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Abstract

The thesis is concerned with the exploration of cultural identity in the north-east of England. Superficially that exploration invites an ethnographic approach based on the detailing of socio-cultural relationships which have developed from a unique experience within the region as defined by its industrial past which receives specific expression politically through its long-term loyalty to the Labour Party - a devotion unparalleled in twentieth-century England.

The examination begins by considering the region's lack of response to the 1981 riots and the local press' celebration of the same. It moves on to consider the deeply-felt sense of peripherality found in the north-east in relation to the 'rest of the country'. That peripherality, marked by comparison with national socio-economic standards is examined in its most potent ethnographic context - Beamish Museum. What emerges in these considerations is the importance of examining experiential data as a means of evaluating the singularity of north-eastern cultural identity.

Experiential data in the form of archival material, the testimony of a 'traditional' working-class whose experiences provided the constituency for Labour politics, is the key evidence offered here. As a framework for evaluating the substantive content of this evidence, the values and beliefs of the English cultural system are delineated. A primary source for these values is identified as the 'local' press - whose ideological stance it is shown is derived less from the specifics of a north-eastern locality than its role as propagator of national values.

In the thesis, two areas which are held to have a local specificity are considered - industry and community. These two find their most exemplary expression in the term 'industrial community' which is the real and imagined context from which popular conceptions of 'north-easterness' spring.

A third area for consideration is the region's relationship with the English imperial system. This system lacks any conceptualizations which could produce a local specificity. What is of interest is that it exemplifies the frame of reference for evaluating north-eastern particularity - the comparison between region and nation. It is the involvement in and the response to this system which is crucial.

Overall, this thesis examines firstly the ideology which governs the ordering and interpretation of the north-eastern experience since the industrialization of the nineteenth-century. How did the people of the region interpret these transformations and changes? Secondly, the purpose is to delineate the webs of significance from which determine these experiences. Are they 'home grown' or externally-derived by way of the material structure established a century ago and dismantled since?

This is achieved by utilizing Anderson's concept of the 'imagined community' to suggest that as an English region, the north-east claims simultaneous membership in two communities - one regional, the other national. It is the weight given to the latter which is in the end determinant. The conclusion being that the region's stability in the 1981 riots is founded on its adherence to the ideology which sprang from an older England - that of the nineteenth-century industrial/imperial nation.

*This thesis is dedicated to the
memory of my father.*

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Time, Person and Place in the north-east of England

Thesis presented to the
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Lastly to Barbara Patterson for typing these words.

'In the museums infinity goes up on trial.

Voices echo - this is what salvation must be like after a while.'

Bob Dylan: Visions of Johanna

'The problem of freedom is the problem of how to divest
our categories of their halo of eternal truth.'

Mary Douglas: Implicit Meanings

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Introduction : A Happier Mixture

'Geordie and Tucker came out the pub one Saturday dinner time. There was a Pakistani playing a barrel organ, with a monkey sitting on the organ top with a tin cup. Tucker puts his hand in his pocket and drops a quid note in the monkey's cup. Geordie says, "Hev ye gone mad marra, I thowt ye hated them Pakistanis?" "So I dee", says Tucker, "But you've got to admit they're canny when they're little."'

(Irwin: 1981; p. 30)

'Cardiff hasn't rioted so far, despite the close resemblance between Tiger Bay and Toxteth; nor Glasgow - even though on western Europe's indices of deprivation, it is usually only pipped to the post by Naples. Mightn't the "link" between all these events be, not immigration (the Powellite view), not unemployment (the Williams-Foot view), not lax parents (the Whitelaw-Thatcher view). Not housing and redevelopment (the Heseltine view), but some peculiarity of the English?'

(Barker: 1981; p. 91)

In the second week of July 1981, television screens and daily newspapers were filled with images of riot in English cities. Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and London - over twenty urban centres in all were involved. Though the rioting (or fear of it) spread south to middle-class areas such as Richmond-upon-Thames, Putney and even Harrow, the epicentre was traditional industrial sites in the north and midlands.

Seemingly immune to this unprecedented civil disorder was the north-east of England - a traditional industrial area which remained tranquil throughout. On July 10 1981, 34 people were arrested in Newcastle following a 'window smashing' spree. While a spokesman for the Northumbria police described the arrests as 'not a lot more serious than on any other Friday



night in the city' (Journal: 11/4/81), there had been concern that the city would be engulfed as other cities had. On that Friday night, the police force in the city had been 'heavily strengthened' (ibid.) as the national disorder reached its peak. That extra police presence alone may have accounted for the rise in Friday night arrests.

The explanations offered for the rioting were diverse and included lack of parental control (since many rioters were adolescent); deprivation (most occurred in inner-city areas) and the media itself (for encouraging copy-cat reactions). While making reference to these suggestions, the Evening Chronicle during the course of the riots was keen to stress the region's non-involvement. An air of smugness prevailed in its pronouncement regarding the north-east's quiescence. While acknowledging that unemployment was a significant factor in the lives of the young blacks and whites joining in the riots, the region's non-response was praised for its exemplary qualities so redolent of north-eastern tradition:

'But it (i.e. unemployment) can hardly be counted the current cause when the North-East so long endured jobless levels now hitting other parts of Britain, but without rioting.'

(10/7/81)

While the Chronicle was accurate in identifying the absence of any collective response to deprivation and economic depression in the 1980s, the Chief Constable of the Northumbria Police ⁽¹⁾ indicated that there was a connection between crime and unemployment:

1. The Northumbria police are responsible for an area which included the administrative county of Northumberland plus the (then) county of Tyne-Wear. Co. Durham and Cleveland have their own forces.

'The figures for the last six months of this year (1980) show that 49% of detected crimes were committed by unemployed people - 13,348 out of 26,987. The average number of people out of work during that period was about 80,000. We last considered the crime/unemployment figures for January to June 1978. Then the average number of people unemployed was about 62,000. Of the detected crime 38% were committed by unemployed people. The number of detected crimes committed by people other than those in the unemployed category rose by 7 per cent from 1978 to 1980.'

(Northumbria Police: 1980; p. 7)

Published in April 1981, in the week of the Brixton riot, this report provoked no editorial comment from the Evening Chronicle. On the other hand when commenting on the Brixton riot in an editorial entitled 'A happier mixture', the significance of the region's crime rate was played down:

'We have inner city deprivation. We have run-down areas with demoralized parents and neglected teenagers who see no chance of work but find plenty of opportunities for crime - most of it minor.'

(13/4/81)

Not according to the Chief Constable however. After stating that the 1980 crime figure for the Northumbria area in terms of population was the third highest in England and Wales outside London, he commented that

'Yet again, the level of violence against the person was much higher than the national average. The overall increase of such offences of violence was almost 6 per cent, while there was more than a 24 per cent increase in serious woundings.'

(Northumbria Police: 1980; p. 7)

Minor such crimes may have been to the Evening Chronicle but many in the north-east particularly older people have a different view:

'At night times, a person could leave their home. It would be nine, ten o'clock - dark nights - to go along the street. Along the next street to a sick person, or a lady that was ready for birth, pregnant and the likes of that. Could be coming back at eleven o'clock at night, twelve o'clock at night. Could come back over to their own home, wouldn't have to take the key out of their pocket to get in the house. They'd just press the sneck. Walked straight in. No vandalism, no burglary, no raping, nothing like it.'

(J.M.T.: 1982; 12)

This testimony supports the Chief Constable's view that the rising crime rate was 'a matter of great concern' (Northumbria Police: 1980; p. 7).

In acknowledging links between unemployment and crime the report suggests that the region's response to deprivation was not hallmarked by collective disturbances as typified by the 1981 riots but by acts categorized as criminal rather than riotous. North-eastern stability and calm was the Evening Chronicle's image: an image which was unfounded according to the Northumbria police report.

Nevertheless the Evening Chronicle reinforced its perspective when, with no local riot news to report, it dispatched a reporter to London where there were several riot sites. Phil Penfold's article 'My night on the streets of fear' returned riot news from four London boroughs - Brixton, Stockwell, Camberwell and Streatham. The news was dramatic:

'Barricades appeared, hoardings were torn down and anything that moved was pushed into place.
'Police warned pedestrians to find another place to sleep if they wanted to go into the "no-go" areas.
'The authorities stretched white plastic strips across roads forbidding traffic and stopping access for what must have been ten square miles of London.'

(Evening Chronicle: 11/7/81)

First person, eye-witness accounts were an integral part in the media's coverage during the riots (see, for example, 'Half-time, waiting for the action', Guardian: 10/7/81). Dispatching a reporter to the metropolis to report on the riots (and not the underlying causes it should be noted) had a particular significance for the north-east. Penfold's report was published beside news detailing the 'height' of Newcastle's own disturbances as personified by the 'window-smashing spree' described above. That the Chronicle attributed to 'sultry July weather', 'hot-headed hooligans' and 'too much beer-swilling'. Their quoted police spokesman reiterated the Journal's stating that 'there was nothing out of the ordinary in Newcastle' with respect to the local disturbances. (Evening Chronicle: 11/7/81). Philip Penfold's report from London served to emphasize that 'ordinariness' which characterized, in the Chronicle's view, the north-east's response to the riots. The ordered north set against a riotous south. This is, it should be noted in passing, the metropolitan-provincial tension made manifest. It would have been equally valid within the confines of investigative journalism for the Chronicle to have sent the reporter to a midland or north-western centre. Reports from these centres would not have had access to the cultural symbolism which emanates from this tension.

The implication is that past deprivation and heavy unemployment in the region have generated a specific social and cultural form which marks the region as distinct. That culture is to be measured by its stability, calmness and endurance when faced with this deprivation rather than any hint of riotous outrage. There is a comfort for the region here as Frank Wappatt, disc jockey working for BBC Radio Newcastle describes it:

'As a Geordie born and bred I am proud of the fact that I was reared in an area which had guts as well as health and all the pride necessary to go with it. Times were tough, more so for us up here than in any other part of Britain.'

(Sunday Sun: 18/8/83)

'Guts' tested by historic circumstance were responsible for the making of north-east character. The Chronicle was keen to emphasize that this character had endured intact into the 1980s⁽²⁾. Thus in April 1981, following the Brixton riot, the Chronicle had contentedly observed that:

'Here in the North-East we can genuinely hope for a fine Easter weekend to cheer us up, encourage us to be out and about or just staying around home busy doing nothing.

'In Brixton they must be hoping for a long, wet weekend to keep people indoors and prevent the gathering of crowds.'

(Evening Chronicle: 12/4/81)

Smug in the knowledge that the region had no requirement for intervention by celestial water cannon, a silver lining emerged from within the north-east's own clouds:

'It would be worse than perverse to pretend that we had any cause to be grateful for being a large depressed area, hit by higher than average unemployment in the wake of old industries' decline. But we should have others if the region had stood out as a prosperous magnet to big-scale post-war black immigration.'

(ibid.)⁽³⁾

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2. The Evening Chronicle ignores a history of civil disturbance in the north-east. (By civil disturbance I mean to make a distinction from disorder associated with industrial disputes). During the course of my five years' research in the north-east I have been told of instances where reaction to unemployment and the deprivation which accompany it have resulted in civil disorder. Those cases all occurred during the inter-war period - in Jarrow, South Shields and Stockton-on-Tees. A few cases to be sure - but how many others have passed unrecorded? One informant after describing Jarrow in the 1930s made a comparison with the present. 'Then we were treated like the coloured people are now. They treated us like dogs.' (JMT: 1982; 4).
 3. According to the 1981 Census, 2.8% of heads of households who are usually resident in Great Britain are individuals born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan. The figures for the major north-eastern urban areas were 1.2% (Teesside), 0.9% (Tyneside) and 0.2% (Sunderland). This confirms that the north-east was not a place favoured for inward migration in the 1980s. (Figures from OPCS (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys): 1984; Table 1).

This theme emphasizing blessings consequent upon the region's economic ailments was to appear again after the Toxteth⁽⁴⁾ riots in July. Then the Chronicle identified immigrants as a 'scapegoat' blamed and abused by a society undergoing economic change (8/7/81). Though crude in its attempts to account for white British racialism, it represented an attempt to widen the analysis beyond the earlier 'immigrants = riots' position. Those steps were retraced in the Chronicle's next edition when the main front-page headline was 'Send Them Back - Powell' (9/7/81). The report beneath gave prominence to Enoch Powell's explanation for the riots. His claim was that without migrant populations in the inner-cities the riots would have never happened. On that evening, the Evening Chronicle editorial made no reference to either Powell or the riots, thus by inaction effectively condoning Powell's explanation.

In seeking an explanation, the Chronicle focuses on a characteristic which does distinguish the north-east from 'the rest of the country' - or rather from the metropolis and the industrial zones of the midlands and the north. That is the region's migrant population whose small numbers the Chronicle correctly indicates are a consequence of the region's economically depressed state. Behind this are implications that the north-east's past experience - though likened to the migrants' experience in that it is

4. The Chronicle here plays upon ignorance in linking the Liverpool riots with immigration and suggesting that north-eastern passivity stems from the relative absence of immigrants from the area. According to Redfern Deputy Director of the OPCS, Liverpool is a city 'without a large coloured population' (1982; p. 30). In fact the percentage of people living in households whose head was born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan is greater in Newcastle (3.0%) than in Liverpool (1.7%) (Redfern: 1982; p. 23 - Table 1). Note: the statistical base for this comparison is a different one to that used in the previous footnote - this explains the differing percentages.

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characterized by deprivation, uncertain employment etc. - has resulted in a unique culture. In stressing the north-east's small migrant population as a benefit to the region, the Chronicle locates its identity in the past. For an industrial region in the 1980s, the experience of being (almost) mono-racial is unique given that other like areas are all multi-racial. What the north-east appears to represent from this viewpoint, is an older order - not one defined exclusively in its own terms, but one which is an exemplar of Englishness.

Chapter One: A Way of Life

'Just as coal provided the central thrust for the earlier development of West Newcastle, now it was heavy engineering and shipbuilding. To the two existing firms of R. Stephenson and R. and W. Hawthorn was added a third - W. G. Armstrong and Co. initially at the Elswick works ... They had not just "put the area on the map", but had created the most important centre in the world for the manufacture of ships, armaments and locomotives.'

(Benwell CDP: 1978; p. 23)



(Sunderland Echo: 18/2/83)

1.1 Out of the Shadows

On Sunday, August 14 1983, Steve Cram became world 1500 metres champion in the first world athletic championships held in Helsinki, Finland. His victory was a cause for celebration in the north-east: Gateshead-born, 22-year old Cram was a member of Jarrow and Hebburn Athletics Club. His success prompted the local press to devote extensive newsspace to the adulation of this local hero. The triumph in Helsinki provided the Journal with its main front-page story on the morning after. This edition bore the logo 'Steve Cram special'. Cram, the Journal announced was 'the most successful athlete the North-East has ever produced ... already European and Commonwealth champion.' (15/8/83).

What is significant here is that despite the highly competitive and individualistic character of athletic contests (in that the vast majority of events involve contests between individuals and not teams), Cram's success is represented not only as a personal triumph but also as a north-eastern one. Editorial comment demonstrates this:

'Geordie pride, however, can be taken not only in the fact that we have a new world champion - but also in the way that Steve Cram has consistently conducted himself since becoming a major force in international athletics. His modest phlegmatic, yet determined personality reflects enormous credit on him, his family, his coach, the sport and his native North-East.'

(Journal: 15/8/83)

What is found here is the contextualization of individual triumph. Contextualization is a prominent feature of all success whether sporting or otherwise. Frequently the individual in the moment of glory is represented as an exemplar of the nation. The Times, for example, characterized Cram's success which came on the last day of the championships as providing 'a triumphant (concluding) note for Britain.' (15/8/83).

The celebration of local heroes, of local successes is not a uniquely north-eastern quality. This manner of celebration provides part of the local press' staple fare (see Jackson: 1971;p. 96 et passim). The purpose here is to strengthen the sense of identity in which the local press sees itself as operating. It is by considering the north-eastern framework in which the press attempts to lodge Cram and his Helsinki success that provides the starting-point for examining the structure of the region's identity.

The regional dimension is not the only element in Cram's contextualization. The reactions of Cram's future were extensively reported (Journal: 15/8/83). Family intimacy , emphasised by the fact that Cram discussed race tactics with his father by telephone, was matched by civic recognition. On his return from Helsinki, Cram was welcomed at Newcastle airport by the Mayors of both South Tyneside (the home of his athletics club) and Gateshead (the home of his family). When he travelled to the family home in Bill Quay, Gateshead, Cram found 'the road completely blocked by hundreds of people waving union jacks and chanting his name as he headed for home ...'

(Journal: 18/8/83)

Here Cram is submerged within the contextual elements of family, community (both formal and informal) and nation - all of which constitute an ordinary everyday structure in the north-east of England. Cram himself has never indicated discomfort at this contextualizing process seemingly happy to be exemplifying those values and beliefs.

While these four elements fall within the scope of this research and while none of them are amenable to precise sociological definition, for the

present the primary focus will be on the constituents of the regional context. What emerges from these considerations is that Cram's success unearths views relating to the north-east which are widely held by its inhabitants. In turn these views account for the extensive coverage that was given to Cram following the Helsinki race. We examine not simply an outstanding success, but the peripheral, neglected feeling which pervades north-eastern consciousness. In turn this will lead to an examination of the representations and the realities which are involved in manufacturing that peripheral notion.

An immediate reaction which demonstrates the degree of this peripheral sense came within minutes of the Helsinki 1500 metres' conclusion. At that time I was with a group of men in a working-men's club in South Shields, South Tyneside. All middle-aged or elderly they had watched the race on television. Gleeful at Cram's victory they assessed its significance. Despite Cram's birth and residence in Gateshead, there were many comments which identified him as 'a Jarrow lad'; the victory showed 'what a Jarrow lad can do'. More significantly it was the general consensus that this triumph in an athletics event globally broadcast had 'put the place on the map'.

A week later, the following letter appeared in the Sunday Sun under the heading 'Joy for Jarrow'.

'I've read that Mr. Cram senior shed a few tears, so I wonder if there are any around who know how those brave Jarrow marchers felt when their golden boy Steve did it on Sunday.'

(21/8/83)

The letter is written without any trace of irony. For ironic it is. Even those who dispute the politics or the worthiness of the Jarrow march, hail it as an event which 'put Jarrow on the map'. These feelings of peripherality, of being 'off the map' are not unique to north-eastern inhabitants. They form part of the harbour of resentment from which provincial areas in England construct their identity. Triumphs whose roots can be located in provincial culture provide a source of pride and celebration which removes the veil of anonymity.

Cram's athletics career had until that point mirrored the experience of his native region. The Guardian reported his Helsinki victory as a case of 'last year's understudy' winning 'the top billing' (18/8/83). The Times headlined its report 'Cram finally Out of the Shadows' (18/8/83). The shadows from which he emerged were those of his rivals, Ovett and Coe. Now he stood as an international athletics figure in his own right.

As for Cram, so too for the region. Through his success the region emerged briefly from the shadows of its own deeply-felt anonymity. Hence the letter writer who suggested that the Jarrow marchers be glad at his triumph. Hence the satisfaction felt by those who watched and applauded his success. The Evening Chronicle was correct in its assertion that 'nice guy' Cram had provided 'the North East in particular with one of its most historic and unforgettable moments' (18/8/83).

The attributes which cluster around Cram's Helsinki victory provide an indication of the issues which are involved in the cultural identity of the north-east. While the regional element of his contextualization is significant what should be acknowledged is the nationalist component.

Primarily Times and Guardian reports identify Cram's success as a national one. That fact was unconsciously accepted by the neighbours who greeted Cram on his return to his Gateshead home - they waved union jacks to hail the victor (Journal: 18/8/83). Here is the paradox of north-eastern identity: its claim to be the manifestation of a separate unique culture of 'way of life' is constantly modified by reference to the nation - Britain - of which it is part. Cram's 'Geordie' victory was achieved as a British athlete. His success is measured against the British standards initially (i.e. against Ovet and Coe) and only later with reference to the international arena.

What such representations constitute is overtly the exaggerated reporting of regional successes such as Cram, but covertly they reveal the underlying¹ perceptions which govern the notion of the region's peripheral status. That peripheral status is given its most detailed manifestation by reference to the economic decline of the region. The group of men cited earlier who reacted to the news of Cram's success with glee were mostly shipyard workers. The decline of the shipbuilding labour market had seen some take early retirement, others voluntary redundancy as British Shipbuilders rationalized the industry. For others with little service in

1. That frame of reference for determining north-eastern status influence other regional 'successes'. Northern Arts - originally the North Eastern Arts Association - is acknowledged for the fact that it was the first provincial body of its kind which promoted 'cultural' activities (see Bean: 1971 ; p.241 and Smith; 1970; Ch. 4). Latterly, Newcastle has been identified as the Royal Shakespeare Company's 'third home' following its annual eight-week residence in the City's theatres. In another sphere the local media have hailed Newcastle for being the country's third heart transplant centre after Papworth and Hatfield.

the industry, the prospect was one of 'hanging on' until sufficient money had accrued as redundancy payments to make their exit from the labour market financially worthwhile. All of these people were aware that their employment in a contracting industry exemplified north-eastern decline. They felt that by living their lives in places such as South Shields, they were, in the national perspective, 'off the map'. Redundancy, the shipyards' decline did no more than reflect a lifetime's experience - one underwritten by the peripherality of their region, their town and themselves. Their reaction to Cram's success, like the local press' reaction, and their assessment of its importance in making Jarrow (and the north-east) more widely known, was a reflection of their felt sense of peripherality. Since it is the region's economic status, as measured by this decline, that is frequently evoked as the measure of this peripherality, this is to be examined first in order to determine the manner in which these perceptions are generated.

1.2 The peripheral core

In this section, the examination focuses on peripherality as it relates to the region's economic state, primarily through representations derived from the local press. The central concern is with the run-down of the north-east's traditional industries which as will be shown is a subject to which the local press devotes great attention. This economic decline between 1977 and 1985 is described by NECCA⁽²⁾ as follows:

'Since 1977 employment has declined across the whole country. The North⁽³⁾, however has suffered considerably more than any other region. 230,000 jobs have been lost between 1977 and 1985, representing almost 1 employee in 5. Two thirds of those jobs have been lost from manufacturing industry where 146,000 jobs have gone (equal to 1 in 3 of the workforce). Most (75%) are from the Region's traditional industries.

(NECCA: 1986, p. 3)

This is the statistical reality of economic distress which has resulted in an employment rate which is approximately 20% overall. Within the report are the details of the region's socio-economic deprivation. Out of fifteen regional indicators: utilized by NECCA to rank the English regions, the north was identified as 'the most severely deprived' on eight (ibid; p. 24 - Fig. 4.6)⁽⁴⁾.

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2. NECCA is the North of England County Councils' Association. Its membership includes the following local authorities: Cleveland, Cumbria, Durham, Northumberland and (until April 1986) Tyne-Wear. The state of the region report, from which the extracts are drawn, has been published annually since 1979. Its purpose is 'to open a dialogue with the Government and other agencies about the opportunities and needs of the Region' (1986a: p. 1).
 3. The 'north' as defined by NECCA is the central government defined region which includes Cumbria. The 'north' as defined in this thesis will be one based on the pre-1973 administrative counties of Northumberland and Durham plus Teesside. This geographical definition is to be amended as a consequence of the data to be analyzed (see Chapter 2 below).
 4. The eight indicators were: (all expressed as percentages of): (i) economically active males unemployed; (ii) economically active females unemployed; (iii) economically active unemployed aged 16-19; (iv) households with no car; (v) households whose head not in non-professional S.E.G. group; (vi) households whose head is in unskilled S.E.G. group; (vii) residents without degrees; and (viii) residents aged 16+ (non-

As the report states, economic distress was not confined to the north of England. Consequently the press, both local and national, detail this decline. The issue that arises here in the use of newspaper material covers the symbolic structure which was utilized to communicate the impact of this decline. In order to communicate with its readership the local press has to utilize symbols which are known and understood.

It is the context of decline which underwrites all articles, news reports concerning issues relating to specific job losses or closure. That the region is in decline - but a decline which is symptomatic of historical process is a constant feature in local coverage:

'For over 200 years the North East has relied upon the coal, iron, steel and shipbuilding industries for survival, if not economic growth, and has known many recessions in world trade over that same period. One, or even two, Industrial Revolutions have not dampened the initiative or inventiveness of the populations'.

(Northern Echo: 8/2/83)

This comment has validity in identifying industrial transformation as a continuing process - not an isolated event. The crucial factor is that the historical reference point is identified as the nineteenth-century. It was then that the north-eastern industrial framework was established. In that period the north-eastern province experienced an unequalled industrial growth based on four core industries - coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding and engineering. These were sufficient to locate the region as a core area of the national economy. It is in these terms, these backward references - i.e. the relationship with the nineteenth-century national economy - that the press delineates decline.

What the press does firstly is to confine long-term historical processes which are from another perspective the consequences of capitalism's uneven development (see Massey: 1984), to a regional dimension. As Table One shows, the focus on real or potential economic distress contains an implicit definition of north-easternness. While newspapers did not exclusively devote their pages to the reporting of industrial decline and associated themes such as unemployment and the region's industrial future these reports have been selected as representative of a narrative which extends from one issue to the next in detailing the region's fall from economic grace.

The north-eastern definition is construed spatially in the first instance. The economic distress stories are drawn from all over the region as the table shows. This is buttressed by explicit reference to the region in headlines such as 'Tyne jobs to go', 'Bale out the North' and 'Despair of the North' etc. The tenor of the succeeding story is established by dramatic terms which identify the region as under threat e.g. 'Shock closure', '... jobs in jeopardy', '... prospects look gloomy' and '... jobs axe'. The region faces the unexpected, the dangerous, the pessimistic and the threatening in these stories.

This despondent framework is not the press' making. It is a characterization drawn from both the everyday reality and the cultural repertoire developed since the onset of economic decline after the first world war when in national terms the peripheral status of the region began to develop. It is by examining that peripheral sense that the determinants of north-easternness can be delineated firstly. The peripherality operates within two sets of parameters. The first has been

Table One: North-eastern decline in the regional press

Newspaper	Headline	Date	Place
<u>Evening Chronicle</u>	Steelmen fight for jobs	5/1/83	Wolsingham
	Ever-Ready cut-back talks	17/1/83	Tanfield Lea
	1,000 Tyne jobs to go	20/1/83	Wallsend, Sunderland, Middlesbrough
	Jobs fear in health drive	24/1/83	Newcastle
	200 more on dole	7/2/83	South Tyneside
	Shock closure of cable firm	10/2/83	Washington
	Take-over threat to 200 Tyne print jobs	4/3/83	Gateshead
	Ronson jobs in jeopardy	4/3/83	North Shields
	Workers join up for jobs fight	12/3/83	Fishburn, Shildon, Wolsingham
	Suicide man had no job	30/3/83	Sunderland
<u>The Journal</u>	'Save jobs' plea	12/1/83	Wolsingham
	More yard men flee the axe	21/1/83	Wallsend, Sunderland, Middlesbrough
	Workers ready for bad news	28/1/83	Newcastle
	200 jobs to go at two factories	3/2/83	Newcastle, South Shields
	Orders slump cuts new jobs	16/2/83	Sunderland
	Battle on to rescue rail works	18/2/83	Shildon
	Threat to 250 North Coke jobs	1/3/83	Fishburn
	NEI miss order	1/3/83	Newcastle
Forestry workers face jobs axe	1/3/83	Northumberland, Durham and North Yorks.	
Ten North pits to go - Scargill	8/3/83	Northumberland, Durham	
<u>Northern Echo</u>	Watchworkers fear the axe	12/1/83	Washington
	Dole town faces final curtain	18/1/83	Hartlepool
	Threatened ... birthplace of rail	21/1/83	Shildon
	Sweet giant plans to axe 175	4/2/83	Newcastle
	One job left in town on the dole	11/2/83	Spennymoor
	We fight on say coke workers	4/3/83	Fishburn
	Job hopes snatched from town	5/3/83	Stockton
	Littlewoods axe to fall on 241 NE jobs	17/3/83	Sunderland
	9,000 job's threat	19/3/83	Wallsend, Sunderland
	Bosses and unions call for aid	23/3/83	Middlesbrough Region

touched upon already, it is an authentication founded on the metropolitan-provincial axis which in this instance operates along an economic radial. Often this perspective emerges in the local press in an editorial acknowledging the region's inability to solve its own problems:

'Of course we must help ourselves. Of course we must spend less time crying in our own beer. But the real problems facing the North are more diverse. There is no single answer which the region is capable of providing.

We do need Government aid - as do Merseyside, Wales, Ulster and Scotland. But successive Governments have failed to come to terms with the nature of the aid required.'

(Journal: 3/2/83)

While acknowledging the need for government assistance, the Journal, even-handed as ever, in the same editorial lists the problems which are considered endemic to the region:

'We do need a greater spirit of enterprise, and history has saddled us with an over-reliance on traditional industries.'

(ibid.)

We see here the metropolitan/provincial tension which characterizes the north-eastern self-perceptions in its mid-twentieth century manifestations. A manifestation which was in the post-war era up to 1979 existing in the form of the corporate state (see Middlemass; 1979). This metropolitan/provincial axis has been an ever present feature in relations between the capital and the provinces throughout English history and will emerge in different guises in this thesis.

The second dimension of peripherality is one related to the Journal's reference to traditional industry. This dimension operates along an

historical axis. The region's peripheral status is not measured economically or culturally against another place as along the metropolitan/provincial axis in this case. It is the lost core status of the nineteenth-century referred to above which is the axiom here. As noted earlier core status was defined not only in terms of the traditional industries' economic potency but also by their centrality in the national economy. In the twentieth-century, those industries have been found to be less important nationally. While underlying this loss of status is the operation of trans-national capitalism, it is the past location within a national economy that figures most prominently in north-eastern considerations.

The economic fortunes of the north-east are the quintessence of the British industrial zones as a whole. Erected in the nineteenth-century, these erstwhile core industries in Wales, Scotland, the north-east and Yorkshire have experienced twentieth-century decline. With regard to the specific north-eastern configuration - based on iron and steel, coal, shipbuilding and engineering - it is Wales and Scotland whose industrial base and whose deterioration is similar.

According to the Journal editorial cited above the north-east's problem is its 'over-reliance' on these traditional industries. The Journal neglects to state that this 'over-reliance' was not caused by north-easterners themselves (or at least not all, see Chapter 3 below). Those industries were established at the behest of industrial capitalism which, it should be added, is involved in dismantling this industrial base a century later. What is not being generated in the region are new opportunities for employment. The 'State of the Region' report was more direct on this point than the Journal

'Nationally, there are signs of a gradual recovery in the economy. In the north this is not yet the case. The rate of redundancies is still higher than in any other region and employment continues to fall. In the North, unlike other regions, the decline in jobs in manufacturing continues to outstrip gains elsewhere in the economy ...'

(NECCA: 1986; p. 3)

In editorial columns, the three regional newspapers - the Evening Chronicle, the Journal and the Northern Echo offer tokens of lamentation at the decline in the traditional sector yet rarely support attempts to halt the process. The Northern Echo utilized the announced closure of the British Rail Waggon works at Shildon, Co. Durham (involving the loss of 2,000 jobs) as an opportunity to exhort the townspeople to leave the past behind:

'The town, so long conscious of having all its industrial eggs in the same basket, must now diversify after the work-horse has bolted. The resilience, the skilled workforce and the right attitude are all there ...

'No-body can like the smell of yesterday's decision. But tragically it isn't going to go away. Shildon must at last forget its proud 150-year past and fight like hell for a future.'

(Northern Echo: 18/2/83)

Exhortation of this kind form the staple fare for the regional press analysis in the economic sphere. The basic premise for their perspective was cited earlier in that the press views industrial change as an automatic process to which people must adjust. Market forces, the spirit of enterprise (or its lack), the need for training in relevant skills etc. are all factors in this process which requires a north-eastern response to end over-reliance on traditional industries and to 'fight like hell for a future.'

This editorial stance is not carried over to the news pages. With more than a hypocritical tinge, the local press draws freely upon the cultural

symbolism which is associated with the traditional sector. In frequent acts of self-indulgence the local press reports closures, job-losses and threats thereof by utilizing symbolic patterns which were established concurrently with the associated economic structures. That this symbolism is evocative in defining the region's culture is shown by the paucity of coverage given to closures in non-traditional industries - e.g. the Ever-Ready plant in Newburn, Newcastle (first reported 28/ 1/83). Job loss involved 185 redundancies and only secured six reports in three newspapers: Evening Chronicle: 2; Journal 2; Northern Echo: 1. By contrast the closure of the the British shipbuilders steel plant at Wolsingham which involved 229 jobs generated 12 stories in the Northern Echo alone. Though for the region as a whole, any job loss is as potentially damaging as another whether in the traditional or the non-traditional sector, this pattern of differential coverage between the two is maintained throughout the local press.

What is evident is that the traditional sector has within it cultural meanings which have a wide currency in the north-east - cultural meanings which are not held to be relevant in the non-traditional sector. It is by determining the cultural framework associated here that the issue of north-eastern particularity can be further defined.

The most extensive news coverage afforded to a closure threat during this research was that given by the Northern Echo to the town which it exhorted to throw off its past - Shildon. Notwithstanding this admonition, the Northern Echo proceeded to plunder the cultural repertoire in its coverage of reactions and responses which followed the British Rail's closure announcement on February 17 1983. In the five issues following the

announcement, ten stories were printed, seven under the rubric 'Death of a Town'.

That rubric was derived from an earlier celebrated cause - that of Jarrow - The Town that was Murdered. In the 1930s, the Jarrow townspeople experienced a closure which prefigured the closures of the 1980s. Direct reference to Jarrow was made by those active in the 'Save Shildon' campaign:

'It is not only Shildon's battle ... It is a battle for Shildon, for the railways and for the whole of the North-East ... Wolsingham Steel has problems, there is British shipbuilders and British Steel. It is shades of Jarrow all round.'

(Northern Echo: 21/2/83)

The Jarrow Crusade of 1936 provides the archetypal structure for campaigns to save threatened industrial communities in the north-east. The portrait of the community losing its economic lifeline which was the subject of the Crusade and Ellen Wilkinson's book provides the guideline for political protest. It also provides guidelines for the local press' depiction of the situation. Hence the use of the rubric 'Death of a Town' - a modified version of 'The Town that was Murdered'. It is here that we witness the restraint of editorial opinion. In the case of Jarrow, the blame for the town's situation was clearly stated:

'... (a) group of capitalists decided the fate of Jarrow without reference to the workers. A society in which decisions are invariably taken by one group, and in which those decisions are only reached by consideration of their own welfare is not a just society.'

(Wilkinson: 1939; p. 171)

This was also the view of the Boilermakers' Society Convenor at Shildon waggon Works, Ken Stabler:

'For those who are ignorant of the fact the Government in the guise of British Rail Engineering wants to close a works which has made a profit every year for the last ten years.

'We feel that we have a workforce second to none in the building and repairing of freight vehicles but this workforce is being deliberately starved of work because of Government policy to encourage private enterprise.'

(Northern Echo: 21/2/83)

Here is the resonance of the murder of Jarrow. The Northern Echo's rubric laments the demise of Shildon as part of the long process of shedding jobs from the industrial past. No act of intent here simply the unwinding of historical process.

Within the framework the Echo was able to draw upon the elements of the cultural symbolism established by the Jarrow march. Like Jarrow, Shildon in this case was an industrial community/constructed around the waggon-works. Bishop Auckland M.P., Derek Forster described the situation as follows:

'The livelihood of the local shops, pubs and clubs -, the whole community are involved in the rail works.'
... Only 14,000 people live here and every one of them is connected with the BR works in some way.'

(ibid: 18/2/83)

What is being stressed here is not merely the economic dependency of the inhabitants of Shildon on the waggon-works, but the socio-cultural relationships which were developed in the framework of the industrial structure. The instrumental consequences were amplified in an article the following evening entitled ironically 'Shildon's big success - a new dole office':

'Just one new outfit wants to move into disaster hit Shildon - a new dole office.

'Since 1979 no new firms have been established in the town, it was revealed yesterday. But now the Department of Employment wants to re-establish a permanent dole office in the town centre.'

(ibid: 19/2/83)

The catalogue of disaster for Shildon was listed:

'Shildon found it hard to swallow when the four cinemas closed and then the gas and electricity showrooms moved out.

'The slow slip into decline continued with the loss of the original dole office in 1979 - and the final insult came when the name of Shildon was taken out of the telephone books.

'At least four factories have closed since 1979, with the loss of 400 jobs and trade in shops has slumped.'

(ibid.)

Here is depicted the decline of a community which follows the contraction of its economic raison d'etre. Break-up of the community is anticipated by its effects on Shildon families - railway families:

'Great grandmother Doris Moran encouraged her lads to work for the railways - she told them they would get a secure job. Now her five sons face a bleak future on the dole as the family tradition is swept away by the British Rail axe.'

(Northern Echo: 21/2/83)

In this conceptualization of community it is the family which is considered as the transmitter of the culture. But according to the Northern Echo the family needs a firm economic base around which it can operate. The five sons of Doris Moran had accumulated 170 years of service to the waggon-works between them. The breakdown of tradition was imminent as Michael Doran observed:

'It has been a whole tradition for this family working at the shops. Your values were put down by your father and that's what I wanted for my sons.'

(ibid.)

The basis of the Northern Echo's representations of the fate of Shildon are not complex. Fundamentally they rest upon the concept of the industrial community - one in which the basic frame of reference is the

economic structure. Historically such communities in the north-east were the product of the nineteenth-century industrialization. At the time of the closure announcement preparations were being made to celebrate the 150th Anniversary of the establishment of the waggon-works (Northern Echo; 18/2/83). It is that historical location which gives them the symbolic potency which was utilized by the Northern Echo. Shildon was the product of an era when the north-east as a region possessed core status in relation to the British economy. Its closure was an indication of the peripherality not only of the town but also of the region. What the articles which analyze the effects of closure highlighted is those cultural components which are held to be integral to that core status. First and foremost is the concept of the industrial based community. Such communities are the stereotypical cultural form associated with working-class north-eastern identity whether the industry under consideration be coal, iron and steel, engineering or shipbuilding. Secondly acting within this structure is the family unit, considered as the basic cultural block which makes up communities. The primary links with the industrial structure are maintained by men - since all of the traditional industries of the north-east are the exclusive employment preserve of males. It is around this simplified structure of the culture of community that the Northern Echo weaves its representations as to the consequences of the closure.

The power of this model is demonstrated by its replication in the presentation of the closure threat to the British shipbuilders Steel plant at Wolsingham (announced 20/1/83) and the British Smokeless Fuels coke works at Fishburn (announced 14/3/83). The structure of community and family is depicted as dependent on the fate of these plants. Under a

headline 'It's lives, not jobs', the Northern Echo commented on the Wolsingham closure as follows:

'The Industrial Revolution finally ran out of steam in a small dales town yesterday.

Generations of dalesmen have found employment and training at the works which represent the last link with Weardale's industrial past.'

(21/1/83)

In the case of the Fishburn coke works, the history was not so long. The coke works had only been open for twenty-nine years, though Fishburn had before that been a mining village until 1973 when its colliery closed (Northern Echo: 2/3/83). Though this threatened closure did not receive the coverage of Shildon or Wolsingham, frequent news reports appeared during March 1983 in all of the regional newspapers detailing all aspects of the community's struggle for survival.

The initial contrast made between the reporting of traditional and non-traditional industries can be more easily understood in the light of this analysis. Non-traditional industries such as the Ever-Ready plant at Newburn, the Ronson factory at North Shields, the Rohm-Hass plant at Jarrow (built on the site of the old Palmer works) etc., firstly lack the transcendence over time which the traditional industries possess. Secondly they lack the cultural form associated with such industries - i.e. the industrial community. Thirdly the work-force is not exclusively male. Often the work-force of non-traditional industries is based on part-time female labour. In a cultural system where employment as a status value is the prerogative of the male, job loss amongst the female work-force is devalued. It is counted - i.e. simply enumerated - but not lamented as the loss of cultural heritage.

For the regional press reporting of job loss in the non-traditional industries offers no access to the cultural reservoir attached to similar events in the traditional ones. This difference allows the regional press (and its readers) to operate with a particular concept of the north-east as an area whose identity is based on heavy industry, community, family and male employment. While the press is forceful in advocating the abandonment of the traditional industries, it is not able to abandon the cultural symbolism attached to them.

Within the context of the local press' underlying articulation of north-eastern peripherality, it is success as much as failure which emphasizes this status. Earlier we examined the manner in which Steve Cram's Helsinki victory operated as a cultural symbol for a region whose people feel ignored and neglected. His success was countenanced as the vision of regional potential realized. Around it and the signification attached to it are clustered concepts which describe the region's felt economic peripherality. These concepts relate directly to the north-east as an industrial force. While they have a reality which is grounded in the north-east's socio-economic status, it is the dimensions along which this peripherality is defined which is crucial. In contextualizing Cram's success, the local press defined four elements - family, community, region and nation. Those same four elements emerged again as cultural symbols when considering the region's economic peripherality. The elements are utilized to articulate the consequences of economic distress. All, to a greater or lesser extent, occur when referring to the closure of traditional industries. In particular the consequences for community and family are emphasized - as the Northern Echo series covering the Shildon closure demonstrated. In terms of nation and region, it should be noted, the Echo

favoured the Shildon closure. In terms of news coverage, the cultural forms of family and community which are represented as the hallmarks of the industrial community were exploited.

What emerges here is a definition of the problem to be answered. Four elements emerge which are connected with the concept of north-eastern identity. One of these - nation - has the potential to subsume the rest. Yet the articulation of a north-eastern culture would deny its primacy. Though acting within a framework whose structure can be linked to the nation, the sense of a different culture is an ever-present feature of north-eastern life. It is the exploration of the premises on which such representations are based that we turn in the next section.

1.3 The Culture on the Periphery

What emerged in the last section was the region's awareness of itself as economically peripheral. In the local press' representation that peripherality is articulated using cultural forms - i.e. community and family which will (it is asserted) be decimated as a result of economic decline. Those forms are deemed to have been fostered by the nineteenth-century economic development which generated the industrial community. It is this past which is being lost in the north-east according to newspapers such as the Northern Echo. It is the industrial past which is the context for all the socio-cultural forms which identify the region's character, its uniqueness, its homogeneity.

The industrial past provides a basic structure for the articulation of elements into a homogeneous pattern from which representations for north-easternness can be compounded. As far as north-eastern culture is concerned it has been made in response to this 'given' structure. In order for this culture to be a shared experience, the industrial past has from this perspective to be considered homogeneous itself. Thus the term 'traditional' industries refers to a tradition for the north-east, a regional specificity which can be identified because the rise of these industries to a local dominance occurred in the same historical period for all and was paralleled by the simultaneous establishment of cultural forms identified as north-eastern. The structural elements are identified as being the traditional industries - coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding and engineering. The homogeneity is emphasized firstly by the fact that all of these industries can be classified as 'heavy' whether they are in the primary sector such as coal mining or the secondary

manufacturing sector such as iron and steel, shipbuilding and engineering. This categorization allows the four to be grouped together despite the different labour processes involved, despite the different social relations of production and despite the different spatial location (i.e. urban v rural). On this latter point it should be noted that the typical location for coal mining in the north-east is a rural one and this in turn generates a dispersed settlement pattern, i.e. the mining village (House: 1954; p. 12-13). The traditional secondary sector industries tended to be located in urban settings. Neither category is exclusive - a significant exception being the rural location of the Consett Iron Company. The point is made that this classification of the four staple industries as 'heavy' permits differences between them to be ignored and a case to be made for regional homogeneity.

The second factor which gives a homogeneous gloss to the regional concept is that all these industries provided labour markets which were the exclusive presence of men. Women were and are excluded from employment in mining by statute (1841 Coal Mines Act). In the other three industries their exclusion was maintained by custom and practice - trade union organization and pressure which takes a familiar form (c.f. Cockburn: 1983 ;pp.17-19). This exclusion, combined with the absence of appropriate labour markets for women - i.e. the presence of 'women's' work - is a cultural and ideological factor which has meant that the economic activity rate for women has always been considerably lower than other areas in the country. The 1911 census, for example, defines ^{the female} economic activity rate lower by 20% - almost a third compared with the rest of the country (North Tyneside, CDP; 1978 ;pp.27-28).

The dispersed settlement pattern of the mining industry provides a third factor which contributes to the idea of homogeneity. Those settlements make

manifest the social relations of production in the form of the industrial community. That industrial community is exemplified by the dominance of the industry in a settlement and the community's dependence on it sufficient to identify these communities as company towns or villages - e.g. Consett (steel), Jarrow (shipbuilding), Shildon (railway engineering) and Easington (coal mining). In other words, the principal architect of a settlement's structure was the local industrialist. Within that framework, the inhabitants, as Marx describes it, were 'making their own history'.

A fourth factor held to arise from this industrial context which is linked to the socio-cultural form (i.e. the community) is the working-class family. Exclusion from the region's main labour markets described earlier, meant that women were dependent economically on men. Their role was ascribed as keepers of the home and family. The woman's place in the north-east was reinforced by a strict sexual segregation - a division based on the culturally-ascribed separation between the public world of employment and the private world of home.

These elements combine to produce a homogeneous characterization of the north-east which is based on the nineteenth-century industrial experience. What it constitutes is a definition for working-class culture - suitably embellished with references to north-east working-class pursuits such as leek-growing, working-men's clubs, pigeon-fancying and, of course, beer-drinking. All of which is held to be unique to the region:

'Geordieland, Northumbria, Northumberland and Durham, the North-East - all mean the same thing. Now there's a lot of preconceptions about this area - depending upon who you are and what your line of business is. Some say this is the Holiday Kingdom and it is inferred that Geordieland could be a sort of feudal estate full of jolly barons who whoop it up every night at medieval banquets, sup Lindisfarne Mead, eat game pies and

dance about with bells on their legs. Then there's the Raggy lads like Andy Capp and ^{me} who maintain that Geordie lives most of his life in the Club, kips on the sofa in his stocking feet, and sups Broon, Fed and Strongarm. He lives on leeks, stotty cake and black puddens - keeps pigeons and whippets and thumps their lass on pay neet.'

(Dobson: 1973; p. 4)

This 'jokey' popular perception of homogeneity which finds expression at a cultural level is given more serious credibility by considering the region's political culture. Long-term loyalty to the Labour Party throughout the twentieth-century could be considered as indicative of both intra-regional homogeneity and distinctiveness from other regions in England. It was the depression of the inter-war years which brought about the conversion to Labour support. In Durham the county council has enjoyed unbroken dominance since 1925. That dominance supposedly reflects homogeneity between mining areas which found political expression and unity through the Labour party. Throughout the industrial area between south-east Northumberland and the Tees that dominance spread so that virtually all district councils and parliamentary constituencies have long been controlled by Labour.

The north/south divide of which this is a political reflection, has long been the subject of comment for writers such as Gaskell (1973), Dickens (1954) and later Priestley (1934) and Hoggart (1971). Early political comment was provided by Hobson in his examination of the results of the 1910 general election. The divide he found was in this case the separation between Liberal and Labour against the Unionists:

'.... We are confronted by that remarkable contrast of North and South which first strikes the eye on glancing at the electoral map. A line drawn across Great Britain along the Mersey and the

Trent shows an overwhelming majority of Liberal and Labour seats in the northern section, an almost overwhelming majority of Unionist seats in the southern section if Wales be kept out of account.'

(1910; p. 107)

The cause of that divide he attributed to the differing economic activity in the north and south:

'The great productive industries of manufacture and of mining are almost entirely Northern, while the South is more agricultural, its manufactures are small and less highly organized, and it contains a large number of pleasure resorts and residential towns and villages.

The statement that industrial Britain is Liberal, rural and residential Britain Conservative, is substantially accurate.'

(ibid.; p. 108)

That north/south divide exists still in the political sphere as the 1983 general election results show⁵, though the Labour party alone dominates the northern section. It is clear that the industrial environment has found a political expression which is adjudged distinctive from the rest of England. That, in the north-eastern case can be interpreted as another peripheral manifestation. The Labour Party since 1918 has only enjoyed

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5. A similar pattern emerged in the 1983 General Election - a division between north and south. As Kellner observed:

'Labour now has no seats south of a line from London to Bristol. The party has only 30 out of 260 seats south of a line from the Severn to the Wash ... In 1945 more than one third of Labour's wins were in Southern England; as recently as October 1974 more than a quarter.'

(1983; p. 7)

Conversely, the Conservative party was notable by its absence in urban industrial centres such as Glasgow and Liverpool. While Kellner argues that this is not simply a north/south divide, he identifies the Labour heartlands as the industrial north, midlands and Scotland.

seventeen years of majority rule as the national government. The Conservative party have enjoyed forty-three years in power either as majority party or as major partner in a coalition. This means that historically the north-eastern Labour party dominance has been a minority expression of political preference. Given the dependence of local government on central, it could be argued that the political system has barriers which inhibit the 'true' expression of this party - identified as a political voice for the working-class.

The immediate question to be determined is the extent to which north-eastern people have an awareness which is regional. The answer is provided by a survey carried out in the north-east in the 1970s which examined north-eastern 'sense of place'. That report concluded that regional awareness in the north-east was strong, stronger than in other regions in the country (Townsend and Taylor: 1975; p. 390). One pervasive self-defining characteristic emerged. The authors found that the 'feelings of economic inferiority were the most obvious impression', (ibid: 1975; p. 386). Clear evidence here of the regional manifestation of the north/south divide.

That survey data we should note was drawn from four separate towns (Spennymoor, Stockton, Sunderland and Tynemouth) in the region - each with their own distinct sub-regional characteristics. None of the towns, the authors pointed out, were typically communities dependent on one industry for their economic inability. Each of them had experienced enforced diversification with regard to economic activity in the post-war era (ibid; p. 382). What generated the shared sense of economic inferiority was the region's industrial decline as a whole:

'The mining industry was of a great size within living memory ... To the extent that it has declined along with industries linked to its growth, then this similarity of experience over much of the region gives common ground to the area's feeling of economic inferiority towards the south. In this case then the similiarities of experiences within sub-regions can justify people in generalizing their feelings about the "North-East", and evoke their own symbolism.'

(ibid; p. 386)

It is this inferior sense which is addressed by the local press when it denotes extensive news coverage to closures at the site of traditional industries. Shildon, Wolsingham, Wallsend, Fishburn and Hartlepool - as with Consett and Jarrow before them - become metaphors for the region's decline. Metaphors whose roots are historic - extending back before the pre-figurative experience of Jarrow in the 1930s - to the end of the first world war. 1921 is a key year. Since then unemployment figures have been published on a regular monthly basis. Since then, the north-east has consistently reported the highest rates in mainland Britain - always well above the national average.

An element described which marks regional homogeneity and particularity - the shared experience of economic decline. That too has its roots in the industrial past - though not this time its growth but in its contraction. The measures of decline are, as the last section showed, always presented within the context of a cultural symbolism which is by inference north-eastern. It is the region's past, present and future - expressed through the agency of family, community and unemployment which the Northern Echo et al. focus on in their explanation of the consequences closures such as that in Shildon. While the Northern Echo may urge Shildon people to 'fight for their own future', it is the past and its dominant cultural forms to

which it turns to invest the closure with specifically north-eastern meanings. Its audience beyond Shildon, sharing that sense of economic inferiority, familiar with the socio-cultural forms can, in the words of Townsend and Taylor, 'evoke their own symbolism' about the north-east.

What Townsend and Taylor provide is clear evidence of a regional consciousness. That regional consciousness is demonstrated as developing from the industrial north-east. Their presumption was that any regional identity would be developed within an area in which it was possible for individuals born or living within various parts of the region to have access to shared meanings and values which transcended the particularity of their own experience. That assertion was found to be justified by the results of questions which asked the respondents to give spatial form to the north-east region.

'Most definitions include both banks of both rivers (i.e. Tees and Tyne), and the median boundary of the whole sample extends from the Northumberland coalfield to the former Cleveland ironfield inclusive, closely analogous to the official definition of the "Industrial North East" ...'

(ibid; p. 389)

The authors' survey was conducted in four north-eastern towns: Spennymoor, Stockton, Sunderland and Tynemouth. This step was taken to guard against 'purely local case studies being mistaken to represent a region, as is sometimes loosely implied' (ibid; p. 382)

While sub-regional variations emerged with varying degrees of significance, Townsend and Taylor were able to uncover a consciousness which 'provides one anchorage for the individual in the development of personal identity' (1975; p. 86). The core of that identity (and its geographic location) were described thus:

'Broadly the Geordie can be seen as possessing a common cultural and linguistic identity. It would seem that he is fairly commonly defined by his accent; but of greater significance is where he was born, comes from or belongs to. The focus however emerges not at Newcastle but on both banks of the Tyne in general - to which one may attribute both unique social characteristics, and the centre of a general linguistic identity. In detail this identity is composed of many sub-regional variations.'

(1975; pp. 385-6)

Townsend and Taylor noted that the strength of regional culture was not diminishing markedly. They account for the maintenance of north-eastern culture by identifying it as 'a function of relative isolation from the rest of the country'. That combined with an 'indigenous way of life based on some common modes of production', provokes a strong sense of attachment to the regional culture amongst the region's inhabitants. This attachment, according to the authors, survives the dissolution of the modes of production which are the referencepoints for the culture. In the case of Spennymoor the closure of its mines and ironworks did not diminish the maintenance of its characteristic local social relations and activities. Ultimately the strength of north-eastern identity 'emanates from its shared experiences of social deprivation', still to be seen in most statistical indices for the regions of England (all *ibid*; p. 390).

A second question which emerges from the earlier analysis of regional representations is the extent to which they are accepted by the region's inhabitants as being a valid description of the north-east. The survey results show that the accepted definition of the region operates within the industrial framework - that this is the structure within which meanings are made. The pervading sense of economic inferiority and peripheral status with their roots in industrial decline demonstrates that. While references to the traditional culture are made with varying degrees of appropriation

On the respondents behalf, there is a definite acceptance that those representations constitute or have constituted the core of north-easternness.

That awareness Taylor and Townsend define as the product of shared experiences which have in turn generated a unified culture (1975; p. 386). That unified culture is labelled 'Geordie'⁶ and its core is seen as emanating from 'the mouth of the Tyne' - i.e. urban Tyneside north and south of the river. Though references are made to this culture and its contents, no description or analysis of its content or structure are made by the authors. It is to a cultural description - an account of north-easternness - that we now turn.

At Beamish, near Stanley in County Durham, there exists the North of England Open Air Museum which offers a description of north-eastern culture. The exhibits at Beamish Museum⁷ are the most extensive investment made, in financial⁸ and human terms, with regard to the detailing of north-eastern culture. Established on its 200-acre site the museum's purpose is

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6. Throughout this thesis, the region's identity will be labelled as 'north-eastern'. Though the term 'Geordie' will be cited frequently it will not be used in the analytic text. This is because its reference point is already spatially defined. For the purposes of analysis the spatial area under consideration is to be extended as widely as possible - though the data itself imposes constraints on that definition. Already, following Townsend and Taylor, the geographic north-east (i.e. - the pre-1973 administrative counties of Northumberland and Durham plus Teesside) has contracted to the 'industrial north east'. The limits for analysis will be fixed finally through discussion of methods and methodology (see Chapter 2 below).
 7. The everyday name - 'Beamish Museum' - is used in here rather than the proper title - viz. 'North of England Open Air Museum at Beamish'.
 8. Funding is supplied by the county councils in the area - i.e. Northumberland, Durham, Cleveland - and until 1986 Tyne-Wear.

'... to study, collect, preserve and exhibit buildings, machinery, objects and information illustrating the development of industry and the Northern Way of Life.'

This claim - that the museum exhibits illustrates 'a way of life' - (albeit a specifically north-eastern one rather than Northern) - is comparable with the premise on which the Townsend-Taylor survey was based. They cited Williams (1961) as their inspiration. His definition for culture identifies a pattern 'like a social character' which is 'a selective response to experience, a learned system of feeling and acting in a particular society' (quoted in Townsend and Taylor: 1975; p. 381). This definition accords with that of anthropologists who see culture as

'... the integrated sum of learned behaviour traits which are manifest and shared by the members of a society.'

(Hoebel: 1956; p. 168)

Where Beamish differs from the methodologies utilized by these authors is in the nature of its representations. Williams is mainly a theorist drawing on his own experience and re-cycling the knowledge and experience of others in the fashion of a Celtic Levi-Strauss. Townsend and Taylor rely primarily on quantitative methods to unearth the experiential by using statistically verifiable survey methods. Hoebel through participant observation, a cultural anthropologist seeks to isolate cultural variables - custom, practice, collective beliefs and distinctive patterns which constitute the whole. Beamish Museum shares such aims in that the north-eastern way of life is deemed integrated, a selective response to circumstance, shared widely in what might be deemed a regional consciousness. It differs in that it offers a three-dimensional ethnography - an opportunity to observe the culture not read about it.

The Beamish representations are material in that they centre upon the reconstruction of buildings and artefacts which are retrieved from sites in the north-east zone. These artefacts are defined as north-eastern purely and simply on that basis. Whatever the place of origin, whatever the source of ideas and concepts involved in their making, it is this spatial definition which gives them significance to the Beamish project. When properly displayed, within the museum's frame of reference, they are given credibility as north-eastern artefacts.

Beamish Museum's structure is organized so that the basics of the north-eastern culture are visible. There are four different areas - colliery and pit village, town, railway station and farm. In addition there is an area where industrial machinery is displayed and a section which houses public transport. The exhibits which are to be found in these areas are drawn as observed from different places in the north-east. Hence the colliery and pit village area, the town area and the railway station area are composites - not complete reproductions of real places. Thus the railway area consists of a station from Rowley near Consett, a weighbridge from Glanton, Northumberland, coal and lime cells from West Boldon, a goods and warehouse office from Alnwick, Northumberland. A similar pattern is found in both the town area (e.g. a cooperative store from Annfield Plain, a public house from Bishop Auckland) and the colliery area (pit cottages from Hetton-le-Hole, a wooden heapstead from Ravensworth Park, Gateshead). With each individual structure ensured of north-eastern credibility, so the composite areas become validated as north-eastern - viz. north-eastern colliery, north-eastern pit village and so on.

Another characteristic links the Beamish exhibits: they are not only objects validated by their presence within the region; they are validated by their survival and retrieval from the region's past. All the exhibits are artefacts whose historic originating points come mainly within the period between the middle of the nineteenth-century and 1939. The criterion for selection and the implications thereof in defining the north-eastern way of life will be considered later in this section. For the moment our concern is to observe that the reproduction of a particular building's past identity requires detailed and definitive research by museum staff. Here the issue which concentrates the energies of museum staff relates to authenticity. The technique employed (apart from physical rebuilding) involve interviews with people who lived or worked in the original structures. Thus interviews with retired employees of the Annfield Plain Cooperative Society were conducted by the museum's researchers to establish the store's layout and content. The interior decoration and furnishing of the pit cottages were secured by interviews with former residents. Collecting contemporary wholesale and retail catalogues, researching newspaper archives expanded the information available to the museum. Parallel to this research was the continuous acquisition of items to be used in refurbishing the reconstructed premises. Where necessary - e.g. labels for packaged food items to be displayed in the cooperative grocery department - items were replicated by museum staff. All of these processes - the oral testimony of witnesses, the documentary research and the actuality of the relics retrieved from the past - serve to seal the exhibits with authenticity.

Each reconstruction is located in a specific time period. The town area is advertised as representing a north-eastern town (any north-eastern town)

in the 1920s with a tram service operating in the High Street and prices in the cooperative store set at 1925 prices. Similarly the railway station is described as being refurbished 'as it was' in 1913.

Beamish's primary concern is in displaying the material objects drawn from north-eastern culture - as evidenced in the selection of buildings and relics for exhibition whose spatial context is the north-east. These buildings and relics are ordered through utilizing immaterial concepts and notions which are held to be valid cultural representations. One key immaterial component in the Beamish representation is the evocation of nostalgia. Beamish Museum is advertised to potential visitors as offering 'Acres of Nostalgia' to explore and experience. In adopting the nostalgic cause, Beamish moves away from its straightforward role as educator in the study, collection, preservation and exhibition of objects illustrating the north-eastern way of life. The overtly heuristic potency which the exhibits superficially possess in their capacity to educate the present about the past is submerged by this dedication to nostalgia. The museum visitor is no longer invited merely to contrast past and present but also to make a positive assessment in the past's favour. The north-eastern past, the north-eastern 'way of life' is not a subject, to be examined, to be articulated, to be explicated, it is to be yearned for, to be desired to be remembered:

'A few years ago I took a trip to Beamish Museum and little did I know at the time how many memories this lovely place would bring back. \

'Standing in the door-way of a cottage, the smell of home baking filling the air, I plunged into my past, the large black range dominating the kitchen, the kettle always on the boil, the table laid out ready for tea.'

(Sunday Sun: 6/7/86)

Direct experience is not the sole criterion for entering the Beamish 'nostalgiadrome'. Museum visitors whose experience is indirect - tales told by their forebears - comment on museum exhibits with phrases such as 'My mother had one of those' or 'My grandfather told me ...' etc. Here access to a way of life which still exists within living memory is the mediator of nostalgia.

Nostalgia yearning, positive evaluation of the exhibits are encouraged by other immaterial components. Overall Beamish exudes a sense of order and harmony. The past, unlike the present is to be valued for its settled qualities. This is most clearly evidenced in the colliery area, in the row of pit cottages which are a key feature in these north-eastern representations.

What strikes the observer is the sanitized quality of these reconstructions. They are clean and ordered within - without mess, without disorder, without the untidiness which could be expected from the families who inhabited them. Their furniture gleams with polish; carpets though old are clean; and kitchens are spotless despite the coal-fire grate. All the objects within each cottage have a place to be and are in that place.

The exteriors display a cleanliness which is at odds with their history. These stone-built cottages were originally located ^{in Francis St. and Lyons St,} in Hetton-le-Hole, a County Durham mining village. Situated in the colliery area at Beamish, within the vicinity of a supposedly working-pit, these cottages bear no scars of pollution which were (and are) a feature of pit villages - from coal dust, the smoke expelled from domestic chimneys. No blackened walls at Beamish however, here the industrial and domestic detritus have been removed

for this public presentation of the private and the past is deodorized for the present⁹.

Cleanliness is important in generating a sense of order, dirt being equated with disorder (Douglas: 1966; p. 5). Orderliness is critical to Beamish's evocation of nostalgia. Nostalgia can only be made manifest if the past is considered ordered, unproblematic and simply comprehended - for nostalgic themes are never founded on a longing for disorder.

Within the pit cottages exhibit, a temporal dimension to the display of order is present also. Of the six cottages in the colliery row, five are open for inspection. Of the five the first has been refurbished as a colliery office while the fourth is decorated in the manner adopted by one Hetton-le-Hole resident. The second, the third and the fifth have been furnished in the fashions prevailing at different historical periods - the 1890s, 1910-14 and the 1930s respectively.

What is being suggested is that the house, the home moves along an historical axis characterized by ordered progress. Symbolically this is signified by a transition from gloom to light. Weighty velvet curtains, embossed wallpaper, dark mahogany woodwork, a foreboding Queen Victoria print - the fashions of the 1890s found in the second house - are located as the locus of gloom. The pre-world war one furnishings of the third house are lighter in tone but they are outshone by interior decoration of the 1930s found in the fifth house. This is the locus of light, symbolized by the predominance of yellow in the living-room, the lightweight furnishings,

9. The minutes of Hetton Urban District Council Sanitary Committee (1906-1911) provide a corrective to this presentation. Amidst reports of 'unfit dwellings', overflowing open sewers and bad smells produced by the same, unspecified houses on Francis St. and Lyons St. were described as being in an unsanitary condition. (Tyne-Wear Record Office: T18/51)

the airy semi-transparent curtains. Underwriting this are guide book observations which identify oil and candles as the main lighting source in the 1890s and electricity as the power source from the 1930s onwards¹⁰.

The inferences are clear: that the years between the 1890s and the 1930s simply as a matter of course, the interiors of these cottages (and hence all domestic interiors) merely 'evolved'; that whereas the 1890s had been characterized by Victorian sombreness, by the 1930s the world (or the north-eastern part of it) had moved on to a brighter age (symbolized by the reference to electricity as the power source).

In this colliery house, now, the material and immaterial considerations which inform the Beamish project in its definition of north-easternness are evident. The material structures - the laundered, sanitized houses faithfully reproduced with the museum's technical expertise produce the material framework for the ideologies of family and progress which exemplify Beamish's search for nostalgic order. By setting north-easternness in a past whose temporal limitations are defined, Beamish locates the essentialistic qualities which appertain to progress on the material plane. The transformation from nineteenth-century gloom to twentieth-century light along one colliery row invests the buildings themselves with an autonomic quality. It is as if the buildings themselves were possessed of a capacity to evolve without human intervention, as if they were organic and animate creatures which mutated from form to form to emerge in the words of Voltaire's *Candide* into "the best of all possible worlds".

10. In terms of 'authenticity', the implication that by the 1930s all the colliery houses had electricity installed is on the museum's own admission in error. The souvenir guide book states 'oil and candles were used for light, until gas was installed about 1931'.

Within that ever-changing material framework, shaped constantly by the unseen hand of progress is that enduring symbol of order and harmony, the family. That unit in its ordered form is imbued with the traits of universality which transcend the material circumstances. Central to that unit is the woman - the wife, the mother - who labours within these material confines as the bringer of order and stability. We encounter here the private world made public - the hidden arbiter of order whose regularity in cleaning, cooking, washing and child-care establishes regularity against outside disorder. The roots of order within community are exposed at Beamish; the woman in her place at home is overloaded with the necessity to maintain the steady pace of the private sphere. Her absence from that sphere is to be the subject of opprobrium. Older women whose experience was drawn from such a context make such observations readily:

'Women don't stay at home these days. Married women go out to work nowadays. Not in our day - women were in the home all the time. Now women work - they can't bring up their children properly.'

(JMT: 1982; 4)

What Beamish lacks is conflict. Promoting nostalgia does not give easy access to the articulation of disorder. Domestic disorder derived from any source whatever is not admitted to the colliery row. Nor is it to be found within any of the Beamish exhibition areas. Older informants attribute much of the blame for domestic disorder in their day to the male's appetite for drink:

'All the men were alike those days. All the men. I mean, my poor old Granny she should have been well off ... He worked all his life when there was nobody could get any job. But he would go and get his gutfull ... before ever he came home. And then he'd throw her a few shillings. Aye men had the upper hand then.'

(JMT: 1982; 5)

Only in the museum's public house is the issue raised. A letter from a Salvation Army captain to the public house landlord is to be found. Not in a prominent position it should be noted - level with the coal fire's mantelpiece on the right-hand side. The captain notes the distress women encounter when confronted by their husband's drinking habits and argues the extremes to which wives are driven in having to enter public houses 'beseeching their husbands to give them money to provide for the family'.

which
 These issues/are those of patriarchial authoritarianism and the economically dependent state of women are elided by the nostalgic evocation of family as orderer. Absence of conflict between male and female is matched in relation to women in other aspects in the colliery row. As part of the exhibit, women demonstrate skills which in the museum's overview are regional - vis., the making of bread and the production of clippie mats. While such demonstrations evoke nostalgic resonance, the museum makes no attempt to account for the necessity which drove women to manufacture their own bread and their own floor covering. Sub-ethnic handicraft skills is the museum's suggestion, poverty is the explanation. Both are means by which the housekeeping budget - which was the wife/mother's responsibility may be put to more extensive use. Affection for the making of bread by the stone nor preference for mats made from cloth scraps are adequate explanation here. The economic circumstances of these household managers determined by gender, class and historical constraints generated these crafts. The capacity to 'make the most of things' can be admired but the necessitous context requires explanation.

In the public world, conflict between mineworkers and mine-owners is also absent. The mining industry was riddled with conflict between those who owned and those operated the means of production. The regional ethos

which focusses upon north-easternness collapses any such conflicts and contradictions into a perspective which unites these classes historically by the spatial origin. The presented image is one in which harmony between the working and owning classes was the order of past days. This can lead to questions which underline the regional viability of the project. What we wonder were the responses of the owners of Rowley Station to the national miners strike in 1912? Did the owners who housed the Hetton-le-Hole miners to work for their company give support to the mining families during the disputes of the early 1920s? What was the effect of the disputes on the trade of the Annfield Plain Cooperative Society? Did they respond as the Chopwell Cooperative Society acted in the 1926 strike against the Consett Iron Co.?

The answers to these questions which indicate hierarchy and the unequal distribution of power in both the culturally-defined private and public spheres have no place within the remit for nostalgia. Nor do they belong within the framework derived from Beamish's theoretical premising. That framework identifies a north-eastern 'way of life' - a region which is unified culturally. Since the museum is given over to the elaboration of this unified culture then conflictual events play no part in the representations. The regional community that Beamish identifies as the bearers of this culture is an 'imagined' one since being historically located it is not directly accessible to the majority of visitors to the site. Furthermore it is 'imagined' since even if all those who were members of it were alive, it would be impossible for them to know each other (Anderson; 1983; p. 15). What Beamish provides is a material structure which has a familiarity around which the imagination can operate in defining this community. As with all imagined communities the questions of inequality and exploitation are subsumed by an overarching

ethos (ibid; p. 10) which in this instance emphasizes 'north-easternness' - in its very best light - as a centripetal force binding the disparate parts together.

Briefly it should be mentioned that Beamish Museum is not the sole agent operating to define a north-eastern culture. Already, one strand in the local press' north-eastern representations has been defined, the industrial past and present. There exists also a plethora of cheap pamphlets widely available in the region which, in a humorous fashion, suggest that a unified culture exists which has developed from that past. This range of booklets with titles like 'Geordie Laffs'; 'Geordie on the Beer'; 'The Geordie Bible'; 'Aa'd Geordie's Almanac', 'Larn Yersel Geordie'; 'Stotty Cake Row'¹¹ and so on can be considered as supportive of the Beamish premise that a north-eastern culture can be identified as homogeneous. Because they are aimed at a popular market - rather than an academic one, they operate to sustain the concept of north-easternness though it is here defined as 'Geordie' - i.e. the cultural core which Townsend and Taylor identified. In addition to these cultural expressions there is a wide range of booklets which detail the history of particular settlements e.g. 'Berwick (Short History and Guide)', 'Hexham (History and Guide)', 'Warkworth'. Each short history gives a chronological history which gives brief facts about a particular locality. That particularity is subsumed by a further range of booklets which operate at a regional level. Booklets such as 'Medieval Castles of Northumberland', 'The Romans in North Britain', 'The Lindisfarne Story', 'Anglo-Saxon Northumbria', 'The Violent Kingdom' act to define a

11. All of the booklets cited here are produced by one local publisher - Frank Graham.

homogeneity for the north-east (or Northumbria) which has roots in a distant (i.e. medieval) history as well as the recent industrial past. Transcendence over time and the identification of a particularity for the region are the key elements here; a transcendence which supposedly links the present to the past. The 'Geordie Books' listed above, the histories of localities, of the medieval kingdom and of the recent industrial past (e.g. 'Industrial Pioneers of Tyneside', 'Industrial Archaeology') all merge to reinforce the popular image of cultural homogeneity. These representations find a resonance among north-easterners:

'As a family of parents and two adult daughters, we are proud to be Geordie.

'But after 14 years of living in the South we know just how impossible it is to persuade southerners that Geordies have reason to be proud. "When the Boat Comes In" and "The Likely Lads" did not help. They confirmed the belief that "Geordie" is a word that says in summary - "uncouth, rough, ill-informed, unmannered, uneducated."

'They know nothing of the Golden Age of Northumbria. They know equally little of the great industrial and engineering feats of our shipyards and factories and of our inventions.'

(Letter Evening Chronicle: 30/7/86)

Added to this come representations made on behalf of the north-eastern dialect as a language in its own right:

'... The Geordies have a language, going right back in some cases to the Saxons, the Anglians and the Vikings and you'll find too that much that is erroneously termed vulgar or ignorant is really not badly pronounced English but in reality an older language from which much of English is descended. Its called "Geordie".

(Dobson: 1973; p. 5)

More serious support for a north-eastern language comes from the Northumbrian Language Society who periodically implore the local newspaper readership to preserve this language in the face of competition from English (e.g. Evening Chronicle: 28/3/83).

What is important here is not the validity of claims to distinctiveness rooted in the historic past and identified by a unique language. It is that the claims are made. They feed on the sense of belonging which Townsend and Taylor detailed but have no popular political manifestation which is equivalent to Scottish or Welsh nationalism. Part of that problem is that though the mechanisms for generating such a nationalist sentiment are produced by groups in the region, the north-east's membership in the English nation inhibits more than these desultory manifestations. They may and can offer a general frame of reference for locating north-eastern history but after all this history is remarkably similar to that of England as a whole and, therefore, lacking in the potential for distinctiveness.

Not however according to one writer. Bean argues that Tyneside (the previously identified north-eastern cultural core) has more in common with Scandinavia than many other parts of the country. This commonality was established by the Viking invasions (1971; p.5). In his chapter on Jarrow, Bean reinforces the link by quoting an anecdote which connects the town's recent past to that of the Vikings:

'In 1961, a firm of private developers opened a new shopping-centre known as the Viking Precinct. On a high plinth on the pavement stand two cement fondu Vikings with horned helmets and big shields. They were donated by the developers and are the work of Colin Davidson of Orpington in Kent, who said at the time that his figures were not intended to commemorate the sacking of the town. "But there can be a symbolic connection between the rugged figures and the characteristic spirit of the Tynesider. I think that this idea is more appropriate for Jarrow than the serene, classical, and often sentimental characters of many public sculptures.'

(Bean: 1971; p. 155)

Within Bean's framework this connection between the Viking past and the recent history of Jarrow is understandable, the 'symbolic connection' is less easily discernable. 'Rugged' the Viking may have been but they were engaged in the mutilation and murder of medieval Jarrovians. It is the 'rugged' qualities of Jarrow people linked to the perspective of the Viking as 'noble savage' which operates here. Underlying this representation is the metaphor of struggle which has manifested itself in the north-east, not as an alternative political ideology which calls for the re-ordering of social and economic relations but as a celebration of past struggles. It is this celebration which Beamish Museum depicts in its exhibits - showing the very best manifestations of how things could be within the framework of those struggles (but probably weren't). The historic transcendence is utilized to suggest a phenomenological continuity which links person and place throughout historic time. Person and place whose merit is not fully recognized in the cultural system of which it is part.

This section has been concerned to outline the nature of representations which seek to identify north-eastern particularity. We began with the examination of what was hailed as a regional triumph - Steve Cram's 1983 victory in the world championship 1500 metres. The effusion of self-congratulations which accompanied this were identified as being equally the product of the region's past failure as the delight in Cram's personal triumph. That regional acclaim is rooted in the peripherality - or the sense thereof - which permeates everyday life in the north-east, particularly with regard to its socio-economic condition. The local press makes representations focussed around this decline detailing cultural forms which find resonance in the north-eastern historical experience.

These cultural forms have been examined with reference to the primary sources: firstly those made by Beamish Museum and secondly those uncovered by Townsend and Taylor through a random sample of north-eastern inhabitants. What unites both these representations is the perspective which links people to place - i.e. the concept of belonging, which holds place to be significant in determining the nature of person. Both representations mediate the wider framework of region to the specificity of person via a collective concept - the community experience. What constitutes that experience is explicitly defined by Townsend and Taylor:

'Regional identification is ... rooted in the local experiences of the overall way of life of the immediate areas or nodes of personal significance for the individual. The strength of the kinship and friendship network, the feeling of belonging to a social group which encompasses the individual's own life style, provide the basis for his attachment to the region, its image and social attributes.'

(1975; p. 390)

Beamish Museum is less explicit, creating the material structures - the town area, the colliery area - within which these interactions occurred. What Beamish presents is an empty stage into which are poured the ideological artefacts such as those detailed by Townsend and Taylor. For both representations, the community is the site which links the regional and the personal experience.

One distinction between the two is that Beamish Museum offers the scope for individual (and potentially collective) investment in structures of meaning as presented. The ultimate authentication for the Beamish project is the reactions and responses made by visitors to the museum. The precise reproduction of artefacts and objects is the starting point for a dialogue

which is completed by the visitor or visitors. Townsend and Taylor present results - quantitatively verified results extended into qualitative analysis. This gives their survey the air of scientific credibility - in effect underwriting Beamish's representations by using a scientific yardstick. Yet while Beamish may be criticized for adopting a stance which articulates the ideal in north-eastern socio-cultural relationships, criticisms can be levelled at the Townsend and Taylor survey because it presumes to represent reality - a reality of feeling. That survey is a synchronic representation. It does not examine the dynamic nature which forms and constructs the attitudes discerned in the survey. While avoiding the nostalgia imbued in Beamish Museum's representations, north-easterness is defined as a consequence of regional deprivation expressed through industrial decline. Beamish Museum, on the other hand, pays little attention to the economic and industrial decline which beset the region after world war one.

Though Townsend and Taylor make reference to historical process by identifying regional culture with industrial decline (while Beamish implies that it is the north-eastern hey-day which is the crucial formative element), neither elaborates the dynamics of historical process.

Wilkinson in her analysis of the process which created mass unemployment in Jarrow during the 1930s exemplifies a diachronic approach to the region and its situation:

'The poverty of the poor is not an accident, a temporary difficulty, a personal fault. It is the permanent state in which the vast majority of the citizens of any capitalist country have to live. That is the basic fact of the class struggle ... men are regarded as mere instruments of production, their labour a commodity to be bought and sold. In capitalist society vast changes can be made overnight, in the interest of some powerful group, who need take no account of the social consequences of their decisions.'

(1939; p. 8)

What we see here is a definition, an outline of historic process which moulds and shapes individuals. Poverty is not an 'accident', a 'temporary difficulty' nor a 'personal fault' - but the by-product of a system which unfolds over time and may indeed be counteracted. It is coping with poverty - by the making of bread, by making 'clippie' mats - which Beamish Museum effectively presents. People collectively attempt to re-order society on its own terms by establishing cooperatives - e.g. Annfield Plain. The underlying causes are left unexamined. While Townsend and Taylor acknowledge economic decline - neither they nor (presumably) their informants locate this in a wider historical process. That process, as described by Wilkinson, echoes an earlier analysis:

'Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions are swept away. All new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.'

(Marx and Engels; 1967; p. 83)

In this passage we have depicted the fate not just of Jarrow but of Shildon, Consett, Fishburn, Wolsingham and the 'uneconomic' mines of the north-east. Production revolutionized without, as Wilkinson observed, any account of social consequences.

What unites the representations made by Beamish Museum, Townsend and Taylor and Wilkinson is their historic location. That historic moment is one characterized by regional decline. The fate of Jarrow, described by Wilkinson in the 1930s, was a pre-figurative form for the 1980s; the town's shipyard closed, a ban placed on the site preventing further shipbuilding enterprises

and the dismantling of the site, the dispersal of the means of production were rare phenomena in the 1930s. In the 1980s, while no legal bar has been made on steel in Consett, engineering at Shildon or closed pits such as Marley Hill for example - the dispersal of equipment, the levelling of the sites has replicated the Jarrow archetype.

As Wilkinson points out, the 'vast changes' made by capitalists, that capacity to melt the solid into air forms the basis of the labour movement. That movement whose heartland was established during the inter-war years clearly owed that success as a response, a fight-back against that decline. Its failure to secure a hegemonic position demonstrated by its remaining the political expression of declining regions rather than the whole nation has perhaps allowed the development of a regional consciousness spatially defined.

We can argue that each representation represents a particular aspect of twentieth-century north-eastern decline. Beamish a nostalgic retreat to a sentimentalized, idealized past; Townsend and Taylor a statement of how that present is felt and experienced and Wilkinson an understanding which is the premise for reworking the power relations within society but not the north-east alone. This economic deterioration which marks the region is not a 'local' affair - it has national and international dimensions yet the responses as exemplified by Beamish Museum has been to narrow and restrict the focus of understanding. That restriction entails a concentration on the phenomenological qualities of north-eastern people emphasizing the particularity of their experience. The regional ethos collapses the potential for conflict and articulates the existence of an

'imagined' community. That community is defined as not being accessible to analysis which could determine its historic specificity. The region's character became defined as essentialistic - i.e. not the property of historic specificity but of a generality immune to historic forces and continually capable of emerging fully-formed at any moment. This past and present north-east are merged into a definition which delineates an enclosed concept of character linked to place, forever exploited, forever oppressed but forever resilient.

Chapter Two: Methods and Methodology

'Like ... tribal peoples, we have internalized the classifications of our tribal group; we see no other kinds of reality. Timid and gregarious, we accept more pressure than we exert. We wish to protect the insulation of the system, whether we like it or not.'

(Douglas: 1975; p. 219)

2.1 The boundaries of experience

In acknowledging the potency of the industrial context for defining north-eastern characteristics, the precise quality of representations made by agencies such as the local press and Beamish Museum must be recognized. These agencies ground their representations in the realm of an imagined community which involves all north-eastern people as participants without regard for hierarchical status and privilege. North-easternness overrides considerations of hierarchy and power in this perspective. The industrial process, the community, the family are not defined as areas in which conflicts and disputes are enacted but as defining sites for harmony and order in the region's culture.

The industrial context offers one other means of delineating north-eastern homogeneity - this time in the political sphere. Unlike the cultural representations described in the last chapter, this is founded on a presumed antagonism to the system rather than compliance with it. Though it has been observed that during the twentieth-century the dominance in the region by the Labour party may be considered as another peripheral element, the basis for that party's rise is a suitable area to begin outlining a methodology for examining the issue of north-eastern identity. This research will address and examine the evidence for the region's particularity provided by those who could be considered members of the working-class. That class, the product of the region's industrialization is associated socio-culturally with the concept of regional awareness. It is the working-class - or more precisely 'manual social groups' (Registrar-General's definition) - who provided the bulk of informants for the Townsend

and Taylor survey. The north-east is, and has been, identified as a working-class area¹.

It is class and the possibilities which are offered for a regional class consciousness which will provide the entry point for determining a methodological approach.

The problem with analyses based on class is how to define class as a meaningful term for use in sociological research. The problems have been explored by Nichols who adopts a three-fold categorization to delineate the different viewpoints available: (i) official (ii) sociological and (iii) Marxist. Each is highlighted by the differing qualities which emanate from their own perspective. The 'official' category relates to the Registrar-General's utilization of seventeen distinct socio-economic groupings each of which is defined in accordance with statistical criteria derived from occupation. The basic principle which operates here is identified by Nichols as being rooted in culture and is an expression of status described succinctly as representing an individual's 'general standing within the community of the occupations concerned' (1979; p. 158).

Sociological definitions of class are located in the realms of status and culture. The former trait is described as operating in the sense of an interviewee's own 'esteem' of their worth. The second is measured by the interviewee's assimilation within a status group and the life-style which this involves (ibid; p. 159). Here the sociologist collapses both class and status to produce a multi-dimensional perspective which details the layers of social stratification. Class as a conceptual core loses its

1. According to the 1981 census 42.5% of heads of households^{nationally} belong to registrar-general's social classes III, IV and V which constitute Nichol's 'official' working-class. For urban areas in the north-east, the percentages are: Teesside, 53.3%; Tyneside, 46.2%; Sunderland, 50%. (OPCS: 1984; Table 2).

capacity for use in the analysis of social change. This third perspective is the Marxist one which moves away from the descriptive qualities which constitute the official category and contaminate the sociological.

What is true of class is that it exists and in its existence it incorporates all the criteria - descriptive status, emblem of hierarchy, measure of social dynamics - which Nichols' categories identify. They are categories drawn from observed realities by the three agents in their definition - official, sociological and Marxist:

'On the level of interpretation and evaluation, the views differ as to the importance and social role ascribed to the class of workers. But as far as the prevalence of unifying, common attributes over local and occupational differences is concerned (which justifies the view of the working population as a class), there is a broad consensus stretching from the Registrar General through politicians and social scientists to the popular folklore.'

(Baumann: 1982; p. 76)

The problem is that this 'broad consensus' of what is class does not necessarily determine attitudes, beliefs, values and ultimately actions. Geographical spaces, social groups, economic groups etc. can be identified as working-class within any one of the frameworks described by Nichols above. Within these categories, there are elements who do not act according to the prescription for their class - e.g. Nottinghamshire miners in the 1984-5 strike, Conservative voters in Labour strongholds, Labour voting council house purchasers. These acts do not prevent the observer from categorizing the actors as working-class. To determine the nature of, the parameters for 'working-class', it is to 'self-evidence' that we turn: the self-evidence of those identified as working-class by the 'broad consensus'.

In accepting this basis for a methodology, one which will examine the experience of class, and the making of its consciousness in the north-east the instinctive response is to adopt the methodology of E. P. Thompson, focussed as it is on the means by which a class makes itself. The definition which Thompson uses is concerned with the recognition of common interests between individuals.

'... class happens when some men (sic) as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs. The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations with which men are born - or enter involuntarily. Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas, and institutional forms. If the experience appears as determined, class consciousness does not.'

(1980; pp.8-9)

Thompson acknowledges that the circumstances under which people exist are not of their own making but their responses, their consciousness is:

'Experience walks in without knocking at the door, and announces deaths, causes of subsistence, trench warfare, inflation, genocide. People starve: their survivors think in new ways about the market. People are imprisoned: in prison they meditate in new ways about the law.'

(1978; p. 201)

Precisely how this process of consciousness 'making' develops is not clearly defined by Thompson. There are in his view three stages which mark the process: (i) experiences which lead to and (ii) an understanding which

results in the formulation of (iii) consciousness. The links between are unclear. It can be accepted that as Marx (1852) observed people (including, naturally, north eastern people) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries made their own history but not in circumstances chosen by themselves. While in the north-east that consciousness particularly can be defined both economically and politically as distinct and hence could be said to be representative of this process, Thompson's methodology suggests that this making is narrowly defined by its outcome. It is the outcome (i.e. long-term loyalty to the presumed opposition to the system - the Labour party) which it could be suggested has predicated interpretations of the past:

'It is exceedingly difficult to forget late experiences while exploring the world of the past. Historians and sociologists enter this world with the queries born of the world in which they live. Since we are trained to see social reality as historically moving, and the past as an earlier stage of growth of the present, we tend to assume a 'developmental link' between the past and the reality as we currently interpret it.'

(Bauman: 1982; p. 77)

In Thompson's case study, it is the Chartist agitation of the 1830s and 1840s which is the visible manifestation of the class' coming to consciousness. 1832 - the year when the reform act was passed - is in Thompson's view - the key date marking the end of the three stage process outlined above. He argues that all the activity which happened before 1832 was a prelude to Chartism.

Obviously, Thompson's argument has some merit in that post-1832, the working-class through the National Charter Association became involved in political activity on a grander scale. 1945 is a more problematic

date in terms of the history of the late nineteenth-century working-class movement. That year has in some quarters been viewed retrospectively as the beginning of the end for the consciousness which raised the Labour party to its political zenith (see Seabrook: 1978).

Representative of this 'disappearance' is Beamish Museum. Here the cultural product made by the class is presented as 'a way of life'. A way of life whose parameters for the bulk of the museum's exhibits define a working-class experience. Even within Thompson's terms the Beamish presentation is acceptable. It purports to illustrate the felt identity articulated by a group made in 'given' circumstances. The museum's definition is based on space leading to a regional consciousness, while Thompson identifies class as determinate in definition and outcome. If we accept the results found by Townsend and Taylor, which validates the existence of regional awareness, it is possible to argue that class elements exist within it - as evidenced by support for the Labour party.

What will be shown here is that whether this consciousness is superficially defined by class or region, neither of these elements is the totality of the definition for the region's inhabitants. To examine this further we must return to consideration of the consciousness-carriers i.e. people. Thompson rests his case for 'self-making' on the importance of experience as teacher and educator for the individual and the group. In his perspective, a particular set of experiences are relevant:

'Classes arise because men and women in determinative productive relations, identify their antagonistic interests, and come to struggle, to think and value in class ways.'

(1978; pp. 298-299)

'Determinative productive relations' provide a range of experiences which are valid, in Thompson's view, for the making of a class consciousness. Central to this is the capital/labour conflict which occurs at the point of production. Understanding of this conflict is reinforced by experiences which occur away from this locale - e.g. conflicts with the forces of law and order, experiences of deprivation resulting from involvement in the capitalist process etc. By definition, identifying 'valid' experiences means that there are other experiences which could teach and educate that Thompson's perspective exclude. It is to consideration of these that we turn next.

Anderson in uncovering selectivity with regard to the experiential recognizes that central to Thompson's work is the concept that people act as agents in making their own lives - a making which occurs within structures which are 'given'. Agency, Anderson defines as 'conscious goal-directed activity' (1980; p. 19). Since all historical subjects engage in goal directed activity continuously, he argues that it is the nature of the 'goal' which has great significance. These types of goal can be defined:

- (i) 'private': e.g. cultivation of a plot, choice of a marriage partner, maintenance of a home. These goals are inscribed in existing social relations and typically reproduce them (ibid);
- (ii) 'public': e.g. religious movement, political struggles. Here will and action acquire an independent historical significance as causal sequences in their own right 'rather than as molecular samples of social relations' (ibid.);

- (iii) 'collective': projects which unlike the others are a conscious programme aimed at remodelling or restructuring whole social structures (ibid: p. 20)

What emerges from this categorization is that types two and three are , concerned to effect social change to a lesser or greater extent.

Type one, on the other hand, is concerned not with social transformation but with social reproduction. These acts continue to reproduce the social structure despite 'trench warfare, inflation and genocide'. People are making their own history here - but from the sociological perspective the question is: 'What history is being made'? These acts, it should be noted, are not automatic, pre-coded routines, they are consciously directed towards chosen goals:

'Everyone is investigating all the time. But the results of these "investigations" are not concerned with ideas, concepts or discussions: they materialize as acts.'

(Bertaux-Wiaume: 1981; p. 32)

Though they are 'investigative', most of these are acts of social reproduction, the question of the ideological materials used is brought to the fore.

While agency type two could involve ideology which is oppositional in relation to the structure it seeks to change and agency type three does (by definition) involve an anti-structural ideology. We would not expect this to be the case with type one.

The concern is with the ongoing process of people's lives. Within Thompson's perspective, there is a neglect of such consideration. If experience is a teacher then perhaps people learn more from the continuity developed from these acts of agency, rather than from the experiences which are held to inform types two and three. We might ask, (and effectively will ask throughout this thesis) what it was that north-eastern people learned from the operation

of capitalism within the region. What did they learn from mining disasters? What did they learn from capital's flight to other regions, to other countries throughout this century? What did unemployment, poverty, deprivation teach them? These disruptive experiences have to be set against the context of social reproduction, against the experiences of a 'daily life' rooted in family and community.

Yet this does not mean that all knowing and understanding is derived from experience within a narrow conceptual context though the boundaries may be so defined spatially. Nichols makes the point:

'... it seems most appropriate to note that whereas it is true that ideas are formed through experience, experience has itself to be broadly not narrowly defined'

(1974; p. 497)

Anderson's critique of Thompson raises this very point. He notes the absence in Thompson's work of consideration of major events in English and European history. Excluded from consideration are the impact of the American and French Revolutions, wartime chauvinism - 'the sense of national community, systematically orchestrated and instituted by the state' (Anderson: 1980; pp. 35-38). Consideration of north-easternness would require therefore consideration of the regions involvement in the British imperial system and the part it played in shaping the region's consciousness.

This latter point determines the referential framework for the analyses which follow: comparison between the regionally produced culture and the national one. Townsend and Taylor indicate the validity of this perspective. Having adopted as their theoretical premise that they wished to uncover what Williams called the 'felt sense of the quality of life', (1961, p. 48)

they observed that particularity of place does not give immunity with regard to national values:

'The patterned network of groups and institutions within the region can be seen as providing a level of reference for the individual through all stages in the life cycle. In addition, it could be said to "refract" national cultural patterns by re-orientating them to meet regional values.'

(1975; p. 380 - underlines mine)

What this suggests is a conjunction of regional experience and the values transmitted by the national culture. This distinctiveness of a region can be defined then as the extent to which the felt consciousness is unique and the extent to which it re-orientates external values to local circumstances. The authors did not explore this point but the perspective will provide a major theme of this work by providing the referential frame for analyzing the material.

The credibility of this framework has been suggested by Mouffe's interpretation of Gramsci's thoughts on hegemony and ideology. While Gramsci does not divorce himself completely from the idea that a ruling class acts in its own interests to maintain its dominant position, what he proposes, according to Mouffe, is that maintenance of a hegemonic position involves

'a complete fusion of economic, political, intellectual and moral objectives which will be brought about by one fundamental group and groups allied to it through the intermediary of ideology'.

(Mouffe: 1979; p. 181)

This fusion of objectives is not brought about by the coercive acts of the ruling class against the ruled. It involves uniting the different social groups with 'a single political subject' (ibid; p. 185). That unification is best understood by examining the role of ideology in this process.

Ideology, in the Gramscian view organizes action

'... Gramsci considers that a world view is manifest in all action and that this expresses itself in a very elaborate form and at a high level of abstraction - as is the case with philosophy - or else it is expressed in much simpler forms as the expression of "common sense" which presents itself as the spontaneous philosophy of the man in the street, but which is the popular expression of "higher philosophies".

(ibid; p. 186)

What is presented here is concept of ideology as a means of explaining and defining the limits of everyday experience. Ideology explains the world to its inhabitants. But these representations of reality, these 'world-views' are not developed by individuals but have potency because they are collectively expressed - signifying a communal viewpoint derived from a particular social group. These ideologies - 'organic' as Gramsci calls them - serve to inform individual and collective action. It is here that consciousness is developed, awareness of how reality is to be ordered and shaped. Consciousness is the effects of the ideological system as the individual experiences it (ibid.).

We have already encountered two agencies which proposed that north-eastern people share a world-view regardless of inequalities. The first was Beamish Museum which collapsed the potential for conflict between classes by asserting the regional dimension, effectively arguing that the spatial was pre-eminent over the socio-economic. Secondly, the local press by defining a frame of reference for the region operates to generate a concept of consensuality. Both agencies act to incorporate their audiences within the realm of a shared world-view.

Within present considerations, Gramsci's argument that a ruling class has to 'nationalize itself' in order to become hegemonic is relevant:

'... the particular form in which the hegemonic ethno-political element presents itself in the life of the state and the country is "patriotism" and 'nationalism'.

(quoted in Mouffe: 1979; p. 194)

Basically the ruling-class attempts to incorporate the ruled with a shared ideology by articulating their experiences within the values and the rationale of the nation. From this perspective the distinctiveness of north-easternness needs to be measured against the hegemonic values and beliefs which emanate from the state. It is national cultural values which provide the yardstick for determining regional particularity. Given the references made to north-eastern particularity examined so far - economic peripherality, industrial zenith, the assertion of a north-eastern 'way of life', the claims to an ethnically different past - what we would expect to find is a regional articulation of ideological elements which operated in contradiction to those which constituted the national hegemony.

A regional culture with its own specificity would be the object here, but not one conceptually organized in the manner of Hoebel and Beamish Museum (see p.41 above) where

'Culture is ... treated ... purely as a symbolic system (the catch phrase is, "in its own terms"), by isolating its elements, specifying the internal relationships among those elements, and then characterizing the whole system in some general way - according to the core symbols around which it is organized, the underlying structures of what it is a surface expression, or the ideological principle upon which it is based.'

(Geertz: 1975; p. 17)

'Core symbols' in the north-eastern case could be for example industry, family and community which are then presumed to operate in a closed field allowing the development of internal relationships whose connections had to be articulated to reveal particularity. This, in effect, is what Beamish

Museum does. We require not so much a definition of what culture is but rather a perspective which tells us what we can usefully extract from a culture which exists in order to further understanding - in this case understanding the nature of north-eastern identity. Following Geertz what we examine is the interpretations that individuals make about the world they live in. A cultural analysis, should give access to 'the conceptual world in which ... subjects live' (ibid; p. 24). The examination of 'conceptual worlds' is a logical step following from the earlier discussion of the Gramscian position. There it was argued that it is the disparity between national and regional ideologies (if there is any) which will determine the quality of north-eastern consciousness. What we examine here are interpretations, made by agencies such as the local press and by individuals who lived within the region's ideological structures. Geertz defines the purpose of this analysis :

'Believing ... man (sic) is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.'

(ibid; p. 5)

This perspective is a logical consequence of the position developed via Mouffe from Gramsci. It was argued that ideology should be considered by comparing it nationally and regionally. By examining the 'webs of significance' as they are found in north-eastern representations, we present evidence which can be marshalled for this task.

It is important that the referential framework be established because one factor often utilized in defining north-easternness is its isolation from the rest of England. Bean defines this isolation by suggesting that the

north-east is ethnically distinct having more in common with Scandinavia than England (see p.53 above). The proposal that the region's identity is derived from a medieval kingdom operates as means of isolation. More commonly the isolation is expressed in geographical terms - i.e. distance from London or as we have seen a distinctiveness the crucible for which is based on the industrial past. The dispersed settlement pattern of the Durham coalfield which is often characterized as a group of small, close-built communities entire unto themselves, bears the hallmarks of isolation. Sociological and social anthropological fieldwork search for a distinctive trait which can encompass a group to make a suitable object of study. In working-class studies - occupational group is often taken as a criterion - e.g. Dennis et. al.: 1956 (miners); Hill: 1976 (dockers). Class can also be the criterion - e.g. Meacham (1977), Jackson (1968). Within these erected frameworks the essential qualities - social structure, cultural values and beliefs are then examined and presented as evidence of cultural particularity. Within this framework, it is the meanings invested in sense of place which will be studied - in terms of their contribution to north-easternness. Their particularity will be determined by evaluating the ideological elements used in generating meaning. Opposed to the concept of the imagined north-eastern community will be the hegemonic beliefs and values articulated through the medium of the English cultural system.

In order that the data presented be considered in relation to this national/regional grid, it has been arranged in the succeeding chapters so that the sources of meaning are grouped according to conventional definitions of what constitutes this polarity. Thus chapter three (which deals with interpretations of the industrial past) and chapter four (which examines the regions involvement in the imperial ethos) are deemed to be structures

emanating from a national source. Chapters five and six (which examine the concept of community) contain analyses which relate to values and beliefs which are normally identified as being regionally specific.

This, in Lockwood's view, can be considered as an artificial distinction,

'... between "social integration" and "system integration". Whereas the problem of social integration focuses attention upon the orderly or conflictful relationships between actors, the problem of system integration focuses on the orderly or conflictual relationships between the parts of a social system.'

(1964; 245)

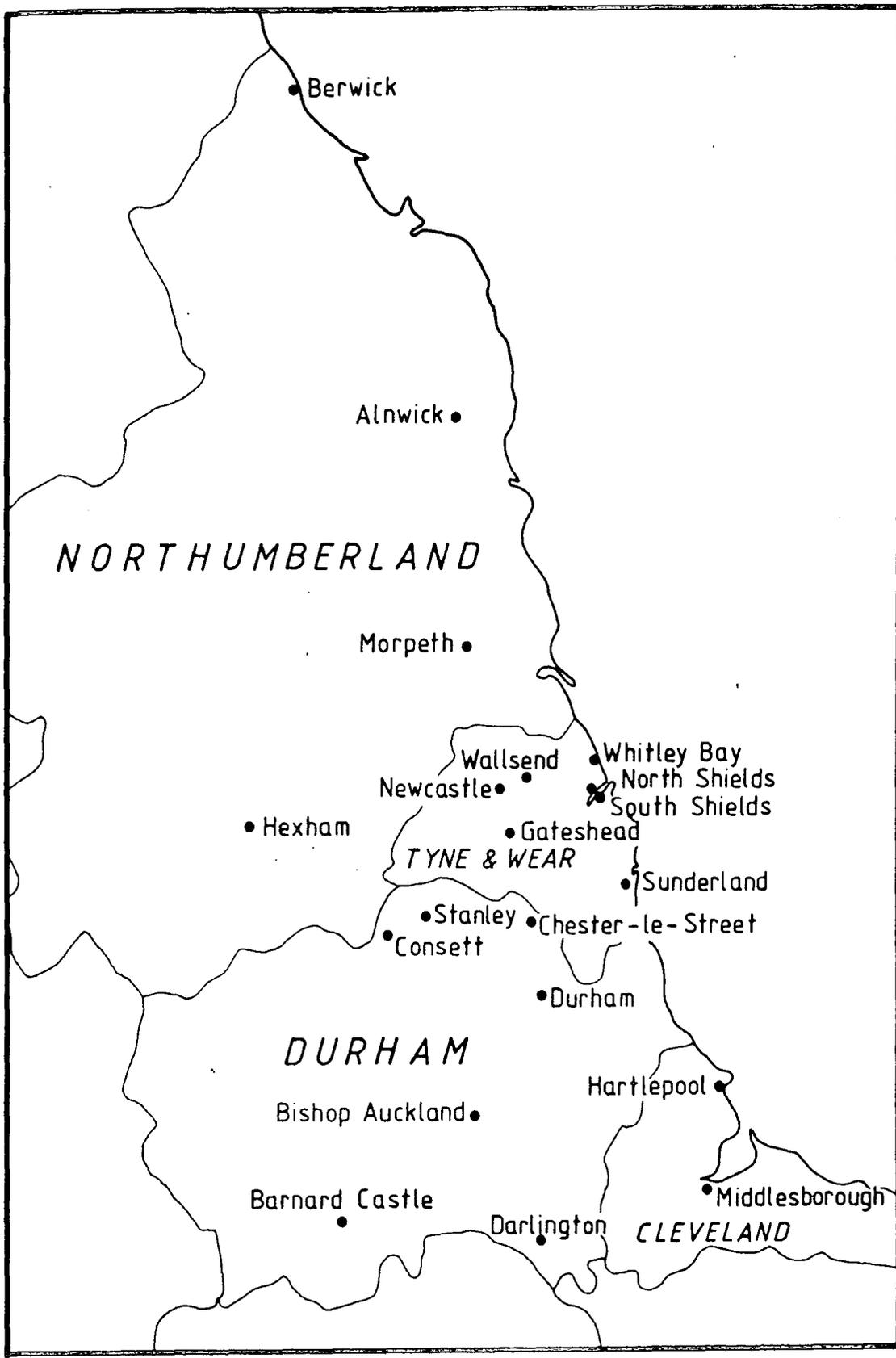
His concern is to develop a position from which the readiness of social change might be more easily apprehended. He is concerned that a proper perspective be established which recognizes that this distinction is frequently made as an analytical convenience. The distinction is adopted here in order that data may be conveniently considered with respect to the national/regional referential framework. What the subsequent analyses will show is the artificiality of that distinction in the real world. The actors who participate operate within frameworks made from elements which Lockwood identifies as representative of system integration as well as those classified as representing social integration. Likewise the parts of a social system, the institution, the systems are embodied in the actors themselves. The analytical separation is maintained because within this thesis the intention is to make clear that the ideology which governs 'north-easterness' involves participation in these interlocking systems.

2.2 The Local Press

In total, the north-east is served by 26 local newspapers - emanating from 20 publishing points (see Map One). Of these, five newspapers - Auckland Chronicle, Consett - Guardian Chronicle, Durham Advertiser, Durham Chronicle and Stanley News - belong to the Durham Advertiser series and are all published in Darlington. Though each retains considerable locally specific news and feature content, the publishing points associated with them - Bishop Auckland, Consett, Durham City, Chester-le-Street and Stanley are effectively centres for news - gathering and distribution rather than publication. Their high degree of local specificity allows them to be considered as pseudo-publication points.

This strategy has to be compared with that of newspapers such as the Evening Chronicle, the Journal, the Northern Echo and the Sunday Sun. Under each title numerous local editions are produced intended to serve a specific area. The Sunday Sun, for example produces five separate editions - viz. City, Durham, Coast, Tees and Carlisle. These 'separate' editions involve incorporating news stories specific to each locality - thus providing a partial profiling of an area rather than the production of an area specific edition.

This research involved an examination of the contents of the local press. A survey was undertaken in order that the local press' representations of north-easternness might be examined. Samples were collected from every local newspaper in the region. Those samples were classified and catalogued according to themes which emerged from a reading of the newspapers. Topics identified included gender, industry, employment, working-men's clubs, police and local politics. The hope and expectation behind this survey was that a clear and distinct north-eastern characterization would emerge from the data. As the analysis presented in Chapter 5, section 2 demonstrates, the local press was found to be more homogeneous in character than was originally thought.



Map One: Newspaper Publishing Points

Not that this homogeneity necessarily excludes the possibility that the local press operates to sustain a north-eastern identity. All the newspapers could operate to promote north-easternness. A key function of the provincial press is

'The promotion of a sense of community identity and cohesion and the fostering of the individual's integration within 'local society.'

(Jackson: 1971; p. 279)

Therefore if community identity is promoted by a north-eastern provincial press, its content should be characterized by a north-eastern cultural definition. In the discussion of peripherality (see above pp. 10) it was shown that the local press defined a particularity with regard to industrial decline, strongly emphasizing the fate in store 'for the industrial community made redundant. While it was observed that there was a dichotomy between news content and editorial opinion, the cultural symbolism which characterized news coverage was represented as north-eastern. This can be taken as a starting point for considerations of north-eastern particularity.

In using the north-eastern press for their purpose, two distinct categories were identified: local and regional. What distinguishes these categories is the readership addressed. In the first category - the 'local' newspapers. are distributed within an area in and around the immediate point of publication. Thus the daily Shields Gazette circulates primarily in South Tyneside, the daily Evening Despatch mainly in Darlington and south Durham. Weekly newspapers such as the Stanley News and the Whitley Bay Guardian have a distribution area similarly defined. Though weekly newspapers have a higher local content than daily newspapers - neither type places much

significance on addressing a regional readership. This is the prerogative of four newspapers only: the Evening Chronicle, the Journal, the Northern Echo and the Sunday Sun. Of these the Sunday Sun is the most extensive in its distribution - from Berwick in the north to Teesside in the south and also in Cumbria.

All four newspapers claim to address a regional readership. On the basis of distribution alone, they address more than one urban or rural area, claiming to speak for and to the north-east as a whole. Each addresses an 'imagined' community of readers - readers, who for the most part meet each other. In part that is because they are directed along social class lines. Thus the Journal is a morning paper whose majority readership belongs to classes 'A', 'B' and C1 (72% in all) while the Evening Chronicle's majority readership is from social classes C2, D and E (63 %).

Within the imagined community these differences are presumed not to exist. According to Anderson, reading a newspaper is a 'mass ceremony' reinforcing the idea of such a community because it is

'... being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence (the reader) is confident, yet of whose identity (s/he) has not the slightest notion. Furthermore, this ceremony is incessantly repeated at daily or half-daily intervals throughout the calendar. What more vivid figure for the ... imagined community can be envisioned?'

(Anderson: 1983; p. 39)

Regional newspaper readers operate within this framework which attempts to define a north-eastern community (as opposed to the communities such as Sunderland, Hartlepool, Darlington etc. which their indigenous press define through imagination). What we did find in these newspapers is representations which are located within a regional ethos - a regional

ethos which can be examined to determine its contents.

While media studies have demonstrated no clear link between what newspapers publish and the attitudes and beliefs of the readership, their importance to this research is defined as follows: local newspapers provide an everyday presence. The extent of that presence is clearly shown in the map of publishing centres (p.77 above). As it demonstrates the north-east as a region is well-covered by the press, no district lacking press coverage at a local level. The press is present as a repository of values and beliefs which can be utilized to interpret reality:

'The family readership is traditionally sceptical of the local rag with its stagey pix and puff; but in naming streets and people they see every day, providing fodder for gossip or debate, supplying practical information, it has offered them an enjoyable daily transaction with the community, a confirmation of their belonging to it.'

(Smith: 1970; pp. 142-3)

What is clear is that the local newspaper is not to be read as a source of revelation - i.e. as a catalyst for developing new meanings in explaining the world. Rather it operates to reinforce the world as it is. This alone demonstrates the value of newspaper data to this research. The regional press, as defined above, re-iterates elements which it holds to be significant to north-eastern particularity.

Even here a core regional press can be identified. Of the four newspapers, the Sunday Sun is distinctive in the topics which concern it. As a weekly paper published on a Sunday it operates in differentiating from the regional dailies. That difference is primarily associated with content. As described in Benn's Press Guide, the Sunday Sun aims at a family readership. In this

it is reminiscent of the weekly newspapers which appear on a Thursday or Friday - though its circulation area is more extensive. Sentimental stories of local success, show-business features, crime stories, women's pages and sport together with holiday advice, problem pages etc; provide its staple fare. Industrial news, political stories - whether local or national - are markedly absent from the Sunday Sun. As the earlier discussion of peripherality demonstrated, it is around such issues that the examination of north-eastern particularity begins. If the Sunday Sun were the only 'regional' newspaper, the framework for the cultural imagery identified earlier would dissolve since it has no place in this publication.

The core regional press used in this thesis consists of the Evening Chronicle, the Journal and the Northern Echo. The first two are published in Newcastle, the Northern Echo in Darlington. The Evening Chronicle as its title implies is a daily evening newspaper, whereas the other two are morning papers. Full background data for these (and all other north-eastern newspapers) relating to circulation, distribution, ownership etc. are to be found in the Appendix. We have now to consider how the regional press (i.e. the three newspapers so identified) helps to promote regional identity. We have already examined one element of this with regard to decline and peripherality. Now the need is to examine how they define the spatial parameters for the north-eastern structure in which a substantive content may be expressed.

When examining the regional press for the methods by which it promotes regional identity, the obvious starting point is to examine the headlines which identify each news item. The immediate function of a headline is to categorize a news item. The particular category to be examined here is that which contains news of concern to the region as a whole. Its presence demonstrates the conceptual framework for the promoting regional awareness.

The contents of that framework, their validity in helping to form a regional identity with distinct characteristics will be ascertained later. For the moment, the concern is to describe the framework.

What is clear from the study of headlines in the Journal, the Northern Echo and the Evening Chronicle, is that the category of news items relating to the promotion of regional awareness is a significant one. Headlines containing a regional reference appear frequently in these newspapers. A statistical analysis based on a comparison between news items with a regional reference in them and those without would not appear to offer a fruitful means of investigating this phenomenon. Such results would prove inconclusive. Firstly, while the presence of a regional reference headline is an indication of an attempt to promote regional awareness, that does not mean that other news stories, without a clear regional reference in the headline, are not making the same promotion. Secondly, the inclusion of a local story in a regional newspaper such as the Evening Chronicle, may of itself serve to strengthen regional awareness. For the moment these two points are to be noted - further consideration will be given to them later.

The table of headlines noted below is not therefore presented as a statistical analysis of the incidence of regional reference headlines within each newspaper, nor a comparison of the incidence between newspapers. Entries to the table have been selected to demonstrate the means by which the local press attempt to promote an immediate sense of regional awareness. Terms such as 'north', 'northern', 'north-east', 'north-eastern', 'Geordie', are utilized in that promotion. The use of generic terminology such as "region", "regional" or "area" pre-supposes an existence of regional awareness - the north east being the only one local newspaper readers would expect to be referenced in the news items so labelled.

Table Two Regional referencing in the local press

Newspaper	Headline	Date
<u>Evening Chronicle</u>	Contented <u>Geordie's</u> nights in front of T.V. <u>North</u> fast to make up it's mind <u>7m North-East</u> Euro boost <u>Our history</u> on sale <u>Carols</u> high note for <u>Geordies</u> <u>North Crufts</u> win <u>Law loophole</u> bars <u>Geordies</u> <u>Walesa</u> bid to see <u>N.E.</u> <u>Rundown areas</u> given £4m grant <u>Geordie bairns</u> ta'ak aal reet	14/12/82 15/12/82 13/1/83 5/2/83 11/2/83 14/2/83 16/2/83 2/3/83 10/3/83 30/3/83
<u>Journal</u>	Solo <u>Dankworth</u> in <u>North</u> tribute £17m Euro cash aid for <u>North</u> All <u>North</u> men go jobless if trends go on says M.P. <u>Rowan</u> home for new series M.P.s debate 'despair of the <u>North</u> ' <u>Adopted Geordie</u> wins Falklands medal <u>Boat people</u> reject the <u>North</u> <u>North</u> gets £20m 'facelift' <u>North</u> exile comes to the rescue of old workmates <u>Dad's army</u> 'would protect <u>North</u> '	13/1/83 13/1/83 25/1/83 5/2/83 8/2/83 10/2/83 16/2/83 16/2/83 28/2/83 8/3/83
<u>Northern Echo</u>	New moves to break <u>London</u> stranglehold Help <u>area</u> now, Tory tells chief The <u>North</u> shows 'em <u>Geordie</u> warmth <u>Lonely list</u> shock for <u>region</u> <u>Region</u> gets Euro boost 'We're not posh' <u>region</u> shuns au pairs <u>Archbishop</u> raps soft <u>south</u> New Year look at <u>North-East</u> industrial might Getting to grips with <u>Northern</u> kings	25/11/82 29/11/82 7/12/82 23/12/82 4/1/83 13/1/83 15/1/83 17/1/83 8/2/83 21/2/83

The essential point of this discussion of the use of regional reference in newspaper headlines is that they point to either a geographic area (however loosely defined) or a stereotypical character the characteristics of which are understood to have or ought to have meaning for the readers. This strategy for regional referencing promotes a concept which delineates a north-eastern place and culture. It is a conceptual framework in which representations made by the regional newspapers can operate.

What is not being proposed here is that the regional press impose the regional awareness on north-easterners. Their news coverage, their features - as we will see - operate to promote a communal sense, only at this time at a regional level. The elements for this representation exist already in the 'real' world. As with Beamish Museum a selective process operates. The regional press act to construct a frame of reference - this time a regional one - by means of which regional experience can be interpreted. In promoting this regional identity the press are not necessarily engaged in neutrally reflecting reality as Jackson suggests, rather their function is

'... the provision and the selective contradiction of social knowledge, of social imagery, through which we perceive the "worlds", the "lived realities" of others; and imaginatively reconstruct their lives, and ours with some intelligible "world-of-the-whole", some lived totality.'

(Hall; 1977 ; pp. 340-341)

This warning from Hall suggests that the press' regional representations must be submitted to the same methodological framework which will examine archival data - i.e. determination of the extent to which these representations are regional in content or the degree to which they refract national values.

2.3 Oral History Archives

Oral history data examined in this thesis is drawn from four archives:

- (i) Easington District Council (Past and Present) - (EDC)
116 interviews; 73 male, 43 female.
- (ii) Jarrow March Tapes - (JMT)
18 interviews; 10 males, 8 females.
- (iii) Miners' History Project - (MHP)
50 interviews; 36 males, 14 females.
- (iv) Women in shipbuilding - (WIS)
46 interviews; all female

In total the archival material used in this thesis is drawn from 230 interviews of which 119 were with men and 111 with women. In addition to this there were interviews undertaken during this project to examine specific themes in the determination of cultural identity. The prime example of this was a set of eight interviews undertaken with north-eastern comedians. All men, the purpose was to determine whether or not it was possible to discern a 'Geordie' humour comparable with say Jewish or Irish humour. This proved, according to informants' testimony to be a fruitless task. Nevertheless the interviews and attendance at interviewees performances were particularly useful in sensitizing this researcher to the operation of maleness in north-eastern culture. Other miscellaneous interviews - some recorded, others not - were undertaken to garner the impressions of people working or living in the region with regard to the cultural conceptions of the north-east². All of the archival material is composed of interviews with

2. When inclusions are made in the text from these sources, there will be no citation made afterwards.

people who would, according to Bauman's consensual definition, be considered working-class. All of these informants were born before the second world war and could hence be considered as members of the 'traditional working class'. Though a small proportion had not reached adulthood at the outbreak of war this testimony can be taken as representative of the values and beliefs of this group - it is data drawn from that class' experience.

Before considering the significance of this archival material, and describing the uses to which it may be put, we must first reflect on the circumstances which led to its collection. In two cases - the Jarrow March Tapes and Women in Shipbuilding, the data was collected for academic projects. In the first instance the results of this research are documented in my 1982 M.A. thesis 'The Jarrow March and the symbolic expression of protest'. The second archive was the result of a project investigating the experience of women who worked in Tyneside and Wearside shipyards during the second world war³.

The material collected for the Easington District Council archive and the Miners History Project was the result of different motivations to the other two projects. Both archives were established in the 1970s - the mid-1970s - and reflect an awareness that the traditional working-class community which is quintessentially represented by the mining village was disappearing in the wake of pit closures and the mining industry's general rundown. The Easington project was undertaken by Community Arts Development officers employed by the council at Peterlee. The Miners History Project was undertaken by two officers working in the Durham County Records Office

3. This project was undertaken in cooperation with Richard Brown and Ian Roberts of the Department of Sociology and Social Policy.

in Durham City. Both projects sought to record the life-histories of people who had lived in the disappearing mining communities of Durham. Their purpose was to preserve an oral record of that experience as told by informants. Informing these interviews was a general perspective held by the interviewers that 'community' as defined in the north-east in mining villages was both ubiquitous and beneficial. Its ubiquity is testified to by the fact that the interviewers appear not to be concerned to elucidate distinctions between communities throughout the county. While the small area (comparatively speaking) over which the Easington archive was collected makes this absence more understandable, this is not so for the Miners History Project. The differences between living in a pit community near an urban centre (such as Hebburn or Wallsend) where there are other industries and communities operating alongside, and one in rural Durham (such as Horden or Wingate) where the archetypal isolated mining village could be found are not explored here. A hazy, generalized concept of community governs the interviewers' approach. Informants are asked to describe, not analyze, their experience. The interviewers are sympathetic and uncritical. According to the archival evidence there were no men who drank heavily or were violent to their families, nor any women who neglected their home and family. While not suggesting that villages were composed entirely of inhabitants of this ilk, the interviewers' failure to probe for anything which contradicts this presumed vision of the beneficial community indicates the framework in which this data was collected. These are archives which represent idealized impressions of 'a world on the wane' - a disappearing way of life which must be recorded for posterity'.

Nevertheless this data is valuable in that it, together with data from the other two archives, is reflective in content, consisting of individuals' assessment of their own lives. What contextualizes it is the ideological material which gives, in the informants' view, meaning to the decisions, judgements and acts which are expressed and declared. The primary reference point for these decisions etc. is the cultural environment in which these informants lived. For most, that actual environment: - be it town or village, be it dependent on any of the 'traditional' north-eastern industries - is where they lived their lives. Few informants left the north-east for any extended period in their lives. Many passing all their active life cycle in one spatial and cultural location. Movement by individuals tended to intra-regional - though this sometimes involved moving from a cultural location within whose economic framework was defined by another traditional industry, e.g. the location of their conjugal family as opposed to their natal.

The value for this thesis is that whatever the premise on which an individual life history was collected, an informant can be understood to be the recipient of cultural data which has been utilized in their socialization. The life history interview is a narrative form. In it, there are more than 'facts' - i.e. value-free data which can be used to establish historic ethic. The narrative focus is contextualized by a moral framework which is value-laden (see White, H.: 1980). Those moral statements are derived from particular ideological resources which can be utilized in the investment of meaning to a particular act. What we seek is the ideological content which frames these statements in order to determine the extent to which it is regionally specific. Archival data represents largely unconscious expressions of value and belief conveyed in narrative form and hence is the most appropriate context in which to ground assessments made with regard to north-eastern particularity.



Map Two: Sites of informant data

The archival data used in delineating north-eastern identity does impose limitations which define the perimeter for this analysis. Already, the source point for this cultural identity has been defined as historic - primarily a traditional working-class culture whose historical limits are bounded by the years 1870 - 1945. Within the north-east, this class is identified as being generated by the industrial process. Hence its spatial location is what Townsend and Taylor have identified as the 'industrial north-east'. This area stretches from the coal mining area in south-east Northumberland, through the Tyneside shipbuilding and engineering areas, the Durham coalfield to terminate in the manufacturing and steel producing areas of Teesside. The limitations imposed by the archival data are two fold:

- (i) geographical: no oral history data has been found which relates to the south-east Northumberland area or the Teesside area. Tyneside and Durham County are the areas referenced by the archival material.
- (ii) industrial: no oral history data has been found which details experiences formed within the context of the iron and steel industry. Thus three only of the four traditional industries are covered, coal, shipbuilding and engineering. It is those contexts which form the industrial framework for this thesis.

The physical area covered by archival data (plus informant data derived from other sources) is indicated by Map Two. What this represents is a spatial and cultural context in which ideas are formed, values imputed and meanings made in historical circumstances arising from three of the region's four traditional industries. While the incorporation of the absent spheres would have been to this thesis' advantage, elaborating themes around what is presented provide a yardstick for evaluating data which may be accumulated in the future.

Chapter Three: Milestones of History

'... pit heaps in place of hillsides, polluted rivers, changing shipyards, engines shunting coal wagons past a thousand identical slums, a harsh grey sea, bar counters swilling in brown ale...'

(Daily Telegraph: 30/4/65)

'Out of the past struggles has emerged an heroic sensibility made in our own image: to be proud of it is to be proud of ourselves. This pride can approach bitterness, and in the North East it consistently votes Labour but it fails to carry its impetus beyond more reactions. It fails to do this because the self-image which created it is locked in the past, it is about what we have been and what we have done, rather than what we are and what we will do.'

(Colls: 1977; p. 13)

'Tommy Dalkin speaking, of Tudhoe Colliery - a miner fifty years - different pits: Tudhoe, Croxdale, Bowburn and Tursdale. I was born at Windlestone 1897 the same year as Anthony Eden (he went on to be Lord Avon: he just died recently) ...

(M.H.P.: 1983; 216)

The foundations for the north-east's industrialization were laid in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Central to this was the opening of pits in East Durham - Hetton Colliery in the 1820s, followed by others at South Hetton, Haswell, Murton, Seaton, Thornley, Wingate, South Wingate and Castle Eden (McCord: 1979; pp. 39-40). The coalfield's inland expansion was given impetus by the growth of the railway system which reduced the industry's need to remain close to the Tyne estuary. This

is reflected in the figures for coal shipments from the Tyne which had been 2.2 million tons in 1831 and were 4 million by the early 1850s. Most remarkable was the increase in foreign shipments - only 161,000 tons in 1831 the figure had passed the million ton mark in 1845 (*ibid.*, pp. 38-39). This change in fortunes was but a prelude to the late nineteenth-century growth:

'After about 1850, ..., the pace of expansion in the North East was to show a spectacular acceleration, making the region one of the principal growth areas of late Victorian Britain.'

(*Ibid.*, p. 16)

Crucial to this late development was the launch of the SS John Bowes from the Palmer Shipyard in Jarrow in 1852. The growth of the railway network nationally allowed the Welsh and Midlands coalfields cheap and regular transport to the London market while the northern coalfield still depended on wooden sailing colliers for transporting its output. The John Bowes heralded the replacement of the slow and unreliable sailing ships by iron screw-driven colliers, thus allowing the north-eastern coalfield to continue its growth.

The scale of this expansion can be measured in two ways: firstly by the increase in the coal trade itself and secondly by the rise in numbers of those employed in the industry. The period 1879-1908 was the zenith for coal shipments from the north-east. Shipments from the Tyne alone were 17 million tons per annum - over two-thirds of which were for export, half being exported to France, Germany and Italy, with Spain, Austria and the Scandinavian countries as notable customers (McCord: 1979; p. 112).

The increase in mining employment was dramatic, whereas in 1851, 8.6% of the occupied work force in Northumberland (or 10,983 men) - was employed in mining, by 1911 the percentage was 19.1 (or 54,286 men). In County Durham the rise was even greater : from 18.5% (or 30,107 men) in 1851 to 29.2% (or 152,045 men) in 1911 (Rowe: 1973).

Accompanying this expansion came growth in the other industries identified with the north-east region: iron and steel, engineering and shipbuilding.

The major centres for iron and steel were two: Consett and Teesside.

The Consett Iron Company, established in 1864, replaced its failed predecessor the Derwent Iron Company and by 1890 annual steel production was 175,000 tons and it employed 5-6,000 men (McCord: 1979; pp. 119-120).

On Teesside, iron and steel was established as a major industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth-century. Blast furnaces were first opened at Tow Law and Witton Park in County Durham. Then iron ore deposits in the Cleveland Hills were exploited resulting in further development for the Teesside industry. In 1801, 188,000 tons were extracted from the Cleveland mines. Blast furnaces were opened at Middlesborough (1852) and Eston (1853) signalling the industry's arrival on Teesside itself. By 1861, 11% of the national iron output was coming from Teesside. By 1871, the figure was 19% (McCord: 1979; pp. 121-122).

The launch of the John Bowes described earlier meant that the age of iron ship building had begun in the north-east. It also meant the industry's expansion. In the early 1860s, the annual tonnage launched by north-eastern yards was approximately 217,000 tons. The region's significance as a shipbuilding region is made clearer by national and international comparisons. In the early years of the twentieth-century the national industry was building half the world's new tonnage. Half of that total was launched from north-

eastern shipyards (*ibid.*, p. 126). The fifty thousand men who worked in the industry in 1911 represented half the total for the industry nationally.

Matching the growth in ship construction was expansion of marine engineering. On the Tyne the Hawthorn works (Newcastle) and Palmer's shipbuilding and Iron Co. (Jarrow) were the main forces. George Clark's and the North-Eastern Marine Engineering Company were the major works on the Wear while Richardson, Westgarth and Company were located at West Hartlepool (*ibid.*; p. 131). Alongside this specialist development in marine engineering came a more general expansion in other forms of engineering - e.g. bridge-building, metal-, pipe- and tube-making and railway rolling stock (*ibid.*, pp. 124-125). As far as the increase in employment in this sector was concerned, only 1.1% (1,465) economically-active men described themselves as engineers in Northumberland in 1851. The Durham figure was 0.8% (1,235). By 1911, the proportion was 5.6% (15,788) and 4.9% (25,521) in Northumberland and Durham respectively (from Rowe; 1973).

Two points should be stressed concerning this presentation of the region's industrial development and its relevance to cultural identity. Firstly, it is a standard representation for describing the region's industrialization - one which could be augmented by detailing population growth through natural increase and in-migration supplemented further by accounts of urbanization in the river valleys and by the spread of coalfield settlements. This would be a 'basic facts' history of industrialization. In the second place, the presentation provides an extremely attractive method of elucidating cultural identity in the north-east. Not only is the region characterized at the gross level by a unique industrial configuration, the widespread

involvement, both directly and indirectly, of the region's population in these industries suggests that that configuration and the experiences entailed thereby provide the fundamentals of a unique identity. Here the assertion would rest on a presumed connection between the industrial structure and the cultural identity resulting from a selective response to the experiences within that framework. This causal explanation on which many north-eastern representations are based is, it will be shown, too simplistic. In developing this argument ambiguities emerge which cast doubts on the claim for a unique identity. Those ambiguities are rarely tackled. It is not, however, that they are left undeveloped, rather they are considered unproblematic. It is the relationship between nation and region which both generates the ambiguities and resolves them.

All writers on the north-east since the end of the first world war, indicate the region's decline consequent upon the nineteenth-century economic development. Commenting on the problems which emerged for the region during the inter-war period, McCord supplies a typical perspective by describing

'... the inherent precariousness of the regional economy as it had expanded in the late nineteenth-century remained with a concentrated dependence on a few sectors of industry combined with a heavy reliance on export markets. These markets were vulnerable to the development of competing suppliers and were dependent upon the maintenance of a high income of international trade ...'

(1979; p. 245)

What is absent from this analysis of the problems facing the regional economy is explicit reference to the relationship with the national economy in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The 'inherent

precariousness' in the north-eastern economy earlier had not prevented McCord from sounding the trumpet for the region's participation in the national triumph of the Victorian era:

'During the second half of the nineteenth-century, North-East England was a principal beneficiary of a remarkable increase of economic activity on a national and international scale. The total volume of international trade in 1850 has been put at about £800 million; the figure was approaching £3,000 million by 1880 and passed £8,000 million by 1914. Within that tremendous growth the British share was very large, and within the British share a substantial portion was taken by the North East.'

(ibid; p. 111).

The relationship between region and nation is a critical both for analyzing and understanding the economic decline which the region has experienced and for the analysis which forms the subject matter of this chapter. The explicit reference to the regional/national connection made by McCord can be developed further.

British prosperity, and economic growth during the second half of the nineteenth-century was primarily dependent on four industries - coal, iron and steel, engineering and cotton. The traditional north-eastern economy was based around three of these - coal, iron and steel and engineering. These three (plus shipbuilding) were as McCord noted above dependent upon the export trade and hence typified the national pattern.

Set in these terms, the problems in defining regional consciousness became clear; if the region's cultural uniqueness is associated with its industrial history, what is the extent to which such a claim can be considered valid if there is such a close correspondence between the national industrial configuration and that of the region. That claim has traditionally rested on the material circumstances of that

configuration - e.g. number of pits and the numbers employed by or dependent on them, number of shipyards etc. This is linked to the concentration of these industries within the region. The implied relationship is between the structure and the individual. It is the deterministic traits of the industrial structure which are held as paramount in defining character at individual, local and regional levels. Ultimately the unique configuration is seen to generate unique beliefs and values.

The problem is further complicated by the ambiguities involved in defining the north east spatially. As Taylor and Townsend (1974) discovered, no two people agreed on the region's geographical boundaries (pp.37-39). The comparison between nationalism and regionalism is one worth making. Brett observes, 'the North-East' is a term defined with relation to a 'wider entity' (i.e. England). 'Scotland' on the other hand 'is a nation'. 'Who' he asks 'shared identity with "Northumbria"?' The point is well-made: with clear territorial boundaries the concept of nation provides an accessible focus for erecting a symbolic structure primarily based on compulsory life-long membership which is an accident of birth:

'One has very little choice as to whether one is a Scot; to be a "Geordie" is to make the clear decision to define oneself by a regional rather than a national culture; it is possible to be North-East born without doing so! (1976; p. 43 - all)

The divergence between regionalism and nationalism can be further highlighted. Scotland, Wales and the North-East have shared similar industrial pasts. Brett (comparing Scotland and the North-East) summarizes that experience:

'Nineteenth-century industrialization, the flight of the upper classes, the development of an essentially working-class popular culture earned a feeling of toughness and superiority over an effete south, extreme hardship during the Depression and, since the war, the growing realisation that the region is lagging behind an increasingly prosperous nation; in all of this the industries of the two regions run parallel.

(Ibid. p. 42)

While in Scotland and Wales a cultural nationalism exists which has developed in the political arena, the north-east by being geographically part of England lacks the necessary symbolic structure to articulate its particularity. Central to this articulation in the case of the Welsh and the Scottish is the representation of these nations as being colonized. This is a valid representation signified by Acts of Union which bound England, Scotland and Wales together. As a region within the colonizing power, the north-east lacks the capacity to identify itself in this manner.

Since we are examining a region whose social and cultural structure is working-class, a region which historically lacked and still lacks an entrepreneurial middle-class, it is possible that the region's experience could be interpreted with reference to class exploitation. The industries which were responsible for the nineteenth-century 'economic miracle' were not only identified as north-eastern and British, they were the driving force in the development of the Victorian capitalist system. We would expect to find in the north-eastern culture which interprets that historical experience, a repertoire of values and beliefs which reflected the tension between capital and labour. A value set which reflected that working-class dominance and is a corollary to the Labour party's political dominance - characterizing the Labour party here as the political agent for the working-class which it claims to be.

Here the movement from the simplistic causal relationship between structure and person or group on which the region's characterization is so often based should be stressed. What is being examined is the extent to which the working-class in the region is integrated within the national culture. Already it has been shown that the industrial base was

in the nineteenth-century closely integrated in the capitalist system. The political form then - expressed as support for Liberalism - incorporated the values of industrial capitalism, e.g. self-help, thrift etc. Alongside that political form another was in the making; that of the working-class. The question to be addressed is whether or not the values embraced by the working-class culture are regionally specific as its long-term political allegiance suggests.

In the next two sections, distinct interpretations made about the region's industrial experience are examined. In the first we examine the issue of a "regional pride" - i.e. what has been expressed on the region's behalf when considering that regional past. This examination will be effected at both a regional and a civic level (i.e. in terms of the municipal units which constitute the region). In the second section, the emphasis moves to focus on particular ideological concepts which are utilized by individuals to validate their working lives. Here the phenomenology of north-eastern workers is examined with reference to the ideological constraints of capitalism. Overall two points must be borne in mind. Firstly the contrast is being made between what are deemed regional values and those deemed national. Secondly, the material used (oral history archives newspapers, historical works and local government publications) are not historical material per se. They are contemporary reflections on a historical period which has now passed. Throughout all this material the nostalgic thread can be discerned.

3.1 Regional Pride and Civic Pride

The basis for pride in place - whether it be local, regional or national - is the sense of belonging. That can be reduced merely to a sense based on emotional attachment, the consequence of lifetime habits, of ordered, experience consequent upon presence in a place. The reality is that the emotional forms but one element. It is in the end a question of what has been invested in a place:

'People do not belong to places: places belong to people. They own them, and they prize them and sometimes they invent them, as if by some bad magic, to make sure their ownership is beyond dispute ... I have yet to meet someone who did not have a sense of perimeter, whether they draw the line at a street, a river, a national boundary, a global divide. There is an Iron Curtain mentality built into every chromosome, be it ever so humble.'

(Greenwell: 1984)

What is clear is that emotional attachment to place derives from investing meaning in that place. That investment is not simply a material one - e.g. financial or economic, it is ^{also} immaterial and intangible - e.g. family, neighbourhood. It is by examining what meanings are invested and by further examination of the source from which these meanings spring that the degree of particularity offered by north-eastern culture can be determined. Pride of place, so often expressed through emotional rhetoric, reflects more than a sense of belonging. It needs a framework in which the meaning adhering to it can be adequately articulated.

One enduring framework encountered in this articulation of regional pride is, as observed earlier, the metropolitan/provincial axis. The enduring quality can be demonstrated by reference to nineteenth-century songs as Coaly Tyne, The Bonny Geatsheaders and Canny Newcassel.

In the latter the then standard format of the metropolitan/provincial tension is exemplified. These tensions are manifested in the song by successive comparisons between provincial Newcastle and metropolitan London. What is compared is in one sense irrelevant (Tyne and Thames shipping, cathedrals, notable figures, women, public houses etc.) since the song's purpose is always to elevate the provincial over the metropolitan:

'Bout Lunnun then divn't ye mak' sic a rout
 There's nouse there ma winkers to dazzle
 For a' the fine things ye are gobbin' about
 We can marra in canny Newcassel'

(Alan's Tyneside Songs: 1891; p. 4)

In other words, whatever London has or does, Newcastle has or does it better. What is apparent is that the originating point for comparison is not Newcastle it is London. London's attributes are laid out for examination and appraisal. Definitionally, this is the structure for comparison between metropolitan and provincial. The metropolitan is cut down to size by the provincial parameters. In these comparisons, the referential framework is defined outside the region, the parameters for comparison being determined by the actual and economic potency emanating from the centre rather than by the region's distinctiveness. As we will see, this is a recurrent feature in determining regional pride.

What is also germane to this metropolitan framework is the latter day version of the song. In Home Newcastle, the framework endures.

'I had to come to London
 because I couldn't find a job
 But I don't intend to stay long
 If I make a few quick bob'¹

1. 'Home Newcastle' by Busker on 'The North-East's Greatest Hits', cassette no. MWM CSP2.



The martyrdom, the peripherality of the region is evident here - signified by lack of work making people leave the north-east. This outward flow marks twentieth-century decline as nineteenth-century inward migration marked north-eastern industrial development. Metropolitan/provincial tension assuredly as with Canny Newcassel. The signifiers of early nineteenth-century civic pride - whether cathedral, industrial or eminent persons - are absent in the twentieth-century version. The song is presented with peripheral expressions - cultural and climatological:

'It's cold up there in summer
Like sitting inside a fridge'

and

'... I'm coming home Newcassel
If you never win the cup again
I'll brave the dark
At St. James's Park
At the Gallowgate end in the rain'

No natural beauty, no sporting triumph, simply the retreat into sentimentalization as the signifier of regional worth:

'Aah wish aa'd never been away.
Aa'd kiss the ground for the welcome sound
Of me mother saying "Hinney howay".'

This song is more than a personal lament. It is structured by the region's eclipse in the twentieth-century from its nineteenth-century place in the sun.

Returning to this section's specific concerns - i.e. examining values and beliefs utilized in interpreting the industrial past - a well articulated source for such interpretation is, as we have seen, the

local press. As argued by Jackson, a primary function for the local press is to establish its readership's sense of belonging to the community which it serves (and, of course, its own legitimacy in communicating that sense). It is in this context, that of the local press' representation of the past industrial achievement in the north-east, that regional pride as an issue is to be examined. Here, 'in the provision and the selective contribution of social knowledge, of social imagery' (Hall; 1980; pp. 340-341), the local press operates to establish the referential frame for examining that past. When discussing the region's economic decline, the past is invariably invoked as a tribute to both the region and its people :

'For over 200 years, the North-East has relied upon the coal, iron, steel and shipbuilding industries for survival, if not economic growth, and has known many recessions in world trade over the same period. One, or even two, Industrial Revolutions have not dampened the initiative or inventiveness of the population. Neither has the situation affected the extent and ability of the local craftsmen that made this region the workshop of the world.'

(Northern Echo: 8/2/83)

Taken from a review of the region's economy entitled 'New Year look at North-East Industrial Might', this extract typifies the local press' presentation of the industrial past. Reference to specific industries, the north-east's traditional industries, is linked to praise for 'initiative', 'inventiveness', 'ardour' and 'ability' redolent in the north-eastern population, despite the rigours consequent upon successive industrial revolutions. Critical to this eulogy for the past is the identification of the north-east as 'the workshop of the world'. In technical terms, its applicability to the region is open to question. Historically north-eastern industry has for the most part been based upon large-scale industrial plant and/or large labour forces. The description 'workshop of the world' is more properly associated

with small-scale production in the artisan tradition (Samuel: 1977; p.8). It is the expressive content rather than the technical reality which the Northern Echo seeks to evoke. In terms of the nation as a whole that evocation establishes the historic superiority of Britain as the first industrial nation. By applying the phrase to the region a dual purpose is served. Firstly it reinforces the region's links with the nation's nineteenth-century industrial superiority and secondly it lays claim to the region's superiority over other regions. Thus if Britain was the workshop of the world, then the north-east is to be considered as the workshop of the nation.

The primary concern here is to examine the implications consequent upon the local press' labelling the north-east as 'the workshop of the world'. When located contextually within the industrialization process this phrase implies a neutrality with regard to the economic relations of production. Only the technical, and technological aspects of that nineteenth-century transformation are held as worthy of consideration. Those economic relations were established in a north-eastern context, whose identity is claimed as distinct and different from 'the rest of the country' and whose members belong to an imaginary community which disregards considerations of status, hierarchy, inequality etc. What must be remembered is that the 'workshop' was established in and by the 'world' of industrial capitalism. That world was not one whose machinations can be understood only by reference to its economic functioning. In fact, it rarely is - the ideological context of capital, of capitalists and their achievements is most potent in the representation of historical reality.

That ideological context is most clearly evidenced in an Evening Chronicle series 'Men who made the North'². The series adopted a biographical format, outlining the lives of ten men considered by the series editor as significant for the region's industrial development:

'The North-East's reputation for industrial greatness rests on the shoulders of a number of men - men of vision and inventive genius who used their brains and common sense to bring fame and fortune to the region during the last century.'

(12/3/83)

Not all the subjects could be identified as bringing 'fame and fortune' to the region as successful industrialists³. Nor could the series be said to include everyone who was significant in the industrial development of the north-east. The absence of George Armstrong, of George and Robert Stephenson - the cursory treatment of the Hawthorn brothers (26/3/83) are evidence of this. Despite such absences, the material presented is sufficient to identify the Chronicle's proclivities in interpreting the north-eastern past. Implicit in this interpretation is a disregard for the equalizing potency of the imagined community. The material presented is articulated around an archetype of a capitalist entrepreneur structured within the context of a capitalist ideology based on hard work and enterprise. It is not merely men who 'made the north', it is an ideology.

Before entering into this analysis it should be noted that this historical evaluation has clear references to the parlous state of the north-eastern economy in the present. The biographical data presented is of men whose

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2. A weekly series published every Saturday between 12/3/83 and 30/4/83 (inclusive), in the Evening Chronicle 'Saturday Extra' supplement.
 3. Charles Hutton, born into a Newcastle mining family in 1737, he became a mathematics teacher and later Professor of Mathematics at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich (Evening Chronicle: 16/4/83). Trevithick, born in Llogan, Cornwall, developed the first steam locomotive in Britain which he displayed in Gateshead in 1805. He died penniless in 1833 (ibid: 23/4/83).

lives were lived during an era when the north-east was, in Dougan's view, 'On top of the world' (1967; Ch. 4). Nostalgia for the past - the nineteenth-century triumphs - is implied by the series as a whole. Occasionally contrast with the present is made explicit as in the article which recounts the life of Charles Mark Palmer, the Jarrow shipbuilder:

'Today the shipbuilding industry on the Tyne is in the grip of an iron-fisted recession which is squeezing it out of recognition. It is a shadow of its former self, a ghost-like industry with weeds pushing their way up through the slipways.'

(Evening Chronicle: 12/3/83)

While acknowledging the decline of the industry as a whole, what should be recognized is that factual accuracy is not, in this matter of nostalgic contrasts, a critical feature. The Palmer article makes reference late to 'great days' when 'order books were full and the industry was booming' (ibid.). The implication is that there was always work, always activity in the north-east shipyards that somehow in this part the exigencies of the trade cycle were avoided, that slump never followed boom. What is being presented is the region's industrial age tinged with gold and now long gone. This point is made explicitly in the William Purdy article. Purdy, a sea captain was an innovator who introduced the steam trawler to the fishing industry:

'FOR SALE: One nearly new trawler. One careful owner. Contact ...
Over the last few years signs like this have been put up at every fishing port in Great Britain, each one symbolizing another nail in the coffin of the country's once renowned fishing fleet.'

(19/3/85)

In the Chronicle's praise for Purdy as the man who 'propelled the British fishing industry towards the dawn of the 20th century' (ibid.), past 'greatness' is emphasized by locating achievements within a national framework. International success and recognition play their part in reconstructing the golden age:

'A Tyneside firm whose products
can be found throughout the world
from collieries in Bengal to power stations
in Britain is A. Reyrolle and Co. Ltd.'

(16/4/83)

This acclaim for Alphonse Reyrolle who established a switchgear company in Hebburn is matched by plaudits for Joseph Swan (simultaneous inventor of the electric lamp with Thomas Edison) who 'brought light to mankind' (30/4/83); for Andrew Noble (ballistics expert at the Elswick armaments factory, Newcastle) credited as 'the father of modern artillery science by (26/3/83).

The contextual elements - i.e. placing regional success in a national and international industrial merit table - reveals the purpose implicit in the Evening Chronicle's concern to deepen the north-east's regional sense. The focus is not on the achievement of native north-easteners (only five out of eleven) but rather on the region itself. A region whose contribution to nineteenth-century industrial success is to be measured in national and international terms. This looking backward to the 'golden age' and the delineation of the standards by which that past is evaluated is reflective of the region's present peripheral sense which was noted earlier.

It is possible to assert that the series is a valid expression of regional pride. The narrations themselves are restricted to a framework which is north-eastern. Yet the values and attitudes contained within that framework are more ubiquitous than this one region. To describe the region as the 'workshop of the world' in the manner of the Northern Echo is, as already observed, to claim a place for the region in the nineteenth-century triumph of British industry. By identifying the north-east as 'the workshop of the world', the region is defined as a motivating core acting at the centre of this development. The Evening Chronicle series embellishes this claim by detailing the lives of north-eastern agents in the industrialization process. It does so without making reference to the capitalist system which determined the form of this economic growth. What we can apprehend is that the figures who move across this landscape are in fact archetypal capitalists dressed as 'local heroes.' While the analysis of this archetype is reserved for the next section, it is enough for the moment to summarize the Chronicle's explanation for the nineteenth-century industrial development in the north-east. That is perceived as resulting from the intermingling of two main elements: the appropriateness of person (i.e. the archetypal capitalist) and the appropriateness of place (i.e. the suitability of the region and its people for capitalist development). When the two combine there is growth, prosperity and greatness. That these two factors combined historically within the context of industrial Britain is a suitable reason for expanding on the merits of regional pride.

These perspectives are not the prerogative of the media alone. McCord's general history of the north-eastern development (1979) is punctuated by regional pride - a pride which is defined in the same terms. Thus in describing the north east as being in 'the van of technical progress' in

the early eighteenth-century, he notes that the region accounted for over one half (800 tons) of the national steel output. Other centres, such as Sheffield, borrowed the advanced techniques used in steel production which had 'already been adopted in the North East' (p. 18). Visitors to local collieries were 'impressed' by the 'extension of the system of colliery waggon-ways' (p. 14). The local mining industry's reputation was enhanced by this manifestation of technical progress - a reputation fuelled by the use of steam pumping engines to control water in mines (p. 13). 'Improving farmers' attracted a 'stream of visitors - both British and foreign' to the region to inspect agricultural innovations so that by the end of the eighteenth century, North-East England was regarded as an area from which distinctly useful farming methods could be exported to other regions' (p. 26).

While McCord is cautious here, commenting that there were 'much less publicized cases of ineptitude and failure, and ample evidence of caution among farmers' (p. 27), the predilection for stressing pride in north-eastern doings continues throughout his work. His most exceptional expression of regional pride relates not to industrial achievements directly but to the region's capacity for coping with the widespread transformations which industrialization entailed:

'It was not an equal society, in many ways, but it was not a society deeply riven with conflict. Most people seem to have felt that they had better things to do with their time and their resources than to concern themselves primarily with the issues of politics or society in general. This is an important part of the background to the region's economic development, for such growth would have been much less likely in a society obsessed to any marked degree with revolutionary fervour or beset by a continuous strain of political disturbances was not the least remarkable achievement of regions such as North East England during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.'

(1979; p. 193)

At the most immediate level, this 'compliment' is a peculiar one - ignoring as it does the significance of conflict and confrontation within the industrialization process. It precludes analysing such disputations which forms the experiential basis for Thompson's work discussed earlier (see above p.64 seq.). Nevertheless it accords remarkably well with the perspective found in the Evening Chronicle series 'Men who made the North'. In this series it is the acts of entrepreneurs which are lauded and praised. Those who worked, those who lived within the entrepreneurial aegis, those who were its subjects are rendered invisible by their presumed quiescence. Only in the Palmer article - entitled 'The Iron Men of Jarrow' - do these people appear and then only as their masters' clones:

'The men who worked in these yards (Redhead's and Palmers) were men of iron, men who forged vessels of beauty with the sweat of their brows and the skin of their hands.'

(Evening Chronicle: 12/3/83)

McCord's quiescent north-easteners complimented the virtues of their masters in establishing the region's 'greatness', having 'better things to do with their time' than generate 'revolutionary fervour'. This fulsome praise for the orderliness of north-easteners caught up in mammoth social and economic change returns to the national dimension again. Good, solid workers these north-easteners may have been but underlying the McCord representation is an English archetype. Wiener in assessing the cultural form which accompanied the industrial revolution nationally echoes McCord's point, though his overall evaluation lacks the latter's smugness:

'The emerging culture of industrialism, which in the mid-Victorian years had appeared, for good or ill, to be the wave of the future, irresistably washing over and sweeping away the features of an older Britain was itself transformed. The thrust of new values borne along by the revolution in industry was contained in the later nineteenth century : the social and intellectual revolution implicit in industrialism was muted, perhaps even abated.'

(1985; p. 157)

While McCord eulogizes the (comparative) tranquility of the north-east in coping with social change, Wiener is more critical seeing containment of the industrial potential as negative in its implications for English society as a whole. Despite their differing perspectives, both writers concur over the relative smoothness of the transition. That concurrence is critical in that it places McCord's praise for this 'remarkable achievement' in a context which identifies it as no more than a regional manifestation of standard English virtues. Gorer has stated those virtues explicitly:

'... in public life today the English are certainly among the most peaceful, gentler courteous populations that civilized world has ever seen.'

(1955; p. 13)

This analysis has considerable merit in determining the framework for regional pride, identifying an adhesion to values and beliefs which are held to be national in origin. While it has been argued earlier that the local press offers a frame of reference for interpreting the region's past, that framework is not regional in origin. As Jackson concluded, the local press

'... is essentially a conservative communications medium. It strongly upholds family and institutional life; it typically demands discipline in relation to penology and education; it values conventions and traditions. Broadly speaking, it endorses capitalistic assumptions and the Protestant ethic.'

(1971; p. 278)

Clearly the representations made by the Evening Chronicle, the Journal and the Northern Echo do no more than conform to the ideological premises - the 'capitalistic assumptions' - on which their editorial stance is based.

Similarly the work of McCord can be better qualified, based as it is on a Whig historical perspective with a disdain for conceptual framework based on class (1979; pp. 16-18), and a determination to investigate the past entirely on its 'own terms', thus not examining alternative interpretations offered in explaining historical conflict (ibid: p. 20). Overall McCord's perspective is based on an insistence that history is progress, that events unfolding move inexorably towards equilibrium and balance⁴. While McCord and the local press can be located within the context of capitalist ideology, the extent to which the north-eastern public share their views remains to be determined.

Given the political homogeneity of the north east measured by steadfast loyalty to the Labour party, it would be expected that this party through the institutions which it controls would articulate an ideology which interprets at a local level the industrial past. Following Thompson's argument we would anticipate that this interpretation would be distinctive from that which informs the local press' endorsement of capitalism and McCord's Whiggism. As a political force the labour party emerged to promote working-class interests. While the means and methods by which these interests might best be pursued has often resulted in intra-party conflict (see Pelling: 1965 and Hinton: 1983), the basis for that political expression has been the articulation of the experiences of individuals and groups within the industrial capitalist structure. According to Thompsonian methodology those experiences permit the class to define itself by thinking 'in new ways' about these experiences.

4. c.f. Beamish Museum analysis (pp. 46-8 above) for representations linking north-easternness with progress and ordered evolution.

What we would expect at the local authority level in the north-east region where the Labour party is in control is to find local expression of this consciousness. We would expect within their publications representations which include the historical events which developed the consciousness on which the Labour party rests. Such events would include strikes in the coal industry or the engineering industry, the formation of local Labour parties, trades councils etc. - taken together they would describe the historical process which generated the Labour party.

In fact official guidebooks make little reference to the events which form the labour history corpus. The absence is so general and so widespread in this a region so closely identified with the Labour party that it has considerable implications for the issues of class and regional consciousness. What will serve the present purpose is the examination of a Labour council's treatment of a particular and significant event in its own history. The event chosen in this instance is the Jarrow March of 1936.

The Jarrow March - or more accurately the Jarrow Crusade - was mounted in 1936. Initially the protest began in opposition to the Government's lack of support for the establishment of a steelworks in Jarrow. The core of the protest rested on the forced closure of the town's only industry - the shipbuilding firm of Charles Mark Palmer - and the forty-year ban on shipbuilding imposed on the site. The march had full backing of the council though the plan was initiated by the ruling Labour party. While the march was unsuccessful in its primary purpose of bringing employment to the town, it has passed into the folklore of English history to such an extent that whenever an industrial community is faced with a similar threat of closure its memory is invoked.

The Labour Party retained its majority on the council from 1935 to 1974 when Jarrow was merged under the 1973 Local Government Act with the neighbouring authorities of Hebburn, Boldon and South Shields to form the metropolitan borough of South Tyneside. References to the Jarrow March in the town guidebooks published during the thirty-nine years of its life as a Labour borough are few. For example, the 1971 handbook contains a brief history of the town entitled 'Past, Present and Future'. After noting the imposition of the forty-year ban on the Palmer site, the guidebook continues:

'The legal and especially the political validity of the covenant was immediately questioned, and from the town with three-quarters of its working population unemployed for a decade came the Jarrow Crusade, 200 men marching to London, carrying a petition which the late Miss Ellen Wilkinson M.P. ... presented at the bar of the House of Commons'

(Jarrow Borough Council: 1971; p. 19)

The account notes that the march 'excited the imagination of millions', though it did not take the same effect on the Government which was 'sympathetic but in action ... slow' (ibid.). This apologia for the Government contrasts sharply with the view of Ellen Wilkinson:

'Class antagonism cuts as deeply to the roots of capitalist society ... Men are regarded as mere instruments of production, their labour a commodity to be bought and sold. In capitalist society vast changes can be made which sweep away the livelihood of a whole town overnight ...'

(1939; p. 7)

Wilkinson's determination was to locate the Jarrow March and the town's history within the context of working-class history, within the framework of the historical process of capitalism is at odds with the 'official' version as witnessed in the town's guide books. Even the chronological

table of Jarrow's past - entitled 'Milestones of History' - contains no entry for the march, nor for the other events described by Wilkinson as stages of the class struggle. The closure of Palmer's shipyard is not included nor reference made to the high levels of unemployment which persisted in the 1930s. These 'omissions' are the more surprising since these events gave impetus to the Labour Party's rise to power in this period (Ennis: 1982; pp. 109-10). While Bean's explanation of these omissions is that the 'fathers of Jarrow didn't really want to be reminded of the past' and that they were 'sick of references to Jarrow as "the town that was murdered" (1971; p. 137), such self-effacement of the Labour Party's own past requires a more detailed explanation than simply aversion to the unpleasantness of the past. Admittedly this is a perspective maintained by some in Jarrow, yet more importantly it is validated more by the absence of a set of values and beliefs which define the parameters of labour history. To understand the extent of that absence we must examine what constitutes the 'official' version of civic pride under a Labour council in Jarrow.

Early entries in the chronological table relate to the birth of the Venerable Bede (672/3), the opening of Jarrow Monastery (685), the Danish invasion (794) etc. Such entries seek to establish the transcendence of that 'civic' entity known as Jarrow through time, to demonstrate the enduring quality of the town throughout history. Later entries detail the beginnings of Jarrow's involvement in the industrial revolution: the first raising of coal at Jarrow (1803); the opening of Jarrow's first shipyard (1804), the start of the chemical industry (1840), the re-opening of Jarrow shipyard by the Palmer Brothers (1852). Thereafter, the history

of municipal improvements is charted: opening of the Pelaw-Jarrow-South Shields railway (1872), the incorporation of the borough (1875), the opening of Jarrow County Court (1904), the building of the first council houses (1920), their occupation (1921), the opening of the 1,000th council house (1936), the opening of the public library (1938), the start of the Tyne Tunnel (1947) and so on. All of this can form one perspective be analyzed as constituting the lineaments of civic pride. Jarrow was a town developed by the industrial revolution - particularly that of the second half of the nineteenth century. Recording the facts of that industrial development falls within the compass of civic pride. Equally in a town which has experienced Labour rule for forty years the presentation of municipal achievements is not unexpected. Alongside such achievements there emerges another category which has been entered into the chronological table. Such events include the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York to the town (1928); their visit as King and Queen (1941); the visits of the Rt. Hon. Sir Stafford Cripps, K.C., M.P. (1945) (then President of the Board of Trade); of Rt. Hon. Alfred Barnes, M.P. (1947) (Minister of Transport), the Queen 1954 and 1967, Rt. Hon. John Hare, (Minister of Labour) and so on. Again such visits can be considered as an integral part of civic pride. What is problematic with reference to the supposed 'oppositional' stance of a Labour council, an oppositional stance most clearly evidenced by the mounting of the Jarrow March, is the undoubted pride in the association with the hierarchy and status symbols of the national culture.

The concern for status and the council's desire to appropriate symbols of a wider national culture is demonstrated by the entry relating

to Ellen Wilkinson. Most of the guidebooks note her election in 1945 - not her election in 1935. Her success in the 1945 election is considered as a 'Milestone of History'. The entry reads (1971 edition)

' 1945 July 5th Election of the Rt. Hon. Ellen Wilkinson, M.A. as Member of Parliament, following which she was appointed Minister of Education.'

(1971; p. 13)

It is Wilkinson's appointment as a minister which makes her election in 1945 notable in that it 'brought honour to Jarrow'. By implication, the Jarrow Crusade did not.

What is significant here is that this chronological listing serves to locate the town in a particular referential framework. That framework though it incorporates events which occurred in and around Jarrow, is not unique to the town or the region. Ministerial and monarchical visits, celebrations of the industrial founding father etc. are events listed in all north-eastern towns. Further afield - outside the region - comparable chronologies can be found in town guides. What is here is a civic consciousness whose parameters are those of English culture. That civic consciousness was adopted by the march organizers in 1936 and was, as I have argued elsewhere, (Ennis: 1982; pp. 139-151) critical to the marchers' ability to communicate their cause to a wider audience.

It is this consciousness, founded on a consensual concept of community, which emphasizes hierarchy and status, that underwrites the chronological history of Jarrow or any other town. It is in its representation as a

narrative form that the moralistic and judgemental elements appear. Though the content is skimpy, it offers a moral assessment of the past. What we are addressing here is firstly a question of values and secondly a question of whose values. Imagine the reaction to a Jarrow chronology based on Wilkinson's summary:

'... the town is an industrial footnote to British working-class history. Every stage in the class struggle in Britain has been fought out here in turn. It has had its martyrs, from Will Jobling hanged on the gibbet at Jarrow slake, the young miners' deported in the 1831 strike, Andrew Gourley, hero of the Nine Hours Movement in the shipyards, and then when everything had gone, the march of the forgotten men to London.'

(1939; p. 8)

What Wilkinson proposes here is an alternative interpretation of Jarrow's industrial history. Her alternative chronology appears in no official publication. Yet the 'class struggle' fought in every town in Britain could provide a different perspective - developed around working-class experience. (This, effectively, is what Thompson says developed in the era up to 1832). What we see instead is the incorporation of this experience within the civic consciousness. Not only are the exemplars of the alternative history omitted from the town's official history, the achievements secured by the movement as a whole are neglected. Thus municipal housing, the pressure for which developed from and was articulated through working-class experience (see Wilkinson: 1939; Ch. 15) is incorporated in the official version as a civic success. Similarly, improvement in medical service, sanitation, childcare etc. become successes which are detached from the protest and agitation which made them possible. The chronological narrative which provides facts alone - e.g. details of when the first, the thousandth etc. council house was built - does not

acknowledge the acts of agency which were responsible for the consciousness which demanded them.

These arguments can explain in part the hold that 'institutionalized' symbols have over individuals. Incorporation within a structure seemingly inevitably involves the adoption to an extent of the values which this structure represents. Yet within the labour movement itself are found reflections of these conservative values. Testimony to support this view was given by a South Tyneside councillor, born into a 'strong Labour family' in Wallsend, who moved to Jarrow when married and has been a Labour Party member since 1938. In 1920, on leaving school, she sought employment as a domestic servant. She was interviewed in the Mansion House in Newcastle - then (as now) the Lord Mayor's official residence. Fifty years later she returned to the Mansion House, this time as a civic dignitary:

'I never dreamed - in my wildest dreams - that I would be a VIP in that Mansion House. Because when I became Mayor of Jarrow - you know I'd only be a youngster then at 14, looking for work. And awestricken when I went at 14 and was interviewed by Lord Sutherland. I never dreamed that so many years later that I'd be going there as a VIP ... if I was writing a book it would make an interesting story. About upstairs and downstairs.'

(JMT: 1982; 1)

This experience is matched by the evaluation of an N.U.M. lodge official who described his award of a British Empire Medal in 1971, as 'an honour for myself and an honour for Shotton Colliery' (MHP: 1983; 230).

What these examples demonstrate is how a cultural system can incorporate and integrate individuals. A lifetime's work in the Labour Party led the

Councillor to integration via the municipal milieu - i.e. by acquisition of mayoral status that allowed her to use a previous experience as the measure of her own success. Similarly service to the trade union movement was re-defined via the awarding of the BEM as service to country. The 'honour' which ensued derived from this prevalent status system. Both of these people were representatives for a movement whose underlying consciousness they themselves would define as derived from particular experiences which as Thompson argues provide the opportunity for the developing a different political perspective. While their readiness to identify with prevailing values suggests that they themselves have been incorporated as individuals within the prevailing system, the analysis in the next section will indicate that they are in fact exemplars of the consciousness on which their political activities were founded.

3.2 Capitalists, workers and work

In the previous section representations made in the name of regional or civic pride were examined. This examination revealed that despite contrary claims adherence to the status values of the prevailing cultural system was found in representations made by the local press, regional writers and Labour-controlled local authorities. The industrial past, the nineteenth-century high-point, was interpreted only in terms which argued its significance to the nation as a whole. It was observed that organizations which were controlled, according to democratic theory, by the agents of a working-class consciousness whose regional particularity had already been detailed, did not utilize their position and power to authenticate a different interpretation of the industrial past. This despite the fact that their legitimacy rested on a history which was apparently oppositional in some degree to the prevailing system. What emerged was an ambiguity which was demonstrated by the incorporation of both individuals and organizations into the ideological system which was dominant.

What this section will analyze is the ideas, values and beliefs which are articulated in relation to employment within the north-eastern capitalist system. Here the intention is to determine how people who were members of what we have identified as the traditional working class represent reality. It is the point of production, the arena of potential dispute between capital and labour which is the focus for the analysis. Again we have to determine the extent to which north-eastern values depart from the national capitalist ideology. The referential parameters are to be drawn from the values and beliefs which enclose the actions of the

archetypal capitalist/entrepreneur as described in the Evening Chronicle series 'Men Who made the North'. Material from this series has already been used to delineate the relationship between region and nation. Continuing along this line, we wish to determine if experiences at the point of production have generated a distinctive awareness amongst workers. The yardstick for this examination will be the archetypal features of the capitalist/entrepreneur as shown by the series. What must be remembered is that this archetype is not regional (as the Chronicle suggests) but a national one. Set against this archetype will be the assessments of their working-lives made by informants. Thus what should emerge is the extent to which the ideology which generalised those views is distinctive at both a class and a regional level.

In the earlier discussion of regional pride, attention was drawn to the proliferation of inventions and innovations which were held to be distinctive of the north-east. McCord's appraisal of the north-east as being in the vanguard of industrial progress in the early eighteenth century was succeeded by his appellation of the region as the 'workshop of the world'. Not surprisingly therefore, a hallmark of the individual - the capitalist/entrepreneur - is ingenuity. Thus Charles Mark Palmer developed the iron screw-driven collier in the face of ridicule and opposition. This invention acquires praise for its inventiveness primarily because it opened up the development of the northern coalfield which at the time faced stiff competition from the Midlands and Wales. Nor was Palmer content with one invention. In 1854, the HMS Terror was launched. A naval ship, intended for use in the Crimean War, the novel feature of the vessel was the inclusion of rolled armour plates. An inclusion which,

according to the Evening Chronicle, led to the establishment of the armour-plating industry. His ambitions led him further: to the creation of a company which could build ships 'on a production line process from ore to finished article all under the control of one firm' (12/3/83). Though the claim that this represented a 'production line process' is tendentious to say the least, the ingenuity involved in establishing an integrated plant - a 'comprehensive and self-sufficient combine' - on an exceptional scale for its time (Pollard: 1950; pp. 80-81) has a beguiling quality which demonstrates Palmer's skill and ingenuity.

'... skill and boundless energy and enterprise' are important elements in assessing the career of John Buddle, colliery manager. Responsible for the creation of Seaham Harbour - 'a memorial to 19th century enterprise' - Buddle's idea, according to the Evening Chronicle (9/4/84), was initially branded as nothing short of madness. His persistence (an archetypal quality) persuaded his employer, the third Marquis of Londonderry, to embark upon the scheme. Buddle's career prior to his employment by Londonderry had been marked by that demonstration of skill and ingenuity which characterizes the agents of entrepreneurship if not the entrepreneurs themselves. Son of a Kyo schoolmaster, ('from whom he learned valuable lessons in mathematics') Buddle was manager at Greenside at Ryton before he was 30. Subsequently manager at a Wallsend colliery despite the doubts expressed by older pitmen but given a free hand by the owners to display his enterprise, he introduced 'cast-iron tubbing to replace wooden tubbing on the drawing machinery', 'organized coal making into sections divided by thin walls of coal' ('reducing the risk of fire and explosion and making maximum extraction possible') and 'improved the ventilation in the pit'.

In the Chronicle's opinion the owners were justified in giving Buddle a free hand because the pit became 'the most successful' in the country.

If ingenuity is the hallmark of the capitalist/entrepreneur or the surrogate thereof, the process of invention is further validated by their integrity. The capitalist/entrepreneur does not, whatever the innovative, inventive capacity, deliver a flawed product. Thus Andrew Leslie, founder of a shipbuilding firm in Hebburn, launched his first ship

'... the Clarendon, (which) was ultra-modern and had a screw instead of paddles, and on the day she was due to be handed over to her owners, Leslie travelled to London to receive his payment for her. But terrible news was waiting for him when he arrived, she had run aground on her maiden voyage'

(2/4/83)

'Man of Integrity' that he was, Leslie refused payment despite the owners willingness to settle. Only when it transpired that the damage was slight and the ship easily refloatable was Leslie willing to accede in settlement. The 'vein of scrupulous integrity', the Evening Chronicle asserts was to run through the whole of his business life.

Integrity may surface in incidents such as these, but it was, so the series suggests, an integral part of the day-to-day running of industry. Alphonse Reyrolle - 'The quality man' - established himself early as a scientific instrument maker in the village of Julliac in the Correge district of France. His company established in 1886 attracted attention through the quality of his work and he became much 'sought-after for the manufacture of special equipment and for the development of new designs from pioneers in the electrical industry' (16/4/83).

His business was transferred to Hebburn in 1901. While the firm grew the founder, Reyrolle, maintained his close interest in all that went on and never lost 'his strict regard for quality and contempt for the shoddy and second rate'. In addition he dealt personally with the supervision of employees and particularly apprentices' (16/4/83).

The high regard that such capitalist/entrepreneurs maintained for both the quality of their product and the quality of their staff is an essential feature of the archetype. Whatever their motivations in establishing companies, they are constantly involved in the process of self-examination of their own acts.

What underwrites these features and by definition is incorporated within them is the moral value placed on their labour. All worked hard to achieve their ends. Prototypical of this hard work ethic is McCord's account of Andrew Noble's 'fleeting visit to London'. Noble was a ballistics expert working for Armstrong's armament factory in Elswick, Newcastle:

'He arrived in the capital late at night; the earlier part of the following morning was spent in coping with a sheaf of letters and telegrams: at 11.30 he was in attendance on a major customer, appearing at an investiture at the Chinese Embassy; at 12.00 he had an appointment with the Controller of the Royal Navy, at 12.15 with the Navy's Chief Constructor, at 13.00 with an important naval Commander-in-Chief: he was then due at the Foreign Office at 13.30 and the American Embassy at 14.00: technical matters took him to the Physical Laboratory for much of the afternoon, beginning at 14.30, but he had to see the First Sea Lord at 17.00. At 18.30 he met George Rendel for a business discussion, after dealing with more telegrams. Noble dined at 19.15, and left King's Cross for Newcastle at 20.15. This kind of timetable does not seem to have been very unusual for Armstrong managers.'

(McCord: 1979; p. 135)

Such dedication to the ethic of hard work is recognized in the 'Men who Made the North' series. Andrew Noble is once again the subject.

'In his hands the works (i.e. Armstrong's) grew and it was often midnight before he left, social engagements and public functions having to give way to the paramount claims of Elswick to which his devotion was unquestioning.'

(Evening Chronicle: 26/3/83)

Hard work brought its rewards. Noble became a wealthy man - 'a position which he deserved through his industry' (McCord: 1979; p. 135). He was also the recipient of many honours: '... fellow of the Royal Society, a D.Sc. of Oxford and Sc.D. of Cambridge, a D.C.L. of Durham and of Glasgow, a K.C.B. in 1893, a baronet in 1902, and ... decorated by many foreign governments ...' (Evening Chronicle, 26/3/83).

Joseph Swan's triumph over adversity which the Chronicle describes is used to emphasize the virtue of hard work as the begetter of personal salvation. The seventy patents he filed during his lifetime, were achieved in the face of personal tragedy - the death of his wife, two children and a close collaborator. He faced strong competition in developing the first electric light bulb from Thomas Edison who had superior resources in laboratories and staff. Despite adversity and competition his success through hard work led to his salvation and the restoration of his own dignity (30/4/83).

This analysis of the region's past is fairly typical for the local press (cf. Journal: 4/11/81 - 18/11/81). It defines the region's industrial history in terms of its contribution to nineteenth-century industrial capitalism. While the successes it describes are locally-based, the ideology which informs the narrative interpretations delineating the

archetypal capitalist/entrepreneur knows no such boundaries. While we cannot establish a precise link between representations made by newspapers such as the Chronicle and the attitudes of north-eastern people, what is evident is that series such as 'Men who made the North' provide a frame of reference for assessing the past. It is this frame of reference - as it has been extracted above - which can be used to examine the ideological sources of archival testimony made with regard to individual work-experience. The local press as has been shown represents an ideology not specifically north-eastern. We seek here evidence of regional distinction with respect to this capitalist ideology.

In analysing the capitalist/entrepreneur archetype, three significant features were identified: inventiveness, integrity and the capacity for hard work. It is the interplay between these traits which constitutes the archetype and provides the general value that informs the superficial narrative structures of the series (White: 1980; pp. 20-27). The narrative structure becomes forceful in sustaining this representation of reality in that the story it tells is of success. Comparisons between north-east past (success) and north east present (failure) are implicit throughout the series. Success is measured not merely in terms of personal acclaim and recognition for the local heroes, it is also concerned with the generation of wealth for the region which expresses itself as employment, as jobs for the region's inhabitants. The employment-producing capacity of these nineteenth-century employers is valued, even by Jarrow marchers. One marcher, who described himself (in 1981) as more left-wing than Tony Benn, argues that Palmer created

'... the finest shipyard in the country. We made our steel. We could make a ship on time. Make it ... the whole lot ... when anybody asks about Jarrow they should be asking about the lovely ships and what not. Palmer's made employment for people, the Jarrow march didn't.'

(JMT: 1982; 3)

Acceptance here of the role of capitalist/entrepreneurs as wealth and employment-creators. The point was more explicitly made by a D.M.A.official:

'I remember speaking on Vesting Day and we marched round the streets and finished off in the pit yard, and the certain type of enthusiast: "Whey the pits belong to us now we can do what the have a mind." And - whether it was unfortunate or what I don't know - but I looked at it in a different light and I told them in a little bit speech I made ... I said it was as if the monarch died. "The King is dead. Long live the King". Sort of style ... I said in my view we still had a lot to thank the coal owners for - the point that the pits were there and they had provided the wherewithal for to feed all the people that had been in Shotton over these number of years ...'

(MHP: 1983: 230)

These explicitly positive appraisals which identify capitalist/entrepreneurs as wealth creators have been deliberately chosen. The informants' circumstances and experiences suggest that they would question the capitalist role within the system - not identifying them as wealth-makers but as exploiters of the working-class who in an alternative ideology could be so identified. Instead we find a close correspondence between the local press representations of reality and the informants views.

This acceptance of the capitalist/entrepreneur as wealth creator is given further currency by testimony which suggests that work which is undertaken within the capitalist system is subject to rules of justice and equity.

A miner evaluates his experiences under private ownership:

'All through I think everybody got a fair crack you know - got their chance. If you were a good worker and honest they used to look after you.'

(MHP: 1983; 216)

This subservience to paternalism, led this informant to conclude that private ownership was better than public. Another informant, after observing that 'the younger generation want the money' but 'not the work', suggested that

'Incentive is the only solution, give them the incentive to produce more coal, then pay accordingly. That means a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.'

(EDC: 1977; 39)

What we find here are interpretations of experiences within the capitalist system which favour the beliefs and values associated with 'capitalism's practices. This is particularly significant in the mining industry where one stand in its tradition is to identify the coal-owners as 'tyrants' who made 'slaves' of their workers (MHP:no reference). As a capitalist class, the coal-owners are recognized as exploiters in the following extract where the workers are identified as the wealth-creators:

'We always called it the 'ritz' south, which it was. The money was down there, the work was being done up here by us. That's actually the way it was, wasn't it? The wealth was pouring out of these pits but the people who owned these lived down the south. If you did go down south before the war which one did odd times you saw the vast difference in the towns, villages or anywhere to what we were used to living in up here. Most of the pit villages had broken down houses and no streets. No nothing really.'

(MHP: 1984; 242)

The alternative interpretation of the north-eastern past as detailed by Wilkinson for Jarrow (see p.118 above) is given resonance here. The comparison between the deprived north-east and the 'ritz' south identifies the former as exploited. The coal-owners, who removed the wealth from the region were not people who deserved the gratitude of the community they created in this view (c.f. p. 128 above).

It is to the assessments made by informants of their working-lives within this system that we now turn. Central to these assessments is the significance placed on work - hard work. As observed above, the north-east was a place where people worked for exploiting coal-owners in the south. Frequently this contextual location which accords with a class struggle concept is abandoned in regional comparison leaving only a hard work ethic as the basis for regional particularity:

'One recollection I have is of an occasion when I had responsibility for the digging of some trenches to take in telephone cables to the front line so as to protect the cables from shellfire just before the Somme started in 1916. We were allotted infantry troops for this work. Half the troops were from a south country battalion and the other half came from a north country battalion and consisted of many miners. What impressed me then was the northcountry men dug their length of trench nearly twice as fast as the south countrymen - perhaps understandably - though I felt a sense of pride as a Geordie myself.'

(MHP: 1983: 237)

The metropolitan/provincial axis provides the medium for praising north-eastern hard-work capacity. North-eastern/southern contrasts are made in relation to other sectors. In the next instance, a Sunderland born woman describes work in a London office of the Department of Health and Social Security:

'... basically it was money for old rope. You did your little bit, Full Stop. Nothing else was ever asked or expected of you. That was it. There was never any need to make an effort because efforts were either never appreciated or not looked upon as being the done thing. You were just responsible for your little bit and finished it ... the one or two southerners who were in our little group were convinced they worked their backsides off all day long. And they did nowt ... Basically we could have done it as a part-time job where they felt they were really pushed.'

What is interesting is that despite differences in historical time (over sixty years) and in the nature of the work (i.e. manual v mental), two informants employ the same symbolic structure in evaluating regional difference. The capacity for hard work is represented as an enduring north-eastern characteristic. 'Hard Work' as a status validator at the regional level transcends, time boundaries, gender differences and the types of work.

Metropolitan/provincial contrasts can operate in the opposite direction, as this evidence from a London born, print-worker, a SOGAT 82 member demonstrates in accounting for heavy unemployment in the north-east:

'You're just lazy. You don't want to work. Look at the Polish ship order. There was work for you. And the shipyards went on strike. You lost the order and now you've got heavy unemployment. Serves you right. You didn't want to work.'

What this statement indicates is the portability of the hard work ethic. Accessible to all comers it can be utilized to assert moral worthiness (or unworthiness) in a diverse range of circumstances. Empirical testing which could prove the truth of any (or all) of these assessments would seem impossible. Nor is it necessary for the present task in that it is enough to recognize that the capacity for hard work is invested regionally and nationally with considerable meaning.

When consideration is given to testimony relating to work experience within the north-east, the industrious : lazy opposition emerges again - this time as the medium for informants' self-assessment in comparison to others. Such assessments are most frequently made with reference to others employed in the same industry, factory - often doing the same job. Typical of this is a deputy overman recalling the impact of nationalization:

'... if you're off any time (because of sickness) you get your full wage ... for the first six month. Then if you're off over the next three month, you only get ordinary sick ... and the deputy says to me many a time. "Hast thou been on it?" I says "No". He says "Thou's a fool". I says "What?" He says "What's the matter? Get yourself sick and get yourself pay". I says "No". I says "The trouble is if I was boss I'd sack you lot - sack the lot of you."

(MHP: 1983; 223)

The aim of assessing colleagues with reference to the 'industrious : lazy' opposition is that to raise personal esteem, to establish personal worth by comparison with one's peers. Another element is introduced in the next extract taken from an interview with a woman who worked as a miller in Hawthorn-Leslie's, St. Peters. She describes her first shift:

'... they had a night shift and a day shift and there was a man on night shift on my machine. And the first day I was there, it was about eleven o'clock and this fellow comes along and he says "How are you doing?" I said "Oh fine" "great". He says "How many have you done?" And they were all piled up ... And I told him ... "You must be joking. You'll get killed". I says "What for?" he says "You've got three times time and it's only eleven o'clock.'

(WIS: 1984 ; 26)

The problem emerges of how to define quantitatively the meaning of 'hard work'. Regardless of this informant's opinion, the definition imposed collectively by the workforce in relation to this particular operation was considered adequate for one shift. Despite management's view the quantity output during that shift would in the labour force's opinion be considered as the product of 'hard work'. The next example shows this. The informant in this case was a man working as a machine planer in Palmer's Shipbuilding Co. in Jarrow in the late 1920s:

'Well thinking back to those days, we worked. We got a job to do, we'd do it. There was a bit of skiving going on. If you were on a night shift, you'd work hard, but after a certain time at night, you had a certain job to do, you got through it. You'd work like beavers to finish that job. Then you'd just sit at your machine and sleeping. Until you got the word - "The gaffer's coming!" But that was not laziness. It was the fact that you'd done the amount of work you needed to do for that night, according to the layout of work that was left for you.'

(JMT:1982; 2)

The significant point here is that what validates, what justifies the 'skiving' was the labour expended to complete a particular job. The vigil kept against the unwanted incursions of itinerant foremen reflect the fact that management's assessment of what constitutes 'hard work' and how it is to be quantified in terms of output differs from the workers' own opinion. What provides the potential for conflict is the differing opinions of what constitutes 'hard work' rather than an alternative evaluation of the purpose of labour. That alternative evaluation would be derived from the different locations assigned to capital and labour in the process of production. The work ethic itself does not provide the site of conflict. It is rather, the measurement of performance which is critical.

In archival material this assessment of work and the capacity to be industrious in its performance is a constant theme. Most frequently it is expressed briefly as in statements such as 'I worked hard all my life', 'We worked hard in those days' or 'Work hard - play hard'. Such personal validation becomes problematic involved as it is in the tensions between employer and employed, between capital and labour. For though the individual worker may accrue moral status, it permits those who own the means of production the right to establish moral authority over their employees and the capacity to demand more work, more output. It reflects also the internalization of capitalist ideology which sets a premium on extracting the full value from labour hired.

What is being suggested here is that the parameters for self-assessment by informants with regard to their working-lives bear a close correspondence to the ideological strata which shape the capitalist entrepreneur archetype. There is an ambiguity here. On the one hand it is possible that the region's industrial experience generates perspectives which focus on class conflicts - i.e. the tension between capital and labour. On the other hand there is the possibility that workers through the mediation of the hardwork ethic are susceptible to the requirements of capitalism. What generates this affinity is the abstract, decontextualized nature of the hard-work ethic i.e. it is cut adrift from the potential provided by the opposition between capital and labour. Furthermore it becomes a source of conflict between workers - their varying assessments of the individual capacity to work deflecting from the potential for class struggle.

The question which these observations ask is why this should be so. The implied answer throughout this chapter has been that the region shares in the cultural and ideological homogeneity of England. That homogeneity stems from the region's geographical incorporation within England. The possibility of establishing a nationalist identity along the lines of Scottish or Welsh nationalism does not, as we have already observed, exist for north east England. The failure to develop an alternative ideology around the issue of class exploitation requires further explanation. At first sight this would seem the most likely development given the region's loyalty to the Labour Party - and often it is presumed to be so.

While it has been established that both capitalists and others share ideological elements by which their life's activities can be assessed what must be recognized is the role that opportunity and circumstance play for these two groups. Circumstance and opportunity may conjoin beneficially for a capitalist such as Andrew Leslie. The son of a Shetland crofter he became apprentice when 13 years old to an Aberdeen boilermaker. On the boilermaker's death, Leslie was invited by the widow of his former employer to become a partner in the business since there was no son or close relative to carry on (Evening Chronicle: 2/4/83). For Charles Mark Palmer it was his father's refusal to support his studies in classics which forced him to enter the family business (12/3/83). From these beginnings both men became 'men who made the north' through dutiful application. What both men had - as other local heroes described in the series - was the opportunity to become capitalist/entrepreneurs. This was not the case for most working-class people:

'... millions of people have for generations worked for long and arduous hours in appalling conditions and for little pay; they have done so and many continue to do so, because they have had and have to make their basic living: that, however, is not the manifestation of an ethic, it is a compliance with the demands of economic necessity.'

(Kelvin: 1984; p. 416)

What Kelvin is asserting is that for most people, it is the economic imperative which governs their attitudes to work. That economic imperative was often satisfied by taking whatever work was available:

Q Were you a proud miner?

A I have never felt proud with it. I used to like the work but ... there was nothing else for me ... so the harder I worked ... the harder I did work to see if I could get more money.

(MHP: 1983; 223)

Pride in work and enjoyment of work even in the arduous conditions of mining were not altogether rare phenomena (e.g. MHP: 1983; 227). Nevertheless the recognition that economic necessity combined with restricted opportunities determined working-lives is a constant theme in archival material.

These circumstances reflect a tradition which is an ever-present feature of male working-class experience in industrial capitalism. In the Durham coalfield, these circumstances did not arise from the chance interplay of market forces. Coalowners had a determination to rear their own workforce. John Buddle, colliery viewer wrote to Lord Londonderry:

'What we have to guard against is any obvious legislative interference in the established custom of our peculiar race of pitmen. The stock can only be kept up by breeding - it never could be recruited from an adult population ...'

(18/8/1842 - DRO D/LO/C/42 - quoted in Austrin and Beynon: 1980; p. 23)

The lack of choice, the tradition of son following father into mining, of daughter following mother into a domestic life was framed by the need to make a work-force for the industry. Work becomes a 'necessary evil' but its performance becomes a badge of status as well as the mechanism for role fulfilment. Work as status value has a forceful exposition in the self-help ethic defined by Samuel Smiles. His concern was to associate hard work with moral value - and ultimately to justify morally the position of those who enjoyed privilege and status.

'Steady application to work is the healthiest training for every individual, so it is the best discipline of a state. Honourable industry treads the same road with duty; and Providence has closely linked both with happiness ... Labour is not only a necessity and a duty, but a blessing: only the idler feels it to be a curse.'

(Smiles: 1908; p. 33)

Self-help brought rewards to the virtuous and the industrious it emphasized the moral responsibility of the individual in working out their own destiny.

As Anthony has commented:

'The principle of self-help provided some prospect of hope for the most poverty-stricken members of society, as such it provided a motive force for society itself. It had in this way a double-edged advantage. It provided the prospect of material success and moral virtue for those who, by hard work would succeed; and it contributed to the docility of those who, by hard work would fail. It stressed common interests and a common background between employers and workers while encouraging effort as good in itself and as bringing material rewards. If it failed to reward it could contribute to the maintenance of a well-disciplined labour force which it persuaded to accept the same values as those of its masters.'

(1977; p. 78)

The moral quality of hard work - its virtuous reward, the recognition that even without material reward labour can be a status symbol - has been

manifest in the archival evidence presented in this section. This value set on labour - even labour undertaken for a lifetime implied by economic imperative - helps make sense of reality. The instrumental determinants of life's experience are surrounded by expressive moral qualities drawn from capitalist ideology. That ideology is shared between capitalists and workers. For the former it validates not only their success, but the place in the structure which they occupy as a consequence of the political and economic power which accrues to the capitalist/entrepreneur. What is not being stated here is that the Smiles doctrine has been imposed on labour. Initially the concepts which constitute this doctrine were drawn from the real world. What they are is ideological material which has been assembled in a manner which can be seen to be 'sensible' in defining moral worthiness. That it is capitalist ideology is no accident. The world that Smiles examined, the world he sought to rationalize was an England in the early stages of capitalist development. He incorporated in his work representations made to him by capitalists and artisans living in a culture which places great emphasis on individualism. If he were a modern-day sociologist, Smiles would have been considered as a fieldworker who had internalized the world perspective of the powerful.

Chapter Four : Putting England on the Map

'... the Geordies have put England on the map by guts and hard work and are always ready to fight for Queen and country. We have our V.C.s etc. to prove it. So we should blow our bugles more often so Maggie Thatcher can hear us.'

(Letter; Evening Chronicle; 17/12/82)

'During the First World War seventy telegrams from the War Office were delivered in one day in the small village of Prudhoe-on-Tyne. They announced the death or wounding of soldiers in action with the 4th Battalion T.A. On reforming the unit in 1920 it was thought that never, again would a company be raised in that village, but to the astonishment of the authorities many ex-soldiers not only rejoined, but brought recruits, and before long nearly 200 men were serving.'

(Peacock: 1970; p. 94)

'Picks tore into the coal face and black tubs rumbled as never before in the gloomy narrow confines of the little Hole-in-the-Wall Colliery at Crook, Co. Durham, at the beginning of 1943. At the end of seven days, 134 miners and pit lads had produced 166 tons more than the normal weekly average. It was their own way of paying tribute to the sons, brothers, uncles and fathers serving overseas with the Durham Light Infantry.'

(Moore; 1975; p. 1)

4.1 Making a nation

The previous chapter explored the effects of the region's involvement in the British industrial system. That system was one which could in Lockwood's analysis be considered as integrated in that it effectively established British industrial supremacy in the nineteenth-century. Interlinked with the industrial system was the British imperial system which developed in the late nineteenth-century. With that imperialist system there developed for the nation an 'official nationalism' (Anderson, B.: 1983; p. 84). More significantly the conquests which occurred after 1850, were made in the name of this nationalism - personified by Queen Victoria as 'Empress of India':

'It is true that in the seventeenth century London resumed an acquisition of overseas territories arrested since the disastrous ending to the Hundred Years' War. But the "spirit" of these conquests was still fundamentally that of a prenational age. Nothing more stunningly confirms this than the fact that "India" only became "British" twenty years after Victoria's succession to the throne. In other words, until after the 1857 Mutiny "India" was ruled by a commercial enterprise - not by a state, certainly not by a nation-state.'

(ibid; p. 86)

What is critical here is that the industrial development of the north-east was concurrent with this establishing of 'official nationalism'. While the regional growth of the industrial system and the national growth of the imperial were not causally linked directly, the material involvement of the north-east in the nation's fortunes was important. Having already highlighted north-east industries as significant in the national system, their importance to the imperial system is the starting-point for this chapter. Gupta, in determining connections between imperialism and the labour movement identified a classification which distinguishes between industries

'... which are primarily export-orientated and those which were not so. The former includes shipbuilding, cotton, iron and steel and coal.'

(1975; p. 3)

Three key north-eastern industries (shipbuilding, iron and steel and coal) emerge here defined as imperialist, export-orientated industries. Again this raises the question of whether particularist qualities attributed to specific industries which are held to typify the region are overridden by their involvement in a wider system. The question which arises is one of distinction between the region and nation; uniquely in this analysis, exploring regional reaction surrounding the imperialist ethos, there is no specifically north-eastern framework. While the circumstances which define the industrial base in the region during the period (see Chapter 3) or those which are asserted in the definition of community and social relationships (see Chapter 5) offer the basis for a particularity, in considering the imperial system and questions regarding north-eastern integration, alternative propositions are absent. Distinctiveness in imperial ideology could not be defined except in terms of retreat from the values and beliefs which constitute the national definition. It is in terms of this potential absence that the analysis continues.

Before consideration is given to regional data, the themes and approaches involved in studying imperialism and its history are to be examined. The parameters which define these analyses range from the elaboration of theory which identifies imperialism as an historical process to those which offer explanation for the working-class's involvement in the system. The latter pole is the important one for this present analysis since it

raises the questions about agency and incorporation. In definitions based on macro-explanations delineating process, acts of human agency often disappear and the individuals involved become metaphors of the process rather than determining actors within it.

The early theorists of the imperial phenomenon were Hobson (1938) and Lenin (1928) Hobson's exposition was earliest with his 1902 work. His examination was confined to the imperial expansion of European powers in the post-1870 period. In this he made a connection between expanding overseas empires and capitalist operation. Basic to this understanding, in Hobson's view, was firstly surplus capital accumulated in the domestic economy requiring investment markets which could not be found in Europe, particularly Britain; secondly surplus goods consequent upon excessive manufacturing capacity which led to over-production leading in turn to a search for overseas export markets. Territorial expansion was the result of pressure on the British government caused by the need for new markets for both investment and goods. While such markets had been identified and appropriately serviced, the government was pressured into drawing these areas into a regulated domain under what became imperial control. While for Hobson, this expansion resulted from a disorder in capitalism caused by surplus capital and surplus production, Lenin located imperialism within the historical process - as the final stage of capitalism. Overseas investment under the monopoly conditions of 'finance capital' he viewed as necessary for maintaining profit margins. As in the Hobson thesis, economic and political control over physical territory in which these investments were made developed from this expansion. It was, according to Lenin, that stage, reached in the late nineteenth century, which generated capitalist-imperialist states.

There are considerable differences between the two theorists:

'To Hobson, imperialism was the result of a malfunctioning of the capitalist system which was capable of reform. To Lenin, imperialism was the highest and final stage of inevitable capitalist development. Hobson regarded imperialism as the export of capital accompanied by force: Lenin simply equated imperialism with capital export and the dumping of the surplus produce. Hobson had no illusions about the lack of rewards promoted by the New Imperialism: the "imperialists" needed to corrupt British public opinion through the press. Lenin's "finance capitalists" automatically dominated governments.'

(Eldridge: 1978; p. 128)

What is to be appreciated here is the level of analysis at which these writers operate - the system level. Their concern is with an autonomic development of a pre-existing system - capitalism. For Hobson that development was reversible - since it was consequent upon the unequal distribution of wealth shifting domestic markets for both goods and investment. The solution was to redistribute wealth to absorb these surpluses. Lenin's thesis admits no power of agency which could reverse this trend, imperialism being an historical stage, whose influence over human action was deterministic.

In the next level of analysis, human agency in a circumscribed form becomes apparent. This is an interpretation based upon nineteenth-century European realpolitik. The actors in this 'scramble' for colonial possessions are statesmen and monarchs: Bismarck, Gladstone, Disraeli, Salisbury, Leopold of Belgium, American Presidents, Russian Czars and Japanese emperors. International relations between the powers were the framework. The balance of power in Europe established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 was disturbed by German unification. An alliance system was developed which pre-figured the 1914 confrontation. The disturbance, the shifting diplomatic allegiances generated the European colonial scramble.

'As an impasse had been reached in Europe the political struggle was extended to the periphery and new worlds were brought into existence in the vain hope of redressing the balance of the old.'

(Eldridge; 1978; p. 135)

Territorial expansion around the borders of the Pacific matched that of the African scramble. Here the European powers encountered the emergent forces of Japan and the U.S.A.

While the major figures in this scenario are nations and their leader, other actors, whose motivations, Eldridge describes as 'emotional' are incorporated in this interpretation: humanitarians, missionary zealots, nationalists and militarists all had a role to play (ibid.) These actors distinguished in this second mode of analysis constitute an elite - the visible agents of the imperialist system. Less obvious than this elite were the soldiers and sailors who contributed to the maintenance of order in the imperialist possessions, the shipbuilders, the iron workers, the miners, the cotton workers who all participated in the export trade of the British imperial nation. The unique characteristic of these semi-visible participants is that they all belonged to the working-class.

A critical question here is why and how the British working-class 'remained for so long acquiescent accomplices to their rulers' imperialism' (Foster: 1976; p. 4). Employment in an imperialist industry is not sufficient explanation. Foster identifies the labour aristocracy as a key component in this acquiescence. In the wake of the Chartism - which created the 'rudiments of a disciplined and nationally organised working-class party' (ibid; p. 18) - the industrial bourgeoisie sought to deter

the potential for working-class unity. This was initially achieved by creating a labour aristocracy. The groundwork had been laid in the 1830s and 1840s when the Chartists faced an 'uncompromising legal and military offensive' (ibid; p. 19). With a view to the longer-term, skilled workers were encouraged to organize - with the promise of good wages, differentiated with respect to semi-skilled and unskilled workers, the gift of the franchise and the legalization of purely economic trade union activity. Mechanics institutes, adult education, temperance societies were cultural forms designed to promote the ideas of the ruling class. The industrial power developed by the unions in Chartist days intended for use on behalf of all workers, became power to be used in the pursuit of sectional interests (ibid: pp. 18-19).

Britain's loss of world monopoly after 1870 threatened these links between the labour aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie. Though selected to be agents of social control - i.e. labour managers of the semi-skilled and unskilled - the periodic bouts of unemployment, the increasing 'deskilling' in engineering, in Foster's view offered the opportunity to develop an oppositional working-class politics in this period (see Foster ibid; p. 20). The growth of general unionism, particularly in the early 1870s and in 1889-1890, made this possibility more real. What emerged here was a political programme for a rudimentary 'welfare state' - involving employers' liability, redistributive income, schemes for health and unemployment insurance and old-age pensions. The labour aristocrats themselves feeling the dissolution of their economic base were proponents of these measures (ibid; p. 20). These policies were encapsulated in the concept 'Social Imperialism' which united both state intervention and maintenance of the imperial system:

'... the main supporters of extended state intervention ... were those politicians most closely associated with developing a new global strategy for British imperialism ... domestic welfare policies and even a degree of state socialism were seen as essential components of a new classless racial unity.'

(ibid; p. 21)

What we have then is a bridge between the capitalism, imperialism and the institutions which offered a potential opposition to this system. The aristocratic skilled unions, though descended from older craft unions, relinquished any struggles for workshop control and cooperated with the management in subordinating the semi-skilled and unskilled workers (ibid; p. 17). The incorporation is carried further with the development of social imperialism. For present purposes we can identify trade union organization as a crucial element in the transmission of the imperialist ethos to their members, through their incorporation in the British state.

Though this analysis adequately describes involvement by working-class institutions in the state and subservience to its ideology, the involvement of the working-class per se is another question. When that participation is considered there is a great unease evident in the work of labour historians.

The issue centres upon whether the working-class can or cannot be deemed imperialist and what support it gave to the imperialist system. The standard approach is as exemplified by Pelling in his essay "British Labour and British Imperialism" is to argue that there is 'no evidence of direct continuous support of Imperialism among any sections of the working-class' (1968; p. 99). Indirect continuous support amongst some groups is found e.g. Ulstermen, soldiers, sailors and shipbuilding workers

Pelling's intention is to disavow the working-class involvement in the imperialist ethos if not the imperialist practice. Central to his rebuttal is an examination of the jingoistic response to the Boer War. Pelling seeks to determine whether the jingoism was a valid representation of popular sentiment which includes the working-class as participants. His case rests firstly on the assertion that jingoistic outbursts - such as the disruption of public meetings protesting against the war were led by middle class, particularly lower middle-class, agitators (ibid; p. 90) or that enthusiasm in demonstrations at notable events during the war (e.g. the relief of Mafeking) was merely a consequence of working-class people displaying their emotions in public when 'given the opportunity by those guardians of public order, the middle classes' (ibid; p. 89). As evidence he cites the lack of support for the war amongst trade union leaders. One leader who did support the war was W. J. Davis of the Birmingham Brassworkers union. That support, Pelling attributes to Birmingham as the centre of Joseph Chamberlain's influence (ibid; p. 85). Pelling's position is supported by Price (1972) who argues that trade union and working-class reaction to the jingoism and imperialism was one of indifference if not hostility (pp. 235-4).

Central to this question of whether conformity to imperialist practice implied acceptance of its ethos in both specific instances such as the Boer War or generally, is his explanation for recruitment to the army. Pelling's account emphasizes the instrumental reasons for being working-class volunteers during the Boer War:

'... it may be argued that enthusiasm for the South African War was shown by the large-scale voluntary enlistment in the army. But recruits join up for a variety of reasons, of which unemployment is one of the most important. In 1899 and 1900

the patriotic motive could be combined with the hope of finding a job in South Africa without the need to pay any passage money to get there.'

(Pelling: 1968 ; pp. 88-89)

Over the wider historical period covered by this thesis, the north-eastern experience indicates support for identifying unemployment as a motivating factor behind recruitment to the army:

'... I tried some stupid things to try to get work. I even went up to join the army. But the army wanted me in the guards for 3 years. I said "No, I'm not going for three years." I'd go for two because I felt two years - things would be bound to be improving, jobs would be available. So I didn't join the army. I didn't get into the police force because my left eye was bad.'

(J.M.T.: 1981: 1)

The issue here is critical. For most working-class males visible participation in the imperial system has meant military service - particularly service in the army. For working-class males, the expression of the imperialist ethic which is most readily available is found within this realm. Pelling argues that such service is a consequence of economic imperatives - that faced with unemployment, a viable solution for working-class males is enlistment into the armed services. That enlistment, Pelling implies, is an act instrumentally undertaken which contains little or no expressive content. The relationship between the imperial system and the working-class can be causally defined: the practice of the imperial system required a military presence; in Pelling's argument that practice and hence working-class involvement is presented as an economically viable option within the context of economic imperatives such as unemployment. The underlying contention is that the ethos of imperialism carries little or no weight for the enlistee.

That expressive content which validates military service as an employment option is clearly evidenced in the following testimony. The informant, who lived and worked as a miner in Usworth joined the Territorial Army in 1911

'The year 1911 was a memorable year to me because eventually it decided that my work in the pit was ending. I joined the 9th battalion of the Durham Light Infantry, Territorials - and commenced army training. Working down the pit for eight hours Billy Bottons, Paddy Frazer and me would ascend the pit, wash ourselves, don our khaki uniforms and walk over three miles to the drill hall: there Colour Sergeant Ernie Crouch would work upon us to teach us the rudiments of soldiering. We went to camp in August in Strensall near York. It was a red hot month. We marched, had make believe battles, dug trenches and fired rifle rounds. We had to fight to get our share of the food dished out and we felt very fit and tanned by the heat of the sun. Our white pit-made faces now showed a healthy glow ... Returning to my work in the pit, going out along those galleries, laying my pony in, I thought that the wide open spaces of Strensall Common or any other common were preferable to this - stooping, crouching, taking care of oneself and the pony on a road so narrow and low made me decide there and then to enlist in the army.'

(M.H.P.: 1983; 215)

That enlistment was delayed for instrumental reasons - his parents' reluctance to lose the wage he was bringing into the household. After the miners' strike of 1912, his return to work gave him the final impetus to join the army:

'I looked around them all: they were a sturdily built body of lads, well equipped for their task below - surely their massive strength would breed into success. Among those lads I was light and frail, unfitted to compete with them in the field of heavy work. Any kind of mining in those days was a terrific job. Clever machinery was rarely seen like I'd seen and use today. Brute strength was needed and I had little of it. (ibid).

Beneath the florid style of these extracts lies an easily discernible identification with the military ethos. While the earlier quoted extract from the Jarrow informant lends credence to economic imperative, the

expressive content is rich in the extracts quoted above. Nevertheless despite the romantic perspective (of miners and mining as well, it should be noted), there is evidence of an ideological attachment to militarism, in the north-east.

It is by examining and understanding the everyday operation of this ethos at nationally as it is expressed through military involvement for working-class males that we must turn first. The regular army is an institution which is in the 1980s lodged securely within the British cultural system. It was not, as we shall see, always so secure. The problem with Pelling's analysis is that it centres upon one event - a major, public event - the Boer War. The extent of working-class commitment to the imperialist/militaristic ethos is uncertain because his examination is conducted with regard to that one event. The synchronic nature of this analysis makes no allowance for the possibility that the Boer War was a catalytic event in shaping public attention towards the military establishment. A catalytic event whose roots operate within an historical process which extends before and beyond the Boer War. The need is to establish a diachronic analysis which delineates this process. It is the expressive content in relation to the military's place in British society which will explain working-class attitudes towards enlistment. Unemployment cannot be disregarded as a motivating factor in individual cases. What is being proposed is that it is for some a necessary condition (i.e. if they had remained in employment they would never have enlisted) but not a sufficient one (i.e. not all individuals who were unemployed applied to join the army). It is the development of those sufficient conditions which require examination. Here the observations of Summers on pre-first world war militarism are relevant.

She notes a changing attitude in the public sphere with regard to the military in the second half of the nineteenth-century. Prior to that,

'The private soldier, for his part, was in many senses an outcast, a "volunteer" whom hunger had conscripted from the lowest social ranks, a brawling ruffian who was ostracized and stigmatized by polite society. As late as 1891 there were complaints from the army that men in uniform were refused admission to bars and theatres.'

(1976 ; p. 108)

The synchronic focus of Pelling's explication does not admit of the changes in perception in the public eye of attitudes towards the regular soldier - a change such that the Regular Army had become a national institution by 1900 (ibid.). While the instrumental explanation for recruitment derived from economic circumstances may possess potency in earlier periods, Summers indicates a shift in values and beliefs.

Cunningham's analysis 'The Language of Patriotism' gives some account of this change. Cunningham argues that patriotism - by 1900 the seedbed of popular support for imperialism - had in the eighteenth-century been the property of radicalism. The stance adopted was that the liberty of England had been corrupted by the Government:

'This radical patriotism was no mere rhetorical flourish. It derived from a sense that Englishmen had rights, rooted both in nature and in history, which were being violated. To think of themselves as patriotic, to invoke the 'martyred patriots' of the past was both to legitimate and to reinforce the sense of rightness of these activities which led some of them to transportation and death. It was a language of private correspondence as well as of public platform, a language which had been internalized and would not easily be shaken. For the radicals of the 1790s patriotism was not a cloak of deceit but an arrow of righteousness.' (1981, p. 13)

Cunningham traces the nineteenth-century the struggle over the possession of the language of patriotism between radicalism and the

Government. A partial reclamation was established for the Government by the events of the Napoleonic Wars (p. 14). The Chartists utilized patriotic rhetoric in their struggle - the first working-class struggle - in their attempts to secure wide-ranging reform in the political system, arguing that Parliament no longer spoke for the people having usurped natural rights which were the prerogative of the English people (p. 17).

By the 1870s, the language of patriotism belonged to the right-wing - i.e. the establishment forces - and had become a key component of the state's ideological apparatus (p. 23). This is in keeping in historical time with Benedict Anderson's observation cited above regarding the development of 'official nationalism' in the late nineteenth century. Patriotism, nationalism and the state became intermingled. Integral in this 'rehabilitation' of patriotism was the rehabilitation of the monarchy and its establishment as an institution incorporating nationalist and patriotic sentiment. The return to popular favour of Queen Victoria, signified by the Diamond Jubilee of 1897 (an orchestrated populist occasion, *ibid*; p. 24 and see Cannadine: 1983) was a symbolic marker in this process:

'In the age of imperialism the English were constantly exhorted to be patriotic, and the measuring rod of patriotism was one erected by the Conservative in the 1870s; the patriot was above class, loyal institutions of the country, and resolute of the country, and resolute in defence of its honour and interests. Liberals, radicals and socialists who protected their own patriotism were singularly unsuccessful in wresting the initiative from the right. Patriotic was finally identified with Conservatism, militarism, royalism and realism.'

(Cunningham: 1981 ; p. 24)

What this combination of patriotism and nationalism offers culturally is membership in a nation which is a community, conceived in the imagination as 'a deep, horizontal comradeship' which disregards the prevailing actual inequality and deprivation (Anderson: 1983; p. 16). What this patriotic/nationalist (and ultimately in the British case imperialist) ethic was founded on is the nation/state as it was in the nineteenth-century - an industrial/imperial nation headed by a monarchy which has survived from medieval antiquity. The combined capacities to endure (symbolized by the monarchy) and to expand (symbolized by industry and empire) had a reality more concrete and more accessible to conservatism than the radical alternative which argued patriotism in terms of expectation - i.e. what the nation ought to be, not what it was.

Pelling's arguments that the working-class adopted imperialist practice as a consequence of economic imperative and Price's assertion that the class were largely indifferent to imperialist ideology neglect the possibility that the class as a whole, or parts of the class - e.g. their institutions such as the aristocratic trade unions or working-men's clubs might be so incorporated into this 'horizontal comradeship'. It is, in fact, Pelling's rationalizations with regard to the Boer War which are an impediment to a clearer understanding of the operation of the imperialist ethic. What is problematic generally in examining imperialism, patriotism and militarism is that the beliefs and values which are associated with this concept rarely secure attention except when contextualized by a particular event which serves as a channel for their expression. State occasions, wars and sporting triumphs are the most widely known ideological sites for formulating patriotic response. What this suggests is an underlying presence which keeps these sentiments in a state of readiness. This, rather than the specific events which give

expression to nationalism, patriotism etc., is what should be examined. An analysis which focuses on specific 'jingoistic' manifestations, such as that undertaken by Pelling, prevents an adequate examination of this ideological structure.

Cunningham moves towards an understanding of this by indicating that the weight of propaganda belongs to those institutions associated with patriotism - e.g. school, reading material, youth organisations, regular forces etc. With little cultural or political resources to resist this version of patriotism the only 'mode of opposition' by the working class was one of half-hearted apathy (1981; p. 24). While he is prepared to concede that there was a small but ineffective working-class opposition to the patriotism of the right, and that while patriotism may have incurred a sense of irrelevance to most of working-class life (p. 26), he also recognises that the 'ability of working class people to interpret patriotism in their own way did not defend them from right-wing patriotism' (p. 27).

The point is developed further by Summers whose study focuses on the involvement of the working-class in the institutions of popular militarism such as the Volunteers, militaristic leagues and Navy Leagues prior to the First World War (1976 ; p. 105). She notes the rising interest in all things military in the post-Boer War period. The war itself, with all the military problems of the battlefield and the exposure of the poor physical condition of recruits was suggestive of the decline of the nation (p. 18) a nation in the Edwardian period seen as in need of regeneration (p. 112). This regeneration was to be affected by compulsory physical training and military drill in schools - a programme favoured by the National Service League founded in 1901. She notes also that such militarism had the blessing of the Protestant and Nonconformist churches

(pp. 117 and 119). Such religious influences were exemplified by formations of youth groups such as the Boys' Brigade and the Church Lads' Brigade which had militaristic undertones (p. 119). This 'religious idealization of army life' mystified 'the true bloody nature of the soldier's calling (p. 120). The first world war stripped away the camouflage:

'The illusory quality of so much popular militarism had been forever exposed on the battlefields of Flanders. It had been about fellowship and citizenship, physical exercise and spiritual exercise, social control and industrial performance. It had not been about fighting, killing and being blown to pieces: and yet it had placed millions in a state of readiness for these.'

(p. 121)

What can be cited as evidence of 'success' in transforming the army's public image from its disreputable state in the 1890's, is the War Office's own 'testimony'. Admittedly, in its annual report the army always identified employment fluctuations as one factor affecting recruitment levels (see for example War Office: 1908, 1924 and 1929). Other factors, related to unemployment - e.g. migration and government labour transference schemes were also listed (see War Office: 1930). The War Office was nevertheless never sure of the relationship between unemployment and enlistment:

'The effect of the state of the labour market is difficult to estimate. On the one hand it may be possible to ascribe a dearth of recruits to improved trade conditions while, on the other, statistics show 58.9 per cent of this year's (1930) applicants were either in employment or had been so during the three months preceding their applications to enlist.'

(War Office: 1931; p. 7)

What the army was sure of was that presenting an acceptable image of army life to the public-at-large was important. Thus in 1931, the increased recruitment figures were held to be (in part) the consequence of

'The policy which has been adopted of giving the public every opportunity of seeing for itself the conditions under which soldiers live and the physical and educational training they receive.'

(War Office: 1932; p. 5)

For the 'growing appreciation of the public' of 'the merits of army life', the report thanked the press and 'many' local authorities for their 'helpful cooperation' (ibid.). This indicates that while the War Office might consider unemployment as a necessary condition for attracting recruits it was not a sufficient one. The media, local institutions played a part in presenting the army positively.

'Propaganda' was the War Office's description in 1936 when the report stated that an advertising agency's services had been acquired (War Office: 1936; p. 7). The best recruiter was nevertheless the serving soldier:

'An outstanding feature of recruiting is the fact that the best recruiter is the serving soldier himself. This is borne out by the statistics of the recruiting year ... It is the second quarter¹ particularly in January that serving soldiers are on furlough in the greatest numbers. Consequently, it may be that soldiers on furlough influence their friends to join the Army.'

(War Office: 1935; p. 7)

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1. The army's recruiting year for the purposes of its annual report runs from October 1 to September 30. The latter year is taken as the 'recruiting year'. The second quarter runs from January 1 to March 31.

This indicates that the military ethos was probably widely accepted. The transition from the 1890s was complete. We could expect serving soldiers to act as the medium for communicating the virtues of army life. That their audience listened and accepted collectively the military ethos is shown by the increased recruiting rate following the widespread presence of serving soldiers in the civilian world. The army had become a viable employment option replete with expressive content.

That army service involved commitment to the imperialistic ethos is demonstrated in the report for 1933 recruiting year. In accounting for a decline in recruitment the War Office blamed anti-war propaganda and was given to protest:

'The role of the British Army is primarily that of a Defence and Police Force. As an illustration of this, it may be noted that on no less than 15 occasions since the Great War a few British troops have been the means of saving the lives and property of British subjects, and preventing bloodshed and tribal war.'

(War Office: 1934; p. 8)

The manifestation here of the imperial ethos is clear; the nation as 'policeman of the world' is the theme. Involvement in the army, whatever the case, involved adoption of these premises - premises of imperialism. Though identified by its participation in the imperialist practice, the army expressed the imperial ethos.

It is the articulation of what could be deemed to constitute a 'state of readiness' - a phenomenon which manifests itself clearly as a militaristic presence in the north-east - which will be the subject in the next two sections. The first deals with manifestations of this presence historically - a presence defined both institutionally and by the simple matter-of-fact

involvement of north-eastern individuals in the regular army. That involvement is made manifest through the imperial links which stem from the region's industrial base. Contemporary responses will be used to demonstrate the region's integration within this system. What is not being claimed here is that this industrial/imperial character is deterministic with respect to personal values and beliefs. While this argument is tempting, particularly in view of recruitment levels during the first few months of World War One (see McCord: 1979; p.202), the focus will be on the lineaments which structure this everyday presence rather than responses to the exceptional. In the second section we examine representations made through the local press which articulate the constituent elements of north-eastern involvement in that system. The focus shifts here from the presence - the 'state of readiness' - to the 'state of action' on historic battlefields and associated regional interpretations.

4.2 A state of readiness?

The everyday presence of imperial connections historically can be made manifest through recollections of military service, by informants or their family in the archival material drawn from Beamish Museum:

'My father, an old soldier, had served eleven years in India in the Royal Regiment of Horse Artillery. He was a noted figure. Tall, smart with a perfectly soldierly bearing ... my boyhood days were therefore coloured by army stories early in my memory. I knew of Peshawar, Bangalore, Poona, Calcutta etc. as soon as I learned to read and write.'

(MHP: 1983; p. 215)

'After two years at Armstrong College studying for my mining degree, the war broke out in 1914. And after a few weeks I joined up in the Tyne Electrical Engineers as a sapper. And later in 1915, I got rather bored in England with many of my school friends serving abroad, I volunteered to go to France in (the) Royal Engineers Signals Section. I served in France for some years with them.'

(MHP: 1983; 237)

'I couldn't see about getting a holiday so I joined up with the Territorials. Ha. Ha. Ha. It lasted about four years. The Territorials then they were just like anybody else they weren't to go out of the country to fight ... we volunteered.'

(MHP: 1983; 228)

'... in our family, my old grandfather was the boss ... He was a Chelsea pensioner. He'd been in two wars - three or four medals.'

(MHP: 1984; 283)

'My husband was in the army.'

(MHP: 1983; 66)

These extracts demonstrate the casual nature of the military ethos - the ordinary, everyday rather than the exceptional. This evidence suggests that whatever the economic imperative, enlistment was a legitimate option

within the cultural repertoire. Before examining how this 'tradition' was maintained, reference should be made to levels of recruitment within the north-east. The statistics nationally and for Northumberland and Durham compared are contained in Table Three. As with all statistical data, it can be qualified so restricting its value, thus, considerable care must be exercised with these figures. The primary qualification being that these are figures for recruitment, rather than figures of those who wished to enlist. (The army only publish these figures on a national basis.) Overall they suggest a regional disinclination to enlist in the pre-world war one period. Of particular interest are the recruitment rates per 100,000 for the years 1901-1902 - i.e. both years fall within the recruitment period for the Boer War. The lower than national rate confounds Pelling's assertion that in that war the north-east because of its imperial industries and military tradition was likely to be more jingoistic than other regions. In no recruiting year before 1914 did rates exceed the national average - often being less than half that average. It becomes tempting to ascribe the post-war leap in annual rates to an impulsion brought about by economic distress. Yet in the pre-war era, there were periods when unemployment was as serious, but there was no rise in recruitment. In 1910, for example, shipbuilding was stagnant on the Tyne (Ennis: 1982; p. 50). Recruitment rates for Northumberland and Durham declined over the 1909 figures and did not rise markedly in 1911². As a provisional explanation for the marked change

2. The statistical 'ifs' and 'buts' of the argument can be extended. After 1927, recruitment figures for the 'Northumbria Zone' included the North Riding of Yorkshire. It has not been possible to separate the figure for Northumberland and Durham from this total. While the number of recruits increased, the rate per 100,000 (Measured against a larger male population base) fluctuated between 229.9 (1929) and 189 (1932). Nationally the fluctuation was between 166.4 (1931) and 107 (1934). The Northumbria recruitment pendulum swung to a different beat to the national one and did not fall into a cyclical pattern corresponding to the troughs of unemployment.

Table Three National and regional peacetime recruitment rates

(i) 1901-1913

YEAR	NATIONAL (UK)			NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM		
	Male Population	Enlistment	Rate Per 100,000	Male Population	Enlistment	Rate Per 100,000
1901	20,093,222	44,099	219.4	904,844	1071	118.3
1902		50,751	252.5		1131	124.9
1903		28,385	141.2		615	67.9
1904		40,431	201.2		970	107.2
1905		34,322	170.8		795	87.8
1906		35,267	175.5		972	107.4
1907		33,516	166.8		728	80.4
1908		35,878	178.5		902	99.6
1909		32,449	161.4		992	109.6
1910		25,511	126.9		653	72.1
1911	21,941,257	28,791	131.9	1,037,154	738	73.5
1912		29,725	135.4		729	70.2
1913		27,844	125.2		653	62.9

(ii) 1920-1927

1920	21,941,257	71,447	325.6	1,037,154	3628	349.8
1921	22,609,685	44,950	198.3	1,107,815	1792	161.7
1922					2545	229.7
1923		31,289	138.3		2020	182.3
1924		30,508	134.6		1837	165.8
1925		32,005	141.5		2543	229.5
1926		29,061	128.5		2274	205.2
1927		27,938	123.5		2060	185.9

between the two periods, I suggest that the first world war was an experience for the region which cemented the ideological stands of militarism rather than dispersed them. Those who experienced the battlefields of the First World War remember them for their futility and the pointlessness of slaughter - 'War is terrible. War is awful' (JMT: 1982; 18) but this does not necessarily produce new thoughts on the nation, the state or patriotism. It is the maintenance of militarism in the north-east which is to be examined here. The archival evidence revealed no alternative interpretation to the interpretation I present here. In many ways not so surprising since as McCord indicates, anti-militarism lacked a high profile in the region. There was some support for conscientious objectors but by comparison with other areas it was small (1979; p. 202).

The north-eastern military presence was given spatial definition by two regiments based in the area: the Durham Light Infantry and the Northumberland Regiment (since 1935 known as the Northumberland Fusiliers)³. Both regiments recruited within their respective counties and both have long connections with the local aristocracy. Constituted in 1758 as the 68th Foot regiment, John Lambton - grandfather of the first Earl of Durham - was its Colonel (Durham Light Infantry: 1934). Likewise the Northumberland Regiment had long-standing connections with the Percy family (Peacock: 1970; p.24). Recruits were as far as possible drawn from the local enlistment area, and both regiments during the first part of the twentieth-century

3. Both regiments have ceased to exist in name, having been merged with other county regiments in the 1968 army re-organisation.

shared adjoining offices in Newcastle. 'Ideal' recruits were clearly identified in the official history of the Northumberland Fusiliers as follows:

'The Fifth has always consisted mainly of three greatly different types of men: tough Northumbrian yeomen whose ancestors regarded Border clashes as a normal way of life; Geordies from northern collieries, whom I have always regarded as making the finest infantry in the world, and thirdly, they usually number in their ranks a high proportion of Irishmen.'

(Horrocks: 1970; p. ii)

It is those almost eternal qualities - toughness and endurance derived from the mining experience - which are utilized in eulogizing the Durham Light Infantrymen:

'Probably more than any other regulars the Durham Light Infantry was integrated with the county from which it took its name. There was never any shortage of recruits from a community where hard times were as frequent as the east wind. Stocky, irreverent men, they were adept at grousing when the going was good but endured hardship without a murmur and generally grew more cheerful as things got worse.'(!)

(Moore: 1975; flyleaf notes)

This connection which establishes the suitability of the coal mining industry for training infantrymen is comparable with Pelling's account of north-east imperialism:

'In North-East England, seafaring and shipbuilding combined with a military tradition to make strong support for the (Boer) war ... Thomas Burt and Charles Fenwick (both pre-Boer) the Northumberland miners' leaders without losing their seats both suffered serious wastage of their usually massive majorities.'

(Pelling: 1968; p. 94)

That military tradition was based primarily on the regiments of the regular army which recruited in the district. Their presence served as

a focus for acceptability. It was further supported by the presence of part-time militarists in urban communities (Cunningham: 1975; p. 96). The north-east was no different to other parts of England - 'part-time soldiering' being 'a popular hobby for Northumbrians' as Peacock notes (1970; p. 94). Frequently this part-time soldiering made itself visible within a community without direct dependence on an industrial framework. In the nineteenth-century, these pursuits involved enlistment in the Volunteer Force (expressed in 1908 by the Territorial Army), the Volunteers were established in 1859 in response to fears of French invasion. Their force was to act as an auxiliary to the regular army and to become specialized in rifle firing and to consist of small units of 'individuals who had close knowledge of each other and who were dependent on each other personally' (Cunningham; 1975; p. 13 - my underlines) This appropriation of community strength emanated

'... from a society which was essentially rural or small town, and in which there was little geographical mobility. In fact, the Volunteers were to become increasingly urban, working-class, subject to military discipline and organized in large units.'

(ibid; p. 15)

For present purposes it is enough to recognise that the Volunteers were there - located and lodged in urban communities throughout the country:

5/ Volunteer corps frequently came into being at formally requisitioned public meetings. In so far as such meetings were unopposed, and this was normally the case, the citizen-soldier started out with the backing and often the enthusiasm. Indeed, what must strike the historian is the extent to which the Volunteers were fired not so much by love of Britain as by pride in and a sense of belonging to their local community.

The Volunteer movement became so quickly part of the established social scene that by about mid-1860 any sizeable town without a flourishing local corps felt itself disadvantaged in comparison with its neighbours (and vice versa). More important, the local corps did not stem from some fringe element in the community, but they were from the beginning associated with the local elite. They thus quickly came to play a part in local functions and their success or failure was seen as a commentary on the civic or village leaders, and on the community as a whole.'

(ibid; p. 69)

Even following the partial dissolution of the Volunteers in 1908, the civic pride redolent in their presence in an urban community lingered producing this evaluation of the Jarrow Volunteers in 1925:

'The Corps of the 1st Durham Royal Engineers (Volunteers) was formed by Mr. C. M. Palmer in 1868⁴, and was recruited from the workmen of the various departments of Palmers works. Mr. Palmer was the first Colonel. The drill ground, at that time, was in the Market Square, on the site of the Theatre Royal ... Subsequent Colonels were W. John Price, for many years the general manager of Palmers, and Capt. Furneaux of Gateshead. When the Territorials came into operation in 1910, the strength of the Company was reduced from 800 to 350 men.

Two contingents of the old volunteers served in the Boer War (1899 to 1902), one under Captain Price, the other under Lieut. Furneaux.

(Jarrow Borough Council: 1925; p. 58)

Whatever the motivations of the men who joined the Volunteers in Jarrow (and elsewhere) - Cunningham argues that patriotism was a minor motive, the working-class considering participation more in terms of recreation

4. Note here the inherited status - but one accorded on the basis of social status. The Lambtons - the upper-class family whose leading member is the Earl of Durham - secured high office in the regular army as the regiment's patron. The line of 'succession' does not end here: David Riley, Labour councillor was named 'Marshal' of the Jarrow Crusade.

and sport (see 1975 Chapter 6) and whatever the doubts regarding the efficiency of the part-timers (ibid; Ch. 7), the simple fact of military presence within communities such as Jarrow is a significant one. Firstly we should note the tangibility of the presence - 'the drill ground' was in the 'Market Square'. Though the requirement for volunteers to drill was only specific on a minimum basis annually (ibid; p. 110), the regularity of armed part-time soldiers drilling in such public places provides us with clear evidence of the public acceptance of militarism.

And with militarism comes patriotism. Always the volunteers were defined as being the embodiment of a patriotic force

'To suggest that volunteers was a recreation is not to deny that it might be a patriotic recreation. Moreover it may be that patriotism was a consequence of joining if not a cause of it. Young men serving three or four years in the force, were subjected to a stream of patriotic speech-making, from the Chaplain's sermon to the Inspecting Officers address. They were constantly being congratulated on their patriotism, and may in consequence have felt patriotic.'

(ibid; p. 123)

Without doubt the establishment of the Volunteers and their extension into urban communities were partly responsible for the re-habilitation of the common soldier in nineteenth-century Britain. Part-time soldiers could be as effective as agents for the military ethos as those regulars who the War Office identified as being the best recruiters. Their location in the places such as Jarrow made them the visible, tangible presence for the militaristic/patriotic and ultimately imperialist ethic in the north-east from the late nineteenth - to the early-twentieth-century when this role was taken over by the Territorial Army.

A different strand is found in the post-world war one era which saw the establishment of 'veterans' clubs. These associations, following the model provided by working-men's clubs, were founded by ex-servicemen. The British Legion foremost amongst these associations which has branches throughout the north-east is a centrally organized institution with its headquarters in London. The local manifestations of military fellowship e.g. 'The Comrades Club' (Hetton) and the 'Ex-servicemen's Club' (Jarrow) demonstrate regional affiliation to the sentiments of wartime comradeship. Naval clubs, airforce clubs have all been created throughout this century. The Tyneside telephone directory alone contains over seventy such entries. While these clubs operate to a large extent in the same manner as a typical working-men's club in providing entertainment, diversion and sociability, their presence evokes the military ethos every day.

This is illustrated by an examination of a regular column which appears in the Evening Chronicle. That column - entitled 'Old Comrades' is an information column which lists details of news, meetings and reports of the activities of ex-service organisations in the North-East area. In one week (beginning 10/2/83), details of twelve ex-servicemen's groups were listed. Groups listed included the Royal Signals Association, the Black Watch Association, Coldstream Guards Association, 1940 Dunkirk Veterans Association and the British Korean Veterans Association.

We must distinguish here between clubs such as the Companions' Club, Newcastle and the Coldstream Guards Association which meets there. While the inspiration of the club was originally to draw together men who had served together in the first world war, membership of the armed services - past or present - is no longer a requirement for membership.

All men over 18 are eligible - as is the case with all other such clubs in the region. Eligibility for membership of the Coldstream Guards Association is restricted to those who served in the regiment.

It is not a discussion of the horrors and vicissitudes of war which draws these veterans together. It is rather the memories of comradeship and fellowship. These positive virtues are emphasized in such meetings. 'The illusory quality' of such virtues which were blown away on the battlefields of the first and second world wars as Summers has remarked have in the 1980s been ignored. The return is to an emphasis on those virtues which the militarism of organizations such as the Volunteers, the Regular Army elides into a celebration of human companionship.

Interleaved with these overt military presences - the regular and territorial army, ex-servicemen's associations etc. - is the region's industry. We have observed how aristocratic unions operated as agents of the state in promoting bourgeois values and in supporting social imperialism, providing thus an essential component for the regional tradition. The industrial sector itself was heavily involved in the supply of armaments both naval and military. Palmer's Iron and Shipbuilding Co. - in Jarrow designed the first iron-clad armoured warship - the HMS Terror in 1855. Between then and 1932 when shipbuilding ceased at the yard over 100 ships were built for the Admiralty - representing 10% of the 1000 launched at Jarrow. The last ship launched was the H.M.S. Duchess - awarded to the yard in the 1931 naval programme. Failure to secure an order in the 1932 programme was an immediate factor in the yard's closure (Wilkinson: 1939; p. 158).

Swan-Hunter at their Wallsend and Neptune Shipyards were involved in naval building. Wallsend Corporation in a public programme noted that in the first world war the company built and launched 55 warships with a total tonnage of 100,000. Hawthorn Leslie's in Hebburn, Redhead's in South Shields, Gray's in Hartlepool, the Wearside yards all at some time or other supplied armaments for the state. One Tyne yard - Vickers Naval Yard, Walker - concentrated exclusively on naval shipbuilding.

Vickers' Ltd. a firm still active on Tyneside represents the remnants of Tyneside's armaments industry. Vickers, initially a Sheffield-based company, survived all its nineteenth-century competitors in the region - Armstrong's, Michel and Whitworth. Armstrong's absorbed by Vickers in 1927 was associated with Newcastle's nineteenth-century industrial development - artillery and the provision of ordinance being a major feature of its production capacity. In the thirty years after amalgamation with C. W. Michel and Co. of Walker - 84 warships were launched to make the company 'the most successful exporter of warships in the world.' (Benwell CDP: 1978; p. 24).

All of these companies were dependent upon British imperialism for their success as armament manufacturers and producers of guns, tanks, warships and aircraft and linked closely with governments which guaranteed both a market and profits (Beynon and Wainwright: 1979; p. 27).

Part of the Vickers/Armstrong tradition meant direct involvement in the armed services:

'The supply of weapons to the services has not been the sole connection between the personnel of the Works, Royal Navy, Royal Army and Royal Air Force.

'Men from Elswick have served in them all ...'

(Vickers: 1947 ; p. 20)

H.M.S. Calliope, the headquarters of the Tyne Division of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve was in 1908 moored at the Elswick works jetty and thereafter recruited men from the Armstrong company. Men from Elswick served in a battery of the 1st Northumberland Volunteer Artillery. An 'Elswick Battery', consisting largely of men from the Newcastle works fought in the Boer War (ibid.). Over fifty years later, fifty engineering workers left with Commander Lakin, Elswick's managing director, to help maintain army equipment during Britain's 1956 invasion of Egypt (Beynon and Wainwright', 1979; p. 27).

Nor does the presence of Vicker's in the 1980s go unheralded. When Vickers - 'the world's biggest and most-modern privately-owned armaments factory' (Evening Chronicle: 24/11/82)⁵ - moved from its Elswick site to Scotswood (to take advantage of benefits gained from moving to an Enterprise Zone, the new factory was opened by the Chief of Defence Staff, Sir Edwin Bramall. True to ethnic tradition, a military band played 'The Blaydon Races' and Sir Edwin was forthcoming in his plaudits for north-easterners:

'It is good to be in the heart of Geordieland, where the best soldiers in the world come from. Many of them have, once again, proved their prowess in the South Atlantic.'

(ibid.)

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5. Whatever the Chronicle's desire to boost regional pride, the hyperbole is inaccurate. Whether Vickers (or any armaments firm) could be described as 'private' since all are effectively government-subsidized is one point. As far as being the largest armaments company 'in the world', Vickers clearly isn't. In fact, since the 1960s, the company has diversified making armaments still - but not its only product (see Beynon and Wainwright; 1979).

Such military presences are a constant feature of local news. The Sunday Sun in a front-page story recorded (complete with photograph) the march of the 4th Field Regiment, Royal Artillery through Sunderland:

'The Gunners were the pride of the town as, bayonets fixed, they marched across the Wearmouth Bridge.'

(28/11/82)

Described as 'Falklands Veterans', the march was a celebration of the regiment's return from the South Atlantic. The Sunday Sun noted that the regiment, which had had freedom of the borough of Sunderland conferred on it in 1974, was composed mainly of north-eastern men - 70% of whom came from the counties of Durham, Cleveland and North Yorkshire.

It is the naval/shipbuilding traditions which have the strongest hold in the north-east - typified by the response of the British shipbuilders' workforce to Government exhortations to speed up completion of the aircraft-carrier HMS Illustrious during the Falklands War in 1982. That work was duly done. The announcement of redundancies in north-eastern yards in January 1983 provoked an untypically bitter response from the Northern Echo. In an editorial headed, 'Loyalty goes on the dole', the Echo protested:

'Industry Minister Norman Lamont calls it regrettable. British shipbuilding boss Sir Robert Atkinson describes it only as necessary.

'The words are familiar, the reality the same. The North East gets the rough end of a jobs deal worked out in London.'

(21/1/83)

The familiar metropolitan - provincial tension is expressed but there is a new element:

'Amongst the men leaving now are those who worked magnificently during the Falklands campaign and cooperated with plans for new technology. Their loyalty should not be rewarded with the dole queue.'

(ibid.)

The Journal was also concerned at the imminent demise of British shipbuilders:

'Perhaps there was a case for slimming down the State-owned industry to some degree - but to reduce the size of B.S. much further would leave us ill-equipped as a nation to meet any future demand for shipping generated by an upturn in the world economy.

'The time has surely arrived when we should cry "halt".'

(7/3/83)

The metaphors employed here in defence of the shipbuilding industry are not those of region itself. The links of tradition in which these arguments are embedded do not relate to the industrial community nor to the region's shipbuilding industry. The metaphors invoked identify the 'rewards' of patriotism (in the case of the Northern Echo) and to the concept of England as a maritime nation (in the case of the Journal). No equivalent representations have been made in defense of the coal industry, for example. Here north-eastern representatives relating to the region's identity are effectively subsumed within a national constraint. Both the newspapers cited and the Evening Chronicle lent support to the Save our Shipyards campaign initiated by Tyne-Wear County Council launched in the wake of the redundancy announcement of January 28 1983. It was, in the opinion of this researcher, the national framework which gave the regional press the space to act in this fashion. This opinion is supported by the evidence that the region's press, as represented by the Northern Echo above, operated within a framework of national considerations when articulating its position with regard to the run-down of the mining industry, the closure of the Shildon waggon-works etc. (see pp.22-37 above).

Despite this condemnation of loyal workers, the region's press did not shrink from celebrating the completion of another aircraft carrier in 1985. The HMS Ark Royal was the object of attention this time.

'The Ark of Triumph - she's perfect'. Was the Sunday Sun's headline description. The feature writer enthused:

'Ark Royal, hailed as the "Navy's biggest and best" and built here on Tyneside with pride and desparate hope, is showing her mettle in the most of adverse of conditions.'

(4/1/85)

What connects these representations made by the press, establishment forces and the industrial system is the aristocratic character of trade unions in the north-east. As observed previously, the traditional north-eastern industries were those central to capitalist growth in the nineteenth-century. In the post-1850 period they were characterized by their membership in the labour aristocracy. Engineering, shipbuilding involved labour processes based on a fine distinction between skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. In mining, the labour process despite the skills involved did not operate an apprenticeship system, the aristocrats were the hewers. This aristocracy was made by granting

'... an enhanced dominance to the hewer or coal-gather, and then manipulating this grade against other sections. It is noteworthy that this was most thorough-going in the north-east ... in this district the bribe went so far as granting hewers a privileged shift system (in the 1860s half the length of that for transit staff).'

(Foster: 1976; p. 2)

The labour aristocracy amongst miners provided the channel for transmitting imperialist and militaristic ideals. Foster has argued that the period after 1910 culminating in the miners' strike and the General Strike of 1926 represented a rejection of the labour management control imposed by the labour aristocrats. The pre-war and post-war industrial action represented a new political expression which was anti-establishment. In

mining, the position of hewers in the union was challenged by an expansion in numbers which was greater in non-hewer grades. The economic power of hewers declined also with the declining profitability of coalfields such as Durham (Foster: 1976; p. 23). Though this syndicalist activity culminated in defeat for the miners in 1926, an alternative radical consciousness - expressed in the form of national organization, national strikes and the forming of the Triple Alliance with railwaymen and transport workers - was the hallmark of that period.

What this suggests is the presence of two oppositional strands in the ideological field surrounding the mining industry. One - channelled via the labour aristocracy expressing the imperialist-capitalist ethic seeking to segment the workers, the other an expression of class consciousness whose perspective transcends the limitations of region and sectional interact. These two strands, despite their mutually oppositional stance can co-exist with one another, as the life history of one informant shows.

This informant from Easington voluntarily enlisted in the Scottish Borderers regiment in 1919. He served seven years in the colours and in the last year of service - 1926 - he was stationed in Edinburgh. There he was on strike duty - guarding Scottish pits from interference or sabotage by strikers. On his discharge in 1926 he returned to Easington where he started work in Easington Colliery. Subsequently, he became Compensation Secretary for the Easington Lodge in 1938. He rated his activities in this position as successful:

'... I think I had a name second to none with the men and the management as I got every man started back to work that was out of work, disabled, you know. I could always go to the

colliery managers and get them fixed up straight away with some kind of suitable work for them. Oh, I was very happy with the management and the men. Well, I couldn't have held the position if I hadn't been for so many years.'

(EDC: 1976 ; 24)

His trade union career was matched by a career in local politics - first as Labour Councillor and subsequently as Chairman of Easington Rural District Council. He was chairman also of the Easington Constitutional Club for a number of years. All of this represents a traditional pattern of service to the working-class - the trade union, the Labour Party and the working-men's club. Yet his earlier service in the army, particularly in his strike duty in Edinburgh would suggest that he would be denied access to these positions. His army career was known to the Easington community - since he had worked in the mine until joining the army. Nor was that Edinburgh experience a revelatory one:

'I've had a full life. I wanted to be an officer's servant, see, that's why I like the army so much. I was an officer's servant.'

(ibid.)

Effectively a strike breaker in 1926, subservient (literally!) to the military ethos, this informant was able to pursue a lifetime career in the miners' union, local politics and club life. What this suggests - in an extreme form^{is that} - the informants' workmates and neighbours possessed a perception of reality capable of incorporating these seemingly mutually exclusive elements in this experience - as soldier and miner. That suggests further that the capacity to accept the military ethos meant that it ran deep within such communities.

What this section has shown is the web of meanings which form the basis for the north-eastern military tradition. Those meanings emanate from system sources - i.e. the industrial, imperial and military structures. They find a resonance in structures which are often cited as typifying working-class organizations - i.e. working-men's clubs, trade unions and communities. It is the industrial base through the agency of labour aristocrats which effects a connection between the system and the individuals who inhabit its structures. What is important to recognise is that when the organizational forms - trade unions etc. - have a class aspect to them, being founded on motives of solidarity and cooperation, their incorporation in the system has the potential to generate ambiguity in terms of belief and to provide a framework which supports pro-establishment, ruling-class ideas.

4.3 Militarism and Media imagery

What has been presented so far in this chapter is intended to explain the casual nature of acceptance of a militaristic and ultimately imperialist ethos in the north-east region. Much of that acceptance stems not simply from press representations but very clearly from an involvement in the institutions of this ethos. An involvement undertaken voluntarily - as in the case of the Volunteer Force, the Territorial Army and the Regular Army - and to some degree involuntarily in the case of employment in naval shipbuilding, armaments production etc. What becomes clearer is the frame of reference for the region's assessment of its imperial and military history is that national values and beliefs are critical determinants here. This is exemplified in a series published in early 1983 by the Evening Chronicle entitled 'North-Eastern V.C.s.'.

The series consisted of five articles printed on successive evenings between 3/1/83 and 7/1/83. In all the series recounted the stories of seven 'winners' of the Victoria Cross and a list was printed of forty-seven members of the armed services who had won the award and had a north-eastern connection. This list was entitled 'The region's roll of honour'. Two readers wrote in during the course of the series to tell of two other 'winners', bringing the total to 49 for the Northumberland and Durham area. 'A remarkable achievement', wrote Eric Foster in a sixth and subsequent article, 'presumably unequalled by any other area'. (Evening Chronicle: 14/1/83).

At the immediate level the editorial purpose behind the series is to draw on readers' interest aroused by military awards made in the New Year's

Honours list of 1983 - i.e. after the conclusion of the Falklands War:

'Following the gallantry awards, including two Victoria Crosses, made to members of the British armed forces at the end of the Falklands conflict last year, ERIC FOSTER ... tells the stories of North-East soldiers and sailors who performed great acts of courage in wartime and earned their country's gratitude and greatest honour - the Victoria Cross'.

(Evening Chronicle: 3/1/83)

What is clear from this preface to the series is that its justification rests in telling the stories of 'great acts of courage in wartime', which earned the country's gratitude'. The series is not intended to simply deepen the sense of regional identity, the purpose is also to strengthen the region's connection with great and glorious deeds of the nation's past, to demonstrate that in the major dramas of British history north-eastern men played their part. The historic events in which these men participated - the two world wars, the Indian Mutiny and the defence of Rorke's Drift - are events which have a high emotional and patriotic profile in the popular consciousness. Other instances of V.C. bravery which are included in the 'roll of honour' are medals awarded in the Crimean War (1854-55), the New Zealand Wars (1864), Indian Tirals campaign (1897), the naval action at Tientsin, China (1900). Except for the the Crimean War, none of these events hold any great significance in the public consciousness. The Crimean War, immortalized by Tennyson's 'Charge of the Light Brigade' is rarely adjudged to be a great military success. Clearly in the selection of which heroic acts are to be recounted the imperative is to link the region with the dramatic events of the nation as a whole.

All this is communicated through the narrative form. As mentioned earlier, the narrative is always replete with moralizing content (see White: 1980).

The morals are clearly underlined here - they relate to the region's involvement in Britain (or English) history. In selecting key events in the imperial pageant and recounting the biographies of north-eastern participants, those links are established through the narrative medium. This is problematic in itself for representations to be made at the system level - in this case the imperial system because it implies that these acts are only to be identified by extra-regional criteria, a problem which we will see later the Chronicle obviates by defining the capacity to be heroic in phenomenological terms.

The first step here is to consider what the Chronicle series considers to be quintessential north-easternness. Operating within the system parameters, there are elements which inform this concept. The articles and the 'roll of honour' demonstrate the familiar variability in defining north-eastern people . As the analysis of the 'Men who made the North' showed, 'north-easternness' is not conferred on an individual solely as a birth-right, membership by adoption is frequent, particularly when the adoptee has performed an exemplary act. Exemptions in this matter were granted to Andrew Leslie and Alphonse Reyrolle in order that in turn their triumphs be adopted as regional triumphs (see p.165 above). Likewise, entries on the region's roll of honour are often marked by such dispensations. Only four of the seven subjects were born in the region, and of those four, two entered the armed services in another part of the country. Dickie Stannard, born in Blyth, entered the Royal Naval School at Wolsingham, Surrey. After this he entered the Royal Navy never returning to his birthplace to live, though he maintained his regional connections:

'... he never lost touch with his native Blyth, said one schoolmate: "He always called to see us - still the same laughing Dickie we knew at school."

(Evening Chronicle: 4/1/83)

Billy Allan , winner of a V.C. at the Battle of Rorke's Drift in 1887 , departed from the region in obscure circumstances. Born in 1844 in Newcastle, he joined the 24th Regiment (South Wales Borderers) at York in October, 1859. Little is known about the life in the years between. He died in Monmouth, South Wales in 1890 without returning to Newcastle (ibid: 7/1/83).

Birthplace plays no part in the regional appropriation of the deeds performed by the other three V.C. winners - Robert Grant, Patrick MacHale and Patrick McManus. No biographical information on any one is to be found in the 'roll of honour' or the sole article which describes their deeds. It is their service in the 5th Foot Regiment - later the Northumberland Fusiliers - during the Indian Mutiny which makes them suitable regional subjects (ibid.: 6/1/83).

Adam Wakenshaw and Tommy Young were the two prime exemplars of both north-eastern service within British grandeur with north-eastern qualities. Two miners who lived their whole lives in the region apart from their service. To them we will return after further considering the manner in which the Chronicle framed this narrative series.

A comparison between the seven subjects in the five articles reveals that social class is an important factor in determining suitable subjects. The majority of the men who earned the Victoria Cross were working-class, at least three 'winners' can be identified as heroes of upper-class origin: Viscount Gort, Sir Henry Havelock and Lord Henry Percy. Others on the list held a commission suggesting they were at least middle class. Included

in this group is Captain Richard Annand, whose V.C. was earned serving as a 2nd Lieutenant with the Durham Light Infantry during the retreat from Dunkirk. Given the patriotic sentiment which surrounds this famous victory in defeat, the Chronicle's failure to include Annand in the series when he had been identified as 'the only surviving North-East V.C.' (ibid; 4/1/83), is at first sight peculiar. It would appear that this exclusion was a consequence of his class background. All but one of the series' subjects can be described as 'common soldiers' - i.e. implying their working-class origin. This preference is not surprising in view of the fact that the audience which the Chronicle addresses is overwhelmingly working-class.

In selecting working-class subjects for the series, the purpose was to engender reader-identification with the newspaper

The exception in the working-class-only rule is the Dickie Stannard article (ibid: 4/1/83). A different strand of north-easternness is emphasized through this biography - the naval tradition. That tradition, which has been frequently referenced in this thesis, founded on the region's shipbuilding industry (serving both the Royal Navy and commercial carriers) and its industrial service as a port, would demand representation in this series. Only three of the 49 V.C.s listed in the 'roll of honour' were awarded for bravery in naval action. The other two recipients were born inland (at Bishop Auckland and Durham). Stannard, born in Blyth, 'son of a mariner, was destined for the sea. Its influence lay all around him'(ibid), was, despite his social class the most worthy exemplar of this tradition.

These parameters which governed the material selected for this series, operate to provide a framework in which the north-eastern concept at the

level of personal identity may be more easily conveyed. So far what emerges is a vagueness with reference to 'north-easternness', the strengthening of links between region and nation being the substantial purpose. 'North-easternness' as a referential framework for incorporating specifically regional acts of wartime heroism is all-purpose. It is capable of incorporating acts performed either by a north-eastern born man (regardless of the regiment in which he served, regardless of his residence in the region) or by a serving member of a north-eastern regiment (regardless of birthplace or lifetime residence). The deeds which earned Adam Wakenshaw and Tommy Young provide the focus for another narrative which intermingles with the moralistic content which integrates the region into the nation.

These two men who, as observed earlier were born in the region and lived the bulk of their lives there, were separated in time by a generation. Wakenshaw was born in 1914, the year Young enlisted. This enables the series to suggest a north-eastern continuity, reinforced by their occupation as miners, a significant regional component. Their lives, unknown to them, overlapped during the interwar period. Young, the first world war hero returned to High Spen, Co. Durham in 1918 and

'... it was back to the pit, the depression in the land fit for heroes, to the backbreaking task of hewing coals from thin seams, to the task of rearing a family through hard times.'

(ibid; 3/1/83)

'Hard times' were the sum total of Wakenshaw's existence. The tenor is established by the opening paragraph:

'To be born in Duke Street, in the slummy outskirts of Newcastle, was nothing to boast about.'

'...Adam Wakenshaw grew up in such circumstances. His was a bitterly hard, grinding and poverty-stricken lot. As a kid, he might stand outside the factory gate at Scotswood, hoping to cadge a gritty jam sandwich from clocked-off factory workers.'

(ibid; 8/1/83)

A well-known and well-understood reservoir of north-eastern imagery is utilized here to establish these two subjects: poverty, depression, struggle, fatalism - the structure of a hard world which threatens always to overwhelm but is borne and endured. Not only by Young and Wakenshaw but by many older readers whose memories were made in circumstances like these.

Set against this unyielding structure which was life's lot for these men are their heroic deeds. It is the linkage made between those single moments and the lifetime experience which is important.

Young served initially as a company bomber in the First World War. There wounded, declared unfit, he volunteered to be a stretcher-bearer - 'an even more hazardous task' since

'... there were no stretchers. He would be required to bodily lift the wounded and carry them from the battlefield. The life of stretcher-bearers was limited. The Germans shot them. He would have need of those mine-honed muscles.'

(ibid: 3/1/83)

On nine different occasions, Young crossed the front line 'in broad daylight under heavy rifle, machine gun and shellfire and brought back wounded to safety' (ibid.). For these acts he was awarded the Victoria Cross. His experiences, his life as a miner were cited in explanation of his courage:

'... What he did was what all miners would do when presented with dangerous situations in which the lives of mates are threatened. He simply put himself in danger to go to their aid.

'Happens all the time down the pits - what's so special when it happens on a battlefield?'

(ibid.)

The comradeship of the pit becomes the comradeship of the army. The solidarity of pit life is metamorphosed into the solidarity of the military life. Comradeship, fellowship the 'illusory quality' of the pre-first World war militarism that Summers noted, the remembrance of such times past which fuel the post-war military associations is the theme here.

In the case of Wakenshaw's heroism a new dimension - but one grounded in that solidarity - is introduced. Wakenshaw was awarded his Victoria Cross for his action in single-handedly resisting the advance of a German Panzer division. He was the only surviving Durham Light Infantryman from a crew who had operated a two pounder artillery gun which stood in the path of the Panzers:

'He was badly wounded, bleeding prolifically. His arm had been blown off above his elbow. But he could be seen dragging himself back to the gun.

'It was an horrific sight, but to the observing Durhams, it was an act of almost sublime courage which could prove a life saver to them. They watched as 'Wakey', good old Wakey got back to his gun, loaded a shell and fired it. In total, he fired five more shells.'

(Evening Chronicle: 5/1/83)

'A Fighter's Instinct' was the feature's headline:

'His trouble, if any, was that he never knew what defeat meant. To Wakenshaw, pain was an inevitable part of fighting something to be absorbed and accepted: another part of survival no more.'

(ibid.)

It was this experience of poverty in the depression years in Newcastle which bred this instinct for survival.

'Perhaps it was no more than the stubborn wounded courage of the slum-boy prize fighter who, when cash was short and the kids looked for food, would say nothing but take himself off to St. James's Hall to volunteer his services in the ring.

'To the boxing fraternity he was known as 'Taffy South'. Win or lose, he gave value for his few shillings in that ring. It was the same at the Town Moor Hoppings when the call went out for volunteers to take on the professional bruisers. Wakey's hand always went up.'

(ibid.)

In these two biographic sketches many of the themes which constitute the projection of 'north-easternness' can be found. What is central to that projection is the sense of 'ordinariness' which pervades the lives of each of these men. They are men whose lives were unexceptional except for their acts of heroism which led to the award of their medals. Tommy Young whose life had been 'unremarkable' until there arrived 'a moment which called for acts of cold courage' had joined the army at nineteen

'... and with the outbreak of war had felt no compunction about going to France to fight. He would "do his bit". It was a just war. He did not in imagination gird himself in shining armour but he donned British Army khaki with due pride. No white feathers for Tommy Young. He was an infantryman. He was, especially, a Durham Light Infantryman, a man could ask no more.'

(ibid: 3/1/83)

Adam Wakenshaw - 'did his bit' - even the death of his oldest son in Newcastle while he was fighting in the North African desert was no obstacle to him in the long run. 'He went quiet for a while, but got on with the job'. Like Young, Wakenshaw was a modest man:

'He had joined the Durham Light Infantry where he was immediately dubbed "Wakey" and is remembered today as an average sort of soldier. He was rugged but he did not get into trouble: conversely he was not renowned for being ultra-smart or particularly dashing. He was predictably "average". In the Durham way of things, he was a good man "to have behind your back". But not "flash".'

(ibid: 8/1/83)

The cultivation of ordinariness, of the nondescript nature of the lives of Young and Wakenshaw underlies these two articles. Everyday experiences shared directly by the older readership and indirectly in an altered form by the younger readership. From those unremarkable men - men of modesty, men who knew their place and did not strive to outshine their fellows, who simply 'got on with the job' - came remarkable, extraordinary acts of courage which won them recognition and gratitude.

What these articles show is that despite the hardness of north-eastern life, a particular quality is generated which when the moment calls for it - 'the crunch' - can have remarkable consequences.

Here, we should note, there is a sharp contrast between the presentation of the north-east's medal winners and that other series discussed earlier - 'Men who made the North'. While the V.C. winners are presented as ordinary everyday folk able to display extraordinary qualities, the capitalist/entrepreneurs are acclaimed for their remarkable traits.

Palmer, Leslie, Noble etc. were hailed as inventors, innovators, geniuses. The everyday ordinariness which marked the lives of Young and Wakenshaw are far distant from the everyday extraordinariness which brought on the triumphs of the industrialists.

It is class and the evaluation of it which is critical here. Already we have noted that the process of selection of subjects for the series 'North-East V.C.s' was characterized by a class bias. The exclusion of those whose lives might be deemed out-of-the-ordinary - e.g. the aristocracy - means that these presentations of heroism are located within a particular social milieu. It is not that these acts are abstract and individual heroic deeds - simply tales to tell. The construction of the series incorporates them in a particular historical reality. For Dickie Stannard, Blyth born, son of a sea captain, it is his friendliness, his repeated visits to Blyth which locate him in this setting. Stripped of his attributes of his class exceptionalism, he becomes 'one of the boys'. What the representation of Young and Wakenshaw brings us back to is the realization of the significance of the industrial past in north-eastern imagery. Here the series internalizes the experiences of that history - 'bitterly hard, grinding and poverty-stricken' (ibid: 8/1/83) - and makes a virtue of its necessities. Poverty, depression, struggle are the consequences of the process of industrialization as it was effected in Britain in the nineteenth-century. These material consequences, whose immutability is debateable - i.e. not merely regrettable consequences of an autonomous process - have been invested with a moral worthiness, signified primarily by the extraordinary deeds of ordinary men. As Wakenshaw's daughter expressed it:

'He may not have had much of a life but he won his medal by showing that when it came to the crunch he had something important : Geordie guts.'

(ibid: 5/1/83)

It is through this phenomenological constraint - typified by the reference to 'Geordie guts', located as it is within the region's historical specificity - that the problem of making a substantive north-eastern definition in this militarist framework is resolved.

The ordinariness which pervades the Young/Wakenshaw representation is projected as specifically, north-eastern. They and the other heroes are seen as being made in a regional crucible which makes them and their deeds the region's property. Thus links with the overarching system are made. It is the character, the quality of person, uniquely formed which makes possible these heroic acts done in the nation's name and honoured by it.

Chapter Five : Community as Order

'At night time when we went to live in Victoria Street (on) fine nights people used to come out and they would be playing hurdy-gurdies you know. And they would be sitting on stools twelve o'clock at night - people sitting outside. Now it's all gone ... it would be guitars anyway if they did, it wouldn't be concertinas I sometimes wonder is it for the best - of course I know it's progress isn't it. We've got to move with the times.

(MHP: 1983: 222)

'... we had hard times - but we had better times than what they have now ... everybody was sociable and one wasn't better than another; but now if they're little bit up that's what they are - but not when I was a little girl - everybody was alike - shopkeepers and everybody ... everybody knew each other.'

(MHP: 1983: 229)

The industrial transformations which characterized north-eastern development in the nineteenth-century were accompanied by large-scale migration. That migration was required to provide a labour force for the mushrooming industrial concerns in the region. Before giving consideration to the socio-cultural relationships which developed as a consequence of this population increase within the industrial framework, the basic details of the nineteenth century settlement will be given. The values and beliefs set upon the resulting socio-cultural relationship will be considered afterwards.

At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, the region's population was 350,000. By 1901, it had increased to almost two million. Between 1861 and 1871, the rate of increase of population was double the national rate (26.5% north-east, 13.2% national). For most of the nineteenth-century (excluding 1801-21) it was consistently greater than that for the whole country (House: 1954; pp. 2-3). This expansion of population was dependent on two factors: migration and natural increase. While by 1901, the effects of in-migration as a factor was of little significance, the natural increase meant an addition of over one-third of a million to the population - an increase as great as the region's entire population in 1801. (ibid; p. 3).

What is of importance here is the pattern of settlement - the spatial groupings of people in this period of population growth. That pattern of settlement was initiated at the behest of industrialists who wished to house their workforce:

'The pattern of coal-mining settlements spread over the valleys and plateaux of County Durham and the coastlands of south-east Northumberland as new resources of mineral wealth were tapped. Some older villages were added to but in general new kinds of

uniformly laid out mining settlements came into being, grouped around or in close association with the pit-head.'

(ibid; p. 13)

Industrial settlements in the north-east can be considered as 'planned' settlements. Planned in circumstances determined by rapid population growth following rapid industrial expansion. This is true not only of mining villages:

'In the latter half of the 19th century, virtually new towns sprang up at Middlesbrough and Hartlepool. On the Tyne the growth of Jarrow was one of the few examples of a "company" town, planned and laid out to house the workers of the local shipyard; Consett was similarly planned in relation to the needs of what was then the Derwent Iron Co.'

(ibid; p. 45)

The contrasting experience of urban development in Jarrow and Middlesbrough demonstrates the variation in what could be considered as 'planned' settlements. Partly because of its smaller size, partly because of the absolute control of the Palmer shipbuilding and Iron Co. over the town, Jarrow was built in a more regulated fashion than Middlesbrough. Middlesbrough's genesis was on a 500 acre estate in the 1829 railway era - established in grid-iron form. The expansion of the 1850s was described by a contemporary observer as 'unregulated, haphazard and aggressively utilitarian' (quoted in House: 1984; p. 49). Settlements such as Newcastle, which were both older and larger, expanded the industrial sites within or on the boundaries:

'At Newcastle the terraced suburbs of Westgate and Elswick came into being as the local riverside industry expanded in the 1870s; at the turn of the century the greatest development in industry took place to the east of the town and the uniform built up area spread through Walker and Byker. The Tyneside conurbation had become a reality.'

(ibid; p. 49)

What is evident is that the physical structures of these settlements were not organized by those who inhabited them. Nor were the inhabitants themselves responsible for calling them into being. They were established to satisfy the needs of an expanding industrial capitalism. The following sections are concerned to examine representations made in constructing a meaningful reality within these structures. We witness here a manifestation of Marx's observation regarding human agency which has informed this research throughout - i.e. that people make their own history but in structures not of their own making.

The presentation of population growth in the nineteenth-century north-eastern England has so far been restricted to a 'plain facts' approach - i.e. focussing on quantitative details in population increase, urban and rural settlement etc. Meaning is invested in these settlements not in quantitative terms but through qualitative representations. When selecting elements for a qualitative analysis to evaluate the socio-cultural relationships resulting from these 'plain facts' of settlement, we will employ the concept 'community'. Discussions and analyses which utilize this concept are fraught with problems:

'"Community" is one of those words - like "culture", "myth", "ritual", "symbol" - bandied around in ordinary everyday speech, apparently readily intelligible to speaker and listener, which when imported into the discourse of social science, however, causes immense difficulty. Over the years it has proved to be highly resistant to satisfactory definition in anthropology and sociology, perhaps for the simple reason that all definitions contain or imply theories, and the theory of community has been very contentious.'

(Cohen: 1985; p. 11)

This qualitative uncertainty is given quantitative definition by a researcher who unearthed 90 definitions of community which emerged in sociological work

demonstrating the extent of confusion (see Cohen: 1985; p. 7).

Stacey in her article 'The Myth of Community Studies' expresses doubts as to whether or not 'the concept "community" refers to a useful abstraction' (1969; p. 134). We note this confusion, this sociological uncertainty in passing (though the issue will be examined more fully later). What should also be recognized is that in everyday experience, concept "community" has a real significance. Its 'common-sense' interpretations which give it credence are friendliness, neighbourliness and sociability. These qualities are often presented as the touchstones of north-eastern character which mark its distinctiveness:

'I remember when I worked in the Employment Office (in London) you got your work set for the day (interviewing unemployed claimants) ... While here when one's finished you say "I'll see yours next" ... Oh no you did your own. And it used to really amaze me that because I'd be sitting doing nothing. And somebody else might have four to do ... They really just want their little bit. But it was just the way they work. Nobody ever helped anybody else because you had your set work for the day. And you weren't allowed to help each other ... Here you'd be "Give me two of them and I'll get these done."'

Cooperation in the work-place is a common expectation, though even in the north-east it may not be realized.

'I left the pit to go and work in the factory on the industrial estate. I stayed two years and went back down. Nobody helped you. You did your work and they did theirs. It wasn't like that in the pit. Everybody helped - whether you liked each other or not. You helped. They helped. I was glad to go back.

Outside the workplace, informants stress north-eastern friendliness, sociability in comparison with other areas:

'My Aunt Margaret went to live in London when she was 19. Now she lives in Epsom. In a council house. She's lived there for twenty or thirty years. And she only has one friend. A woman from home who moved into a house at the same time as her.

When her husband - my Uncle Bert was alive - they used to come up here. He loved it. Said everybody was nice and friendly.'

Isolation, loneliness in other areas form the staple fare for these contrasts. Three aspects which shape these comparisons are indicated here.

Firstly, the lonely place is invariably London. It is the metropolitan-provincial axis which operates here: in this instance the contrast is between the supposedly atomized metropolitan experience (which makes people unfriendly and unsociable) and the face-to-face closer encounters offered by living in a community culture. Secondly, the contrast represents the appropriateness of positive human values with reference to a spatially defined locality (in the case above - Jarrow). Thirdly, the values attributed to one spatially defined locality can become generalized up to the regional level - Beamish Museum for example uses representations derived from the local level to illustrate the north-eastern 'way of life'.

When positive attribution made for one locality is transposed into symbolizing the character of a larger geographical and socio-cultural entity, the precise details of that local experience are lost. The north-east becomes defined by those abstract human qualities - friendliness, society etc. which are marked by their generality rather than their specific application:

'The higher the societal level at which the collective label is applied, the less precisely does it reflect the character of its constituents, and the more simplified - perhaps simplistic - in its representations of the collectivity. The grosser, the

more ambiguous its representations, the more fantastic are the claims which it can make ... But these myths and stereotypes are not absolute, pickled and preserved for use when occasion requires. They are, rather like empty receptacles which are filled with local and particular experience.

(Cohen: 1982; p. 13)

Thus what Beamish Museum offers as 'empty receptacles' are the material structures which compose each exhibition area intended to illustrate the north-eastern 'way of life'. Composite structures, drawn from distinct localities, but capable of investment by museum visitors with their own meaning - 'local and particular experience' - which can then be applied to a higher, collective level - i.e. north-eastern regional consciousness. The region in its entirety so defined is juxtaposed via its positive attribution against isolation and alienation in the metropolis.

Whether or not these subjective assessments derived from local experience have an objective validity is immaterial to present considerations. Not only are they by their very subjectivity difficult to measure, (and hence not amenable to comparison), the determinants are highly variable at the local and individual level. Thus a miner who left the north-east for the Kent coalfield in 1946 to work remembered:

'I wouldn't go back there. I go up to see my brother now and then. I'm better off than he is. I've a better house. I've done well for myself. The people - they're friendly enough once you get to know them.'

Again the reminder that the provincial/metropolitan debate is centred on the attribution of human qualities. Spatial location leading to particular socio-cultural relationships which in turn make and shape individuals is the referential framework for this debate. This miner's experience suggests that by 'getting to know' these human qualities can

be unearthed in other socio-spatial locations. That in turn means that a comparative project aimed at validating the representations discussed so far would not be feasible, as any assessment could be easily contradicted by another.

It is the concept of community and the presumed unique quality of community which, it is implicitly and explicitly asserted, is the seedbed for north-eastern particularity which will be examined here. In keeping with the methodology pursued in this research, north-eastern community - the concept thereof - is to be measured against a wider frame of reference than the experiential testimony given by informers. The purpose here is to determine elements in these representations made by informants which are held to constitute distinctiveness. The metropolitan/provincial axis which forms a significant part in claims made for the north-east as a 'better' place to be is effectively another manifestation of peripherality which has been a frequent theme throughout this writing. Almost as if these representations are made in protest - suggesting that in view of the region's neglected state, the people themselves deserve more because of their human qualities. Suggesting also that because the people of the metropolis are not friendly and sociable they exemplify this lack of concern for both the north-east region and its people.

When north-eastern distinctiveness in relation to the concept of community is examined, what will be utilized in its measurement is a range of representations as expressed in sociological and historical writings, the local press and archival data. All these sources contain a theory for community - a theory whose key element is a notion that community is an ordering concept which locates individuals and institutions within a

bounded group and whose effect is ultimately beneficial to both the whole and the part. Of course, what is involved in constructing these representations is a selective process which rationalizes both the benevolence of community and its effects upon community members. What makes these constructs is not necessarily the elements which form them but the impulsion towards order contained within them. This chapter examines concept 'community' - the organic whole and its intended ordering effect rather than the discrete elements which compose it.

5.1 Community as order : sociological constructs

In considering sociological writings which inform and examine the concept of community, what must be realised is that in the north-east we are considering the industrial community. It is the nineteenth-century and twentieth-century industrial experience which gave regional character to this community. While the rural landscapes of the Northumberland uplands and County Durham are conceptually available for defining the region, it is the industrial associations which are paramount. Using this generic term - 'industrial community' - means that we are not considering a specificity associated with one industry alone - i.e. mining, shipbuilding, iron and steel or engineering. Nevertheless the force of the connections imputed between each industry and its associated community is made manifest in phrases like 'pit village', 'shipyard town', 'steel town' or 'railway town'. What is being emphasized here is that the material circumstances which guarantee an historical existence for the community have a determining effect on the immaterial socio-cultural relationships which constitute that community. The archival material, drawn as it is from the life experience of informants living in different communities in the north-east demonstrates that whatever the economic relations of production attendant-upon these industries, the distinctiveness in socio-cultural content is negligible. We are examining historic communities, though many members of those communities are still alive. Their structure was established within the framework erected by industrial capitalism in the north-east during the nineteenth-century. Whatever boundary is drawn in the symbolic definition of these communities (cf. Barth: 1969 and comment by Cohen: 1984; p. 13) in order to define particularity between communities within the region, the ideological content which informs their values and beliefs is similar. It is ultimately the

articulation of these ideological elements as defined through sociological writings, local newspapers and personal experience which will provide the wider frame of reference for judging north-eastern particularity.

Linking the socio-cultural forms and content of a community with the material framework which identifies it, is to make statements which are located in the perspective identified in the social sciences as structural-functionalist. The premise is that the industrial structure is considered as determining of the socio-cultural elements which make up the community and that there is a close correspondence between the two. In social anthropology, this perspective provides a standard means of classifying societies or communities. That classification is based on the level of material technology available to a group - e.g. hunting/gathering, pastoral, horticultural, engraving or industrial (see Bohannan; 1963; p. 208). Adoption of this classification system does not exhaust the range of social anthropological theory. Its presence within the discipline is reflective of the continuing concern that social sciences have for the relationship between structure and individual. What is identified as pre-eminent in using this categorization is the structure over the individual. The institutions which constitute the structure are agents in determining the character, values and beliefs of those individuals who operate within them.

Whatever the validity of such an approach in social anthropology - and it depends on the extent of social closure, i.e. the extent to which groups and societies are self-sustaining and isolating - the application of the

structural functionalist framework to forward understanding of an industrial community is more problematic. An industrial community cannot aspire to the (supposed) economic self-sufficiency of say a hunting/gathering group. The product of a pit village for example is not consumed or exchanged in its entirety within the village. In other words, economically an industrial community can never be self-supporting since its products are always destined for markets which are not entered by the community members. Levi-Strauss' observation that few societies have ever existed in isolation (1958: p. 11), is equally true of north-eastern communities. Our earlier consideration of participation by communities in the British imperial system demonstrated this. No matter what the extent of geographic isolation, north eastern communities were involved in the affairs of a larger entity. In the present case, that entity was as much the nation as the region.

Despite this, community studies have been made utilizing the industrial structure of a particular locality as the criteria of isolation and hence separation from a wider society and thus made possible a claim for distinctiveness which the permits researcher or researchers to consider all data examined as exemplifying the 'character' of the studied locality:

'Ashton is predominantly a working-class town owing its development to the growth of its collieries. The latter have drawn people and houses around them, the main pit is almost in the centre of the town. But the collieries have exercised a centripetal influence in other ways. Most of the men in Ashton are miners. The cohesive results of these facts are well known. First, there is the inapplicability of the miner's skill to the other trades. Secondly there is the long history of acrimonious disputes for which the coal industry is notorious. Common memories of past struggle have undoubtedly helped to bind a community such as Ashton.'

(Dennis et al.; 1956; pp. 14)

Here we have a specific elaboration of the deterministic effects of Ashton's industrial structure. The first indication relates to the spatial effects: the main pit at the centre of the town, housing developing away from it. That radial structure is replicated in the formation of the community: the 'cohesive results' of the men working in one industry; a cohesion based on the isolating character of the miner's skill and the 'long history of acrimonious disputes'. While the authors hold that these factors are the cause of the cohesion of the community, it is the structural functionalist perspective which identifies them as such rather than the opposite. This framework evaluates the institutions of a community as tending towards an equilibrium point - as operating in an integrative fashion with the collective goal of stability as its objective. Thus Ashton is, as seen through this lens, a community which contains integrative and disintegrative forces:

'While the nature of the work and the history of the industry in Ashton have thrown men together in this way, they have exerted an opposite or centrifugal influence on the women. The coal industry provides no paid work for them. In an area where there is no alternative they have to do without it. Ashton, however, lying as it does in the coal zone of the West Yorkshire industrial region, is within reach of alternatives.'

(ibid.)

It is men in the authors' view through the integrating influences of their work experience who are cohesive - 'centripetal' - forces in Ashton, while women are identified as disruptive - and that disruption stems firstly (in the authors' view) from women's exclusion from the mining industry. Secondly, the fact that women can secure employment outside Ashton contributes to this disruption. What is clear is that Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter have internalized the male miner's eye view of the community (Johns': 1980, p. 15) the consequence of which is that:

'The relations of production at work are lovingly and loathingly described; the relations of production in the home and community are ignored with equal determination.'

(Frankenburg: 1976; p. 37)

Not that the ethnography of Ashton lacks evidence for the discussion of 'the relations of production in the home and community'. It contains detailed accounts of the oppression of women in Ashton but does not recount the fighting back at home or in the community at large' (ibid; p. 38). The authors, in adopting the miners' eye view as their own see women only as an object or enemy of the male, the miner - 'a passive object for the support of whom he is driven to underground work' (ibid.)

This androcentric perspective derives not simply from the research methods adopted by the authors, it develops from the structural-functionalist framework. With an understanding of community as moving towards equilibrium and a belief that the community's institutions function to integrate the members, then the inevitable focus of such analyses will be on the public - i.e. male-dominated sphere. Hence mining work, trade unions, working-men's clubs are examined for their positive effects on the movement towards equilibrium. Men are identified as the makers and creators of culture with women marginalized (as they are in the wider society in the public sphere) and viewed as the passive victims of the industrial structure. As Frankenburg observes:

'The responsibility of women for housekeeping and childcaring, the solidarity of the male peer group reinforced by shared work hazards, shared pit language, shared clubs and shared interest in Rugby League, led to a situation in which men reacted against exploitation by fighting not as a class against capitalism, but as a gender group against women - or rather within a framework of sex solidarity against a specific woman chosen and caged for this express purpose.'

(ibid; p. 40)

This identification of men as the core group in generating the culture of community emerges in Jackson's Working Class Community, a study of Huddersfield. Jackson also utilizes the notions of isolation and separation to expedite his thesis of a cohesive community:

'To be extreme are we, by a thousand and one moving in the direction of a society sapped by the poorest middle-class concerns (such as those about personal status), the poorest mass media attitudes - (those pre-occupied with the packaging and not the packet's contents) and the poorest of all the working-class situations: a vast but enclosed community transformed with a passive conforming audience?'

(1968; p. 3)

Here is a signification of the importance of isolation in determining attitudes and beliefs. The isolation, the separateness is not derived from participation in a particular industry as the Ashton study was, but rather through the agency of class membership. Needless to say Jackson's work, is a eulogy of the positive values of working-class community. At base those values are defined as communal, solidaristic, and mutually self-supporting. Commenting on Bernstein's (1958) analysis of conceptual language, he observed:

'In these analyses, working-class language tends to communicate similarities rather than differences in experience: it reinforces feelings of solidarity. Middle-class language tends to define, in elaborate ways, the individual as against the group.'

(ibid; pp. 12-13)

The chapters of 'Working-Class Community' become an articulation of the operation of those values within the institutional framework which lies:

'between the intimate world of home and kin and the national world of those big movements - trade unions, the co-ops, chapel, football - which stem so largely from working-class communities.'

(ibid; p. 19)

Here we have the definition of working-class culture writ large: it is in the institutions of the community - institutions overwhelmingly dominated by men. Men are again the agents and creators of culture. Though Jackson makes no explicit acknowledgement of this position, his work identifies men as the shapers and makers of working-class values and beliefs. In his discussion of working-men's clubs, initially developed under the aegis of upper-class and middle-class patronage (with a view to the moral self improvement of the lower classes), Jackson notes that

'... despite the assumptions of industrialists, aristocracy, clerics, and liberal reformers - there was the germ for the movement which has given shape to a working-class community.'

(ibid; p. 40)

His comments on brass bands (p. 36) and bowling clubs (p. 101) echo such sentiments. As does his recounting of the experience of work:

'Almost every one at Cartwright's knew that the mill faced them at 7.30 every weekday morning for the rest of their lives. Yet at a first glance this looked like a community not just an assortment of men and women at work. There was the constant joking, the gatherings in lavatories or the soot-flecked corners on summer days, the free physical contact, the touching and stroking of cloth, the seaside trips. A constant reaching out for the communal marked the natural style of life.'

(ibid; p. 147)

By determining through the structural-functionalist framework that the institutions of the public sphere are the most critical in binding the community together, Jackson identifies men as the creators of the culture of community. At the mill he notes the discomfort of men in the presence of women. He declares that men want the worlds of home and work to remain separate - hence the presence of women at Cartwrights mill represents a

contradiction of the 'normative prescription' (Bell and Newby: 1974; p. xliv) for the smooth and orderly functioning of a working-class community (cf comments on Ashton pp.200-2 above). In Jackson's analysis women could be nothing else but disrupters, disorderers as his comments on working-men's clubs reveal. Observing that such clubs are 'male societies', he describes one Huddersfield club where women are admitted but observes that the male members

'... had deliberately protected its maleness by having its new concert room built in such a fashion that women could enter it without intruding at all on the club premises proper.'

(ibid; p. 61)

That men are the makers of culture in Jackson's work is a viewpoint reinforced by his internalization of informants attitudes towards migrants. His covert racism is revealed in this description of an incident at a bus queue after work:

'Half-a-dozen West Indian girls come running, with a gangling motion, laughing and jostling each other for a seat on the stone slabs of a low wall; their clothes are the same dusty colours that the local women wear. Men in the queue look on, not saying anything, but when the bus comes they are alert to prevent queue jumping. The bus conductor has been on this route at this time for many years and knows his 'customers' intimately. "There y'are y'old bugger. Ah've been waiting for thee. Hurry up. Ah've gotten thee a job as neet watchman"

(ibid; pp. 69-70)

Thus, in Jackson's view, ethnic minorities and women are marginalized groups whose admittance to the white male world is only to be achieved at the behest of the creators of culture. And then their presence in such cultural spaces represents a contradiction which must be regulated. Furthermore it is to be accompanied by the acceptance of their subordination.

In both of these descriptions of working-class communities, substantive issues emerge relating to race and gender which in part develop from the faulty methodological framework utilized to organize the research - both at the level of fieldwork and the level of analysis. While an examination of one of those substantive issues - gender - will be undertaken later in this analysis of community in the north-east, for the moment the concern is to elaborate the premises on which this analysis may be grounded.

To establish the correct premises for this analysis we return to the earlier comment of Jackson's representation of Huddersfield as 'normative prescription' following the definition of Bell and Newby. What Jackson suggests is that his analysis and description of the working-class community represent a desirable form of socio-cultural organization which is to be further valued because it is working-class. His argument is developed from the need to further the cause of working-class values in a society dominated by the ideology of the middle classes. While the work of Dennis et al. does not make such a clear-cut attempt to further an explicit concept of community the prescriptive nature of their analysis is clear: it relies on the presumption of men as agents of culture whose activities form the stable, cohesive base of the community. The negative aspects of that cultural behaviour as exemplified by the subordination of women - is seen as emanating from their conditions of work. In both these studies the analytical base for understanding community is structural functionalist (i.e. distinguishing between integrative and disintegrative elements) and the analysis is defined as a normative prescription. Here we should note the comments of Bell and Newby to whom the definition 'normative prescription' is owed:

'One final word on the avoidance of normative prescription in community studies. The authors of the book are as keen as any on the good life. We also have some pretty clear ideas as to what it consists of. But we felt it would be unreasonable, not to say dangerous, if we were to foist our normative prescription on unsuspecting readers, especially if they were masquerading as sociology'

(1971 ; p. 252)

Their programme for the study of community is 'to generalize whilst avoiding normative prescription, from the basis of empirical description based on a myriad of theoretical positions which vary enormously in explicitness' (ibid.). What this 'recommendation' neglects is that all accounts of community - whatever their theoretical base - involve and incorporate normative prescription. Their 'final word' is effectively an admission of this. To suggest that a position be established on the basis of which an 'objective' sociology of community can be activated is to ignore the fact that as a concept community most effectively operates and can be best understood analytically as a normative prescription. That understanding derives from a recognition that community operates as a concept to order a human group. Whatever elements are in informants' testimony significant in that ordering are not the basis for an 'objective' sociology of community - the search for which led Stacey in her comprehensive survey as we have noted to deny any value for the concept community. Rather those elements constitute a culturally-defined recipe for order. It is by examining the ingredients which form the prescription that we can examine the claim for north-eastern particularity.

If this position is accepted as a starting point for the examination of the notion of community, then the limits of structural-functionalism can be transcended. There is no need to define a community through its relation to a specific industry - or even through the lack of it. Nor do we need to specify the objective nature of isolation or separation around which a

community is constructed. We can examine then the elements which are held to constitute community by those agents who make normative representations on its behalf. We can further examine the source of those ideological elements whose generation is not necessarily contained by a bounded spatial location. We can then envisage individuals and institutions as agents in the making of a community who utilize available ideological material concerning person and place to construct meaning. Community and its institutions become Cohen's empty receptacles which are filled according to the dictates of the 'normative prescription' to be applied.

5.2 Community as Order : Media Representations

In keeping with the methodology of this research, the evaluation of newspaper content with regard to community is made to delineate the representations by an agency with an everyday presence in the north-east. This involves a fuller analysis of the local press as a whole than was given earlier (see Ch. 2 above). It is by examining the local press within the context of community that we can understand how it establishes a frame of reference for interpreting values and beliefs. We are not concerned here to explore particular themes such as those examined in earlier chapters. Rather the following analysis is concerned with detailing the symbolic representation of community which informs a newspaper's structure and contents. It is this representation which links any and all items in local newspapers and is the object for explication.

The analysis which follows has its origins in Jackson's 1971 study The Provincial Press and the Community. This study's main purpose was to clarify the role of the local Press and therefore to put on record its particular contribution to local life. (1971; p. 278). The parameters for the study were the English provincial press as a whole and its role nationally in serving the community. In all, Jackson identified four main functions for the local press:

- (i) The promotion of a sense of community identity and cohesion and the fostering of the individual's integration within local society.

- (ii) The provision of political, institutional and cultural information, together with varying kinds of background analysis and interpretation. This in turn serves as a permanent record of community affairs ...
- (iii) The provision of a platform for debate and complaint, accessible to institutional spokesmen, minority groups and individuals.
- (iv) The publicising of goods and services available, situations vacant, announcements and notices.'

(1971; p. 279)

What is striking about Jackson's conclusions is their functionalist nature. Behind them lies a concept which sees community as integrative, tending towards equilibrium and incorporating individuals within its beneficent structure. The local press, according to Jackson functions as an agent in this process.

What buttresses this perspective - i.e. the tendency towards equilibrium - is Jackson's definition of local news which he considers as indicative of the tension between order and disorder:

'The version of local life that is variously reflected can be seen as a confrontation of the agents of community order and disorder.'

(ibid; p. 273)

This representation of community as the seat of order is subordinated to the functional role which Jackson ascribes to local newspapers. Within a functionalist framework, within a context which defines local newspapers as mediators operating to maintain equilibrium, this view is valid. What this

act of subordination does is to leave unexplored the ideological meanings which are inlaid within the community concept as transmitted by the local press. Effectively as a communications media, the local press defines a frame of reference within which an individual or a group can or ought to operate. It is in defining this symbolic structure that the north eastern press is to be analysed in this section.

The most striking feature of the local press is its local content. While this might at first sight seem an obvious remark, what has to be remembered is that in the nineteenth-century, the term 'local' was not a description of news content but merely a reference to the place of publication. Their circulations were comparable with those of 'national' newspapers. The Newcastle Daily Chronicle claimed an average daily circulation of 43,000 in 1873 and the Yorkshire Post claimed 28,645 in 1875 while The Times at this time sold little more than 30,000 copies (Milne : no date; p.69). In addition, provincial newspapers whose political perspective was radical were able to attain a national circulation. The Chartist newspaper, the Northern Star had by 1839 achieved a national circulation which was larger than any newspaper apart from the Weekly Despatch also a radical paper (Seaton and Curran: 1981; p. 24). While newspaper circulations in the nineteenth-century were small by twentieth-century standards - Reynolds News and Lloyds Weekly being the first to break through the 100,000 barrier in 1856 (ibid.) - what is significant to note here is that no provincial newspaper in the twentieth-century would have such a capacity. The process which led to the situation where the provincial press concerns itself almost entirely with local affairs is a long and complex one. In part it is the result of the growth of the London dailies whose prerogative - whether 'quality' or

'popular' - is the presentation of national issues. More specifically, it is true to say that the provincial press has largely lost the battle for the right to address its own readership on these national events and issues, except where they are of particular relevance to the locality. As such the provincial press serves both 'to reflect and to propagate' the values of local life' (Jackson; 1970; p.129). Whatever the accuracy of the provincial press' reflections, one thing is certain - in most communities it is the only mirror. Few communities in England are served by more than one local newspaper. In the north-east none of the local newspapers are in competition with each other.

The circumscription of the provincial press' content to the local sphere is a consequences of the limited resources they have at their disposal. Non-local news will tend to be provided by news agencies. (Smith; 1970; p. 136-7). Local news gathered by local reporters thus provides the bulk of a newspaper's content. This is particularly true of weeklies which are aimed at a sharply defined circulation area:

'The editor's task is largely one of finding room for all the local news, and cramming so many names into the paper that he includes some known - in either a private or a public capacity - to every reader. In contrast, the editor of the medium-sized or larger circulation evening newspaper knows that, apart from the main sports news and important news from the community's principal administrative authority, fewer names will be familiar to the readership as a whole.'

(Jackson; 1971; p.54)

Thus evening and morning newspapers tend to carry a greater proportion of non-local news, particularly non-local news stories about serious crimes or serious industrial disorder. Such stories would probably be front-page news, most probably the main headline. Furthermore, a report of a serious crime or major accident takes precedence over all others - whether local or non-local.

To illustrate this point, a contents analysis of eight issues of the Shields Gazette was made, covering the period from 10/1/83 to 17/1/83 (inclusive). The categories for classification of news stories derived from Jackson- i.e. local, non-local and non-local with strong local reference (1971; Ch. 6), were used. Of the eight main headline stories, 4 were local, 2 non-local and one non-local with local reference. The two non-local stories made reference to crimes past and present. The first - headlined 'RIPPER IS INJURED IN ATTACK' (11/1/83) - reported an attack by a prison inmate on Peter Sutcliffe, the so-called 'Yorkshire Ripper', imprisoned in 1981 for the murder of 13 women. The second - headlined 'WHAT WENT WRONG ASKS WHITE LAW' (17/1/83) - reported the shooting of an innocent man, Stephen Waldorf, by the Metropolitan Police.

The four local headline stories were all accident/crime stories. Three were from South Shields:

'CRASH MUM LOSES LEG' (10/1/83)
 'BOY PUTS TURPS IN DRINK' (12/1/83)
 'APOLOGY - OR I'LL GO TO COURT' (14/1/83)

The other came from Jarrow

'FAMILIES IN FEAR OF LIVES' (17/1/83)

The remaining headline story was titled 'ATOM MAN AT RISK' (13/1/83). This was a local insight story whose outward reference was to non-local news. In this case it consisted of an interview with a South Shields man who when serving in the Army in the 1950s had been a witness to the atomic bomb tests in Australia. At the time of the story's appearance, the Australian Nuclear Veterans Association was pressing for an inquiry into the tests and their effects on servicemen.

What is clear here is that the headline preference is for a 'sensational' story - local or non-local. Nevertheless the front-page of an evening newspaper is more likely to contain non-local news than the front pages of weeklies. Of the remaining seventeen front-page stories printed during the period examined, nine were local in content, eight exclusively non-local. Two others were non-local stories with a local reference.

On the inside pages of the editions examined non-local content diminished considerably. In fact in one issue (13/1/83), the news content of the inside pages was entirely local.

A further indication of the extent of localness comes from consideration of the region's morning papers. While as observed earlier their readership is different from that of weekly and evening newspapers being confined to a much narrower social band, the predominance of local over non-local news remains. The market situation of the region's morning press is different from that of the region's other newspapers. While they operate in a monopoly situation (see Jackson, 1971: Ch. 2), having no competition in their circulation area, they face competition from the London daily newspapers. While, by tradition, regional morning newspapers are more sober and serious in tone than their evening counterparts, in the face of competition from the national newspapers, the Journal and the Northern Echo must attempt to offer themselves as 'alternative mirrors of the world at large' (Smith: 1970; p. 137).

Thus in the absence of a strong local story, they will carry a main headline which concerns an important non-local subject. The purpose here is to establish themselves as provincial equivalents of a quality

newspaper. Both of these newspapers also devote an inside page to national and international news. In the Journal, this page is entitled Home and Abroad. The main story on this page will always have non-local referencing. It may be national - e.g. 'Woman kept diary on "Romeo" boss' (Journal: 8/10/83), in this case the report of an industrial tribunal hearing in Liverpool concerned with a case of sex discrimination. It may be international - 'Arrested - as court acquits' (Journal: 1/9/83) - a report on the acquittal and re-arrest of six white Zimbabwe Air Force officers charged with sabotage. It may also be a non-local report with strong local reference - often featuring a prominent north-eastern local feature such as 'North M.P. plans fresh spy quizzing' (Journal: 15/9/83). The story begins as follows:

'North M.P. Ted Leadbitter - whose House of Commons questions led to the exposure of Anthony Blunt - is planning more spy questions for the Prime Minister.
'The veteran M.P. for Hartlepool is convinced there are still Soviet moles active in the British secret service.'

The story continued the long-running Cambridge spy story which began with defectors Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean - this time given a north-eastern emphasis by the actions of Leadbitter.

Whatever the local/non-local content of the reports on this page, the emphasis here as in its page three counterpart in the Northern Echo is on non-local news national and international. Such news stories are not the work of the newspaper's own journalists. They are syndicated news reports taken from news agencies to which provincial newspapers subscribe - Reuters for foreign news and the Press Association for national news (Smith: 1970; pp. 136-7).

Once the ritual of reading this news from another world is dispensed with, the inside page format of the Journal and the Northern Echo settles down to the provincial pattern. The pre-eminence of local news over non-local is re-asserted.

The foregoing analysis of local/non-local news content was presented firstly to demonstrate that within the strictures of Jackson's examination of the provincial press, the north-eastern press is not exceptional. The analysis could be extended to cover other components of the region's newspapers such as features, readers' correspondence, editorials etc. to demonstrate further its conformity with the national schematic. What has become clear from the present examination is that no north-eastern paper operates in a radically different way from the pattern delineated by Jackson. This is not surprising given the patterns of ownership which regulate the editorial power of each of the region's newspapers. Of the region's 26 newspapers, only two the Teesdale Mercury and the Gateshead Post can make any claim to independence. Both are locally controlled and potentially could display greater editorial flexibility. Both fall within the pattern which makes the region's press. The remaining twenty-four are controlled by five publishing companies. Full details of ownership and control of the region's press are given in the Appendix. The point here is that this pattern of ownership and control is unlikely to generate a specifically north-eastern press.

Secondly the analysis was undertaken to illustrate the limited range of news content as a preparation for the examination of the symbolic structure of community as represented in the region's press. While earlier it has been noted that the concentration on local news can be held to be a

consequence of the limited resources available to provincial newspapers by comparison with the national dailies and weeklies, this local 'preference' contains more than this straightforward functionalism suggests. Each member of the provincial press claims to represent the community it addresses - to be the mirror of it, to be its watchdog with the right to call for the maintenance of its standards and values. Fundamental to this standpoint is a belief in the positive qualities of community. Underlying this is a concept of community which is actively presented, explicitly and implicitly, in editorial columns and news stories. In addition, the structure of the newspaper itself is reflective of this particular ideological representation. What emerges is an image of the community which is not simply a reflection of its own state - but rather an imperative asserting what it ought to be rather than what it is. That image is a selective one - amended and moulded by the press - with, as will be shown later, the compliance of its public and the weight of tradition. In making such consideration, in admitting that the local press have an expressive as well as an instrumental mode of expression, we should acknowledge the value of Jackson's comment which concludes his analysis of local news, moment where he concedes that:

'... the local press is performing no merely short term or exclusively factual function in its recording of local news.'

(1971; p. 120)

In contrast with this conclusiveness as to the role of the local press which place emphasis on its function as an integrative force, this comment is suggestive of the press's operation as an agent which is not value-free.

The press is not operating as a platform for the dissident, the dispossessed - it operates rather as a manipulator of particular symbolic forms in order to present its version of community life. It defines effectively the frame of reference within which such discussions of moral standards ought to take place rather than the manner in which they do take place.

The intention now is to focus on the means by which the region's press generates a positive image of community and its values. We return again to the analysis of local news, this time employing the categories of order and disorder. We have already noted that despite this utilization of these categories, Jackson effectively relegates the significance of this representation to a subordinate place in supporting his conclusions regarding the instrumental operation of the provincial press. If, following Cohen, we accept that the notion of community as a cultural field, in which the symbolic forms are a contested area then the agental acts of the local press become merely the activities of a participant in the struggle. Admittedly an agent whose resources are more extensive than those of individuals and groups who would wish to present an alternative validation and whose representations are more coherent and cogent than those alternatives. Nevertheless, the region's press must be considered as a participant in the struggle over the investiture of meaning in such symbols rather than the straightforward servant of the community which Jackson acclaims them to be.

To articulate this presentation of a particular image of community the contents of one issue of three north-eastern newspapers was analysed with regard to its order/disorder content. To ensure a representative, as

opposed to a random sample, each of the different types of newspaper were included: the morning newspaper was the Journal (24/8/83); the evening newspaper, the Shields Gazette (18/11/82); the weekly newspaper, the Auckland Chronicle (3/2/83). Following Jackson (1971; p.84) only news reports of at least 10 column inches (c.i.) and over were considered. No distinction was made between local and non-local news. The reports were classified according to the four categories discerned by Jackson:

1. Individual Order - e.g. bravery, heroism, success, public service, retirement etc.,
2. Institutional Order - e.g. plans and progress concerning the community as a whole or its institutions,
3. Individual Disorder - e.g. serious crimes, accidents, court hearings, untimely deaths, illness,
4. Institutional Disorder - e.g. strikes, controversies, allegations of error

(Jackson: 1971; p. 84)

A fuller delineation of the categories can be found in Jackson (ibid). Here the intention is simply to illustrate the nature of each category. The results of the analysis of the sample of the three newspapers are given in Table Four.

As the results show, the news content in this sample favoured the provision of order news. Even in the case of the Shields Gazette where no reports which could be classified as representative of individual order were found, the space devoted to order news (163.4 c.i. or 64%) was greater than that devoted to the two disorder categories (90.9 c.i. or 36%). In

Table Four: Analysis of order/disorder content

	1 Individual Order		2 Institutional Order		3 Individual Disorder		4 Institutional Disorder	
	No	%*	No	%	No	%	No	%
<u>Journal</u>								
Reports	8	36	7	32	4	18	3	13
Column inches	170	35	194	40	81	17	44.25	9
<u>Shields Gazette</u>								
Reports	0	0	8	57	2	14	4	29
Column inches	0	0	163.4	64	14.8	6	76.1	30
<u>Auckland Chronicle</u>								
Reports	4	20	11	55	4	20	1	5
Column inches	87.4	24	209	57	57	15	13.6	4

* Percentages rounded up or down to nearest whole number and may not add up to 100%

the case of the Auckland Chronicle, the representative weekly newspaper, the overwhelming allocation of space to order news is most graphically expressed in percentage terms - 81% of news stories devoted to the two order categories while only 19% representing disorder in and around the community the newspaper serves.

What should be noted here is that in its presentation of local life, these three papers (in common with the rest of the region's press and the provincial press as a whole), articulate a sense of community order. Disorder, disruption - often located in a place outside the community - is presented as a surface phenomenon while the machinery of the community is seen to rumble on unabated and undisturbed. What constitutes the

epiphenomenon of disorder and the regularity of order is revealed by a closer analysis of both the form and content of the three newspapers sampled.

Considering the Auckland Chronicle, the representative of the weekly press, what becomes clear in terms of the structure of the newspaper is that the proportion of disorder news is greatest on the front page and decreases on the inside pages. The main headline story is 'Help on tap for old and disabled'. Superficially this belongs to category 2 (institutional order). A reading of the report indicates that it properly belongs to category 4, (institutional disorder). The report discusses the possibility of the disabled and elderly in South West Durham being 'caught up in winter misery and industrial action'. The 'winter misery' which threatened occurred as 'hopes of a mild winter were dashed' and the consequent fear that old people would be 'exposed to hypothermia'. A second problem stemmed from difficulties which might arise as a result of the water workers strike. Here the potential victims were kidney patients using dialysis machines. In reality two stories combined as one containing the threats to particular sections of the south West Durham community and the measures being taken to cope with them.

Two other disorder news stories featured on the front page. One headlined, 'Violent and ruthless men shot D.C.', was a report from the trial of three men accused of the murder of a policeman during the robbery of a Bishop Auckland factory. The second, 'Gales close college', recounted the 'lucky escape' of students at Bishop Auckland Technical College 'when hurricane force winds ripped off a huge section of roof which crashed down near the car park'. As a 'non-fatal accident' (see Jackson: 1971; p. 84), this story belongs with the trial report to the category 3 (individual disorder).

Two other front page stories - 'Swimmer Alan notches up 568 miles' and 'Proof of John's success' - were examples of order news. Both were category 1 (individual order) and celebrated the successes of individuals: the first reported an award from the Amateur Swimming Association presented to the local man who swam a million yards within five years; the second - the story of a successful Open University student.

The two order stories occupied 37 c.i. of front-page space, while the three disorder stories covered 66 c.i. In addition, three other stories under 10 c.i. appeared on the front page - all examples of disorder news. Two were category 3 (individual disorder) - 'Worker hit by falling stone 'critical'' and 'Freak accident hits race horse'. The other was category 4 (institutional disorder) - 'Gas depot inquiry opens' - a report of local residents' protests against the proposal to build a liquid gas petroleum depot in the Wear Valley district.

What emerges in terms of the symbolic structure of the Auckland Chronicle is that its front page paints the picture of a largely disordered world. Even without consideration of stories less than 10 c.i. in length, the proportion of disorder to order news is greater here than on any other page in the rest of the newspaper. In fact, only three other disorder reports exceeding 10 c.i. in length appear on the four other news pages. On page 2, a category 3 story (individual disorder) 'Wall damage closes village centre' appears. The story deals with the likely consequences of a freak accident - the destruction of the walls of a village community centre by gale force winds. On page three, there is another category 3 story occupying over 15 c.i. headlined 'Fight after baby pledge' - a news item about 'a domestic incident', 'a Sunday night row' which

started after a 'pregnant teenage girl found the father had got a new girlfriend'. The third story appearing on page 7, was a category 4 item (institutional disorder). Headlined 'Pretty petals mask a deadly menace', the story warned that certain houseplants 'possessed toxic qualities' and that adequate precautions had to be taken in their handling.

Given that the reader of a local newspaper is most likely to find disorder news on the front-page, on the inside pages, the sense of community order emerges. In all twelve order reports over 10 c.i. covering in total 246 c.i. were to be found on the inside news page. Eleven of these stories belonged to category 2 (institutional order). On page three, a report headlined 'Working within spending targets' announced Sedgefield district council's decision to work within the spending target set by the central government. On the same page, the story beneath the headline 'Village backs sports hall plan' recorded the support a public meeting gave to a plan to build an outdoor multi-purpose sports area in Toft Hill. On page 5, a Christian Aid open afternoon at Wolsingham's Venture House was celebrated by picture and caption. On the same page, under the headline 'Vicar launches parish hall appeal fund', a Ferryhill vicar and his church council announced their intention to build a church hall. Energy saving by Durham County Council was the theme of the page 11 story 'The scheme to cut costs'.

On that page also was the only category 1 (individual order) story - over 10 c.i. in length. Headlined 'Royal Mail for Albert', 'Ace fundraiser Albert Richmond' declared that he 'was flabbergasted to receive a letter of appreciation from Prince Charles' congratulating him for his fundraising efforts on behalf of the disabled.

Overall a symbolic pattern emerges whereby reports of disorder are submerged by the order content of the rest of the Auckland Chronicle. The dominance of order as manifested in news stories is reinforced in the inside pages by the inclusion of regular columns and features. The newspaper's weekly diary - 'Town and Country' - focuses on reports of individual success and achievement; 'Club Snaps' - a column which contains announcements of events at local working-men's clubs; 'School Report' - a page for children. Regular features such as these and others such as 'Gardening', 'Spotlight' and 'Family Focus' - all act to strengthen the notion that the heart of the community continues to function in its own endless fashion.

Turning to consideration of the sample's evening newspaper - the Shields Gazette, the same prevalence of order news over disorder is maintained, the same symbolic pattern of disorder news occupying the front-page while the interior is reserved for order - this despite the fact that by comparison with the two other newspapers in the sample, the Shields Gazette contains proportionately more disorder news. Again we note that the continuous sense of order is buttressed by the presence of regular columns and features. Apart from listings of television programmes and announcements regarding available entertainment, the Gazette, at the time of this research, regularly published eleven regular columns (see Table Five). While some only appeared weekly their range was diverse. First there was the reporting of local news items in different parts of the circulation area - viz. 'Topics Tonight' (South Shields), News from mid-Tyne (Jarrow and Hebburn), News from the Boldons (Boldon Colliery, Boldon Village, East and West Boldon). Secondly there are columns which address particular sections of the community - e.g. Gazette Motoring, Family Finance, On the Waterfront. In addition to the items listed in the table, the Gazette published a Sunday

feature entitled 'Inside Politics' which discussed issues of national politics. On both Friday and Saturday, the Gazette included entertainment supplements - the Friday edition entitled 'Friday Report' and the Saturday 'Weekender'. The Saturday edition included regular columns such as 'Church News' and a regular feature entitled 'Stage Page'.

An examination of the contents of The Journal reveals a similar pattern to those contained in the other two papers. As already noted above, in keeping with The Journal's aspirations to present a picture of the wider world, the inclusion of stories reporting national and international news reduces the local content. Of the five front-page stories, three are local and two non-local. All can be categorized as disorder news - either individual or institutional. It is on page two - under the heading 'Home and Abroad' that the main non-local content is displayed. The remaining three news pages all contain local news stories. The Journal also has its regular features - but in this instance reflective of the different readership which the newspaper addresses (mainly social class ABC1). Daily feature articles appear on page 6 - beside the editorial column. More prestigious in tone than the counterparts in evening and weekly newspapers in this particular issue the main article was a report on the Soviet Union - entitled 'The closed society and an open mind'. Two other features accompanied this: a semi-biographical article describing the Moscow trip of a woman peace campaigner from Riding Mill, Northumberland - Peggy Jones - entitled 'And a plea for peace'; and an article entitled 'Just going for a Burton', the success story of a local hairdresser.

In keeping with the more serious and sober tone which characterizes the regional morning press The Journal runs two features which appear

TableFiveRegular Columns : Shields Gazette - (10/1/83 - 15/1/83)

Day	Column
Monday	Topics Tonight Shipping/Commerce Monday Motoring World
Tuesday	Topics Tonight Shipping/Commerce Gazette Motoring
Wednesday	Topics Tonight Shipping/Commerce News from the Boldons
Thursday	Topics Tonight Shipping/Commerce On the Waterfront
Friday	Topics Tonight Shipping/Commerce Gazette Advises You Family Finance News from mid-Tyne Woman's World
Saturday	Uncle Peter's Birthday Column

throughout the week. The first is 'Northern Businessman' which reports news of business development in the region - primarily concerned with the institutional side rather than detailing the state of the region's economy. Stories covered including 'Why JJ is heading for even higher high-tech' (a report on a Cramlington based micro-technology firm). 'This demolition is vandalism' (comments by a firm of chartered surveyors on Government proposals to remove local authority powers to levy rates on empty industrial properties) and 'Demand is rising for executives' (a report on the activities of management selection consultants in the region). Even these summary accounts reveal the institutional/commercial flavour of these features. In all, there were eight pages of news reports and advertisements in this section.

'Northern Farmer', the other regular feature in The Journal occupied two pages. The stories covered included items such as 'Bad fences a menace to sheep' (a complaint by Northumbrian farmers about the fencing of Forestry Commission land); 'Getting the right balance' (a discussion of conflicting interests in the countryside) and 'North yield is well down' (an estimate of the likely yields by Northern farmers)

Regardless of the content, the significance of such features in The Journal and in other provincial newspapers is their continuing - almost eternal - presence. Even the advertisements, (in Jackson's classification simply messages of information) can be considered as representative of the pulse of order. Here the transactions of the market, the economic order of the community is evident - symbolizing another facet of its continuity.

And the community's inhabitants? All local newspapers carry classified advertisement columns among which are recorded the stages of an individual's transition through the community. In the announcements of births, marriages and deaths - or 'hatched, matched and dispatched' as they are colloquially known - the movement of the community's personnel through the life cycle is recorded. Within the symbolic structure which has been detailed in this analysis these individual transitions reinforce the notion of the ordered and enduring community. Individuals come and go but the community continues.

The problem for the region's press is that the imagined community it addresses continuously with representations of order and equilibrium is in the 1980s in a state which can only be described as 'accelerated dissolution'. In the first chapter we examined the sense of peripherality which

accompanies this dissolution. We noted the discrepancy which emerged between editorial opinion manufactured with regard to the Shildon waggon works and the news coverage. The latter focussed on the traditional cultural symbols associated with the industrial community in order to maximize the newspaper's impact within its distribution area, by promoting a 'sense of community identity' (Jackson: 1971; p. 279) and the Northern Echo's position as voice for that community. With regard to editorial opinion, the Echo merely operated to show its support for capitalist ideology (ibid; p. 278).

While the Northern Echo urged Shildon people to 'fight like hell for its own future', in relation to the past the local press prefers communities to die quietly, simply to accept the inevitable. The call to forget the past and look to the future finds an echo in the Evening Chronicle in March 1983 when the National Union of Mineworkers was balloting members calling for a national strike against pit closures. In a news story headlines 'Death of a Pit - Geordie style', the Chronicle described the last day's work at Marley Hill colliery, Gateshead:

'As Britain hovered on the brink of a national coal strike and pit closures, a North-East mine died today - Geordie style.

'There were no demonstrations. The only ones stamping their feet as the shift left the cages at Marley Hill were the pit ponies - looking forward to a life of retirement in rest homes.'

(3/3/83)

News space was devoted mainly to the good fortune awaiting the pit ponies in their 'life of retirement'. There were benefits also for the human miners:

'There were few tears for the death of the pit which was always hard to work - narrow seams and often wet conditions.'

(ibid.)

What the Chronicle advocated here in this celebration of north-easterness was calm, dignified acceptance of what was deemed inevitable:

'The miners must know that the pattern of their industry is bound to change - but over years, not overnight. The process of closure, after thorough discussion between union and management, will go on. The development of the richest coalfields must go ahead.'

(4/3/83)

Reminiscent in tone of the Northern Echo editorial cited earlier (see p.22 above) what this demonstrates is that despite favouring community as an organizing concept in people's lives as is shown by this section's analysis, the local press in reality spoke for the ideology of a wider community - what it presumed to be the nation as a whole. Only rarely were protests made against the 'inevitable':

'But so far the country, and the North-East in particular, has had only one part of the deal. The old jobs have gone - thousands of them. We're still waiting for the recovery and the new jobs they said would come in its wake.'

(Northern Echo: 25/2/83 - underline mine)

The threatened action by miners' in March 1983 did not materialize - the national ballot rejecting the call for a strike. A year later, strike action was taken in a dispute which lasted for twelve months. The local press' stance did not change - despite the support for the strike in County Durham. Rather than arguing for these communities under threat, the regional press exemplified the dispute as a struggle between two

individuals. Commenting on a television debate between Ian MacGregor, Chairman of the National Coal Board and Arthur Scargill, President of the National Union of Mineworkers, the Journal concluded

'The neutral observer, in fact, might be forgiven for taking the view that the best chance of resolving the 24-week-old dispute would be for both men to step aside, and allow any new negotiations to be conducted by other members of the Coal Board and the miners' executive.'

(23/8/84)

The Evening Chronicle also called for the replacement of MacGregor and Scargill by 'more constructive negotiators' following the 'abrasive' confrontation between the two men (23/8/84). By presenting the strike in this way the local press followed the same pattern as its national counterpart:

'Presentation of the dispute revolved around the talking heads of both Arthur Scargill and Ian MacGregor ... The complexities of the dispute were explained through the battle between Mr. MacGregor and Mr. Scargill.'

(Wade: 1985; p. 378)

Despite this oversimplification of the miners strike - a 'lack of explanation' which gave rise to no more than a 'dichotomous analysis of us v them' (ibid; p. 382), the local press did print features on mining communities during the strike, which offered the opportunity to examine its causes rather than its symptoms - e.g. Evening Chronicle: 18/3/84, Sunday Sun: 16/12/84, Northern Echo: 19/11/84. These articles commented on how individuals and the community managed during the strike on almost non-existent resources. Yet this celebration of communal solidarity did not influence editorial opinion. The Journal, for example, examined the effect of the dispute in Easington, Co. Durham. The feature was entitled 'A spirit that will not be beaten':

'... Easington through a mixture of determination, makeshift measures, community spirit and savage economy refuses to lie down. Miners say, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, that they will never return to work in the face of defeat. Their community seems to endorse this stance fully.'

(11/12/84)

Like other local newspapers in the north-east, this 'spirit' seemingly so admired by the Journal did not result in an editorial change-of-heart showing a fuller and more detailed examination of the dispute's issues. In the editorial which accompanied the Easington feature, the Journal cautioned its readers:

'It would be a disservice, however, to mining communities to romanticise the position in which they now find themselves. They - like everyone else in Britain - will heave a huge sigh of relief when the strike is finally brought to an end.'

(ibid.)

The Journal's assessment of community spirit in Easington, stands in contrast to that of the Northern Echo. The Echo compared Easington to 'the streets of Ulster and Beirut (14/2/85). The comparison between those divided strife-torn cities and the east Durham mining village reflected the 'local press' stance with regard to community spirit. It is the context in which it is displayed which makes it worthy of praise. As Beynon notes the 'same solidarity which received praise and respect in times of disaster, in a time of strife turned into its opposite' (1985; p. 401). In this time of strife there was no room in editorial columns to evaluate positively the solidarity of the mining community - a solidarity which receives tribute when a major accident occurs (see ibid; p. 400).

This refusal by the local press to countenance anything more than the most superficial examination of the issues involved in the 1984 miners' strike clearly demonstrates that for all the emphasis placed on 'localness', the region's press operates so as to establish a frame of reference which is not local or regional in content. The symbolic representations made by the local press incorporate local specifics rather than being developed from them. In this, the north-eastern press has no ideological content which distinguishes it from its counterparts elsewhere in England.

5.3 Community as order: north-eastern representations considered

Throughout the archival material examined for this thesis, the recurrent phrase which defined community was 'everybody knew each other'. The implications are clear. Firstly the community is a site of socio-cultural relations premised on familiarity and intimacy, marked by everyday, face-to-face contact. Secondly, community - whatever its spatial location is temporally located in the past. As observed earlier, it is the disappearing or vanished community which is often the subject of these interviews.

With regard to the first implication, in even the smallest pit-village in Co. Durham, this assertion of ubiquitous intimacy is likely to be a falsehood:

'... all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.'

(Anderson: 1983; p. 15 - underlines mine)

It is the 'style' in which north-eastern communities are imagined which forms the subject of this analysis. North-eastern style and the roots of this style - preserved and real which are to be considered. 'Knowing everyone' is an essential ingredient in that style throughout the north-east - from the pit villages such as Langley Park and Walldridge to the industrial towns of Hartlepool and Wallsend to the regional metropolis Newcastle, the assertion is uniform : that communities exist in which each person is known to every other.

The physical location provides the site for conceptual constraints. The streets, the buildings and particularly the shops provide the material grid for defining community:

'Walter Wilson's, and Brouchs of course was there. The jeweller was called Slingsby - that was an unusual name. I can remember because my father brought me a little gold ring home for my seventh birthday ... Then there was Dunns, the boot shop, and Maynards had a shop. There was another sweet shop. Doggart's bought it but it isn't Doggart's now ... There was Taylor's the grocer's. Stevenson's the boot shop. And the co-op was there, of course - any amount of shops.'

(EDC: 1976 ; 60)

Places and identities are built upon the repetition of the familiar. The fixed unchanging features allow constructs to be established which through their repetition allow a place to become familiar to an individual. Not only does the physical site acquire this characteristic but others who also occupy it acquire familiarity - even if this is by sight alone. Daily repetition of activity within this space, restricted by routine establishes a contextual patterning which provides a basis for that key definition in the style of north-eastern community 'everybody knew each other'. All these people - all of the 'everybody' are guided by another imagined trait which identifies community membership as a horizontal comradeship (Anderson 1983; p. 16):

'We had hard times - but we had better times than what they are now ... everybody was sociable and one wasn't better than another; but now if they're a little bit up that's what they are - but not when I was a little girl - everybody was alike - shopkeepers and everybody - everybody knew each other.'

(MHP: 1983; 229)

It is 'hard times'(i.e. deprivation) which is a defining trait of north-eastern comradeship. People were 'more friendly, because they had nothing' (EDC: 1976; p. 18). These were 'happier times' as there was 'nothing to do' because 'Nobody had any money' and had to 'make their own entertainment' (JMT: 1982; 4). It was a world in which experience and expectation were in informants' perspectives reinforced and equalized:

'They were happy days then because we knew no different. That was the only reason. One was used to that way of life and we were satisfied with it.'

(EDC: 1976; 10)

Knowing 'no different' was in this perspective a consequence of the enclosed and restricted quality of lives:

'You knew your own village - I knew the village beyond the one I lived in - Springwell. I know that because my grandfather, my mother's father, lived there. But any other village was a foreign land.'

(MHP: 1983; 215)

This confinement which lacked access to the wider world through 'picture houses or radios or televisions' (ibid.) made possible the horizontality of comradeship:

'You see, all your life was confined to the village and you didn't think about having enough money because everybody was the same. So when you're living all the same, you're not conscious of being hard up or anything else.'

(EDC: 1976; 11)

What is presented in statements of this kind is the product of repetition and sameness. Repetitive experiences - of deprivation and of isolation etc. which congeal to generate the concept of a community of equals. As has been suggested in the two preceding chapters, neither of these experiences

made these communities immune to penetration by ideology derived from external sources, a fact acknowledged as in the instance of the informant cited earlier who described other villages as 'foreign lands':

'But I did know the Boer War, mind - I knew that. As I say, I remember very vividly the Queen's - Queen Victoria's jubilee - but where London was - no.'

(MHP: 1983; 215)

Ignorance of geography did not prohibit access to knowledge of and involvement in English society. Boer War agitation and royal celebration managed to reach the pit village of Springwell, County Durham though it was news from a 'foreign land'. The issues surrounding this conceptualization of place as isolated have already been examined with reference to sociological work (see section 5.1 above). Earlier chapters (three and four above) suggest that system elements were integrated at the micro level - the social - and incorporated in everyday experience. The horizontal comradeship is expressed most clearly through acts - of friendship and neighbourliness:

'Well it was a fact that if along the street, there was a lady not well any of the people living around had no trouble. They would say 'Mrs. So-and-so not well'. The next door would set it round. And people used to come in and help them, guide them and encourage them to keep their spirit up. There was no material security then - social security and like of other things. They were very, very much with each other.'

(JMT: 1942; 2)

Neighbours could be relied on - for mutual support in times of crisis - births, sickness and deaths and for general goodwill: 'If a neighbour made a pan of broth, there was always a jugful for you ... if there was sickness you just automatically helped them - you didn't wait for pay or

anything like that' (MHP: 1984; 223). Grief was also shared: '... if anyone died, I mean to say ... everybody used to come to the funeral and that. The whole street used to put the blinds down for them (EDC: 1976; 23). This sharing, this cooperating together is held to represent the reinforcement of social bonds making for a stable culture in which

'People were knit closer together in those days. There was never any bother. Never saw any. Very little fighting went on. You could leave anything standing, a pushbike or a car or anything, standing. It was there when you went back.'

(MHP: 1984; 242)

The value placed on communal life was stressed by one informant who described his parents as 'neighbours to each other' (JMT: 1982; 2). Togetherness was a constant theme in characterizing family virtues:

'When we were young and little - at night you were all in and you were all together, making mats and this sort of thing. We never went out, like they do now.'

(JMT: 1982; 8)

This private intimacy operates as a metaphor for defining the world of employment:

'... three days after I left school I went down the pit and I never regretted it: but the whole pit to me was a family. It was a new environment as from the surface. You were so closely knit, so closely linked with each other ...'

(MHP: 1983; 227)

Employment in mining as Dennis et al observed (see p.51 above) is characterized as a channel for expressing solidarity with fellow members. Familiarity plays a part here as well:

'... you work with the same fellas each day ... you always work with the same fellas. Well ninety-nine out of a hundred. They get to know each other's way.'

(MHP: 1984; 219)

Overground and underground, familiarity by 'getting to know' is the bond between people: the economic, social and cultural structures operate to induce community existence. A community life in which work and its responsibilities and leisure and its pleasures operated to produce stability:

'At night time when we went to live in Victoria Street. On fine nights people used to come out and they would be playing (a) hurdy-gurdy you know. And they would be sitting on stools twelve o'clock at night - people sitting outside.'

(MHP: 1983; 222)

The emphasis on family, neighbourhood and work is a continuous theme throughout the archival testimony. An emphasis centred on intimacy familiarity and closeness of a distant imagined community. The nostalgic glow which characterizes these representations matches the Beamish Museum claim to present 'acres of nostalgia.' It is a past which Beamish says that it recreates, but one only accessible directly to those who lived in it. The 'good-old'/'bad-old' days are no doubt coloured by the mists of memory and steeped in emotions and romantic considerations but they do possess considerable cognitive value in that they constitute a normative prescription for communal life. What they state is that family ought to be a close-knit harmonious unit; that neighbourhood ought to be an extension of domestic intimacy; that work ought to be characterized by solidarity and cooperation. As such they are a frame of reference for assessing the worth and value of both past and present. They are an idealization of community, derived from selectively chosen experience,

rather than the precise detailing of everyday existence. That selectivity as found in archival interviews relating to mining villages is, as we have observed in the discussion of this material (see Chapter Two above) fostered by the non-confrontational, non-critical stance of interviewers which reinforces a 'public' view of past communities.

The prescription itself, in the terms laid out by this research, could not, as will be shown, be defined as exemplifying north-eastern particularity. There is undoubtedly a connection between the development of the region's status as peripheral and the growth of sentimentalization for the 'bad old/good old days'. The heyday for the 'traditional working-class' was the period 1870-1960 (with 1945 as the year when its political as opposed to cultural zenith was reached in the landslide victory of the general election). Then the visible manifestations of this working-class culture began to disappear. This was marked by the rundown of the coal industry - one hundred pits closing during the 1960s, the closure of shipyards at Blyth and Hartlepool, the creation of the 'branch-plant economy' on the region's industrial estates. More immediately the re-housing programmes of the post-war period saw the disestablishment of 'traditional' working-class communities with the leveling of poor shoddy, nineteenth-century dwellings and the creation of housing-estates. We talk about 'lost' communities in the north-east in particular and industrial England in general. We should bear in mind that this sense of loss is inherent in the concept of community itself. As a concept it is associated with the rise of industry and hence the presumed disappearance of rural community, an idea having roots 'in a disposition of thought which originated at the end of the eighteenth century.' (Plant: 1974; pp. 1-2). This representation of the 'lost' community as located in a rural/agrarian context is a core element in the English cultural repertoire. It is against this core that the case for regional particularity is to be examined.

Thus in a society the majority of whose population live in urban environments and in the period before 1945 worked in industry (primary or secondary), the community idyll is rural and agrarian. That this perception is deep-rooted was shown during the Second World War:

'Seen from the outside, the Britisher to-day is typically a townsman. Inwardly he has little deep affection for the town, and his traditional home of the countryside remains strong. It finds expression in many ways. During 1941, when many of our towns and cities had already been bombed, Mass-Observation obtained answers from people living in all parts of the country "What does Britain mean to you". Any dormant sentiments of affection for the towns might have been expected to show itself at that time. The picture which "Britain" called to mind, however, was for the great majority one of rural scenery, or of country places known and loved.'

(Wilcock: 1951; p. 140)

That Britain - 'the leafy lanes of Warwickshire', 'the peacefulness of the Cotswold country', 'the splendour of the Scottish highlands' offered escape from 'the horrible roads plastered with advertisements like Sheffield on a wet gloomy day' (ibid., pp. 140-141).

That rural idyll, still so much a powerful representation for England and Britain in the 1980s is the favoured site for community. It is in the work of Leavis and Thompson (D) that the idyllic virtues are expounded in favour of the rural/agrarian as against the urban/industrial. Their central tenet was that rural England, a more 'primitive England' by comparison with the twentieth-century industrial nation, represented an 'animal naturalness' which was nevertheless 'distinctively human'. Here, villagers 'expressed their human nature, they satisfied their human needs, in terms of the natural environment; and the things they made - cottages, barns, ricks and waggons - together with their relations with one another constituted a

human environment, and a subtlety of adjustment and adaptation, as right and inevitable' (1977; p. 91).

Industrialization meant the loss of this 'organic' community and a 'loss of human naturalness' which was reflected in the buildings of the industrial era:

'In their wanton and indifferent ugliness, their utter insensitiveness to humanity and the environment, the towns, suburbs of modern England are unparalleled in history.'

(ibid.; p. 93)

Impressions of that 'wanton and indifferent ugliness', is an attested fact for many writers in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in relation to the north-eastern region, e.g. House (1954).

'Industrial sites were opened out alongside the train lines as at Darlington, Stockton and Gateshead, and since there was the tradition of building homes adjacent to work, the town quarters extended in the same directions. The numbers of houses needed were constantly on the increase and the estates were everywhere laid out in monotonous stone or later red-brick terraces. Village centres were woven with this depressing and uniform urban fabric as the town spread outwards from the old centres.'

(p. 49 - underlines mine)

While in House's case, as a geographer, the determination of that 'ugliness' is not explicitly made by reference to the evaluation of the rural idyll, that of Leavis and Thompson (D) is. Such undercurrents inform the work of

Priestley, whose English Journey is taken as a document which illuminates the condition of depression-hit industrial England in the 1930s. Nonetheless Priestley had no love of urban or industrial culture. The industrialization of England - nineteenth-century England had done harm to the 'real, enduring England' - 'the country of the cathedrals and minsters and manor houses and inns, of Parson and Squire; guide-books

and quaint highways and byways ... (1934; p. 397). Nineteenth-century England had found 'a green and pleasant land' and left 'a wilderness of dirty bricks'. By blackening fields, poisoning rivers, miners, ravaging the earth it had 'shown filth and ugliness with a lavish hand' (p. 400). Here we find the manifestation of the themes of wholeness found in Leavis and Thomson (D)'s organic community. Priestley's visit to the mining village of Shotton, Co. Durham demonstrates his reaction to the effects of the process of industrialization:

'Imagine then a village consisting of a few shops, a public-house, and a clutter of dirty little houses, all at the base of what looked first like an active volcano. The volcano was the notorious Shotton "tip", literally a man-made smoking hill ... The "tip" itself towered to the sky and its vast dark back, steaming and smoking at various levels, blotted out all the landscape at the back of the village. The lowest slope was only a few yards from the miserable cluster of houses'

(1934; p. 336)

Priestley's aversion to the urban or industrial culture consequent upon the nineteenth-century transformations, his rootedness in the rural idylls of the past means that his political protests which are an integral part of his 'English Journey' are framed in terms of a tragic vision of working-class experience. The Shotton miners, who he recognizes are unjustly caught within the web of the industrial system (see *ibid.*; pp. 345-7) become basically metaphors for that England which has been lost, the hapless victims of a process they cannot and do not control. Axiomatically, given his prescription for the reality of human experience, such figures are made into helpless, martyred victims of the nineteenth-century industrialization. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his description of unemployment ridden Jarrow:

'The most remarkable giant liner in the world is probably the Mauretania, for she is nearly thirty years old and is still one of the fastest vessels afloat. Her record, both for speed and safety, is superb. We are proud of her. Now the Mauretania was launched at Wallsend, just across the river from Jarrow; and she has lasted longer than Jarrow. She is still alive and throbbing, but Jarrow is dead. As a real town, a piece of urban civilization, Jarrow can never have really been alive. There is easily more comfort and luxury on one deck of the Mauretania than there can ever have been at any time in Jarrow, which even at its best, when everybody was working in it, must obviously have been a little stunted conglomerate of narrow monotonous streets of stunted and ugly houses, a barracks cynically put together so that ship building workers could get some food and sleep between shifts. Anything - strange as it may seem - appears to have been good enough for the men who build ships like the Mauretania. But in those days, at least they were working. Now Jarrow is a derelict town.'

(ibid.; p. 313)

Implicitly here we return to the determination of the individual by means of the structure. Here, in Jarrow, where the old, enduring England has long since been buried beneath the 'stunted conglomerate of narrow monotonous streets of stunted and ugly houses', those individuals are atrophied in the context of the closure of Palmer's shipyard and the attendant mass unemployment:

'There is no escape anywhere in Jarrow from its prevailing misery, for it is entirely a working-class town. One little street may be rather more wretched than another, but to the outsider they all look alike. One out of every two shops appeared to be permanently closed. Wherever we went there were men hanging about, not scores of them but hundreds and thousands of them. The whole town looked as if it had entered a perpetual penniless bleak Sabbath. The men wore the drawn masks of prisoners of war. A stranger from a distant civilization, observing the condition of the place and its people, would have arrived at once at the conclusion that Jarrow had deeply offended some celestial emperor of the island and was now being punished. He would never believe us if we told him that in theory this town was as good as any other and that its inhabitants were not criminals but citizens with votes.'

(ibid; p. 314)

While Priestley's favouring of the rural idyll belongs to a much deeper tradition of Englishness (see for example Wiener (1984)), we return again to the notion of community as a normative prescription - as the collective engine for the generation of 'wholeness' in its individual members. Priestley implies that those who inhabit industrial settlements, such as Shotton and Jarrow, cannot hope to achieve this 'wholeness' which, in his view, comes from that 'old enduring' rural England.

As we have already seen above, this is not the opinion of informants who live in these 'blighted' milieux. In mining settlements, whose physical location is small-scale and rural, representations about community are, in part, framed in Priestley's terms, emphasizing this rural connection. As the Chairman of Easington District Council affirmed the tension between town and country is strong.

'Here we think of ourselves as villagers. Y'know country people. We're different from Geordies. They live in Newcastle. On Tyneside. They're townies. Not like us - we're country people.'

This relationship of industrial villages and rural setting is not defined solely by abstract definition. For some informants it involved direct participation in agriculture. A miner recalls:

'At the end of July 1933 I helped to build one of the last haystacks at Sacriston Colliery and the real perks of the job were the beer and cheese sandwiches served at 8 a.m., 10 a.m., 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. It took us four days to build the stack and they were twelve hour shifts 6 a.m. till 6 p.m., and the instruction was 'Walk about. Walk about'. That was to tread the hay down - the loose hay down - and make it solid.'

(MHP 1984: 240)

Memories of childhoods in mining villages lay stress on the rural context:

'... go down the side of the church, away along the Bramside - right to Bearpark - it was a nice foot road then you know ... or you could come down the right side through to what we call "the Bogs". There's two little woods ... through there past St. John's Green, down to the river and over the old, wooden, rickety bridge. Used to go over the river - away up there. Over the railway and away up the 'banky fields' we called it. Now that was a beautiful spot. It was covered in whin bushes and when it was out - the gorse - it was a mass of gold. It was covered in heather and blackberries. We enjoyed that. A nice place.

(MHP: no reference)

These extracts suggest the importance of the rural context, rather than the industrial, in providing the necessary framework of community. This imagery matches the English idyll. Yet the evidence from urban dwellers cited above proposes a wider application for the community concept. In part that may be because even for those whose experience is urban, the rural/agrarian context was never far away. A woman from Howdon, Tyneside recalls the 1930s:

'Oh there used to be a farm along the road here. I used to go up there to pick potatoes at harvest time. It was a short walk along the road and then you were in the country.'

(WIS: 1984; 11)

Here is an accurate description of the Tyneside conurbation before the post-war housing developments. Then urban Tyneside was mainly an urban strip extending along either side of the river - frequently no more than a mile wide. Even in the present, that post-war development is not considered a barrier to rural access:

'If we get in the car and take the road through the (Tyne) tunnel into Northumberland, we can be in the country - beautiful country - in fifteen minutes. I don't know why anybody thinks this is all industry and town. We've got the country right on our doorstep. You wouldn't have that in London or Birmingham.'

This evocation of the rural, both past and present, is a significant feature in north-eastern character, (albeit a defensive one along the rural-urban continuum). It does not explain the potency that community as an ordering concept has for those who lived within an industrial context - whether that be urban or rural. Leavis and Thomson (D) and Priestley are indicative of assessments which condemned north-eastern people as unable to enjoy the 'benefits' derived from community life.

It is the work of writers such as Hoggart who exemplify the normative prescription for working-class community. Hoggart's The Uses of Literacy is a sentimental recollection of this childhood in pre-war Hunslet. Though coloured by affection for a community defined in those terms of intimacy and sociability secured through family and neighbours, Hoggart unlike Priestley does not demean the value of the urban community by reference to the rural idyll of 'old, enduring England'.

'The more we look at working-class life, the more we try to reach the core of working-class attitudes, the more surely does it appear that that core is a sense of the personal, the concrete, the local: it is embodied in the idea of first, the family and, second, the neighbourhood.'

(1971; p. 32)

What Hoggart argues is that 'the personal, the concrete' and 'the local' offer the possibility of working-class people making meaning for themselves within these contexts. With Priestley, the yearning is for an agrarian/rural setting which nineteenth-century industrialization has debased. The industrial setting, being entirely determinant of human character, operates to its detriment. Priestley's assessment of industrial communities stands in contrast to Hoggart's view and that of Colls:

'The mining village as a place to live in was of another dimension to itself as a place to study. Village life can only in the most facile sense be understood by assessing the number of indoor taps per pit row. Areas of community life were literally invisible to the nineteenth-century outside observer. To know them demanded an intimacy with the community itself: a wall or a back yard or a gable end were more than architectural facets, they might have held significance as meeting places for that community. The colliery village as a place to live in meant a network of meeting places: Sunday mornings at the 'Colliery Inn' corner, summer evening squatted along the gable end; regular, arms-folded chats in the sanctity of the back yard when the men were at work and toddlers at your feet. The working-class territorial imperative, "next door", "our street", "wor toon", was rarely visible to the outside eye, it could only assume shape and form when that eye was tutored by a cultural rapport; without it, significant aspects of the miner's village were as ghosts to be walked through.'

(1977; p. 17)

While this 'recommendation' is unambiguously located in the realm of normative prescription (and with its unspoken emphasis on the capacity of individuals to invest their lives with meaning (see Cohen: 1985; p.21) its prescriptive bases permits the power of human action, either individually or collectively, to be acknowledged. It does not necessarily invite an examination of the ideological materials which are used in the making of meaning - presuming that the boundary defines content rather than form.

Writers such as Hoggart, Colls and Jackson (see Section 5.1 above) seek to institute the working-class as makers of meaning, as agents in making their own lives and to emphasize positively the values developed therein. These positive representations have been developed farther by Seabrook who evaluates the 'hard times' from a perspective whose main concern is the demonstration of working-class political potential. Underlying this perspective is the belief that the 'hard times' offered the possibility of mobilizing the working-class as a political force for reordering society. In keeping with previous representations this political community is also

lost. Comparing unemployment in the 1930s and the 1980s, he identifies 'a considerable weakening of function and purpose' (1982; p. 220) shown by the 1980s working-class by comparison with its predecessor. This he attributes to 'market relationships' which 'have encroached as a main determinant on working-people's consciousness' (ibid; p. 221). The market-place has meant improvements for the working-class but has also created 'a different kind of subordination' (ibid.). Overall, the working-class whose communities we are examining, has suffered significant 'penalties and forfeits' which detract from its character and potential:

'Among these losses, apart from the damaged sense of function have been some of the humanizing responses to that older poverty, the solidarity and sharing, the living practice in the daily existence of millions of working people of values - dignity, fugality, stoicism - which offered an alternative to the brutalizing destructive values of capitalism.'

(ibid.)

This - the class of the 1930s - was to be mourned because its passing means a great 'loss' since

'... the option of that alternative as something that could have grown organically out of the way people lived out their lives has been crushed. And by contrast with the material concessions, which are temporary, perishable and insecure, the intangible things that have been taken away begin to look more serious and enduring.'

(ibid.)

A return here to familiar territory: Priestley's contempt for the material world is combined with the longing of Leavis and Thompson (D) for the organic community. What has changed is the subject of these evaluations. Priestley, Leavis, Thomson (D) identify as lost a rural/agrarian community. For Seabrook, like Hoggart, it is the industrial working-class of the inter-war years - made of 'frugal, thrifty' communities which is disappearing.

What all of these writers use for their representations is everyday experience of the familiar and intimate - a familiarity expressed by informants as defining community. We too have examined these representations to discover any unique features in the north-eastern experience of community. What this analysis shows is that parallels exist between extra-regional community concepts located in the rural/agrarian context and the intra-regional concepts. This suggests that the elements which structure these concepts are more adequately defined by their Englishness rather than their north-easterness. We saw earlier that the press identifies community as a source of order, seeking to integrate the individual within it. The traditional working-class community operates along the same lines, identifying itself as the bearer of cultural symbols - the family, the neighbourhood - which ought to gravitate towards equilibrium. The press 'representations speak to an audience which accepts the basic premise that community relatives operate beneficially in defining the individual. North-eastern community concepts are not generated exclusively from experiential data in the manner which Thompson (EP) proposes. They utilize instead ideological material drawn from a cultural repertoire which is national not regional in content.

Chapter Six : The Matriarchal Octopus

'I could wash when I was fourteen, doing possing, a big mangle, you had to go down into the yard to wash, ... when I was fourteen years old ... I could do anything - cook, wash, anything.'

(EDC: 1976; 15)

'It was left entirely to the wife as far as getting that in which was necessary for the family; it was the wife's job that. She was the mainstay of the family in the home, absolutely. She knew how to lay the money out so that she got the greatest advantage from the small amount she'd got ... she had to make meals to cover the whole of the day so they were coming back and she was the matriarchial, the motherly octopus, all eight arms going together. She had to be the matriarchal octopus.'

(MHP: 1983; 224)

'There's one thing you have to understand in a place like Ashington or Bedlington where you're very Colliery the little boys come to school absolutely helpless. The little girls can fasten their pants up and fasten their slippers and do all that sort of thing. But the little boys they've been looked after. They are the men.'

The preceding analysis was concerned to examine the commonest representations made for community in the north-east and to determine the extent of its particularity. That was found limited in that the main distinguishing factor between it and the north for English society as a whole was a matter of contextual location - i.e. north-eastern precipitation of the ingredients was in an industrial or urban context rather than the preferred rural/agrarian context. This section makes no claims to proffer a prescription for community organization. Instead it suggests an alternative analysis. That analysis will focus on the internal symbolic structure of community and particularly the manner in which symbolic space is organized. North-eastern particularity will

again be an issue - though whereas particularity in the previous analysis related to cultural sources for the community concept, in this case the particularity under consideration will relate to gender issues.

Throughout this thesis, gender as an issue has only been marginally considered. This is a reflection of the material examined - at both the conceptual level and the data level. This is an analysis of culture - a male-dominated culture. The overwhelming majority of representations made about the region can be defined by their maleness. In examining Jackson's study of Huddersfield (see Ch. 5.1 above), it was observed that the focus was on male cultural artefacts - brass bands, bowling, working-men's clubs etc. Likewise Dennis et. al.'s study of Ashton considered that it was the experience of mining - a male industry which provided the motor force for community integration. These perspectives could be transposed to the north-eastern case to provide an acceptable base for an implied regional culture. The traditional heavy industries - coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding and engineering - could be aggregated to provide the framework for regional homogeneity which in turn reflected maleness.

Indeed two (coal and shipbuilding) were so utilized by Townsend and Taylor in their argument which proposed the basis for regional sense of place - though it was the common experience of their mutual decline and disappearance which was held to be the unifying factor. These presumptions join with the evidence presented in the last section. In this analysis it is community itself which is the homogenizing element. What illustrates this homogeneity is the work of women - caring for the sick, attending births, laying out the dead and maintaining the home and family. Women and men cite such evidence to support the beneficence of community. That is not to say that men do not cooperate or assist each other and hence generate community cohesion. Institutions such as working-men's clubs etc. do operate as sites of cohesion amongst men. Yet

they are not held to be exemplars of community stability.

It is the work of women which is used to demonstrate a community's well-being. In part this may be because that work as expressed by 'neighbourly' acts and gestures is located most precisely in the 'concrete' 'personal', and 'local'. Lacking the institutional arrangements which characterize working-men's clubs, trade unions etc., these gestures are conducted on an informal, face-to-face level which gives them a credibility stemming from presumed spontaneity. Not that male associations lack the capacity to make such spontaneous gestures but they are qualified because cooperation, sociability is deemed to be inherent to them. In the community itself there is no requirement for any member to be sociable, yet according to testimony this was its typical feature.

What this invites is a re-examination of community with reference to gender divisions. Community at the conceptual level remains an organism operating to produce whole and positive individuals. Now we examine the mechanics, the principles involved in organizing community itself to fulfill this task. While acknowledging that kinship, neighbourliness and work associations are defining elements within the community concept, it must be understood that this listing allows no consideration of the differing levels of symbolic space allotted to each gender. That allocation orders and organizes the institution considered the fundamental community unit - the family.

Two ordering principles, two means of differentiation, operate within the family to determine its generalized form - age and gender. Of the two, age is the most flexible in that individuals cross the boundaries which distinguish children from adolescents, adolescents from adults, adults from old age. With each of these phases certain socio-cultural

prescriptions are attached which operate to determine expectations in terms of behaviour, status and role. Once an individual has passed through a particular phase, there can, because of the determination of biological maturation be no return to that phase, only the anticipation of future phases.

Differentiation on the basis of gender operates concurrently with differentiation by age. Obviously all members of a community whether female or male can pass through all age categories. Transgression of gender boundaries means moral censure:

'If a married woman went out and worked, Oh she would have been talked about. But mind I've gone to the 'blast' (beach) and carried bags of coal, up off the beach'.

(EDC: 1976 ; 50)

'If a man had been seen pushing a pram before 1940 he would have been a laughing-stock. And to do housework, that would have been humiliating.'

(JMT: 1982; 5)

Public opinion maintains the boundaries by moral censure (in the case of women working in employment outside the home) and ridicule (in the case of men doing housework or childcare). The different manifestations of public opinion reflect the different evaluations put upon these 'intrusions' Housework etc. for men was considered demeaning (hence laughable). Employment for women threatening to the moral order (hence censurable). It is not simply a matter of the collective reproach maintaining order. These values, the signification of boundary was internalized by participants. A caulker/burner who worked in Redhead's Shipyard South Shields stated:

'... I didn't think shipyards was made for women ... before I went in I thought oh it's bad. Because I mean men - sometimes they are inclined to forget themselves aren't they? ... You know coming out with their language and that.'

(WIS: 1984 ; 23)

This woman's recognition of the existence of a male space - a space where men amongst men can and should behave in a different way to the way in which they behave in the company of women - is matched by the comment regarding male attitudes towards female space:

'... the pitmen in those days wouldn't do anything in the house. They wouldn't wash up or anything like that. That was a woman's job and she had to do that ...'

(MHP: 1984; 239)

We are reminded here of the low-status associated with women's work - housekeeping and childcare. While in a previous analysis which examined the ideological constraints which surrounded employment women, who in wartime crossed the boundary into this male world, were eager and willing to make meaning by reference to this experience. There has been, within the historical period which is this thesis' subject, no equivalent move by men to adopt responsibilities and make meaning in the world of the culturally-defined female experience. One reason for this is the low status attached to these activities. As I have observed earlier, men in the 1930s, though unemployed and with time on their hands did not share responsibility for management of the home with their partners (see Ennis: 1982; pp.68-69).

Instances of domestic cooperation between wife and husband do emerge occasionally from archival material:

'... as soon as the meals were finished he used to wash the dishes ... he would work and wash ... he would do all sorts ... We never went out with one another... If I couldn't get out for the bairns well he would stop in so we made the arrangement, that one didn't go out without the other. I mean I worked just as hard as him. He worked on the building my man that's where he worked. The buildings and I worked in the yards all my time.'

(WIS: 1984 ; 22)

While this is evidence of the stereotypical female/male roles being re-negotiated, it is not a total re-working. The husband 'helped' rather than shared - arrangements based on individual, personal inclination rather than socio-cultural premises.

The typical cultural terms were defined by a Consett steelworker. Writing in the 1930s, in an overly romantic celebration of his work, he defined male/female relations thus:

'... we are as the lords of creation and it is for the women to do the serving and tending.'

(Watson: 1978; p. 239)

The 'lords of creation', working-class men are invested with this deistic authority through making steel:

'To labour at the furnace is a man's job. There is no problem of sacrificing one's masculinity as there is with clerical work, machine minding, and the like. When the flames from a cast of iron leap up at us like an inferno, when we are weary of the dull grind of incessantly shovelling hot wet sand, I and my mates may curse the day we were born, but the time comes when the iron is safe and at rest and one is free to go home; then it is sweet to have pitted one's strength against the elemental forces.'

(ibid; pp. 226-7)

Despite the extreme imagery employed by Watson this extract lays bare the premises which govern female/male relationships. It is work fit only for men which men perform that gives them claim to lordly power. Jackson and Dennis et. al., writing from the male perspective give credibility - through in more muted terms than this - to male superordination. In the north-east, the traditional working-class community, the legitimacy of that claim was acknowledged by the attention to serving men which women and family members gave in mining villages:

'Me mam used to look out of the window for the bus coming down. And as soon as she saw the bus the dinner had to be ... (served). Then she'd start to lift the dinner.'

'I've been in a house where a man was getting up at teatime. He was going to have eggs for his tea. And there was somebody put at the foot of the stairs to say when he was coming so that the egg would be just three-and-a-half minutes when he came. He shouldn't have to wait for it. It shouldn't be spoiled.'

It is frequently agreed that domestic arrangements were determined by the shift patterns of mining:

'... there might be a family, a man and two or three kids, and they might be in different shifts. The women never got to bed during the week. She might be up sending somebody out to work and maybe after an hour there would be somebody coming in. And she would have this going on in the middle of the night...'

(MHP: 1984; 256)

This patterning does not per se invest men with authority to dominate the precise serving of meals which the previous two extracts demonstrated. It is a product of the power and authority vested in men as 'head of the family'. Women are aware that this authority may take a coercive form:

'... the lads in the shipyard ... somebody would get married and they'd say "How long have you been married?" "A fortnight". "Have you not given her a good hiding yet?" ... My father used to hit my mam. It was the way of life ... Right up the street the men used to stand in bands. It was more that they didn't have a job and poverty that got them down. But it was the women and kids who were suffering with the men. But somehow or other they thought they were very badly done by, but the women and kids suffered more.'

(WIS: 1983; 7)

This woman's father, a Jarrow marcher, victim of long-term unemployment in a town with mass unemployment 'felt responsible for his family and he couldn't work to support them. He felt a failure' (ibid). Unemployment is proffered as cause for violence against his wife. In Ashton it was employment and its frustrations which were identified as the cause (Dennis et al.: 1956; p. 249). In Consett, service from women - with the potential for coercion in default - was derived from the male's position as 'a lord of creation'. The frame of reference for the female/male relationship was not in fact determined by the strictures of unemployment, employment or deistic potential. The referential framework of those relations is founded on a cultural separation between the public and the private - the former being identified as the male realm, the latter female. Their most familiar representation is in the family unit - with the male as breadwinner entering the public world and the female as breadserver operating within the private. This separation of role and its allocation to one or other gender is according to this view a necessary requirement for the harmonious functioning of family and community. This functionalism neglects pre-ordained boundaries which allocate gender roles. Rather than the family being considered the site on which this separation is produced, it should be seen as the site of its operation. Even when a woman acquires increased status through marriage, or by entering employment - the constraint placed on women operates:

'...I went down to Jarrow to see the film - called "The Wicked Lady". It came out during the war, and was at the Empire in Jarrow. And the last bus up to Primrose was half-past nine but it didn't come out until quarter to eleven ... I was by myself ... My mother had put the bairn to bed. My mother knew where I was. My mother knew where I was but my father didn't even know I was out. He though, I'd gone to bed ... Anyway I came round the corner and stopped at the gate. And he looked and as I say it was blackout. ... he peered right up to my face and he says "What are you doing out?" I says "I've been to the pictures". That was the one and only time I went to the pictures during the whole of the war. ... I got in the house and he says "Coming in at quarter past eleven at night while your husband is fighting at the front", he says "Not under my bloody roof you don't." And I never went out any more ... I was married, and I was still being told what to do, but I was living in his house you see. That was the attitude.'

(WIS: 1983; 7)

Patriarchal control of the movement of women in public space - male space - was the attitude. That patriarchal power was (and is) founded on a rigid separation along gender lines which not even the woman's marital status nor her independence as a wage-earner (electrician in Hawthorn-Leslie's, Hebburn) could confound.

Once the determining influence of this boundary is acknowledged in the structuring of the family unit, the overall structure of north-eastern communities can be more easily comprehended. We are examining a socio-cultural unit whose basic structure is founded on a gender division - not one whose building blocks are comprised of family units. Effectively there are within the community only two fundamental groups - women and men. As a guide to understanding how these groups operate a comparison can be drawn with the ethnographic work of Maybury Lewis (1967) in relation to the Akwe-Shavante. Here the segregation of the sexes is structured such that the men occupy the Men's House which is the religious and ceremonial centre of the community to which women are not admitted.

The centre of male activity is the Men's House through they lay claim to domestic and sexual services from their wives who reside in their own houses with their matrilineal kin and their children.

We can make a useful comparison here between the Akwe-Shavante and the operation of north-eastern communities. The activities of men are extra-domestic and exclusive of women. As we have already noted this applies to male employment particularly in the traditional industries. In their leisure time, male activities have been extra-domestic and largely exclusive of women: working-men's clubs, bowling, pigeon-racing etc. We have here not one men's house Akwe-Shavante style, but several - some physical and some conceptual. For women exclusion from the categories of male work and male leisure meant confinement to a domestic role. That confinement in the leisure areas is often instrumentally determined in the view of informants:

'... people made their own entertainment. Not that the women had very much entertainment. There wasn't time with big families and all the baking and no convenience foods you see. There was no lighting at all. No street lighting. There was no electricity or gas. Just paraffin lamps ...'

(MMP: 1983; 232)

In other words, female exclusion from the public sphere (whether work or leisure) is seen as the instrumental consequence of the woman's role i.e. the amount of work to be done in its fulfillment leaves a woman with no time to participate in leisure activities in the same manner as men. It is the argument of this analysis that the role specification itself is the determinant factor. That specification is qualified by rules for the proper and correct fulfillment of the female role. Membership of a working-men's club, for example, is not part of that specification:

'Well we couldn't have women on committees in clubs. They might have to deal with an issue where a wife has complained about a husband's drinking in the club. When that happens we have the man in. Tell him we don't approve. It wouldn't be right if a woman was on the management committee dealing with that.'

(JMT: 1982;12)

While emphasis has been placed in this analysis on the public/private boundary within communities as both an organizing principle of the community as a whole and as a mechanism for the maintenance of male dominance, what must be examined is the self-assessment of their lives by women. We return to investment of meaning by women in their life work. We examine how women make themselves agents in their own history operating as they did within the symbolic structure analyzed above - a structure not of their own making. As Roberts in her study of working-class women in Lancashire commented:

'... there was the feeling among the majority of women interviewed that they or their mothers had not been particularly exploited by men, at least not by working-class men In their interviews many women indicated their awareness of the limited horizons and opportunities of their lives, but were just as likely to associate their menfolk with this lack of choice. They tended to blame the poverty which governed where they lived, the length and nature of their education, and very often the kind of jobs available to them. Those who went on to think about the roots of their poverty, and who perceived their lives in terms of exploitation, saw themselves, and their men, as being oppressed by employers, the rich, the middle classes and the bosses, who might be either male or female (but who were, of course, usually male). In other words, women who were conscious of their exploitations, interpreted it in terms of class conflict.'

(Roberts; 1984 ; p. 2)

Rarely does archival material reveal instances of gender conflict. Where it does it is a male intrusion on the operation of the female sphere which is the subject. That intrusion operates in generating violence against women as cited above. More often it is men drinking, spending the 'family wage' which causes conflict:

'There'd be more mothers than me would be ambitious for their family. And wanted them to go to the secondary school. My mother couldn't do it for me but I was going to make sure my children got it. Now (the eldest one) went. Then Betty, she went ... All my four girls went to school 'till they were 16 and that was another struggle. 'Cos ... the Dad drank. I didn't get the money I should have got ... He must have been making an awful lot of money then. I was only getting about £6 a week then. He was a rivetter. And he was one of those, he went out. He liked his pocket full of money.'

(JMT: 1982; 1)

This testimony highlights both the struggle faced and the positive evaluation female informants set upon their lives. For the majority of working-class women that was one spent mainly in the 'private sphere of home, family and neighbourhood' (Roberts: 1984; p. 2). This space, the fundamentals of community as described in the last section, was recognized explicitly by some female informants as restrictive. A wartime welder commented:

'... it's never really bothered me being equal. You know, I'm married. I've got a family. I've got a home and I'm content with my lot. Mind, if I was young I might be different ... If I had my youth back ... Yes if I had the opportunity. You see in my day ... when I was in my 'teens', they didn't have the opportunity to do that kind of thing. Now they get the opportunity and I think if I had my time over again, in this age, I would be the same as the rest ... that go for a career ... if I had had the education ... and I had ... say, degrees. University degrees the same as anybody else - well I think I would expect to be paid the same you know.'

(WIS: 1983; 3)

While this assessment of opportunities for women is undoubtedly over-optimistic, the underlying implication is that cultural constraints meant a limited sphere of operation. Marriage, homemaking and childcare were the available long-term options open to north-eastern women. In pre-war mining villages, opportunities for paid employment were negligible and marriage offered the only opportunity women had to have their own house

(see Beynon and Austrin: 1980 ; p. 34). While restricted employment opportunities are a cause of Mess's description of Durham as the 'most married county in England', on the basis of the 1921 Census (1928; p. 45), cultural constraints are paramount. Women were excluded by custom and practice from employment in the iron and steel, engineering and shipbuilding and by statute from mining. Even where a woman established herself as a wage-earner in one of these industries, cultural pressure operated to restore her to her pre-defined place:

'Oh I was bitter. I was very bitter. But I never held it against him - it was my own choice you know. That made it worse. I wasn't trapped or anything, I trapped myself. But it was too late when I realized exactly what I had ... You see I never discussed it with anybody ... Anyway I trapped myself, but if I chatted with anybody ... but you see I couldn't chat with my mother because ... "He's a nice fella - It's the best thing you can do. There's no need to be on your own for the rest of your life" ... So the only one I ever discussed it with was my mam, and she says "Oh well, just because George is dead there's no need to stay the rest of your life on your own - you're only young." And somehow or other ...'

(WIS: 1983; 7)

'Somehow or other', the independence achieved by this woman after her first husband's death was lost. Not through the act of marriage itself but the expectations placed on women in consequence:

'I think I would have gone out myself (to take up paid employment) but my husband like his home comforts, he wanted me there when he came in from work. Because when the bairns grew up (by then I had two) and when I think they were 11 or 12 year old I had got a part-time job. But it meant I wasn't in for him coming in for his tea and he didn't like that. He wanted me to sort of have his tea ready and see that the bairns were well looked after. They were anyway you know, I wouldn't leave them running the streets. But he liked his home comforts and he used to say "Oh you stop at home and I'll go out to work."'

(WIS: 1983: 3)

Neither informant described their respective husbands as anything other than a 'good man' or 'good father' - i.e. neither was given to drunkenness or violence. They simply expected service from their wives according to the normative prescription for marriage. For this prescription insisted that men worked for money and women located themselves in the home as wives and mothers.

Roberts describes the context of women's roles as follows:

"Women's dual role as family financial manager and moral guide cannot be underestimated. She acted within tight financial and social constraints. However good her managerial abilities, she was necessarily restricted by the family's income; she was further restricted in her choice of action by the moves of her family, her kinship group, and her neighbourhood. She was, of course, limited by her actual physical environment, her home; finally, she would generally be hampered by frequent and prolonged childbearing."

(1984; p. 125)

On the other hand, female informants rarely adopt a conceptual definition of this kind, making self-assessments through a narrative medium. The structure which defines and constrains is rarely addressed. It is the acts which are described and behind them lie the moral text which unspokenly validates them. Thus the ingenuity and inventiveness which women displayed in fulfilling their role is described in terms of what was done:

'Three uncles. I had three lodgers with me. I had him and my boy. I used to start on a Thursday morning, I used to bake eight loaves of white bread, four loaves of brown, a dozen tea cakes, spice and rice. I used to do a big lump of ham, pease pudding. You have no idea what I used to make. I stood there from first thing on a Thursday morning 'till 12.0'clock on a Thursday night baking.'

(EDC: 1976; 15)

For another informant, it was the statement 'we had a dinner every day' which is critical (Jarrow: JMT: 1981; 6). In this case meal provision in the 1930s during the time of hardship (her husband was unemployed for nine years) became a symbol of personal worth. Personal worth whose features are defined by the space in which she operated. A 'dinner', was defined as 'a proper meal':

'Effectively a proper meal is a cooked dinner. This is the one which women feel is necessary to their family's health, welfare and, indeed, happiness. It is a meal to come home to, a meal which should figure two, three or four times in the week, especially on Sundays.'

(Murcott 1984; p. 80)

Providing proper meals in the 1930s was for this informant the badge for her own integrity - a representation of its long term maintenance that was validated by her family of five children:

'(we) often talk about it now. They often sit and talk the lot of them. How they used to like their dinners' y'know. We used to all sit round the table together. Happy days. They were happy days. We were quite happy.'

(JMT: 1981; 6)

When testimony is 'unpacked', elements identifying the conceptual reinforcements of meaning can be discerned. Ingenuity and integrity are discerned here. And hard work forms an essential component in this matrix:

'Used to bake every Thursday my mother. Used to bake. Course you had to bake everything, bread, tea-cakes, everything. Yes, had work as well. Mothers had poss tubs then. There was no washers. Poss tubs. Great big old wringers. Oh they worked hard people. Very hard.'

(MHP: 1984; 238)

The physical demands placed on women in pursuit of their role fulfillment were matched by emotional demands made upon them at the centre of the family's attention . It was emphasized by the mother's necessity to be continually present in the home as a role requirement. Breaks, relief from this situation were rare. One informant described how she and her neighbour both found relief through working in Clelland's shipyard during the Second world war:

'I never missed nothing. I kept them clean and looked after their bellies. See that they were fed. I mean in those days it was all home made bread ... I did all that - washing and everything. I've seen me go to bed at one o'clock in the morning - dead beat ... I didn't like coming home to all those jobs you know, but I liked the shipyard - I loved the work there. We used to go out in the morning. She used to shut her front door and I used to shut mine. And we used to both say 'Thank God we're leaving our troubles behind' ... We forgot about our troubles and worries.'

(WIS: 1984; 11)

In the end in the assessment of their lives women fall back on making a virtue of necessity. As described earlier women entered marriage and the role of housewife/mother not through choice but as a consequence of socio-cultural constraints which map out a narrow path for their careers. What is significant in this self-assessment is that women evaluate the operation of their lives by stressing the 'hard work' involved in fulfilling their role expectations - thus making meaning on the same premise as utilized to assess the worth of capitalists and paid workers.

We saw earlier (Ch. 3 above) how the concept of 'hard work' (plus ingenuity and integrity) is used to assess positively capitalists such as Palmer, Armstrong and Leslie etc. who were held to have 'made the north'.

Similarly we considered evidence which showed that men in paid employment utilized an ideology of 'hard work' in validating their own lives. We pointed out that men operated in circumstances relating to employment which were marked by a lack of choice - e.g. in the case of mining villages it was anticipated that sons would follow fathers into the pit. Now it has been shown that women's work is marked by lack of choice and is assessed by informants in a similar manner.

What distinguishes these three categories is the political expression which they have achieved. In the case of the capitalist/entrepreneurs their activities have a paramount status in English society. As exemplars of the capitalist system they and their like are repeatedly eulogized for their supposed capacity to create wealth.

Male employment (and it is men who constitute the larger part of this second category) finds its political expression through the medium of the labour movement. This movement, made by men to pursue the interests of men, stresses the themes of self-assessment clearly in its representations of the virtues of such activities.

The work of women in the private sphere has no equivalent political status in the political expressions of either the left or the right. The almost universal neglect of the issue of women's work as a political concern is typified by the attitude of the Jarrow Council to the question of women's involvement in the march. Of the twenty-eight council members (councillors and aldermen), all but four were men. Of the four women councillors three argued for the inclusion of women as marchers. Their reason was simple:

'We hear a lot about the hardships for men but it is the women of the distress areas that have the brunt to bear. Nothing is possible without the women and I ask that they be allowed to go with the marchers'

(Shields Gazette: 21/7/36)

As argued earlier, the case for women's representation was a valid one. They, in their sphere of activity, could claim to have operated as agents in the making of their own lives - and the lives of those dependent on them - and could claim that on a town march in a town where they constituted 52% of the population, they were entitled to political representation in their own right. Their exclusion was a consequence of the fact that the political expression which the march represented was founded almost entirely on the requirements of men in the public sphere. The march was undertaken to protest at the lack of employment for men. This political perspective could only incorporate women as economic dependents of men - i.e. conceptualizing men as breadwinners and women as homemakers.

This is then the failure of a political philosophy to incorporate women as 'full' members. This would require merging the culturally defined public and private concerns. That separation based on gender and subsequent role allocation is, in the north-east (as elsewhere, c.f. Roberts: 1984), held to be essential to the smooth operation of the community.

Allocation to the private realm means that the symbolic space available to women is heavily restricted. The role requirement of 'being there' - i.e. continuously in the home - is one such restrictive practice, inhibiting women's participation in public 'cultural' activities. What the allocation of responsibility for the 'well-being' of others means also is that a woman's integrity as housewife/mother is frequently open to challenge - more so than workers in paid employment. While employment in the public sphere offers the chance to subvert rules and restrictions

the option is not available to women who are defined by private, personal relationships. A worker may steal time (and hence money) from an employer. A woman who steals time (i.e. by not being there) is open to public censure. Women who 'steal' money by falling into debt can expect public disapproval:

'There was one dame ... she was the biggest crook under the sun. She had a rent book made out for the PAC (Public Assistance Commission) ... marked clear, and one (book) for her own rent - the legal one. And one week she gave the wrong - she gave the clear book to the landlord and he kept it in evidence.'

(JMT: 1982; 4)

What is clear in this instance is that the woman who 'fiddled' the rent book was guilty of a morally reprehensible act. Though her actions occurred within the context of poverty-stricken Jarrow in the 1930s, the woman described was a 'crook' to another woman. In the male public world similar subversion of the prevailing code in relation to an employer was acceptable.

This alternative analysis of community which has focussed primarily on the role of women and how they operate within their allotted space has been undertaken to demonstrate that the 'organic' community depends very heavily on cultural constraints which identify roles for men and women. Women's work is considered the touchstone for the beneficial influence of community. Particularly this analysis was keen to demonstrate that functionalist explanations of the community pattern, (i.e. defined by 'available' employment) are inadequate to explain community structure. Women and men are allocated roles and space in accordance with ideological precepts not economic determinism. The relationships described here are a manifestation not of regional circumstance but of prevailing national ideology.

This instrumental definition then opens the way for defining the distinctive roles carried out by men and women on the basis of a culture: nature opposition. Williamson in his account of the Northumberland mining village, Throckley, states that without women this community (and others) would have been no more than 'labour camps' (1982; p.118). While superficially this is intended to re-assess women's historical role and to re-evaluate women's work it can be construed as re-affirming a woman's place. The basic assumption implied here is that the only way a mining village can be satisfactorily organized is in the manner he described. The pattern is familiar - a community based on family units, divided on gender line where men function as breadwinners and women as housekeepers. It presumes the inherent incapacity of men to provision themselves and implies that the ascribed role for women is apt and proper'.

Because Williamson identifies women as essential to the community in terms of their activities in the private sphere, he does no more than reinforce the typical representations which were outlined in the previous section. Women's activities became the badge of community. Their subordination, however praised, however celebrated becomes an essential part of that community structure. We revert, in this work, to the simplistic assertion "man = culture" "woman = nature" which bedevils sociological analysis. As we observed earlier in examining the descriptions of Ashton and Huddersfield, the authors concentrated on men as the makers of culture. What is made, the authors imply is made by men. Women are seen as doing nothing more than fulfilling the ascribed role of housewife and mother as nature (defined by men?) intended.

We recognize here the artificial nature of the public/private separation. The allocation of gender roles each centred on one or other of the spheres and their allocation of some degree of symbolic space to the role occupants, is a product of a particular form of socio-cultural construct. Imray and Middleton rightly criticize Rosaldo (1974) in accounting for the gender boundary in terms of the domestic orientations of women and the public orientations of men. Rosaldo argues that there is an 'assumed split between women as natural; reproductive beings and men as cultural, economic, political beings'. (Imray and Middleton: 1983; p. 13). It is women's concern with reproduction and child-rearing which provides the instrumental base for defining the domestic sphere (ibid.). The remainder of what constitutes the domestic/private sphere is then considered as consequential to this basic activity:

'Women become absorbed primarily in domestic activities because of their role as mothers. Their economic and political activities are constrained by the responsibilities of child care, and the focus of their emotions and attentions is particularistic and directed towards the children and the home.'

(Rosaldo: 1974; p. 26)

More precisely Rosaldo could argue that the public/private separation operates to prevent a due recognition of the concerns of the private in the public sphere. Typically the public sphere makes no provision for those services and duties which are allocated to the private sphere. In the situation of emergency which was the hallmark of the Second world war the merging of the public and private was undertaken.

'The disruption of war ... (exposed) the conceptual and material frailty of the boundaries between the masculine public domain of war and work and the feminine private domain of home and family. The family unit was atomized by conscription, women's war work, child-care provision outside the home and evaluating a situation accentuated by bomb damage to housing stock. Further, following the Blitz in 1940, the provision of communal feeding in Local Authority British Restaurants and in industrial canteens and by the expansion of the school meals service encroached upon, drawing into the public domain that function par excellence - wifely service in the provision of meals - which underpinned the ideology, indeed spirituality of the family and the power relative within it.'

(Allatt; 1983; p. 48)

Here those issues - child-care, cooking, maternal presence - which are the hallmarks of the private sphere were drawn into the public sphere. The primary purpose was to release women as workers for the industrial labour force in order that the conflict be resolved favourably. Their private functions were taken over as a matter of public concern, what this demonstrates is that the determination of public and private changes over time and can be radically altered according to the requirements of specific situations.

What is also clear is that the entry of women into north-eastern shipyards during the second world war had a positive and beneficial impact, the private operating here to the benefit of the public. The shipbuilding industry can be taken as an exemplification of the harshness of the male public world of work:

'In part it's a struggle against nature - rain, snow, frost and even sun. But it's also about risks, working in confinement - in double bottoms, in tanks, in the bulbous bow. Working up a height on staging that creaks with the weight of a man walking along it. Working in polluted air - inhaling the fumes of welding rods, oxy-acetylene burners or the dust of caulking tools.'

(Ennis: 1984; p. 2)

Welfare facilities in pre-Second World War days were scarce:

'Personnel managers, and even welfare supervisors, were almost unknown in the shipyards between the wars. When the introduction of personnel managers in shipyards was first discussed in 1942, only one or two shipbuilding firms had personnel managers. One reason for this was no doubt that the industry employed very few women. Moreover during the slump there had been no money to spend on what might be regarded as a luxury; for when labour could be so easily hired and fired, one incentive to managing it carefully was lacking.'

(Inman: 1957; pp. 264-5)

The establishment of welfare facilities and personnel managers were the consequence of Ministry of Labour and National Service directives.

In initiating such improvements the state accepted that women (coming from the private sphere) required a better environment for working than their male colleagues had previously enjoyed. In labour management the contrast was significant between the pre-war experiences of men and the wartime situation of women. A man apprenticed in the early '30s in a Tyneside shiprepair yard describes the behaviour and attitudes of a foreman to the workmen he supervised:

'There was a foreman shipwright. He was a mean bugger. He used to have a pocketful of pebbles. When he was going round the dock or on board ship and he wanted to talk to somebody, he took out a pebble and threw it at the man. He was a good shot. He never missed. He expected the man to stop what he was doing and come over straight away.'

(JMT: 1982; 5)

I have discussed the attitudes prevailing in the shipbuilding labour market elsewhere (see Ennis: 1982; pp.45-7). They are characterized by a determination on the part of supervisors such as foremen and chargehands to impose their own authority over their workmen. Docility and deference from the workforce were key requirements. Ultimately as this extract demonstrates, a worker's display of such characteristics did not guarantee a civil response from supervisors.

By contrast women who worked in the wartime industry observe that their relations with male workers and supervisors were marked to a great extent by a cordiality and civility.

'The men were great. Behaved like real gentlemen. Always courteous. They made us feel like ladies. That's what we were shipyard ladies. Never heard one swear.'

(WIS: 1983; 4)

The fact that men refrained from swearing in the presence of women was taken by women as a recognition of their femininity. Although Cockburn (1983 ; p. 134) has argued that this constraint represents a symbolic warning to women not to transgress into the male world and in the extract cited earlier (see p. 254) it is taken as such, it is feasible to argue that it is representative of a different pattern of behaviour within the 'public' context. Such restraint, taken with the introduction of welfare facilities and the improvement in personnel management, can be viewed as representing the incorporation into the culturally-defined public sphere of norms whose typical frame of reference is deemed to be the private sphere. That the mores of the shipbuilding industry should be re-organized (even temporarily and partially) to accommodate norms whose meanings were vested in the female cultural form is indicative of the potency of the so-called private. What might be regretted is that the informing quality of these elements of the private did not operate in the brasher public sphere were comprehensively and were enduringly.

Comparable to this wartime emergency in which the public and private were merged is the miners' strike of 1984/5. In this dispute the role of women as providers of food communally, as activists on picket lines (including all-female picket lines) was a topic of constant

discussion and debate. Clearly there are major differences with the re-alignment in the second world war - the primary one being that in 1984/5, the state did not act to transfer women from their customary private role to a public role. The miners' strike was an action taken against the state. It was left, therefore, to the mining communities themselves to re-organize their traditional patterns in order to sustain the dispute.

What links both emergencies is the attention given to the activities of women and the implications of their 'changed' roles. The attention can be considered less as a celebration of their realized potential economically (in the second world war) or politically (in the miners' strike) than as an indication of the previous low status attached to their 'normal' role e.g.:

'... women's confinement to small spaces within coal communities before the strike has been the measure of miners' conservatism ...'

(Campbell: 1986)

The detailing of the spaces acquired by women during the strike, is itself a recognition of the subordination which women experienced within mining communities. Their apparent return to the kitchen sink (ibid.) invites questions as to the ideological and political purposes of the strike. While as we have seen earlier (See p.230 above) the strikers were condemned for their disruptive actions, the concepts governing the strike were centrally located:

'... the central demand of the union was for the preservation of the status quo ... The towns and villages of the coalfields stand, historically, as places of immense political and cultural stability. In these places matters of power, authority and organizations have become patterned with the texture of daily life, often to be understood as custom.'

(Beynon: 1985; p. 403)

The status quo in this case was the maintenance of the industrial community based on mining - and the socio-cultural forms which constitute 'power, authority and organization depend' upon a separation of public and private, distinctive roles for male and female. While the strike may have meant a change for some women in their lives, and some men married to these women (see Campbell: 1986) it did not entail, in the short-term at least, a re-ordering of these customary patterns in the community as a whole. The maintenance of 'natural order' within the community was the strike's foremost purpose. In struggle (and ultimately defeat), those values and beliefs which support that order apparently continue unchanged. These are 'traditional' values, as Dennis Murphy, Northumberland NUM President commented:

'The sweetest thing about the dispute is the way families have turned the clock to the thirties when things were really hard. They've helped each other ... People that you thought previously wouldn't have shown an iota of kindness have turned round and been very kind.'

(Sunday Sun: 16/12/84)

What Murphy sentimentalizes is a community whose structure is based upon a separation between male and female, between public and private between culture and nature as described above. These 'good old values' as Campbell writes 'rested on the many labours of women whose economic, social, sexual, cultural and political interests are yet to be given any political primacy by any political party.' (1984; p. 225).

Conclusion: All that remains of England

'A part of Britain so beautiful, so kindly, so
gentle that it seems to contain within itself
all that is now left of England.'

(James) B.: 1967; fly-leaf)

Five years ago when I was formulating the proposal for this research, friends and colleagues welcomed it, though most were not explicit in explaining why. One friend in her appraisal suggested that there would be an opportunity to explore the concept of north-easternness as an ethnic identity. This perspective presumes the existence of a north-eastern particularity and suggests that it is amenable to analysis through ethnographic research. What would be produced and generated following this line would be the detailing, the description of the cultural metaphors which informed everyday life and behaviour in the north-east. This explicitly identified perspective now appears to have been the one which informed other people who encouraged me in this project. All seemed to accept that there was a north-eastern cultural identity which was substantial in form and content, sufficient at least to be identified as ethnic.

What I learn from this is that not only friends but 'trained' social scientists are not immune to the power of subjectively defined concepts. As Townsend and Taylor have shown, the sense of belonging to the region, the sense of the region's particularity is widely shared amongst the north-easterners. That particularity is founded on an awareness of the region's economical peripherality throughout the twentieth-century. This suggests, in fact, that this awareness is a product not of nineteenth-century development but of the later decline. The periphery's validation of itself only becomes necessary when awareness of its inferiority with regard to the centre emerges.

Given this strong sense of difference and uniqueness which has been in the making since the end of world war one, it is not surprising that it is accepted de facto as a valid expression of cultural identity. There

are within sociological and historical works, perspectives which would reinforce the idea of regional distinctiveness. Thompson's study - 'The Making of the English Working Class' - derived from a marxist analysis which presumes distinctiveness is one classic example. Studies of community by Jackson, Hoggart and Dennis et al. operate from this viewpoint.

What is important is that such studies which 'let the people speak' represent a conjunction between two analytical strands - one identified as 'subjective', the other as 'objective' - which push towards the idea that people either individually or collectively make meanings which are unique and particular - whether on the basis of locality, region or class. The sociological framework meshes with the subjectively-defined ideas detailing sense of place - a sense both spatial and social.

In north-eastern terms, the subjective definitions are given resonance by geographical and historical factors whose credibility reinforces the sociological starting-point for evaluating distinction. Newcastle is the most distant urban centre from London; the north-east is marked by a homogeneous industrial configuration (erected in the nineteenth-century, dismantled in the twentieth); there is a shared experience of economic decline and deprivation; there is a common political expression (i.e. the labour movement and the Labour Party) which links the settlements in the region; north-eastern people exist within a social structure which historically has been common throughout the region - one identified as 'the traditional working class'; in the towns and villages we find common cultural forms - e.g. working-men's clubs, leek shows, whippet and pigeon racing etc. - which suggest a cultural sameness through which north-eastern people define their lives.

What this invited, some five years ago, was that these elements should be strung together in a manner which would produce a definitive analysis of north-eastern identity. The region's historic experience would be shown to have generated particular socio-cultural relationships which were grounded in particularity. There is considerable academic thought which can be manoeuvred to support such a perspective - even when the wider historical forces such as capitalism and nationalism (i.e. forces which have the capacity to subsume region) are considered. Massey, for example, argues against the idea that capitalism is global and monolithic suggesting instead that its manifestations are determined locally which allows an area to be comprehended in terms of the historical layers which have 'sedimented' as a consequence of this local determination (1984; p. 120).

'North-easternness' could be ethnographically defined by analyzing institutions such as trade unions, cooperatives, community, family etc. The product would have been one which focussed on the elements which generated stability in the region. A stability which we know to exist at the collective level. As the introduction showed, in the 1981 riots, the north-east was the only traditional industrial centre in England not to engage in civil disturbance. At the phenomenological level we could identify a population who by their collective experience of deprivation and economic hardship had been able to eschew riot, preferring instead to celebrate the virtue inherent in their capacity for enduring.

This presentation has not been the style of this thesis - though a selective reading of the data examined would show that it was a possible one. The evidence for a north-eastern monograph is there for all to see.

The daily repetition, the acts which reproduce the prevailing social relations - the measurements of cultural stability can all be extracted from the material and a convincing, well-articulated case made to explain the region's long-term stability. The region's peripheral status, its industrial heritage, its evocation of close, tight-knit communities would have interlocked to become a socio-cultural structure which could be defined as particular. To do this would have required no more than the merging of subjective rationalizations and sociological concepts. A step back was taken in this research - a step which involved examining the roots of meaning, the ideological elements which inform people's actions and behaviour. Rather than explore in situ, an examination was made of the various interpretations offered for the experiences of the north-eastern traditional working-class. It was not the discovery of hidden meaning that was the object of this research, rather the locating of meaning offered by informants, by the local press and by sociologists, historians etc. in their evaluation of history.

Despite the fact that informants' evidence and newspaper data were both focussed on local and spatially immediate concerns, the examination of evidence (with sociological and historical writings utilized to 'uncover' perspectives embedded in the conceptual frameworks used for evaluation) showed that the ideological elements were not marked by localness or immediacy. Thus the examination of regional pride revealed that it was the region's involvement in the nineteenth-century British industrial success story which was the locus of pride. That perhaps is understandable given that the region's industrial configuration was based on industries central to that success. Nor was it surprising that the local press, with

its conservative bias, was eager to applaud such regional successes. The incorporation of the labour movement, which had emerged as an oppositional force within this system, was more surprising given its long-term political domination of the region. That failure to develop the potential of those alternative interpretations which Ellen Wilkinson and others had initiated is both cause and effect of this incorporation: effect because their succession to power in local authorities meant the assumption of responsibilities which were defined by the prevailing system and hence not quickly transformed; cause because there was an acceptance that the system as it existed had merit. After all, the Jarrow unemployed did not ask for ownership of the means of production in their town, merely the restitution of the status quo ante or the installation of a new version organized on the same lines. The values that workers - those in paid employment - set upon their life work, reflected participation in and acceptance of much capitalist ideology. Hard work - worn so often as a badge of merit by informants - is a concept whose suitability to the needs and purposes of capital is clear: to make profits, to increase profits, the capitalist requires productive workers whose capacity to labour can be infinitely extended. Hard work for these informants was measured by them and utilized to evaluate their own status with regard to other workers. For the profit-maker hard work is measured in terms of productivity per unit - i.e. worker. While interpretations of north-eastern workers' experience within the capitalist system which lay stress on its exploitative character are found in the north-east, they co-exist with these interpretations which accept the capitalist ideology and make its fulfillment virtuous.

With regard to the imperial ethos, a north-eastern particularity cannot be discerned. There was little resistance to conscription in the

first world war conscientious objection often being taken as the indicator of individual and collective resistance to the prevailing system. Alternative perceptions were centred upon assertions made by labour historians such as Pelling and Price that the working-class were largely indifferent to the values and beliefs clustered around imperialism and militarism. What the north-eastern evidence shows is that involvement in militarism and hence the imperial system was a part of everyday life. The army's everyday presence in the region was maintained by two territorial regiments (the Durham Light Infantry and the 5th Northumberland Foot) who recruited in the region. While Pelling and Price argue that enlistment to the army in peacetime was the consequence of an economic imperative - i.e. unemployment - the War Office's own evidence suggested that it was the public's attitude to the army which was critical. This is given support by the manner in which informants describe their own or relatives' enlistment - that being an act undertaken as a viable unemployment option surrounded by values and beliefs which are expressive in content and supportive of military and ultimately, imperialist ethics. The local press help provide a framework for this evaluation of the military past by 'heroizing' regional military 'successes' measured in terms of local people 'winning' medals and by providing all of the armed services with positive publicity.

What characterizes representations made to describe the north-east's relationship with the industrial and the imperial systems is that the region's participation is made in terms of its contribution to these systems. North-easterners - indigenous or otherwise - are presented as exemplars of these systems. And that exemplification is not merely a representation made by the local press. It matches informants representations as to their own worth. Thus there is little reason to believe that the ideological elements which are articulated on behalf of the British

industrial-imperial system did not find a north-eastern resonance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

These ideological structures can be identified as emanating from outside the region (whatever their local specifications). When the concept of community was examined, we looked at an ideological element which is prized primarily because it is often taken as the key indication of regional particularity. Friendliness, neighbourliness and sociability are often considered as north-eastern prerogatives. They are made manifest in a context which is masked by a tension between unfriendly, unwelcoming metropolis and warm, intimate province. That warmth and intimacy is held to be founded on close-knit, tight communities, which in the north-east are typified by the industrial community - e.g. pit village, railway town etc. These communities provide an ethnographic landscape which is structured by social interaction considered to be generated within an industrial context. The industrial framework thus constitutes a boundary which is determining of the values and beliefs of the individuals which inhabit it. While such communities are exemplified as the essence of north-easterness what was shown was that the ideology which informed them was not localized either as the product of a particular industry nor with regard to their internal structure. In fact the ideology upon which notions of organic community are founded have a general currency within English culture as a whole, though these concepts were initially developed with reference to rural/agrarian contexts.

As the work of Priestley, Leavis and Thompson (D) demonstrated, it is the rural idyll which is considered the correct and proper context for community. That evaluation of the beneficence of the countryside was shown to have a legitimacy for north-eastern informants, though even

their industrial and urban contexts were valued because they were community. Through the work of Hoggart, Jackson (B) and Seabrook it was shown how the community idylls had been translated into urban and industrial locations - without abandoning an English preference for the rural.

This celebration of organic community was held to manufacture whole individuals through its capacity to maintain order, the everyday presence of this concept being realized through the symbolic structure of the local press, community as order was not, it was shown, dependent on the essentialistic outpourings of these cultural formations but on a separation of roles and functions between female and male.

What was argued was that the family was not the atom of community.

Instead community was defined upon the segregation of male and female - a separation into two groups whose members were allocated sectors of operation - the culturally defined public and private respectively.

This dichotomy, held to be fundamental to the organization of community, was enforced by an opposition between culture and nature. It was the capacity to make culture - a public affair - which gave legitimacy to male superordination. It is the artificiality of culture, the fact that it is man-made and open to public appraisal which makes male activities whether in employment, trade unions, working-men's clubs etc. important. Thus when writers' such as Jackson come to re-appraise working-class experience they focus on what is manufactured by men - industrial products, cultural artefacts etc. Women's work is defined as belonging to the realm of nature. Hence they are deemed to be appropriate persons to superintend the raising of children, the maintenance of homes, the provision of food.

These are not defined 'cultural' acts in the sense that male acts are, rather they are considered as stemming from a generic female nature. Not that female informants themselves showed such considerations, being well aware that their capacity to perform these acts was a consequence of training and education; typically received from their mother in the culturally-defined private sphere rather than from the public world.

Thus rather than community being a specifically north-eastern formation we detect the intrusion of extra-regional ideologies. In the case of organic community, English cultural forms were pre-eminent in establishing the assessments made with regard to them. The internal structure of community which was shown to operate along the lines of a sexual division of labour was seen as coming from a gender ideology not specific to the region. In addition we might note that the alignment of private and natural in defining the female role means that there is an absence of a regional female stereotype. In the north-east the regional stereotype is 'personified' by the Andy Capp image. A cartoon character, he acquires cultural specificity by being attributed with regional traits - e.g. wearing a cloth cap, smoking, drinking beer, football-playing, dressed in a black suit (pitman style), wearing workman's boots, racing pigeons etc. There is no comparable specificity for the wife - Flo. Admittedly she wears pinnies, aprons and a headscarf but the involvement in the stereotype is as the long suffering wife who shows herself (occasionally) to be devious with regards to money and suspicious with regard to her husband's drinking and sexual activities (always hinted at, never realized). There is a universality about this female characterization which the male characterization lacks. It is Andy Capp, sometimes Andy and Flo, who are identified as north-eastern stereotypes, never Flo alone. This lack of potency for the female characterization stems from the culture: nature

opposition discussed earlier. What Andy Capp does is located in the public cultural sphere. His activities may have some degree of regional specificity. For Flo her location is in the private, natural sphere - an arena lacking in regional specificity. As keeper of the home, the domestic servant her north-eastern role can be easily matched by roles adopted by women throughout the country. While the public: private, culture: nature oppositions are culturally (and hence artificially) defined, a woman's place is held to a consequence of their nature and thus not available to celebration as a regional artefact.

Earlier (Ch. 2 above), a division was established between elements pertaining to system and social integration. The utility of this division was that it allowed separate considerations of ideological elements which were deemed to be external to the region (i.e. the industrial and imperial systems) and those deemed internal to the region (i.e. the concept of community). What this summary has made clear is that this division is an artificial one. Though we must accept that the epicentre for the system and the social elements is different, the ideologies which inform are not distinguished by a separation between local and non-local. In fact, their source is preponderantly external - the English cultural system rather than the north-eastern.

The operation of these ideological elements can be further understood by returning to the concept of the 'imagined' community. It was established above that the local press, Beamish Museum etc. in defining north-easterness addressed a community in which the majority of its members were not known to each other. What these agents attempted to do was to provide a set of meanings which were accessible to all members and which could be used in

reinforcing the imaginary quality of the community. What we have shown is that north-eastern people inhabit not one but two imaginary communities. The second is the imagined community of England. They are, unlike the Scots and the Welsh, members of both. The 'imagined' England possesses a greater potency in creating attachment to its ideals and virtues - simply as a reflection of the fact that the region has been historically involved in many of its transformations and changes. Englishness pervades north-easterners as we have seen in its assessments of the industrial and imperial pasts, in its assessments of community.

We return here to the Gramscian concept of ideological terrain - in which the articulation of hegemonic ideals is constructed. What this research has shown is that as far as north-eastern particularity is concerned, the superordinate values and beliefs of the hegemony have been able to incorporate the region's experiences into the ideology of the imagined, national community. There are, as we have seen, the possibilities for an alternative articulation of the ideological elements examined in this thesis. Yet overall, it appears that the articulation which is the ideological articulation of the English state dominates.

I do not mean here to offer an alternative ethnography to the one briefly described earlier - one founded on an English ethnicity as opposed to a north-eastern one. What I propose is concurrent with the Geertzian concept of interpretative culture. What I have analyzed in this thesis are webs of significance which extend from the hegemonic cluster of English culture. Those webs are ideological elements available for use in the interpretation of reality and in investing it with meaning. There is always the possibility within the north-eastern working-class formation that these could be re-articulated in an alternative fashion.

What has also been demonstrated in this thesis is that in the making of a working-class, the boundaries of experience which are utilized in this process extend beyond the concerns associated with the capital-labour conflict. As Anderson (P) suggested in his critique of Thompson, I have included in this analysis elements derived from wider ideological structures such as the nation/state, the empire as well as reflecting upon the meanings attached to assessments of life-histories. In this I have adopted the position postulated by Bauman which requires that the self-evidence of the working-class be examined in order to determine its culture.

What we find is that within the north-eastern working-class we can uncover the hegemonic structure of the English state. One question remains - which England? In the introduction we noted how in 'perverse' fashion, the Evening Chronicle expressed relief at the absence of large scale coloured migration to the north-east, using this to explain the passivity expressed by the region during the 1981 riots. It is not post-war England, an England which has created the potential to develop into a multi-racial society, that is north-eastern England.

It is an older, earlier England - one based on the industrial/imperial expansion of the nineteenth-century which created this region as a core and provided the crucible for its cultural formations. It is a mono-racial England - that home of the traditional nineteenth-century working class that remains in the north-east. Marx and Engels only described a partial truth. All that is solid, the traditional industries, the traditional communities may have melted or may be melting into air, but the fast frozen

relations remain as manifested by the interpretations that north-eastern people and the local press make in assessing past and present.

Appendix : Local Newspaper Data

Publication Centre	Newspaper	Year Founded	Ownership	Distribution Area	Circulation
Alnwick	Alnwick Advertiser (W)	1979	Tweeddale Press Group	Alnwick and District	16,632(1)
	Northumberland Gazette (W)	1854	Westminster Press Group	Alnwick, Amble, Morpeth, Ponteland, Rothbury, Berwick	12,511(2)
Barnard Castle	Teesdale Mercury (W)	1854	Independent	Barnard Castle, Darlington, South West Durham, Teesdale, Richmond	6,000
Berwick	Berwick and Berwickshire Advertiser (W)	1853	Tweeddale Press Group	Berwick and Borders	16,632(1)
Bishop Auckland (3)	Auckland Chronicle (W)	1857	Westminster Press Group	South West Durham	5,616
Chester-le-Street(3)	Durham Chronicle (W)	1820	Westminster Press Group	North-east Durham	3,600
Consett (3)	Consett Guardian - Chronicle (W)	1894	Westminster Press Group	North-west Durham	7,672
Darlington	Darlington and Stockton Times (W)	1847	Westminster Press Group	Co. Durham, Cleveland, North Yorkshire	34,162
	Evening Despatch (D)	1914	Westminster Press Group	Darlington, South Durham, North Yorkshire	16,700
	Northern Echo (D)	1870	Westminster Press Group	York to Tyneside	92,014
Durham (3)	Durham Advertiser	1814	Westminster Press Group	Durham City	14,100
Gateshead	Gateshead Post (W)	1946	Independent	Gateshead and district	18,207

Hartlepool	The Mail (D)	1877	Portsmouth and Sunderland Newspapers	Hartlepool and S. Durham Cleveland	30,603
Hexham	Hexham Courant (W)	1864	Cumbria Newspapers Group	South and West Northumberland	17,673
Middlesbrough	Evening Gazette (D)	1940	Thompson Regional Newspapers	Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, Lanbaugh, S. Durham, N. Yorks	81,535
Morpeth	Morpeth Gazette (W) Morpeth Herald (W)	1855	Westminster Press Gp. Tweeddale Press Group	Morpeth and Alnwick Morpeth, Blyth, Ashington, Bedlington	12,511(2) 16,632(1)
Newcastle	Evening Chronicle (D)	1885	Thompson Regional Newspapers	Tyne/Wear, Northumberland, Co. Durham	158,302
	The Journal (D)	1832	Thompson Regional Newspapers	Northumberland, Scottish Borders, Tyne/Wear, Co. Durham, Cumbria, Cleveland	72,235
	Sunday Sun (W)	1919	Thompson Regional Newspapers	N.E., Cumbria, Scottish Borders, N. Yorks	123,739
North Shields	Shields Weekly News (W)	1959	Westminster Press Group	North Shields and Tyneside	13,803(4)
South Shields	Shields Gazette (D)	1849	Westminster Press Group	South Tyneside Metropolitan District	29,154
Stanley (3)	Stanley News (W)	1912	Westminster Press Group	Northwest Durham, Pelton, Leadgate, Dipton, Annfield Plain, Lanchester, Burnhope	8,131
Sunderland	Sunderland Echo (D)	1873	Sunderland and Portsmouth Newspapers	Sunderland, Houghton, Boldon, Seaham Peterlee, Washington	71,426

Wallsend	Wallsend Weekly News (W)	1959	Westminster Press Group	Wallsend	13,803(4)
Whitley Bay	Whitley Bay Guardian and Seaside Chronicle (W)	Not available	Westminster Press Group	Whitley Bay, Monkseaton, Cullercoats, Tynemouth, Seaton Valley	11,644

Data Sources: Willing's Press Guide (1984) and Benn's Press Directory (1985)
Circulation figures are for 1983

(1), (2) and (4) indicate combined circulation figures only for newspapers so referenced.

(3) All of these newspapers form part of the Durham Advertiser Series which is printed in Darlington. Each newspaper contains a high degree of local specificity and hence for present purposes can be counted as a 'local' newspaper.

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ADDENDUM

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