

Classed Social Hierarchy

Savage et al suggest that for their respondents “classes are ‘out there’, part of the social fabric, whereas people themselves are ‘individuals’, who by definition cannot be part of classes” and that the idea of classes “pollutes [the] idea of individuality since it challenges people’s autonomy” (2001: 882). Savage further contends that “while collective class identities are...weak, people continue to define their own individual identities in ways which inevitably involve relational comparisons with

members of various social classes…representing…the reforming of class cultures around individualized axes" (Savage, 2000: xii). He states that -

> "What establishes the relationship between class and culture…is not the existence of class consciousness, or the coherence or uniformity of a distinct set of cultural dispositions. Rather, the relationship is to be found in the way in which cultural outlooks are implicated in modes of exclusion and/or domination." (Devine and Savage, 2000: 195).

These ideas are not borne out by my research. In this section I will show how, whilst the respondents did see themselves as individuals, their talk demonstrates their belief that individuals can be, and are part of classes, albeit through culture and behaviour, rather than through occupation, or their relations to the means of production. In addition, I will show how these micro-discourses coalesce not only to produce groups (Bourdieu, 1984) but also to inform meta-discourses on class through processes of communicative equivalency.

In the respondents' talk there are clear distinctions made between different classes, and the hesitations about identifying as middle-class, or being judged for being middle-class, are driven more by an avoidance of a negative social judgement than by a fear that a class identity would "pollute their sense of individuality" and "challenge their autonomy" (Savage et al, 2001: 882). My research shows that what appear to be individualised axes (Savage et al, 2001) are actually individual articulations of collective understandings of cultural class identity. Thus, whilst class cultures are modes of differentiation, not only do the respondents talk in class group terms, but the processes of differentiation are also not unique to each individual and form points of equivalency that feature in wider meta-discourses on class. For example, a number of the respondents articulate discourses on the working-class and aspiration.

Daniel: I think there's definitely sometimes a lack of aspiration in some of those communities.

Alfie: the lower-class person dresses differently to me, probably talks differently to me, probably values time in the boozer on an evening higher than going to, being seen to be at Ascot. Is not necessarily less aspirational, that's not what I mean but, in many cases, possibly hasn't invested the effort in their education to achieve the same.

Henry: I worked for a while in south Birmingham for [Name of company], an old established company and the aspirations of people well, they used to say, you spoke to people in Greenfields which is where the company was, you know, 'what would you like to do when you grow up?' 'I want to work for [name of company]' and I think that there certainly was that ethos in the working classes. You were just looking locally and therefore your roots were local you got really good family support, you know, while you were out at work your mother would look after your kids and all of those things and I think that promoted a community that the middle-classes lost probably quite a long time ago from being far more mobile

Matt: So, why are the middle-classes more mobile?

Henry: Aspiration

Equally, many respondents articulate comparable discourses on education (Ben, Jack, Alfie, Henry, Stephen, Daniel), values and morality (Ben, David, Alfie, Henry, Stephen, Jack) and cultural consumption (David, Jack, Stephen, Alfie, Ben, Mark) as it pertains to being middle-class or working-class. These are "collective representations that are the product of the application of the same scheme of perception or a common system of classification" (Bourdieu, 1984: 481).

The data shows that there is coherence and comparability, if not uniformity, in the cultural class dispositions of my respondents, just as there is coherence in their articulated judgements of other classes. Whilst they articulate 'relational comparisons', these comparisons are not between themselves as individuals and other individuals. They are articulated as relational comparisons between classes that are exemplified through describing the behaviour of individuals; individuals who are constructed as vehicles for the characteristics of the entire class. Thus, while the relationship between class and culture is found in the way culture is utilised in mechanisms of exclusion and/or domination in the talk of individuals (Savage et al, 2001), it is also found in the way it is used to construct and differentiate between groups as classes. In this, the respondents are strategically deploying social reproduction by reiterating the rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1990) on class as public acts to sustain the conditions of power (Butler, 1997) that result from the classed social hierarchy the respondents articulate.

The Struggles of 'White, Middle-class Men'

It is significant that for those respondents who are explicit in their articulations of class difference there is little evidence of a contested class subjectivity for them. Yet despite these clear articulations of class differences, and the strategies utilised to reinforce the normativity of middle-classness, when their talk referred to the 'White, middle-class man, or 'middle-class men', their contested subjectivities came to the fore and the respondents' strategies of signification changed significantly.

In this section I will show how their strategies became ones that saw them signifying themselves as oppressed, forgotten, or struggling 'White, middle-class men'. These are likely to be specific strategies of signification that are being articulated in response to the critique of the 'White, middle-class man' in the public discourses.

For Ian, this involved a strategy of signification that cites and adapts discourses on minorities and equalities and combines them with those on the normalcy of the White, middle-class man to signify not just himself, but White, middle-class men as a group who are beleaguered in society. In a social context in which the invisibility of White, middle-class men's privilege is being eroded, his strategy is a direct response to his contested subjectivity this tension creates. Ian's talk seeks to signify White, middle-class men as no more privileged than any other group marked as a minority. He goes so far as to construct White, middle-class men as disadvantaged in comparison to other minority groups and so resist the public critiques of Black Lives Matter and #MeToo.

> Ian: I think this all the time but I'm the forgotten minority, if you know what I mean? Hhh Because I'm not in the minority.
>
> Matt: Okay, right
>
> Ian: Not that I particularly care because I've got nothing to complain about
>
> Matt: Right, okay but you still feel as if you haven't got a voice?
>
> Ian: To a certain extent, I think. The world is minority focused
>
> Matt: Right, okay

> Ian: and when you’re not the minority, and when you're affluent and middle-class, yeah, you're sort of the social middle child, you know
>
> Matt: Hhhh
>
> Ian: You have the same voice as everybody else, but you don't necessarily, it doesn't seem to be respected in a social sense, like, you know, you're not disabled so you have to bloody well park where you can
>
> Matt: Okay
>
> Ian: It sounds nasty and pompous but what do we get from society? We're just contributing to it for everyone else to take from it, I suppose…The economy's not going to survive without people enjoying themselves, spending money and not just enjoying themselves but, you know, it is our country, our world, init, really
>
> Matt: and when you say 'our' you mean British middle-class men
>
> Ian: Normal people. Yeah. But it's non-normal people that has the highlights around it.

Ian’s talk here is particularly revealing of his contested subjectivity and the work he is undertaking in response. He oscillates between acknowledgements of the possession of privilege in the context of affluence, and significations that position the White, middle-class man as not only oppressed but also invisible, or ‘forgotten’, and assertions that his claims sound ‘pompous’. This state of being forgotten or invisible is not the invisibility of normativity but an invisibility within the public debate on equality. Ian is drawing on and adapting discourses on diversity, much as the respondents did in

their talk on race and gender, to construct White, middle-class men as oppressed because they are excluded from the focus of these equality discourses – the respondents claim an oppression by the very discourses they use to signify themselves as oppressed. This seemingly circular strategy works to position them as more disadvantaged than those the discourses were designed to liberate because the 'world is minority focussed'

Ian's use of the term 'non-normal', particularly as it intersects with his defining being middle-class as 'extremely normal', is revealing in a social context in which the invisibility of privilege is being removed. This serves as a strategy to reiterate the ordinariness and so the normativity of White, middle-class men but, critically, to construct those who he sees as benefiting from equality as underserving of this attention. This speaks to a sense of entitlement that is previously articulated in his statements about what he and others like him contribute to society. This is a sense of entitlement to the privileges that accrue to White, middle-class men that he infers are theirs by right and accrue from their contribution to society, rather than being 'unearned'. However, his assertions that he has 'got nothing to complain about', even though he is complaining, and his statement that what he is saying 'sounds nasty and pompous' act as strategies to present his identity as socially acceptable in the current context of the critical visibility of privilege.

For Daniel, his strategies of signification in response to the 'White, middle-class man' label involve articulating the oppression that the societal expectations to be successful place on White, middle-class men. Daniel is in his late 30s and works in the voluntary sector having recently left his private sector job, which he had come to realise did not fulfil him and was essentially 'shallow'. He moved to Bristol from London almost a year ago.

We meet in a pub that he chose. It is close to where he lives and is not directly within the White, middle-class 'settlements' previously identified. The pub has been taken over and refurbished by a

local chain that owns other pubs in those areas. It is a large, red brick building. Imposing in stature from the outside. The interior has been refurbished to fit with the look of the chain's other pubs. Shades of grey mix with cream and burgundy. The floor is half laid to wood and half to large, black and white floor tiles. The walls are adorned by a mix of old pictures and photos and a large circular display of mirrors. Plants, mainly cacti, and old gin bottles line the window ledges. The pub, though, with its high ceilings, large windows, and angular corners has a utilitarian and slightly worn-down feel. A curtain rail has come down and there is broken plaster above the window that adds to this feel. It is a sunny day in August and so we choose to sit out in the garden to the rear of the pub.

As we start to talk, Daniel explains his interest in participating in the research project. He talks briefly about his new job in the charity sector and the reading he had undertaken to familiarise himself with a disadvantaged client group and the context of the work. This reading highlighted an issue for him that was specific to him but also echoes Ian's sense of being forgotten and not having a voice.

> Daniel: So, in terms of, you know, what I've, kind of, read and, you know, trying to understand these young people and, you know, socio-economic barriers to employment and what their lives have been like. So, when you kind of talked about, you know, a middle-class man from Bristol, or living in Bristol, I felt 'Yeah, everything I do is not about me or where I'm from'
>
> Matt: Sure
>
> Daniel: and I said that to a colleague of mine that I'm doing this, and he went 'Why do we need, we don't need this. What struggle have we had? Nothing'
>
> Matt: Hhhhh

Daniel: and I just, I kind of, I backed it up a bit by saying 'Well, I think there is a need to look into this area. I do feel that there's friends of mine that, or this particular age group, struggles in a bit of a way cos there is that expectation that we, well, ‘everything's alright for you'

Matt: Right, okay, that's interesting

Daniel: So

Matt: So, it's a hidden struggle?

Daniel: Mm

Matt: cos it's not in the papers and not in the data

Daniel: yeah, yeah, definitely

Matt: So, how do you, when you say, how do you understand that struggle? What does that struggle look like to you?

Daniel: What, the struggle for a middle-class, White man from Bristol? I think because there's certain expectation that you should be at a certain level

Matt: Mm Hm

Daniel: or you should be earning a certain amount, or you should be living in a certain house, or you should be living your life in a particular way.

Matt: Mm Hm

Daniel: and when you're not, it can feel a bit like failure

In many respects, Daniel is resisting the inference that all White, middle-class men have the power and privilege that the media suggests they hold and is articulating a strategy to re-signify them as a struggling group. He articulates that the expectations that White, middle-class men should own their own home and be living a certain lifestyle create a context of struggle and a very real fear of failure to meet these markers of successful White, middle-class masculinity. There is a sense of societal judgement and a sense of shame for himself at not attaining the privileges he feels he should hold or, indeed, that he feels he is entitled to, given that he is a White, middle-class man. This is a shame that stems from the normative expectation of middle-classness that signals that its possessors "avoid the stigma of an inability to achieve success or laziness often associated with the lower class and poor" (Hughey, 2014: 272). Interestingly, his contested subjectivity we see here arises primarily from the tension between the discourses of success for White, middle-class men and his sense of failure to meet them. However, it also reflects a tension between the critical discourses about White, middle-class men and their unearned privileges and his sense that he is entitled to these privileges.

Daniel signifies himself and White, middle-class men like him as oppressed by the pressures and expectations that society puts on them simply for being White, middle-class men. Indeed, the pressures of expectation are articulated as an adaptation of discourses of struggle more readily articulated by groups experiencing long-standing oppression. This is a strategy to minimise the unacceptability of the White, middle-class man identity that is prevalent in the media today.

These articulations are strategies of signification that entail acts of ressentiment (Probyn, 2004) in which they draw on discourses of oppression, disadvantage, and inequality as cultural resources to signify White, middle-class men not as privileged and powerful, but rather as silenced, oppressed, and disadvantaged. This acts as a resistance to the discourse in the media about the 'White, middle-class man' and signifies them as no different to other groups that are seen to be disadvantaged in society but without requiring them to give up their privileges, for they are, in their words, already disadvantaged through being White, middle-class men.

Class as a Cultural Resource for Middle-class Normativity

This chapter has shown that there is a key difference in the way the respondents talk about class to how they talk about race and gender. It is explicit, it is intentional. It is a subject that they want to discuss. Unlike in the work of Devine (1992), Reay, (1998), Savage (2000) and Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2001) the respondents in this study demonstrated little unwillingness to express a specific class identity and there was no sense that they were attempting to repudiate the entire 'class' discourse. Rather, contrastingly, for the respondents in this study, middle-classness is a key aspect of their identity and 'class' is a cultural resource through which they reproduce class boundaries and the normativity of middle-classness. It may be that this apparent change in engagement with class and class identity is because the public discourses that seek to reveal and critique the privilege of 'White, middle-class men' do not critically examine middle-classness itself, and so those marked as 'White, middle-class men' rearticulated middle-classness as the nexus of normativity in strategy of signification to resist the critique of their intersectional identities.

This chapter shows that there is far less of a sense of having their class privilege made visible such that they must alter the performance of their middle-class identities to appear acceptable. Outside of a few respondents seeking not to be judged as 'snobby' (Savage, 2000), there is little evidence of

contested class subjectivities in the respondents. This suggests that the absence in the public debates of strong counterhegemonic class discourses competing with existing normative middle-classness in seeking to materialise their middle-classness as unacceptable meant that the respondents experienced less of a need to defend their middle-classness.

The respondents were much more prepared to make distinctions, to communicate negative other-presentations (Van Dijk, 1992), in relation to class than they were in their talk about race. There is also far less of a sense of defensiveness, of injustice to class dynamics in society, which contrasts to reactions to gender equality initiatives. Unlike #MeToo or gender equality at work initiatives, there is no specific class ‘movement’ that they identify as their oppressor and their middle-class identities remain relatively un-oppressed. Equally, there is no evidence of articulating, or even the need to articulate an ‘justificatory factor’ for class prejudice as there was with their talk on Whiteness. There is no equivalent ‘unconscious bias’ against class that they rearticulate as acceptable to hold to resist the critiques of their identities. Largely, their strategies of significations are those that effect a strategic social reproduction of class distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) to reconstitute the normativity of their identities.

In producing and articulating concepts that demarcate difference, the talk of the respondents produces groups (Bourdieu, 1984), and the cultural resources they deploy in these processes of demarcation are comparable with historic class as culture distinctions. However, these processes of class identification by the respondents are not straightforward acts of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984). Rather, given the inherent intersectionality of their identities, and that the discursive context in which they articulate their middle-classness includes critiques of their Whiteness, their masculinity, and their intersectional privilege, the respondents appear to be agentively reproducing class in response to this current public critique of their intersectional identities. They are, albeit subtly, changing the rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1993) for middle-classness as it intersects

with Whiteness and masculinity, and how the boundaries are reproduced. In this way, it is purposeful and strategic social reproduction of class that works to reinforce 'middle-class' as the normative nexus that underpins the reconstituted normativity of their identities as White, middle-class men.

Critically, though, in a context in which the invisibility of privilege is being erased through media and social media discourses, these strategies occur when the respondents talk about class in isolation from Whiteness and masculinity. When their talk referred to the 'White, middle-class man, or 'middle-class men' the respondents demonstrate contested subjectivities that produce in them the need to respond, and their strategies change to ones that signify themselves as oppressed, forgotten, or struggling 'White, middle-class men'. In this, they signify society as their oppressor for its silencing of them and its focus on 'non-normal people', and through the pressures that society places upon them to be successful White, middle-class men. In these strategies, there are echoes of the way they responded to critiques of Whiteness and masculinity, particularly in adapting diversity and equalities discourses to signify themselves as oppressed without having to give up their privileges.

'Class', then, is a morally loaded signifier but not one that, as Savage (2000) contends, they shy away from using, but one that is now easily used and is replete with moral judgements, particularly about the 'working-class'. The process of signifying the working-class as a group with markers of cultural difference rearticulates the boundaries of normative, middle-classness (Nayak and Kehily, 2014), reproduces classed social hierarchies (Webster, 2008), and sustains the privilege that these hierarchies produce. Significantly, the manner in which their discourses on middle-classness intersect with their talk on race and gender, and the impact of the intersectional materiality, embodiment practices and the performativity of the settings means that this normativity of middle-classness is the preserve of White, middle-class men. The reiterations of middle-class normativity by

the respondents reinforces middle-classness as the nexus of normativity for them and works to diminish the unacceptability of masculinity and whiteness where they intersect with middle-classness in White, middle-class men.

Chapter Eight – Resistance to resistance: Reconstituting the Normativity of the Intersectional 'White, middle-class man'

In Britain we live in a society in which White, middle-class men have long been ensconced in the position of 'legitimate' leaders of the nation. Despite wide-ranging campaigns against structural inequality experienced by People of Colour, by women, by the working-classes, and others, White, middle-class men remain disproportionately represented in positions of power across all sectors of society. Equally, due to the normative nature of the discourses of Whiteness, masculinity and middle-classness, all White, middle-class men have been afforded an intersectional privilege that provides them with 'unearned' benefits, whilst creating contexts of oppression and disadvantage for others.

Over the years, academics seeking to understand the dynamics of inequality have generated considerable research into the workings of privilege and the performance of privileged identities. Accounts of privilege arising from this scholarship usefully identify the significance of individual identity performances, and the importance of situational context, in the reproduction of privilege, but they rely on theories that emphasise invisibility and the relative stability of power/knowledge regimes that discursively constitute privileged subjects. In situations where these power/knowledge regimes are threatened, the privilege scholarship posits a theory of adaptation to account for how threats are responded to. However, this theory is under-developed and little empirical evidence of is provided to show how these adaptations are effected to minimise threats to normative ways of being.

We are now, though, living through an era of critical visibility of privilege, particularly of White and masculine privilege, that constitutes a significant threat to the maintenance of their normativity, and to their privilege. The evolution of the public debate arising from the Black Lives Matter and #MeToo campaigns has shone a spotlight on the behaviour and privilege of White people and men. The

invisibility of their privilege is being eroded by discourses that work to destabilise the norms of Whiteness and masculinity. These counterhegemonic discourses are also destabilising the norms that arise where Whiteness and masculinity intersect with middle-classness to constitute White, middle-class men as the normative locus of intersectional privilege. The everyday behaviours of these intersectionally privileged ~~constitute~~ White, middle-class men are being publicly critiqued and their once normative and, therefore, invisible identities are being made visible to them, and cast as unacceptable.

To explain the workings of intersectional privilege in this context of its increasing visibility, we need a better understanding of, and approach to, studying privilege than the existing accounts provide. In response to this problem, given the significance of identity performances in the reproduction of privilege, this thesis answers the question 'how do White, middle-class men perform their intersectionally privileged identities in a context where that privilege is increasingly visible and threatened?'

In building a theoretical lens through which to answer this question, I have developed a fuller conception of the theory of the adaptation of meta-discourses that locates talk as the site of enquiry into how White middle-class men respond to the threat to their privilege. This theory provides for an understanding of how this response to threat takes the form of articulations of local, micro-discourses that, through processes of communicative equivalency, effect adaptations in meta-discourses' articulations of the values and ideologies that sustain hegemonic social conditions.

In understanding that privilege is produced and reproduced through individual identity performances of subjects, to reveal how this occurs in a discursive environment in which normative identities are being contested requires an understanding of agentive identity formation. To establish this understanding, I have developed Foucauldian and Butlerian theories of subjectification and

agency to create a theoretical framework that provides for a subject that, while constituted in discourse, has a reflexive agency that it exercises to cite and adapt discursive cultural resources in the performance of identity.

The 'need' to exercise this agency arises from contested subjectivities in subjects created by discourses that compete over its subjectification, materialisation, and the associated parameters of cultural intelligibility. A subject responds to this contestation in different ways, depending on the nature of the threat to their sense of self and, in the context of this thesis, their privilege that the contestation over their subjectivity poses.

My adaptation of Butler's theories on signification and resignification to apply them to talk, provides the focussed lens through which to explore and understand how subjects exercise this agency and perform their identities at the identified site of enquiry i.e., through their talk. In this, subjects exercise their agency to cite, adapt, and interweave a range of discourses to construct 'strategies of signification' they articulate in their talk in response to the threats arising from the contestation over the subjectivities. This lens is further refined to account for how intersectional materialisation and embodiment and the performativity of space intersect with talk to constitute a complex intersectional matrix that conditions the meaning and effect of the utterances of the speaker.

It is a theoretical framework that, in focussing on the way discourses are co-opted and adapted in response to threat, not only reveals the ways in which identity is fluidly performed, but also makes connections between the subjects' strategies of signification and the development/adaptation of meta-discourses and, therefore, between individual identity performances and wider structural factors

The methodological approach utilised in this research creates a framework for the empirical study of the agentive performance of identities in talk by subjects constituted in discourse. It is an approach that develops a mechanism for data gathering that undertaking interviews, or even traditional participant or non-participant observation approaches cannot. By recording informal and unstructured conversations held in social settings, my approach gathered data from everyday activities undertaken in informal social settings that speaks to the everyday performances of privileged identities.

By locating myself within the process of knowledge production and recognising and accounting for my own positionality and complicity within this, the data takes on a richer and deeper reflection of the everyday than methods that position the researcher as observing the production of knowledge. It is an approach that takes the subjective and, rather than just accounting for it through reflexivity, utilises it as a means to access and understand the knowledge produced.

It is a methodological approach that applies ethnographic sensibilities to discourse analysis. In paying attention to the semantic content of talk and its direct relationship with both individual identity and the wider socio-political context, rather than "the technology of conversation" (Sacks, 1992: 339), it provided the empirical data to understand the workings of privilege when it is made visible that fine-grained analysis of the micro-processes of talk would not. It is a methodological approach that gathered the empirical data that shows the exercise of agency by subjects in fluidly constructing strategies of signification in their talk.

In analysing this data, this thesis provides an original contribution to the scholarship on privilege by identifying how it is maintained even when it is made visible. This thesis demonstrates that the critical counterhegemonic discourses arising from Black Lives Matter and #MeToo that erode invisibility compete with existing hegemonic discourses over the materialisation and parameters of

cultural intelligibility for White, middle-class men. The empirical data shows that this creates contested subjectivities in them that triggers the need to act in defence of their normative, privileged positions. In doing so, subjects agentively cite and adapt a range of cultural resources, including the threatened discourses, adapted counterhegemonic discourses, and a range of other discourses to construct and articulate strategies of signification that work to –

a) minimise or deflect the critiques that make their privilege visible and so reconstruct privileged identities as acceptable.
b) reconstitute the normativity of privileged identities, even when they are visible, often transforming this visibility from a threat into an aspect of the composition and production of normative, acceptable, privileged identities
c) rearticulate privileging discourses such that hegemonic social conditions are reinforced whilst simultaneously performing an acceptable identity.

It demonstrates the deployment of agency through the ways in which the respondents selected discourses and adapted them in the flow of unstructured conversations. These adaptations constitute a range of sophisticated, nuanced, and creative strategies of signification across domains of race, gender, class, which also have intersectional expressions, and articulate an acceptability of Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness that is the preserve of White, middle-class men.

The data shows that there are strategies of signification that across the respondents included numerous semantic points of equivalency, which shows how their individual articulations may coalesce into meta-discourses that bring about/reinforce hegemonic social conditions. Crucially, the data shows that White, middle-class men deploy these strategies of signification to re-signify their identities in transformative ways in response to the critiques, but in ways that do not require them to give up their privileges and ways that reconstitutes their normativity even in their visibility.

Strategies of Signification in Talk about Race

This thesis demonstrates that the respondents articulate a 'strategy of acknowledgement' that minimises the critiques of the Whiteness through an act of 'calling themselves out'. This 'strategy of acknowledgement' is, though, non-performative in the context of addressing inequality in that the act of articulating their Whiteness is not accompanied by any change to behaviour. However, it is not simply non-performative in this way. It is also performative of the reconstitution of the normativity of Whiteness, particularly when articulated as part of a wider strategy designed to make normative Whiteness acceptable to hold even in its visibility. In this, we can see how speech acts can be performative in one regard by being non-performative in another.

The central plank of the respondents' over-arching strategy of signification to resist the critiques and make normative Whiteness acceptable to hold, even when visible, was the citing and adaptation of discourses on unconscious bias. The strategies of signification they exhibited in this build on existing strategies for denial of racism developed by van Dijk (1992). I extend his typology to include an acknowledgment-justification-legitimisation strategy that takes the semantic form of 'I/we am/are racist but it's not my/our fault, therefore I am/we are not to blame'. In articulating these strategies of signification, unconscious bias becomes an acceptable cultural practice of Whiteness but also a justificatory factor in their racism that locates responsibility outside of White, middle-class men.

The non-performativity of these discourses in responding to the critiques is evident in the parallel and interwoven articulations of cultural difference, negative other-presentation, and the 'othering' of People of Colour that re-articulate hegemonic discourses on race and so reproduce and reinforce the normativity and privilege of middle-class Whiteness that discourses on diversity and unconscious bias seek to dismantle.

Strategies of Signification in Talk about Gender

Unlike with their talk on race, despite the high profile of the critiques of masculinity and masculine privilege articulated by #MeToo, Hollaback and the critical public debate on men's behaviour, the respondents did not employ strategies of acknowledgment when talking about gender. However, this study shows that many men articulated strategies of signification that indicated their compliance with many of the precepts of Hegemonic Masculinity, forms of which are being so publicly critiqued and made visible. That the respondents articulated these as part of a wider strategies of signification designed to signify their White, middle-class masculinity as acceptable speaks to the nature of their contested subjectivities. Within their talk is more evidence of oscillating and fluid changes to how they articulate their masculinity than appeared in their articulations of their Whiteness. This is indicative of the strengths of the competing needs to defend the aspects of Hegemonic Masculinity they revere whilst simultaneously needing to perform an acceptable masculinity in response to the critical discourses that work to materialise them and associated behaviours as misogynistic and unacceptable.

This research shows that in their work to perform acceptable White, middle-class masculine identities that meet certain precepts of Hegemonic Masculinity whilst deflecting and resisting critiques of it, the respondents utilised a wide range of discourses from across the discursive field. Alongside discourses of Hegemonic Masculinity, they cited and adapted discourses of emphasised femininity, race, class, equalities, diversity, youthfulness, fashion, sport, parenthood, magnanimity, rape myths, and others in their strategies of signification.

This exceeding of the discourses of Hegemonic Masculinity in their strategies for performing their gendered identities indicates that Coles' (2008) conception of mosaic masculinities needs to be reviewed to provide a fuller understanding of how men perform their masculine identities. This

thesis provides an original contribution to the literature on gender and privilege through expanding the concept of mosaic masculinities to become 'masculine gendered mosaic identities' in which identities are constructed and performed by creating a mosaic self through drawing on a range of discourses. The respondents articulated and performed gendered identities that utilised masculinity discourses as their gendered core but exceeded Hegemonic Masculinity to intersect with other discourses to create a complex intersectional performance of a masculine gendered mosaic identity.

This thesis shows that their strategies of signification to signify their White, middle-class masculine identities as acceptable often included the adaptation of different gender equality discourses. In this, they signified themselves and men in general as oppressed and disadvantaged by both the individual women in their lives and by feminism more broadly. They cited and adapted biological discourses on gender traits, 'traditional' gender role discourses, and rape myth discourses to not only signify them as oppressed but also to locate responsibility for a misogynistic behaviour in women and/or gender equality movements. In this, the allocation of responsibility and blame for both misogynistic behaviours, and the outcry against it, to women, constructed for the respondents a blamelessly sexist identity whose behaviour is 'normal', as opposed to the extremes of #MeToo and other such campaigns.

This abrogation of responsibility combined with their thwarted attempts to be a 'new man' work as strategies of signification to construct a White, middle-class masculinity that is acceptable in its visibility. Much as with their articulation of an acceptable middle-class Whiteness, this is an acceptability that requires no change in their behaviour to achieve, and the comparability of these strategies of signification across the respondents works to reconstitute the normativity of White, middle-class masculinity and reinforce wider hegemonic social relations.

Strategies of Signification in Talk about Class

This thesis shows that White, middle-class men talk very differently about class than they do about race and gender. Few showed any contestation of their class subjectivities and those that did employed strategies of signification to not appear snobby whilst continuing to articulate very clear class differences.

Whilst in the past, scholars found an unwillingness in people to explicitly identify as classed (e.g., Savage et al, 2001), I show in this thesis that for the respondents in this study, middle-classness was a major source of their identity and they use 'class' as a cultural resource through which they reproduce class boundaries and the normativity of White, middle-classness. However, the strategies of signification that reaffirm these class boundaries were not straightforward acts of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984). That there are no specific discourses that critique and compete with middle-classness in the public debates that would give rise to contested class subjectivities - their middle-classness is not subject to public critiques in isolation from their Whiteness and masculinity - it forms an aspect of their identity that is 'safe' to rearticulate.

This thesis demonstrates that their present-day strategies of signification to reinforce class boundaries intersect with their talk on race and gender to change the normative rules of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 1993) for acceptable White, middle-class men. In this way, it is purposeful and strategic social reproduction of class that works to reinforce 'middle-classness' as the normative nexus that underpins the reconstituted normativity of their identities as White, middle-class men.

However, and critically, when the respondents' talk referred to the 'White, middle-class man, or 'middle-class men' their strategies of signification changed to ones that signified them as oppressed, forgotten, or struggling 'White, middle-class men'. In this, they cited and adapted diversity and equalities discourses in a similar manner to some of their strategies of signification articulated in response to critiques of Whiteness and masculinity. These very different strategies of signification

they articulated when they talked about their intersectional identities reflects the degree to which the critiques have made their intersectional identities visible to them, and the nature of their intersectional contested subjectivities as a result.

In many ways, these strategies, and the comparable adaptations of different equalities discourses across the respondents talk on domains of Whiteness, masculinity, and class, points to the heart of the question this thesis is answering. When the normativity and privilege of White, middle-class men is directly critiqued and made visible they respond by adapting these critical discourses, interweaving them with a range of other, often competing discourses, to construct a meta-discourse that deflects, resists, and minimises the critiques. As a result, the White, middle-class man identity can reconstitute its normativity and retain its privileges without fundamentally changing the parameters of cultural intelligibility or their behaviours.

Intersectionally Speaking

This thesis contributes to the literature in intersectional identity performances by showing that their construction of the intersectional self is only in part in relation to intersectional racialised, gendered, and/or classed 'others'. Typically, in the scholarship on privileged identities, these ideas of the self and the 'other' have referred to some embodied other e.g., the White, working-class as the 'other' to the White, middle-class, as exemplified by the middle-class discourses of 'disgust' (Skeggs, 2005, 2006; Lawler, 2005; Tyler, 2008). However, this study shows that this 'other' can also refer to a different articulation of the self than the one that the self understands itself to be, or feels it needs to be to maintain its location in society.

The public critiques of Whiteness, masculinity and 'White, middle-class men' articulate an intersectional 'White, middle-class man' identity that is imbued with unacceptable behaviours and character traits. It is this unacceptable version of themselves that is the 'other' that threatens their

normativity, and so their privilege, more so than any construction of a racialised, gendered, and/or classed 'other'. The discourses that construct this 'other' White, middle-class man contest over the materialisation, and the parameters of cultural intelligibility, of the respondents with the hegemonic discourses of White, masculinity and middle-classness. This creates contested intersectional subjectivities for the respondents that trigger in them the need to act. This thesis has shown that many of the strategies of signification articulated by the respondents are designed to construct them in opposition to this unacceptable 'other' White, middle-class man, even though, in doing so, they do not change their behaviours.

In answering the question 'how do White, middle-class men perform their intersectionally privileged identities in a context where that privilege is increasingly visible?', I have shown that invisibility is no longer a mechanism through which normative discourses maintain their hegemony and the associated privileges that accrue. The visibility of Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness has become an aspect of their composition and their production through the respondents' articulations of them in their everyday talk. The specific form of acceptable visible-to-the-self Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness as performed by the respondents now contributes to the maintenance of a reconstituted hegemonic White, middle-class man.

I have also shown that the comparability of strategies of signification articulated by the respondents demonstrates that the way hegemonic meta-discourses of Whiteness, masculinity and middle-classness are adapted to resist threats and maintain hegemonic social conditions occurs in the talk of White, middle-class men. Critically though, through the intersecting of their strategies of signification with their materialisation and embodiment as White, middle-class men, they re-signify their intersectional identities as acceptable in ways that reconstitutes their normativity, even in their visibility, and reinforces wider hegemonic social relations without requiring them to give up their privileges.

Although I presented the data as talk about race, gender, and class to act as anchor points in the analysis of intersectional privilege, this thesis also shows that the respondents' articulations of acceptable Whiteness, masculinity and middle-classness are not articulated in isolation of each other. They intersect with each other to articulate forms of acceptable Whiteness, masculinity and middle-classness that are the preserve of White, middle-class men. Nor are they articulated in isolation from the materialisation and embodiment of the respondents as White, middle-class men, or the White, middle-class, and often masculine performativity of the settings in which the conversations took place.

In this thesis I show that the respondents' positionality, and the settings in which the conversations took place, constitute the communicative setting of their talk. This intersects with their talk about race, gender, and class to articulate specific forms of acceptable Whiteness, masculinity, and middle-classness. These are intersectional articulations of an acceptability that work to reconstitute the normativity of the intersectional 'White, middle-class man' and not the normativity of all people racialised as White, nor all people who identify as men, nor all people who perform middle-class cultural practices. It is an acceptability and reconstituted normativity that is theirs alone and, as such, works to resist the public critiques that have removed the invisibility of the White, middle-class man, and preserve their privilege.

Bibliography

Aavik, K. (2015). 'The most important decisions are made in the sauna': the role of social capital in creating intersectional privilege in the career narratives of Estonian male managers, *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 10(1), pp.39-54,

Acker, J. (1999). Rewriting Class, Race and Gender in Ferree, M., Lorber, J. and Hess, B. (eds) (1999). *Revisioning Gender*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Ahmed, S. (2004). Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism. *Borderlands* 3(2).

Akala. (2018). *Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire*. London : Two Roads

Alcoff, L. (1990). Feminist Politics and Foucault: The Limits to a Collaboration, in Dallery, A. and Scott, C. (1990). *Crises in Continental Philosophy*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Alexander, M.J. and Mohanty, C.T. (1997). *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. New York: Routledge

Allen, A. (2000). The Anti-Subjective Hypothesis: Michel Foucault and the Death of the Subject. *Philosophical Forum* 31(2) : pp.113-130

Alvarez, L., and Buckley, C. (2013). Zimmerman Is Acquitted in Trayvon Martin Killing. *The New York Times*. Available from https://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/14/us/george-zimmerman-verdict-trayvon-martin.html accessed February 26, 2019.

Anderson J.R., Holland E, Heldreth C, Johnson S.P. (2018). Revisiting the Jezebel Stereotype: The Impact of Target Race on Sexual Objectification. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. 42(4) pp.461-476.

Anderson, D. M. (2010). Sexual Threat and Settler Society: ‘Black Perils’ in Kenya, c. 1907–30, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 38(1), pp.47-74

Anderson, M. (2003). ‘Whitewashing Race: A Critical Perspective on Whiteness’, in Doane, A. and Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003) (eds) *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*, Routledge, London.

Anderson, S. (2017). Documenting women's stories of street harassment – in pictures. *The Guardian*. available at https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2017/jul/22/documenting-womens-stories-of-street-harassment-in-pictures accessed 01 November 2017

Anthias, F. (2005). Social stratification and social inequality: Models of intersectionality and identity. In Devine, F., Savage, M., Scott, J. and Crompton, R. (Eds.) (2005), *Rethinking class: Culture, identities and lifestyle*, pp24-45. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Atewologun, D and Sealy, R (2014) Experiencing privilege at ethnic, gender and senior intersections. *Journal of Managerial Psychology* 29(4). Pp.423-439

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How To Do Things With Words*. Oxford, Clarendon Press

Bailey, A. (1998) ‘Privilege: Expanding on Marilyn Fry’s Oppression’, *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 29(3), pp.104–19.

Baldwin, J. (1955). *Notes on a Native Son*. Boston: Beacon Books

Baldwin, J. (1984). On Being White and other lies. *Essence*

Baldwin, J. (1985). *The Price of the Ticket*, London: Michael Joseph,

Bale, T. (2019). White, male and middle class: why Britain's political parties must change. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/sep/17/white-male-middle-class-britain-poiltical-parties-politics accessed 26/12/2020

BBC News. (2017). Bristol Named as best Place to Live in Britain in 2017 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-39320118 accessed 20/04/2021

Bebout, L. (2016). *Whiteness on the border: mapping the U.S. racial imagination in brown and white*. New York : New York University Press

Becker, S. and Aiello, B. (2013). The continuum of complicity: "Studying up"/studying power as a feminist, anti-racist, or social justice venture. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 38 pp.63-74

Beemyn, B. G. (2005). Making campuses more inclusive of transgender students. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Issues in Education*, 3, pp.77–87.

Behnke, C and Meuser, M. (2002) Gender and habitus: Fundamental securities and crisis tendencies among men Gender in Interaction in Baron, B, and Kotthoff, H (eds) 2002, *Gender in Interaction :Perspectives on femininity and masculinity in ethnography and discourse*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Philadelphia.

Bhopal, K. (2018). *White privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society*. Bristol : Policy Press

Bialka, C and Morro, D. (2017). "What's Disability Got to Do With It?" Examining Ability Privilege in a Disability Studies Course. *Journal of College and Character*. 18. pp.28-45.

Bilecen, B (2014). On the Tide Between Being an Insider and Outsider: Experiences from research on International Student Mobility in Germany in Voloder, L., Kirpitchenko, l., Kershen, A.J. (eds) (2014). *Insider Research on Migration and Mobility : International Perspectives on Researcher Positioning*. Taylor & Francis Group

Bird, S.R. (1996). Welcome to the men’s club: Homosociality and the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity. *Gender & Society*, 10(2), pp. 120-132.

Bland, L. (2005). "White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain after the Great War." *Gender & History*, 17(1), pp.29-61.

Blumenfeld, W.J. and Jaekel, K. (2012). Exploring Levels of Christian Privilege Awareness among Preservice Teachers. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), pp.128-144

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2012) The invisible weight of whiteness: the racial grammar of everyday life in contemporary America, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(2), pp.173-194,

Bonnett, A. (1998). How the British Working Class Became White: The Symbolic (Re)formation of Racialized Capitalism. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 11(3).

Booth, W. (1890). “Why Darkest England?” in P. Keating, (ed). (1976). *Into Unknown England, 1866-1913: Selections from the Social Explorers*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Bott, E. (2013). New heights in climbing and tourism: Jordan's Wadi Rum, *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 11(1-2), pp.21-34,

Bottero, W. (2004). Class Identities and the Identity of Class, *Sociology*, 38(5), pp.985-1003

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press.

Brah, A., and Phoenix, A. (2004). Ain’t I a woman? Revisiting intersectionality. *Journal of International Women’s Studies*, 5(3), pp.75–86

Branscombe, N. R., and Doosje, B. (Eds.). (2004). *Collective guilt: International perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Branscombe, N.R., Schmitt, M.T., Schiffhauer, K. (2007). Racial attitudes in response to thoughts of white privilege. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37(2), pp.203-215

Brewis, H. (2020). Why is White Privilege trending on Twitter? Social media blows up over GMB and This Morning race rows. *The Standard*. https://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/white-privilege-trending-twitter-gmb-this-morning-race-row-a4333991.html accessed 09/05/2021

Bristol City Council. (2017). *Joint Strategic Needs Assessment (JSNA) 2016-2017*. https://www.bristol.gov.uk/documents/20182/34740/JSNA+2016+to+2017+final+version/1ffc45f9-0a75-4e04-8b0d-a1ee86f23bf2 accessed June 3, 2018

Brodkin, K. (2001) Comments on "Discourses of Whiteness". *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* ll(l) pp.147-150.

Brophy, J. and Smart, S. (1985). *Women-in-Law : Explorations in Law, Family, And Sexuality*. London ; Boston : Routledge and Kegan Pau

Brown, M. E. (1994). Soap Opera and Women’s Talk – The Pleasures of Resistance , London: Sage in Feasey, R. (ed) (2008). *Masculinity and Popular Television*, Edinburgh University Press.

Brubaker, R., Loveman, M. and Stamatov, P. (2004). Ethnicity as cognition. *Theory and Society* 33, pp.31–64.

Buchbinder, D. (2013). *Studying men and masculinities*. London: Routledge.

Bucholtz, M. (1999). You da man: Narrating the racial other in the production of white masculinity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 3(4), pp.443-460

Bush, M. (2004). *Breaking the Code of Good Intentions: Everyday Forms of Whiteness*, Rowman and Littlefield, Oxford.

Butler, J. (1988) 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory', *Theatre Journal*, 40(4), pp.519–31. Reprinted in Sue–Ellen Case (ed.) (1991) P*erforming Feminisms*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble*. Routledge London

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that Matter*. Routledge, London

Butler, J. (1997a). *The Psychic Life of Power*. Stanford University Press. Stanford. California

Butler, J. (1997b). *Excitable Speech*. Routledge, London

Butler, T. and Robson, G. (2003). *London Calling: the Middle Classes and the Remaking of Inner London*. Oxford: Berg

Byrne, B. (2006a). *White lives: the interplay of 'race', class, and gender in everyday life*. London: Routledge.

Byrne, B. (2006b). In Search of a 'Good Mix': 'Race', Class, Gender and Practices of Mothering. *Sociology*, 40(6), pp.1001-1017

Byrne, B. (2009). Not just class: towards an understanding of the whiteness of middle-class schooling choice, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(3), pp.424-441

Byrne, B. and De Tona, C. (2019). *All in the mix: race, class and school choice*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Cairns, H. A. C. (1965). *Prelude to imperialism: British reactions to Central African society, 1840-1890,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

Caldwell, R. (2007). Agency and Change: Re-evaluating Foucault's Legacy. *Organization*. Volume 14(6), pp.769–791

Cameron, D. (1997). Performing gender identity: Young men's talk and construction of heterosexual masculinity. In Johnson, S. and Meinhof, U. (eds) (1997). *Language and Masculinity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Carlsen, A., Salam, M., Cain Miller, C., Lu, D., Ngu, A., Patel, J.K. and Wichter, Z. (2018). #MeToo Brought Down 201 Powerful Men. *The New York Times* https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/23/us/metoo-replacements.html accessed 09/05/2021

Carney, N. (2016). All Lives Matter, but so Does Race: Black Lives Matter and the Evolving Role of Social Media. *Humanity & Society*, 40(2), pp.180-199

Case, K.A. (2012). Discovering the Privilege of Whiteness: White Women's Reflections on Anti-racist Identity and Ally Behavior. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), pp.78—96

Case, K.A., Iuzzini, J and Hopkins, M. (2012) Systems of Privilege: Intersections, Awareness, and Applications. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), pp.1—10

Case, K.A., Kanenberg, H., Erich, S.A., Tittsworth, J. (2012) Transgender Inclusion in University Nondiscrimination Statements: Challenging Gender-Conforming Privilege through Student Activism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), pp.145--161

Castells, M. (2015). *Communication Power*. Oxford University Press USA - OSO

Castle Bell, G and Harris, T.M. (2017). Exploring representations of Black masculinity and emasculation on NBC's Parenthood, *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 10(2), pp.135-152

Chambers, I. (1993) Narratives of Nationalism: Being British in Carter, E. Donald, J. and Squires, J. (eds) (1993). *Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location*. Lawrence and Wishart

Clarke, S. and Garner, S. (2010). *White identities: a critical sociological approach*. London: Pluto Press.

Coles, T. (2008). Finding Space in the Field of Masculinity: Lived Experiences of Men's Masculinities." *Journal of Sociology* 44(3), pp.233–48.

Coles, T. (2009). Negotiating the Field of Masculinity : The Production and Reproduction of Multiple Dominant Masculinities, *Men and Masculinities*, 12(1), pp.30-44

Combahee River Collective. (1977). A black feminist statement. In Moraga, C. and Anzaldua, G. (Eds.) (1983). *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color*. New York, NY: Kitchen Table Press.

Condor S, Figgou L, Abell J, Gibson S, Stevenson C. (2006). 'They're not racist ...' prejudice denial, mitigation and suppression in dialogue. *The British Journal of Social Psychology,* 45(3), pp.441-62

Connell, R.W. (2005) *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity ,2nd ed

Connell, R.W. and Messerschmidt, J.W. (2005). Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. *Gender and Society*, 19(6), pp.829-859

Conti, J. A., and O'Neil, M. (2007). Studying power: Qualitative methods and the global elite. *Qualitative Research*, 7(1), pp.63–82.

Coston, B. M. and Kimmel, M. (2012) Seeing Privilege Where It Isn't: Marginalized Masculinities and the Intersectionality of Privilege. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), pp.97--111

Coulon, A. (1995) *Ethnomethodology*. SAGE Publications, Inc.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1(8).

Crenshaw, K. (1991) 'Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color' *Stanford Law Review*, 43

Curran, J., Gaber, I and Petley, J. (2018). *Culture Wars. The Media and the British Left*, 2nd Edition, London. Imprint Routledge

Darmanin, J. (2017). *This Woman Is Taking Selfies With Her Catcallers To Show Men That "It Happens Everywhere"* available at https://www.buzzfeed.com/julesdarmanin/she-takes-selfies-with-her-catcallers-on-the-stree?utm_term=.tojmr9djW#.dvjQox2G9 accessed 01 November 2017

Davis, A. (1983). *Women, race and class*. New York, NY: Vintage Books

De Andrade, L. L. (2000). Negotiating from the inside: Constructing racial and ethnic identity in qualitative research. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 29(3), pp.268–90.

De Benedictis, S., Orgad, S. and Rottenberg, C. (2019) #MeToo, popular feminism and the news: A content analysis of UK newspaper coverage. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, pp.1–21

Delgado, R and Stefancic, J. (2012). *Critical race theory: an introduction*. New York: New York University Press, 2nd ed.

Delph-Janiurek, T. (1999). Sounding gender(ed): Vocal performances in English university teaching spaces. *Gender, Place & Culture* 6(2), pp.137-153

Demetriou, D. Z. (2001). Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique. *Theory and Society* 30(3), pp.337-61.

Derrida, J. (2004) *Positions* translated and annotated by Alan Bass. London; New York: Continuum.

Devine, F. (1992). Social Identities, Class Identity and Political Perspectives'. *Sociological Review* 40, pp.229–52.

Devine, F. and M. Savage (2000). Conclusion: Renewing Class Analysis, in R. Crompton, F. Devine, M. Savage and J. Scott (eds) (2000). *Renewing Class Analysis*, pp.184–99. Oxford: Blackwell

DiAngelo, R. (2019). *White Fragility*. Allen Lane: Penguin Books.

Dill, B.T. and Zambrana, R.E. (2009). *Emerging intersections: race, class, and gender in theory, policy, and practice*. New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press

DiPiero, T. (2002) *White men aren't*. Durham, N.C. London: Duke University Press

Donaldson, M. (1993) What Is Hegemonic Masculinity? *Theory and Society*, 22(5), Special Issue: Masculinities, pp.643-657

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1996 [1903]). *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Penguin

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1998 [1935]). *Black Reconstruction in the United States, 1860 – 1880*. New York: Free Press

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1999 [1920]). *Dark Water: Voices from within the veil*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Dyer, R. (1998). *White*. NY: Routledge.

Eddo-Lodge, R. (2018). *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race*. London : Bloomsbury Publishing

Edwards, D. (2005). *Guardians of Power: The Myth of the Liberal Media*. Pluto Press

Epstein, K. (2013). New York victim of street harassment? There's an app for that. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2013/aug/20/hollaback-app-street-harassment-new-york last accessed 22/04/2021

Ergun, A. and Erdemir, A. (2010). Negotiating Insider and Outsider Identities in the Field: "Insider" in a Foreign Land; "Outsider" in One's Own Land. *Field Methods* 22(1), pp.16-38

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*, London: Longman

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2009). Language, reality and power, in J. Culpeper et al. (eds.) (2009). *English Language: Description, Variation and Context*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Second Edition. London: Longman.

Farough, S.D. (2004). The Social Geographies of White Masculinities *Critical Sociology*, 30(2). pp241 – 264

Feagin, J.R. (2013). *The white racial frame: centuries of racial framing and counter-framing*. London :Routledge

Feasey, R. (2008). *Masculinity and Popular Television*, Edinburgh University Press.

Fenton, R. and Jones, C. (2017) An exploratory study on the beliefs about gender-based violence held by incoming undergraduates in England, *Journal of Gender-Based Violence*, 1(2), pp.147–67

Finney, N. and Lymperopoulou, K. (2015). *Local Ethnic Inequalities Ethnic Differences in Education, Employment, Health and Housing in Districts of England and Wales, 2001–2011*. The Runnymede Trust

Flemmen, M. and Savage, M. (2017). The politics of nationalism and white racism in the UK. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 68(S1), pp.233–264

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge*. London : Tavistock Publications

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*. New York : Vintage Books

Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality Vol 1*. London: Penguin

Foucault, M. (1979). *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Brighton, Sussex : Harvester Press

Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), pp.777-795

Francis, A. (2018). White Middle-class men are still seen as 'ideal' MP candidates. *BBC News* https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-46071289 accessed 26/12/2020

Francis, P. (2021). Black Lives Matter: how the UK movement struggled to be heard in the 2010s. *The Conversation*. Available at https://theconversation.com/black-lives-matter-how-the-uk-movement-struggled-to-be-heard-in-the-2010s-161763 last accessed 16/07/2021

Frankenberg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Frenzel, F., Koens, K, and Steinbrink, M. (2012). *Slum tourism : poverty, power and ethics*, London ; New York : Routledge

Friedman, S. and Laurison, D. (2020). *The Class Ceiling. Why it Pays to be Privileged*. Policy Press. Bristol.

Frosh, S., Phoenix, A and Pattman, R. (2001). *Young Masculinities: Understanding Boys in Contemporary Society*, Macmillan Education UK

Gallagher, C. A. (2000). White like me? Methods, meaning, and manipulation in the field of white studies. in Warren, J. and Winddance Twine, F. (eds). (2000). *Racing research, researching race: Methodological dilemmas in critical race studies*. New York: NYU Press.

Gander, k. (2016) Coffee In The UK: How Britain Became Addicted To Cafe Culture. *The Independent,* https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/features/coffee-uk-how-britain-became-addicted-cafe-culture-uk-coffee-week-a6985691.html last accessed 20/04/2021

Garcia, S.E. (2017). The Woman Who Created #MeToo Long Before Hashtags. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/20/us/me-too-movement-tarana-burke.html last accessed 22/04/2021

Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Garfinkel, H. (1974). On the Origins of the Term 'Ethnomethodology.' In Turner, R. (ed) (1974). *Ethnomethodology*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Garfinkel, H. (1996). Ethnomethodology's Program. *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 59(1), pp.5–21.

Garfinkel, H. and Sacks, H. (1970) 'On formal structures of practical action'. In McKinney, J.C. and Tiryakian, E.A. (eds) (1970). *Theoretical sociology: perspectives and developments*. New York:Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Garner, S. (2007). *Whiteness: an introduction*, New York: Routledge

Garner, S. (2012). A moral economy of whiteness: Behaviours, belonging and Britishness. *Ethnicities,* 12(4), pp.445–464

Gee, J.P. and Handford, M. (2012) Introduction in Gee, J.P. and Handford, M. (eds.) (2012). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis.* London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge

Gerger, H., Kley, H., Bohner, G. and Siebler, F. (2007) The acceptance of modern myths about sexual aggression scale: Development and validation in German and English. *Aggressive Behavior*, 33(5), pp.422–440

Gillborn, D. (1996). Student roles and perspectives in anti-racist education: a crisis of white ethnicity? *British Educational Research Journal*, 22, pp.165-179.

Gilroy, P. (1987). *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, London: Hutchinson.

Glamour. (2019). Post-Weinstein, These Are the Powerful Men Facing Sexual Harassment Allegations https://www.glamour.com/gallery/post-weinstein-these-are-the-powerful-men-facing-sexual-harassment-allegations accessed 09/05/2021

Glenn, E.N. (2002). *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Freedom and Labor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*. The Free Press: New York

Goffman, E. (1970). *Strategic Interaction*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New York: Basic Books.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Goodman, L.A. (1961). Snowball Sampling. The Annals of Mathematical Statistics. 32(1), pp.148-170

Graefer, A (Ed). (2019). *Media and the politics of offence*. Cham, Switzerland : Palgrave Macmillan,

Green, G., Barbour, R. S., Barnard, M., and Kitzinger, J. (1993). Who wears the trousers?: Sexual harassment in research settings. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 16(6), pp.627–637.

Gregson, N. and Rose, G. (2000) Taking Butler elsewhere: performativities, spatialities and subjectivities. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18, pp. 433 – 452

Griffith, A. I. (1998). Insider/outsider: epistemological privilege and mothering work, *Human Studies*, 21, pp.361–376.

Grubb, A. and Turner, E. (2012) Attribution of blame in rape cases: A review of the impact of rape myth acceptance, gender role conformity and substance use on victim blaming. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 17(5), pp.443–452.

Gunn, S. (2005) Translating Bourdieu: cultural capital and the English middle class in historical perspective. *The British Journal of Sociology,* 56(1), pp.49-64

Habermas, J. (1987). *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, trans. Frederick G. Lawrence. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press

Hafner, J. (2018). Police killings of black men in the U.S. and what happened to the officers. *USA Today*. Available from: https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation-now/2018/03/29/police-killings-black-men-us-and-what-happened-officers/469467002/ accessed February 26, 2019.

Hall, S. (1977). *Policing the crisis: mugging, the state, and law and order*. London : Macmillan.

Hall, S. (1996). Who Needs Identity? in Hall, S. and du Gay, P. (eds). (1996). *Questions of Cultural Identity*. SAGE Publications Ltd

Hammersley, M. (2018). What is ethnography? Can it survive? Should it?, *Ethnography and Education*, 13(1), pp.1-17

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice 3rd Edition*. Routledge: Oxon

Hardy, C. (2001). Researching organizational Discourse. *International Studies in Management and Organization*, 31(3) pp.25-47.

Hardy, C. Harley, B. and Phillips, N. (2004). Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis: Two Solitudes? *Qualitative Methods*. 2(1).

Harrison, E. (2020). Laurence Fox accuses woman of racism for calling him a 'white privileged male' in Question Time clash. *The Independent*. https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/news/laurence-fox-meghan-markle-question-time-racism-bbc-video-a9287971.html accessed 09/05/2021

Hartley, J. (1994) "Hegemony," in O'Sullivan, T., Hartley, J., Saunders, D., Montgomery, M. and Fiske, J. (eds) *Key Concepts in Communication and Cultural Studies*, London and New York: Routledge.

Harvey, J. (1999). *Civilized Oppression*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, MD.

Harvey, S.W. (2010). Methodological Approaches for Interviewing Elites. *Geography Compass.* 4(3), pp.193–205.

Haylett, C. (2001). Illegitimate Subjects?: Abject Whites, Neoliberal Modernisation, and Middle-Class Multiculturalism. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space. 19(3), pp.351-370

Hayward, K and Yar, M (2006). The "Chav" phenomenon: Consumption, media and the construction of a new underclass*, Crime, Media, Cul*ture, 2(1), pp.9–28.

Hirsch, A. (2018). *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging*. London : Jonathan Cape

Hofstede, G. (1998). Masculinity and Femininity: The Taboo Dimension of National Cultures. Sage, Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi

Hoggart, L. (2000). Socialist Feminism, Reproductive Rights and Political Action. *Capital & Class*, 24(1), pp.95-125.

Holter, O.G. (2005). Social Theories for Researching Men and Masculinities: Direct Gender Hierarchy and Structural Inequality in Kimmel, M.S. Hearn, J. Connell, R.W. (eds). (2005). *Handbook of studies on men & masculinitie*s. Thousand Oaks, Calif. ; London : SAGE.

Honneth, A. (1991). *The Critique of Power: Reflective Stages in a Critical Social Theory*, trans. Kenneth Baynes. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press

Hood-Williams, J and Harrison, W.C. (1998). Trouble with Gender, *The Sociological Review*, 46(1) pp.73–94.

hooks, b (1992). *Black Looks: race and representation*, Boston: South end Press.

hooks, b (2000). *Where We Stand: class matters*, New York: Routledge.

hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist theory: From margin to centre*. Boston, MA: South End Press

Howarth, D. (2000). *Discourse*, Open University Press, Buckingham: Philidelphia

https://www.green-park.co.uk/insights/the-colour-of-power/s191468/

Hughey, M.W. (2014). Identity Isomorphism: Role Schemas and White Masculinity Formation Sociological Inquiry, 84(2), pp.264-293

Hurd, T. L. (1998). Process, content, and feminist reflexivity: One researcher's exploration. *Journal of Adult Development*, 5(3), pp.195–203.

Hurtado, A. and Stewart, A.J. (2004). Through the Looking Glass: Implications of Studying Whiteness for Feminist Methods. in Fine, M., Burns, A., Powell Pruitt, L. and Weis, L. (eds) (2004). *Off White: Readings on Power, Privilege, and Resistance*. Routledge

Jackson II, R. L. (1999). White space, white privilege: Mapping discursive inquiry into the self, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 85(1), pp.38-54,

Jagger, G. (2008). *Judith Butler - Sexual politics, social change and the power of the performative*. Routledge. London: New York

Jarness, V. (2017). Cultural vs Economic Capital: Symbolic Boundaries within the Middle Class. *Sociology*, 51(2) pp.357–373

Jawad, H. (2018). White Middle Class Men Don't Get To Decide What 'Freedom Of Expression' Is. *The Huffington Post* https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/white-middle-class-men-dont-get-to-decide-what-freedom_uk_5b6afa2fe4b013392edfa41e?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvLnVrLw&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAAC8lWQqMh37sXk9MsJL1cHk6dAR_RdE8b04_O75XJ--O86GdAzoZIeXkfRBkwoMunw8hjeMi0TGN-MeVa5v5EbiCnbCMACumADH_uHq-

jnmcOttIrNF8CuSxyplQgs8NYzR5apeVupvNhOyI6DZdbYAEkPUncw8vZtOCsQ1PLKO8 accessed 26/12/2020

Jefferson, T. (2002) 'Subordinating hegemonic masculinity', *Theoretical Criminology*, 6(1), pp.63–88.

Johnson, A. (2001). *Privilege, Power and Difference*, Mayfield Publishing Company, Mountain View, CA.

Johnson, C. A., and Hawbaker, K. (2019). #MeToo: A timeline of events. *Chicago Tribune*. Available from: https://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/ct-me-too-timeline-20171208-htmlstory.html last accessed 22/04/2021

Joseph–Salisbury, R., Connelly, L. and Wangari-Jones, P. (2021), "The UK is not innocent": Black Lives Matter, policing and abolition in the UK, *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*, 40(1), pp.21-28

Kassarjian, H.H. (1977). Content analysis in consumer research. *Journal of Consumer Research*. 4(1), pp.8-18

Katsafanas, P. (2016). *The Nietzschean self: moral psychology, agency, and the unconscious*. Oxford University Press

Kimmel, M.S. and Ferber, A. (2017) Introduction: Towards and Sociology of the Superordinate in Kimmel, M.S. and Ferber, A. (eds). (2017). *Privilege. A Reader*. Routeledge

King, M. L. (1963/1994). *Letter from the Birmingham jail*. San Francisco, Harper San Francisco.

Knowles, C. (2003). *Race and Social Analysis*. London: Sage.

Knowles, C. (2005). Making whiteness: British lifestyle migrants on Hong Kong. In C. Knowles & C. Alexander (Eds.), (2005). *Making Race Matter* pp.90–110. London: Palgrave

Kögler, H-H. (2012). Agency and the Other: On the intersubjective roots of self-identity, *New Ideas in Psychology* 30, pp.47–64

Korbut, A. (2014). The idea of constitutive order in ethnomethodology. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 17(4) pp.479–496

Korpela, M. (2010) A Postcolonial Imagination? Westerners Searching for Authenticity in India, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(8), pp.1299-1315

Kulik, L. (2006). Personality profiles, life satisfaction and gender-role ideology among couples in late adulthood: The Israeli case. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 40, pp.317-329

Kumah-Abiwu F. (2020). Media Gatekeeping and Portrayal of Black Men in America. *The Journal of Men's Studies*. 28(1) pp.64-81.

Kusow, A. M. (2003). Beyond indigenous authenticity: Reflections on the insider/outsider debate in immigration research. *Symbolic Interaction* 26(4) pp.591–99.

Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. Verso, London

Laffey, M. and Weldes, J. (2004). Methodological Reflections on Discourse Analysis. *Qualitative Methods*. Vol 2. No 1. 28-31

Lawler, S. (2005). Disgusted subjects: the making of middle-class identities *Sociological Review*, 53(3), pp.429-446

Lawler, S. (2012). White like them: Whiteness and anachronistic space in representations of the English white working class. *Ethnicities* 12(4) pp.409–426

Lawler, S. (2014). *Identity. Sociological Perspectives*. Second edition. Polity Press

Levine-Rasky, C. (2002) 'Critical/Relational/Contextual: Toward a Model for Studying Whiteness', in C. Levine-Rasky (ed.) (2002). *Working Through Whiteness: International Perspectives*, State University of New York Press, Albany, NY.

Levine-Rasky, C. (2011). Intersectionality theory applied to whiteness and middle-classness, *Social Identities*, 17:2, pp.239—253

Lewis, A. (2004). What Group? Studying Whites and Whiteness in the Era of Color-Blindness. *Sociological Theory* 22(4) pp.623–46.

Lopez, G. (2016). The media's racial double standard in covering sexual assault cases, in 2 tweets. *Vox*. Available at https://www.vox.com/2016/6/6/11871228/brock-turner-rape-race last accessed on 16/07/2021

Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider*. Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press

Lowery, B.S., Knowles, E.D., Unzueta, M.M. (2007). Framing Inequity Safely: Whites' Motivated Perceptions of Racial Privilege. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. 33(9) pp.1237-1250.

Mac an Ghaill, M. (1997). *The Making of Men: masculinities, sexualities and schooling* Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

MacDonald, R., Shildrick, T. and Furlong, A. (2014). ''Benefits Street' and the Myth of Workless Communities'. *Sociological Research Online*, 19(3)1 http://www.socresonline.org.uk/19/3/1.html> last accessed 19/05/2021

Mayhew, H. (1861/1967). *London Labour and London Poor*, 4 volumes. London: Frank Cass.

McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs*, 30(3), pp.1771-1800.

McCarthy, T. (1991). The Critique of Impure Reason: Foucault and the Frankfurt School, in McCarthy, T. (1991). *Ideals and Illusions: On Deconstruction and Reconstruction in Contemporary Critical Theory*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press

McCaughey, M. (2007). *The Caveman Mystique: Pop-Darwinism and the Debates Over Sex, Violence, and Science*, New York, NY: Routledge.

McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*. New York: Routledge

McIntosh, P. (1988). *White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women's studies*. Working Paper No. 189. Wellesley, MA: Wellesley Centers for Women.

McKay, J. Mikosza, J. and Hutchins, B. (2005). "Gentlemen, the Lunchbox Has Landed": Representations of Masculinities and Men's Bodies in the Popular Media in Kimmel, M. S., Hearn, J. and Connell, R. W. (eds) (2005). *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*. SAGE Publications, Inc. City: Thousand Oaks

McKenzie, L. (2013) Narratives from a Nottingham council estate: a story of white working-class mothers with mixed-race children, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(8), pp.1342-1358

McNay, L. (1999). Subject, Psyche and Agency: The Work of Judith Butler, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 16(2), pp.175–93.

McVeigh, T. (2016). Why activists brought the Black Lives Matter movement to the UK. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/06/black-lives-matter-uk-found-vital-social-justice accessed 19/05/2021

Meehan, E. M. (1985). *Women's Rights at Work : Campaigns and Policy in Britain and the United States*. Basingstoke : Macmillan

Mercer, J. (2007). The challenges of insider research in educational institutions: wielding a double-edged sword and resolving delicate dilemmas, *Oxford Review of Education*, 33(1), pp.1-17

Merton, R. (1972). Insiders and outsiders; a chapter in the sociology of knowledge, *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, pp.9–47

Mikecz, R. (2012). Interviewing Elites: Addressing Methodological Issues. *Qualitative Inquiry*. 18(6) pp.482–493

Miles, R. and Phizacklea, A. (1984). *White Man's Country: Racism in British Politics*. Pluto Press

Montgomery, S.A. and Stewart, A.J. (2012). Privileged Allies in Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism: Gender, Generation, and Resistance to Heteronormativity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), pp.162-177

Morgan, D. (2018). *Snobbery*. 21st Century Standpoints : Imprint : Policy Press

Morris, Z.S. (2009). The Truth about Interviewing Elites. *Politics*. 29(3), pp.209–217

Morrison, T. (1987). *Beloved*, New York: Alfred Knopf

Morrison, T. (1993). *Playing in the Dark: whiteness and the literary imagination*, New York: Vintage

Namaste, K. (1996). "Tragic Misreadings": Queer Theory's Erasure of Transgender Subjectivity' in Beemyn, B. and Eliason, M. (eds) (1996). *Queer Studies: a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Anthology*, New York: New York University Press.

Naples, N. A. (1996). A feminist revisiting the insider/outsider debate: The "outsider phenomenon" in rural Iowa. *Qualitative Sociology.* 19(1), pp.83–106.

Narayan, K. (1993). How native is a 'native' anthropologist? *American Anthropologist*, 95(3), pp.671–686.

Nayak, A. (1999a) 'White English Ethnicities': racism, anti-racism and student perspectives, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 2(2), pp.177-202,

Nayak, A. (1999b). `Pale Warriors': skinhead culture and the embodiment of white masculinities, in Brah, A. Hickman, M.J. Mac an Ghaill, M. (eds). (1999). *Thinking Identities: Ethnicity, Racism and Culture.* Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hants. pp 71-99

Nayak, A. (2003) Last of the `Real Geordies'? White masculinities and the subcultural response to deindustrialisation. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21, pp.7 - 25

Nayak, A. (2006) After race: Ethnography, race and post-race theory, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(3), pp.411-430

Nayak, A. and Kehily, M.J. (2014). 'Chavs, chavettes and pramface girls': teenage mothers, marginalised young men and the management of stigma, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17(10), pp.1330-1345

Newman, H. D. and Henderson. A. C. (2014). The Modern Mystique: Institutional Mediation of Hegemonic Motherhood. *Sociological Inquiry*, 84(3), pp.472-491

NOMIS (2018). *Official Labour Market Statistics*. https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/ accessed June 3, 2018

Mayhall, L. E. N. (2003). *The Militant Suffrage Movement : Citizenship and Resistance in Britain, 1860-1930.* Oxford : New York : Oxford University Press

Ohlheiser, A. (2017). Meet the woman who coined 'Me Too' 10 years ago — to help women of color. *Chicago Tribune*. Available from: https://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/ct-metoo-campaign-origins-20171019-story.html last accessed February 26, 2019.

Olou, I. (2018). *So you want to talk about race*. New York, NY : Seal Press : Hachette Book Group

Olson, D. H. (1977) Insiders' and outsiders' views of relationships: research studies, in Levinger, G. and Rausch, H.L. (eds). (1977). *Close relationships: perspectives on the meaning of intimacy*. Amhurst, University of Massachusetts Press.

Omi, M. and Winant, H. (2015). *Racial formation in the United States*. London : Routledge

ONS. (2017). *Population Estimates* https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates accessed June 3, 2018

Osbourne, S. (2020). BBC news chief warns agenda must not be set by 'middle-class white men'. *The Express*. https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1362630/bbc-news-agenda-bias-jonathan-munro-diversity-middle-class-white-men accessed 26/12/2020

Parameswaran, R. (2001). Feminist media ethnography in India: Exploring power, gender, and culture in the field. *Qualitative Inquiry*. 7(1) pp.69–103.

Pease, B. (2010). *Undoing Privilege : Unearned Advantage in a Divided World.* London : Zed Books.

Perera, K. (2020) Interviewing Academic Elites: a discourse analysis of shifting power relations. *Qualitative Research*. pp.1–19

Perry, B. (2001). *In the Name of Hate: Understanding Hate Crimes*, Routledge, New York.

Perry, G. (2014). Grayson Perry: The rise and fall of Default Man. *The New Statesman*. https://www.newstatesman.com/culture/2014/10/grayson-perry-rise-and-fall-default-man last accessed 26/12/2020

Peters, J. (2008) Measuring myths about domestic violence: Development and initial validation of the domestic violence myth acceptance scale. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 16(1), pp1–21.

Philip, K. (2002). Race, Class and the Imperial Politics of Ethnography in India, Ireland and London, 1850-1910, *Irish Studies Review*, 10(3), pp.289-302

Phipps, A. (2020). *Me, Not You: The Trouble with Mainstream Feminism*. Manchester University Press

Phoenix, A. (1991). *Young Mothers?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Phoenix, A. (1996). "I'm White – so what?" The construction of whiteness for young Londoners, in Fine, M., Powell, L., Weis, M. and Mun Wong, L. (eds) (1996) *Off White: readings on race, power, and society*. NewYork: Routledge

Pickering, M. (2001). *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*, Palgrave, Basingstoke.

Pitcher, B. (2014). *Consuming race.* London: Routledge.

Pollack, S and Eldridge, T. (2015). Complicity and Redemption: Beyond the Insider/Outsider Research Dichotomy. *Social Justice*, 42(2), pp.132-145

Powell, A.A., Branscombe, N.R., Schmitt, M.T. (2005). Inequality as Ingroup Privilege or Outgroup Disadvantage: The Impact of Group Focus on Collective Guilt and Interracial Attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.* 31(4), pp.508-521.

Pratto, F. and Stewart, A. (2012). Group Dominance and the Half-Blindness of Privilege. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), pp.28-45

Presser, L. (2005). Negotiating power and narrative in research: Implications for feminist methodology. *Signs*, 30(4), pp.2067–2090.

Price, G. (2014). Decoding Benefits Street: how Britain was divided by a television show. *The Guardian Online* https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/feb/22/benefits-street-tv-programme-divided-the-nation last accessed 29/04/2021

Probyn, F. (2004) Playing chicken at the intersection: the white critic of whiteness. *Borderlands* e-journal. 3(2)

Raveaud, M. and van Zanten, A. (2007). Choosing the local school: middle class parents' values and social and ethnic mix in London and Paris, *Journal of Education Policy*, 22(1), pp.107-124

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

Reay, D. (2004). 'Mostly Roughs and Toughs': Social Class, Race and Representation in Inner City Schooling. *Sociology*, 38(5), pp.1005-1023

Reay, D. (2008). Psychosocial aspects of white middle-class identities: desiring and defending against the class and ethnic 'other' in urban multi-ethnic schooling. *Sociology*, 42(6), pp.1072-1088

Reay, D., Crozier, G., and James, D. (2011). *White middle-class identities and urban schooling*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Reay, D; Hollingworth, S; Williams, K; Crozier, G; Jamieson, F; James, D; Beedell, P. (2007). `A Darker Shade of Pale?' Whiteness, the Middle Classes and Multi-Ethnic Inner City Schooling. *Sociology*, 41(6), pp.1041-1060

Rhodes, J. (2012). The 'trouble' with the 'white working class': whiteness, class and 'groupism', *Identities,* 19:4. Pp.485-492

Ricciardelli, R. (2011). Masculinity, Consumerism, and Appearance: A Look at Men's Hair, *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* 48(2), pp.181-201

Rice, G. (2010). Reflections on interviewing elites. *Area*. 42(1), pp.70–75

Robinson, P. (2007) Magnanimity and Integrity as Military Virtues, *Journal of Military Ethics*, 6(4), pp.259-269

Robinson, S. (2000). *Marked Men: White Masculinity in Crisis*. Columbia University Press.

Rodino, M. (1997). Breaking the binaries: Reconceptualising gender and Its relationship to language in computer-mediated communication. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication,* 3(3)

Roediger, D. R. (1991). T*he Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London Verso.

Rosenblum, K. and Travis, T. (eds) (1996). *The Meaning of Difference: American Constructions of Race, Sex and Gender, Social Class and Sexual Orientation*, McGraw-Hill, New York.

Saad, L.F. (2020). *Me and White Supremacy: How to Recognise Your Privilege, Combat Racism and Change the World*. Naperville, Illinois : Sourcebooks

Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on conversation, vol. II*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Said, E. (1988). Michel Foucault, 1926–1984. In J. Arac, J. (ed). (1988). *After Foucault: Humanistic Knowledge, Postmodern Challenges*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Savage, M. (2000) *Class Analysis and Social Transformation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Savage, M., G. Bagnall and B. Longhurst (2001) 'Ordinary, Ambivalent and Defensive: Class Identities in the Northwest of England', *Sociology* 35(4), pp.875–92.

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

Schmitt, M.T., Miller, D.A., Branscombe, N.R., Brehm, J.W. (2008). The Difficulty of Making Reparations Affects the Intensity of Collective Guilt. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*. 11(3), pp.267-279.

Shahvisi, A. (2020). The philosophical flaw in saying "All Lives Matter". *Prospect Magazine,* https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/philosophy/black-lives-matter-essay-why-is-saying-all-lives-matter-wrong accessed 19/05/2021

Shukla, N. (2017). *The Good Immigrant*. London : Unbound

Silverman, D. (2001). *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction (second edition)*. London / Thousand Oaks / New Delhi: Sage

Sims, G. (1883). "The Dark Side of Life," in Keating, P. (ed). (1976). *Into Unknown England, 1866-1913:Selections from the Social Explorers*, Manchester Manchester University Press.

Skeggs, B. (1997a). *Formations of class and gender: becoming respectable*., London: Sage.

Skeggs, B. (1997b) ‘Classifying Practices: Representations, Capitals and Recognitions’, in Mahony, P. and Zmroczek, C. (eds) (1997). *Class Matters: "Working Class" Women's Perspectives On Social Class*, pp.123–34. London: Taylor and Francis.

Skeggs, B. (2004). *Class, self, culture*. London : Routledge ,2004

Skeggs, B. (2005). The Making of Class and Gender through Visualizing Moral Subject Formation. *Sociology* Volume 39(5), pp.965–982

Smith, D.R. (2014) The Gent-rification of English masculinities: class, race and nation in contemporary consumption, *Social Identities*, 20(4-5), pp.391-406

Speer, S.A. and Potter, J. (2002). From performatives to practices Judith Butler, discursive psychology and the management of heterosexist talk. In McIlvenny, P. (eds) (2002) *Talking Gender and Sexuality*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Stoudt, B.G., Fox, M. and Fine, M. (2012). Contesting Privilege with Critical Participatory Action Research. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), pp.178—193

Strauss, C. and Quinn, N. (1998). *A Cognitive Theory of Cultural Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Sumara, D.J. and Davis, B. (1997). Enlarging the Space of the Possible: Complexity, Complicity, and Action-Research Practices. *Counterpoints* 67, pp.299-312

Tannen, D, Hamilton, H.E. and Schiffrin, D. (eds). (2015). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* Second Edition Wiley Blackwell. Chichester

Tapia, R., McCune, J., and Brody, J.D. (2010). Dangerous profiling: Recent media representations of black male sexuality. In J. Battle, J. and Barnes, S.L. (eds.) (2010). *Black sexualities: Probing powers, passions, practices, and policies*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Tappan, M.B. (2006). Reframing Internalized Oppression and Internalized Domination: From the Psychological to the Sociocultural. *Teachers College Record,* 108(10), pp.2115–2144

Taylor, C. (1992). The Politics of Recognition, in A. Gutmann (ed.) (1994). *Multi- Culturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Princetown, NJ: Princetown University Press.

Taylor, S.J., Bogdan, R. and DeVault, M.L. (2015). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods : A Guidebook and Resource*, John Wiley & Sons.

ten Have, P. (2007) *Doing Conversation Analysis. A Practical Guide. 2nd Edition*. SAGE Publications Ltd, London.

Thomas, D., and Zuckerman, A. (2018). Black lives matter in community psychology. *Community Psychology in Global Perspective*, 4, pp.1–8.

Tillner, Georg. (1997). *Masculinity and Xenophobia: The Identity of Dominance*. Paper presented to the UNESCO Conference, Masculinity and Male Roles in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace, Oslo, Norway

Turner, J. S. (2011). Sex and the spectacle of music videos: An examination of the portrayal of race and sexuality in music videos. *Sex Roles*, 64, pp.173–191

Tyler, I. (2008). “Chav Mum Chav Scum”, *Feminist Media Studies*, 8(1), pp.17-34

Tyler, K. (2012). *Whiteness, class and the legacies of empire: on home ground*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Tyler, K. (2015). Attachments and connections: a ‘white working-class’ English family's relationships with their BrAsian ‘Pakistani’ neighbours, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(7), pp.1169-1184,

UK Government. (2015). *English Indices of Deprivation 2015*. https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/english-indices-of-deprivation-2015 accessed Jun 3, 2018

Urry, J. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif. : Sage Publications

Van der Watt, S. (2016). 'BIG, HARD and UP!’ HTS Theological Studies, 72(2)

Van Dijk, T.A. (2015). Critical Discourse Analysis. In Tannen, D, Hamilton, H.E. and Schiffrin, D. (eds). (2015) *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis Second Edition* Wiley Blackwell. Chichester

Van Dijk, T.A. (1984). *Prejudice in discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1987). *Communicating Racism. Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Van Dijk, T.A. (1991). *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1992). Discourse and the denial of racism. *Discourse & Society*, 3(1), pp.87-118

Van Dijk, T.A. (1993). *Elite discourse and racism*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

Van Mol, C., Mahieu, R., De Clerck, H M-L., Piqueray, E., Wauters, J., Levrau, F., Vanderwaeren, E. and Michielsen, J. (2014) Conducting Qualitative Research: Dancing a Tango between Insider – and Outsiderness in in Voloder, L., Kirpitchenko, l., Kershen, A.J. (eds) (2014). *Insider Research on Migration and Mobility : International Perspectives on Researcher Positioning*. Taylor & Francis Group.

Volodor, L. (2014). Introduction. Insiderness in Migration and Mobility Reseaech: Conceptual Considerations. in Voloder, L., Kirpitchenko, l., Kershen, A.J. (eds) (2014). *Insider Research on Migration and Mobility : International Perspectives on Researcher Positioning*. Taylor & Francis Group.

Walkerdine, V. and Lucey, H. (1989). *Democracy in the Kitchen. Regulating Mothers and Socialising Daughters*. London: Virago.

Walzer, M. (1986). The Politics of Michel Foucault, in *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, ed. Hoy, D. (1986). Oxford: Blackwell

Warf, B and Grimes, J. (1997) Counterhegemonic Discourses and the Internet. *Geographical Review - Cyberspace and Geographical Space*, 87(2), pp.259-274

Watson, J. (2015) Multiple Mutating Masculinities, *Angelaki*, 20(1), pp.107-121,

Watt, P. (2006). Respectability, Roughness and 'Race': Neighbourhood Place Images and the Making of Working-Class Social Distinctions in London. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Researc*h, 30(4), pp.776-797

Watt, S.K. (2007). Difficult Dialogues, Privilege and Social Justice: Uses of the Privileged Identity Exploration (PIE) Model in Student Affairs Practice. *The College Student Affairs Journal*. 26(2).

Webster, C. (2008). Marginalized White Ethnicity, Race and Crime. *Theoretical Criminology*. 12, pp.293-312.

Welch, C., Marschan-Piekkari, R., Penttinen, H., and Tahvanainen, M. (2002). Corporate elites as informants in qualitative international business research. *International Business Review*. 11, pp.611–628

West, C. and Fenstermaker, S. (1995). Doing Difference. *Gender & Society*. 9(1), pp.8-37.

Winant, H. (1997) Behind Blue Eyes: Whiteness and Contemporary US Racial Politics. *New Left Review,* 225, pp73 – 88

Woodward K. (2008). Hanging out and hanging about: Insider/outsider research in the sport of boxing. *Ethnography*. 9(4), pp.536-560.

Yancy, G. (2017). *Black Bodies, White Gazes*, 2nd edn, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield

Young, D. (2016). The Stanford sexual assault case: a white privilege cake with vanilla frosting on top. *The Guardian* https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jun/09/standford-rape-case-white-privilege-brock-turner accessed 01/11/2017

Appendices

Appendix One – Respondent Pool Data

Pseudonym	Method of recruitment	Area of Residence	Age	What is your marital statu	What is your gender?	What is your sexualit	What is your ethnicity?	What is your nationality?	Where were you born?	What is your highest level of education?	What is your occupation/business sector?	What is your job title?	What is your salary bracket?	Do you ide 'middle-cla
Ben	Approached in Pub	Redland	30	Single	Male	Hetrosexual	White British	British	Bradford	Degree	Events Sector	Director	Prefer not to say	Yes
Mr B	Snow balled by 'Bristol Lawyer'	Westbury on Trym	58	Married	Male	Heterosexual	White British	British	Leigh, Lancashire	PhD	Freelance writer	Freelance writer	under £20,000 per annum	No
Michael	Snowballed by 'Jack'	Stoke Bishop	65	married	male	heterosexual	white british	british	Bristol	A-levels	insurance/finance	company director	£60,000 - £99,999 per annum	Yes
David	Flyer in Gym/Health Spa	Bishopston	55	Divorced	Male	Heterosexual	British White	British	Burton on Trent, Staffs	MSc	CAD Manager/Facilities Management	CAD Manager	£20,000 - £39,999 per annum	Yes
Tony	Snowballed by 'BristolLawyer101'	Clifton	51	Divorced	Male	Heterosexual	White	British	Thornaby on Tees	A level	Banking / Leasing	Director	Above £100,000	I haven't re about it
Mark	Approached in Pub	Bishopston	46	it's complicated	male	heterosexual	white	British	London	BA Hons	Shop owner	Owner	£20,000 - £39,999 per annum	I haven't re about it
Jeremy	Approached in pub	Clifton	27	Cohabiting	Male	Heterosexual	White British	British	Leamington Spa	LLB Law Degree	Project Manager	Project Manager	£20,000 - £39,999 per annum	I haven't re about it
Tom	Snowballed by 'Jack'	Stoke Bishop	56	Married	Male	Heterosexual	British	British	Bristol	Fellow of the Institute and Faculty of Actuaries	Actuary/Life Insurance	Head of With-Profits and Product Management	Above £100,000	Yes
Steven	Approached in Pub	Redland	58	Married	Male	Heterosexual	White anglo saxon	UK	London	MA Cantab	Telecoms sector	Head of Legal (Technology & Outsourcing) Vodafone Group	Above £100,000	Yes
Harry	Professional contact of mine	Bishopston	43	Married	Male	Heterosexual	White	British	Hammersmith, London	Professional	Business and Finance	Chief Executive	£60,000 - £99,999 per annum	Yes
Simon	Snowballed by 'Jack'	Clevedon	57	Married	Male	Straight	White British	British	Birmingham	Degree & subsequent professional qualification	Retired (formerly financial services)	n/a	Prefer not to say	Prefer not t
Jack	Flyer in Gym/Health Spa	Harbourside	32	Single	Male	Heterosexual	White British	British	Bristol	masters degree	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages	student	under £20,000 per annum	Yes
Ian	Flyer at golf club	Clifton	36	Married	Male	Straight	White British	British	Newtownards, County Down	Post-Graduate Diploma	Builder / Developer	Main Man	Above £100,000	Yes
Rob	Recruited at go-alonmg with 'Paul' at his choir	Hotwells	72	single	male	male	white english	british	London	degree	engineering	innovator	under £20,000 per annum	No
James	Recruited at go-alonmg with 'Paul' at his choir	Southmead	42	Single	Male	Gay	White	British	Bristol	BTEC HND	Logistics	Bulk Wine Delivery Manager	£20,000 - £39,999 per annum	I haven't re about it
Daniel	Flyer in coffee shop	Knowle	39	Single	Male	Heterosexual	White British	British	Cambridge	A Level	Charity - Education	Regional Manager	£20,000 - £39,999 per annum	Prefer not t
Tarquin	Approached in Pub	Redland	37	Single	Male	Straight	Mixed	British	Bristol	GCSE	Motor Trade	Accountant	£40,000 - £59,999 per annum	Yes
Henry	Snowballed by 'RD'	Redland	64	Married	Male	Straight	White British	British	Weybridge, Surrey	University	1. I run my own Business / Te	1. Partner	£60,000 - £99,999 per annum	Yes
Alfie	From Golfing excursion with B-MAC	Clutton	33	Married	Male	Hetrosexual	White British	British	Marlbprough, Wilts	A-levels	Finance	Scrum Master	£60,000 - £99,999 per annum	Yes