

The Weekend:
Time, Space and Everyday Life in Manchester and
Salford

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Saturday Afternoon, Moss Side, Manchester
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Dedicated to my daughters, Sophie and Martha,
and in memory of my Mum, Joan Griffiths (1930-1995)

Abstract

The central issue is an analysis of the social construction and significance of the weekend. This is examined in the contexts of both historical and contemporary Manchester and Salford. The analysis uses theories of spatiality and temporality within everyday life, examining the extent to which the weekend can be considered both different to, and part of, everyday life. It considers whether the weekend can still (or could ever) be considered a more autonomous 'time space' or if 'flexible' working patterns will undermine it. In that these micro processes of everyday life are where the macro economic policies are enacted, this study has wider political implications.

Two main methods are employed. Primary and secondary historical source material is used to understand aspects of both the development of the weekend and the way in which it has been practised in Manchester and Salford. The contemporary weekend is addressed through two pieces of fieldwork; one with people holding allotments in south Manchester and the other with supermarket workers in Salford. These consist of interviews with individuals which were recorded, transcribed and manually coded to develop themes.

The analysis indicates that the weekend remains an important and pervasive institution. However, for some social groups, notably those working in the retail sector, the weekend is being eroded. There is increasingly a divide between workers like these, who are expected to work at weekends, and those who have weekends 'off' as a matter of course. Key areas of the analysis include marking the boundary between the week and the weekend, what people do, who they see and where they go; in short, an assessment of how the everyday spatialities and temporalities of interviewees construct their weekends.

As well as contributing to our understanding of the hitherto relatively unexplored institution of the weekend itself, this thesis adds to our understanding of the temporal and spatial construction of our social world and the constraints under which this process operates.

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Part 1 – Introduction and the Lost Weekend

Chapter 1 – Introduction

It's Monday morning, and the first question we might ask is 'Had a good weekend, then?' Such is the strength of the weekend as an institution that its shadow hangs over Monday and then, with varying degrees, each day until Friday, when we might once again refer to it by saying, 'Have a good weekend'. But are we able to? These casual greetings pre-suppose that we don't go out to work on a Saturday and Sunday. What is it like to live in a world without weekends or rather a world where you are excluded from them? Are Tuesdays and Wednesdays as days off any substitute for Saturdays and Sundays? Do women enjoy weekends as much as men? What we enjoy (or don't) about the weekend and the implications of its possible demise are explored in this thesis.

Chapter 2 discusses three ideas of the 'Lost Weekend' – to drugs, in social theory, and the sense in which we shall explore it in this work, that of it being 'lost' as common days off. Chapter 3 reviews the literature on time and space to assess how they might help us to make some sense of the temporalities and spatialities of the weekend. Theories of everyday life are explored to see how the weekend may or may not be part of the quotidian. Chapter 4 interrogates the methods through which I might understand the weekend through empirical work. In Chapter 5, Manchester's position as the birthplace of industrialisation is discussed in relation to the Saturday Half-Holiday, initiated in Manchester, and the debate around its proposal. Chapter 6, through contextualising Potato Lane allotments and meeting with individuals who rent plots, will seek to assess the place of allotments in the context of the weekends of the allotment holders, and how they 'do' their weekends outside of the allotment. Chapter 7 will assess the weekend as lived by a group of supermarket workers. It will discuss the significance of their weekends for them and the implications for their weekends if they work on a Saturday and Sunday. Chapter 8 forms the analysis of the thesis which brings together material from all the chapters. It will make some conclusions based on empirical work and will suggest avenues of further research. The final chapter, Chapter 9, draws out further some key points and questions which emphasise the need to begin a debate about the demise of Saturdays and Sundays as common days off.

Chapter 2 - The Lost Weekend

2.1 Introduction

The weekend has a particular place in the popular imagination, as illustrated by the number of popular cultural forms that refer to it. The publicity for the film *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (Karel Reisz. UK. 1960), for example, reproduces some of the dialogue. Arthur Seaton (played by Albert Finney) says ‘All I want is a good time. The rest is propaganda.’¹ Arthur Seaton is a factory worker who longs for his weekend, ascribing to it the particular qualities associated with not being at work and enjoying himself. The weekend referred to in *Saturday Night...* is very much a product of Fordism, of an economic system based on mass production, of the 5+2 weekly cycle and of patriarchal hegemony. It was assumed that women would work until they were married and then take responsibility for the home and children, leaving men to ‘go out’ to work. Some authors, for example Harvey (1996), suggest that we are now in an era of post-fordism, when times for work and not-work are now not so delineated and the boundaries of the weekend are not so clear.

This chapter analyses the weekend as an institution and contextualises it within the history of the city. The 5+2 rhythm and the extent to which it has produced the differentiation between the weekdays and Saturday and Sunday is discussed as is the discrepancy between its cyclic inevitability and mythic qualities in the culture of the last two centuries, and yet near invisibility in social theory and empirical research.

Firstly, I will look at the religious days which have formed the precursor to the contemporary weekend. Then I will discuss how the contemporary weekend is constructed through particular media forms. This will illustrate some of the ways in which we might recognise some of the topography of the weekend. For some decades now, probably for more than half a century, weekend temporalities have been understood to some extent through the ‘flows’ of television and radio and the tenor of the weekend newspapers. Raymond Williams (1962: 35), for instance, reported that, ‘It is now an established feature of the Sunday Press that it gives more

¹ www.bfi_dvd_s_z.html

of its space to features of all kinds, and correspondingly less to news than the national morning papers.’

Next, I shall be addressing the question of ‘the lost weekend’. The first sense of this is of the weekend being ‘lost’ to memory due to intoxication through alcohol or other drugs, this ‘lost weekend’ being a common theme in everyday accounts of the weekend. The second is the question of the continued survival of the weekend in a post-Fordist, neo-liberal economic environment. In other words, have those who have to work on Saturday and Sunday lost the ‘difference’ and variety of time and space at the weekend?

The third sense of the weekend being lost is in an entirely different sphere, that of it being ‘lost’ in social theory. There is very little specific reference to ‘the weekend’ *per se*, unless we refer back to ‘Mass Observation’ work in the 1940s. However, there are two pieces of work that I would like to refer to, specifically, that of Witold Rybczynski’s (1991) ‘Waiting for the Weekend’, and Eviatar Zerubavel’s (1985) ‘The Seven Day Circle’. Rybczynski has written what he terms ‘an extended essay’, more generally about the history of leisure, but specifically focussing on the weekend, while Zerubavel writes more about the history of the week and the qualitative differences in days. I shall be exploring their ideas in more detail.

Next, I will briefly discuss the way in which ‘the weekend’ has been constructed both historically and in our contemporary social world through ‘space’ and ‘time’. I shall begin to assess the way in which they perhaps build the different sense of being in the world which may characterise the weekend. I will address the historical context of the weekend and analyse the way in which industrialisation, with its commodified sense of time and space, produced Saturday and Sunday as ‘days off’, engendering both a shared idea of recreation and creating new opportunities for capital in its commodification of the emerging urban popular culture. In the course of this discussion, I shall firmly situate the weekend in everyday life, trying to remedy Rita Felski’s observation that, ‘everyday life is rarely taken under the microscope and scrutinised as a concept’ (Felski, 2000: 15).

In the following section I shall interrogate the weekend as a kind of ‘other’ space, one where we might, briefly seek different ‘territories of self’ than we might employ during the week (Nippert-Eng, 1996). In order to understand the way in which the transition from one ‘state’ (week-ness) to another (weekend-ness) is effected, I will use the work of Victor Turner (1982, 1988) on liminality. Finally, once the ‘weekend head’ has been put on, Bakhtin’s work is utilised to analyse the possible vital and festive qualities of the weekend.

Finally, and briefly, since this will be analysed in more detail in a later chapter, the question of Manchester, Salford and the weekend will be addressed. As the world’s first industrial city, was it the first to produce the weekend? How has the weekend been produced historically in these cities and how might we uncover the weekends of those who have to work in our increasingly temporally deregulated workplaces?

2.2 Some Origins, Forms and Experiences of the Weekend

The weekend is generally assumed to be Friday night, Saturday and Sunday, with Friday day sometimes included. These days as we experience them now are qualitatively different, each day having its own particular ambience, depending on gender, age, class, place of work and religion. However, despite these ‘differences’ I would argue that many people have a shared idea of what the weekend might constitute and how they might like to live it.

The days that make up the weekend encompass the ‘holy days’ of some of the main religions in Britain. Christian worship, for example, takes place on a Sunday, and this provided the basis for the weekend as it has since developed. As examined in Chapter 5, the Saturday half-day holiday in Manchester (inaugurated in 1843) was initially supported by the church because this ‘day off’ might act as a carrot to persuade people that they should attend church on Sunday after the ‘sweetener’ on a Saturday. The Jewish *Shabbat* begins on a Friday sundown, lasting for twenty four hours until Saturday sundown, during which being with the family and worship at the

synagogue are important². For followers of Islam, Friday is the day for meeting at the mosque for Salat-al-Jum'a³, whilst for Sikhs the main day for attendance at the Gurdwara is Sunday, 'not for any religious reason, but because Sunday is the day most people in Britain do not work'⁴. The Sikh example is an interesting one of accommodation to the 5+2 cycle in order to make life easier for those who want to visit the temple. Sikhs have also, fairly recently in 1999, with much disagreement within their community, altered their calendar, from the lunar which meant key dates did not fall on the same day each year to a western calendar. Hinduism appears not to have a day of worship as 'they do not have a strong tradition of corporate worship'⁵.

Despite these 'official' 'days of worship', not everyone practises a particular faith even if they identify with it and so would not necessarily use the weekend for religious purposes. Amongst those who were brought up in the Christian faith for example, the significance of Sunday as a religious day has declined a great deal in the last forty years. In an industrialising, capitalist Britain the idea of a regular, shared break from work became institutionalised in the nineteenth century. It was thought that institutionalising a half day off would curb the practice of 'St Monday,' where workers took an unofficial day off on a Monday. Worker discipline and 'rational' planning were essential if capitalism was to operate effectively.

Naming the Saturday half day as a 'holiday' conferred a particular status on it, that of something special, an infrequent occasion, a holiday. As it became more common for workers to have at least a part of Saturday off, this segment of the week became known as the weekend, something detached from the other five days, but still a regular, quotidian experience. The Saturday night out became an institution, perhaps more recently joined by Friday night out as the whole of Saturday became a regular day off. Anecdotal evidence among heterosexual couples suggests that the contemporary Friday is 'mates' night out and Saturday is for nights in or out with significant others. Sunday has also historically had a place in the weekend night out. Anecdotal evidence in the nineteen nineties suggested that Accrington had a singles version of the Italian family *passégiata* on a Sunday night. People walk from pub to

² www.interfaithcalendar.org/judaism

³ <http://education.guardian.co.uk/egweekly/story/0,5500,1047315,00.html>

⁴ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/sikhism/holydays/index.shtml>

⁵ bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/features/worldreligions/Hinduism

pub in the town centre, with the streets being very lively. This could in fact be an updated version of the Manchester ‘monkey parade’, which Fowler (1992: 148) has referred to as ‘...an activity originally devised as an alternative to spending money on leisure...’ but, by the late 1930s ‘...the possession of money and “flashy” clothes were considered pre-requisites’. He goes on (including quoting from interviewees):

The parade was not a seasonal activity; it lasted all the year ‘round. Occasionally on cold winter evenings, it would be called off; but those who usually participated in it would pursue some other activity that involved spending money. ‘If the weather was cold’, Findley recalls ‘we could always go and fortify ourselves in Turner’s temperance bar or Gotelli’s ice-cream shop, with a good hot, highly potent drink of Vimto at two-pence a shot’. The ‘monkey parade’ in Harpurhey only survived as an adjunct to the cinemas and dancehalls as long as those institutions remained closed on Sundays. When Harpurhey’s cinemas finally opened on Sundays, during the Second World War, the ‘monkey parade’ disappeared altogether.

The weekend was, it could be argued, a space for the growing consumption of goods that were being produced by the 1930s. It could also be understood as the time and space for the reproduction of heterosexuality, since the promotion of ‘courtship’ seemed to feature prominently.

However, the weekend could and cannot be experienced in the same way by all. The accounts outlined above emphasise ‘exciting nights on the town’ but, from the start of this research, I wanted to do more than explore this aspect of the weekend, whilst still recognising it. There is a mythology of the weekend - that it should be exciting - which has led some people to apologize to me because their weekend is not interesting enough to tell me about. However, the binary of the exciting and the boring weekend was not something I wanted to pursue or perpetuate. I was interested in everyone’s weekends whatever they were like. The question of what weekends mean to people seems important. For that reason I also decided not to analyse the weekend as leisure, since it isn’t that for many people, but nevertheless, I wanted to explore if there was a weekend sensibility even if it wasn’t based around a clear break from paid work. Langhamer (2000) has written of the ‘definitional ambiguity’ around work and leisure for women, where so much of their work is not seen strictly as work, and their leisure may not be so clearly defined as men’s. In order to explore the weekend in Manchester and Salford, I have chosen to think about it in a more

holistic way, and have explored with interviewees their lived weekends in a number of contexts, thereby avoiding the unnecessary tension over whether it was an exciting enough weekend to discuss, or whether we could define it as leisure.

Nevertheless, it is important to stress that the weekend came about as part of the compromise between capital and labour. 'Labour' usually referred to the representatives of working men. Since men made up a greater percentage of the workforce outside the home, and women's work within the home was not generally recognised in negotiations between capital and labour, it could be argued that it was men who most benefited from the 'time off' that the weekend provided. However, we may still accept it as a vital space, a space of possibilities in the contemporary social world. It may now be especially important for women, given that most now go out to work. Their more informal social networks outside work may have broken down in an increasingly desynchronous world, and the possibility of a shared time and space at the weekend may be especially important. What women think about the contemporary weekend and how they live it seems particularly important to investigate at this time.

There have always been areas of employment where people have had to work at the weekends. As well as those who have had home-based responsibilities to fulfil every day, including Saturday and Sunday, people who work in the public sector such as hospitals, street cleaners and the police have also worked as have some employees in capital-intensive manufacturing. Until recently, they were perhaps in the minority. But since the deregulation of shop opening hours in the 1980s and 1990s and the disempowerment of the trade unions, many more people work at the weekend, but particularly those in the retail and other service industries.

Consumption as well as production was seen as crucial to the entrenchment of capitalism. There needed to be time to consume and Saturday was the 'logical' day on which to do it. It became a Saturday 'tradition', to shop in the afternoon (or indeed the evening) and go out later, either to the pub or to something more organised such as a music hall. Railway day trips provided another outlet through which to spend wages, and day trips to Blackpool and North Wales became common, provided by the companies such as the 'London and North Western Railway' which

advertised 'half-day excursions', on 'Saturdays during August and September 1892' to Handforth, Wilmslow, Alderley and Chelford, leaving Manchester and travelling through the suburbs, to more rural locations (Anon, 2004). Presumably, this kind of trip might be undertaken after work on a Saturday morning. The weekend was seen as the ideal time and space for the reproduction of capitalism by preserving the psychological and physical health of its workers through some 'free time' and for encouraging the consumption of goods and services.

2.3 The Weekend in Contemporary Britain

I want to begin by assuming something of a shared understanding of what constitutes the weekend in contemporary Britain. Somewhere along the way, the weekend has, as Rybczynski (1991) has pointed out, gained 'a spontaneous existence', a separateness from the week which indicates something 'different' or 'alternative', something 'out of the ordinary'. It is not just the end of the week, it's the 'week-end'. Friday afternoon for instance, in workplaces which break for the weekend is the time to breathe a collective sigh of relief. Workplace acronyms prevalent at the end of the week are those such as POETS day (Piss off Early, Tomorrow's Saturday), and TFI Friday (Thank Fuck It's Friday). The former indicates the attitude which might be prevalent on a Friday, that of bucking the rules, throwing caution to the wind because it's the weekend and we're going to enjoy ourselves. The kind of sensibility attached to the weekend is perhaps indicated in the language through which the approach of the weekend is alluded. The use of 'fuck' and 'piss' indicate an informality, a carnivalesque attitude to which Bakhtin (1984: 17) alludes when he writes about 'abusive language' and its context. Calling it 'billingsgate', he writes of its contribution to "...the creation of the free carnival atmosphere, to the second, droll aspect of the world'. It could be argued that its use marks the beginning of a different time and space. What we are discussing is what Zerubavel (2003: 26) terms 'qualitative heterogeneity',

epitomised by the way we differentiate the extraordinary ('marked') from the ordinary ('unmarked') time, perfectly exemplified by the week, a cycle of periodically alternating 'marked' and 'unmarked' days, specifically designed

to signify major cultural contrasts between ordinary and extraordinary chunks of social reality.

The weekend is I believe, one of the 'extraordinary' chunks of our everyday reality which is part of that but differentiated from 'unmarked' time in specific ways.

William Sutcliffe (2001: 43) writes of Friday afternoons as a six year old school child as, 'the best part of the weekend, with its intoxicating slippage of the normal rules of work. The teacher's eyes begin to linger on the sky outside a little longer than usual, discipline gradually slides, then acknowledgement that the work is actually done arrives with those wonderful words, "Who wants a quiz?" As soon as you learn what a weekend is, you discover that Friday is an optional adjunct, to be tacked on at the whim of higher authorities.' The grown up version of Sutcliffe's Friday quiz is perhaps epitomised in another recent 'custom', that of 'dress-down' Fridays, a North American practice where employees wear 'smart casual' rather than formal clothes.

Zerubavel (1985: 90) analyses the Friday wind-down more systematically. He suggests that it is a time when people feel that the temporal constraints of work are not quite so rigid as at other times, employees feeling free to leave a little earlier because it's Friday. 'The temporal proximity to the weekend also affects the quality of work done on a Friday'. Hence the phenomenon of the 'Friday Car' (i.e. a poor quality one). There seems to be a 'slacker' feel on Friday than there is in the rest of the week, but whether it feels the same for everybody is arguable. Where does the weekend start, Friday night, Thursday night even or perhaps Saturday morning? Or can it begin whenever you like? Wherever it begins, there seems to be a particular resonance attached, rendering it qualitatively different than the week. 'Sweet Saturday Nights' and 'Lazy Sunday Afternoons', phrases sometimes used in popular cultural forms, convey a particular ambience commonly associated with these two weekend days even if they are not everyone's experience. Bill Tuckey, writing in a Saturday newspaper magazine, underlines that understanding of the weekend with his introduction to various photo-essays on readers' weekends:

....for most of us the weekend is all about substituting the weekly grind for a more pleasurable set of routines, from the ritual debauchery of a Saturday

night, to roast chicken and the East Enders omnibus on Sunday afternoons. (Tuckey, 2001: 36).

2.3.1 The Mediated Weekend

For many of us the weekend is constructed through popular cultural rhythms and repetition. The 'difference' of the weekend, its contrasting feel, is signalled, for instance, by a lighter mood. There is not so much 'hard' news for example, on television. *Newsnight*, the nightly news magazine programme on BBC2, has a 'lighter' feel on a Friday night. Its news section is shortened and an arts review slot is included. It both signals the weekend and gives its audience tips on what to do. On Saturday and Sunday the programme has a weekend break, returning on Monday. One of *Newsnight's* main anchors, Jeremy Paxman, never presents on a Friday night. More often than not it is Kirsty Wark, *Newsnight's* other senior anchor. She often presents *Newsnight Review*, a Friday night arts 'extension' to the main programme too. Although their respective presenting nights might signify nothing more than personal convenience, it seems significant that there is some kind of 'feminisation' of its form and content as the weekend approaches. For instance the programme includes 'soft' culture as well as 'hard' news, in greater proportion on a Friday night. The presence of Kirsty Wark often presenting both the 'news' and 'cultural review' segments of the programme lend a different tone to the whole. Its numerous signifiers of 'difference' signal to us the arrival of the weekend. It's almost as if *Newsnight* has 'pissed off early 'cos tomorrow's Saturday!'

The newspapers too, signal a lighter mood. The 'serious' broadsheets all include a colour magazine on a Saturday, as do some of the tabloids. More time to read more text is assumed, and this includes the adverts. The papers and 'magazines' of the weekend papers are increasingly advertising vehicles directed towards readers who might have more time than during the week to peruse them before going out shopping. This links in to the notion of the weekend as 'time for consumption'; it's time 'off' (for some), but it serves a purpose for the capitalist economy, of getting people to buy *things*. The Sunday papers signify differently than the weekly dailies, again signalling the assumed particular rhythms of a lazy Sunday morning. Because of the conventions of what is reported in newspapers, there is rather less to report on

a Sunday. There are, for instance, no stock market reports, no parliamentary briefings and no court reports. Saturday is *the* sporting day and thus is reported in detail.

The nature of the weekend also prompts advertisers to use the qualities of difference associated with them to sell their goods. They particularly like to imbue their products with the characteristics (as they see it) of hedonism. So they sell back the 'difference' of the weekend, trying to persuade us that pleasure is bought mostly through allusions to various forms of pleasure, be it eating, drinking or sex. *The Independent* Saturday magazine demonstrates this (Sutcliffe, 2001; Tuckey, 2001). Its theme, advertised on the cover, reads, 'Weekend. What do you get up to?' This insinuates that there may be 'something to get up to'. It's suggestive of something rather naughty being probable, or at least possible, during Saturday and Sunday. The articles are based around, for the most part late youth and are written for those (thirty and forty year olds) for whom earlier 'memories' have become significant. That is, they have a significant enough memory to act as a resource for nostalgia and their readership will appeal to the advertisers. Ant and Dec are featured on the cover as well as in writing inside. Other features include, 'The rich and famous reveal their wildest end-of-week fantasies', 'Second Homes. Which would you choose?', 'Staying up late with the babysitter'... 'Snogging on a Saturday night'... 'the weekend thrills of William Sutcliffe', 'Lost Weekends, from Cleopatra to Robbie Williams' and 'Friday to Monday-A candid photographic diary of four different weekends.' The latter involved a vicar, a DJ, a triathlete and a mini-cab driver, who all, incidentally work at the weekends.

Inserted in the magazine is a four page advertorial, the main thrust of which is for the Mercedes Benz A Class car, but it also introduces a number of products (presumably A classed!) which the makers see as complementing the car and which would be relevant to the kind of weekend their clients might enjoy. The advertisement creates a weekend narrative, advertising places to go and services to buy:

Work takes up so much of our lives that free time is when we should do what we want, break free from the everyday and do something different. Not all of us can be creative in the workplace, but outside the office is where we get the opportunity to express ourselves. Start following your desires, and think the

bigger picture, whether it be design, space, style, vision, depth or thrills. Think big rather than putting restrictions on your hopes and dreams...

It goes on:

Every person will have different requirements in their quest for escapism, which are different from others. Some will want glamour and sophistication or the rough and tumble of outdoor sports and daredevil activities. You might prefer peace and quiet in a secluded location, or the hustle and bustle of the big city. You might want to shop 'til you drop, expand your mind or relax in a spa. The choice is yours... (*The Independent Magazine*, *ibid.*p.18).

This is one of the dominant media constructions of the weekend, concentrating particularly on 'the thrills and spills' type weekend, the kind of weekend that might sell their products. However, this kind of material is written for those professionals who have their weekends off, not necessarily for those who service them –for example the supermarket and health club workers, the litter pickers and the car park attendants, those whose labour is visible, but hidden in public discourse.

This example of representation of the weekend demonstrates a tendency towards the carnivalisation of life. Umberto Eco describes this as:

...the power of having a comedic film or show on television everyday, several times a day. Carnivalisation of life is an American political convention where participants, including the candidate are dressed and act as though they were on a Broadway stage... (Eco, 2002).

I would argue that this tactic of using the psychic 'carnival' of the weekend to sell things is part of the same commodification of particular domains in everyday life under capitalism. Eco says, 'Carnivalisation of life is the loss of boundary between what is serious and what performance' (Eco, 2002). For some time, advertisers have plundered the 'resistant' moments of popular culture and sold it back to us in 'sanitised' form. The women's movement and other revolutionary political movements, gay culture, the weekend: all the fizz of life being lived to the full is spat back to us as the aura of a product. It's not carnival, as Eco argues, it is carnivalisation: the deliberate endowment of every product and service with 'fun' for a quick sale. The car advertised in 'The Independent' becomes associated with a kind of thrill-seeking sensibility, which contrasts with the mundanity of everyday existence such as parking the car, being stuck in traffic jams, polluting the environment, with something presumed altogether more 'exciting'. The advertorial

foregrounds some of the 'larger than life experiences' which might help take our breath away and might be seen as comparable to the experience of riding in a Mercedes-Benz 'A' Class. These include 'The Eden Project: design excellence,' 'the biggest bed' (for a luxury London hotel), 'the biggest view' (the London Eye), 'the biggest bath' (Edinburgh flotarium'), 'the biggest ride designed for thrills', (Oblivion ride at Alton Towers). Interestingly, many of the suggestions are billed as 'bigger' or 'biggest'. A key feature of Bakhtin's carnival is that of being 'larger than life' and these descriptions make a feature of that property and associate it, in this context, with the weekend. Bakhtin (1984: 63) writes, 'Exaggeration characterised both grotesque realism and folk festival forms: for instance, gigantic sausages were carried by dozens of men during the Nuremburg carnivals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.' The weekend and its historical association of excess is particularly useful to the corporate world and its drive for profits. To imbue or associate their products or services with what is perceived to be 'the spirit of the weekend' is a useful strategy for selling things.

The newspaper construction of the weekend has similarities with those encouraged through television and advertising. Lury has written, with reference to Lefebvre, about the colonisation of everyday life by various sectors of contemporary capitalism. She writes, 'As Lefebvre sees it, the impetus for this process of the colonisation of everyday life is the capitalist imperative for profit. He concludes that everyday life, rather than work, has become the key site for the reproduction of capitalism' (Lury, 2002: 147). The way in which weekends are lived, then, have become colonised and reflected back to us, the consumers, as persuasion techniques. Particular brands have been at the forefront of this development. Crunchie bars, for instance, with their advertising slogan, 'That Friday Feeling', one which implies a special, explosive, different feeling associated with Crunchie, and by association, Friday, the day on which all the promise of the future weekend is located.

Even though the weekend is generally assumed to be Friday night, Saturday and Sunday, there are those who suggest that the weekend is 'moving'. Articles started appearing in the Sunday broadsheets in 2000, which hinted at Thursday being the 'cool' people's weekend, Saturdays being for the provinces and the uncool. A 'top PR party girl', Anouschka Menzies remarked, 'Thank God for Thursdays. I'd have to be

paid to go out at the weekend and be attacked by a dreadful minicab driver in Piccadilly and be surrounded by men on the pull' (Johnson, 2000: 16).

Menzies, reasonably enough, dislikes predatory heterosexual men, but there are echoes of race and class disgust in her words. 'Re-locating the weekend' distinguishes Menzies 'set' from 'the masses' and illustrates Bourdieu's idea of class fractions distinguishing themselves through cultural markers of difference and Stallybrass and White's (1986: 2) contention that '...the social formation' is '...constructed with interrelating and dependent hierarchies of high and low'. Distinctions are being drawn here between London and the provinces, between those who work in the week and those who don't, perhaps between cultural entrepreneurs and others. London is portrayed as the 'capital of cool', adopting Thursdays as the way in which to get away from all those dreadful 'low' provincial working-class Saturday nights.

There may, of course, be other reasons than 'positioning' for Thursdays being a night out of choice, for instance, those of convenience and cost. Staying out after work means possibly one fewer journey and fare on the dilapidated London public transport system. Thursdays may be cheaper to eat or drink; restaurants and pubs have special offers in the week, not available at the weekends. Those who live in the city centre may choose to have their night out on a Thursday, leaving the more crowded and expensive Saturdays to what it terms 'out-of-towners'. Workers in the weekend cultural economy may also choose an alternative night as their weekend, as they work on Friday and Saturdays nights. Anecdotal evidence from Londoners does support a claim that their weekends are not necessarily based around a night in town for those living in the suburbs or outer ring of central London.

2.4 The 'Wasted' Lost Weekend

In the vernacular, 'the lost weekend' refers to an intoxicated weekend, 'lost' through excess - of alcohol, drugs or sex. It is often in this sense that popular culture makes reference to the phenomenon. Look for instance at Billy Wilder's film – *The Lost*

Weekend (Wilder US 1945) a 'best picture' of that year, which won four Oscars. It starred Jane Wyman and Ray Milland and Young writes is, 'a pioneering study of alcoholism' (Neil Young)⁶ which narrates '...a haunting portrayal of a would-be writer's dissatisfaction with his life and his self-destructive three day binge.'⁷ The three days presumably form the lost weekend, wiped out with alcohol. As well as being about the hedonism of the weekend, the lost weekend also might allude to 'drowning your sorrows', about a failed love affair perhaps. Lloyd Cole's song 'Lost Weekend' (Cole, 1985) is an example.

It took a lost weekend in a hotel in Amsterdam/and double pneumonia in a single room/...this morning I woke up from a deep unquiet sleep/with ashtray clothes and miss lonelyheart's pen."

This is a widely-held discourse of the weekend, as a time for hedonistic activity not possible during the rest of the week. Representations of 'the lost weekend' have become prevalent in recent years, possibly since the hedonism of rave culture in the nineteen eighties. Typing 'lost weekend' into a search engine brought up a number of web pages containing collections of 'party' photos, mostly of groups of friends in 'weekend' performing mode dressed up in clubbing gear. These representations of hedonism connote 'the lost weekend' meaning more 'having a good time' collectively, than getting completely trolleyed in a solitary manner. These 'groups' seemed to fall into two groups, those of mixed gender possibly of those whom we might call 'alternative', since their photos were often taken at raves and festivals, and those composed of men only, rather like (but not) stag parties, often associated with drinking alcohol in pubs or houses. There were a couple of bands named 'The Lost Weekend', an album, song titles and a Nottingham nightclub. There is a trend for naming festivals 'The Lost Weekend'. Two examples on the web were 'The Lost Weekend in Salisbury' (a non-corporate rave-y kind of event, a mini-Glastonbury if you like) and the other a *New Musical Express* sponsored corporate type concert at London Docklands Arena. Other web-reported 'lost weekends' were 'John Lennon's 18 month 'lost weekend' period of his life when his marriage to Yoko Ono was in trouble' (in a piece about a film made with Lennon during this time) (Wainwright, 2003) and an advert for 'The Belroy Hotel', Blackpool.

Lost weekend in Blackpool. Stay at the Belroy Hotel. Open all year...lost weekend in Blackpool...lost weekend in Blackpool. Please visit our site for

⁶ <http://www.jigsawlounge.co.uk>

⁷ <http://www.store4dvd.com:1>

more details...lost weekend in Blackpool...lost weekend in Blackpool.
(2003?)

The lost weekend seems to be a big selling point for this hotel, emphasised by photos on its website which represent various groups that have visited (the 'Rossendale party' for instance) and parties that have been held in the hotel. Unusually, the representations of 'having a good time' are not confined to groups of young people. All ages are represented including children, thus questioning some readings of 'lost weekends'. This might lead us to an analysis of the weekend as a special kind of time and space, still firmly anchored in the everyday, but one in which the imagining or indeed living the world in a less 'disciplined' manner, might play a greater part. However, the former meaning still has much resonance, as we can see in the following example.

Stuart Walton, in the introduction to his book 'Out of It', recounts a 'modern recreational tale' about how 'three young men get together on a Saturday night'. Since his book is about drugs, he lists their consumption by these young men. An astonishing amount and variety of drugs are consumed that night – two bottles of wine, two grams of cocaine, several rounds of spirits with mixers, two tablets of ecstasy, two grams of amphetamine, six bottles of sparkling wine, some bottled beers. Walton admits 'This is not exactly a typical weekend. It counts in the running narrative of their leisure time as something of a 'blinder'... They are all fit and fully functioning again by Monday.' (Walton, 2002: xiii).

2.5 The Disappearing Weekend?

Another interpretation of the lost weekend is that of the possible disappearance of the weekend. The 'flexible labour market' and consequent twenty-four hour society mean that we may be losing the shared experience of a break from paid work at the weekend. As Richard Thomas noted in 1998,

Friday has always been a magical word, the sign on the border between work and leisure, between hard work and serious fun... But the magic is wearing off. For growing numbers of us Friday no longer ends the working week.

Saturday and Sunday working is on the increase and for some the seven day week is the new norm. (Thomas, 1998)

A more worker-friendly attitude to working hours has been legislated in France. The socialist government in the late 1990s, as Lionel Jospin their leader put it, desired a 'market economy not a market society'. The legislation enacting the reduction in working hours from 39 to 35 was passed in 1997, coming into force in 2000 for larger and 2002 for smaller firms, making time off at the weekends more possible. This shortening of working hours led to particular changes in French weekend habits. Paul Webster (Webster, 2002) writes of the effect of the thirty five hour decree in France:

Staff obliged to stay at their posts beyond thirty five hours usually took rest days instead of extra pay, causing a profound change in social habits. As Friday was the preferred day for *recuperation*, long weekends became the rule for millions of workers, contributing for record profits for businesses such as DIY shops. Among the most visible effects was a drop in urban traffic jams on Fridays, replaced by overcrowding on weekend trains as people took short breaks. Hotels, resorts and airlines benefited, but many restaurants, obliged by RTT (*reduction du temps de travail*) to cut opening hours or reduce services, lost money.

Triplet and Associés (2004) report that this employment law has 'a statutory requirement for an uninterrupted period of one day's rest per week, which in principle should be on a Sunday.' These details explain the 'RTT's' popularity in France. Martine Aubry, the Socialist minister who introduced the law, remains unrepentant about the workplace revolution she helped bring about and said, before the latest parliamentary debate:

If we are on the left, it is because we hope that every man and woman finds in their work not only a source of income but also a means of creating social value and that they can clear time for leisure and their families.

Timothy Smith (Smith, 2005) writes of the 'solidaristic overstretch' of the French welfare state. However, France will be in the same Mcjobs scenario as Britain and North America, where those without skills are forced into poorly-paid jobs without proper leisure time such as a weekend. 'Vignettes from a land where the weekend can start on a Thursday' (2005) features four perspectives on the 35-hour week, the three owners of businesses opposed to it, and Jean-Christophe Tirat, a unionised croupier speaking eloquently in its defence,

Having more rest and leisure time allows me to compensate for the strain of working nights... When you work nights like me, your biological clock is completely disrupted so you tire more quickly, and it is medically shown that your life expectancy is reduced... Work is not there to make life completely unbearable: one should not dominate the other. That is why I support the 35-hour week.

Although not necessarily speaking about the weekend, Tirat's anxieties about his physical and psychological health are pertinent to this work. There has been a real struggle over the shorter working week in France, made harder for those that support it, by the neo-liberal deregulation already achieved in the UK, one that has effectively abolished the weekend for many of those who work, for example, in supermarkets.

Conversely, in the UK, Kodtz et al. note that:

British employees work some of the longest hours in Europe. A high proportion of UK workers work more than ten hours over and above their contracted hours. This is not an occasional effort to cope with emergencies or peak periods, but rather a regular event. (Kodz *et al.*, 1998)

Further on, the authors give details of the 1998 European Working Time Directive, which became law on 1st October 1998. This requires that hours worked are a maximum of 48 averaged over 'a rolling 17 week period'. Compared with France's 35 hour week, this is archaic, and means annually that 520 more hours could be worked by a British worker working full-time. That is almost three weeks longer! There appears to be no mention, either of the two-day break that the weekend represents, requiring simply, a 24 hour rest period. These are *minimum* working requirements, and still Britain has difficulty conforming, leaving aside the question of the weekend which represents the possibility of two nights free from having to get up the next morning, and chance to synchronise activities with family and friends.

One of the questions this thesis asks is whether there is still a weekend which is experienced as qualitatively different from weekdays. If people work, do they still 'feel' the weekend, and does its loss affect them in any way. In short, does the weekend still have a currency other than as a commodity and what does that involve? Might there still be a different 'feel' about the weekend which could, in some way contain the seeds of hope or transformation, even if it is spent doing housework?

Might it be possible to regard it as a ‘representational space’, (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 39) one which contains the possibility of ‘a fully lived space’ (Shields, 2002), one of hope and solidarity?

2.6 The Lost Weekend in Social Theory

There is another lost weekend - the lost weekend in social theory. The weekend as a space or time is very rarely *directly* referred to in sociological or cultural studies. Perhaps because the weekend is so securely sedimented into everyday life, it has hitherto been assumed when discussing leisure patterns. Wild (1979), in his essay on recreation in Rochdale in the first half of the twentieth century, discusses popular culture in the town, rarely mentioning actual days, except for Sundays, so taken-for-granted was it that much of the recreation would take place at the weekend. However, he does make the point that industrialisation and capitalism:

...brought different forms of provision” (of leisure)... . . . which seem to ‘fit’ with the more structured day, week and year of the fully industrialised work pattern. They involved a limited commitment and an essentially casual usage. Cinema performances and football matches began at a set time and lasted for a set period. Similarly, the recreational ‘event’ became more specialised, geared around a particular activity or commodity.(Wild, 1979: 159).

It is arguable whether the temporal and spatial shift associated with the global structural financial adjustment beginning in the 1970s and being lived now as the ‘24-7’ society, will see parallel developments in leisure on the scale of those mentioned above. A weekend relatively free of paid work can no longer be assumed in the twenty-first century. The many people who work unsocial hours in the leisure and retail industries ‘service’ those who are lucky enough to have Saturday and Sunday off. The implications of the shift in temporality which threatens the ‘traditional’ weekend are ones which this work will discuss. There is much, very interesting material in Wild’s essay on the growing market for day trips to the country or seaside or at the end of the nineteenth, beginning of the twentieth century, but little discussion about the days on which these took place. Saturday and Sunday were and probably still are, so obviously taken for granted as days, the question is whether they still can be and will any other days come to have such resonance in the collective imagination?

There are social theorists and commentators who have written directly about the weekend, though there is no sustained, substantial work addressing its contemporary manifestation, directly. I shall outline the work of two social theorists, Witold Rybczynski and Eviatar Zerubavel and will briefly discuss the work of Mass Observation. The latter was ‘...a social research organisation...founded in 1937 by three young men who aimed to create an “anthropology of ourselves”. They recruited a team of observers and a panel of volunteer writers to study the everyday lives of people in Britain’ (Mass-Observation, 2001). Before doing that however, I shall discuss the possible reasons for this ‘lack’ in social theory.

The secularised weekend undoubtedly came out of the process of industrialisation. Broadly speaking, it was negotiated between labour and capital, but ignored the work of those who were not unionised as well as domestic work and childcare done by women in the home. The Mass Observation ‘Meet Yourself on Sunday’ (M-O, 1948-50) research found that, nevertheless, men’s favourite day was Saturday, with Thursday as their worst, and women’s Sunday, (Saturday was second best) with Monday and Friday cited as their worst days, being ‘washing and shopping days respectively’.

The weekend, then, was associated particularly with the industrial working class. The bawdiness and viscosity of working-class weekends and the ‘free time’ during which it would be possible to transgress their ‘norms’, made the nineteenth century bourgeoisie extremely anxious as is made clear in this introduction to ‘Half-Holiday Excursions, or Topographical, Historical and Biographical Notices of the Most Picturesque and Remarkable Places Within an Afternoon’s Walk From Manchester’:

The use or abuse of the Weekly Half-holiday by the warehousemen of Manchester, during the approaching Summer, will probably determine, not merely the question of the continuance or otherwise of the relaxation here, but, of its extension to other classes throughout the kingdom. If it is found that the leisure afforded on Saturday afternoons is wasted in suburban taverns, cigar divans, music saloons or other objectionable places of resort, it will prove a bane instead of a blessing, and its withdrawal will be the inevitable result. (Anon, 1844: 1)

Whilst the warehousemen may have been ‘labour aristocracy’ and their pleasures more bourgeois, nevertheless, anxieties about ‘leisure’ are evident in the introduction to this forerunner of the ‘guide book’.

The weekend’s association with the working classes, hedonism and being out of control, can lead to its designation as ‘low culture’, a further reason for little analytical work being undertaken to understand it, certainly until the 1950s. Raymond Williams’ essay, ‘Culture is Ordinary’ (Williams, 1989 (1958)), challenged accepted notions of what constituted culture and who participated in it. With reference to his place of birth and his family he argued for the ordinariness of everyday life to be understood as part of culture. For the weekend to be taken seriously as a phenomenon worth analysing might have been unlikely before then. Nevertheless, the Mass Observation research from the 1940s onwards, did research the weekend as part of a larger investigation into the everyday lives of British people. However worthwhile and interesting, its theoretical underpinnings are questionable, as were its methodologies. So, although much information was gleaned about what people did at the weekend, there was little *theoretical* work problematising the contributions that were collected.

Stallybrass and White argue in ‘The Politics and Poetics of Transgression’ that particular domains of social life are constituted as ‘dirty and polluted’ through their being separated from bourgeois life. Paradoxically, they argue, that although such areas have been kept at arms length, historically, by bourgeois discourse/ideology, the middle classes are in some way fascinated by such forms as the circus, the fair and the slum. They argue that the carnivalesque is somehow a necessary part of the bourgeois imagination, as much a part of their identity as being respectable. They write, ‘The low-Other is despised and denied at the level of political organisation and social being whilst it is instrumentally constitutive of the shared imaginary repertoires of the dominant culture.’ (Stallybrass and White, 1986: 5-6)

I would argue that the weekend, associated as it was with the industrial working classes was regarded with disdain and disgust, but also with fascination, as we shall see in nineteenth century accounts of a Manchester weekend market in Chapter 5. Certainly until the moment of cultural studies in the 1960s, it would have been

difficult for the academy to take seriously an analysis of the way in which the weekend was lived. The weekend, associated with the urban life of the working classes might, since then, have been researched in terms of social policy or regulation, but not necessarily the forms through which it is lived

Frederic Jameson (1998), Janet Woolf (1999) and others have written of the 'cultural turn' in social theory. Woolf describes it as '...a term used by sociologists to mean simply a switch of focus from institutional and structural features of society to the study of culture', while Sanghera (2004) articulates it thus,

Whereas the central preoccupation of critical social analysis has traditionally been the way in which economic rationality dominates culture, contemporary social theory has been increasingly concerned with the central role of cultural processes and institutions in organising and controlling the economic. This has been labelled by some as the 'cultural turn' in social thought. The claim is that the economy itself and the 'things' that follow through it, is now largely constituted through informational and symbolic processes.

Given this 'turn', and the importance attached to it, it is perhaps surprising that the weekend *per se* has been largely neglected.

An exception, however, is Witold Rybczynski, an academic based in North America. His book, 'Waiting for the Weekend' is, he reminds us, 'not intended to be a work of research, more like an extended essay' (Rybczynski, 1991: 237). Rybczynski suggests a history of the weekend, outlining the medieval propensity for feast days and fairs, which with the development of capitalism and the increasing strength of the church during the Reformation and the ascendance of the Puritans, were outlawed. Instead, Sunday became the day when public life was severely curtailed. The idea of the weekend, paradoxically, was born. He cites St Monday, the workers' traditional unofficial secular day off, as the precursor of the weekend and Bank Holidays. Pre-industrially, days in and out of work did not apparently conform to a particular pattern. According to Rybczynski, traditional celebrations such as wakes often lasted several days. Sunday was often cited as the official holiday, but the celebrations carried on unofficially afterwards thereafter continuing as St Monday. Edward Thompson (1968: 443-444) discusses the new 'discipline' of industrialisation thus:

But if the disciplinarians lost a few legislative skirmishes, they won the battle of the Industrial Revolution... In the industrial areas it can be seen in the extension of the discipline of the factory bell or clock from working to leisure hours, from the working-day to the Sabbath, and in the assault on 'Cobblers Monday' and traditional holidays and fairs.

Much of Rybczynski's contextual work draws on Zerubavel's (1985) 'The Seven Day Circle: The History and Meaning of the Week' regarding the development of the idea of a week and its days. Rybczynski (1991: 125) outlines the various pieces of legislation which made the weekend possible, such as the Ten Hours Bill, which, as well as limiting the 'length of the workday in the northern textile industry,... mandated a 'short Saturday' of eight hours'. Later legislation 'required that Saturday work cease even earlier at two in the afternoon'. In 1874, '... a law was passed that reduced the length of Saturday work for all large industries to six and a half hours...' He surmises that St Monday (the unofficial day off in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) was the bargaining tool for the half day Saturday. If workers gave up being unreliable on a Monday, then they could have half a day off with the 'bosses' blessing. Rybczynski later (1991: 141) writes that '...the half day holiday emerged in the 1870s and took sixty years to expand to a full day off.' He outlines the development of the weekend in Europe and North America. Henry Ford in North America was an early proponent of the weekend: in 1926 he announced that his factories would close on a Saturday (1991: 142). Mussolini's regime, perhaps surprisingly, inaugurated the *sabato fascista* precisely on 20.06.1935, the beginning of the weekend in Italy. But as Rybczynski later qualifies, '...when it came to leisure, the Fascists, like the Early Closers, were social reformers whose goal was to provide not merely free time but the right kind of free time.' (Rybczynski, 1991: 146). In Poland before the Second World War, the half-day holiday did exist and was known as the 'English Saturday.'! (1991: 152).

Rybczynski sketches the development of the weekend and discusses its historical context, rather than its contemporary lived practice. He contextualises the weekend in a history of leisure, with distinct boundaries to separate it from work. He comes close to saying at one point that business people 'invented' leisure through their making it a commodity. Which came first, the activity or the commodity? He

emphasises the strict boundary that developed between work and play (Rybczynski, 1991: 131): ‘This boundary – exemplified by the weekend – more than anything else, characterises modern leisure.’ If this is the case, and if we are now witnessing the demise of the weekend, then what will characterise late-, or post–modern leisure?

Rybczynski argues that the weekend is now not ‘free’, that, ‘The freedom to do something has become the obligation to do something’ (Rybczynski, 1991: 223) He notes the ways in which ‘things to do’ are packed into the forty eight hours that is the weekend, things that we must do well. He thinks that the weekend is part of work, but rather than alienated work, this is meaningful work. He argues that although the weekend has become a time for doing ‘something’, which may be defined as ‘not work’, it is rarely seen as a time for ‘doing nothing’. He makes the assertion that we are not idle any more, and that our leisure and therefore our weekend, is as routinised as work. Following the ideas of G.K.Chesterton and Bertrand Russell on being idle, which the former refers to as ‘the truest form of leisure’, Rybczynski asks whether we may now be enslaved by the weekend. He contrasts that with being deliberately lazy or idle, citing Bertrand Russell’s book ‘In Praise of Idleness.’ Rybczynski then proposes that it might be useful to think in terms of ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’, for the weekend and week respectively, “Is it fanciful to propose that the repetitive cycle of week and weekend is a modern paraphrase of the ancient opposition of profane and sacred time?”(Rybczynski, 1991: 229). He finishes by making a prediction that ‘...as work becomes more standardized and international, one can expect that leisure, by contrast, will be even more national, more regional, more different.’ This latter point is arguable.

Rybczynski is very clear about the commodification of the weekend. He advances the view that ‘the modern idea of personal leisure emerged at the same time as the business of leisure. The first could not have happened without the second’. Popular urban culture as practised in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had a particularity and vibrancy, which was drawn upon by the new cultural entrepreneurs to make money. The music-hall was an example. It institutionalised forms of humour and performance practised informally and not-for-profit. Some form of leisure could have been practised without the intervention of business, but business could not have operated without popular culture. Kidd (2002: 45) writes of the proliferation of

places to drink alcohol in Manchester due to the Beershop Act of 1830, which allowed 'any ratepayer to obtain a licence to brew and sell beer on his premises'. As he goes on, 'Pubs, however, were not merely places for drinking. The "free and easy" spontaneous sing - song was a traditional feature of the ale house. In the early nineteenth century these were often formalised into the tavern concert or "singing saloon", a prototype of the music hall.' Kidd writes later (2002: 128) that, from the 1850s onwards, numerous music halls were opened in Manchester, and by the turn of the century, they were big business. This rather contradicts Rybczynski's idea of business promoting leisure, rather than leisure being colonised by business, since the culture of 'folk' songs and 'autonomous' popular culture probably pre-dates the interest of business in making money from it.

So to conclude, Rybczynski constructs the weekend as increasingly like 'work', and as such, as temporally scheduled as work through such activities as DIY. He cites activities such as skiing being increasingly 'professionalized' through their emphasis on 'proper' clothing and equipment, and laments the lack of fun and spontaneity found in our leisure time. He tends at times to conflate 'leisure' with 'the weekend', understandable to a certain extent since as he makes clear, this work is an 'extended essay' rather than extended, refereed, research. That is the work of this thesis, to explore the weekend in greater depth.

Eviatar Zerubavel writes tangentially about the weekend. He discusses the measurement of time and its segmental naming into days, weeks and months. He discusses the seven day week as a cyclical and recurring one. We can apply this notion specifically to the weekend. He makes the important point that the week is entirely unrelated to any 'natural' rhythm, instead forming the first human construction of time. In addition, he stresses the idea of recurrence, of rhythmicity, of the seven-day circle. This seems an important focus for this work. Rybczynski's 'five and two rhythm' is for many of us, the rhythm of our lives. Zerubavel discusses different cycles in Africa but says that:

Due to Christianity and Islam, the seven-day week has become an integral part of the current African scene. Much economic activity throughout that continent, however, is still organised in accordance with various indigenous market cycles that are not seven days long...The most popular of all indigenous African weeks, however, is the four-day market week, along with

the eight-day and sixteen-day weekly market cycles that have most probably derived from it.

He goes on to outline how space and time are 'correspondent' as evidenced through the names of days that West Africans might use, which all refer to the market, for example, 'market day' 'second day of the market' and 'market day is tomorrow'.

2.7 Time and the Weekend

It is argued that there have been two time transformations, one during the industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism and the other happening contemporarily, during the information technology revolution. Industrialisation commodified time. It therefore became assigned to particular activities. Castells describes the second as transforming the first; 'linear, irreversible, measurable, predictable time is being shattered in the network society' (Castells, 1996: 433). Modernity constructed time, as Castells has outlined. There became a home time and a work time, a work time and a leisure time, differentiated, bounded, times for particular activities. The search for profit by the newly created entrepreneurial bourgeoisie meant they were empowered to organise the time of those who worked for them. During industrialisation, it was recognised that time had a value which could be exploited through human labour. Hassard quotes Marx, 'Surplus value can be accrued through extracting more time from a labourer than is required to produce goods having the value of his wages' (Hassard, 1990: 11).

The weekend would not have been possible without this reorganisation of time. As Elias puts it, '...clock time is a highly sophisticated social construction for the co-ordination of the body, the person, society and nature.' (Elias, quoted in Adam, 1990: 17). Children were taught time-discipline at school through rigid temporalities enforced through bells. The hegemony of clock time coincided with the legal requirement that children should attend school. Clock time in these institutions was used, as Thompson (1993: 387) outlines, to inculcate time discipline and thrift. He quotes Clayton, who complained that the streets of Manchester were full of '...idle, ragged children; who are not only losing their Time, but learning habits of gaming

etc'. He praised charity schools as 'teaching Industry, Frugality, Order and Regularity; the scholars here are obliged to rise betimes and to observe Hours with great Punctuality'. Presumed in this polemic is a clear division between home and work or school, and between work and non-work. This was a division that produced the weekend.

It was inevitable, perhaps, that the newly-synchronised society would, in time, have the same days off. Saturdays and Sundays therefore, became assigned to particular activities. This predictability of 'modern time', one could argue, meant the inevitability of large numbers of people sharing the experience of going to and leaving work, but also of time off. Saturday as a day off meant more synchrony between non-Jews and Jews, since Saturday is the Jewish Sabbath. Weekends and holidays, certainly for the industrial working classes, were a shared time of recreation, although often gender differentiated. The 'rise' of the weekend, then, can be seen as an almost inevitable consequence of a modern society where time was understood as increasingly having these constituents. There was a 'time for everything and everything in its time' - a home time/place and a work time/place as well as a leisure time/place. Work, which had been done at home now took place elsewhere, for example in factories. The weekend then, became a time-space for 'rest' and recreation, reproduction (in both senses), consumption and god. Although the dominant perception of time became linear, we could argue that the weekly 5+2 cycle could perhaps be related to the pre-modern seasonal time where the inevitability of growth and fecundity is characterised by circularity. Felski (2000: 19) characterises the temporality of everyday life as composed of 'natural, circadian rhythms'.

In the last decade or so particularly, time has become a central concern of social theorists. What has been reiterated is the constructed nature of clock time, a particular idea of time, which suited an era when time became a commodity. Clock time was measurable and therefore its units could be costed. Urry (2000: 108) cites the arrival of clock time as 'central to the organisation of modern societies... [which are] centred around the emptying out of time (and space) and the development of an abstract, divisible and universally measurable calculation of time.' He contrasts this idea of time with that of kairological time 'the sense of time when it is said that now

is the time to do something irrespective of what any clock indicates.' The weekend may hold the possibility of temporalities other than those measured by the clock.

Since it was thought unrealistic and unprofitable, not to say 'ungodly', to expect workers to labour for seven days without a break, by the end of the nineteenth century, employers needed no further convincing about the need for some respite from the arduous and heavily time managed labouring week. As Gary Cross says, 'Part of the struggle for industrialisation is the demand for space and time free from the market.' (Cross, quoted in Silverstone, 1997: 113). Cross argues for the idea of the weekend as central to the construction of industrial society. He outlines the demand by groups with different interests, for the right to have continuous blocks of time off work. In the 1830s, a coalition of 'religious conservatives, leisure reformers and trade unionists insisted on weekly rest' (Cross, quoted in Silverstone, 1997: 113). This was the first step towards what we now regard as the weekend. Other groups of workers advanced the cause in the following decade and the 1850 Factory Act meant that women and children working in the textile industry were allowed to leave at 2pm. After the first world war, working a six day week was common and by the 1930s there was a call for a two-day weekend and paid holidays.

Glennie and Thrift (1996) remind us, in a response to Thompson (1967), that approaches to work that see it as either one thing, task-orientated, pre-industrial, or another, time orientated, industrialised, are problematic. They make the point that time is multiple and heterogeneous, gendered, classed, timed and placed. This is a really important point, which is central to my argument about the weekend. As Castoriadis (in Glennie and Thrift, 1996: 278) notes, time 'has many species'. It is through some of those 'species' that I shall analyse the contemporary weekend.

Glennie and Thrift (1996) describe the idea that a society works to roughly the same time frame as synchronicity. They argue that the high point of this was 1950-1970, and the period we are now in is desynchronous: that is, it is fragmented with many different time frames operating. Garhammer (1995) discusses the question of the 'dissolution of standard working hours' through so-called flexible working and the effect it will have on social lives. He notes the way in which work, to a large extent, organises our temporality. 'Since the standardisation of the working day and week

had the function of creating collective rhythms of work and leisure time, as well as a definite leisure time as a sphere clearly independent of working hours, the balancing of everyday life has become more difficult for employees.’ Supiot suggests that Fordism made a clear distinction between ‘subordination time’ and ‘free time’ (Supiot, 2001: 64); it is debatable whether this is still the case in a post-Fordist working environment, where the social time of many, if not most, workers is being encroached upon without recompense. The fragmentation of collective temporalities that this brings about perhaps signals the demise of the weekend.

We have superseded the high-point of Fordist production when, for many, work started on a Monday morning and finished on a Friday afternoon. There were no shops open on a Sunday or in some places on a Saturday. People, for the most part, worked and played at the same time as each other. For example, we only have to look at the enormous crowds in photographs of Blackpool promenade on a Saturday, Sunday or Bank Holiday to see evidence of this. The weekend was dependent upon and produced through this synchronicity, even though there were notable exceptions such as nurses, doctors, other hospital workers and those on varying genres of shift work. Although the synchrony was evident in form, in content it will have depended on a number of factors, not least gender, class and age.

If we are all conforming to a seven day circle, but different versions of it, how will the weekend survive as a temporal event? There is an anxiety which was highlighted by the trade unions at the time of the deregulation of Sunday opening, that to effectively abolish the weekend for some, primarily women, the young and the working class, would mean a disjuncture in their social worlds. Again, I want to raise the issue of social inclusion/exclusion. Could this desynchrony make a social life (and here I include ‘family’ life, in whatever form) impossible and moreover, socially excluding. Or could ‘flexible’ working perhaps make socialising more possible? Indeed, there have been attempts by both the French and Soviet state to construct a different rhythmic tempo than the 5+2 that we have become accustomed to. Post-revolutionary France proposed ‘... the establishment of a new calendar based on twelve new 30-day months, each of which would be divided into precisely three 10-day weekly cycles called *décades*,’ This was an attempt to ‘de-christianize’ France and to abolish Sundays. ‘Churches were allowed to open only on Decadi, and

citizens were forbidden to close their stores on Sunday and wear their *habits de dimanche* (Sunday best)' (Zerubavel, 1985: 29). Napoleon began to dismantle the new *décades* through the relaxation of rules around Sundays, and by September 1805, the Gregorian calendar was re-instated. '...the restoration of the seven day week was completed' (Zerubavel, 1985: 34). Less than a century later the Soviet Union introduced the *nepreryvka*, the continuous workweek, which would be a '...five day cycle rather than a seven day cycle, with workers resting every fifth, rather than every seventh day.' Not everyone worked the same days and so there were many different working rhythms. Indeed Zerubavel (1985: 37) reports that days of the week in the Soviet Union became associated with different colours and that in their diaries, friends had particular colours attached to their names to indicate their days off which would only be shared with a fifth of the population. As Zerubavel notes, this calendrical arrangement meant the 'obliteration of *temporal symmetry*'. This, it could be argued, is what is happening in contemporary societies with 'flexible working'. Zerubavel points out that 'temporal symmetry promotes social solidarity.' Since social solidarity is currently a subject for public debate in the UK – ASBOs being advocated as a crude solution to diminishing solidarity - we need to examine the role played by desynchronising tendencies in patterns of work. However, the finger of blame is being pointed at individuals rather than the multi-national corporations who promote 'flexible working', solely to enhance their profits. The societal de-synchrony inherent in the Soviet attempt at the manipulation of the 'seven day circle' led to its demise after only two years, in 1931. The question pertinent to this research is 'how is capital's manipulation of the same 'circle' determining our social world at the weekend?'

2.8 Space and Leisure at the Weekend.

The organisation of time was radically altered during modernity/industrialisation. So also was the organisation of space and the spatial trajectories of individual actors. Harvey (1990) writes of histories of time and space, arguing that without matter, we cannot talk of time or space. He goes on to argue that each change in economic or social organisation is produced by changes in temporality and spatiality. He says,

The objectivity of time and space is given in each case by the material practices of social reproduction, and to the degree that these latter vary

geographically and historically, so we find that social time and social space are differentially constructed. Each distinctive mode of production or social formation will, in short, embody a distinctive bundle of time and space practices and concepts. (Harvey, 1990: 204).

Through the process of industrialisation, of working and living in different places and spaces, a new era was created. Much as we said in the last section, the idea of 'a time for everything and everything in its time' could also be extended to place.

Temporal reorganisation meant that activities associated with leisure, home and work tended to occur in different places. So, in some cases where, say, men would have seen their children at home every day while they were working, the redesignation of this space as a private one, specifically for private, family life had significant implications for the social world. Whereas it may not previously have been seen as a separate activity from that of work, the separation of the various spheres of everyday life meant that a fragmentation of that life was inevitable. Leisure can be seen both as a phenomenon of this restructuring of everyday life and an activity which determined it.

Modernity facilitated new forms of mobility and spatiality. Industrialisation necessitated the movement of workers from the rural to the urban milieu, thereby extending their spatiality beyond the immediate locality. The emerging modernity of the city might have involved unfamiliar spatialities and people. It might be understood as the transition from the pre-modern world of relative certainty, predictable rhythms and familiarity to an experience of 'time, space and causality as transitory, fleeting, and fortuitous and arbitrary' (Frisby, quoted in Harvey, 1990: 11).

This modern experience of space was particularly evident during the emerging leisure times of the weekend and the paid holiday. It seems that the greater the development of modern industry and industrial discipline, the greater the experience of these spatial and temporal changes (Walton, 1983). He indicates that there is a correlation between higher wages, definite breaks away from home and a tighter labour discipline. Lancashire, with its industrial intensity, experienced different spatialities, than did, for instance, Stoke. Walton (1983) writes that such customs as St Monday, the unofficial Monday day off taken by many workers until certainly the

end of the 19th century, was not so prevalent among the highly disciplined labour force of the Lancashire textile district as it was among, for instance, the pottery workers of north Staffordshire. Certainly in the textile industry, it seems that the old locally based holidays, which survived industrialisation in Stoke for example, did not, in the same way, in Lancashire. There, the more formalised weekend break and annual holidays led to entrepreneurs marketing the new resorts of Blackpool and Southport and rail journeys between them and the industrial centres of the North West.

There is evidence to suggest that the idea of the weekend in the nineteenth century was most advanced in those locations where industrialisation was more 'developed'. In 1844 for example, a booklet entitled 'Half-Holiday Excursions, or Topographical, Historical and Biographical Notices of the most Picturesque and remarkable Places within an afternoon's walk from Manchester. Rosthorne, Bowdon, Dunham Park and Altrincham' was published by a firm in Market St, Manchester (Anon, 1844). In the same year, the Saturday half-day holiday had been 'granted' to the employees of 'bankers, merchants, manufacturers and calico printers' in Manchester and anxieties regarding its 'use or abuse' are voiced in the booklet's introduction. Some years later in 1887, the GWR in Lancashire advertised 'week-end' tickets, and nine years later "'week-end" trips are now advertised on most of the [railway] lines.' (OED, 1989). The weekend had by this time become an institution, more prevalent in industrially 'developed' Lancashire, where it took the place of 'St Monday', the unofficial, informal adjunct to the Sabbath. Weekends away were further made possible by the well-developed rail links to the resorts, pointing up Walton's (1983) idea of '...the growing commercialisation of free time'.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the middle classes were anxious about the morality of the lower orders and that is expressed through much of their writing on leisure. There was still time for going away, however. In 1879 (OED, 1989) 'In Staffordshire, if a person leaves home at the end of his week's work on the Saturday afternoon to spend the evening of Saturday and the following Sunday with friends at a distance he is said to be spending his *weekend* at So-and-so.' In 1889, Miss Braddon in 'Day Will Come' associates the week end specifically with 'north-country' people and in 1892, with 'taking the house for week ends' (OED, 1989). In

1899, Gardiner cites Oliver Cromwell as the inventor of the week-end (OED, 1989). The word is still at this time hyphenated, suggesting that it is the end of the week and had not yet developed an ‘autonomy’ from the week to become the ‘weekend’. The first usage of a non-hyphenated weekend came in 1934 with ‘weekend case’ (OED, 1989). Ten years earlier the first edition of ‘The Week-End Book’ was published. The preface presages its content by stating that the editors ‘...have accordingly attempted to meet every man halfway and compile a book of clues to good life and reading for week-end pairs and parties, which each in his fashion may follow up’ (Mendel *et al.*, 1924: ix). The book is illustrated with humorous illustrated prefaces to each section which imagines the weekend as a ludic space. There are games, songs and poems and information on bird-song, the stars, ‘first aid in divers crisis’ and, bizarrely, ‘the law and how you break it’. But perhaps not so bizarrely, since the weekend can be regarded as a kind of carnival, where the world is upside down for a couple of days, even in elite circles!

The poem preceding the preface imagines their kind of weekends.

WEEK – END

*The train! The twelve o'clock for paradise.
Hurry or it will try to creep away.
Out in the country everyone is wise:
We can only be wise on Saturday.
There you are waiting, little friendly house:
Those are your chimney-stacks with you between,
Surrounded by old trees and strolling cows,
Staring through all your windows at the green.
Your homely floor is creaking for our tread;
The smiling teapot with contented spout
Thinks of the boiling water and the bread
Longs for the butter. All their hands are out
To greet us, and the gentle blankets seem
Purring and crooning: "Lie in us and dream."*

Harold Monro

((Mendel *et al.*, 1924: v)

Both wealthier working-class and middle-class weekends seemed, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, to involve temporal and spatial 'difference'. For wealthier people this may have involved visiting their second home, but there is also evidence, from one of my supplementary interviews, of young working class people from Manchester in the 1930s renting weekend cottages in the Peak District on a long term basis.

Whilst we might recognise the difference between the week and the weekend, less well documented is how we effect the transition from one to the other, and what the change might mean for us. How do we negotiate the beginnings and endings, the Friday nights and Sunday nights, the putting on and taking off of our 'weekend heads'?

2.9 Putting your Weekend Head On: Boundary Work, Ritual, Liminality and Resistance

The weekend is part of our imagination as well as our lived experience; it is produced through institutions, commerce and individual actors and groups as something temporally and spatially distinct, but also in our heads as something to feel, to anticipate. Undergraduate students at Accrington and Rossendale College (where I used to work) described the act of doing Blackpool for the weekend as 'putting your Blackpool head on'. They would describe it as being someone else for the time that you were there, immersing yourself in the hedonism of the place. I want to explore whether, in a similar way, the different sensibility associated with the weekend may usefully be considered as 'putting your weekend head on'. To do this, I will draw on the work of Christina Nippert-Eng, Victor Turner and Mikhail Bakhtin. In her analysis of work-life boundaries, Nippert-Eng introduces the notion of 'territories of self':

We separate and assign certain aspects of self to distinct places and times, allowing and encouraging others to appear anywhere, anytime. In this light, boundary work is the process of creating and maintaining more or less distinct 'territories of self'. (Nippert-Eng, 1996: FIND PAGE)

What might allow us to do this is the creation of a particular time-space which we can enter, if we choose (or have a life which makes it possible), on a Friday night. We might, at this time, put our weekend head on, a particular 'territory of self' created through cyclical boundary work. On a Sunday evening we might be 'reassigned' to our Monday to Friday 'territory'. This thesis will discuss whether and how this 'weekend head' is put on and what it means to wear it.

The end of the week, the week-end, the weekend. Punctuation makes clear the change that has taken place in our perception of this time-space. It now has, as Rybczynski (1991) has noted a 'life of its own', one which has been separated from the week, linguistically as well as psychologically and institutionally. To understand this separation, we might use Victor Turner's idea of liminality. He characterises liminality as part of a ritual process involving three stages, '.....separation from antecedent mundane life, liminality, a betwixt and between condition, often involving seclusion from the everyday scene; and re-aggregation to the quotidian scene' (Turner, 1969: 100-101). The language used here, is that of division between the 'everyday' and the 'special' place of the liminal. The framework of the ritual and the liminal/liminoid is a useful one in which to understand the difference of the weekend whilst still understanding the weekend as part of the quotidian. If we understand the weekend using this model, we might see Friday night as the door through which this time-space is entered, and Sunday evening as re-aggregation into the five-day cycle.

This analysis of the week/weekend distinction is based on the 5+2 rhythm of modernity, the tempo of which everyone may not be able to adhere. Those who work for five days, have the weekend off with no other responsibilities for those older or younger, may be able to enter the liminal, weekend world. Even those who can't physically involve themselves in 'weekendness', may be able to think themselves into the liminal, from where they work, either inside, or outside the home. They might recognise the boundaries between the week and the weekend and mentally step between them even if they're not able to physically.

The idea of boundary work is a concept with which it is possible to understand how the liminal is 'reached'. This is used with reference particularly to the boundary

between the week and the weekend and how it is marked. This marking of boundaries is one of the ways in which we prepare ourselves for entry into a different time and space frame. As outlined earlier, forms of popular culture, such as television, newspapers and radio prepare us for entry into the two-day weekend through a 'lighter' approach to programming, often drawing on the notion of the Friday night out, but 'out' in your living room. Similarly, the same media prepare us for re-entry into the quotidian world on Sunday afternoon, with a rather more serious diet, certainly on television, of 'classic' serials written by canonical authors and home based or historical drama such as 'Where The Heart Is' or 'Monarch of the Glen'.

This idea of the weekend as a ritualised, liminal, time-space can be seen historically in the appeal of football. Hopcraft (1979) writes of Saturday football in the 1920s and its significance for employed and unemployed alike:

The Saturday match became more than mere diversion from the daily grind, because there was often no work to be relieved. To go to the match was to escape from the dark of despondency to the light of combat... football was not so much an opiate of the masses as a flag to run up against the gaffer bolting his gates and the landlord armed with his bailiffs. (Hopcraft, quoted in Critcher, 1979: 161).

Liminality can involve a sense of 'anti-structure' and act as a 'latent system of potential alternatives' (Sutton-Smith, quoted in Turner, 1982: 28). A reading of Hopcraft's comment can be made, using Turner's theory, which sees football as having this function in the 1920s at the weekend. So, the weekend, I have proposed, as involving first of all boundary work, to distinguish it from the five preceding days, as ritual which has very definite entry and exit points, as liminal in moments and yet as situated very firmly in everyday life.

2.10 Manchester and the Weekend

The empirical work carried out for this thesis involved interviews with individuals and groups in Manchester and Salford. These were contextualised through reference to local primary sources in the Central Library in Manchester and the Local History Library in Peel Park, Salford. What follows here is some preliminary discussion of the weekend as it pertains to both these cities.

Dicken (2002) has recently written of the global importance of nineteenth century Manchester. He writes of the way in which it 'shape(d)' and 'mould(ed)' the newly emerging global economy at that time. He goes on

Such a formative role was reflected in the city's global position, in its key headquarters functions and in the scale and quality of its scientific and artistic life. At the turn of the century, the tenth largest cities in the world were, in order of magnitude: London, New York, Paris, Berlin, Chicago, Philadelphia, Tokyo, Vienna, St Petersburg and Manchester. (Dicken, 2002: 19).

It's hard to imagine its former global importance although the collective memory of being a top ten world city still lingers in the attachment of its population to the idea of it being a great city. The seriousness of the Olympic bids and the civic pride around the hosting of the Commonwealth games are evidence of that. There are accounts, for instance of huge ships sailing the Manchester Ship Canal bringing in raw materials from all over the world, and taking away manufactured items for sale in a global market. Even from the 1950s, there are memories reported of children lying alongside the ship canal, faces in the grass imagining that the great big ship that they could see was sailing over the fields towards them.

Asa Briggs has described Manchester in the nineteenth century as a 'shock city' (although this description has been disputed by some). Kidd (2002) notes that "it seemed as though all roads led to Manchester". He goes on to discuss the emerging centre of the cotton manufacturing region. Marcus (1974: vii), writes of Manchester as 'the site and centre of the first industrial revolution, a new kind of city in which the formation of a new kind of human world seemed to be occurring'. The weekend and all that it implied was part of this new world. Although the activities traditionally associated with the weekend were not new, an especially designated time and space for those activities was. Some groups of factory workers now had surplus income which they could spend on pleasurable pursuits. As well as designated times and spaces for leisure, those with capital realised that there was money to be made in this new time-space. Kidd (2002: 46), writes of numerous 'ventures in commercialised leisure' in Manchester, such as Cooke's Circus, which had a permanent structure erected in Mount Street in 1842. The city became known for various pleasure gardens, such as Pomona Gardens in Hulme, (opened in the 1840s) and the

Zoological Gardens in Higher Broughton, which closed in 1840, 'its stock being acquired by Manchester's most famous zoo, Belle Vue...', which 'was an exceptional magnet for the crowds.' Wild, in his further discussion of Rochdale (Wild, 1979: 159) talks about 'set times' and 'scheduled periods', the 'specialisation' of events 'geared around a particular activity or community', finally arguing that, 'for the first time, important sections of capital have acquired a direct stake in (and therefore control over) a supposedly private sphere'. It's an important point to make. There might be some discussion over what kind of control, but even if we consider such things as opening hours and admission prices, they might determine the movements of families at the weekend as well as the content being ideologically affecting.

Manchester as the first industrial city and Salford as its neighbour, their industrialised working environments producing synchrony in the temporalities of working people, were probably the first cities to have a weekend. Given their particular importance in this context then this thesis will take particular account of the specific history and context of these two cities.

2.11 Conclusion

I have reviewed evidence from secondary sources on the apparently still pervasive idea of the weekend in contemporary Britain and how it is reinforced by everyday practices, and media forms. There is, however, some blurring of the weekend boundaries around when it begins, particularly. There seems to be a sense of relaxation as the weekend approaches, evidenced by William Sutcliffe (Sutcliffe, 2001) in his childhood memories.

The idea of the 'lost weekend' has been outlined in three ways. Firstly, it is seen in many contexts, in varying forms of popular culture, as a time of hedonistic oblivion. Secondly, the disappearing weekend in contemporary European 'post-industrial' society was addressed. Thirdly, the case of the missing weekend in social theory was evaluated, noting that Witold Rybczynski is one of the few social theorists to address the weekend directly in his writing. Although a useful introduction to the subject,

even his analysis is as much about leisure in general as about the specifics of the weekend. As such, there is room for more detailed work on the subject. This thesis will further and develop the research that Rybczynski and others have begun. It will centralise a discussion and analysis that has been carried out tangentially by authors such as Zerubavel, because 'the weekend' is not their primary concern.

The weekend, Rybczynski has noted, has an autonomous existence. If it has this separateness from the week, how do we move from one to the other? And once we are in this time-space, how do we adjust our behaviour accordingly? Christina Nippert-Eng's ideas on boundary work and 'territories of self' provide some clues, as does the idea of 'putting a different head on' advanced by Accrington and Rossendale degree students. It seems useful to combine these ideas with those of Victor Turner on liminality and ritual, again to interrogate the idea of moving in and out of a different time and space, and the significance of that for the imagination of difference.

The reconstitution of time in the Industrial Revolution has been reviewed. That reconstitution and consequent temporal synchronicity produced the weekend. Time became governed by the clock. This raises crucial questions about the organisation of time in a 'post-industrial' and 'flexible-working' environment. Are we now in a de-synchronous era? Does this mean the end of the weekend?

As time was reconfigured through industrialisation and modernity so was space. I have addressed the way in which there became 'a time and a space for everything and everything in its time and space.' Both of these properties became commodified during industrialisation, and I have reviewed the way in which this worked to reinforce clock time, particularly in factory work and schools, and to privatise popular free cultural forms such as singing in pubs, which was institutionalised into the paid-for music hall.

Finally, some of the notable characteristics of Manchester, tenth world ranking city at the turn of the nineteenth century, and the first industrial city, have been previewed. Since it is cited as the first industrial city, might it have been the first place to really celebrate the weekend?

The initial review of the (very sparse) literature on the subject of the weekend have thrown up a number of interesting questions which will be addressed through a more sophisticated analysis in the course of this work.

As I move into the literature review, the following questions remain uppermost. Firstly, how has the temporal shift evident in the neo-liberal, globalising impetus of the late twentieth and early twenty first century impacted on everyday life, specifically the weekend? Secondly, how has this shift impacted spatially? Has the local-ness of much weekend activity been surpassed by a move to the centre (of the city for instance)? Thirdly, is there still (and was there ever), such a thing as ‘putting your weekend head on’? If there is, how is this a gendered ‘territory of self’, and how might we move into this weekend space? Can we move into it psychically as well as physically that is, if we accept the weekend as a ‘different’ space and time, can we construct it in our heads even if we work, for instance? Fourthly, can the weekend be regarded as either liminal or carnivalesque or both? Might there be a way in which we can re-cast the analyses of these as we live the weekend in our homes, at our allotments or in the park with our kids? To explore these questions the following chapter will attempt a more discriminating and sophisticated analysis of the literature on time, space, the everyday, liminal and carnival.

Chapter 3 - Literature Review

3.1 Introduction and Overview

There was no weekend in the sense of a two-day rest period based around Saturday and Sunday until 1843, when historical evidence suggests that Manchester may have been the first city to 'produce' the weekend. Friday nights, Saturdays and Sundays have since become important collective cultural reference points in British culture. In order to understand how Saturdays and Sundays might be 'another sort of day', produced through a different 'take' on time and space, this chapter will extend the analysis of theoretical strands introduced in the last chapter. It will review discussions on how the interactions of time and space are constituted by the various 'phases' of modernity. Following this, a discussion of how we might understand everyday life through time and space, both as a fundamental of 'industrial' modernity and its transformation through the contemporary 'post-industrial' economic and social environment will be undertaken. Since the transition from the week to the weekend, from profane (week), to sacred (weekend), and from 'unmarked' (week) to 'marked' (weekend) times and spaces seems important, some discussion of the work on boundaries will be undertaken. Following this discussion of what we might term the form of the weekend, we go on to review literature which discusses liminality and carnival, the latter of which, might be considered the 'content' of the weekend.

3. 2 The Weekend and Time

The number of working hours and their distribution in the life-cycle and in the annual, monthly and weekly cycles of people's lives, are a central feature of how they feel, enjoy and suffer. (Castells, 1996: 439)

The weekend is self-evidently a temporal phenomenon and so it is useful to consider ways of conceptualising time in social theory. In this section, the conceptualisation of the origins of 'modern' clock time and the subsequent 'organisational'

implications for social relations will be examined as well as the production of temporalities in contemporary western society - variously termed late modernity, disorganised capitalism or the network society. These analyses suggest that social time is heterogeneous, can be experienced in a number of different modes simultaneously, and construct social actors as gendered, classed, raced and aged subjects.

3.2.1 Industrialisation, Clock Time and the Separation and Synchronisation of Domains

Industrialisation and modernity produced a separation of domains. Work moved from the home to the factories, there became a home time and a work time, a work time and a leisure time, differentiated, bounded times and spaces for particular activities. The entrepreneurial bourgeoisie realised that, 'Surplus value can be accrued through extracting more time from a labourer than is required to produce goods having the value of his wages' (Hassard, 1990: 11). Their newly acquired capital empowered their hegemonic prescription for life in the mid-19th century, thereafter permitting them the 'right' to organise the time of the lower orders, including those who worked for them. Clock-time became the dominant time-frame as capitalism gained momentum, encouraging labour discipline as a vital tool for the production of surplus value at work and elsewhere: synchronicity was essential for the success of the emerging economic system. The days of most of the population, therefore, were configured around clock-time, and it became a legal requirement during the period 1850 to 1870 that children should attend school, where they became practised in the 'art' of time discipline. This was inculcated through the 'prompts' of bells and the strictly gridded, timetabled day.

Paolucci makes the simple but powerful statement that 'modern time is urban' (Paolucci, 1998: 266). The expression of a 'new time' which marked the transformation from the medieval to the renaissance was embodied in the towered clock which stood at the centre of the renaissance town or city and which provided 'a chronological system which could organise, contain, regulate and order its social life'. The central location of the clock also had symbolic value. It was always visible and reminded the population of the time, that they should be somewhere at a specific

time, not just 'some time'. Paolucci likens this metamorphosis to that experienced in the representation of space during the Renaissance, where perspective became acknowledged. She argues that these spatial and temporal transformations were interwoven:

On this view, the spatial disposition of temporal constructions went hand in hand with the distribution of the 'household duties' typical of daily urban life; so spatial structuring and temporal organisation marked urban pace and movement, giving form thereby to the social, political and economic 'texture' of the city. (Paolucci, 1998: 268).

She goes on to argue that this new time regime became internalised and individualised in the twentieth century, with the mass production and consumption of watches. People did not now have to look at the city clock; they had one of their own to remind them of the time, all day, every day.

Urry (2000: 108) cites the arrival of clock time as 'central to the organisation of modern societies...[which are] centred around the emptying out of time (and space) and the development of an abstract, divisible and universally measurable calculation of time'. He contrasts this idea of time with that of kairological time 'the sense of time when it is said that now is the time to do something irrespective of what any clock indicates'. Thompson (1980: 355-6) similarly contrasts pre-industrial and commodified time with reference to Evans Pritchard on the Nuer tribe and Bourdieu on the Kabyle people in Algeria. He notes that it was not the mechanical clock, but the 'cattle clock' that was the instrument of time for the Nuer, while the Kabyle used what seems a vague 'time and space of the market', rather than a specific time or location as an agreed place to meet. This 'task-orientation', rather than the 'time orientation' of industrial capitalism, he notes, is not necessarily confined to pre-industrial societies. He cites the example of fishing communities in Britain, who rely on the tides, cyclical and 'natural' rhythms as their timekeeper, and contrasts the time told by sea or the moon with that of the clock and watch, whose ever-presence during the nineteenth century, internalised in the population, the new time of the clock, factory and school (Thompson, 1980: 358).

Glennie and Thrift (1996) take issue with Thompson's (1967) failure to recognise a wider paradigm-shift evident in social theory generally which has affected

understandings of time. Thompson, rather than refer to the heterogeneity of times, tends to theorise it as either one thing - task-orientated, pre-industrial, - or another, - time-orientated, industrialised, whereas Glennie and Thrift reiterate the point that time is multiple and heterogeneous, gendered, classed, timed and placed. The acknowledgement that social life is more complex than simple binaries would allow is pivotal to any discussion of the weekend in the twenty-first century. If the week/weekend distinction is a temporally simplistic one arising out of modernity, just how significant has the weekend been in its spaces and times for doing other than work?

3.2.2 Resistances to Clock Time

Paul Lafargue's pamphlet, *Le Droit a la Paresse* ('The Right to Be Lazy') (Lafargue, 1883), is a response to the work ethic of capitalism, specifically its 'busyness'. Lafargue was married to Laura Marx, the daughter of Karl, and by 1906 this work became 'the most translated pamphlet since The Communist Manifesto'. Lafargue analysed the ways in which the newly industrialised workers were oppressed by a mixture of force and persuasion, taking issue with their demands for, and readiness to, work. He advocated a three hour working day, arguing that productivity would increase should working hours be reduced, 'But if the miserable reduction of two hours has increased English production by almost one third in ten years, what breathless speed would be given to French production by a legal limitation of the working day to three hours.' (Lafargue: 1883) Lafargue, citing the Manchester spinners, argued that should men (!) refuse to work such long hours, then necessity would bear invention as it did in Manchester and the Lancashire region with the invention of the spinning mule.

Darier (1998), citing Lafargue (1883), argues that the arrival of clock time and the consequent commodification of time meant that ideas about its 'sensible' use were hegemonic: wasting time was anathema, one ought to be occupied at all times, if not with 'work', then with improving occupations such as those designated 'rational'. Darier, in agreement with Glennie and Thrift, cautions against imagining that clock time has erased other 'concepts and experiences of time'. Clock time, he argues, allowed the speed of things to be measured in terms of 'the level of busyness', a

concept which extended also to recreation, leading Clarke and Critcher (1985: 5) to invoke the idea of the 'Protestant leisure ethic'. Darier outlines a history of the concept of laziness, arguing that the stereotype of the non-European as lazy became a justification for colonial rule. He suggests:

...from this current viewpoint, laziness might help us to move away from clock-time and towards conceptions of time in which people might re-shape their identity around 'being' rather than 'doing' and 'possessing'... A 'lazy self' - a 'green' self - should include a greater appreciation for the existence of non-anthropocentric times such as glacial time and geological time. (Darier, 1998: 205).

He argues too, '...that doing nothing – i.e. being “idle” or “lazy”- is an effective tactic of resistance against clock-time by precisely taking “time for utopia” at the level of daily lives' (Darier, 1998: 195). Lafargue's introductory statement urges laziness: 'Let us be lazy in everything, except in loving and drinking, except in being lazy' (Lessing:1 in Lafargue 1883). The weekend, though not perhaps in the context in which Lafargue expected it, might be the time and space to get lazy, to 'take time for utopia'.⁸ We shall see.

3.2.3 Late Modernity, Disorganised Capitalism and the Network Society

According to Castells: 'linear, irreversible, measurable, predictable time is being shattered in the network society.' (1996: 433). Urry (1994), Castells (1996) and Adam (2003) have all argued for the existence of time transformations at two historical moments, one during the industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism and the other happening contemporarily, during the creation of the information society, technology revolution or network society as it is variously termed. Mulgan and Wilkinson (1995) propose, in their discussion of post-industrial time, that it '...is endlessly flexible and malleable... where an extended present replaces the traditional distinction between past, present and future'. Similarly, Castells' argues that, although

⁸ The term 'time for utopia' is from Nassehi, A. (1994). No 'time for utopia': the absence of utopia contents in modern concepts of time. *Time and Society* 3, (1): 47-78.

the contemporary era is characterised by 'timeless time', particularly the financial markets (space of flows) and digital cultures, placed, lived cultures still operate by the clock in everyday life. He describes this as 'the conflictive differentiation of time'. This might be a useful way of understanding how ideas about the week and weekend are contestive/ed. One of the fundamental questions of this thesis is whether our 'lived' (whether physically, in our heads, or both) 5+2 rhythm collides with the twenty-four-hour, seven-day-a-week culture of the 'space of flows', how it does, if it does, and the implications for our social life. The *idea* of the twenty-four-hour society is present in symbolic locations; for example, in advertising and marketing, particularly that around the urban environment. It is manifested in quotidian speech as '24-7'. The *actuality* of it is experienced most keenly perhaps by those who have to work in the 'disorganised' world of 'open all hours' shops, restaurants and the business of 'servicing' everyday economies. Everyday life is more routinely infused with the idea of 'timeless time' as the eight-hour, trade-union mediated day of modernity and Fordism is replaced by the 'any time' of flexible working.

Similarly, Urry (1994) distinguishes 'organised capitalism' from 'disorganised capitalism' through an understanding of how time constitutes and is constitutive of different ways of being and exhibits particular, dominant, temporal characteristics. Like Glennie and Thrift (1996), he takes issue with Thompson (1967), arguing with his idea of pre-industrial time as utopian, where time is task- rather than clock-orientated. He makes the point, after O'Malley (1992), that pre-industrially, nature as well as the task would have been the temporal organiser and that the only respite came on the Sabbath. The concept of clock-time in industrial society, he argues, encompasses more than the clock itself. He cites 'calendars, diaries, timetables and newspapers' as means by which time was organised.

Urry identifies two time dimensions in what he terms the disorganised capitalist or postmodern world, 'glacial time' and 'instantaneous time'. In a world that is 'emptied of time and space', glacial time stands still. He argues that 'glacial time' penetrates our 'everyday consciousness' through our involvement with cultures of history such as heritage trails and city walks. He identifies three characteristics of instantaneous time. Firstly, a more individualised pattern of time-paths; secondly, a move from the expectation that one should wait for things to an expectation that they should happen

now; and, thirdly (and this is linked to a particular aspect of glacial time), 'the remarkable appeal of a commodified past' (1994: 138).

Urry discusses these differing temporalities particularly in relation to leisure. He first, rightly, problematises the concept of leisure arguing that it is not simply free time, that is, the bit left over after work. He argues that it is as constitutive of society as work and that it *involves* work for many people in that employment sector. He identifies four leisure 'areas': those of times, spaces, industries and activities. Characterising them in this manner facilitates discussion and evades simplistic definitions. These new ways of living time, Urry argues, do produce 'de-synchronised time-paths' for individuals. (Urry, 1994: 139). Urry goes on to argue that social life in disorganised capitalism is de-traditionalised; many of the institutions associated with organised capitalism such as the family, education, the law and government have broken down or been transformed. Contemporary social actors now have, he says, to develop identities that are based around different things than these institutions. They have to consider developing their own institutions and looking after them themselves. This involves a process of reflexivity, generated through forms of cultural capital, which in turn is facilitated by an instantaneous temporality. He cites allotment associations as an example of this 'turn away' from the big institution. In-depth interviews carried out as fieldwork for this thesis with members of an allotment association will be discussed later, to assess whether their role in the architecture of particular weekends continues. We can thus, in the chapters following, use his observations to analyse how these 'varied and segmented patterns' have reorganised or disorganised the weekend.

Garhammer (1995: 168) suggests that '...the balancing of everyday life has become more difficult for employees'. He makes the point that, 'The week's rhythm, laid out by the legal embodiment of the Sunday and the free Saturday (in industry) has long been a cornerstone of time culture for industrial work in West European countries' (Garhammer, 1995: 172) and hence that the 'dissolution of standard working hours' makes the balancing of everyday life more difficult for employees.

Garhammer notes the cyclical nature of the week's rhythm; Felski (2000), similarly characterises the temporality of everyday life as composed of 'natural, circadian

rhythms'. Garhammer, like Brannen (2002/03), worries about the consequences for 'social time' in the context of the increasing hegemony of 'linear time'. (Linear time) '...disconnects us from the *shared* or collective experiences of time, for example rituals and celebrations; for each of us is compelled to create our own time schedules, live in our own worlds, deciding when to stop work and when to begin again.' Garhammer's concerns about 'unsocial hours' are also echoed by Rubery et al (2005: 1, 35) whose data in more recent empirical work lead them to similar conclusions. It is indeed hard to understand how employees can possibly benefit from these moves towards 'de-traditionalising' the notion of 'unsocial hours'.

3.2.4 Gendered Time

Feminists have argued that during modernity a particular 'linear' temporality was hegemonic, even though much lived experience was 'cyclical'. In short, 'feminine' time was often associated with 'reproduction', and 'masculine' with 'production'. Since the experiences of men were ones that generally stood for *all* experience, those of women tended to be 'invisible', that is, until the politics of feminism insisted that feminist theory told a different story. Time has, until recent interventions, been assumed as undifferentiated. Social theorists are now beginning to unpick different temporalities.

Women, at the intersection of production and reproduction, often experience a clash between linear and cyclical temporalities. On the one hand they are expected to take much of the responsibility for caring, on the other they are expected to conform to the time demands of paid work, which is disciplinary in its temporal expectations. Paolucci (1998), for instance, argues that 'daily life' is a 'temporal jigsaw', more keenly felt by women. There is then, for some women, a clash of times, one which is difficult to negotiate, and one which is at the heart of the temporal regimes of capitalism. This antagonism might be especially keenly felt should women be expected to undertake paid work outside the home at weekends.

Deem (1996) takes issue with commonsense perceptions of time; she makes a critique of those who rely only on clock time (for example, time budgets) in

understanding temporality, pointing to its insufficiency in understanding the 'differential use of time' by women and men. Deem finds Adam's idea of 'own time' useful, a personalised temporal domain which is 'linked to shifts in personal circumstances, emotional states, health, age and context'. Deem reveals 'time fragmentation and scarcity' in women's lives, which might, in Urry's de-synchronous, de-traditionalised society, mean that some men are in a similar position. Jurczyk (1998) similarly argues that as 'gendered' time has become naturalised in the 'social order', women are generally expected to deal with the 'betwixt and between' of life, the care and emotional crises which no one else feels able to deal with. Adam (1995: 8) explains '...women's ambiguous relationship to time' as follows: '...a time that is generated and given cannot be encompassed within the time economy of employment relations'. She goes on, 'I demonstrate that, in other words, many women's times as well as the times of all of those outside the markets and paid employment are not translatable into an abstract exchange value, that such time, therefore, is constituted in the shadow of the market economy'. Consequently women and others in the 'shadow' may therefore, find it difficult to find time 'for themselves', as their work is not recognised and so there can be no 'reward' in 'time off'. Nowotny (1994: 41) argues for a political response to this lack of 'proper time' which she characterises as that which is, 'viewed as self-time from the perspective of the individual'. Nowotny cites everyday life as the '...successful rehabilitation of the time of ordinary people' (Nowotny, 1994: 102) and argues that, 'Public time has penetrated far into the private sphere, and private sphere, and private time can only be protected if it is made political.'

3.2.5 Temporal Multiplicities

Barbara Adam (1995) shares the view of Castells that modernity and industrialisation commodified time and that the digital age has changed the way in which some of us might experience time. Adam, however, goes further than Castells in identifying how we might analyse and recognise temporal multiplicities, insisting on their complex nature and the need for social scientists to make a reading of them that recognises their 'multiplicity, simultaneity and mutual implication'. To do so, she considers, we need to broaden our methodological and conceptual frameworks. Adam argues for a move beyond the more 'official' time measures of 'clocks and calendars, timetables

and schedules' towards 'the complexity of times-lived, experienced, generated, known, reckoned, allocated, controlled and used as abstract exchange value.' She reminds us that, 'Time-based invisibles should also be taken into account, for example, aspects of the multiple life-worlds and the past-future extension' (Adam, 1995: 8) and hence that we move beyond persistent cultural dualisms such as time as being either linear or cyclical. The delineating of a temporality as either this or that becomes meaningless. We can now posit it as having a 'bit of this and a bit of that', as cyclical and temporal. Life worlds will then demonstrate not one or the other, but an interweaving, a hybridity of time. Adam asserts that in order to achieve this 'we must pay serious attention to everyday experience', that the personal minutiae of everyday time must be analysed, through moving from 'the I to the we to the other', 'from the personal to the collective to the distant stranger'. (Adam, 1995: 6). As Castoriadis (in Glennie and Thrift, 1996: 278) notes, time 'has many species'. That may be the case, but, nevertheless, not all 'times' have equal power to determine or enable our actions; I would argue that there is a temporal hegemony which may not determine, but certainly constrains what each of us is able to do.

3.3 The Weekend and Space

This section does not pretend an expertise in the breadth of geographical literature. What it does attempt, however, is a review of the literature of key social theorists who have given prominence to spatial analyses. Spatial theory seems less clearly developed and delineated than the literature on time. It is more difficult to comprehend perhaps because, as Lefebvre (1991 [1974]: 1) has observed, 'Not so many years ago the word "space" had a strictly geometrical meaning...the general feeling was that the concept of space was a strictly mathematical one. To speak of "social space", therefore would have sounded strange.' It is fundamental in any examination of the weekend to analyse spatiality as well as temporality; to discuss one without the other, would not constitute a proper analysis. As Foucault has said, 'space is fundamental in any form of communal life...' (quoted in Soja, 1989: 19)

3.3.1 The Contribution of Henri Lefebvre

The French social theorist, Henri Lefebvre, whose insistence on the re-assertion of the spatial culminated in his work *La Production de l'Espace* (Lefebvre, 1974: , 1991 [1974]), was to provide an enduring framework for understanding and analysing the spatial. His work (Lefebvre, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]) explicitly encompasses both 'the spatial' and 'the everyday'. Shields (1999: 188) emphasises his significance as '...a conducting wire of ideas...His ideas electrified not one generation but a century on the Left, and they found their mark not just in France – or even in Europe, but also left a mark in distant communities, *barrios*, struggles and debates, most notably in the Americas.' His life was lived mostly as an academic and intellectual, but also at moments as a taxi driver and as part of the resistance in the Second World War. These experiences and his involvement in the Paris *evenements* of 1968 informed his insistence that an analysis of lived experience was necessary when exploring social transformation and where and how it might occur. Shields (Shields, 1999: 7) perceptively states that, 'Lefebvre's life history reveals him to be a hybrid, and ironically his focus on the dialectic was quite appropriate to the synthetic nature of his character.' He grew up in the Pyrenees and led his professional life mostly in Paris, writing in his earlier career on the rural and more recently on the city. He therefore had an understanding of both rural and urban experiences which were synthesised through his work. His emphasis on 'the festival' as a transformative site or state certainly has echoes of the rural French '*fete*', still an enduring institution in French villages. Lefebvre's emphasis on 'the festive' and 'moments' of dis-alienation incapable of commodification, point to some of the same concerns as Bakhtin in the latter's analysis of the 'oppositional' nature of the pre-industrial lived 'festive'. Lefebvre, did in fact write a monograph about Rabelais (Lefebvre, 1955) which, up until 1999, had not been translated into English. He was at this time a member of the Communist Party who had been influenced by surrealism, but later was to leave the party on account of its bureaucracy.

He was passionate about the need to theorise the spatial and to see it regarded in the same light as time. The aim of his book (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]) was to 'detonate' the separation of time and space in social theory, promoting 'theoretical unity' between

what have been regarded as separate fields and restoring the spatial to an equal, rather than subservient, role in relation to time. Further, he wanted to see attention paid by western intellectual thought to all forms of the spatial, not only the mental and abstract, but the physical and the social. He emphasises the need to understand how mental and physical space 'involve, underpin and pre-suppose one another'. His insistence on the 'production' of space emphasises it as a process rather than a product. It also underlines his understanding that it is produced actively by social actors, rather than as so often proposed, as some kind of inert, unchanging *mise-en-scene*, not constituted through power or resistance. He has harsh words for Kristeva, Derrida and Barthes, his intellectual contemporaries:

...this school, whose growing renown may have something to do with its growing dogmatism, is forever promoting the basic sophistry whereby the philosophico-epistemological notion of space is fetishized and the mental realm comes to envelop the social and physical ones. Although a few of these authors suspect the existence of, or the need of, some meditation, most of them spring without the slightest hesitation from the mental to the social. (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 5-6)

Shields (1999: 122) explains Lefebvre's criticism of the structuralists' position more simply as 'The denial of historical change and of people as the agents of those changes.' So, Lefebvre would agree with Marx that, 'The philosophers have *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point is to *change* it' (Marx, 1970: 123) (with perhaps the insertion of 'also' before 'change').

Lefebvre works conceptually in triads rather than dualities. He feels that there is space for change in conceiving of relationships in a three, rather than a twosome. His triad or as Shields understands it 'the trialectic' of the 'three moments of social space' consist of 'the physical, the mental and the social' taken a step further as 'the perceived, conceived and lived', and still further as 'spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces'. '*Spatial practice* embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*.' (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 33). More simply it can be understood as '...those routes and interactions between work, rest and play' which can be 'revealed

by deciphering space' (Merrifield, in Crang and Thrift, 2000: 175). These are the practices which 'structure everyday reality.' They might include the spatial trajectory of someone who lives in a council flat in Manchester and works in an office in one of the universities in the city. The second element of the triad is, '*Representations of space*, which are tied to the relations of production and to the "order" which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to "frontal" relations' (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 33) is a conceptualised space and therefore the space of ideology, knowledge and power as produced by the managerial elites. This is the site of the production of space, which is, for him, the space of capital. The third component of the triad is '*representational spaces*', which '...embody complex symbolism, sometimes coded sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces)' (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 33). This is directly lived space, space experienced by its inhabitants. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its properties. It is a 'dominated space', one that the 'imagination might seek to change', thereby emphasising the dialectical relationship between the mental and the social that Lefebvre emphasises. For him, mental work can change physical reality. Adam Ranson has articulated an innovative way of articulating 'the trialectic' for his students, through using the analogy of the college car park. Spatial practices are defined by 'what people do in the car park, whilst 'representations of space' is 'what the car park is meant to be used for' and 'representational space' is defined as 'in the car park looking up at the stars'⁹. The latter is something that the weekend might inadvertently allow time for. Whilst still a dominated space and time, there may be enough 'cracks and crevices' at the weekend to look up at the stars, as it were:

Lefebvre argues that modern society contains within it, both repressive and emancipatory qualities. It is under capitalism where the contradiction between the material and technological potential for freedom and the subjective and objective alienation is most acute, but also where the possibility of a transformed social existence is glimpsed clearly for the first time in human history. (Gardiner, 2000: 77)

Lefebvre argues that there can be a dialectical relationship between the three which can be dynamic and his aim is a theoretical unity between all three elements,

⁹ www.adamranson.freerve.co.uk/Lefebvre.html

recognising that they are contradictory, alienating and yet producing the potential for transformation. Lefebvre argues for the ‘...introduction of new ideas – in the first place the idea of a diversity or multiplicity of spaces quite distinct from that multiplicity which results from segmenting and cross-sectioning space *ad infinitum*’ (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 27). That is an interesting idea since it recognises the politics of space and the need for self-determination rather than colonisation. In the latter years of the twentieth century, considerations of ‘the spatial’ were to become important to social theorists, some of whose work will be discussed below.

3.3.2 Space Matters: Space and Modernity

Alongside the recent theoretical re-appraisal of the nature of temporality and inspired by the work of Lefebvre amongst others, there is a similar re-assessment of ‘the spatial’, in which a growing number of social theorists subscribe to the view that ‘space matters’. Giddens, Massey, Soja and Lefebvre, all subscribe to the view that the ‘long wave’ of modernity and the social relations of capitalism and industrialisation re-organised and re-constituted our lived world. In their analyses, an understanding of the re-constitution of spatiality in the modern world is essential if we are to understand that world. It is generally agreed that both space and time are constitutive of social life, rather than the backdrop upon which life is drawn.

Giddens (1990) sees the understanding of how ‘institutions are situated in time and space’ as crucial to the analysis and understanding of modernity. Industrialisation, capitalism and modernity altered profoundly the ‘spatial practice’ of society just as they did the ‘temporal’ practice. For Giddens, neither time nor space should be privileged. He discusses modernity as characterised by ‘time-space distancing’, or the way in which ‘time and space are organised so as to connect presence and absence’. Pre-modern society, he asserts, was characterised by face-to-face contact and communication, whereas modernity separated time and space. He gives the example of a person being ‘closer’ to someone they are in conversation with on the telephone, than they are to a person in the same room. The digital revolution has exacerbated these opportunities. Modernity, Giddens asserts, is characterised by ‘extreme dynamism’, a feature which he identifies in three parts, which are all constituted through new forms of spatiality. Disembedding is perhaps the most

significant of these processes. This he describes as 'the "lifting out" of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space.' (Giddens, 1990: 21). He discusses money as one of these disembedding mechanisms, 'deferring' as it does an immediate exchange of products, into a debted present and a credited future. It ensures transactions between 'widely separated agents'. Giddens sums it up nicely thus, 'Money does not relate to time (or more accurately time-space) as a flow, but precisely as a means of bracketing time-space by coupling instantaneity and deferral, presence and absence' (Giddens, 1990: 25). For Giddens then, space matters, in understanding and making sense of modernity, in both its early and late manifestations, and in re-drawing the sociological map in terms of spatial and temporal practice.

Soja describes modernity as 'the specificity of being alive, in the world, at a particular time and place...As such the experience of modernity captures a broad mesh of sensibilities that reflects the specific and changing meanings of the three most basic and formative dimensions of human existence: space, time and being' (Soja, 1989: 25). He goes on to suggest the abstract equivalents of that triad: spatiality, temporality and social being. Through these concepts he proceeds to analyse late modernity, or as he refers to it, the post-modern, (though Soja's post-modernity has a different interpretation than many who use that term).

Soja's analysis is, perhaps more explicitly political. For him, space matters in terms of its role in analysing capitalism and how that knowledge might produce transformation. He is scathing about the marginalising of a spatial perspective in favour of a temporal one and suggests our aim should be 'to spatialize the historical narrative, to attach to *durée* an enduring critical human geography' (Soja, 1989: 1). He makes an analysis of how Marx and the Marxist left have conceptualised spatiality in their proposals for change. Soja is adamant that an analysis of space must be part of this project. He says, 'The political challenge for the postmodern left, as I see it, demands first recognition and interpretation of the dramatic and often confusing fourth modernisation of capitalism that is presently taking place' (Soja, 1989: 5). He calls for this to be 'consciously spatialised from the outset'.

Massey (1994) argues for 'confronting in a constructive way, this changed state of the world' and therefore makes her main focus 'the conceptualisation of the spatial'. For her, space matters, both politically and theoretically. Only through an analysis of the spatial and its dimensions, can social relations be properly appraised. A collection of essays, Massey's book deals both with theoretical questions and their application. 'A Global Sense of Place', for instance, helps us understand Giddens' notion of 'presence' and 'absence', making the point that social relations can exist '*in absentia*', but nevertheless can have a spatial and therefore a social impact. Massey very skilfully analyses gender relations in terms of the spatial, demonstrating the way in which gender binaries are mapped on to that of time-space, the masculine-feminine of history-geography.

3.3.3 Gendered Space

Since the 1960s, geographical concerns have been transformed through feminist scholarship and praxis. Feminists, whether geographers or not, academics or not, have recognised the inscription of power relations in the constitution and production of space. Twenty years or so ago Greenham Common peace campaigners drew attention to the military industrial space of American bases by camping outside Greenham base, sometimes 'invading' it and in the process drawing attention to a network of European spaces subject to military colonisation. Campaigns such as this illustrate the centrality of space in arguments around power and gender and its importance to the state.

Feminist academic work has re-iterated how industrialisation and capitalism separated public and private space: the former was inscribed as 'feminine' and the latter 'masculine'. Feminists insisted on their right visibly to occupy the public, and for the private to be more transparent. Implicitly there was a hope that the spatial binaries might dissolve. Rose (1993) writes that Ardener, as early as 1981, discussed 'the way in which the "social map" of patriarchy was translated into the "ground rules" of spatial behaviour': in it, Ardener (1981) declared, 'behaviour and space are mutually dependent'. Doreen Massey (1994) contends that time is perceived as 'masculine' and space as 'feminine', the former being hegemonic of the latter. She maps out the dualisms, time being associated with History and Progress, and space

with stasis and reproduction. Massey argues that 'time is the privileged signifier and space is defined through absence'. She makes the point, as do Soja, Giddens and Lefebvre, that space and time are 'inextricably interwoven'.

Was the weekend initially 'permitted' as part of the compromise between capital and labour with working men only in mind or did women derive some pleasure from it too? Since there is a silence around direct discussion of the weekend, both in social theory and more generally, we can almost regard it as 'the other' of the week. Might that mean that in contradiction of it being a time and space for men, that it is feminised in some way? Since popular culture is associated with the 'feminine', and the weekend is often inscribed in this field, could we regard Friday nights, Saturdays and Sundays as 'she', or maybe as a 'third space', one where different identities can be rehearsed without punishment, where bell hooks' notion of 'home' might be significant? Killian's (Killian, 2002) work addresses the latter question in her research with 45 Maghrebin women in France. 'Culture on the weekend...' details the way in which the time of the weekend and the space of the home allows Maghrebin women to maintain their ethnic identity in the face of French acculturation, at the weekend. Killian writes, 'Often traditional behaviours, including cooking and wearing Maghrebin dress, were practiced "on the weekend", a natural boundary between the private and the public (time for self vs time for work; home vs street)' (Killian, 2002: 101). Analysing the weekend necessarily means that, as Massey says, 'We need to conceptualise space as constructed out of sets of interrelations, as the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations and interactions at all spatial scales, from the most local level to the most global' (Massey, 1992: 80)

3.3.4 Space in the Network Society.

Soja (1989) and Giddens (1990) discuss whether there is an epochal 'break' which we might understand as post-modernity. Giddens is adamant that contemporary social relations should still be characterised in terms of modernity rather than post-modernity, albeit a 'deeper', more complex and intense modernity. His conception of

spatiality is one, therefore, rooted, as he puts it, in 'high' modernity. Soja, on the other hand is happy to use the term post-modernity, but is very specific about his interpretation; he cites recent economic liberalisation as its 'driver'. His is a Marxist interpretation of social relations. Soja characterises spatial re-structuring firstly, in terms of the re-structuring of knowledge, which regards the spatial as constitutive, which he calls 'post-historicism', secondly the re-organisation of capital and labour and their relations which he terms post-fordism, and thirdly the nature of the spatial of modernity, modernisation and modernism, which he calls 'post-modernism'.

Soja's analysis generally concurs with Manuel Castells (1996). Here, he argues that, since capitalism is restructuring, we can expect that 'new spatial forms and processes are currently emerging.' He links times and spaces effectively through suggesting that 'space is the material support of time-sharing social practices'. These he characterises as 'spaces of flows' and 'spaces of places'. He defines 'the space of flows' as having three layers, through which networks of various sorts define the new spatiality. One such is the matrix of electronic communications, which Castells likens to a railway network. Layered upon this are what he terms 'the nodes and hubs, the exchangers and communicators', the hubs, which can be recognised in global cities such as Tokyo and the nodes which are more locally based, but networked via the hubs. The third layer of the space is where the production and reproduction of the dominant managerial elites is located and includes their work, rest and play places. He contrasts the organisation and articulation of this space with the disorganised one of what he refers to as 'the masses'. In this interpretation of social relations, the elite are cosmopolitan and the others are local. The 'locals' live in places which Castells characterises as '...a locale whose form, function and meaning are self-contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity' (Castells, 1996). In this model, the cultural lives of the elites are nodal in the space of flows, where power and capital reside. Lived experience in 'places' can be understood in opposition to life 'in the flow', but as having some kind of relationship. Places may not always be 'easy' to live in but nevertheless they are characterised by interwoven 'cultures and histories'. This relationship might be understood as one between global and local, essential as far as Castells is concerned, to the continued health of 'the social', where he feels the 'space of flows' is encroaching on the 'space of places' and imposing its cultural logic. Castells hints at dire consequences of this and argues for

'bridges' to be built between the two spaces. Savage *et al.* (2005) make a critique of Castells, arguing that he separates the global and the local, emphasising the domination of the former and constituting the latter as '...local societies...not themselves as motors of change'. Savage advocates reconfiguring the global-local relationship so that, 'The global thus does not stand above the local, but are a particular set of network ties, with the result that there is no 'one' global, but an infinite multiplicity of global relationships, all constituted in various forms through particular local configurations'. He argues (against the conceptual vagueness of Giddens for example) for the local to be taken seriously as '...an irritant to the epochal and speculative character of much contemporary social theory' (Savage *et al.*, 2005: 6).

Doreen Massey (1991) makes an argument for 'globalising' a 'sense of place', one which may further illuminate the arguments of Castells and Savage. She draws attention to what Giddens (1990: 19) calls the 'phantasmagoria' of modern place, where 'locales are thoroughly penetrated by, and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them.' He goes on 'What structures the locale is not simply that which is present in the scene; the 'visible form' of the locale conceals the distanced relations which determine its nature.' Massey interweaves the global and local strands in her own locale of Kilburn High St. She identifies the posters advertising political meetings around the troubles in Ireland, Irish authored plays on at the local theatres, Asian textile and clothing shops and contrasts those 'everyday', placed, global-local links with the flights overhead of (mostly) those active in the 'space of flows'. A further important point that she makes is that 'time-space' compression is not experienced in the same way by much of the world's population. Massey's means of articulating this is through what she terms 'power-geometry'. She gives examples of the 'social differentiation' in the ability to move and communicate, but also in the 'degree of control and initiation' of this power-geometry. Massey, therefore, recognises the power of the information age, but makes important points about the responsibility on those in both 'spaces' to recognise something about the other but also, ultimately, to alter the balance of power.

Undoubtedly, modernity brought new understandings of time and space which were produced through industrialisation and the consequent 'bureaucratic society of

controlled consumption'(Lefebvre, 1984). The post 1970s world has seen a new phase in capitalism which has further accelerated time-space distancing; there is as yet no clear consensus on whether this represents a different era, a new global epoch.

3.4 Everyday Life

In this section the work of some predominant theorists in this field will be discussed in the context of firstly, everyday life as a form of knowledge, secondly, everyday life in the context of space and modernity and thirdly its place as a site of resistance and transformation. The conclusion will discuss how these 'contexts' might illuminate how 'weekendness' in Manchester can be understood as constituting part of everyday life.

3.4.1 Introduction

Everyday life as a subject for academic enquiry did not appear until the 1920s and in sociology only after the Second World War (Bennett and Watson, 2002). Everyday life as a concept and a lived experience came about during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when areas of social life began to be distinguished from each other in particular ways. The quotidian emanated from the spatialities and temporalities of capitalism and industrialisation and was designated as a 'feminised' domain, associated as it was with the home and all that went on there. Its symbolic resonance rendered everyday life as somehow separate from the public sphere, and thus less important there. Despite its being seen as the lesser of the two spheres of public and private, the nineteenth century and bourgeois anxiety made it an object of surveillance. For instance, Frank Jordan, a middle-class commentator (Jordan, 1904), writes of his 'tour of inspection' around Manchester on a Saturday night. In the decades after the Second World War, social theorists began to try and make sense of everyday life in a number of different ways. Whilst Lefebvre, Heller and some years later De Certeau attempted a more philosophical approach, mostly to assess it as the site from which transformation might come, other studies worked more empirically. In the US, the Chicago school was interested in how to realise an honest

account of life amongst the poor in the cities, one example being ‘Street Corner Society’ (Whyte, 1955). Whyte’s introduction gives some hints on the approach, ‘If we can get to know these people intimately and understand relations between the little guy and little guy, big shot and little guy and big shot and big shot, then we know how Cornerville society is organised, On the basis of that knowledge it becomes possible to explain people’s loyalties and the significance of political and racket activities’ (Whyte, 1955: xx). Whilst there were problems with that approach, nevertheless the importance of understanding everyday life as other than a problem was acknowledged. Mass Observation in the UK, with less of an explicitly academic rationale, comprised of, ‘... a team of whole-time paid investigators, observing others objectively; and a nation-wide system of volunteer observers providing information about themselves and their everyday lives’ (Mass-Observation, 1987: xiv). Mass Observation was (and is; the organisation still gathers material, though less conspicuously) perhaps one of the most sustained attempts in the UK to ‘document’ everyday life. The detail of routines and habits was minute and, despite its questionable ethics, makes for fascinating reading. Unlike the continental European theorists of the everyday, ‘Mass Observers’ were not necessarily interested in whether change might emanate from the everyday, although a link can be made between them and Lefebvre, since they were both influenced by the Surrealist movement, and certainly elements of the surreal can be seen in some of the methods used by MO. Indeed it was the surreal which influenced the perspective of Lefebvre in his notion of the break with alienation; the everyday would produce epiphanic moments from which transformation would occur – the ‘moment’ of the festival for instance. Similarly, Raymond Williams and Richard Hoggart in the UK in the 1960s, although working ‘materially’ rather than philosophically, still insisted on the importance of recognising the everyday and ‘the popular’ as ‘proper’ culture, worthy of analysis.

The everyday has often been associated with reproduction - the routine, the dull and the uninspiring, offering little respite from alienation other than consumption. Of course it was gendered and it was women with whom it was associated. Feminisms though, offered an epistemological break with this perspective. Drawing on the work of theorists of the everyday, women such as Smith (1987), hooks (1991), Wierling (1995) and Felski (2000) reassess the importance of everyday life, hooks in particular

turning the white male idea of home as of secondary importance right on its head, as she speaks of the role of home as salvation. Other feminists remind us that home can be a dangerous place, but that always ‘the personal is political’. All reassess the importance of everyday life and restore the quotidian to a central place in public life.

3.4.2 What is Everyday Life and What is Not?

Following the years in which the work of Henri Lefebvre, Agnes Heller and Michel de Certeau were published, there seemed to be a period of theoretical invisibility for discussions interpreting everyday life. Recently, it has once again become a subject for debate, notably in the work of Felski (2000), Silverstone (1997), Giddens (1984), Bennett and Watson (2002).

The quotidian existence of both Agnes Heller and Henri Lefebvre was to significantly influence each of their philosophies. In their focus on the everyday, they both recognised that out of what is generally regarded as the mundane and unimportant might come the mainsprings of history, both as produced and felt by social actors. Lefebvre underlines the significance of the quotidian in a reading of Joyce’s *Ulysses*: ‘The history of a single day includes the history of the world and of civilisation...’ (Lefebvre, 1984: 4). Heller similarly recognises the significance of the everyday:

... everyday life is the basis of the current of history. It is from the currents of everyday life that the greater conflicts of society in the mass are generated: answers have to be found to the questions thrown up in these conflicts, and no sooner are these settled than they appear to re-shape and re-structure everyday life anew. (Heller, 1984: 47)

Heller lived her everyday life through a great deal of political upheaval in her native country of Hungary; she was expelled from the Communist Party and the University of Budapest, spending time teaching in a secondary school until her ‘rehabilitation’ (Gardiner, 2000). This repression impacted on her academic work, where she imagined change coming from below, rather than being imposed from above. Lefebvre, similarly, lived through turbulent times, and was anxious to contribute to the ‘new’ possibilities of post-war France, but realised that, ‘In France at that time economic and social existence were in the process of reconstruction, and many

people believed that they were building a new society, when all they were really doing was to re-establish the old order in a slightly modified form' (Lefebvre, 1984: 30). He, as Heller did later, searched for an alternative Marxism, one that saw 'transformation' emanating from a different place than those who made a strictly economic reading of Marx's work. His means of transformation is '...everyday life, to re-discover everyday life – no longer to neglect and disown it, elude and evade it – but actively to rediscover it while contributing to its transfiguration...' (Lefebvre, 1984: 202).

How, then, do Lefebvre and Heller define everyday life? Heller argues, 'We may define 'everyday life' as the aggregate of those individual reproduction factors which, *pari passu* make social reproduction possible.' She goes on to make the point that everyday life exists in every society and that everyone has an everyday life, but that 'their content and structure' are different, and the activities required to reproduce, say, a farm worker are different from those that reproduce an accountant (Heller, 1984: 3). She emphasises in a later piece, as Gardiner reports, that 'Everyday life is not "something" but rather the shared modern life experience on which our intersubjective constitution of the world rests' (Heller, 1987, cited in Gardiner, 2000: 132).

Lefebvre understands the everyday as a cyclical phenomenon, marked by repetition, at one moment citing it as 'the meeting place of all repetitions', an interpretation which he seems to struggle with, since the linear, he feels, is more dynamic. In his reading, Marx's 'moment of becoming' appears to contradict the idea of 'cycles'. (More contemporary theorists of the quotidian have taken issue with his idea of the cyclical as 'reactionary' as we shall see later). He suggests that the 'residual' nature of this cyclical domain 'is fundamentally at odds with the modern drive towards progress and accumulation' (Felski, 2000: 18). Nonetheless, Lefebvre realises its possibilities: 'As a compendium of seemingly unimportant activities and of products and exhibits other than natural.....' he asks whether it could be '...a lower sphere of meaning, a place where creative energy is stored in readiness for new creations...a moment made of moments...the dialectical interaction that is the inevitable starting point for the realisation of the possible' (Lefebvre, 1984: 14).

Felski (2000), in a feminist reading of the everyday, builds on, and in doing so makes a critique of, the work of Lefebvre and de Certeau. She ‘pieces together an alternative definition of the quotidian, grounded in three key facets: time (routine), space (home) and modality (habit)’ (Felski, 2000: 18). Felski outlines the ‘secular’ and ‘democratic’ nature of the everyday, its turning away from ‘superstition and magic’ and its sense of ‘shared mundanity’ (Felski, 2000: 16). She notes the association of the everyday particularly with women and the working class and goes on to outline how it has been written in particular social theory as the realm of ‘the alienated’ and ‘the residual’. Whilst she might welcome the way in which Michel de Certeau (de Certeau, 1984) sees a positive side of everyday life, she takes issue with his ‘heroic’ metaphors which, she argues, fail to convey ‘the very everydayness of the everyday’, a quality which she wishes to emphasise. She discusses the way in which women particularly are associated with ‘the rhythmic’ and of how this feminised temporality is understood by Lefebvre as ‘holding back’ the dynamic linearity of modern time. She argues for these different temporalities to be regarded as intersubjective, rather than as binaries. ‘The temporality of everyday life is internally complex: it combines repetition and linearity, recurrence with forward movement’ (Felski, 2000: 21). In similar vein, she argues for the ‘everyday significance of home..... to be imagined differently’ (Felski, 2000: 24). Felski puts a word in too, for what she terms the ‘modality’ of the everyday, that of habit. She articulates it as ‘fundamental way of being-in-the-world’ and ‘an essential part of our embeddedness’. This ties in with her insistence on respecting ‘everydayness’, something we shall analyse in parallel with ‘weekendness’

Everyday life is often definitionally characterised in particularly rigid terms. For instance, if we accept some definitions of the everyday as ‘the residual’, then the weekend is not accepted as part of the everyday because of its association with ‘the special’ or ‘excess’. It is understood in a sociological sense as ‘sacred’ or ‘marked’ (Zerubavel, 1985). Some argue that the weekend cannot be regarded as ‘the everyday’. Mackay (1997: 7), for instance, writes of everyday life, that, ‘In an anthropological sense, it refers to the everyday, the humdrum, the routine, even the drudgery, as distinct from Sunday, the weekend or the festival. In this sense, it encompasses our taken-for-granted routines, that which we repeat daily - as distinct from the exceptional or sacred interludes in these.’ According to this account ‘the

everyday' absolutely excludes the more pleasurable routines of the weekend, its conviviality and festive quality. It is vital, if we are to recast notions of the everyday to 'write in' the festive, to take issue with the idea of the everyday as only a 'residuum.'

Harald Dehne, in his discussion of the conceptual difference between *Lebensweise* ('long waves') and *Altag*, ('pulsing life') takes issue with Mackay's perspective, emphasising the importance of the festive to the everyday:

The referential domain of *Altagsgeschichte* cannot be restricted *a priori*. The key arena of work cannot be excluded, nor can that of non-work, or Sundays and festivals. Of course workers are dressed differently on Sundays and often only really enjoyed their free time on such days, and so forth. Nonetheless, such "bright spots" also belong to the round of everyday life, even if they are expressive of quite different routines. (Dehne, 1995: 123-125)

In the spirit of Felski's work, one would hope that 'the sacred and profane', the 'marked and unmarked' would both be present in everyday life.

3.4.3 Everyday Life, Modernity and Space

The quotidian, Lefebvre argues, emerged in the nineteenth century, a product of industrialisation and of modernity. Indeed he argues at one point that, 'The quotidian and the modern mark and mask, legitimate and counterbalance one another'; arguing further that it is difficult to ascertain whether modernity signifies the everyday or *vice versa* (Lefebvre, 1984: 25). Heller argues, similarly, that pre-modern society did not have a separate domain of the quotidian:

In the modern social arrangement, everyday life is truncated. It encompasses only the life within the family, among neighbours and this is not considered to be a life at all. (Heller, 1999: 58)

Gardiner (2000: 130) notes Heller's discussion of the 'sensuousness' of science and the 'pleasure' of art and their 'fruitful' exchange during the Renaissance, one that had ended by the close of the seventeenth century.

Modernity thus produced a situation where the 'status' of individuals came to depend on their work, on their conduct in public life. Modernity meant that the status of the

everyday became ideologically (though not necessarily actually) the domain of women; their lives were then considered less important on the public stage. The space of the everyday, Felski (2000) argues, is thus that of the home. She questions the way in which theorists of modernity (such as Lefebvre) have written 'home' out of the modern and she makes the important point that whilst home is not the only space of everyday life, for many women it is their most significant one. Felski questions the conceptualisation of modernity as associated with anything but the home, and asks us to consider carefully whether it should always be associated with 'getting away' from everyday life. Heller (1984) also discusses the spatial aspect of everyday life, identifying the 'segmentations' used to identify the spatiality of the domain and their signification, and the 'fixed point' of home, from which comes the 'radius of our actions'. Others would perhaps disagree about the 'fixity' of home, since so many of the world's population are home-less, and for a significant proportion of women and children, home is a place of, if not danger, then significant frustration. Since Heller wrote this, digital technology has stretched the 'radius of our actions' significantly. Nonetheless, I think we might all agree, that however nomadic we might be, and whether mobility is chosen or forced in some way, it is always good to have a 'home' to come back to.

bell hooks (hooks, 1991), also writing from a feminist perspective, discusses the role of the home in African-American culture: 'Throughout our history, African Americans have recognised the subversive value of homeplace, of having access to private space where we do not directly encounter white racist aggression.' (hooks, 1991: 47). Contradicting Lefebvre's version of the meaning of home as 'a place to get away from,' she writes of the absolute centrality of home in the history of African-American people. For her, the everyday space of home was a place to go back to. In opposition too, to some feminist accounts, the home in this context is not necessarily seen as a site of oppression, but conversely 'where one could freely confront the issue of humanisation, where one could resist. Black women resisted by making homes where all black people could be subjects not objects...' (hooks, 1991: 42). hooks' analysis reminds us that there are many everyday lives, lived under different circumstances, in different contexts, under different regimes of power. This has lessons for both our empirical work and its analysis; the story of one home does not speak for all.

3.4.4 Everyday Life as a Form of Knowledge

Everyday life, as we have discussed earlier, has been relegated to the place associated with nature rather than culture, of the physical rather than mental. The production of knowledge about both its form (its shape) and content (what people do) must be important, if we accept its centrality in both the *longue duree* and the more ‘pulsar’ microcosmic daily rhythms, which both shape and are shaped through and by, the everyday. Feminist academics have challenged the boundaries of knowledge, the way in which the everyday is shaped in intellectual discourse, that is, what is ‘admissible’ knowledge, and who is perceived as being ‘capable’ of producing it.

Dorothy. E. Smith (1987) has written about the ‘knowledge’ of women and how it is ‘deleted’ through academic discourse. Smith was concerned with ‘how to write the social...to make it visible,’ more specifically, with how sociology, in particular, can represent the social world of women, in a form which ‘tells it their way’, rather than being overlaid with ‘intellectual discourse’. She makes a distinction between defining the everyday world as ‘an object of study’ and understanding it as a ‘problematic’. She argues that Lefebvre analyses it as the former, and therefore it becomes a ‘self-contained universe of enquiry’, extracted from the everyday world, and that ‘mainstream, institutionalised forms of sociology present us with versions of the social world that are systematically exclusionary and distorting’ (Gardiner, 2000: 184). The way round this, to understand the standpoint of women, she argues, is to ‘direct’ ourselves ‘to an “embodied subject” located in an actual historical setting.’ The work of many theorists of everyday life lacks the important dimension of ‘grounded’ empirical work. This, it could be argued, undermines much of the explanatory power of its theories. Smith concludes her book with powerful rhetoric reminding us of the necessity of considering the way in which we conduct the research process and the means through which we disseminate its findings. She urges us to remember the politics of research at all levels, of gathering, writing and disseminating material, of representing women of the research on their terms and of doing that through a focus on everyday life.

Wierling (1995: 154) writes of the connection between the marginalisation of everyday life and, by implication, its primary subjects, women. ‘After all, both

“everyday life” and “women” are categories associated with similar connotations: non-political, private, informal, powerless, exposedboth often connote “nature”. She goes on, ‘The demand to deconstruct the category “women”, to historicize and regionalise it, is also valid when it comes to everyday life...’ To reappraise everyday life is then, according to Wierling, to re-appraise the position of women in particular and gender more generally. It is to recognise the everyday as a form of knowledge of which the most learned are women.

Lefebvre notes the way in which knowledge binaries are constructed which situate the everyday at the margins of knowledge. He writes (Lefebvre, 1984: 11), of ‘how the “world” is divided into the world of everyday life (real, empirical, practical) and the world of metaphor...’ He makes the point that philosophy is often seen as the antithesis of everyday life, the former representing ‘ideality’, to the latter’s ‘reality’. Furthermore, he argues that everyday life can only be understood in its entirety through philosophical work. His work, despite its emphasis on the importance of everyday life, rarely offers us material reference points, through which we can make sense of his philosophy.

Raymond Williams, on the other hand, in his essay ‘Culture is Ordinary’ (Williams, 1989 (1958)), reoriented the meaning of culture in a more democratic way, so that everyday life, particularly working class everyday life and its culture, was understood and valued on the same terms as ‘bourgeois’ culture. He saw as insidious the way in which Cambridge tearoom culture and the ‘knowledge’ of the kind of people that frequented it, was accepted as the ‘culture’ of England, the one to which we should all aspire. Of significance is the way in which he represents the site of the cultural ‘knower’ in a tea shop. The site of the ‘known’ (his family and all the social actors in his everyday life) is much more mundane, from the bus journey he makes from Hereford to his own village, to his description of a conversation with members of his family. Indeed, he recognises that the everyday is the locus of social relations. After describing in some detail his bus stop, what was screening at the cinema across the road from there, the relationship between the bus driver and the conductress and the landscape on the journey home he remarks: ‘Culture is ordinary: that is where we must start. To grow up in that country was to see the shape of a culture, and its modes of change. I could stand on the mountain and look north to the farms and

cathedral, or south to the smoke and the flare of the blast furnace making a second sunset. To grow up in that family was to see the shaping of minds: the learning of new skills, the shifting of relationships, the emergence of different language and ideas.’ (Williams, 1989 (1958)).

It is extraordinary that even now, this essay has a freshness and resonance around everyday life, which almost half a century later is still missing from contemporary accounts. Williams makes a plea for the ordinary, working class everyday and its social actors to be respected where due, and to be taken seriously. There is analytical intent if you like, but that does not obscure its materiality and its relevance today when the everyday life of working class people is being grievously misrepresented in the ‘chav’ stereotype.

Whilst Lefebvre, De Certeau, Smith, Williams and others have been concerned with the theoretical contours of the quotidian, MO, between 1937 and 1949, was wholly concerned with researching empirically, the materiality of the everyday, the things ordinary people did on a Saturday night, for instance.. Theirs was an ambitious attempt at understanding the ‘condition of Britain’ by a small group of artists and ‘dropped out’ academics, and volunteers who were sought through advertisements in a number of daily and weekly publications. ‘By the end of 1937, over 500 people had been recruited as unpaid Observers through appeals in the press’ (Calder and Sheridan, 1984: 5). Each participant was asked to keep a diary detailing everything they did between getting up and going to bed on the twelfth day of each month. Added to this were interviews and ‘observations’ conducted by the MO team, mostly in ‘Worktown’ (Bolton) and Blackheath in London.

This work has attracted a number of criticisms, most notably for its relations of research production, in that the team leading the project were overwhelmingly middle class and their ‘subjects’, working class. (See Highmore, 2002: 75-112 for a discussion). Like Lefebvre, Mass Observation drew on Surrealist ideas. They also drew on psychoanalysis, for instance in the design of their questionnaires (Gardiner, 2000: 82). Nevertheless, as suggested earlier, there is an attempt to document and understand the everyday in its mundane detail. One example is a typical Sunday of Phyllis Walden:

7:30. I go down, make tea - take up tray - we both have tea and digestive biscuits in bed. I enjoy this immensely as every weekday have to get up at six o/c to get himself off to work by 6.45 am. The children start to yap – he shouts at them to “Shut up, it’s Sunday” (Mass-Observation, 1942).

Mass Observation’s research includes rare, detailed, empirical work on the weekend. One example was ‘Saturday Night’, (1947: MOA archive: FR 2467) which addressed the question ‘What then differentiates Saturday night at home from any other night?’ It answered ‘In a nutshell, a general sense of timelessness - few people do things in a hurry on a Saturday night at home.’ One might imagine that there would be a focus on the ‘spectacular weekend’, given the Surrealist influence. This is not, however, the case. In the ‘Meet Yourself on Sunday’ project, mundane details of the Sundays of particular volunteer diarists and interviewees were recorded. Particularly impressive was an interview with a Mr Griffin, a bus traffic controller who worked at Warner Road Garage, Camberwell Green. (MOA archive-Meet Yourself on Sunday, 1948: File E). He spoke of Sunday bus travel declining because of new patterns of house ownership rather than renting, the consequent do-it-yourself activity plus such activities as staying in and listening to the radio. Mr Griffin notes the changes following a rescinding of the ‘3 mile’ law which limited the sale of alcohol on a Sunday to bona-fide travellers, i.e. those travelling for three miles, for which, people would get the bus. However, from December 1948, Sunday drinkers could simply go to the nearest pub. They wouldn’t therefore need a bus. From that short extract, we are able to understand something of the contemporary temporalities and spatialities of Sundays in South London. Nevertheless, their intellectual focus on the typically mundane aspects of everyday life has something to say to this research. The work of Mass Observation is such that it has been cited in numerous contexts since its zenith in the 1940s and 50s. Although its parameters were constructed by those Oxbridge graduates who dreamt it up, rather than its subjects, it was, nevertheless, an attempt to understand everyday life in its microscopic detail. We could argue that, although MO produced evidence about everyday life in the UK, its status as a non-academic organisation meant that, until recently it was not constituted as a significant form of knowledge.

3.4.5 *Everyday Life, Resistance and Transformation*

Since the beginnings of industrial modernity, political activists and scientists, sociologists and philosophers have imagined how we might live a different life than the one proscribed by capital. Marx and Engels (1998) saw the conditions under which the industrial wage labourers and their families had to work and live and they understood transformation as emanating from the raised consciousness of the working person, who ‘had nothing to lose but his (sic) chains’, a response to the capital-labour relationship regardless of local conditions. Social theory influenced by feminism and post-structuralism have understood resistance and transformation in a different way, one that is specific, local (but global in outlook), initiated by new social movements as well as older formations of resistance, and taking place on other terrains than the workplace. Attention has turned to the role of everyday life as a site of resistance and transformation, since ‘Marxism has become increasingly moribund. What was needed therefore, was a study of the “subjective” rather than “objective” conditions of change to establish how best to confront communism and capitalism’ (Tormey, 2001: 21). Feminist academics and others are revisiting and extending further the literature on everyday life in an attempt to make sense of new contemporary social, political and economic conditions in order to be better able to contribute to its transformation.

Lefebvre (1984) discusses the ‘anonymity’, ‘unpredictability’ and ‘unreportedness’ of the everyday, characteristics which allow it to operate ‘beneath the radar’ of ideology, enhancing, therefore, its transformative potential. We could argue that, despite feminist critiques of Lefebvre, his understandings of the everyday have some similarities in his recognition of its perceived unimportance in the ‘grand scheme’ and because of that, its possible site of resistance.

Heller (1984) too, recognises the historical possibilities of everyday life, and emphasises the need both for ‘reciprocity’ and ‘mutuality’ in work towards its transformation. Tormey (2001: 34) makes the point that, ‘For Heller, the key to understanding alienation is not the labour process as such, but rather the character of relations between individuals’. Thus Heller’s emphasis on how far relationships are to do with ‘ends’ and how far with ‘means’. She (Heller, 1984: 221) argues, ‘... we

can assert that the more we are involved in contacts in which the second party is regarded as an end rather than a means (which means that the contact itself will be purposive) the more humane our everyday life will be', thereby arguing for mutual respect in human relationships rather than instrumentality.

A theme common to both Lefebvre's and Heller's work is that of 'the possible', a vision of change with its locus being the everyday. Lefebvre believed that transformation from and through it was entirely possible if 'we recreate a style, resurrect the Festival and gather together culture's scattered fragments..' (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 38). Tormey (2001: 22) writes of Heller's desire for change 'from the bottom up', 'through encouraging critical individuals, their role in social transformation and the means and conditions of transformation'.

Lefebvre advocates the rejuvenated 'festival' as one prescription for the alienation of everyday life. France was and still is, to some extent, a society where the local rural festival is very much still part of the annual quotidian cycle. Zemon Davis (Zemon Davis, 1987: 103) writes of the centrality of the carnival and festival in Early Modern France. She cites Bakhtin's (1984: 75) quote from a fifteenth century reveller, 'Foolishness is our second nature,' said a fifteenth-century defender of the Feast of Fools, 'and must freely spend itself at least once a year. Wine barrels burst if from time to time we do not open them and let in some air.' Lefebvre's antipathy towards the cyclical contradicts his focus on the festive, since the festival is a cyclical phenomenon. For it is not only the event that matters, but its anticipation and subsequent memories. He does not, of course propose the traditional, seasonal, French fête as a revolutionary form; the *événements* of Paris 1968 (in which Lefebvre was involved) might be more what he had in mind.

Lefebvre's 'festive' has some similarities with Bakhtin's carnival, a subject that I shall return to later. Lefebvre advocates a restoration of a non-commodified 'la fête' to the city. Traces of the festive, although subject to commodification, are still present, he considers, in 'meetings, parties and funfairs' (Lefebvre, 1984: 36). He advocates '... a project to resurrect the festival', and indeed he was to see his vision materialise. Gardiner (2000: 99) reminds us, 'In the events of May 1968 in Paris, Lefebvre claimed to detect such a re-emergence of the genuine festival. He felt the

uprising was premised on a total rejection of hierarchy and specialisation, of the faded and tawdry trappings of a rampant consumerism' and was a '...project suffused with an undercurrent of popular celebration, playfulness and laughter'. Rather than 'consuming' the festive, social actors would produce their transformation through it. For Lefebvre, carnival and the festive are the everyday in different configuration, having ruptured the rhythms of an everyday life formed under capitalism. 'Festival differs from everyday life only in the explosion of forces which had slowly been accumulated in and via everyday life itself' (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 202).

For Heller also, the significance of 'the aesthetic' is emphasised: 'In the enjoyment of a work of art, in catharsis...the everyday person is lifted out of his everyday-ness and elevated via the homogenous medium of art, to a sphere of objectivation "for itself" which thereby becomes "for him"' Thus, an involvement with 'the aesthetic' Heller regards as one of the ways in which the everyday can be transformed, the other being 'from the nexus of social needs and personal experiences'. Contrary to Lefebvre, she insists on repetition as a necessity, but her idea of the 'exemplary Individual' (perhaps a questionable one), is of one who will know when to 'abandon repetition in favour of an innovatory approach to a problem - be it invention, (or) reflection' (Heller, 1984: 259). Heller places emphasis on the individual as an agent for change, in contrast to 'conventional' Marxism's which tended to emphasise the collective body. She, as Tormey has pointed out, dismisses the idea that the social actor in everyday life does not necessarily act out of 'necessity', arguing that 'The philosopher thus provides a kind of paradigm of the critical individual' (Tormey, 2001: 28). Heller regards individuals who 'think outside the box' of the everyday as vital to any change, and 'access the realm of for itself objectifications' of 'innovation and creativity' (Gardiner, 2000: 141); by contrast, the 'particular' person remains within the realm of the everyday, remaining within 'in itself objectifications, 'custom-bound and taken for granted', thereby unable to effect change.

Michel de Certeau shares with Lefebvre and Heller an insistence on a critical appraisal of everyday life. However, whilst they advocate its complete transformation, de Certeau seeks to understand how social actors subvert their world from within. Highmore (2002: 149) articulates Lefebvre's position thus,

‘...modernity is characterised by alienation that has penetrated not just the workplace, but crucially, everyday life itself.’ De Certeau, clearly to some extent influenced by Foucault, asks:

If it is true that the grid of “discipline” is everywhere becoming clearer and more extensive, it is all the more urgent to discover how an entire society resists being reduced to it, what popular procedures... manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them, only to evade them, and finally what ‘ways of operating’ form the counterpart, on the consumer’s (or ‘dominee’s’?) side, of the mute processes that organise the establishment of socio-economic order. (de Certeau, 1984: xiv)

De Certeau was interested in analysing how social actors survive in capitalism, how they ‘make-do’ and create some sort of autonomy, within its ‘grid of discipline’.

Central to de Certeau’s concepts of the everyday is a belief in the agency of social actors. For him, they are not paralysed or misled by the vicissitudes of capitalism. Rather they adapt to it through being as ‘sly as a fox and twice as quick’, using ‘countless ways of “making do” ’ (de Certeau, 1984: 29). He uses military metaphors to understand the way in which power is exercised firstly, by the powerful, through what he calls a ‘strategy’. This ‘strategy’ depends on the colonising of a space ‘that can be circumscribed as ‘proper’ from which to conduct relations with other ‘strategists’ and from which the ‘Other’ can be defined and repelled. ‘Tactics’ on the other hand are practised by the marginalised on the terrain of the dominant. This is where the contrast with Lefebvre and Heller can be understood most keenly. De Certeau’s ‘tacticians’ operate within capitalism, ‘escap(ing) it without leaving it’ (de Certeau, 1984: xiii). They have no ‘proper’ space and so depend on time, ‘the right moment’, from which to launch their subversive ‘tricks’. He cites ‘Many everyday practices (talking, reading, moving about, shopping, cooking, etc.) are tactical in character’ (de Certeau, 1984: xix). The idea that a person can be two things at once, in de Certeau’s way of seeing, for example, a ‘good worker’, who is productive and conforms to rules and regulations, at the same time as being the subverter, the ‘sly fox’, the ‘tactician’, rather suggests a de-centred subject, an ‘individual’ who can be ‘many individuals’. De Certeau, in this way anticipates post-structuralism.

Gardiner (2000: 171), argues that de Certeau dismisses the idea that social actors are ‘duped’ into false consciousness, or that they take on board ‘the values and beliefs

supplied to them by the elites'. Instead, he says, 'they act to subvert the structures of power in the less visible and non-confrontational ways that are available to them.' This can be compared to Heller's work on 'mutuality' and 'reciprocity', in that it is individuals who are seen to work for change, in what she might term 'alienated' circumstances. De Certeau's ideas therefore, understand the marginalised as having the ability to 'read against the grain', to 'creatively appropriate' commodities, thereby constituting themselves as 'producers'. De Certeau thus offers an alternative strand to the theories of everyday life we have discussed hitherto. His work, written later than that of Heller and Lefebvre, certainly takes account of the latter's work and that of Foucault and Bourdieu too. He would also have been aware of the failure of the political Left to effect enduring, democratic structures that might transform everyday life in the way that they had imagined. His work echoes in some respects that of Foucault, who theorises power as generated in micro, rather than macro locations, and as always producing resistance.

3.4.6 Conclusion

All the writers cited above understand in contrasting ways the significance of everyday life, however differently they may define it and conceptualise its potential for change. Either implicitly or explicitly they understand that resistance to, or eventual transformation of, capitalism and patriarchy will come from the rhythms and routines of everyday life. This resistance and transformation will not, as previously imagined by the left, be the province of white working class men at the workplace. Its scale will be different, its pace uneven, but one thing is certain. It is from everyday life that it will come, the domain in which the decisions of the powerful are felt most keenly.

3.5 Boundaries, Liminality and Carnival

3.5.1 Boundary Work

Having discussed a more general notion of everyday life, its potential as a site of transformation and its relevance to the weekend, we now turn to ideas which will be useful in analysing how specific lived times and spaces construct the weekend. It seems for instance, that one way of understanding how the week turns into the weekend is through the concept of boundaries and boundary work. We might understand these as the contours of the weekend, the landscape that defines it, in short, its form. Nippert-Eng (1996) proposes such a framework for understanding how we move between different times and spaces and thus, social worlds. What happens in the different milieux separated by such boundaries can be in some instances be made sense of through the ideas of liminality and carnival.

Boundaries are a means of segmenting our social worlds into different times and spaces. Days, weeks and weekends all have different boundaries and different characters. Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate (2000: 2) maintain that, ‘...individuals create and maintain boundaries as a means of simplifying and ordering the environment’. Boundary work, as Nippert-Eng (1996) points out, comes when we ‘concretize’ the mental ‘categories into physical ones’ and ‘transcend as well as preserve these realms’. She has likened this work to ‘sculpting’, a means of shaping our lives, constructing and de-constructing boundaries. This boundary shaping, she believes, involves a great deal of personal innovation in the rituals that are constructed and performed as a means of understanding the separate life-spaces. These life-segments might involve different subjectivities where we ‘produce’ a different persona in each. It might suit us well to be able to locate these in different parts of our social world. As Nippert-Eng notes, ‘The more we segment, the more we create dedicated, single-purpose spaces and times in which we embed and protect our single-purpose selves.’

3.5.2 Liminality

This section of the chapter discusses the concept of liminality as argued by Victor Turner (1982; Turner, 1987) and Rob Shields (1991). Turner's anthropological conception helps realise the way in which we might understand the liminal in terms of structure and ritual.

The term 'liminal' emanates from 'limen', which Arnold van Gennep notes is a threshold (Turner, 1987: 25). Liminal refers to a state entered by crossing a threshold. Victor Turner, in delineating the parameters of liminality, first turns to Van Gennep:

..... in certain Australian, Melanesian and African tribes, a boy undergoing initiation must spend a long period of time living in the bush cut off from the normal, social interactions within the village and the household..... they are stripped of names and clothing, smeared with common earth, rendered indistinguishable from animals. (Turner, 1982: 26)

More generally, he describes liminality as part of a ritual process involving three stages '..... separation from antecedent mundane life; liminality, a betwixt-and-between condition, often involving seclusion from the everyday scene; and re-aggregation to the quotidian world' (Turner, 1987: 101). Turner separates liminality into two types: a more individualised passage, say, from juniority to seniority (puberty rites) or from pre- to post-nuptial states (marriage ceremonies) which is marked by particular rites, and the second type which marks a whole group's passage from one culturally defined season to another. Spatial occupation differs: the former tends toward a private space and the second a public one. Liminal states are characterised as the middle stages of a ritual, the reflexive time during the movement from one particular status to another. The performance of ritual, therefore, allows 'groups to become adjusted to internal changes and adapted to their external environment.' He likens the liminal to other ambiguous states, such as darkness, bisexuality and solar/lunar eclipses (Turner, 1969: 95).

3.5.2.1 Liminal/liminoid Distinctions.

Turner distinguishes between technologically simple and technologically complex societies; that is, those before and after any industrial revolution and stresses the need to distinguish 'between symbolic systems and genres belonging to cultures which have developed before and after the Industrial Revolution', so as to avoid '...confusion both in theoretical treatment and in operational methodology.' Hence he makes the 'liminal' more pertinent to modernity through its re-emergence as the 'liminoid', the industrial form of liminal (Turner, 1982: 30). There are similarities between the two states, such as the passage out of everyday life into a qualitatively different sense of time and space and a 're-aggregation' - a marking point for re-entry into 'the everyday'. (We might argue that this could be likened to Nippert-Eng's 'boundary work'.) However, the liminoid does not display such distinct divisions between each stage as the liminal. Turner makes the point that the 'play' of pre-industrial societies was understood in a different way than that of contemporary social life. The rituals and liminal states were a recognised part of the social round, an obligation that was structured into the cycle of living. He stresses their importance in the pre-industrial quotidian.

In the liminal, Turner argues, there is little distinction between work and play and, citing Dumazedier (Turner, 1982: 36), identifies the conditions under which the concept of leisure becomes commonly accepted. He firstly proposes that, 'society ceases to govern its activities by means of common ritual obligations: some activities, including work and leisure become, at least in theory subject to individual choice' and secondly that 'the work by which people earn a living is set apart from other activities...' This form of society is where the liminal becomes the liminoid. He contrasts the 'calendrical, biological, social-structural rhythms' which produce the liminal with the more 'continuously generated individual products' (which may have 'collective' effects) with 'the liminoid cultural refreshment genres' (Turner, 1982: 54). Here, the collective, cyclical and obligated nature of the liminal is contrasted with the individually-produced, continuously generated and unexpected liminoid, in the leisure times and spaces of modernity. Whilst we might understand the fairs and wakes of pre-modernity as liminal – they were communal, part of the annual cycle and the whole community would be expected to take part: the arrival, for example, of rave culture in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the industrial warehouses of north-

western towns and cities was not anticipated, not part of an annual cycle and there was no obligation to take part.

The second point that Turner makes (1982: 54) is that the liminal is 'centrally integrated into the total social process'. If we were still to accept youth subcultures as a 'liminoid' example, there is no way we could say they are legitimated until they are 'recuperated' or 'incorporated' by the corporate world. The liminoid, Turner suggests, 'develops apart from the central economic and political processes and plural, fragmentary, experimental'. The liminal, says Turner, invokes little real friction amongst members of a particular society. It is anticipated and cyclical, part of the yearly round. 'Tribal liminal, can be no more than a subversive flicker'" (Turner, 1982: 44). So, we're talking here too, about differences between pre-capitalist and capitalist forms of organising society. Turner speaks of the liminoid:

being more like a commodity - indeed often is a commodity which one selects and pays for - than the liminal which elicits loyalty and is bound up with ones membership or desired membership in some highly corporate group. One works at the liminal, one plays with the liminoid. (Turner, 1982: 55).

Could we, then, argue that the weekend is the liminal space of capitalism?

Turner reminds us that some versions of leisure resemble the 'nature of work' (ergic), rather than the 'nature of play' (ludic). Rybczynski (1991: 18) agrees, saying, 'the lack of carelessness in our recreation, the sense of obligation to get things right, do represent an enslavement of a kind'. In a specific discussion of attitudes to sport in the last fifty years, he advances the view that it has become more 'ergic' than it was perhaps in the first half of the twentieth century. Turner (1982: 36-37) also raises the question of 'freedom from', representing freedom from work and 'freedom to', representing 'freedom to generate new symbolic worlds...' and 'freedom to transcend social structural limitations, freedom to play...with words...with paint...and with social relationships...'

3.5.2.2 The Contemporary Social World and the Liminal

There has been a renewed interest in the idea of the 'liminal' as a means of understanding early and later modern transgressive spaces. The means of effecting change advocated by the Left, particularly those associated with the workplace, seem to have run out of steam. The idea of symbolic spaces where social actors, perhaps unconsciously or unknowingly, transgress accepted 'norms' and 'imagine' different ways of living, are one way of understanding how change might come about, from what we have described as 'everyday life', and what Lefebvre termed 'representational spaces' (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 30).

Perhaps the liminal can then be viewed more as Eagleton's 'licensed carnival' (referred to in the next section) where temporary 'transgressions' of the social order are expected and accepted, and the 'liminoid' as consisting of unexpected transgressive 'moments' which provide a space from which a critique, however fleeting, can be formulated.

Might we understand liminoid spaces and times in terms of Lefebvre's 'moments', which Harvey, paraphrasing Lefebvre, describes as:

...fleeting but decisive sensations (of delight, surrender, disgust, surprise, horror, outrage) which were somehow revelatory of the totality of possibilities contained in daily existence. Such movements were ephemeral and would pass instantaneously into oblivion, but during their passage all manner of possibilities - often decisive and sometimes revolutionary - stood to be both uncovered and achieved' (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 429).

And can we further link the 'moment' and the liminal/liminoid to the weekend, a possible space and time for experiencing it? And how might we understand the use of the liminal as metaphor, rather than 'event'?

3.5.3 Carnival

Stallybrass and White (1986) suggest that Bakhtin's carnival theory has become for social theorists, a 'cultural analytic', a means of understanding the contemporary popular realm and, its transgressive moments. Bakhtin describes the festivities which characterised the 'unofficial' life of the pre-modern world, the fairs, popular feasts, the 'wakes' and the like. He invites us to consider this 'second life of the people' in

terms of 'ritual spectacles', such as those described above, but also 'comic verbal compositions' such as parody, and 'various genres of Billingsgate', in which were included curses and oaths, and, as Stallybrass and White (1986: 8) put it, 'all the 'low' and 'dirty' forms of folk humour. Vice (1997: 150) articulates the dual realm in which the 'ordinary people of the Middle Ages' lived: '...one official, characterised by the authority of the church, the feudal system, work, and one unofficial, characterised by reversal, parody, song and laughter'. The proliferation of such communal activities appears to illustrate an integrated everyday life. Work, recreation, home, private and public, church seem to interweave in the social domain rather than being characterised by their separation, a phenomenon that later characterizes modernity. Bakhtin characterises it thus:

As opposed to the official feast, one might say that the carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change and renewal. It was hostile to all that was immortalised and completed. (Bakhtin, 1984: 10).

We can liken this 'alternative' world of carnival with that of the liminal, both of them pre-industrial forms in origin, both of them destined for transformation in the modern social world. Interesting too, is the way in which they are characterised in contemporary social theory, as transformed, their traces still informing the production of contemporary culture. Perhaps we might characterise them as 'residual' in Raymond Williams' sense, 'The residual, by definition, has been effectively formed in the past, but is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present' (Williams, 1977: 122).

Natalie Zemon Davies interprets Bakhtin's point that,

Before the existence of classes and the state, the comic realm was equal to the serious; with slave and feudal societies, including that of the sixteenth century, the carnival becomes a second life, a second reality for the people, separated from power and the state but still public and perennial; in bourgeois society... it is reduced to the home and the holiday (1987: 103).

It is evident that the seasonal cycle of communal merriment in Britain was broken in the period leading up to the industrial revolution. This interweaving of pleasure and

work and religion and everyday life was changed forever from the sixteenth century onwards.

During the eighteenth century, as Hutton (1994: 246) notes, ‘... the literate really did come to regard the traditional popular pastimes as belonging to a different world to their own and record, transform or suppress them, according to personal tastes and circumstances’. The spatial and temporal reorganisation which took place with industrialisation could allow hegemonic groups to regard the working classes almost as ‘foreigners’ from a strange land, so little did their paths cross.

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the popular repertoires of celebration that Bakhtin associated with carnival had been ‘legislated’, in various ways, out of everyday life. Fear of insurrection coupled with modern rationality, with some exceptions, erased their influence from everyday life. Modern artistic and popular forms however, such as novels, paintings, films and various media genres, display ‘traces’ of carnival, or its modern equivalent, the ‘carnavalesque’ e.g. Blackpool in ‘A Taste of Honey’ (1961: Tony Richardson) and Bhaji on the Beach (1993: Gurinder Chadha).

There has been particular academic interest in the link made in Bakhtin’s work between carnival and transgression. This reading of carnival has been reinterpreted through contemporary media forms by Fiske (1991) (Madonna), Docker (1994) (Tom and Jerry) and Stam (1989) (cinema). However, there is some debate about this reincarnation of carnival as ‘transgression’ in the present time, especially in twentieth and twenty-first century media. Terry Eagleton (1981: 148) takes issue with Bakhtin’s conception of it, citing it as ‘... a licensed affair in every sense, a permissible rupture of hegemony, a contained popular blow-off as disturbing and relatively ineffectual as a revolutionary work of art’. Can we understand the carnivalesque as having only this function, given its ubiquity in all forms of modern popular culture? Stallybrass and White (1986: 14) argue that: ‘It actually makes little sense to fight out the issue of whether carnivals are intrinsically radical or conservative, for to do so automatically involves the false essentialising of carnival transgression’. Furthermore, ‘The most that can be said in the abstract is that for long periods carnival may be a stable and cyclical ritual with no noticeable transformative

effects but that, given the presence of sharpened political antagonism, it may often act as a catalyst and site of actual and symbolic struggle'. (Stallybrass and White, 1986: 14).

Boundary work, liminality and carnival are all, then, interrelated. Boundary work helps to 'sculpt' the interface between social worlds; it is the transition between the 'sacred' and 'profane'. The liminal or liminoid is the 'new' space that is entered into and the carnivalesque is what is produced there. The liminal was of course connected with a very public space that the liminars left to 'go private', as it were. Could this be reversed in our move from the 'private' into the 'public' of the liminoid? Could the home, for those who stay in on a Saturday night and drink alcohol or take other drugs, or just be free of the clock for a moment, be recognised as liminoid, therefore giving a different meaning to the primary space of everyday life?

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed and analysed a number of concepts. These will be discussed in relation to the central focus for this work, that of the existence of 'weekendness' in Manchester, its manifestation in time and space and the feasibility of understanding it as part of everyday life. This research question, 'How might we understand 'weekendness' in Manchester in terms of time and space and how can we consider the weekend as part of everyday life'?, was developed after drawing on initial observation and readings of secondary sources. These 'readings' suggested some of the phenomena that might be relevant. This literature review has enabled a more sophisticated understanding of potentially relevant aspects of time and space as they relate to the weekend. It has also examined sometimes contrasting views on the nature of everyday life and how they might illuminate the conceptualisation and practices of the weekend.

Everyday life is constructed through particular configurations of time and space, as we have seen. These formations are historically constructed, and while it is recognised that social actors produce a multiplicity of time and space paths

themselves, the general tenor of those is, to a large extent, determined structurally. Hence the spatiality and temporality of 'modern' social actors has been, in 'early' and 'middle' modernity, dominated by clock-time, and by the separation of social domains, such as 'work' and 'home'. Before the industrialisation of the labour process, the sharp distinction between the different segments of social life was not as great. The 'quotidian', as we now recognise it, was produced through the different ways in which space and time were organised and produced under capitalism. It was not understood in its present sense in the pre-industrial world, as boundaries in the social world were much more fluid.

How might we distinguish 'everyday life' from other domains such as those associated with work? Do we need to? Felski (2000) helps define the parameters of the everyday when she identifies its temporal complexion as 'repetition', its spatial as 'the home' and its modality or manner as 'habit'. One could argue that repetition and habit are features of other domains, such as work, but the spatial constant of the everyday is that of the home. These three 'territories' are constitutive of each other and as such, operate together to produce everyday life.

The weekend also came about as a result of this re-arrangement of the temporalities and spatialities which constructed modernity. The secular nature of this 'free time' was unprecedented, even if the various institutions powered by the bourgeoisie attempted to colonise it with their demands for 'rational recreation'. Might the weekend be recognised as part of 'everyday life', for it has its routines, its habits and is generally conducted in some part from the security of home? Notwithstanding the weekend being accepted as part of everyday life, it is however a particular quotidian 'segment', with its own boundaries through which to pass from the 'week' to the 'weekend' and back again. These boundaries mark a possible entry into a different time and space, albeit one that is still governed by Felski's 'triad' of everyday life. They are not only constructed through such phenomena as television schedules but are also the subject of work by social actors, either individually or collectively, to establish a qualitatively different time and space. The ways in which people work to create, cross and then maintain these boundaries is one of the questions I wish to address through my empirical work, as well as the question of what will happen if the weekend is subsumed by an increasingly twenty four hour society. It will help to

establish how 'weekendness' is created. The artefacts associated with boundary work will help to establish the nature of life on the 'other side'.

It is important to understand what happens either side of these boundaries; whether, for instance, (the) 'an-other side' of the everyday can be comprehended as a liminal time-space which sets the weekend apart from the everyday. I will discuss whether it can be regarded as a more autonomous temporality, 'festive' in nature which at a time of 'political antagonism' might contain the seeds of transformation' At a more intimate level, but connected, I will ask whether it could be a time when non-instrumental relationships are developed, such as those which Heller suggests involving only 'ends', rather than 'ends' and 'means'? I will discuss the activities of this possibly liminal space through Bakhtin's idea of carnival, which will provide a means of analysing weekend activities. Conversely, I will appraise this as a possible rest and recuperation time, helping social actors prepare for the re-entry to the weekly quotidian. To sum up, it will be necessary to assess the construction, crossing and maintenance of these boundaries and the significance of this time-space both in itself and in the context of people's whole social worlds.

Part 2- Method, Historical Context and Empirical Work

Chapter 4 - Method

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses method, which is, according to Sayer (1992: 2), ‘...the clarification of the modes of explanation and understanding, the nature of abstraction, as well as the familiar subjects of research design and methods of analysis.’ ‘Autobiography’, the first section, traces my academic and personal life, looking for clues about the subject of my research and the way I will approach it. It has two main themes: ‘Border Country’ firstly suggesting, the ways in which the remote rural world of my childhood and adolescence shaped my subjectivity, and secondly, more contemporarily has allowed me to reflect on my move to Manchester, the city that is the subject of this research. Section two, ‘Motherhood, Politics and Work’ looks at how motherhood at 18, epilepsy, feminism and socialism were to shape the way in which I pursued my academic career and thus this work.

The second section investigates how I negotiated the research question in terms both of conceptual framework and the method of gathering material through which to address the question. The research question will be discussed, alongside details of a pilot study produced with former degree students and a small research project I carried out with school students in Manchester, both of which helped to identify relevant questions and consolidate the method. The advantages and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative methods are then reviewed, followed by a discussion of ‘meetings’ (Johnson *et al.*, 2004). The latter method or ‘research practice’ as Johnson *et al* prefer to call it, is the one that I have chosen as central to my research. Then I outline the possibilities for historical research as well as how that material was useful in this context. Finally, I conclude with some of the broad ideas on method proposed by Anthony Giddens, which significantly influenced my approach to data analysis.

4.2 Autobiography

Carolyn Steedman (1986: 106), in her essay on 'Writing the Self', asks the question, 'How has it come about that we are all living and writing under the autobiographical injunction?' As a way of answering that, she cites Anthony Giddens (1991) as 'understanding "autobiography"... not so much as a form of writing, nor as a literary genre, but rather as a mode of cognition'.

I am 'writing myself' into the research account at this point, at some length, for several reasons. Firstly, if the research process is a process of cognition, then it is also one of autobiography and should be written as such, at least in part. An autobiographical account will help my 'reflexive self' in justifying my research question, epistemology and method, that is, my methodological stance. At the same time, it will help the reader understand 'where I'm coming from', and will illustrate the way in which my subjectivity impacts on the research process. This approach absolutely rejects any idea of the 'objective' researcher who 'collects the data' from a pre-ordained social world ripe for their interpretation. As Wendy Hollway says:

It would be impossible to present these questions fully without talking about myself: the point that I was in my life and aspects of its history, the cultural and political conditions that produced it, how these shaped my interest in certain areas of contemporary social theory... (1989: 4)

The autobiographical approach situates me in terms of similarity and difference to the people I interviewed. Differences of class, gender, race, age, and the interviewer/interviewee relationship need to be analysed in terms of power as well as similarities or shared experiences.

4.2.1 Border Country

The world that I inhabited in my childhood and adolescence was one far removed from 'industrial Manchester'. Geographically, it was in Raymond Williams' (Williams, 1958) and Lorna Sage's (2000) 'border country', not far from the meeting point of England and Wales in rural Herefordshire. My family came from both countries and my childhood was one of hearing both languages (though English was dominant) spoken as a matter of course.

Herefordshire in the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s was a place where mobility beyond the local was restricted, electricity and running hot and cold water was not universal and face-to-face encounters were the primary means of communication. The nearest shop was a mile away, the nearest town and cinema eight miles; secondary school was eight and technical college over twenty miles away. Even in the 1950s public transport was limited, becoming scarcer still in the early 1960s. For most people in the area, travel was difficult, so our connection with the outside world was often through radio, newspapers, magazines and popular music.

Given that the way in which most people made their living was through the land, the weekend was less of an event than it appeared to have been in the city. That makes some sense. The weekend was borne out of industrialisation; Herefordshire has not really been through that process. Time was experienced as more cyclical, taking more account of night and day, and spring and summer, autumn and winter. With each of the seasons came different agricultural tasks. Those, such as my family, who lived different temporalities were remarked upon and regarded with generally good nature as 'different'.

The experience of living in a particularly sparsely populated part of England and contrasting that experience with recently living in a city has made me all the more aware of how geography matters. To live there and live beyond the village meant that one had to have a car, providing that there was sufficient income. Television was another 'escape route'. Our family were lucky to have both a car and a television from the early 1950s; TV was 'a window on the world' for me, a means of making my own journeys without travelling. The weekend was always elusive in our house, which makes me wonder whether this thesis doesn't form part of the search for *my* lost weekend. The perhaps mythic urban weekend was a long way away; my father worked shifts as an engineer for the BBC, so we rarely (my mother, father and sister; my brother was born when I was sixteen!) had a weekend all together. And if we did, we sometimes went to a city - Hereford, Shrewsbury, or Birmingham - to do some shopping. My mother loved the city in many ways, its anonymity and opportunities for consumption. She had been brought up in Carmarthen and studied in Cardiff, but oddly enough, had come to live in the middle of nowhere. Elizabeth Wilson, in her reconsideration of earlier writing, suggests that, 'urbanisation provided one plank in

the gradual emancipation of women', reiterating her earlier writing that 'urban life had traditionally offered women more opportunities than rural life' (Wilson, 2001: 67). Lorna Sage, in her memoir, writes with similar sentiments, of her grandmother's unease at living in Hanmer, a village in border country:

She lived in a different dimension, she said as much herself. In her world there were streets with pavements, shop windows, trams, trains, teashops and cinemas. She never went out except to visit this paradise lost, by taxi to the station in Whitchurch, then by train to Shrewsbury or Chester. This was *life*. Scented soap and chocolates would stand in for it the rest of the time-most of the time, in fact, since there was never any money. (Sage, 2000: 6-7)

There was little chance to be very modern for those living in these remote parts of England. Sage's grandmother had come from the Rhondda valley, a semi-rural environment, industrialised through the mining of coal and modernised through a political consciousness of employer-employee relationships, a working class café society engendered by Italian immigrant café owners and good transport links to Cardiff and other Welsh cities.

My experience of weekends here was limited to television, Young Farmers' dances, (where fights always broke out every Friday night) and church, not that I went very often. The idealised weekend seemed (and seems) to be *about* being in a crowd, sharing the experience of a Friday night or a Saturday afternoon and, as there were few opportunities to be part of a 'big crowd' where I lived, the weekend seemed to happen somewhere else. When I was sixteen we went looking for the weekend, sometimes in night clubs in small towns nearby, or in small gigs at local village halls. Sometimes we took risks hitchhiking to places like Malvern Winter Gardens to see rock bands. But, despite all this, the weekend always seemed to be somewhere else.

The social relations of living in Herefordshire were complex and, for the most part, unchallenged. There was no industrial proletariat and therefore little industrial action. Tied cottages were part of an agricultural labourer's wage. Unlike in Raymond Williams' village (Williams, 1979), the aristocracy was still a potent force, owning a great deal of land, and exerting its power and influence relatively unchallenged. Most people worked as tenant farmers or for them or they worked for 'the big house'. Not to be involved in land work was unusual, and those that didn't were probably one of what Sage (2000: 6) calls 'the ones', the schoolteacher, the vicar, the shopkeeper, and

so on. The village, or rather hamlet, I lived in was made up of no more than thirty houses. Two large farms, owned by the large estate in the next village, were tenanted by two brothers and their families, one of whom was to emigrate to Australia in the nineteen sixties, on the ten pound tickets. Other houses were inhabited by a mixture of owner-occupiers and tenants. The church was a mile away in a village to the south; so were the chapel, the shop, the post office, the pub and the church-controlled primary school.

To be different was to be marginalised, often through malicious rumour; single women were often the subject of this. The headmistress of my first primary school was an example. Her dress and demeanour were, perhaps, my first experience of urbanity; Miss H accompanied us to the village hall for our school dinners on stiletto heels, with long gloves to her elbows and stylish dresses with petticoats underneath which made them bounce as she walked. Her hairstyle too, was different, with little attempt made to curl or wave it; it was long and straight. She was the first woman I saw wearing blue jeans, helping out with an archaeological dig on the hill above our village. Women living on their own were misunderstood in this rural environment; they must either be lesbian or promiscuous.

4.2.2 Politics, Motherhood, Work

To be politically involved on the left seemed impossible in rural Herefordshire. One of my teachers at secondary school, an English teacher from Lancashire ('a lifelong socialist' (Guardian, 27.01.05) was whispered about as 'a communist', so rare was the opposition to conservatism (either with a big or a small 'c') here. There were obviously socialist individuals, but little collective action. The nearest I got was demonstrating as part of a group against the militarism of 'The Green Berets' outside 'The Odeon' cinema in Hereford. As I wasn't part of a significant collectivity (most of my friends lived miles away), I lived my politics through television and other forms of popular culture, eventually finding a bohemian scene in Hereford. I was opposed to the Vietnam War, but I didn't know how to demonstrate my opposition; I wanted to be in Paris in 1968 and the nearest I would get was watching it on TV.

Two significant things happened in my teens, which were to change my life completely and politicise me in particular ways. Firstly, I got epilepsy and I began to understand how 'difference' could impact on a life. Secondly, I got pregnant and the wrath of my mother rained down upon me. Her reaction was complex. On the one hand she was disappointed that I had curtailed my life chances; on the other, she couldn't help but see me as a fallen young woman who 'had' to get married. There were several of us teenage friends and acquaintances who had conceived as single women. Exile to a far away location and then a quick adoption was the solution adopted by some families. For those who were single, pregnant and allowed to stay in their homeplace, the arrival of social workers at the maternity hospital to discuss adoption was not uncommon.

A few years later with a pre-school daughter and having married and moved to the Stoke-on-Trent area, I saw a notice on a lamp-post advertising a feminist consciousness-raising group. I went, but was terrified. It was a difficult process in which at the time I couldn't fully participate, but an experience which undoubtedly changed my life. That was my introduction to feminism and socialism. The ideas generated and discussed made me understand how I could be actively political, and have been a part of me ever since.

Feminism made it possible for a woman with two daughters to enter higher education full time, after being told at school to think about secretarial work and forget about university. I loved academic work and found I could write. My aim was to write the political academically, but early attempts were rather crude essays in polemics. My MA study at Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies enabled a focus on popular culture and it was the first institution to take popular culture seriously and offer both undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in the subject. I could then talk critically about it with others; it was liberating to hear television, for instance, taken seriously. I was interested (and still am), in the relationship between popular culture and resistance, so focussed my MA thesis around Bakhtinian theories of carnival, and how how they could be understood in a contemporary cultural context.

Being involved in ideas and argument at CCCS challenged the way in which I thought about academia and politics. There, culture was political and it was where at

least part of the struggle for democracy took place. Left orthodoxies about class, race, gender and sexuality were transgressed in discussion and writing. New modes of textual analysis were being worked on, but alongside there was a general commitment to analyses of lived cultures. Debates about the nature of intellectual work and the intellectual, about the politics of representation and the nature of the city are some of the strands that have since worked their way into my teaching and writing.

This experience of academic politics was hard to reconcile with my Labour party involvement and also, in 1984-85, with the miners' struggle against pit closures. Political activism of this kind felt naïve in comparison with the ideas of students at Birmingham who had read Marx and knew the pitfalls of Labourism. The gap between the academy and my life outside seemed huge. Writers like Raymond Williams, still alive then, filled this gap. He wrote in *New Socialist* an article about the language around the strike, and I began to feel the two connect. Connections were further made some time later, through working with Comedia Cultural Consultancy to formulate a cultural policy on behalf of Stoke-on-Trent City Council.

Weekends in Stoke lacked any sense of vitality. There was little investment in the cultural infrastructure so, for instance, after seeing a film, there was nowhere to go but a run down pub or a seedy club that would close down or be closed down before it had chance to become an institution. People certainly lived and enjoyed their weekends there, but there were few decisions to be made over what they might go out and do. Choices were limited in a way they weren't in other cities not too far away – Manchester, for instance. This lack of choice extended across generations: there was simply virtually no cultural infrastructure, so, for instance, the only place to go for a cup of tea on a Sunday afternoon was the Little Chef on the A34!

Some years later, I wrote a book chapter on 'The Golden Torch' (Ebrey, 2000), a legendary northern soul club hidden away in one of Stoke's five towns, a back street in Tunstall. Whilst researching for this chapter, I compared its visibility with other similar clubs with equally vibrant reputations. Although well known to northern soul aficionados, 'The Torch' (as it became known) was and is, not as media-visible as,

say, 'The Twisted Wheel' in Manchester or 'Wigan Casino' in Wigan. It is important that key cultural moments in a city are remembered, and I was pleased to get the chance to write this as a kind of *hommage* to Stoke. I was then living in the north-west and researching in Manchester and was well aware of the benefits of the *Hacienda* to the visibility and perception of Manchester. I thought, perhaps naively, that it may help correct the misrecognition of Stoke as some kind of 'cultural desert'.

Researching popular culture and cultural strategy has been interwoven with teaching cultural and media studies. Both of these activities connected with my love of television and desire to create 'things to do'. A critical relationship with media forms, combined with academic study at Birmingham which reevaluated the role of 'texts' reassessing their relevance and worth, reinforced my encouragement of critical ability amongst students.

Raymond Williams has written of the country and the city, that,

On the actual settlements, which in the real history have been astonishingly varied, powerful feelings have gathered and been generalised. On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation. (Williams, 1975: 9)

I had, until recently, replicated my rural roots wherever I moved; to some extent I had internalised the 'hostile associations' of the city, and despite liking what it had to offer, felt unease about moving. Nevertheless, during the course of the research I moved from a small former mill town fifteen miles north of Manchester, into the city itself. This proved immensely beneficial in terms of research, and had an effect on both its form and content. From a practical point of view, the proximity of libraries, universities and a greater diversity of people made it much easier. Serendipitous encounters have been enormously productive. Manchester engenders a particular pride, affection and interest among its inhabitants, so practically everyone I've met, in whatever context, has something to say about the city. Some of them have become friends who have helped me further with appropriate contacts. Of course, that would not have happened had I been living outside the city.

As a newcomer to the city, I was able to view it with unfamiliar eyes, at least for the first year. To be able to see the city centre in 'unfamiliar circumstances' on early Saturday mornings or Christmas Day was somehow revealing of its fabric. But just what we mean when we say 'Manchester' is problematic. It can be constituted as many different entities, for instance, 'Greater Manchester' (Manchester city centre, Manchester and surrounding boroughs such as Bury), Manchester city centre, and 'Manchester' (the centre and 'villages' of the city, such as Chorlton-cum-Hardy and Hulme). Living about ten minutes walk from Deansgate and across the canal from Salford made me think a lot about boundaries and their relationship to crime. Some boundaries, such as those between Manchester and Salford for instance, are symbolically impermeable; on the one side cosmopolitan, wealthy, trendy Manchester (in the centre, anyway) and on the other, 'scally', 'crime-ridden' Salford. I became interested in how this came about and how I was complicit in it, my new identity as a city inhabitant entering into a discourse about crime which I knew was to some extent a construction of an 'other'. I felt frustrated at being in this position, but it made me think about the country and the city a lot. I am glad to be a part of a city of strangers and strangeness, and where differences of whatever kind generally live juxtaposed amidst mutual tolerance.

4.2.3 Why Autobiography?

The autobiographical stance I have taken is, I hope, a 'form of cognition'. It does trace a version of my life path, but more importantly in this context sheds light on my research methodology. It has allowed me to reflect on the reasons for decisions made about what the research question might be, whom I might work with to illuminate that research question, and the method/s I might employ.

Firstly, the lengthy exposition on living in border country, allowed me to explore my subjectivity vis-à-vis living in such a remote place. Issues of mobility and leisure are particularly important when discussing the weekend, whether rural or urban. As discussed earlier, there are preconceived ideas of the rural which are form a binary opposition to those of the city. These discourses of the rural rarely draw on the lived experience of late childhood or adolescence to articulate the difficulties of mobility,

and the antipathy towards difference. My experience was one of forty years ago, and so things may have changed. Perhaps. Moving to the city and writing a thesis focussed on Manchester has allowed me to reflect on the differences between living in both, and the discourses which construct our perception of them. The weekend, although of course practised in the country and its towns, was a particularly urban formation, associated particularly with the industrial working classes although, as we have noted earlier, it was adopted by the middle and upper classes who spent their weekends in country ‘piles’. Most saw Saturdays and Sundays as ‘different’ to Monday to Friday and somehow ‘other worldly’.

The dominant temporalities of rural life in the 1950s and 1960s, as I have hinted above, were closely related to the growing of crops and the tending of animals. Working on the land did not necessarily involve a definite start and finish time, as at certain times of the year work could only be finished when a task was completed. If the weather forecast was for rain the next day, for instance, the harvest had to be completed even if it meant working until well after dark. That may have involved help from others in the vicinity. Williams remembers, “Typically, my father's closest friend was a farmer. He was a lifelong friend whom he would help in the harvest, in whose field he would plant his rows of potatoes which were an important part of our food.” (Williams, 1979: 24). This was unlike factory work in an urban locale, where start and finish times were more likely to be the same the year round and possibly much more determined through industrial struggle by trade unions. Temporalities associated with industrial work and urban locales more generally, produced the weekend.

Thinking about my professional life in teaching and research has enabled some conclusions about the method I might use to gather information in order to address the issues involved in my research question. To choose an appropriate method seemed a daunting task. However, thinking about the way in which I negotiated pedagogical issues was always very important. The content of a lecture was crucial but it seemed to me that there was also a politics in presenting or teaching it to students. The 'how' of teaching was as important as the ‘what’? This has similarities with a methodology, it seems to me. The 'how' of the thesis seemed at first a secondary question, and then almost a simple mechanical one. As work has

progressed it has become obvious that politics are, of course, fundamental to the whole. What is the purpose of this research question? How will information be gathered, with whom? These questions and the way in which they will be discussed will be shaped through 'experience'. Skeggs has written about the history of the concept of experience, and has illustrated its importance to feminism, shaping a position known as 'standpoint theory'. Skeggs characterises it thus:

A whole body of feminist theorizing was engendered which developed a dynamic of its own and fought for its own legitimisation and institutional space so that feminists could speak to each other....Attempts were made to link feminist theorizing directly to the experiences of women, usually by women who were marginalised from the institutional space generated for feminism in the academy. This attempt was named as feminist standpoint epistemologies. (Skeggs, 1997)

This approach 'links knowledge with experience', and specifically links the 'experience of oppression' and the 'engender(ing) of particular knowledges.' I have drawn on this to suggest a rationale for this methodology. Teaching and research have meant much close work with individuals and groups, work that has enabled the particular development of 'interviewing' skills. Whilst that might imply a particular expertise on my part, it has also meant the realisation that the best 'interviews' involve participation by both (or more) parties, a meaningful discussion between them and possibly some kind of joint decision about what happens next.

Ordinary culture deserves to be researched. Questions about who I will work with in answering some of the questions about the weekend have been informed by the politics I have discussed. This has, therefore, not involved an analysis of the 'spectacular weekend', though included some elements of it. For every spectacular weekend there is someone working to make it spectacular, (as well as its consumers) and someone working to clean up after it. This invisible labour (in the sense of not being recognised, discussed or valued, despite its economic contribution) produces the weekend; part of this research will address how the weekend works for those involved in that.

Anthony Giddens, in his discussion of identity (Giddens, 1991: 5), argues that in 'the post-traditional order of modernity....against the backdrop of new forms of mediated experience, self-identity becomes a reflexively organised endeavour.' This 'self' is

continuously reinvented through new narratives. That is to say that each new life experience adds a new layer of sediment on to the last, changing and fine tuning it before the beginning of the next narrative. Those narratives of life in rural Herefordshire have been the subject of much reflection as I have moved through life. Each new or reconstituted narrative has been reflected through the perspective of these early experiences; my politicisation through feminism and socialism, academic work, the ideas of friends, all have enabled a reflexivity, such that I have been enabled to find my critical voice in this work.

4.3 Researching the Weekend

4.3.1 Shaping the Research

Whatever aspects of the weekend I chose to investigate, I felt strongly that it should be through a study of lived cultures, that is, how real people 'did' their weekends. I considered whether an analysis of the various textual manifestations of the weekend would be appropriate, such as Friday night television or the Sunday newspapers or even flyers for the various club nights held on Fridays and Saturdays. Whilst considering these an important subject for analysis and useful in understanding how the weekend is constructed, I concluded that the lived weekend would be central to my study.

In working towards defining the research question, I spoke to a number of groups and individuals using a variety of methods. As well as defining the question, I needed to adopt a research method both appropriate to the question and that I felt comfortable with. I needed, in my methodology, to do what Sayer (1992) has suggested, to be clear about the research purpose, object and method, which together form the methodology. Gray indicates that 'The main methodological problem is to find an analytical mechanism which can catch the subtlety of lived experience and how that is expressed through language and action or performance' (Gray, 2002: 32).

Since my emphasis was to be on lived culture, then a quantitative approach would not be appropriate. It might tell me, for example, how many people visit Manchester city centre on a Saturday as compared to a Wednesday and this could be a useful statistic. However, to elicit ideas, thoughts and experience about the weekend from respondents required a different approach. I was attracted by the idea of ethnography, of living some part of the weekend with a particular group to observe, interact, comment on and analyse an activity associated with the weekend, such as shopping or clubbing. However, I chose not to engage in a strictly ethnographic approach, for reasons I shall explain later. One of the first ‘projects’ I undertook was with school students in Manchester and consisted of interviews and some classroom work.

4.3.2 Pilot Study

I felt that a pilot study might be useful means of sharpening the focus of the research question. I was teaching at a college in the north-west at the time, and students interested in the subject responded to a call for participants in a small research project. The mature students, particularly, had some considerable investment in the subject and were intrigued to be part of a research process. I was aware of the power relations involved in such an enterprise. After all, I marked their work and wrote their references. However, I tried to make the process as transparent as possible and discussed with them some of these issues. I wanted to make it as much a social occasion as research and so provided food and drink at my house, in what I hoped was a relaxed atmosphere.

I asked them to record their weekends through written diaries. Their journal content was supplemented with recorded material at three group discussions at which I was present as facilitator. I decided to suggest writing diaries as I had used them successfully as a teaching method when asking other students to consider their media consumption.

The first meeting involved the process itself, to discuss whether diaries would be an appropriate method of documenting their weekends, given their busy schedules. It was agreed after an initial discussion about individual Saturday and Sundays that they would compile a daily diary, which they would bring to the next meeting. There

was some anxiety over whether their weekends would be exciting enough and indeed whether their writing would be 'good enough'. One of the group suggested that it might be useful in future to use different methods other than diaries, as writing may not capture the ambience of the everyday. It seems odd, in retrospect, that the method of 'recording' information that we chose, was one that in some senses, mirrored essay submission. Hopefully it was a less stressful, more democratic exercise. This research method involved group discussion, with me facilitating, the production of diaries and then a meeting where everyone discussed the process of writing and the content of their weekends, which were very differently lived. This was an interesting session, which ended up as a group discussion with very little intervention from me. It was not surprising as most of the students, two men and four women, were interested in cultural analysis and knew each other pretty well.

The pilot study benefited from what Gray calls 'recognition'. Gray (1992) discusses the 'recognitions' she felt when talking to women in her study of video recorder use in the home. These were those experiences she could recognise, since she was also a woman. 'Recognition' was a factor when I worked with mature students. I had in fact been a student again at thirty with two children, and had some idea of the difficulties of such a position. This was helpful in the research process, as in our group sessions I was aware of some of the dilemmas of the weekend, for those occupying the dual role of student and mother.

The method of producing material has subsequently been heavily influenced by this first experience. Since I am a teacher and used to interacting with people in both a group (small or large) and individual context, then the interview situation is one that I feel comfortable with. It might provide the possibility of eliciting the kind of reflexive, considered material that is necessary to address the question of weekendness. I was surprised, however, even in this first piece of research, how time consuming it was to ensure that research etiquette, for example that the "pleases and thank you's" were adhered to. This was before I had begun to consider seriously the larger ethical questions involving the power of the researcher and the emotions of the respondents. I became aware of the responsibility of such a situation, when at one stage it became a particularly intimate space where emotions were laid bare. I was unsure about how to deal with such a situation. There were and are, no easy answers,

but this kind of research certainly requires a lot of research *time*, something that I didn't have much of, as a part-time postgraduate student.

4.3.3 Consolidating the Method: A School Study.

This research was carried out with fourteen- and fifteen-year-old students in a secondary school in Manchester which is located in a generally working class, multi-ethnic neighbourhood. This research project was facilitated through a friend and colleague of mine who taught at the school and was sympathetic to my ideas. The class work was done with one particular class on one afternoon and involved semi-structured questionnaires and class discussion. Further work was done on two afternoons directly after school. This involved small, conversational interviews with small groups of students from the class I had already worked with, as well as with some members of other classes. A follow-on diary project on their weekend over a holiday was unsuccessful, very few completed diaries being returned.

Since the research question was to be focussed specifically around Manchester it seemed important that I began to make my research location specifically in the city or immediate environs. The pilot project with students that I taught was done in collaboration with students most of whom were resident in semi-rural parts of Lancashire as well as in smaller urban locations than Manchester. The 'results', therefore, would not properly fit the urban locale in which I intended to work. Nevertheless they were important in terms of testing out a method and in seeing whether particular issues around the weekend would stimulate people enough to produce 'useful' material.

4.3.3.1 Description of the Study

My contact at the school, 'Ann', had worked with me for an exam board and had a mutual interest in cultural studies. She readily agreed to facilitate a classroom session in school hours, followed by two others, which were based around small group interviews. I sent material in advance to demonstrate the research question and give her some idea of the type of classroom session that might be appropriate and for

which age group. She chose the class and time. Since there is little spare time for activities of this kind which are not directly relevant to the curriculum, I was dependent on her goodwill and organisation for my access.

I compiled a questionnaire for the students, to which they would write a response in class. This was designed to tease out their relationship to the city, the questions based around time, space, boundaries and the weekend. Although I have spent most of my working life in a teaching situation, it was nerve-racking to encounter a class of thirty or so fourteen-year olds. Nevertheless I got on with it and enjoyed the session very much. I had envisaged breaking the group up into smaller units and circulating around perhaps, ten mini discussion forums. That was too ambitious due to the class size and difficulty of maintaining control in unfamiliar circumstances. 'Ann' gently dissuaded me from this and suggested that they write the answers to the questions, on the sheet I had sent her. I was disappointed that I had no chance to record their discussions.

I was most surprised by the diligence that many of the students exhibited in their lengthy written answers to the questions I had drawn up. We had prepared them for answering by stimulating a forty-five minute or so discussion on what the weekend meant to them. It was hard for some of them to talk in a large group about 'doing' their weekend. After all, they may not do very much. I tried to allay those sort of fears by validating the mundane weekend in my introduction and to encourage a writing of different sorts of weekends.

The following week's session took place just after school hours in the adjoining public library. I recorded conversations with small groups of students for about fifteen minutes. This was a favourable means of finding out about their weekends. They felt comfortable with oral expression and talked freely and energetically, especially since they had the support of their friends in the group. The success of the 'library sessions' contrasted with a later proposal for the same students to keep a weekend diary over the Easter holidays. Initially, they were fairly enthusiastic, especially since it involved a free diary. I had managed to persuade a Manchester retailer to sell me some at a reduced price, and they were distributed with some instructions for use. I had doubts about the success of this,(which were later

confirmed) knowing that two weeks without support would make it difficult for the students to sustain. My doubts were confirmed when, after Easter, on my visit to the school they had produced virtually nothing.

4.3.3.2 Reflections on the School Study

The context in which I was working in the school gave me very little autonomy over when I could work, whom I could work with, and where. Nevertheless, I was (and still am) very grateful for the access and enormous amount of help from Ann. There are advantages and disadvantages. My relationship with Ann allowed insights into the school and a relationship with the students that I wouldn't have had otherwise. So I accepted that I wouldn't be able to record hours of material. I would work with what I had.

Further constraints were those of time and space. The classroom and class size was not conducive to small group work. However those are the constraints under which teachers have to operate. Why should research work be any different? The library in which the interviews took place was busy and noisy and it was difficult for Ann to find us a private space. Again, it is useful to be reminded of the constraints under which most of the British public sector has to work. That needs to be stated as the context in which the lives of the students were constituted.

I spent two or three hours with some of these students, only twenty minutes with others. Nevertheless, it was a rich time. There were few 'silences' and the students were eager to talk about time, space and the weekend with some particularly interesting material on boundary work

Time was a scarce resource for all of us: Ann as a full-time teacher, the students' with their family responsibilities and me as a full-time lecturer. This placed constraints on the amount of field-work we could do. Some students had to leave the interviews before we had finished as they had brothers or sisters to look after. Some could not attend because of similar responsibilities. This meant that the interviews were short and impressionistic, but interesting and useful nevertheless.

Since Ann had introduced me to the school and students and in fact, made the whole thing possible, she, I think, felt a responsibility for both the students and the process. To have taken up more of her time on this project, when she was so busy elsewhere seemed presumptuous. This is a research dilemma. It is difficult to know how far to test goodwill when friends and colleagues make a considerable effort on our behalf. How far should we push goodwill? Should we steer our research clear of personal relationships?

The 'weekend' was a difficult subject for some of the students to talk about. To speak out in class was obviously hard for those acutely embarrassed at speaking in a large group. Added to that was a reluctance to speak by those whose weekends may have been dull and/or isolating. The silence of some led me to surmise on why they were less than forthcoming. Did they not have enough money or were they not allowed the autonomy to enable meeting up with friends and to go with them, for instance, into town? Although many, even most students were enthusiastic about the weekend, there were some who seemed embarrassed about their weekend.¹⁰ On reflection, if we had planned small group work in the classroom, it might have encouraged the quieter, shyer students to speak.

Using a mini-disk recorder made it possible to capture the intonation of the students' voices when discussing particular issues, adding to the richness of the data. Once I had made the recordings, I transcribed them, re-read them alongside the classroom notes that the students had made in response to my questions and then colour coded them according to particular themes, such as 'responses to the city', 'boundary work' and so on. I wrote up an account of this, but because it was done at such an early stage in the process, found that it was useful as important preparatory work rather than as part of the chapters. The process of 'meeting' and of discussing the weekends of the school students gave me the confidence to think about how I would pursue the issue with other groups.

¹⁰ These fears about what kind of weekend we might have are not unique to this group. I have encountered a general embarrassment about mundane weekends illustrated in the response to a request for an interview.. 'You don't want to hear about my weekend. It's really boring.' I was surprised to find that this kind of response was also experienced by Mass Observation researchers in the 1940s. (See, for example, M-O A: FR 2467 Saturday Night pp5-11).

The thing that struck me was the difficulty of the research process, in terms of time, space and access to under-represented/researched groups. I wanted to do some of my interviews with this age-group, partly because they are not those immediately associated with the weekend. When we think about a Saturday night, what may come to mind is eighteen to thirty year olds perhaps, out clubbing in the city. These are the age group with the supposed disposable income, and therefore those that are catered for in the pubs and clubs around town, and those that are the subjects and objects of advertising. As Chatterton and Hollands report:

Nightlife activity is a significant part of most young people's lives in Britain. With around two-thirds of city centre populations aged between 15 to 44 (Mintel 2000a. p14), cities are reasserting themselves as leisure and entertainment hubs for young people. Visiting pubs and clubs is a core element in these young people's lifestyles. (2001: 68)

Much of this 'visiting' takes place at the weekend, and increasingly the places visited are corporate chains, which implicate this age group in their advertising and publicity material. Since land prices are at a premium in cities such as Manchester, then it is these chains who dominate the weekend night- scape. It is not surprising then that 18-30s are those most associated with the weekend. However, Chatterton and Hollands remind us that not all members of this group are able to participate:

...it is also important to stress that significant divides are still visible, for example, unemployed young people or those dependent on welfare benefits or unstable employment, university students and those in high-level training and young professionals in stable, well-paid and mobile employment. (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001)

(Whilst some of the students I interviewed were in this age-group, very few of them were permitted to go into the city centre at night).

I often reminded myself in the early stages of research that I must not get hooked solely on to the Saturday night version of the weekend. It seemed important to reclaim perceptions of the weekend from corporate marketing and advertising, and also to highlight the forgotten labour of the weekend.

4.3.4 Reflections on Alternative Methods

The first thing that may be said about the method I adopted is that it was 'intensive' rather than 'extensive', terms coined by Sayer (1992). An 'Extensive' approach examines a large number of instances in little depth; intensive approaches examine a small number, possibly one, in greater depth. My work tends more towards the 'intensive', working with a relatively small number of people, working in-depth on their contribution to my research to understand more about their weekend social world. The specific focus of my research is on the social construction and significance of the weekend: it is not, for example, to quantify how many people go to the pub on a Saturday, but to understand how going to the pub may be part of the construction of weekend temporal and spatial patterns. Hence, whilst extensive methods may have their uses, intensive methods are suited to my research focus.

4.3.4.1 Extensive Methods – Surveys

Some time elapsed between research at the school and more fieldwork. During this time I began to formulate more solid ideas about which methods I should employ for the remainder of the field work. Like many other feminist academics, I rejected ideas of 'detachment' and 'objectivity' (Stanley and Wise, 1990). I did not see myself as the all-knowing researcher 'collecting' data from less 'knowing' respondents. Although I acknowledge my position as an academic, I wanted to genuinely learn from the people I work with rather than seeing it as 'just gathering material'. Stanley and Wise (1990) again remind us, that 'reality is multi-dimensional and multi-faceted'. Research methods deemed 'scientifically correct', were often those that produced knowledge that reduced women to their biology. They counsel against a traditional categorising approach thus "...the inconvenient approach that much human behaviour cannot be described, let alone understood, in unexplicated categorical terms is largely ignored, or rather 'resolved' by treating people's experiences as faulty versions of the theoreticians' categories" (Stanley and Wise, 1983: 187-188). I could not therefore, justify using a method that would categorise and count, as a means of finding out about the social world and how people inhabited it. Even if the premises and methods of quantitative work were accepted and used alongside qualitative work, it would not, for instance, be possible to conduct enough interviews to be 'statistically

significant', since in-depth interviews, as Alasuutari (1995: 12) asserts, may generate up to thirty pages of transcription for each interview. So, whilst recognising their use for some situations, I discounted the use of surveys and questionnaires; their use often conveying assumptions about both the role of the researcher and the methods.

As May says:

The central issue in social research for the critics of questionnaires is a hermeneutic one: how can researchers legitimately understand the ways in which people interpret the world around them and act within their social universe? How can survey researchers guarantee that their questions will be interpreted by the respondent in the manner in which they intended when there is no opportunity for dialogue? (May, 1993)

Research without that 'opportunity', for me would be pointless in this context.

Rejecting the idea of a simple 'truth' is crucial to this discussion. If we accept the idea (as I do) that an individual is not a unified subject, then how can an individual, even if they are chosen through statistically 'valid' means, be representative only of that particular group? If our subjectivities are multiple, surely as Hollway (1989: 15) points out, 'My basic contention is that a social theory of the subject implies that the information derived from *any participant* is valid because that account is a product (albeit complex) of the social domain'. It is reasonable to suggest however, that we think about who we work with in terms of particularly under-represented or difficult-to-access groups. What needs to be questioned is the assumed correlation in some work, between the production of 'really useful knowledge' and statistical sampling. Hollway refers to her abandonment of this method:

The concern for mass generalisation and the requirement to use large numbers for statistical manipulation together produce knowledge which does not address the complex conditions of people and their conduct, either in their uniqueness or their commonality. (Hollway, 1989)

It is Hollway's 'complex conditions of people and their conduct', rather than their quantitative data that I am interested in.

4.3.4.2 Intensive Methods – 'The Meeting'

For researching lived weekends in the city, ethnography, at the other end of the spectrum from surveys, seemed an obvious choice. I agreed with Bryman in his assertion that, 'to assist in understanding social reality we must also directly

experience that reality' (Bryman in May, 1993: 115). An ethnographic method might provide a more grounded account, for instance, of Friday nights, Saturdays and Sundays in Manchester. To go shopping with a group of women on a Saturday afternoon, for instance, would be fun and would be a useful way of understanding their interactions and relationships with the city, its shops and each other. It would be a way of undertaking sustained, in-depth, qualitative research that would mean more than an interview about going shopping. As well as hearing the account I could also experience it. I would be 'participating in social relations and seeking to understand actions within the context of an observed setting' (May, 1993: 112). However, the more I thought about it, the more difficult an enterprise it seemed. May believes that ... it is...plausible to argue that participant observation or ethnography is the most personally demanding and analytically difficult method of social research to undertake.' I agree with him. As well as time in the field making relationships with 'the people of the research' (Skeggs, 1997), I also had to participate in, observe and record 'field' activities. This would require an enormous investment in relationships and what I call 'research etiquette', the letters, phone calls and ways of saying thank you to the people one is working with. To be able to undertake this required a long stretch of time-to-do and time-to-reflect. At a time when research funding for postgraduate work in the social sciences, (at least for non-policy orientated, non-quantitative work) is very scarce, it must be pragmatic for those of us who are attempting to combine a full time job with non-funded research, to steer away from such intensive work as ethnography. Discussing the politics of time and money within the thesis has also to extend to its conditions of production!

However, Gray (2002) takes issue with that strict definition of ethnography. She suggests that 'immersing ones self in a particular culture or sub-culture' may not be the only or indeed the best way of understanding the social world. Gray takes issue with the strict anthropological definition of ethnography arguing that there are problems with, for instance, the 'matters of intrusion involved in long term 'observation''. Gray also makes a point that '...the kinds of contemporary cultures we are interested in are those which, to a greater or lesser extent, we inhabit ourselves'. In this case, that would mean that, as I am 'in' the weekend and do things, then I am a participant observer. Not in the same way as if I was engaged in a structured piece of research, but participating in the field, nevertheless. Gray argues

for time spent investigating the way in which meaning is produced, in her case through interviews, rather than, necessarily in observation. She goes further in her assertion of appropriate methods by saying, 'Extended time spent with groups as participant observers would not necessarily be more productive than listening to people in close conversational interviews'. The definition of what ethnography might *be* is extended here. It is an interesting contention that, in this context, interviews are regarded as 'ethnography'. I felt heartened when reading Grays's account as I felt that the boundaries around what ethnography might be were too tightly drawn. I felt that I could now, perhaps consider my work as being encompassed by that term. For some time I had been considering such a position, but there seemed to be a general insistence on entering into relationships with people engaged in a particular activity and culture and 'observing' them in context, for it to 'count' as ethnography. While I can understand that in some instances it may be preferable, there must be issues of trust and authority here. For social scientists or anthropologists to insist on the authority of the 'senses' of the observer-researcher, might be regarded as delegitimising the oral evidence of those who live the culture. Surely we have to trust the oral accounts of 'people of the research' and work on the meaning and significance that they bring to their social world.

The issue of whether or not certain interview genres can be understood as ethnography is a contentious point. Back's (1996) work on 'the relationship between racism and urban multicultural' could not have been achieved without participant observation over a long period. Nevertheless, I do believe that in some research contexts, particular interviewing 'methods' such as those of Gray (1992) can be regarded as such. A useful approach is that of Johnson *et al.* (2004: 205), who write of researching in face-to-face situations with other people as firstly '...extend(ing) the possibilities of research...' through ... "giv(ing) access to embodied meanings...' and secondly '...political and ethical issues are brought out particularly clearly...', because '...we...have to face this person tomorrow.' It is, perhaps, easier to work with texts because in many senses we don't have to be answerable to them. Johnson *et al* have a useful understanding of '...auto/biography and ethnography as two poles of a continuum of methods that chart the movement from self to other in research'. Hence, the methodology should firstly be reflexive, giving some account of the position of the self in the process; secondly, if it includes fieldwork with social

actors, then the relationship of self and other might be fully appraised, with some understanding of its dimensions. They prefer to use the term ‘meetings’, rather than the more conventional ‘fieldwork’ or indeed ‘ethnography’, because it avoids distinctions between various methods that are part of ‘a continuum’, and ‘...avoids elision with more specialized anthropological meanings’ (Johnson *et al.*, 2004: 201).

4.3.4.3 The Chosen Method: Focussed/ Conversational Interviews

Given the contributions of both Gray (1992) and May (1993) and particularly Johnson *et al.* (2004) on methodology, then I understand the semi-structured interview as part of a ‘family’ of methods that we might re-conceptualise as ‘meetings’. This is useful in perhaps re-delineating the research intention as a ‘meeting’ where both parties learn, rather than ‘fieldwork’, which insinuates one party going to ‘find out’ more about another. Johnson *et al.* (2004) insist on the process being as much about self-knowledge as knowledge of ‘the other’. So the idea of ‘meetings’ with various actors who might share their ideas on the weekend seems appropriate in this context.

The ‘focussed interview’, building on ‘trust and co-operation’ (May, 1993: 99), or Gray’s ‘conversational’ one, is the method that I felt was most useful. Gray gave me some idea of how I could conceptualise this. In her research on gender and video recording, Gray (1992: 32) recognises that her interviews with women rely on an ‘...extremely limited form of “observation” and relies heavily on respondents’ accounts and explanations of their own actions, feelings and attitudes...’ And further: ‘...and through careful analysis, such material can be used to investigate the wider structural and ideological frameworks within which the respondents form their attitudes’. My research has worked in a similar way. Observation of the people I worked with in their ‘weekend activity’ settings was limited. My job, as noted earlier, does not allow sustained participant observation. However, my personal and professional experience has allowed me to practice the skills I will need to feel comfortable in the role of ‘conversationalist’, so I looked at how both groups approach their weekends, how important they are to them and in what terms they

discuss them. The ‘meeting and conversation’, or interview in its more formal sense, is designed to tease out themes essential in understanding the weekend.

My work was intensive, qualitative and ‘meeting’ orientated. Before the series of meetings with people, I established working relationships with my respondents. Since I was not in a position to get to know them very well, the two meetings that I anticipated having had to be considered carefully in advance, to enable them to be both enjoyable and productive. After the initial meetings with one or two people, my ‘findings’ were presented to the whole group later on. I assumed no explicit hierarchy in the meeting or interview situation, but recognise the power relations involved. Whilst the people that I worked with might have the power of veto, I will have the power of representation, of ‘naming’ them in writing up my research. Skeggs (1997) writes of her power when working with working class women in her research: ‘My position within the academy and its disciplinary practices, based on rational knowing, implicated me with the potential to re-inscribe the women as other, as outside of legitimate knowledge’. Skeggs writes of how this application of rational knowledge had to be ‘continually resisted’. That has been central to this process, to accept the contributions of the people I met on their own terms, and make transparent what are mine. As with Gray (1992: 33), what individuals say to me does not ‘directly reflect their experience’, but ‘their way of interpreting and articulating that experience’. My task is to make sense of that articulation within the context of my research question.

4.3.5 The Principal Research Study

The following sections detail my approach to the main primary research study and the historical work exploring the origins of the weekend in Manchester.

4.3.5.1 Whom do I Work With?

I have chosen the groups to work with for a number of reasons. Firstly, I wanted to avoid focussing on 18-30 hedonists and how they ‘did’ their weekends. That is not to say that they have anything less important to say, but their voices tend to have been

heard more than others in participative research. Johnson *et al.* (2004: 213) sum up this tendency succinctly:

In the context of increasingly globalised and pervasive forms of contemporary youth cultures, together with the celebratory emphasis on youth as a defining moment in life, cultural studies' focus seems to look rather less democratic than we might hope. That is why critical self-reflection at the level of disciplinary or epistemological pressures is also important.

'Youth at the weekend' seemed too easy a group to alight on at first analysis. Their activities did seem to define what the weekend was about if we looked through the prism of the contemporary media, but I needed to look further. I felt that at 50+, I wouldn't adequately be able to represent the world of those who were twenty or thirty years younger. As an older woman I felt that my gendered experience as well as that of bringing up children would help in any conversations that I might have with, especially, perhaps, with older women. It would, too, be useful to hear from those who don't appear in the advertising-mediated weekend as well as those who do the invisible work of the weekend. Supermarket workers, for instance, would form a loose group who might have an interesting position on the vanishing weekend, especially since most supermarket trading is done at the weekend. I was also interested in activities which weren't primarily focussed on consumption, those that were almost an anomaly in the commodified twenty-first century world. Allotment keepers seemed an interesting group for me to work with, especially since their activity is one mostly thought of as associated with the weekend. Supermarket workers and allotment keepers, possibly serendipitously chosen, might present a range of different ages, genders and ethnicities whose contributions would help me make sense of an enduring but threatened institution.

The groups I interviewed are:

- 5 former degree students (mixed ages and genders, Lancashire).
- 40-50 14-year old secondary school students in Manchester (mixed genders and ethnicities)
- 4 workers aged 20-30 years in the cultural sector (all male between 20 and 30)
- 6 keepers of allotments aged 20-80 (mixed genders and ethnicities) in Manchester.
- 20 + supermarket workers, Salford (mixed ages, ethnicities and genders)

My initial plans were much more ambitious, and included interviewing call centre workers, people who lived in a particular street and regulars at a named pub. Little did I realise until later how much work was involved in arranging interviews with just two groups and a number of other individuals. To research properly requires an attention to detail which is incredibly time-consuming. I had, therefore to limit the numbers of the people with whom I would work. To work qualitatively rather than quantitatively is what is important to me in relation to my research aims.

4.3.5.2 Conversations about What?

Now that I had decided on who I hoped to work with, I also had to decide what to discuss with them. It had become clear through preliminary research that the weekend was under threat as a time and space which, for the most part, was regarded as 'time off'. How much this was gendered and classed I wanted to determine, but most of all I wanted to find out whether the weekend was cared about. Did anyone give a fig whether we had the right to a Saturday and Sunday off, or some compensation if we didn't? I realised that I was quite a passionate defender of the weekend and was anxious about its demise. I felt the 'creep' of the working weekend and wondered how it had come about.

I thought about the conversations; what themes might be interesting to talk about and might produce 'rich' material about the temporalities and spatialities of the weekend? I decided I would focus on five or six themes that I would raise in all our meetings. I would not restrict the conversation to those themes; to talk of other things which interviewees or I wished to discuss was fine and might be productive.

1. The boundary' between the week and the weekend had provoked interesting discussions in work, both with degree and school students. There was perceived by some to be a different feel to Friday nights, a qualitatively different kind of space and time. Did they, in effect, 'put their weekend head on'? The starting point of the conversations might discuss whether this boundary was significant and how.

2. What people did at the weekends would provide a useful way into a discussion. What did they do, when and where and with whom, on a Saturday and Sunday? How did work impact on their weekend? If they worked at the weekend, did substitute weekdays off feel or mean the same? If interviewees were not born in the UK, how were weekends spent in their country of birth?
3. Did the weekends allow for 'proper time' for an individual; that is, 'time for themselves'? The issue of women and time might be particularly significant here.
4. If the weekends are worked, how might social synchrony be affected, either in the immediate family (if there is one) or in circles of friends or more extended family. This issue might be particularly significant in terms of social inclusion and exclusion.
5. What are the spaces in which the weekend is spent, both in the day and at night? What proportion is spent outside or inside, in the public or private? Are there particular places where the weekend is lived? Are they near or far from home?
6. Lastly (and I wasn't sure how to raise this), might the weekend represent an 'epiphanic' time and space, a Lefebvre 'moment', a time when we have time to think about escaping? And if the weekend is disappearing, would the 'moments', also?

4.3.5.3 Complementary Interview Sources

As a secondary form of meeting, I interviewed various representatives of the municipal government, for example, the local council, the police force, the *Marketing Manchester* agency and City Centre Management. These were semi-structured, but perhaps more formal than those with either the supermarket workers or allotment-keepers and form a context for those more in-depth interviews. These 'meetings' with representatives of various Mancunian institutions provide some insights into how the weekend is produced by the City Council, Police and *Marketing Manchester*. The language used in such sessions was less personal and more about the way in which the city is managed at the weekends. Nonetheless, it

may well be possible to analyse and interpret it using a similar analytical framework as, for instance, with the allotmenters. The same kinds of 'principles' apply when conducting the interviews, those of establishing rapport and building trust. However, the power relations may be of a different nature since the location of the interviews may well be the Town Hall, and therefore I was, in these cases, the subsidiary partner of anyone I may interview.

4.3.5.4 Working with Historical Material

The interweaving of 'history' and 'sociology' in a thesis focussing on the latter may be unusual. Nevertheless, in this instance it seems an important thing to do. C Wright Mills, mentioned in Kendrick *et al.* (1990: 1), advocated the coming together of 'history' and 'biography' as a way of making sense of relationships in the social world and promoted the breaching of discipline boundaries, by saying that the 'sociological imagination' extended well beyond the discipline. Kendrick *et al.* (1990: 2) cite the work of E.P.Thompson as an example of this hybridisation. They also suggest the impossibility of analysing the contemporary without reference to the historical, 'Try asking serious questions about the contemporary world and see if you can do without historical answers' (Abrams 1982: 1 in Kendrick *et al.*, 1990: 2).

I am interested in how the weekend generally, and more particularly in Manchester has become what it is, more than just the end of the week, a special kind of time-space which is different from the Monday to Friday five-day cycle. 'Manchester a hundred and fifty years ago had a reputation for wild nightlife, for a special kind of raw, noisy and gregarious weekend culture' (Haslam, 1999: 3). Could it have been the first city to have a weekend? I aimed to find out more about origins of the weekend in Manchester through an analysis of original documents and ephemera which might give clues as to firstly, how and why Saturday became a 'day off' from work, and secondly, how it has acquired a special status as, supposedly, a more autonomous time. This segmenting of the week and the weekend links in to previous and succeeding discussions about time and which 'bits' of it are legislated, 'imposed or contested' (Johnson *et al.*, 2004: 121) by whom, when and where.

Mellor (1990: 122) makes the point that, ‘..history is ever there - in the streets frequented as daily routine, in memories of past incidents, moments in personal history, in the folklore of home life, in the myths of urban village or front line confrontation’ What I wanted to find out was whether there were any ‘records’ of the weekend in the local history library or archive. I knew I could do this through looking at memorabilia representing popular cultural forms, for example, playbills, or reports and adverts in local newspapers. Firstly though, I intended to find out when the half day off on a Saturday first occurred and where. It might be a case of serendipitous encounters, as it is so often in libraries. Johnson et al have suggested that ‘If we abstract from a very wide range of histories of different groups and movements, three features form a common ground of methodological innovation...’ Firstly ‘...the documentation of ruling groups as evidence of power and partiality...’ Secondly, ‘...reading the same texts against the grain...’ and thirdly, ‘producing new historical sources or surviving materials as sources for the first time...’ This seemed like a useful ‘template’ for my library work, particularly the latter point. I would go and see what I could find. It seemed an important to make the link between the ‘inauguration’ of the weekend in the nineteenth century, the way in which it is lived today and its uncertain future.

Given that part of my research was to analyse historical documents, what would I do once I had located relevant material? I had constructed a vague, simplistic narrative in my head about the struggle of the subordinated producing the weekend, but had no real ‘evidence’. How could any useful documents be read and what questions could be asked of them? These are the next set of questions.

One of the first questions I asked about any document was how old it was and whether there was ‘proof’ of that. It is important to establish the time of its writing, so that other contemporary documentary sources can be consulted. More can then be ‘uncovered’ about, perhaps, the institution that the material is representing or, if a more personal example, to assess the nature of everyday life during the time it was written. Secondly we need to find out who produced the document, representing which institution or group of people. Or perhaps they were representing themselves through a personal diary. Following on from that, it was useful to find out its conditions of production. Was it produced through industrial or more artisanal

methods and was it subject to any legislation? At this point it may be appropriate to describe the form of the document, and the kind of language used therein, as well as any illustration, logo or photography. Once the, 'how, where, when, who and why?' have been established, it will be useful to think about how this representation of 'the past' can be linked to the present. Themes might be useful to identify across different genres of document and disjunctures in expected narratives.

4.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, I will invoke the work of Giddens, which I think is particularly pertinent at this juncture. His 'New Rules for Sociological Method' (Giddens, 1993) outlines just that, a few basic rules for 'sociological investigation'. Giddens emphasises the agency of human beings and their role in 'transforming' their social world and in the process 'creating history'. This is a profound, if simple point to make, that people, make their own worlds and their own history. But, as he says later (after Marx) this 'realm' is 'bounded', and therefore, although there is space for transformation, it is not 'under the conditions of our choosing'.

The first point to make, therefore, is that the 'people of the research' actively shape their world. We work with them, to make some sense for our work of the social world they create. This is therefore an equal partnership where knowledge is concerned. We exchange forms of knowledge during the research process. We must see the social world under investigation as one that is constantly shaped and re-shaped as a result of human activity. Thus the research is never conclusive. The 'social' is always in flux.

However, as Giddens points out, the possibilities of agency are bounded. Social actors are not able to do exactly as they like. Institutions, many of which are long-standing, prevent that - hence the importance of historical work. In this context, since the weekend is, in some explanations, seen as the time for doing 'just as you like', the question for this research is how much social actors see the lived weekend as produced by structures such as the law, religion, and the corporate world and how

much they see it as produced 'autonomously'. Thus, whilst the interviewees may not know about or talk about the historical context, the historical research enables me to identify important aspects of this context.

Giddens reminds us of 'the duality of structure', that structures can be 'enabling' as well as 'constraining'. How might we understand the weekend in terms of 'structuration', that is how the weekend is constituted through the action of social actors and 'reciprocally', how those actors are constituted by the weekend. This involves 'interplay', between 'intentional action' and 'structures' and involves 'meanings, norms and power'. He warns us of constituting the social world 'as a topic of investigation' which we can somehow independently investigate, and reminds us that there is an exchange between the social world and our knowledge and experience of it. Hence in any research there must be constant reflection on the subjectivities of the author. He makes the point also, that that both researcher and researched make sense of social activity through 'interpretative schemes' which generate 'recognisable characterizations' of it. The job of this thesis is to firstly interpret the way in which people frame their weekends and secondly to translate these interpretations into understandable narratives.

To enable 'recognition' of this social world, Giddens recommends 'immersing' oneself in that culture. However, his definition of the result of that is to 'find one's way about in it', to 'be able to participate in it as an ensemble of practices'. The way in which knowledge will be produced about the weekend and its practices is to 'find my way about' through interviewing 'ensemble' participants, rather than observing in context. I have explained earlier why I think this is valid.

Finally Giddens explains the concept of the 'double hermeneutic'. This explains the constant re-cycling of sociological concepts. Such ideas find their way from sociologists through to non-sociologists, only to be exchanged with sociologists once more in the process of the research. So all theory is constantly re-constructed through the co-operation and exchange of the research process. Ideas about leisure, femininity, masculinity, ethnicity and age and how they relate to 'weekendness' are, therefore, mediated through the double hermeneutic.

In conclusion, I should like to draw attention to five points. Firstly, the autobiographical section is useful as a means of understanding how my subjectivity and thus my research position has been constructed. Secondly, qualitative research methods are those that are most appropriate to the question I am addressing, in practical and conceptual terms, as well as being most consistent with my politics. Specific qualitative methods have been consolidated through small pilot projects among college and school students. Thirdly, I have noted Johnson et al's (2004) idea of a 'continuum' of methods, those that involves social actors, rather than texts to be understood in terms of 'meetings' and considered them appropriate for my work. The 'meetings' that I propose, will involve in-depth interviews, conducted in conversational rather than more formal terms. This method seems an appropriate means of discussing with social actors how they understand their weekend life-worlds. Fourthly, documentary research drawing on historical sources seems a useful way of linking industrial Manchester with present and future post-Fordist Manchester. This method facilitates an understanding of how social structures endure over time and their place in the construction of the contemporary weekend in the city. This approach also links the historical with the geographical, analysing the spatiality of city structures. Fifthly, I have found Anthony Giddens' *New Rules of Sociological Method* a persuasive guiding framework for the whole approach to the research, but particularly for the way in which it may help interpret the material. I can thus present a 'research practice' which will attempt to find out the history of the weekend, how various actors live the contemporary weekend and what its future holds. The next chapter will discuss Manchester and the development of the weekend in the city.

Chapter 5- Industrial Manchester and the Creation of the first Half-Day Holiday

5.1 Manchester – Shock City?

J.T. Slugg graphically described the great changes in the fabric of Manchester life during the first half of the nineteenth century:

It seems to be convenient at this point to endeavour to present a negative picture of Manchester which will give a good idea of the changes which have taken place in its condition in the last fifty years. I have not tried to classify the objects named, but name them as they arise in the mind. Fifty years ago there were in Manchester no Athenaeum, no bonded warehouse, no Assize Courts, no Free Library, no Botanical Gardens, no police court, no public parks, no statues, no Concert Hall, no railway stations, no beerhouses, no members of Parliament, no bishop, dean or canons; no mayor, aldermen or councillors; no town clerk, no city or borough coroner, no Cathedral, no stipendiary for the city, no police, no County Court, no poor-law guardians, no Saturday half holiday, no early closing, no manorial rights, no penny postage, no telegraphs, no cabs, no omnibuses as now, no teetotal societies, no volunteers, no steel pens in constant use, no lucifer matches, no Stretford rd, no free trade. There were no ocean steamships, slavery was not abolished, neither were the Corn Laws. Everything was taxed - almanacs, windows, windows, paper, soap, leather; bottles and other glass; newspapers, advertisements and hundreds of other things in common use which are unburdened as the air. (Slugg, 1971 [1881]: 113)

Slugg employs an inventory of the newly developed city with effective literary punch. The reader is certainly made aware of the new world of what Briggs (1963) was to call the ‘shock city’. Slugg gives prominence to the creation of a municipal public realm which, arguably, was integral to this rapidly developing capitalism. The ‘Free Library’, ‘Botanical Gardens’ and ‘Railway Station’ all point to the creation of a modern city, where communications and ‘the public’ are given some priority. It was published some thirty six years after Engels (1987 [1845]) made his attack on living conditions in Manchester, and Slugg represents the city in a somewhat

different light; it is also notable that the Saturday half-day holiday was important enough to be listed as one of the key steps towards modernization.

In this chapter I will first of all assess the accounts of a rapidly industrialising Manchester and discuss the city in terms the ‘shock’ it experienced. Secondly I will look at how so-called ‘Manchester’ capitalism was tempered by modern institutions. Thirdly, I will focus particularly on the Saturday Half Day Holiday established in 1843, which is the forerunner of the subject of this thesis, the weekend in Manchester.

5.1.1 ‘Manchester Capitalism’ and Modernity

The idea of a different world emerging out of the conglomeration of circumstances that we understand as industrialisation has been discussed at length, particularly by those who might understand this intersection of the technological, the social, the political and the cultural as modernity. Berman refers to this experience in terms of time and space:

There is a mode of vital experience - experience of space and time, of the self and others, of life's possibilities and perils - that is shared by men and women all over the world today. I will call this body of experience 'modernity'. To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world - and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are, to be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, 'all that is solid melts into air.' (Berman, 1983: 15)

A century or more earlier, Engels (1987 [1845]) had discussed nineteenth century industrialisation also in terms of the contradictions of an emerging capitalism. This kind of capitalism and attitude to economics was christened the ‘Manchester School’ which consisted of ‘...economists, businessmen and campaigners who campaigned in Britain in the mid-19th century for free trade, markets and peace. Their greatest triumph was the repeal of the Corn Laws which protected farmers but meant that the poor starved’ (Singleton, 2005).

Engels argued that, ‘The industrial revolution is of the same importance for England as the political revolution for France, and the philosophical revolution for Germany; and the difference between England in 1760 and in 1844 is at least as great as that

between France under the *ancien regime* and during the revolution of July. But the mightiest result of this industrial transformation is the English proletariat' (Engels, 1987 [1845]: 61). At the same time he demonstrates his amazement at the technological innovation in South Lancashire, saying that, 'The modern art of manufacture has reached its perfection in Manchester' (Engels, 1987 [1845]: 82). His demonstration of the contradictions in this dynamic historical moment are evident in both his admiration of new inventions and his abhorring of the use to which they were put in the factory system and the conditions under which the poor had to work and live. Similarly, his disdain for the bourgeoisie setting up the new capitalism is plain and contrasts with his observation that class consciousness was produced most strongly amongst those workers closest to the new forms of production.

Marcus (1974: vii), in his work on Engels, emphasises the way in which Manchester during the process of industrialisation was, 'a new kind of city in which the formation of a new kind of human world seemed to be occurring.' Hannerz (1980) agrees, emphasising the size of these new urban centres, their new forms of work and the way in which new sorts of relationships could be formed from the heterogeneous nature of their populations and the haphazard ways in which they might be distributed. In the new cities there were more possibilities for meeting 'strangers' and experiencing different ways of understanding the world, than in locations where social relations were conducted more traditionally.

This industrialising world was new to the senses; commentators noted the sensory experience of modern Manchester variously describing its sight, sounds and smells. George Shone (1873), in his piece on an early morning in Ancoats, exclaims, 'What a noise of clogs we hear on every side and what lots of people for so early an hour.' Thomas Carlyle observed, 'Hast thou heard, with sound ears, the awakening of a Manchester, on Monday morning, at half-past five by the clock; the rushing-off of its thousand mills, like the boom of an Atlantic tide, ten thousand times, ten thousand spindles all set humming there - it is perhaps, if thou knew it well, sublime as a Niagara, or more so.' (Carlyle, 1839). Alexis de Toqueville similarly heard, 'The footsteps of a busy crowd, the crunching wheels of machinery, the shriek of steam from boilers, the regular beat of the looms, the heavy rumble of carts, those are the noises from which you can never escape in the sombre half-light of these streets...'

(de Toqueville, 1958: 107-108). George Shone had the memory of a particular odour as he ‘rambled’ around the city, ‘What is that smell? Oh! It proceeds from the piles of grey cloth, you see in the cellars of that warehouse’ (Shone, 1873: 76).

Describing such sensory experience was one way of articulating an emerging world, one in which industry, in all meanings of the word, was paramount. And it was the body upon which were written these new experiences. The extent to which bodies were adversely affected was dependent upon class or gender; for mill and warehouse workers and members of their families trying to make their life in the hovels that Engels describes, the effects would be physically far harsher than for the middle classes in the suburbs. He writes of these effects:

The influence of factory work upon the female physique also is marked and peculiar... Protracted work frequently causes deformities of the pelvis, partly in the shape of abnormal position and development of the hip bones, partly of malformation of the lower portion of the spinal column. (Engels, 1987 [1845]: 179)

James Kay-Shuttleworth, from a dissenting family in Rochdale, later to become a doctor who worked in Manchester from 1828-1835, wrote a pamphlet as a result of research with colleagues in the district health board he was attached as medical practitioner. This also expressed anxiety about working conditions in Manchester. Entitled ‘The Moral and Physical condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture of Manchester’, the first edition was published in 1832 and is now ‘regarded as one of the cardinal documents of Victorian history’ (G.M. Young, quoted in Selleck, 1994: 65), both for its glimpse into bourgeois attitudes and its honesty about the conditions in which the poor had to live and work:

Frequently, the inspectors found two or more families crowded into one small house and often one family lived in a damp cellar where twelve or sixteen persons were crowded. Children are ill-fed, dirty, ill-clothed, exposed to cold and neglect; and in consequence, more than one-half of the off-spring die before they have completed their fifth year (Kay-Shuttleworth, 1832: 88).

Lived experience at this time involved sensory and psychological changes, some of which have already been referred to and are epitomised in Berman’s (1983) articulation of modernity. However we can argue that transformations in the spatial and the temporal were what produced the industrial city of Manchester. For instance

the migration from a rural to an urban space, and the changing temporalities involved in the new forms of mechanical production led to the particularities of place that was and is Manchester. As David Harvey (1996: 210) puts it, ‘Social constructions of space and time are not wrought out of thin air, but shaped out of the various forms of space and time which human beings encounter in their struggle for material survival.’ The way in which spaces and times were produced, did to a large extent, depend on the logic of capitalism, that is, the search for profit. Time off work was not given necessarily as a right, but as something that would make workers more productive.

5.1.2 Technology and Innovation

The experience of being in Manchester during the nineteenth century epitomised the fragmented and contradictory experience of modernity. This was a city described by Briggs (1963) as the ‘shock city’ of industrialisation, a transformation which would have been impossible without several key inventions which originated in the north-west. The Flying Shuttle, (1733, John Kay: Bury), the Spinning Jenny (1764, James Hargreaves: Blackburn) the spinning throstle, carding engine and preparatory frames (1767, 1785, Richard Arkwright: Preston), the ‘mule’ (Samuel Crompton, Firwood: 1785). Arkwright’s ‘throstle’ is considered by Engels (Engels, 1987 [1845]) to be as important as the steam engine in the development of industrialisation.

Kiernan (in Engels, 1987 [1845]: 10-11) interprets Engels’ reaction to the ‘new world’: ‘Steam was propelling mankind forward, towards an era when the age-old bondage of toil and poverty could be shaken off at last... He stood spellbound before “the immeasurable importance of mechanical power”’. These inventions made the factory system a possibility and the spinning of cotton became the first industrial process, closely followed by the spinning of wool as the machinery became adapted for a different raw material. Engels (1987 [1845]) notes that ‘The history of south Lancashire contains some of the greatest marvels of modern times, yet no one ever mentions them, and all these miracles are the products of the cotton industry’.

Hall (1998) explains why this extraordinary innovation was located within a thirty mile radius of Manchester, touching on some of the inventory of Slugg (1971 [1881]). Hall cites first the establishment of an economic and social system;

secondly, networks of communication enabling innovation; thirdly, that there was a critical mass of dissenting middle-class entrepreneurs, often outsiders in traditional networks, ready to take financial risks and begin to develop the factory system using the new inventions. Fourthly, he cites expertise from one industry cross-pollinating with another, thereby extending innovations from one into another. Fifthly, education and training were important in the city where a technical academy and scientific societies developed debate and expertise around science and manufacturing. Finally, Hall asserts that this all coalesced to engender 'the worlds first innovative milieu'. All of this suggests a dynamic environment where change could flourish. Indeed, Castells (1996) also emphasises 'local seedbeds of innovation' and 'the milieu of innovation' in his brief discussion of where 'revolution' comes from, (in this case the first industrial revolution).

5.1.3 Transport

Manchester's innovative milieu and its many immigrants and religious dissenters contributed 'different' ideas to the 'pot' of intellectual and industrial life. From this 'stew' came a number of other important nineteenth century inventions that were important internationally as well as in the UK. One of the first scheduled inter-city passenger trains in the world steamed out of Liverpool in 1830 to connect the city with Manchester's Liverpool Rd station. 'It was to be the fastest railway in the world and the first to link two large towns... It was a modern passenger railway, the longest piece of track the world had ever seen' (Garfield, 2002: 7). In similar vein, a network of canals such as the Bridgewater (1762), the Rochdale (1804: crossed the Pennines) and the Leeds and Liverpool (1821) traversed the city and led Kidd (2002: 25) to compare it with Venice. By the 19th century this network of waterways facilitated Manchester as an inland port and meant that raw materials could be transported between large centres of manufacturing, at least until the 1850s, when the railways came to be seen as the most efficient form of transport.

Towards the end of the 19th century the idea of canals was once again revived in Manchester, when the city exercised the '... imaginative sponsorship of a ship canal linking it with the sea'. (i.e. the Manchester Ship Canal) (Kidd, 2002: 113-114). Advances in the public transport system meant that Manchester was an accessible

city at all points of the compass; indeed it was probably easier to travel around the city and environs on public transport at the beginning of the twentieth than at the start of the twenty first century. Easier communication meant that new forms of leisure could be developed and accessed, for example the Belle Vue Zoo and Pleasure Gardens, opened in 1836 by John Jennison ‘Covering 36 acres and including the maze, bowling green, deer paddock, boating lake, flower beds, brass band, licensed dancing saloon and tea room, as well as the animals, it was an exceptional magnet for the crowds’ (Kidd, 2002: 46). Seven years later, the inauguration of the Saturday half-day holiday and consequent ‘time off’ would, no doubt, consolidate the fortunes of what was to become a Manchester institution. On the one hand that Saturday ‘break’ would accelerate consumption, essential for the development of capitalist economics and on the other would promote new forms of conviviality and association.

5.1.4 Intellectual Life, Rational Recreation and Class

Discussion and the exchange of new ideas were important to Manchester in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Athenaeum Club for instance, whose building was funded by a public subscription of £10,000 and designed by James Barry, had its foundation stone laid in May 1837 and was completed in 1839. It attracted some 2000 members, among them Richard Cobden (the founder of the Free Trade movement) and Robert Owen (philanthropic industrialist) with Charles Dickens officiating at its first annual *soirée* (Parkinson-Bailey, 2000: 67). Athenaeum minutes suggested ‘That a life membership be presented to Charles Dickens Esq., with the hearty thanks of the Board, for his very great kindness in presiding at the soiree, and for the admirable address delivered by him and for the offer of his services when again required’ (Athenaeum, 1843). Indeed, Charles Dickens was one of the donors to a fund set up for the twenty fifth anniversary year (1868 : a celebration *soirée* was held in the Free Trade Hall) of the Saturday half-day holiday, the committee for which, some accounts say, was closely associated with the Athenaeum. Karl Marx visited the club and remarked ‘...that it was virtually the only home of the muse in Manchester’. Friedrich Engels became a member in order to take advantage of the lectures (for instance, he attended one on phrenology) and the 6,000 volumes in the subscription library (Frow and Frow, 1985). The minutes of the Athenaeum ‘Books

and Papers' sub-committee (Athenaeum, 1847) detail the spending of hundreds, even thousands of pounds every year on a wide range of publications for their members to read. Lectures were held there on such subjects as 'magnetic electricity'; German classes were held in amongst a wide range of alternatives. The Club committee resolved 'That it is expedient to have gratuitous lectures on Saturday afternoons, or evenings if possible and that the attention of the Lecture Committee be directed to this subject' (Athenaeum, 1843). Interestingly, the advice on Saturday afternoon lectures comes a few weeks after the inauguration of the Saturday half-day holiday.

William Morris was a contributor to this circulation of new ideas in Manchester; in Ancoats in 1894 he laid out his prescription for '...what a city might be...' in contrast to '...such monstrosities of haphazard growth as your Manchester-Salford-Oldham etc; or our great sprawling brick and mortar country of London.' He advocated public buildings in the centre, with houses and lesser buildings once stage back, liberally spaced with greenery of various sorts, getting less and less built up until the 'countryside' was reached (Nowell, 1936). The location of his lecture is telling, since Ancoats and its mills were some of the first industrial spaces in Manchester and attracted a large population of industrial workers to live in the area. 'Two forces combined to create Ancoats: demand for housing as Manchester grew, and the development of a new breed of textile mills based on steam power. The eighteenth century cotton spinning mills still form a "mill wall" along the Rochdale canal.' (Ancoats Buildings Preservation Trust, 2004) Morris despised industrial production and was evangelical about a return to artisanal work that was not alienating for its producers; it is somewhat surprising that he spoke in this location. However, Ancoats was the locus of a great deal of bourgeois anxiety about the moral and physical welfare of the 'lower orders'; Morris's lecture may have been intended as an 'improving' and 'uplifting' cultural event, even some 'rational recreation'. His appearance however, does indicate the kinds of intellectual stimulation and debate that took place in the city.

As Kidd argues, the idea of ignorant and philistine capitalists is at odds with the cultural institutions which flourished in the city throughout the nineteenth century. He writes:

The middle class leaders of the industrial towns expressed their collective identity in the public institutions of their town. The voluntary societies,

libraries and museums, institutes and clubs which they founded, and the buildings which they commissioned to house them, were emblems of a class identity, expressions of a self-image, in much the same way as a country house estate, with its classical architecture and great paintings was for the landed aristocracy. (2002: 70)

Kidd and Roberts characterise the industrial towns of the nineteenth century as providing 'a theatre for the expression and consolidation of middle class power' (Kidd and Roberts, 1985: 4). Through the Literary and Philosophical society (the 'Lit and Phil', inaugurated in 1781), and the Athenaeum Club, the men of the middle classes were to indulge in recreation of an 'improving' kind, constructing a culture to which the lower orders were encouraged to aspire, and through which the industrialists might be aided to create wealth. Women, however, were not regarded as part of this intellectual or 'improving' community. They were not permitted to join as full members of this club, but they were 'allowed' to attend some of the evening and Saturday lectures.

Whilst the bourgeoisie developed a paternalist consciousness of themselves as 'improved' and 'improving', in parallel, the working classes were developing their own class consciousness and their own recreation, which, to a large extent, ignored the pleas for them to engage in 'rational recreation' as a means of keeping their pleasures in check. The 'Hall of Science' at Campfield on Deansgate, for instance, held a lecture hall which became a debating hall for socialists and Chartists, where '...Engels gained most of his knowledge of English social and political matters' (Whitfield, 1988). Michael Harrison (Kidd and Roberts, 1985) reports that the efforts of the Royal Manchester Institution between the 1820s and 1840s and the Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 made little headway in 'moral improvement' through 'art'. Nevertheless, the improving instinct among the 'better' classes endured, epitomised in Thomas Horsfall's opinion that '...the guiding classes' should provide the civilising agency that the poor town dwellers lacked' (Kidd and Roberts, 1985) (Horsfall, quoted by Harrison in Kidd and Roberts 1985) Horsfall was part of a body of opinion that sought an art museum in the north of the city. The Manchester Art Museum was, from 1886 housed in Ancoats Hall in the north-eastern fringes of the city, home to numerous mills, their workers, homes and families. This area was legendary amongst those who had the power and influence to form opinions. It was

perceived amongst them, as Kidd has observed, as the 'dark continent', from which emanated moral turpitude. Art (recreation), rather than better living conditions, health or a fair wage was seen as the best way of 'dealing' with this 'problem'. The exhibits at Ancoats Hall included Model Workmen's Rooms (with fittings designed by William Morris), rooms featuring Industrial Arts, Local Scenes and Natural History. In addition to this emphasis on the aesthetic there were also lectures and 'entertainments' organised which were well attended. Although working people must have found some enjoyment in such a context, the main reason for Horsfall's concentration in providing 'good' music for the lower orders was to provide an alternative to the raucous Saturday nights of the music hall and the public house.

5.1.5 Urbanisation, Spatial Separation and Friedrich Engels

What was the 'shock' of the 'new city and how was it felt? Population growth is one aspect: in 1801 the population was 76,788, in 1851 it was 316,213 (Kidd, 2002: 14). Most of this rise in population was the migration of the poor into makeshift and cheaply built 'houses' near to the places of work in the centre of town. How would the city's infrastructure cope with the rapidly increasing numbers? The answer is that it didn't. The new capitalists did not make proper provision for the thousands of people who had become newly urbanised. The city was not recognised even as a borough until 1838 and then, 'Confirmation of its powers by the Borough Charters Incorporation Act of 1842', began the '...municipal management of a town which had hitherto been run by manorial court and police commissioners. Manchester was granted city status in 1853' (Kidd, 2002: 57-58). Only then could the city of Manchester properly begin to think about an appropriate infrastructure for its rapidly growing numbers.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Williams (1975) writes, England was the first place in the world whose urban population had overtaken that of its rural. At the century's end, the urban population was three-quarters of the whole. He speaks of the 'phenomenal' rise in the urban populations of Britain in the nineteenth century, some cities increasing their inhabitants by more than forty per cent. He contrasts the social relations of London with those of Manchester and distinguishes the former as 'rich' and 'poor', and the latter as 'employer' and 'employed'. London was an older city, one

that had a different industrial and social profile, whereas the growth of Manchester had been much later. The latter's economic success was based on technical advancement in the fields of engineering, epitomised in the building of big warehouses and mills. Manchester's population consisted much more of the newly-created entrepreneurial middle classes and the working classes - the employers and the employed. There was not a further significant aristocratic layer as there was in London, which in contrast to Manchester, was much more a city of shops and small businesses, its population increasing by 67% from 1550 to 1600, a much earlier growth than Manchester. Between 1801 and 1851 London's population grew from 1.1 million to 2.7 million. (Anon, 2004), while Manchester's rose from 76 788 to 316 213 during the same time. Whilst London had a larger population, its rate of growth was approximately half of Manchester's.

Friedrich Engels (1987 [1845]) was scathing about the conditions in which the newly-created proletariat had to live. He was, at twenty-three, one of the first urbanists, both 'reading' and mapping out Manchester. He became intimately acquainted with its geography, drawing both macro and micro maps of the city and its dwellings, emphasising the paucity of their materials and the makeshift nature of their building. His sketches of street plans (Engels, 1987 [1845]: 88) demonstrate the way in which houses were deprived of light and air; those of house bricks explain how they were placed with their narrow ends touching when being built, thereby making those dwellings cheaper to build. He then details the reason for this, as the leasing by contractors of the land, which gives them no incentive to make improvements to the buildings, as they have to hand it back at the end of the leasing period. Engels is keen to detail the minutiae of the working class quotidian in these 'shocking times'. One could argue that he, as a middle class observer of the proletarian life, working in his father's firm Engels and Ermen, was merely another voyeur touring the backstreets to gaze upon the lower orders and deliver 'self-improvement' remedies. However, this was not his intention. He wanted to explain the story from below. His intention was political. He and his friend Marx later advocated revolution, and one of the places from which his justification came was Manchester. But Engels was perhaps unusual in his concentration on the everyday world of the poor. Indeed Kiernan (Kiernan, 1987) writes of him, '...threading his way, as very few observers can have done, through the noisesome labyrinth of

proletarian Manchester'. Political theorists have generally concentrated on the domain of work and industry, the public rather than the private. And whilst he gives no account of actual everyday lives in particular households, he does discuss spatial concerns and the material culture of 'house' building for the poor and their misrecognition and misrepresentation. He makes the point that:

the real conditions of life of the proletariat are so little known among us that even the well meaning 'societies for the uplift of the working classes' in which our bourgeoisie are bungling the social question, start from the most ridiculous and preposterous judgements concerning the condition of the workers (Engels, 1987 [1845]: 30).

He was perhaps concerned to tell a different story, that of observer of lived experience rather than teller of moral fables. Engels (1987 [1845]) was to address those conditions of reproduction, voicing his repulsion at the way in which people were forced to live their everyday lives in the newly formed industrial cities of Britain, especially Manchester, in which he lived and worked for some considerable time in the nineteenth century. He describes living conditions in the 'Old Town' of Manchester in the 1840s thus (Engels, 1987 [1845]: 89): 'Below Ducie Bridge the only entrance to most of the houses is by means of narrow, dirty stairs and over heaps of refuse and filth.' Further on, on his journey around the working class districts, he says more,

Passing along a rough bank, among stakes and washing lines, one penetrates into this chaos of small one-storeyed, one room hovels, in most of which there is no artificial floor; kitchen, living and sleeping- room all in one. In such a hole, scarcely five feet long by six feet broad, I found two beds - and such bedstead and beds - which with a staircase and chimney-place, entirely filled the room. In several others I found absolutely nothing, while the door stood open and the inhabitants leaned against it. Everywhere before the doors refuse and offal; that any sort of pavement lay underneath could not be seen but only felt, here and there with the feet. This whole collection of cattle-sheds for human beings was surrounded on two sides by houses and a factory, and on the third by a river, and besides the narrow stair up the bank, a narrow stair up the bank, a narrow doorway alone led out into another almost equally ill-built, ill-kept labyrinth of dwellings.

Engels articulated the growing spatial separation between the well off and the poor, making the point that the bourgeoisie could go about its daily business without ever having to see the conditions in which the proletariat had to live. He describes the central commercial district as being deserted at night and, 'only watchmen and policemen traverse its narrow lanes with their dark lanterns' (Engels, 1987 [1845]:

86). Circling the centre of the city were the working class districts, and beyond them, in what could be seen as early forms of suburbia, were the areas in which the industrialists and professionals lived, allowing them to bypass the filthy conditions in which their workers were forced to live. He writes: ‘...I have never seen so systematic a shutting out of the working class from the thoroughfares, so tender a concealment of everything which might affront the eye and the nerves of the bourgeoisie as in Manchester (Engels, 1987 [1845]: 87). While he implies that there is some intent in this concealment, it is probably unlikely to be centrally planned.

Manchester then, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century, was a hard place to be for those in the industrial frontline, working in, say, Ancoats and living in adjacent slums. According to Engels, in his preface to the English edition, written some 47 years after the original, bigger capitalists realised that, in order to consolidate their gains hitherto, they had to obtain a conscience. ‘Thus the truck system was suppressed, the Ten-Hours Bill was enacted, and a number of other secondary reforms introduced – much against the spirit of free trade and unbridled competition, but quite as much in favour of the giant capitalist in his competition with his less favoured brother.’(Engels, 1987 [1845])

Could the Saturday Half Holiday, brought into being in Manchester in 1843 as the first secular ‘break’ from the working week, be one that we might regard as acknowledged ‘proper time’ in which the individual’s time could be regarded as their own? The following section will discuss the campaign for it, the debate following its inauguration and the possible reasons for employers’ support.

5. 2. The Saturday Half-Holiday

5.2.1 Origins

Whilst Sundays had for some time been a day when people in Britain were meant to observe 'the lord' by staying quiet and still, Saturday in Manchester, until 1843, had been a long working day, sometimes lasting until ten o'clock at night. Grindon writes:

Saturday, of necessity, was rendered extra busy. But in those days everybody made Saturday the busiest day, and many took pride in postponing and driving to the close of the week, in order to be then, if at no other time, at high pressure.....In winter it was quite a common thing to see every window in the principal warehouses illuminated up till nine, ten, even eleven pm., and the longest and sweetest of midsummer Saturday evenings often sank to sleep in the crimson west before ever a door was locked or a lad set free. (Grindon, 1877: 174)

Slugg corroborates this account of Manchester: 'In busy times it was no unusual thing to be at business 'til ten or eleven o'clock and even twelve on Saturday nights as well as other nights' (Slugg, 1971 [1881]: 174).

In 1843, Saturday afternoon and evening working was challenged by a small committee of men, who organized the Saturday half holiday movement. There was much debate in the newspapers and other printed sources about the desirability of such a move. Generally, the idea was well received. Manchester appears to be one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest city to have a Saturday half day holiday. As the result of a voluntary agreement amongst various employers, stimulated by the half-holiday committee, the holiday began in 1843. The agreement was enshrined in a document (see Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2) signed by hundreds of signatories prefaced by the following:

We the undersigned - Bankers, Merchants, Manufacturers and Calico Printers of Manchester at the [illegible word] solicitation of those in our employment agree to close our places of business at one o'clock every Saturday afternoon, commencing on the fourth of November next 1843 and to allow our servants to leave for the day as shortly after that hour as the unavoidable exigencies of our business will permit provided the arrangement can remain general. In acceding to the request of our assistants we are influenced by a desire to promote their interests and comfort and we do it in the expectation that, according to the representations made to us, the leisure thus afforded will be devoted to beneficial pursuits. (1843)

An addendum dated 15th November 1843 from the carriers, appears farther down the document stating:

In consequence of the agreement of the merchants of Manchester to close their businesses at one o'clock on Saturday afternoons, we the undersigned carriers agree (if the practice be made general) to cause our carts to be withdrawn from the streets at three o'clock in the afternoon of that day. In doing this we are anxious to insure the permanence of an arrangement which is so eminently desirable for our [illegible word] servants and [illegible word] beneficial to all concerned. (1843)

This agreement for some workers to have a half day on Saturday was the beginning of the secular weekend. As Cross (in Silverstone, 1997: 108) argues, 'The weekend is a central construct of industrial society. It is the logical culmination of the spatial division of market, work and residence'.

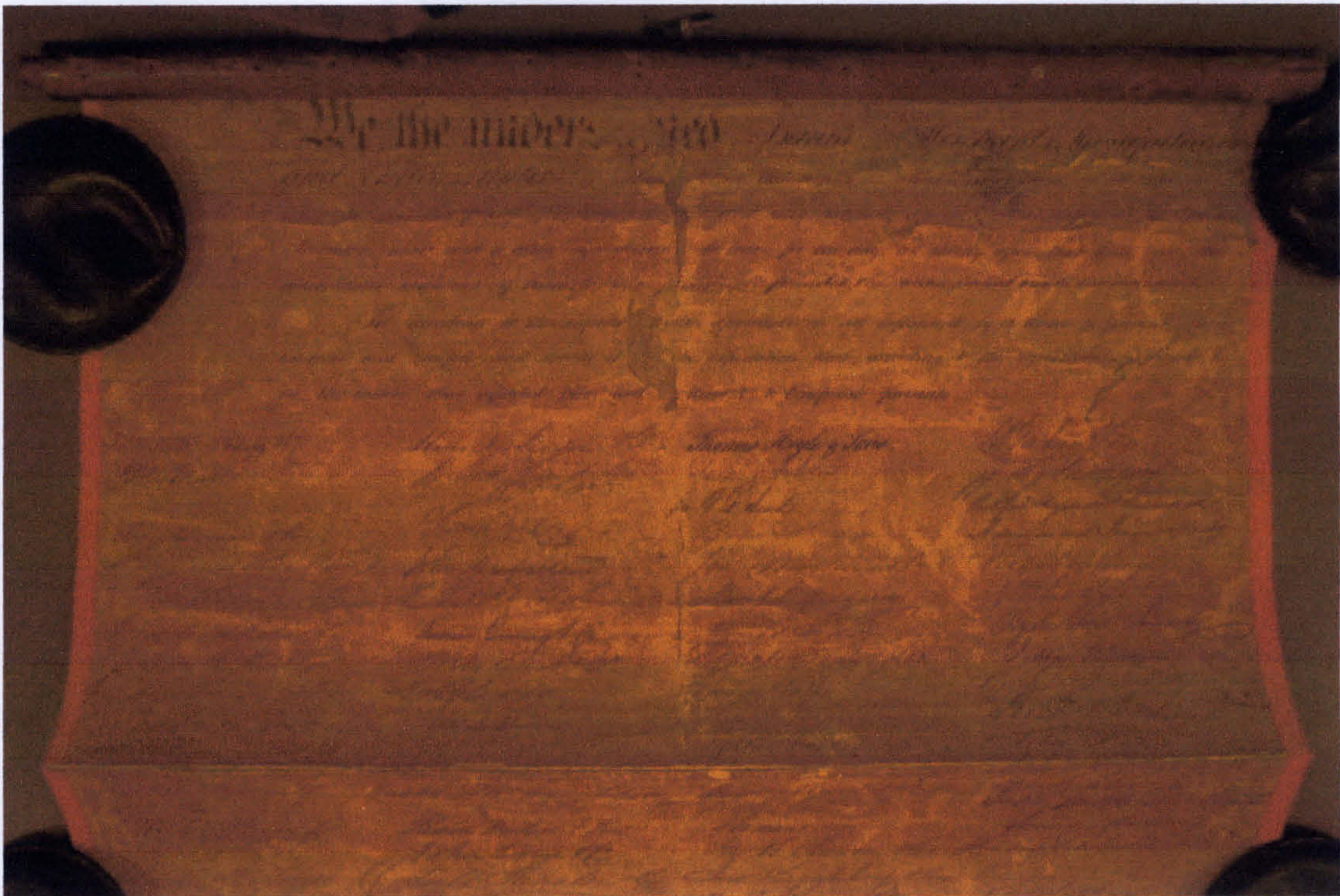


Figure 5.1 Saturday Half-Holiday 'Charter' (top)

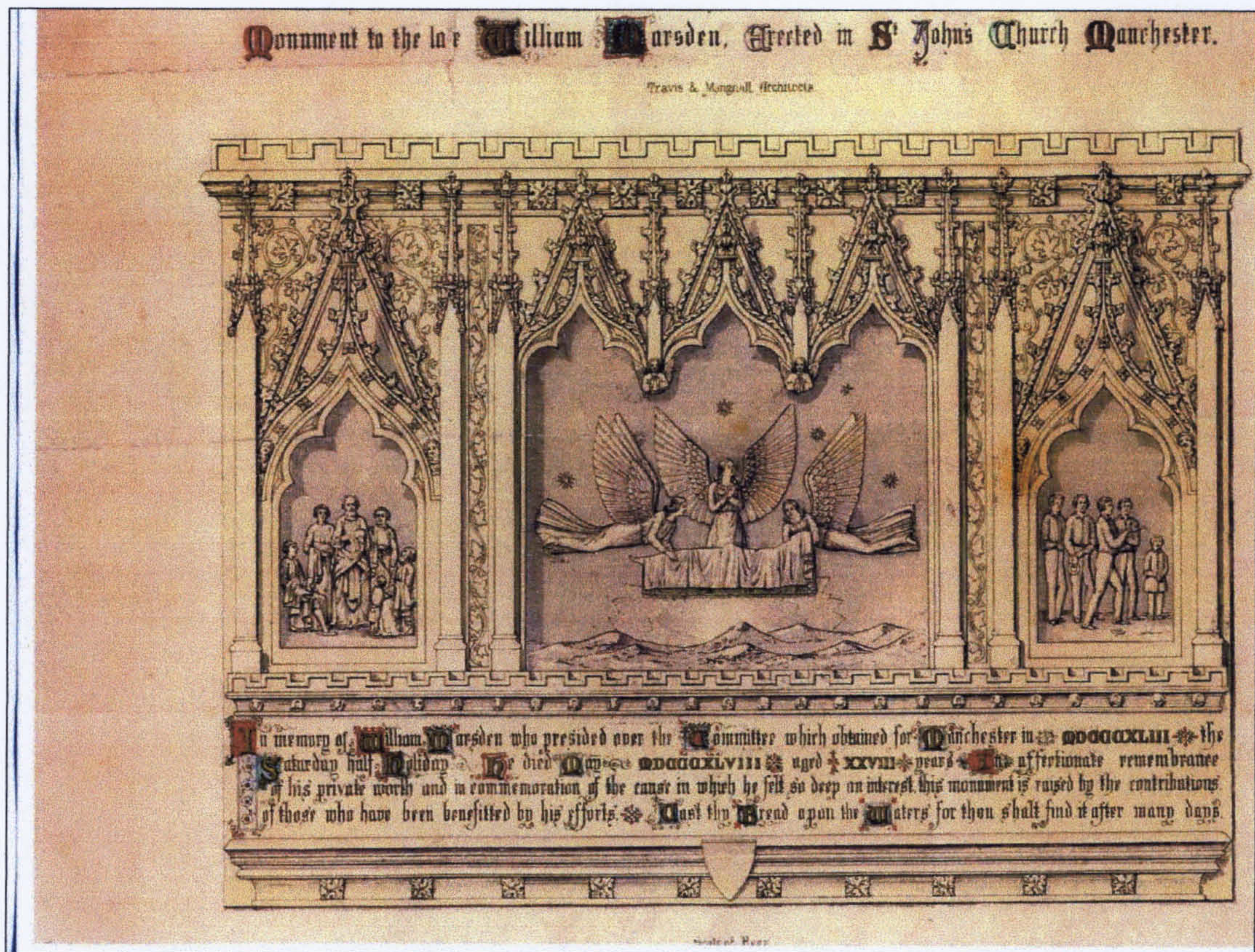


Figure 5.3 Marsden Memorial

The Honorary Secretary to the committee, Robert Jacques Lowes, who died in 1874, also had a memorial to his endeavours on behalf of the half-holiday movement. It was a 'brass plate let into the gravestone' at Ardwick cemetery, with the following inscription: 'In commemoration of the many valuable services rendered by him to the cause of education and his philanthropic labours on behalf of the Saturday Half Holiday movement which he originated in 1843. This tablet is placed here by a few friends' (Axon, 1886: 323). The appearance of these memorials and of a lengthy correspondence in *The Guardian Notes and Queries* in the 1920s and before, demonstrate the importance in which this weekend-in-waiting was regarded. Soirées were held at its inauguration, and twenty-five years later at the Free Trade Hall. There were debates about the whether it was a sensible policy and much moralising about what would happen if it 'all went wrong'.

It was a high-profile movement, which had both supporters and detractors, some of them very well known. Charles Dickens, for instance, contributed to the 'half-day holiday celebration fund'. Interestingly, the church was in favour, according to *The*

Manchester Guardian (22.9.1928), as it was thought that if people had some time off on Saturday, in addition to Sunday, more of them might attend church. The pamphlet, 'Half-holiday or no Half-holiday. By Query.' considers the question contemporaneously:

In Manchester in particular, the centre of commerce and the workshop of the world, the subject has acquired a particular interest: and is engaging the attention, not only of the direct recipients of any advantages consequent on a change in the duration of labour, but of those who alone have the power of effecting any alteration. Whilst in other towns, attempts have been made, and in most cases successfully, to limit the hours of terminating the business of each day, in Manchester, a general movement has been made to secure the privilege of one half-day in the week; and the whole question has resolved itself into that of 'Half-Holiday', or no 'Half-Holiday' {Query, 184? (Exact date unknown) #345}.

The wording of the pamphlet makes clear the global importance of Manchester as 'the workshop of the world', an import that has perhaps been forgotten in the pull of London as a twentieth/twenty-first century global world hub. The movement for Saturday afternoons off was an important historical moment which was initially celebrated in 1843, and was commemorated twenty five years later. Undoubtedly, a Saturday half-day holiday was inaugurated with the best of intentions; the paper referred to above set out humanitarian reasons, one of them being the mortality statistics, the average age of death in 'tradesmen and their families' in Manchester being twenty, below that of London (26yrs), and Liverpool (22yrs). A plea was also made in the same source for shorter hours for shop assistants and milliners and drapers assistants, citing booksellers in 'Edinburgh, Glasgow and other towns', who had taken to closing at four p.m. on Saturdays.

The Saturday half-day off led to many publications particularly relevant to the place in which they were published. In Manchester, several months after the half-day was inaugurated, a paper-backed book was distributed (see Figure 5.4) which made suggestions for 'Half-Holiday Excursions, Or Topographical, Historical and Biographical Notices of the more picturesque and Remarkable Places Within an Afternoons Walk from Manchester' (Anon, 1844). (Note: on looking at the catalogues of the British Library, when other towns and cities adopted the half-day holiday publishers produced similar publications eg, but all other examples were years later (e.g. Anon, 1868).

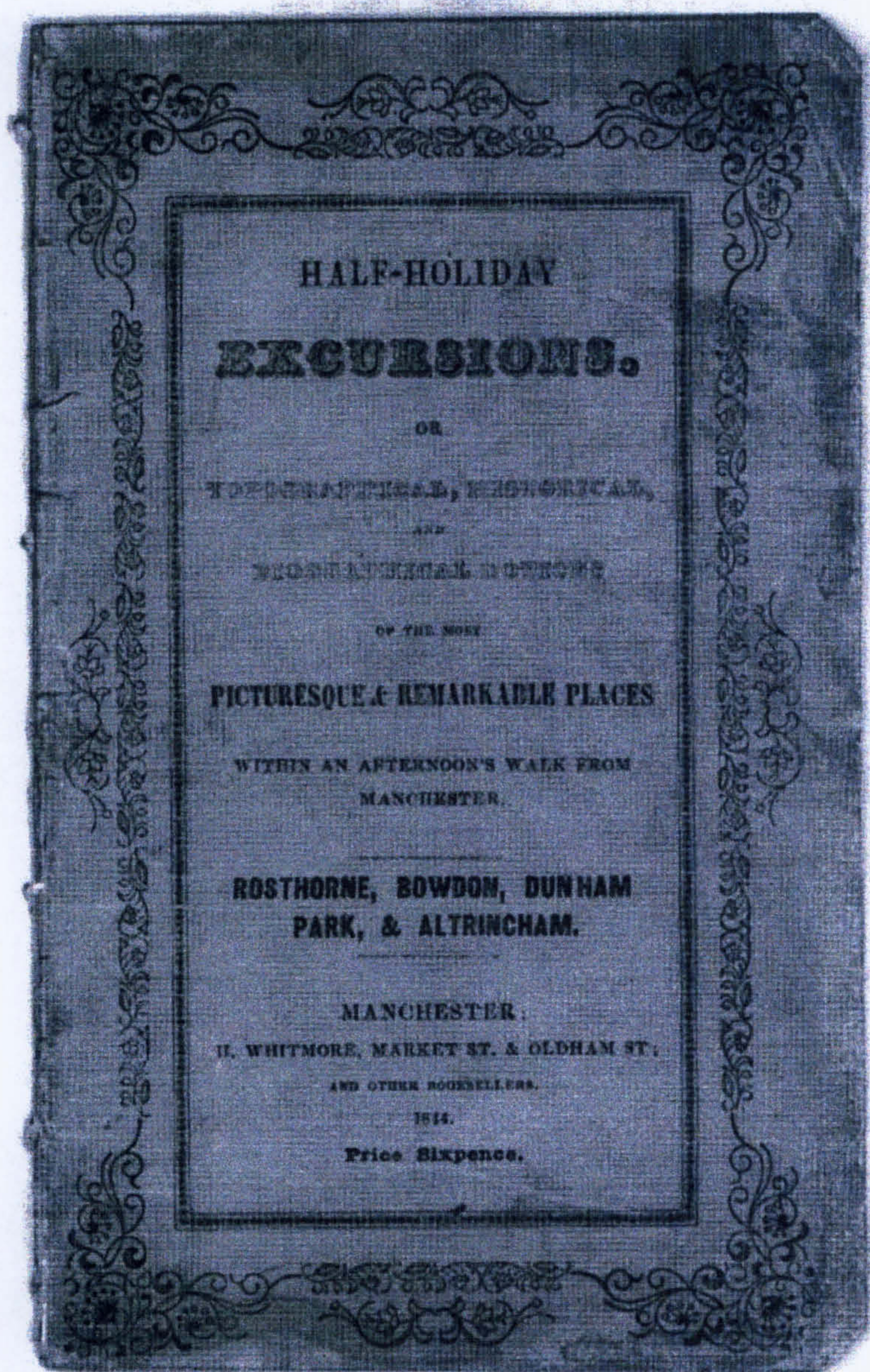


Figure 5.4 Half-Holiday Excursions Booklet, 1844

These were the forerunners of the nationally-published 'Black's Guides', the thirteenth Manchester edition of which was published in London in 1913. The 1844 edition was too good an opportunity to lose in attempting to persuade the 'lower orders' that they should pursue a 'rational' approach to their extra time off through '...invigorating rural walks, bracing exercise, and combined with these, the duly regulated pursuit of the numerous objects of enquiry or observation which teem around us...' It was suggested that these activities, rather than time wasting in ... 'objectionable places of resort' such as 'suburban taverns' and 'cigar divans' should

be followed, otherwise the 'withdrawal' of the half holiday 'will be the inevitable result' (Anon, 1844). In 1850, the same guide was published with a slightly altered title and which included, '...With a List of Other Points for Railway Excursions Within a Circle of Forty Miles' (Anon, 1850). The price was now tuppence instead of sixpence and now included municipal attractions such as parks, ideas for travel on the new passenger trains as well as the rural destinations mentioned in the edition of 1844. By this time, the half-holiday was well embedded and the moralising preface was excluded.

As illustrated above, there were conflicting ideas about whether time off on a Saturday would be 'a good thing'. As Clarke and Critcher (1985: 55) point out, 'The early nineteenth century was to bring a dramatic transformation of the form, context and content of popular culture, imposing very different parameters of time and space, rhythms and routines, behaviour and attitude, control and commerce.' These new rhythms were the cause of severe anxiety among the middle classes. On the one hand they thought a little bit of leisure was rather a good thing in terms of the development of the individual but, on the other pointed to the possibility of the illicit, if this newly created time was left unsupervised by them. Clarke and Critcher create a term for the new sensibility amongst the bourgeoisie,

The Protestant Ethic may be most visibly associated with 'work', but that by no means exhausts its grip on the British imagination, for there is a Protestant *Leisure* Ethic too. Free time, to avoid the descent into the murky waters of idleness and the devil's work - has to be 'constructive'. It has to be spent wisely. The embrace of leisure's potential is always something less than wholehearted. It lives with the constraint imposed by the fear of freedom and its *illicit* pleasures. (Clarke and Critcher, 1985: 5)

This fear of a proletariat out of control in the pubs, streets and music halls of the new Manchester led to such contemporary writings as that of William Sterling:

No person who has lived in the midst of Manchester life for twenty years can doubt the danger of bringing together five or six thousand persons of every age, sex, disposition and habit from the youngest and most simple, to the oldest in lewdness and in guile; in a place where everything is calculated to throw them off their guard and where everything that the Ballroom, the Stage and the Public house can offer if combined and offered for their acceptance... There is a kind of amusement very many degrees lower in the scale than the one just considered. We allude to singing saloons and casinos. (Sterling, 1856)

The panic over the numbers of people and their pleasures involved in the newly created popular urban culture is evident in this '(A) Review of the People's Amusements.' In August 1877, a correspondent in 'The City Jackdaw', favourable to the half day holiday in shops, prints a quote from someone who is not. This expresses the general anxiety over the devil and idle hands:

I see by advertisement in your paper that the drapers of Stretford Road are about to close their shops every Tuesday afternoon. By many people this will no doubt be considered a great boon to the young people employed in the various shops, but I for one very much question the wisdom of the steps about to be taken. By this movement the assistants male and female will have half a day every week thrown upon their hands. If this time is wisely and judiciously spent there is not much to complain of, but past experience has taught us that a superabundance of holidays are not unmitigated blessings. It is well known that weekly have been the utter ruin of many young people who, if they had been kept closely to business, would at this moment be good and useful members of society. I know that my assertion will be disputed, but I venture to affirm that at the present time assistants are not so capable or so valuable to their employers as they were in years gone by, when these periodical holidays were not thought of. (Anon, 1877)

'Wisely' and 'judiciously' seem to be the keywords here. Enjoying a working class self was felt to be appropriate, as long as the advice of middle class 'betters' was followed regarding the content of that enjoyment. Hence the idea of 'rational recreation' involving pursuits that didn't involve alcohol or sex, and so were felt to be morally and intellectually 'improving'.

Having described the emergence of the Saturday Half Day Holiday, the discussion will now turn to the reasons why it may have come into existence at that particular moment in Manchester. Firstly, its role in tempering radical politics will be discussed, secondly, its place in the context of the quotidian, democracy and human rights, thirdly 'proper time' and the synchronisation of work and play will be addressed and finally, fordism, consumption and the half day holiday will be considered.

5.2.2 Why a Saturday Half Day Holiday?

5.2.2.1 Tempering Radical politics

The years during which the half holiday was campaigned for and granted were those when Chartism was an active movement in Manchester. There are records of meetings, conferences and a Chartist bookshop in Ancoats.

In May 1842 the second Chartist petition, with over three million signatures was presented to Parliament. It was heavily defeated after a debate which heard weighty speeches arguing for political rights being soundly based on property. In the late summer tension was racked up once more by the worsening economic situation in the manufacturing districts. In a re-run of the events of 1839, that August the movement peaked a second time with the 'Plug Plot' riots and an attempted general strike. Another large-scale round-up of Chartist and union activists followed, with the handing down of severe prison sentences. (Greenall, 2000: 75)

Concessions from employers such as the half day holiday may have been a response to such agitation, perhaps an attempt to neuter it, not necessarily deliberately.

5.2.2.2 The Quotidian and Democracy

There are various ways in which we might understand the strength of the 'Movement for a Half-Day Holiday', its inauguration and the respect accorded to those who campaigned for it. Undoubtedly, the creation of the separate spheres of public and private and the acknowledgement of the individual and of the time of the individual led to a focus on a nascent social justice of a sort. There was a developing class consciousness as evidenced in the activity of the Chartists particularly, and a concern with international human rights. Indeed Manchester and the rest of Lancashire were dependent on the slave trade for its raw cotton and, contradictorily, simultaneously opposed to that trade. 'Britain was by now the undisputed "workshop of the world" and by keeping Africans in chains and Indians in poverty, helped create the modern world.' (Anon, 2005?). In parallel, during 1787 and 1792, 11,000 and 20,000 persons respectively, signed petitions against slavery in Manchester, and Thomas Clarkson a noted abolition campaigner has written of the friendship shown to him when he visited the city during these times (Anon, 2005?). Later on, during the

‘cotton famine’ (1861-1864), the ‘drying up’ of cotton supplies meant that manufacturing and, therefore production had to cease and many people were made redundant and therefore penniless. Nevertheless, the opposition to slavery was such, even at such a time, that the ‘...cotton workers of Lancashire pledged support for the North in the American Civil War and received a personal message of support from Abraham Lincoln in 1863’ (commemorated in a statue of Lincoln and detailing his letter, now standing in Lincoln Square, central Manchester) (Anon, 2005?). This growing emphasis on the individual and on everyday life meant that the quality of that life was under inspection and its habits under surveillance. Felski writes that ‘As bodies are massed together in big cities under modern conditions, so the uniform and repetitive aspects of human lives become more prominent’ (Felski, 2000: 16). Felski also articulates the idea of everyday life as ‘secular’ and ‘democratic’. The half day holiday then, creates a perhaps different idea of the quotidian, one which recognises the individual and his or her need for time away from work, time for her or his ‘self’, ‘proper time’. This little bit of time generally created more time for men to have ‘leisure’; women’s lives, if they had family responsibilities of whatever sort, tended still to revolve around the home. Nevertheless, there is still evidence, for example in the work of Mass Observation, to suggest that historically, women still found Saturday their favourite day.

5.2.2.3 Proper Time and the Synchronisation of Temporality

A new time was thus created. Nowotny (1994: 12) argues that with the ascendance of bourgeois society and subjectivity, ‘...there also arose a partial release from common social time’ as ‘...the public time of work was set against private time within the family’. Within this new temporality Nowotny affirms, social actors began to understand the difference between ‘I-Time’ and ‘the time of others’. Decisions about ‘common social time’ no longer lay with the common people. Time was now understood in terms of money and it was those who had most of it who thought they could decide who could do what, where, when and how. The idea of synchronising work and leisure times was a part of the rational impetus of capitalism. If mills and warehouses operated with a full workforce during specified hours, then operating capacity would be at its greatest and profits could be maximised. The workforce was

then disciplined and the capacity for surveillance was strengthened. Employers were aiming at the erasing of traditions such as 'St Monday' '...the day of leisure in the artisan tradition...' where workers took an unofficial extra day off to make a 'weekend' of it (Reid, 1996: 135). As Reid asserts, St Monday '...was eroded as much as it was demolished. The chief agent of erosion was the Saturday half-holiday movement' (Reid, 1976). It was one more way in which the time discipline discussed earlier was imposed. Time was now more than ever fully 'gridded' and accounted for. This expectation did not however mean that social actors submitted to this discipline. The history of the weekend since then is testament to that.

5.2.2.4 Fordism, Consumption and the Half Day Holiday

The half day holiday wasn't however, necessarily granted out of the goodness of the hearts of the capitalists. As discussed earlier, the motors of capitalism are production *and* consumption. In order to consume, there has to be *time* to consume. The weekend became that time for consumption, tempered until recently by the observance of Sunday as the 'day of rest'. 'Fordism' may be a means of understanding the way in which there were attempts to 'shape' the new industrial worker both at work, at home and in his or her leisure time; a way of comprehending the impetus towards consumption. Although Henry Ford, after whom this new paradigm was named, had not established either his automatic car-assembly line (1913) or his 'five dollar eight hour day' (1914) in the nineteenth century, he did '...little more than rationalise old technologies and a pre-existing detail division of labour, though by flowing the work to a stationary worker he achieved dramatic gains in productivity' (Harvey, 1990: 125). We could then argue that the later stages of nineteenth century production in Lancashire could be regarded as a nascent Fordism. This form of production was not only concerned with the industrial process, but also with shaping the humans who created the surplus wealth. The new forms of manufacture, required, according to Mancunian members of organisations such as the Rational Recreation societies and latterly Ford in North America, a new disciplined kind of worker, one that would adhere to the new time clock and the moral principles necessary for the its observation. Antonio Gramsci (Gramsci, 1971 [1929-1935]), in his discussion of 'Americanism and Fordism', writes of how

prohibition in the US and the promotion of monogamy, though not explicitly linked to production, might be understood as aiding this worker discipline. For too much alcohol and a non-monogamous sexual life do not facilitate the early rising necessary for adherence to this discipline. The maintenance of a healthy workforce, hygienic in body and mind, was the goal of nineteenth century reformers in Manchester. Sex outside of marriage and the consumption of alcohol were frowned upon most severely. The Saturday half day holiday then was a source of great anxiety in the nineteenth century, as the potential for transgressing the 'busy self' by pursuing altogether more pleasurable pursuits was perceived as considerable. Nevertheless, the idea that the body needed to recuperate for both 'the Sabbath' and the industry of Monday, together with the idea of synchronising 'time off' and 'time on' was accepted by both capitalists and the church.

The Saturday holiday can also be understood as one where new spaces of consumption were produced. It may not have been granted with this in mind, but over the hundred and fifty years since it was inaugurated and expanded, Saturday has become the day of consumption. As Don Slater points out, the period between 1880 and 1930 sees '...the emergence of a mass-production system increasingly dedicated to producing consumer goods (rather than the heavy capital goods such as steel, machinery and chemicals which dominated much of the later nineteenth century)'. He emphasises three

...interlocked developments: mass manufacture (goods with replaceable components produced very cheaply for larger markets), the geographical and social spreading of the market (the new means of communication facilitate local, national and global markets focussed on the movement of populations into cities), (and) the rationalisation of the form and organisation of production (reorganisation of capital into corporations; marketing through branding, intended to introduce product recognisance across a wide consumer and geographical base and the development of retail and the cultural form we know as shopping). (Slater, 1997)

We now see the birth of consumers, and consumers can only consume when they have time to do so. The weekend became that time. Slater recognises the way in which the confidence of nineteenth century capitalists was expressed through late nineteenth century exhibitions of manufacturing prowess, epitomised in The Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace in London in 1851. In 1887, Manchester held its own version of this, The Royal Jubilee Exhibition, visited by Queen Victoria: 'at the

Manchester Royal Jubilee Exhibition in 1887, Morris and Co. showed wall papers, furniture, printed cotton curtain material, silk damasks, embroidery and so on' (Suga, 2003).

At the same time, Kendal Milne, which was to become Manchester's biggest department store, was expanding. It began as a shop called 'The Bazaar' in 1836, becoming Kendal Milne in 1862 (Kidd, 2002: 108). By the time it was renamed, it was what we now recognise as a department store. The era of mass consumption and of the department store had, therefore, arrived in the city; by the nineteen twenties, consumption and shopping had become part of its everyday life. Frank Pritchard (*My Manchester*, 1986: Neil Richardson) writes that at this time (the 1920s) "Kendal Milne's occupied large premises on both sides of the road. King St, St Ann's Square and ? St [name missed out] were lined with stylish, expensive shops, patronised mainly by a wealthy clientele from such places as Altrincham, Bowdon, Hale Barns, Didsbury, Chorlton-cum-Hardy and Bramhall" (Pritchard, 1986: 45). Pritchard also mentions other shops on or near the street such as Wagstaffs piano and music shop, Thomas Armstrongs opticians, Waring and Gillow the furnishers and the Halifax Building Society. Undoubtedly this shopping end of town was for the wealthy. It does, however demonstrate the range of goods available at the time, enough to make a shopping trip an interesting one for those who had the money to shop. For people with little money the new world of shopping was a different experience. Andrew Davies writes, 'For many working people, the weekly leisure cycle included touring the market areas on a Saturday night, and walking or sitting in the parks on Sundays and weekday evenings' (Davies, 1992: 109). Davies discusses working class leisure patterns from 1900 to 1939, making the point that many people who could not afford to participate in the commodified leisure forms took part in what he terms street culture. Much of this participation took place at the weekend, as he has pointed out. Kidd (2002) points out that market produce, particularly that left over at the end of the night could provide a cheap source of food for the poor. He stresses the popularity of the city on a Saturday night, surmising that a Saturday night out then was even more popular than now. What seems evident from some contemporary accounts is that participation was not only the province of 18-40 year olds as it tends to be currently. Frank Jordan describes a Saturday night out in the Manchester of around 1904:

Turning from Corporation St into Withy Grove, the nerves receive a shock, for from the comparative quiet of Corporation St, the turn around the corner brings into view a scene of the wildest imaginable confusion. Hawkers, ice-cream vendors, auctioneers and rogues are littered up and down the street in a way calculated to turn the brain of any police officer or indeed any lover of order. (Jordan, 1904).

At various points he details variously, 'thirty or forty boys and girls' around a cart devouring ice-cream, black puddings 'being bought, eaten and relished', and being 'swallowed up' at one point 'by a never-ending crowd of pedestrians who pace up and down' Market Street. In Tib Street, he encounters 'the most motley collection of gatherings ever seen is to be found in this spot'. He details a religious gathering, a teacher of reform in arithmetic, a missionary meeting with harmonium and a man selling sixpences for a penny. Later on he comes across 'men who were trying to dispose of dogs' and in Smithfield market a 'great many people who roam about gazing at anything and everything, doing nothing in particular except wasting time'. Beyond these, he comes across patent medicine sellers, and those selling cough candy. Before his night in the city ends, he notes the vendor of 'papers of the blood and thunder style', which he reckons 'helps to make the Saturday night in town a very bad thing'. His final visit is to the 'old fashioned book-stall', where good reading is sold 'cheap (and) second hand'. He notes with approval the 'good, sound literature' to be found here. Jordan expresses in his parting sentence, his feelings about Saturday night out in the city centre, 'I stepped out along Swan Street and so away from the human turmoil and towards peace and quietness'. His is a voyage of the voyeur. His gaze is one of power and since he is both able to write and be published, shapes the discourse about Saturday nights. His view of the popular forms of a Saturday night is gently disparaging and one senses he will be glad to get home to peace and quiet. Though his piece demonstrates bourgeois attitudes and values, it is a rare thing to read an account of a Saturday night. Though we can see from this account that this description was one of a more traditional street market, it is evident from this that there were street entertainers involved. Davies maintains that '...in Manchester and Salford, street performers maintained a strong presence in the sphere of working class leisure throughout the decades prior to 1939' (Davies, 1992: 117). He argues that despite the commodification of leisure forms, the Saturday night markets were popular up until the Second World War. He quotes Russell's description of 1905: 'working lads generally change into their Sunday clothes or, in

their own expressive language, “toff themselves up”, for a Saturday night, and even if they have been to a concert, a theatre or a music hall, will take a tour round ‘the market’ before finally going home’. Saturday nights, it seems, were very busy and social in Manchester and Salford city centres. As Kidd writes of the late nineteenth century as being the time when leisure was commodified: ‘The profit potential of the increased spending power of a growing proportion of the working class did not long escape the attention of the pioneers of commercialised entertainment and sport. The music hall, professional football and the cinema each emerged as commercial enterprises before 1914’ (Kidd, 2002: 127). Football on a Saturday afternoon became a definitive moment of the weekend. With a kick-off at 3 pm, the crowd (of mostly men) would have been able to go out on their Saturday half holiday.

5.3 Conclusion

By the final years of the century Karolus remembers, ‘In the late [eighteen]seventies and early eighties I always remember travellers coming here from Birmingham and Sheffield expressing surprise to me, as they had been here on a Saturday afternoon and unable to do any business, because all places were closed.’ (Letter to The Manchester Guardian Notes and Queries 22.09.1928) Manchester, in contrast to some, if not all British cities, had by this time institutionalised the emergent weekend. After a celebration of its inauguration and a great debate about the wisdom of allowing it to ‘the lower orders’, the Saturday half day holiday replaced the unofficial St Monday. The Saturday half day was later to become the full day’s holiday for some.

In 1994 the Sunday trading laws were de-regulated, allowing shops and other such businesses to open on a Sunday albeit with shorter hours. Thus began both the dismantling of the weekend and the recognition of unsocial hours in a larger pay packet. For some workers, Saturdays and Sundays are treated much like any other day in terms of salary. Some employers designate Sunday as voluntary, others don’t. It is now to the contemporary Saturday and Sunday we turn, to hear about the weekend through the voices of some who work in supermarkets and others who tend allotments.

Chapter 6: The Allotment-Keepers and the Weekend

6.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the question of the relationship between the weekend and ‘working’ on the allotment. I shall do this firstly through a short history of allotment tending with particular reference to Manchester. I shall then focus on one particular allotment in Potato Lane in the south of the city. Its location, appearance and plot division will be discussed with some reference to spatial theory. To understand how much going to the allotment features in the weekend of the allotmenters and what kind of space it represents to them, I have undertaken a number of interviews. Six adults, all of them renting a half or whole plot, were interviewed on the allotment for approximately three-quarters of an hour. Each of these interviews was recorded on mini-disc and transcribed.

Discussing the allotment and its place in their weekend was also a way of understanding how the weekends of the allotment tenders worked. I was interested in how the week/weekend boundary was marked, if at all, and how the weekend began and ended. I discussed the particular qualities of each weekend day and whether they preferred one particular day over another. I wondered how far the allotment represented a particular bounded space associated with the weekend. A number of interesting themes emerged which I will discuss using the words of the interviewees, before coming to some conclusion about the nature of ‘weekendness’.

6.2 A Brief History of the Allotment

To understand the way in which the allotment has become woven into the fabric of urban life, some reference to the Acts of Enclosure of common land, which transformed England during the eighteenth century, is necessary. Before these Acts, areas of common land provided grazing for animals and soil for crops; after they

were enacted, the ‘commons’ were divided up among the wealthy. Williams (1961: 31) wrote of ‘these four million acres’ of ‘common ownership, through custom and prescription’, ‘that Parliament diverted into private hands’. These Acts were to drive the poor into the workhouse as they had nowhere to grow their food or rear their animals. Thompson (1980: 237) states that, ‘Enclosure (when all the sophistications are allowed for) was a plain enough case of class robbery, played according to fair rules of property and law laid down by a parliament of property owners and lawyers. Crouch and Ward (1997: 43) in discussing the Enclosure Acts (passed between 1750 and 1850), maintain that ‘the final campaign of the enclosing urge gave birth to the modern allotment movement’.

The taking away of common land and its redistribution among the wealthy increased their power to organise the lives of the poor. Michel de Certeau (1984: xix) suggests the idea of a ‘proper’ as a ‘spatial or institutional localization’ from which a ‘strategy’ can be formulated and enacted. This is the space which privileges, from which power is produced. To ‘have’ land is financially advantageous, but also endows social and symbolic capital. The theft of ‘the commons’ in ‘enclosure was therefore, did not only *financially* disadvantage the subordinate. Those who gained this land could now appear to be ‘generous’ in their allocation of allotment land to ‘the labouring poor’. In 1843 a Select Committee was appointed:

...to inquire into the results of the Allotment system and into the propriety of setting a proportion of all waste lands which shall be inclosed by Act of Parliament, or of any lands which under any Inclosure act shall have been appropriated to the benefit of the Poor, to be let out in small Allotments to the labouring poor of the district, and also into the best mode of effecting the same. (Anon, 1843)

Allotments around this time (mid nineteenth century) were seen as a form of recreation which might temper what was seen as a growing tendency among the new proletarian class to crime and radical politics. A Select Committee Report (Anon, 1843: vii) reported that, ‘It (the allotment) partly supplies that deficiency of innocent amusement and rational recreation which weighs so heavily among the lower classes of this country and which must be counted among the causes that lead to the prevalence of crime’. Evidence to this Select Committee reported on the possession [efficacy] of allotments and their role in ‘reforming the dissolute and of changing the

whole moral character and conduct.’ (Anon, 1843: iv). Allotments were also linked to ‘keeping men off parochial relief’ (Anon, 1843: v). Evidence to the committee was heard from Charles Mott, the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in Lancashire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. He thought it possible that the greater use of machinery in the new manufacturing industries, particularly in Manchester and surrounding areas would lead to a large number of unemployed in these districts. He gave evidence of how Chorlton Union in Chorlton-on-Medlock, in Manchester had used the land cultivated ‘by the direction of the board of guardians of the Union of Chorlton- on- Medlock...as a labour test’. The chairman, Lord Robert Grosvenor, then asked Charles Mott, ‘It gave employment to all persons in the parish so that the able-bodied men were obliged to take relief in that mode? Mott replied, ‘Yes, I think it is a singular thing in that union, that although a manufacturing district, they have not had an able-bodied labourer upon them, in consequence for the want of work, for the last twelve months’ (Anon, 1843: 103).

Given the instability in continental European politics and society, and the Chartist movement at home, the ruling classes in England were nervous of insurgence; they welcomed any activity which would provide an alternative to, and therefore curb, radical politics. A Mr Brooks, giving evidence to the 1843 Select Committee cited the ‘case of a Chartist lecturer coming from Leicester to lecture at Hinckley; the operatives who possessed allotments did not attend, but went with their spades on their shoulders to their gardens while those who possessed no allotments went to the meeting’ (Anon, 1843: 146). Interestingly, the Select committee was held in the same year (1843) as the Saturday Half Day Holiday was granted in Manchester. Given the debate around how the ‘lower orders’ would ‘amuse’ themselves in their Saturday hours off, then allotments could be seen as firstly a means to keep the poor off ‘poor relief’, secondly, to divert them from crime and radical politics and thirdly as a form of ‘improving’ and rational recreation which would conform to the ‘protestant leisure ethic’. On the other hand, as Crouch and Ward point out:

The culture in which the allotment grew up and was sustained was one of working-class agitation for improved conditions and self-help. It began at a time when land was of strong political concern, and developed during a period of working-class self-organisation, in the form of friendly societies,

the co-operative movement, and the trade-unions had become of national importance. (Crouch and Ward, 1997: 18)

In that sense, the 'enclosure' of land and the allotment 'movement', if one can call it that, can be seen in the context of the global struggle for land rights by the poor.

From this time onwards various government Acts were passed, enforcing parishes, county councils and local authorities to provide land for allotments. The 1882 Allotment Extension Act, for instance, required the trustees of charity land in a parish to make land available for allotments. The Allotments Act of 1887 enabled local sanitary authorities to provide land for allotments through its compulsory purchase, if necessary. The first County Council elections in 1889 were fought around the issue of allotments, the pro-allotment camp winning by a small majority. Since in the latter half of the nineteenth century there had been a movement of people from rural to urban environments, the focus of the legislation regarding allotments moved to the towns and cities as they 'became more of an urban than a rural phenomenon'. In 1907, urban local authorities were issued with the responsibility for providing allotments. The 'Small Holdings and Allotments Act of 1908 became the basis of the modern responsibility of local councils to provide allotments' (Crouch and Ward, 1997: 63).

The first and second World Wars were to provide the impetus for further allotment expansion. In December 1916, powers were given to local authorities to impound unoccupied land. Urban public space such as parks was planted up with vegetables and fruit. 'The first World War gave the allotment movement an urban emphasis it has never since lost' (Crouch and Ward, 1997: 72). These are the years in which the stories of 'Potato Lane' allotments in south Manchester begin. The terms for the leasing of these allotments were noted as being approved by Manchester Council in the year 1917-1918. In the same year there were a very large number of similar approvals given for allotment land all over Manchester. In the following year 'Potato Lane' was given permanent status through being included in the Town Planning scheme. (Index to (Manchester) Council Proceedings 1838-1900: Manchester Central Library).

Crouch and Ward (1997: 74) speak of a 'boom' in those tending allotments during the 1930s. The Land Settlement Association, for instance, wanted to alleviate the

problem of unemployment through providing allotments for unemployed men so that they may become self-sufficient. In 1937, the Evening Chronicle (possibly the Manchester E.C.) reported:

On a plot of land off Kenworthy Lane, Wythenshawe, Manchester, are 23 unemployed men who are fighting hard to retrieve their fortunes. All of them have lost their occupation through trade depression or other reasons which have been no fault of their own. These men were selected by the Manchester Corporation Agricultural Committee out of 77 applicants for an experiment under the part-time group-holding schemes for unemployed men sponsored by the Land Settlement Association Ltd. (Evening Chronicle: 26.7.37)

At the beginning of the Second World War, compulsory purchase powers over land (Allotments Order 1939) were again awarded to councils to enable food production. Food cultivation was linked to the war by the slogan 'Dig for Victory'. The Manchester Evening Chronicle (MEC) of November 1st 1940 reported that labels displaying this slogan were offered by the Ministry of Agriculture through Manchester Corporation. Manchester gardeners, however, were not 'enamoured' of this offer, and no-one applied for the label to display on their 'garden gate'.

Throughout the war there were a number of local newspaper articles which appealed to the population of Manchester to take up fruit and vegetable growing in their garden or allotment. Appeals were made specifically to women in 1941. Under the headline 'Women Needed to Cultivate Allotments in City', The Manchester Evening News (11.09.1941) reported that 'Manchester Agricultural Committee wants thousands of women to cultivate allotments. Today they appealed to the women of the city to respond to the Ministry of Agriculture's request for another 500,000 allotment holders.' Mrs V. Jeffrey was appointed 'demonstrator-in-chief' at the Piccadilly demonstration allotment. Piccadilly was then, and is still, an area right in centre of the city, a major part of it occupied by a significant public space transversed daily by large numbers of people. The Manchester Evening News reported of Jeffrey, 'She will have a small office on the site of the demonstration allotment in Piccadilly, and probably she will be there the whole of the time'. It was reported (Manchester (Manchester City News, 3rd December 1943) that the plot there had been very productive 'All the plants raised on the plot and the cold frames and cloches have produced very good results...In addition to the general crops the

following vegetables etc. have been most successful: New Zealand spinach, sweet corn, sunflowers (seed for poultry feeding), and outdoor tomatoes’.

During war time it is surprising how ideas about the use of public space can be transformed so radically. The thought of tomatoes being grown where the bus station is now located seems bizarre. Even more incredible is the full time gardening demonstrator, presumably employed by the ‘corporation’ that could be consulted about gardening matters on the way home from work, her office located in the centre of the city. It is paradoxical that during the Second World War, there appeared to be a real commitment to the public realm. The ground attached to blitzed houses and those vacated by evacuees, was suggested as suitable for allotment cultivation. Why no such plan for the beautifying of spare bits of land now?

Allotments have been prominent in the news recently. An audit has been carried out under the auspices of the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), (reporting in March 2005) which recommends that restrictions regarding site shops, the sale of surplus produce and the growing of flowers should be relaxed, and that while councils are in a position to undertake some loosening of the rules, others will need legislation in order to effect change. The government predicts that, ‘...new legislation on allotments would be unlikely to secure a place on the Government’s programme in the near future, but the DETR will continue to keep the option of legislation under review’ (Anon, 2005). A more ominous suggestion was suggested prior to the audit, that the regulation regarding the sale of produce may be abolished. At the moment selling the allotment crop is forbidden. There is perhaps informal selling, but little that would provide a living. To allow a profit to be made from the allotment contravenes the informal gift and exchange culture of these spaces and introduces more formal market logic into allotment practice.

Allotments were fictionally represented through the narratives of two British television soap operas during the course of summer 2003. Both ‘storied’ allotments in quite a similar way. Their introduction as a space of transgression rather than of tradition possibly marks their symbolic transition from that of municipal masculinity to diversity and difference. Both narratives concern the allotments of middle-aged characters, central to the soap’s identity. The ‘Eastenders’ allotment plot is that of

Arthur Fowler, deceased now for some years. His one son left in the serial is Martin, a 'bad'un' who had just been released from prison. He 'inherits' his father's allotment and plans to make some money with his friends by growing cannabis in the shed with the aid of ultra-violet light (a shed that has seen a considerable amount of narrative action. Sonia and Martin's now adopted daughter was conceived in there, for instance). The plan fails and the cannabis is found. Martin, however, evades prosecution, his mother's gay friend and lodger being fined, as Martin is on parole. The tenant of the plot under consideration in Coronation Street is Jack Duckworth. Unable to cultivate it because of poor health, he sub-lets it to Maz, a female friend of Tyrone, his lodger. Maz is represented as a green urban warrior who smokes cannabis and eats 'space cakes' quite regularly. Unlike Martin in Eastenders, she grows cannabis more for the pleasure that it gives her and her friends than for profit. At one point we see them at the allotments, obviously stoned, having a good time eating hash cakes. Vera Duckworth, Jack's wife visits her here, and the inevitable happens. She eats a cake and gets stoned, asks for the recipe and offers it to the participants of a meeting chaired by the local vicar. Whilst none of this takes place at the weekend, since soaps don't really have a Saturday and Sunday, it does represent the allotment as a kind of liminal space.

6.3 Allotments, the Weekend, Space and Time

Crouch and Ward (1997: 30) discuss the value of 'escape' in recreation, either mental or physical or both, and cite allotments alongside other activities which involve separation from the five day weekly cycle. They argue that, 'The landscape wherein a particular activity takes place can play a significant role in the presentation and promotion of that activity, as for example in the seaside hall for variety entertainment or scrambling slopes'. They go on to cite Alan Tomlinson (1983), who argues that 'These places form the centre of exchange of the matrix of relationships and solidarity associated with recreation'. This sentiment could be applied to allotments which do have the connotation of a rural escape within an urban environment. Traditionally this has been associated with the flight of men from busy domestic environments, but in recent years that has changed, with many allotments now being held by women. The Allotments Regeneration Initiative reckon that

women are now the ‘fastest growing group of allotment holders – some 59,000 plots are now rented by women in the UK, not including the patches that are in men’s names but tended by women’ (Hughes, 2005: 56).

Lefebvre’s articulation of the ‘trialectics of space’ may help us to understand the spatiality of allotments in general and Potato Lane in particular. He focuses on three concepts of space, ‘spatial practice’, ‘representations of space’ and ‘representational spaces’. The first articulates the spatial practices of everyday life, the second ‘conceptualised space’ as produced by ‘experts’ such as planners and architects and the third as ‘space as lived through its associated images and symbols’ and the space of ‘inhabitants and users’ (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 38-39).

Allotments are generally situated in residential areas and are still to some extent, integral to the spatial practice of that neighbourhood. Allotment holders, at the time of the inauguration of their allotments, were generally assumed to be within walking distance of their plot, since they were in an era of public, rather than private transport. It was thought that work on the allotments would be done in daytime, since no light was provided by which to garden at night, so rather like work on the land in rural areas it would have to stop at dusk. It would need to be near sources of water, so that crops could be irrigated when necessary. They were and still are an amenity for the neighbourhood (though the definition of neighbourhood may stretch a little further), that was cheap to rent and might provide food for poor families. Their upkeep was also seen as a leisure ‘occupation’ which may keep the ‘devil’s work’ from ‘idle hands’. Lefebvre (1991 [1974]: 288) argues that “Spatial practice simultaneously defines: places – the relationship of local to global; the representation of that relationship; actions and signs; the trivialised spaces of everyday life; and in opposition to these last, spaces made special by symbolic means as desirable or undesirable, benevolent or malevolent, sanctioned or forbidden to various groups.” We might see the allotment as ‘a trivialised space’ or more likely as ‘a space made special...’ It is both a space which speaks of the mundane and the everyday in its association with crops and food and reminds us of the cyclical nature of their growth. One could argue of its ‘triviality’; conversely one could also argue of the allotment ‘renaissance’ as part of the anti-globalisation movement, as a ‘representation of the

relationship of local to global' and of it as a 'space made special' and endowed with the symbolism of a truly 'public space'.

Lefebvre regarded the elements of the spatial triad as working in a dialectical relationship with each other. If we understand allotments as 'spatial practice', then we must also understand them as having some relationship to 'representations of space' and 'representational spaces' (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 38-39). Allotments on particular sites are there as a result of the decisions of city planners. They would have had to be situated near (usually) terraced housing, on land that didn't matter too much in terms of value, though the value of 'rational recreation' may have mattered more than land value in the late nineteenth century. Their idea of a space of utility would have been rectangular or square; one that was easily quantified and measured. Circular or triangular spaces, for instance, are very rarely encountered in this context. They can't be divided up very easily. Waste or whimsy seemed unacceptable. Therefore those who constructed 'representations of space' would have designated allotment spaces and had some idea about how it might be used. Those who 'practised the space' might or might not use the allotment in the way that it was intended. The status of the allotment as a lived 'representational space' that *means* something depends on how it is used and understood, even by those who do not have a plot. That at this point in history it seems at some level to represent a local struggle for control over what food we might eat and how it is grown.

The local state, leaning on historical precedent, holds in place regulations that attempt to designate and regulate 'spatial practice'. These lead to particular forms of disciplinary practice which often mean that allotments are regarded as 'work' rather than 'play'. One's own plot of land in the city sited amongst scores of others sounds an interesting prospect. However, there are cross-currents of 'discipline' which enforce a particular regime on the plots. This is, in the end, produced by national and local government but administered by 'the committee'. Fruit and vegetables are the only produce that can be grown and the plot must be kept tidy; very little privacy is afforded with most plots side-by-side and divided only by low fences. This insistence on 'work' pursuits harks back to 'rational recreation'. Patriarchy was another 'discipline' that women would encounter, meaning that, until recently, men were

prevalent on allotment committees forwarding a 'masculinised' point of view with their interests generally uppermost.

'Representational spaces' are dominated spaces, but those in which the imagination or action can help negotiate them in a different way. It has already been argued that allotment space has been provided instrumentally, by statute, to prevent state support having to be given to the poor and to provide an alternative to hedonism and radical politics. They are situated in neighbourhoods where they become part of the spatial practice which is predicated on particular temporalities, those of five-and-a-half day working, and urban spatialities composed of the separation of upper middle-class from lower middle- and working-class settlements. In law they were designated as gardens only, rather than as leisure spaces (if they were municipally controlled), so that the work ethic could be carried over into so-called 'leisure' time. However, in the twenty first century, a change in the gender composition of their plot-holders and the strength of ecological concern, coupled with the lessening in strength of the local state has meant their spatial status or meaning has changed. To tend an allotment means more than only growing vegetables; it means to some resisting 'corporate' food, evading supermarkets and taking some control over a life that more and more seems externally regulated. To that extent, allotments can be understood as part of a spatial practice and as representational spaces, still governed by the state, but in some instances as being produced in resistance to the neo-liberal impulse of the commodification of everyday life.

Zerubavel (1985: 87) in his analysis of significant cycles of days at various moments in history reminds us of how, firstly, that it is the 5+2 cycle, '...the weekly work schedule which normally involves working for five or six days in a row and then resting for a day or two, that is most responsible for providing our work with a temporally regular structure'. He goes on to discuss the weekend, 'Like shopping, recreational activity too can technically take place only when one is not at work, and the weekly work/rest cycle has thus also spurred the establishment of a complementary, mirror image *weekly recreational cycle* [italic emphasis in original] which peaks only at the weekend' (Zerubavel, 1985: 91).

This 'weekly recreational cycle' as a time for escape and doing different things has played a seminal role in the ability of people to be able to tend their allotments. Without the weekend it is unlikely that allotments would have become the urban institution that they now are. Phyllis Reichl in Crouch and Ward (1997: 88) describes the place of allotments in her childhood weekends, 'One of my most treasured memories is of long summer evenings or Sunday mornings (he worked on Saturday mornings and Saturday afternoons were for watching football and cricket) when my young sturdy father wheeled his wooden barrow back with his spade and fork on top of the week's supply of vegetables'.

The weekend, as we shall see, is understood by many people to be a specific time and space for themselves, when they can be looser, where they do not have to abide by the clock. Allotment tending depends on some time being free on Saturdays and Sundays; evenings only is not enough, especially in the spring when lots of things need doing. Working at the allotment can be either sociable or solitary, but for it to work as an 'association' there has to be a time when there are a few people around to get together and spend the time of day discussing what kind of a season it is, swapping plants or admiring produce. There has to be a 'collective' time of informal meeting otherwise it ceases to be 'social'. The weekend provides the basis for it to be a particular 'social' space. One of the issues I shall be discussing is whether the possible demise of the weekend and therefore of common days off, means the demise of collective enterprises such as allotments.

6.4 The Allotment Movement and Potato Lane

Potato Lane allotments, as noted earlier, were born during the First World War, the terms of the lease being approved by Manchester Corporation in the year 1917-1918, and in the following year being designated as a permanent site under the Town Planning Act. It is situated in the south of the city about 2-3 miles from the city centre and lies at the edge of several streets of nineteenth or early twentieth century terraced houses (see Figure 6.1). In fact, on two sides of its perimeter runs the alleyway which skirts these streets; on the other two sides, it is bounded by a park. The iron-gated entrance adjoins this alleyway, and forms the mid-point of the

allotments' easterly edge. It is only from the gates that a clear view of the plots can be seen from the outside. Most of the periphery consists of trees, which form a boundary between them and the surrounding area. It is, therefore a bounded space, isolated in many ways from the surrounding area and really only accessible to allotment tenders and their friends and families. Opposite the gate and slightly to the left, hidden behind one tranche of allotments, is a shop built from breeze-blocks. It doesn't advertise its appearance, so unless told, no-one would know it was there. Staffed by the 'allotment committee', it sells gardening essentials, such as pea growing canes and slug pellets, at cost price. The interior is dusty and there is no concession to modern consumption. Only what might be considered essential for allotment cultivation is available to buy.



Figure 6.1 Allotments and Adjoining Streets

There are approximately a hundred plots on the whole piece of land of which most are cultivated, but there are some which have the ubiquitous bindweed, mare's tail and couch grass growing in abundance. The plot as a whole is divided in half with a path running its length. There are three areas of plot: those either side of the path and another abutting the side opposite the gate. Evidence of human 'creation' can be seen in the cultivation of fruit, vegetables and flowers, but also in the various sheds and

greenhouses erected on a number of the plots and the old carpet pieces and plastic sheets pinned down as weed eradicators. Some of the plots have small fences built around them, but as most occupy half a plot, a strip of grass a couple of feet wide separates them from their neighbour (see Figure 6.2).



Figure 6.2 Allotment Plot and Shed

Allotments are becoming subject to market forces as land becomes more scarce; in the UK 51 sites have been lost since 1997, and only two of those have been replaced (Anon, 2005). The site in Potato Lane, perhaps because it is fairly well tended, has not been the subject of land speculators; however one of its outside borders has been built upon, and so one corner is now overlooked by an apartment block (see Figure 6.3). These allotments are located in an area which has seen house prices rise steeply up until the second half of 2004. The plot could therefore fetch a high price if it were offered to developers, particularly in view of its proximity to the park. Contrast this with the annual rental of around £16-£20 for each plot paid to Manchester City Council, the owner of the site. The contrast between this vestige of municipal provision and the current bout of land speculation could not be more striking and adds to the understanding of Potato Lane as a 'space of representation'.



Figure 6.3 Apartment Development Adjacent to Allotments

6.5 The People of the Allotments

Before the analysis of the interview material begins I shall firstly introduce the people of the allotment in the order in which they were interviewed. They are referred to in this work through a pseudonym. I interviewed them all at the allotment site, the ambient soundtrack as well as their voices, including birdsong, duck quacking, hammering and fairground music from the park next door. I interviewed Michael in the garden shed he shares with several others. It contained few things; occasional vandalism means nothing of value is left in the allotment sheds. The rest of the interviews took place on the allotments of the people interviewed.

Jane is in her twenties and has lived in Manchester all her life. She works in the day as an account administrator and in the evenings as a data entry clerk. She has been tending her allotment since the early months of 2003.

Michael is in his eighties and retired¹¹. He came to Manchester in the 1940s from Ireland to work on the docks. He subsequently found work driving taxis, but gave this up some years ago. Michael has been on the allotment since he was made redundant in 1982.

¹¹ Since our meeting, Michael has sadly passed away.

Heather and Liz are in their thirties and forties respectively and have had their allotment for approximately five years. They have lived in Manchester for some years, Heather since she was a student. They are co-artistic directors of a theatre company.

Bill is in his forties and has rented his allotment since early 2003. He has lived here for twenty-one years and works for the Adult Education Service. Bill is also a part-time therapist.

Brian is in his fifties and is a university lecturer. He has lived in Manchester for fourteen years and has had his allotment for approximately five years.

6.6 Conversational Themes of the People of the Allotments

A number of themes have emerged from interviews with the people of the allotments, both as a result of the strands I introduced through the questions and through their insights. The way in which I identified these themes was through a close reading of all the transcripts, identifying common themes and coding them with the use of a highlighting pen. These ‘themes’ will serve as the organising principle of the rest of this chapter and are grouped under the following broad headings: time, the weekend, boundaries and the allotments at the weekend. The concluding section draws out more specific insights.

6.6.1 Time

Although we might consider the contributions of the people of the allotment as untheorised, it is useful to remember Nowotny’s dictum that:

Everyone is a practitioner and theoretician of time. Time ‘dwells’ in us – through the biological rhythms to which we are subject, and because we are social beings who are born into a society with changing temporal structures and learn to live its social time. (Nowotny, 1994: 6)

She issues a caveat later which expresses her belief that ‘the discursive exchange about time is underdeveloped’ and doesn’t reflect contemporary temporalities. Nevertheless, in my conversations with allotmenters, time was an important topic. They were interested in how time ‘flew’ or ‘dragged’, or how it was difficult to ‘fit everything in’, including weekend activities. One person talked about time in the city and compared it with how they thought time passed in the country.

We might here think about Giddens’ idea of the ‘double hermeneutic’, which is, as he says a ‘double process of translation’ (Giddens, 1984: 284). The ‘social world’ being interpreted by the sociologist has already been through one process of translation by non-sociologists and reworked back to other sociologists in their social research. His notion is that ideas are continually reworked and recycled by academics and non-academics, and there is a process of subtle communication always taking place. Bill, for instance talked about keeping ‘boundaries’ between the week and the weekend in order to protect his family life from the demands of the working week. Jane discussed time in a particularly vivid way, and Liz talked about how Sunday felt. Michael illustrated how the demands of dock work had prevented him spending as much time with his children as he might have liked. Everyone that I met with was, perhaps contrary to popular belief ‘reflexively doing their lives’.

Although modernity ushered in a move from cyclical time to linear time, there is a particular emphasis on cyclical time on the allotment, where much of the activity is still, to a large extent, determined by the seasons and the need for fertilising, sowing, weeding and harvesting the crops. Indeed the words used to describe activities thereon are those we might associate with a world gone by. Tilling, crops, sowing, seeds, fertilising seem unfamiliar lost in rural time, things we don’t think about any more in an urban (or even a rural) environment which is increasingly seemingly ‘seasonless’. But if the allotment is to be productive it is necessary to engage with the seasons. Jane illuminates this idea of thinking in the cyclical:

Jill (J) *What do you think about when you’re walking here? (To the allotment) Are you coming to a different space? Do you feel different when you’re here?*

Jane (J) Yeah, yeah, 'cos I feel, 'cos I'm by myself and I've got nothing like at home to think about. I just think about when me plants are gonna grow. I think about the allotment when I walk down here 'cos I'm planning out in me mind where I'm gonna plant everything and what I'm going to do when I get here. Um and how long I'm gonna stay for.

These 'staging' of Jane's visits to the allotment might be compared to the three stages of entering, being in, and moving out of the weekend. She doesn't just arrive at the allotment; she prepares herself for being in a different environment when she has to think about seasons and the cycles of growth. Her journey there eases the transition from one world to another, and there are very definite rituals when she arrives and when she leaves.

As well as considering the ritualised nature of her visit to the allotment, Jane also has to think about the contrasting temporalities of life both inside the allotment plot and outside. One is the cyclical, the seasonal considerations of her plants, the stages of their growth and what the tasks of that growth cycle. The other is the temporal consideration of her weekend life outside her allotment as well as how much time she is able to spend at Potato Lane. This seasonal rhythm will determine how much time Jane will spend at the plot. At the same time, as she says here, time for life outside the allotment will also have to be considered. There is perhaps a conflict between time lived outside the allotment and that inside. During five months of the year the allotment lies dormant, for at least the other six a great deal needs to be done. But life outside the allotment goes on, with work, home and social life demanding the same amount of time. This clash of temporalities tends to be a problem for the maintenance of allotments.

Jane expresses the way she lives her life outside the allotment through the fast pace of her speech, spoken almost without taking breath. She was born in the city and likes its pace. When asked what she liked about it, she replies, '...I like the rush. I don't like to be dead slow about things; you know like to be going here, there and everywhere. Manchester's like that. It's like in the fast lane'. When I asked, 'Have you always felt it's been like that?' Jane replies, 'Yeah, yeah, I like it, I like me life like that, yeah, in the fast lane'. This particular emphasis on time was not shared by everyone that I spoke to.

Michael, for example, is retired. Most of his explicit references are to clock-time and refer to his time working in Salford docks along the Manchester Ship Canal or around starting and finishing on a Saturday. Most of the 'times' referred to were in 'the past'.

You were down there from eight in the morning, you'd have a ten minute break. You wouldn't come up, (you'd) sit down and maybe have a cup of tea. We always got an hour's dinner, 12-1 for dinner, then worked out 'til 5. Then they'd ask you for time and a half to work until seven o'clock. Would go back at 10 o'clock at night and work 'til 6 in the morning, but sometimes they wanted you to work 'til 8 o'clock, 'til the day gangs would come on. Being young and fit and greedy for the money you know a lot of us would do it.

The sheer hard work of being a docker is emphasised in his account of nearly 24 hour working, the starting times and the endlessly deferred home times. Michael remembers the times exactly, so significant were they in organising his life. He remembers working seven days a week during some periods:

...I'm telling you we worked seven days a week. We never had a weekend, (we) finished at 5 o'clock on a Thursday... We finished at 12 (noon) mostly on a Saturday, but even sometimes then if there was a rush on they'd ask you to work until 2 o'clock, which wasn't compulsory, but if you wanted the money...

As far as 'time off' was concerned, Michael's weekends were not very different from weekdays. This half day working on a Saturday was something he remembers enduring until the late 1960s or early 1970s. More than a century later than the 'granting' of the Saturday half day holiday in 1843, Saturday morning work was still being undertaken as part of a regular working week. He emphasises the sacrifices he made through working so hard:

We worked a lot of Sundays. Then as the wife says 'you were always away when the kids was coming up, you never was here.' We went to work before they got up and (they'd) be going to bed when I got home. Yeah, (we) worked long hours on the docks. You're working seven days and overtime for £9.

For Michael, the weekend as proper time for himself didn't really exist; his time was spent according to the demands of work or his 'pals'. There was obvious regret about time not spent with his children. This recalls Nowotny's characterisation of industrialised time:

Only with the advent of capitalism, when time could be converted into money, did the attitude towards time characteristic of industrial societies emerge, and the process of detachment of a lifetime which had become measurable in working hours begin.

She goes on:

The machine dictated the metronomic rhythm for the machine age. Viewed in this light, the struggle of the organised labour movement in the nineteenth century for shorter working hours was a first step towards the recognition of a minimal proper time, but this was still viewed wholly as collective time and filled with contents which had been collectively mapped out: those of urgently needed recuperation. (Nowotny, 1994: 38).

This minimal proper time which Michael had access to in his working life might have been at the weekend. During the rest of the week, for much of the time he was at work, getting ready for work or going home from work. From his current perspective of retirement, his weekends weren't too significant, because they weren't very long. Whether his weekends can be dismissed as proper time because of their collective nature, for instance on a Saturday afternoon, (a subject which will be discussed in greater detail later on), is a matter for debate. Nowotny's concept of proper time will, however, be a useful one through which to understand time at the weekend. 'Proper time', she advises, 'viewed as self-time from the perspective of the individual, has to come to fresh terms with the time of others, with outside time, above all in the institutionalised complex of working hours and its changed relations to time free of work.' She discusses, in this context, an understanding of both modern and post-modern temporalities. The issue of 'having time for oneself' is a pertinent one for this chapter and for this work generally. Many of the allotmenters have spoken of their time at the allotment in these terms.

Jane and Michael's discussion of time demonstrate some similarities. Their accounts contrast with that of Heather and Liz. They talk about time, but hardly ever in terms of 'clock time'. They work together as co-directors of an arts group, and so they, for instance, have no clocking-in system. The only time Heather and Liz mentioned the clock was in response to a question about the start of the weekend, which they answered thus, 'When we're in the office that's (the) six o'clock on Friday'. Working both for themselves and in the cultural industries may mean that the time of

the clock is irrelevant. There are obvious deadlines, but the work is more task orientated and less dependent on the discipline of clock time.

Bill refers to specific times only when he, like Heather and Liz, clocks the start of the weekend as six pm on a Friday. His full-time job involves nine to five, Monday to Friday working and is unlikely to be 'clocked', in contrast to Michael's. Brian muses in our conversation on the different forms of working life, drawing distinctions between his current occupation and that of being a factory manager some years ago. Although he generally works in his office at work from 9-5, he can be flexible in how he works his hours. He never mentions clock time; he says it isn't important in his occupation.

6.6.2 The Weekend

6.6.2.1 The Week-Weekend Boundary

Boundary work, as Nippert-Eng (1996) has written, is a way of making a transition from one time-space to another, as we do when we move from the week to the weekend. In modernity, one such transition has been that from a work space to a leisure space and we can link with that the transition from the week to the weekend. This might involve moving from one 'role' to that of another, from mechanical 'engineer' to 'hedonist' for example or 'mother' to 'philosopher'. It might also involve psychological transitions, those of mentally adapting different situations in conjunction with physical transitions, those of moving between different places. How are these changes effected in our social worlds?

Brian agreed with the idea of such a boundary but for him, didn't feel it was "a very distinct boundary". He elaborated further, "...I think that's a reflection of academia you know; I certainly didn't feel like that as I said when I had a "proper job". I would (then have) definitely seen the weekend as being something distinctly different' (interestingly, he cites work in a factory as a 'proper job'). Further, he says, 'it's not like when I was working and I'd look forward to the weekend because that was something distinct and different, but now I don't see that direct separation'. Brian's

more permeable work-life boundaries, working in a university, seem not to require a great deal of boundary work to effect the change from one domain to another. He does however acknowledge that, for him and his partner, Fridays are different. Brian found that work in a situation where his time was more distinctly segmented meant that he really felt the boundaries between the week and the weekend as more obvious.

J: So there's no difference between Wednesday night and Friday night?

Brian: Oh I wouldn't say there's no difference, but yeah, ah, we'd normally go out on a Friday night, whereas we wouldn't, it would be an unusual Friday night where we didn't go out. There is obviously a separation, particularly as Mary [his partner] teaches, and that's much more demanding physically than lecturing, so Mary is not desperately keen to go out in the week, so it would be fairly unusual for us to go out and do something in the week.

Jane's experience contrasts sharply with Brian's. She works long, long days, holding down two jobs in two different locations, the city centre and the outskirts of Manchester. She explains:

Jane: I get up at half-seven and then I start work at half-eight. It's work all day and then I leave my first job and go to my second job and I work there 'til half ten and then I come home. It's the same Monday to Friday and then Saturday to Sunday is just like a rush to get everything done before I go back to work again.

Jane marks the beginning of the weekend through a series of distinctive activities. On Friday night she has a routine which marks the beginning of the weekend.

J: Say a little bit about how the weekend starts for you.

Jane: Friday night, soon as I clock out.

J: So how do you feel? Do you have a different feeling

Jane: Yes! [emphatically]. As soon as it starts I feel elated, dead excited... Just want to get home, um, have me bottle of wine.

J: So what happens when you've finished (work) then?

Jane: I just go home. I have a really nice bath. I don't just have one a week, but on a Friday, it's different.

J: How is it different?

Jane: Just 'cos I have my glass of wine with me in the bath [we both laugh] and loads of bubbles and um, its just like relaxing then, 'cos the week's done with then and like I'm starting my weekend and like I'll buy something special like a curry or something, something nice for our tea, and some nice afters and then we just like, chill out and watch tele and that's it then. The weekend's started. Its just different, just exciting. You don't have to go to work I suppose [laughs].

Jane's description of her 'boundary work' is incredibly detailed, more so than any other contribution. The juxtaposition of wine, bubbles and bath invoke a sense of luxury, abandon almost. This is followed by specially chosen food for Friday, something to mark its specialness, to mark the fact that Jane isn't going to work the next day. Chilling out is the order of the night, a state of relaxation that marks the absence of alarm clocks the next morning.

Liz and Heather discuss the significance of their weekend which is not so finely drawn as Jane's.

J: What about the weekend? Does it mean something special to you?

L: Well it's kind of only recently really that we've (kind of) had a weekend because the demands of our work have been quite intensive.

Heather agrees and expands further,

H: Yes we do get weekends, but then sometimes, (in) some periods, they're swallowed up completely.

They are emphatic about their approach to the weekend:

L: You grab 'em when you get 'em

H: Yeah, it's a precious thing to have them.

However, Heather at some moments has a rather more ambivalent approach to the weekend. She says,

H: ...sometimes I'd like to totally re-do it, so that we got time off during the middle of the week and then worked at the weekends. Sometimes I'd like to do that.

J: Why's that?

H: Just because (of) the quietness of our workplace at the weekend.

Liz and Heather's ability only recently to have most weekends off, means that their boundary work is less developed than Jane's as far as the start of the weekend is concerned. They do not mention any elaborate routines around its beginning.

Bill works mainly Monday to Friday, but does some therapy work in the evenings and attends occasional psychotherapy courses at the weekends. He and his partner have two young sons. He stresses the importance of 'sticking' to a Monday to Friday routine for his job. When I asked him "Is the weekend important?" Bill replied,

Bill: It is important, yes. It's sort of keeping a boundary around work and life I think. If I can keep my work to Monday to Friday, then weekends are for me and my family and that's really important. It's not always easy to keep that boundary, but I do my best you know. Also, sometimes like next weekend, I'm on a training course in psychotherapy, so I do a bit of that from time to time. It's not really like work but it is connected to my psychotherapy. I suppose weekends aren't quite as demarked as they used to be. (They) still are though.

J: And is there a point on a Friday, or on a Thursday even, when you might say that the weekend has arrived? Is there a point; is there a ritual about the beginning of the weekend?

B: It's not very clear 'cos sometimes I have a supervision session on a Friday evening, which goes on 'til half-past five. Other times I will finish work a bit earlier, but I suppose from six o'clock onwards I know that it's the weekend now. But I don't think I have a particular ritual, no.

J: Is there a TV or a radio programme or a sound... that will remind you that that the week has finished or the weekend is about to begin? Maybe there isn't for you?

B: No, not really, not something that triggers that. I know clearly as I'm not going back to work the next day. I suppose I usually cycle into work and when I'm cycling back from work I know right, that's my weekend starting now. So maybe that's a bit of a ritual, or the journey back from wherever I'm coming. I would reflect. I would be aware of it; maybe I wouldn't be thinking about it directly, but it would be somewhere in my consciousness that I'm driving back. So, yeah, I'm driving home. I guess there would be something in that about the weekend, which I wouldn't have if I was driving home on a Monday Tuesday, Wednesday or a Thursday.

J: So you mean that you're looking forward to the next day, more than you might do in the week?

B: Yeah, well certainly looking forward to doing various projects, doing stuff that isn't work related. Yeah, yup.

Michael, as a retired man, did not reveal any boundary distinctions between the week and the weekend. For the most part, his narrative of the weekend as a distinctive end to the week was in the past. The job he got driving taxis after being made redundant entailed some weekend work and so he says, 'I had the weekend in the middle of the week.' He comments on the significance of his weekend at present: 'I really am not interested in Saturday and Sunday more than any other day, or even when I worked, I worked most Saturdays and Sundays.' The boundary between the week and the weekend doesn't have to be crossed because there isn't one. However, his old habit of associating Saturday with football still endures, as we shall see later.

As well as how people's weekends began, I was interested in how they ended and whether there were any specific rituals around when it did end.

Jane gets very depressed on a Sunday. I asked her why.

J: Say a bit more about why you don't like it. (Sunday)

Jane:well I am a bit depressed on Sundays, and Sunday nights – ooh I can't stand 'em.

J: D'you watch TV or something like that?

Jane: Yeah I read my book. I read quite a lot.

J: Yeah?

Jane: Or I'd watch Sky or something, (if there's) something interesting on Sky and watch the time tick away before it's like work the next day. [Laughs]

For Liz, Sundays mean something different. She doesn't discuss particular rituals or routines, but does discuss the way that she feels on a Sunday.

L: I've always loved Sundays. Sunday is my *favourite* day, and I think that's because I still get that kind of feeling in my tummy when it's just kind of just past seven and you think it's Monday tomorrow (laughs) and I used to when I was about 10, you know, (at) school. I still feel that, even though obviously I really enjoy my work, but you think, 'gosh, another week starts tomorrow, another set of goals and pressures...' and it'll just go (makes sucking noise), like this and you're at the weekend again and you just think 'where's that week gone?' And then there's Sunday and you think, 'another week, another chance'. [We all laugh at this]

Liz delivers this in a non-stop burst, as if to convey the way in which time seems to rush by from Sunday to Sunday. This is in much the same delivery as Jane first recounted the details of her working week. For Liz and Jane, the sense of living life in a rush is pictured very vividly through the form and content of their contribution.

Bill's Sunday night rituals are mostly to do with getting the kids ready for school the following morning.

J: How about the weekend finishing? D'you know when it's finished?

B: Yeah, probably clearer on that one. [Than on when the weekend begins] What rituals around that? I suppose we always give the, we've got two young children of 8 and 6, and I s'pose Sunday is the weekend ritual bath-time (at) around about 7.30-8.00. So that's always a reminder (that) it's Sunday evening (and) there's not much left of the weekend.

A bit later Bill says:

B: One thing, there's often nature programmes on aren't there? ...there's a ritual around that I think. Sort of seven o'clock, eight o'clock we might watch a couple of nature programmes on tele.

Bill pictures Sunday night very clearly, possibly because that routine will always be the same, particularly in school term. Whereas Saturday might have a different routine, Sundays are very similar. Many, in fact, most people I have spoken to, have a particular feeling about Sunday nights.

Brian acknowledges the difference between Sundays and Mondays, but doesn't feel the same boundaries as others.

J: So there's no qualitative difference between the week and the weekend?

Brian: Well, obviously there's a difference. There is a difference in the things that I do. Obviously I would work most of Monday, whereas I wouldn't work most of Sunday, but I would do different things on a Sunday than I do on a Monday. All I'm saying is I don't feel, 'Oh my God I've got to go to work on Monday.

By this time, notion of ritual had become a possible theme, so I pressed him on this:

J: So, to go back to weekends; there's no rituals associated with beginning and ending?

Brian: Well I don't suppose there is a ritual insomuch as ... I've already said, we would almost certainly go out on a Friday night, so that has become a *bit* of a ritual, and Sunday night, we might go out on a Sunday night. That would rather depend. We might go to the cinema or we might go to the Bridgewater Hall. You know, nothing more adventurous than that, or if we were at home, we'd usually have a bottle of wine I s'pose with our (meal). That would be a bit of a ritual. I might do the ironing. [We both laugh]

All of the allotment tenders I spoke to did recognise the week/ weekend break. The person who demonstrated the most elaborate rituals around its beginning and felt most depressed at its ending was Jane's, whose work schedule is incredibly demanding. Her Friday finish is an incredible relief, and she marks that boundary with a number of different rituals, both on Friday and Sunday nights where she moves from the state of the week to the state of 'weekendness'. Van Gennep's helps us understand the three stages of moving from one 'cultural state' to another. The first marks the move out of 'mundane' life, marked by the different food and the luxurious bath with a glass of wine, the second is the state of being 'in the weekend' which involves a number of 'different' activities including seclusion and time for contemplation and reflection for which Jane uses the allotment. Finally, 're-aggregation' into the weekly world comes on a Sunday night with Jane feeling that 'clock time' is something she is becoming more aware of as 'time ticks away'. Michael's work time before retirement also meant that Saturday, particularly was a time for 'letting go' with his 'pals', both in the pub and at the football match, although he didn't discuss such sharply defined boundaries and rituals. Bill feels the boundary between the week and the weekend less immediately than Jane. Perhaps, because he has the work of childcare at the weekend as well as in the week, he doesn't feel as much of a difference between them. However, he did recognise a qualitative difference between the week and weekend and felt the need to make a boundary between them, so that the week did not encroach upon the weekend. His journey home on a Friday night was that which marked a physical and mental distance between home and work, the week and the weekend. The nature of Bill's 'adult education' public sector work contrasts with that of Jane's private sector office administration. The way in which they have to negotiate time at work may lead to differences in their production of boundaries. Brian feels that the boundaries between work and not-work are very fluid and consequently that he doesn't feel the end of the

week as keenly as, for instance Jane. He still does enter into the weekend, though not with any discernible rituals, but with routines such as 'going out'. Sunday night is marked too, by specific actions, but which are does invested with any particular symbolic significance other than preparation for Monday. Liz and Heather recognised the weekend as starting at six o' clock on a Friday night but gave no account of ritual or routine around it. Liz did feel that the end of Sunday was to be mourned, but had no specific grieving process.

6.6.2.2 The Weekend Itself

Many of the people of the allotment, as we have seen, had a particular starting point for their weekend, a way in which they could draw a line between their working life and their home life. Some were more distinct than others but for most, except for Michael who was retired, lived a different kind of day post six o' clock on a Friday night. Michael's life when he was working was governed by clock-time, the time of starting work on the docks, the time of finishing maybe, unless he was tempted to work another few hours for extra money. He talked about the Saturday noon finishing time and his Saturday afternoons off to go to the football in the nineteen fifties. The clock was a prominent feature in both his week and weekends. In his life now though, the clock hardly features at all. One of the only times he mentions it is in the context of football and going for a pint afterwards on a Saturday.

B: I do enjoy it, if there is a football match on, now, today, which there is. I like to watch them on the tele....since I've got the Sky....I like to do that.

J: *So you'll do that on a Saturday now?*

B: I do that on a Saturday and go out mebbe four o'clock, five o'clock, I'll go out to the local to have mebbe two to three pints with me pals.

Michael's weekend, when he was working, began with 'going to the match' or rather getting ready to go to the match.

J: *But what was it like going to football matches? Would you go to work first?*

M: Oh yeah, on a Saturday. We'd work 'til twelve, go home, have a bit of lunch, doll yourself up and off to the match to meet all your mates....half-five

and you'd call in and have a couple of pints, you know, in the club and then go home.

Later on he comments on the way in which the satellite television channels are altering 'traditional' rhythms of the weekend through their scheduling of matches. Football matches always started at three o'clock, which gave those working for half a day on a Saturday time to get home and go to the match. One can argue that 'disorganised capitalism' has led to 'disorganised leisure', and/or that satellite television has to take account of global leisure patterns. Michael discussed this.

M: Every match started on Saturday afternoon. Manchester City'd be at home today and Manchester United (would be at) home next Saturday... The fixtures were made that way...at three o'clock, so some fellas would probably go and watch the match, have a couple of pints on the way home or whatever, and that's how the weekends went then. That's practically done away with now.

J: *It isn't it? How is it done away with?*

M: Because of television. They play the matches Monday night, Sunday morning; you can see matches at twelve o'clock now. Even the managers were playing hell last week. You know, the players are only human; they like to have their lie-in on a Sunday morning. Get up, have a bit of whatever they're allowed, eat and then have their match at three o'clock. But now the matches are at twelve o'clock.

J: *... Not quite the same is it, really?*

M: Some of them at eight o'clock in the evening. It's all to suit the tele, you see, yes.

Saturday afternoons are now somewhat disorganised for Michael. He had quite a Saturday routine when he was younger, and football would be part of it. The one part of that routine that has endured is watching football, though on television rather than at Old Trafford. He is rather miffed however, by the disturbance in the traditions of British Saturday afternoons by the demands of satellite television which has altered the three o'clock kick-off, a time that was set in motion by the Saturday Half-Day Holiday.

Jane seems to live her weekends as she lives her week, at a rush, trying to fit things in. She has recently bought a house with her husband and her parents and spends a lot of weekend time 'doing it up'.

J: *What might you do when you get up on a Saturday?*

Jane: ...I go to B&Q, I'll try to come here to the allotment, um, try to do a bit of shopping. I go to Medlock centre and have a look around there, or go to garden centres.

J: *So you'll go to Medlock centre then, rather than Manchester city centre?*

Jane: Yeah, yeah, 'cos I work there all day, go there everyday.

J: *So you won't go there at the weekends?*

Jane: No, no, no, no. I go there in my dinner hour so.

J: *So you want to go somewhere else?*

Jane: Yeah, so I go to Medlock, or if I've got something else planned you know, if we've got something else planned, we'll go somewhere else. That's normally what I'll do, go to Medlock, uum, B&Q and a few garden centres maybe, or come to my allotment.

Jane's days are packed full of work, but work that is perhaps more self-determined and not so dependent on clock-time. Her immediate locale is important during this time and Jane doesn't move far from that. Indeed, her allotment is in the same area. Seeing her family is an important part of the weekend.

It seems that locales are a very important part of the weekend for many of the interviewees. Since they all tend allotments in the locale, then a significant amount of time is spent and invested there. Everyone whom I met lives in the area. Michael socialises there and Jane shops. Working some distance away from home means that a locale might be important at the weekend for a number of reasons. The immediate neighbourhood is one where it is convenient to shop and socialise, and Jane takes advantage of that. Luckily, her neighbourhood is one where local amenities such as bakeries, greengrocers, cafes and bars are still in business and have retained a 'for everybodiness' despite some gentrification. On a Saturday night she rarely goes out:

J: *What about Saturday night?*

Jane: [I] stay in most of the time 'cos I'm skint.'" [Laughs ; so do I]

J: *Spending all your money on the house?*

Jane: [We might] go to me mother-in-laws and she'll do us something to eat or have a couple of drinks and she'll drive us back, or just have a drink in the house and sit in the back garden on our swing and that's about it really.

Saturday night then, is a less frantic period when someone else might cook and ensure Jane and her husband get home after drinking. Again, there is no clock watching or having to think about getting up early. They even have time to do something frivolous like swing in the garden. Sunday is different though. It's the day when Jane has to think about work again.

J: *What about Sunday?*

Jane: I hate Sundays, 'cos the day after it's work innit? Um, just the same really, potter around in the garden, um... go out for a drive maybe... (go out) for something to eat at a pub, a pub lunch or something, and then sort me bag out for the next day, for Monday.

I asked Jane to say a bit more about why she didn't like Sunday.

Jane: Cos it's borin' on a Sunday. It's not the same vibe as Saturday... Like you can't go to Medlock on a Sunday 'cos nothing's happening. Nowhere's open. and like everyone's in the same boat 'cos they've all like got to go to work tomorra' and they're like, a bit depressed.

Jane's description of the qualitative difference between Saturdays and Sundays demonstrated the importance of Saturdays, as they are as far from the time of work as any day. The next day is also 'her own' insofar as it can be, given her domestic commitments. Sunday is a different matter. Monday looms more and more as the day wears on, ending, for Jane, with the 'clock ticking'. Zerubavel describes this as the 'physiognomy' of the week. He points out that '...numerous events in our everyday life re routinely as well as distinctively associated with particular days of the week...' He points to their temporal differences, '...even very young children can already recognise weekend days by the distinctively slower pace of their parents' morning activities' (Zerubavel, 1985: 133).

The idea of 'pottering' (mentioned by Jane) is raised frequently when discussing the weekend, particularly with reference to gardening. Chambers Dictionary (1993:1339) describes it as, 'to busy oneself in a desultory way with trifling tasks; to progress in

an unhurried manner, to dawdle.’ Pottering is a weekend activity. It is not possible to potter in the week unless retired. If your ‘weekend’ is in the middle of the week, it might not seem right to potter, when most other people are at work. It has the flavour of an activity not dependent on the clock, and which does not really have any particular purpose. Jane, certainly, has no time to potter in the week.

Sunday seems a mixed blessing for Jane, despite it being a day free from the demands of paid employment. The prospect of work and its all embracing temporal demands mean that Monday spoils Sunday, at least for Jane. The shadow of Monday approaching causes her to ‘hate’ Sunday and ‘not the same ‘vibe’ as Saturday.

Despite the fact that some look forward to the weekend as ‘time off’ work, the weekends of the allotmenters are as busy as the weekend, though perhaps in a different way. On the allotment, plots have to be kept tidy and productive; spring and summer are hard work, even if it does provide a contrasting kind of work than that engaged in for the rest of the week.

The conflicting demands of time at the weekend are revealed in the contributions of Heather and Liz. Liz certainly disagrees with Jane over Sunday:

L: We always loved Sunday. Sunday is my *favourite* day and I think that’s because I feel I can *not* work on a Sunday.

She does, however, like Jane, get the ‘Sunday night feeling’, of time passing very quickly, of it being another Sunday night, another week having passed as discussed earlier. Heather has contradictory feelings about a Sunday night.

J: *D’you feel the same way as Liz that it, (the weekend) finishes at a particular time on a Sunday?*

H: No I don’t. I think it’s slightly, I don’t like that switch off at the end of a weekend on a Sunday. I think it should just begin on a Monday. No.

Although Heather refuses to accept the Sunday night blues, she does, at some level acknowledge their existence. Heather and Liz go on to describe the conflicting

demands of a Saturday, the day they like to go to the allotment, but don't always manage it.

J: *So, (asks if the allotment) it's a Saturday thing?*

H: Um, it's kinda like, well it gets confused with yoga see.

L: Because we're gym girls.

J: *Oh are you?*

H: Yeah and if we want go to yoga on the Saturday.

L: It does rather fuck Saturday doesn't it?

H: [Laughing] It does, yes.

L: It's right in the middle of the day, so it completely kind of...

H: ...takes the whole morning. It's a real nuisance.

L: But we only do that if we've missed yoga during the week.

The time demands of a Saturday are difficult ones for Heather and Liz who have even more demands on their time:

J: *So, what other things might you do at the weekend?*

L: Ah, it's time to be with the pets – make sure they're cleaned out...

H: And we visit our friends Richard and Andrew on a Sunday and Saturday...

J: *So it's chilling out time?*

H: Reading...

J: Tidying up and...

L: Yup.

J: *And gardening...*

H: And we have our house cleaned on a Monday, so we have to tidy it up. We do, Sunday night.

L: I'm a tyrant

H: We have a cleaner on Monday, so we have to tidy. It's like personal organisation, the weekend.

L: "Yeah, that's right, it's a catch-up. Mmm. Mmm."

So this weekend involves a lot of work in the home, mainly what Heather calls 'personal organisation'. This chimes in with Lefebvre's observation that our timetables are segmented in three ways, '...pledged time (professional work) free time (leisure) and compulsive time (the various demands other than work such as transport, official formalities etc)' (Lefebvre, 1984: 53). He suggests that the latter 'time' impinges on the two former. Certainly, Heather and Liz felt the pressure of the various 'bits' of the weekend, which included keeping themselves 'fit' at the gym. There was a sense that they found it difficult to fit everything in. Weekday work, for most people at the allotment involves being in the public world, whereas weekend life, although including moments of conviviality also involves much more 'private' and intimate work. For Jane, Liz and Heather, it might involve that of the family or friendship or indeed contemplation in the quiet and green of their allotment. Few of the allotmenters mentioned any such intimacy of this kind during discussions of their life during the week.

Bill, as we heard earlier, likes to keep strict boundaries around the week and weekend, largely to 'protect' these intimacies:

J: How about Saturday? What would you do on a Saturday?

B: That can vary enormously. We might go out. One of us might go out and the other stay in.

J: Is it difficult to go out, both of you with the kids?

B: No, not really 'cos there's a good babysitting network which does cost, but we're both working, so we can afford it. So it's not difficult, no. Probably what is more difficult is planning it all, 'cos it has to be planned in advance really, but no. We go out once or twice a week, not always together, sometimes with our respective friends and sometimes together.

Like Liz and Heather, the timescape of Bill's weekend is shaped by the need to organise his personal life. He differentiates it from life as a younger man:

B: I suppose when I was much younger we'd always be out on a Saturday night, down the boozier, or Friday night, have quite a lot to drink. Um, much more of a regular routine. I s'pose one of the differences (between then and now) is I don't really know what we'll be doing weekend to weekend. We might be off camping; I might be on a training weekend... We do a lot I s'pose, with the children, ferrying around and taking them. Saturday morning is a particular morning where one of them goes to football practice and another goes to Woodcraft Folk at lunchtime. So we're busy, we're doing things on a Saturday morning, but then after that, it really depends um, what's happening that weekend and planning it from weekend to weekend...

It is surprising that Bill thinks that his childless weekends followed a stricter routine than his weekends now. Although there is a regular routine for a Saturday morning, it seems the rest of the day or weekend might be more unpredictable. Saturday is a particularly family orientated day. Sunday seems less fast-paced:

B: Oh and I do actually, Sunday morning I often go out for a run. Yeah, that's right. Forgot about that. I'm a keen runner, so I might get off for about an hour's run on a Sunday morning, so that's another part, that's quite a bit, that's a big routine of mine, actually, running.

Like Liz and Heather and their gym-work, Bill uses the weekend to work on his body, to keep himself fit. It's difficult to say whether this is counted as work or leisure for Bill. He certainly enjoys running. Liz and Heather on the other hand, do recognise the gym as a form of work, discussing the instructor almost in terms of a teacher-pupil relationship.

After talking about the allotment, Bill considers all the things he has to do and admits, 'Mm, it still seems to be pretty hectic time-wise at the weekend. There's so many things to do...'

For most of the allotmenters their weekend is a busy period with conflicting demands on their time. Despite this busy-ness, none of them seemed particularly bothered by it. Both Heather and Liz and Bill talked about 'projects' to do at the weekend, and Jane about 'learning' and 'achieving'. Although we could see this as understanding the weekend in terms of work, using a particular, perhaps 'managerialist' vocabulary, on the other hand, part of the magic of the weekend is

having time during which we can try out new things, the allotments being an example.

6.6.2.3 The Allotments at the Weekend

This section discusses how big a part the allotment plays in the time and space scapes of the tenders that I met. For Jane the allotment fulfils a number of functions. I asked:

J: And how about the allotment? This is new in your life?

Jane: Yeah, I'm just trying... I've got a house rabbit you see, so I'm trying to grow all (the) things for him.

I wasn't sure what that was, so Jane explained that 'it has the full run of the house' and 'lives in a dog basket'. The other reason Jane has one is,

Jane: ...'cos we're having all the back garden done. My husband won't let me have vegetables growing. Not that he's like, 'you're not having vegetables growing', but he knows I'll just let them grow and grow and grow and I won't end up bothering doing it, so he said, "you can get yourself an allotment"....and that's when I enquired about allotments ...round Medlock, and this was the one I got and I came here.

Jane only comes to the allotment at the weekend. As she puts it,

Jane: ...I don't come in the week at all, unless I come at five o'clock in the morning or twelve o'clock at night. I don't come through the week."

Jane emphasises the lack of time she has in the week apart from doing her two jobs.

Heather and Liz discuss their initial decision to get an allotment.

J: What about the allotment?

L: Oh we *love* the allotment. It began as Heather's thing. You really wanted the allotment and I said I'd come and support you with it.

H: Yeah, I really love gardening and I really like our garden, but it's tiny and very beautiful now because I can make all the mess here. So it's sort of, it's very nice, and when we moved to our house I just found I...really could garden, so I just needed somewhere to extend that and that's why we got the allotment. It was um, because we have pets, our rabbit and guinea pig are in there, not doing very much, it was to grow stuff to feed them really...but it

doesn't really work like that because we can't grow carrots at the moment, can we, so it's sort of, it's just an interest really. There's no urgency to feed ourselves or the pets from what we're doing. It's a bonus.

Both Jane and Heather and Liz had a kind of instrumental reason for renting a plot. Both tenants thought at first, that their pets would be the recipient of the produce. But the allotment has become much more significant, at least for Heather and Liz as long-term tenants. It's also somewhere Heather feels that she 'can make a mess', somewhere where it won't matter. For Liz and Heather then allotment is most definitely a weekend activity and they remind me of its cyclical time:

J: But it is a weekend thing isn't it?

H: Yes, although you have to pop up, especially when you've got seeds and stuff, you have to pop up every other day. I like to pop up every two days, just to check on the watering.

L: But the weekends give us an expanse of time for it don't they?

H: Yeah, yeah, when you can do the projects on it yeah.

It is a particular space which most tenants come to at the weekend, when they can spend an extended period of time there. Michael was the only person I spoke to who didn't have this visit pattern. His retirement means he visits the allotment through the week as well.

M: Well I come down now nearly every day, just to look around and do a bit. I do spuds and some beans and peas and this bit of ground here I'll probably put some beetroot in and keep a little bit for cabbages. A bit early for cabbages yet and ah spuds and all those things, you see I...keep covering them up. I spend most of me time up here really.

His conversation is peppered with references to what vegetables he grows and the growth stage that they have currently reached. He realises as he talks that he does spend a lot of his week down here, including the weekends. When asked why he likes the allotment, he says,

B: Pastime and I was brought up on a farm....I like digging around. It's like if you could compare it with women going to the wash-house years ago. I've got two pals here and two pals over the other side and they come and chat to me and I'll have a chat to them.

Michael reminds us of his farming background in Ireland, which echoes Crouch and Ward's (1997) assertion that the majority of allotmenters at one point were those

who had come from a rural background into the towns and cities. It seemed easier for him perhaps than for many of the other tenants with whom I talked, to discuss unselfconsciously what he would grow, where he would put it and when it would appear. He has had a much longer time with his allotment (just over twenty years) than all the other people I talked to. It is obvious too, that the social life of the allotment is important to him since he hasn't the daily camaraderie of the docks that he talked about. Indeed, he likens it to a male version of the women's wash-house. For him, the allotment is a male environment, surrounded as he is by his pals. He has a gendered version of leisure, the allotment and football for him being enjoyed in the company of men. His making a parallel between the sociability of the washhouse and that of the allotment reminds us of the collective nature of both, but also of the complicated interrelationship between work and leisure.

Heather and Liz's view on being sociable at the allotments contrasts with Michael's.

J: Is the weekend the time you come to the allotment?

H: Yes it is. I like the Saturday better than the Sunday because there's not so many people around.

J: ...D'you not like some of the other people, or d'you just like it being quiet?

H: I like it being quiet 'cos then you can work and you don't get a lot of questions and stuff about ... You just don't get chatty with people. I mean you know I just like the Saturday

L: Yes

J: So Sunday is the time for everybody to come here, but not Saturday?

H: Saturday is just like, just after the morning on Sunday everybody comes down.

L: You either get here early on a Sunday, or late, if we come on a Sunday

H: To miss that busy bit, yeah.

Liz and Heather seem very anxious to have time for themselves at the allotment. It appears that they just don't want company or sociable chats, but instead peace, quiet and time to create an allotment garden. One could argue that this is at odds with the 'neighbourliness' of allotments. However, perhaps we can understand their

‘unsociability’ as their creation of proper time, which is only really significantly possible at the weekend. The allotment provides the time and space for its production. Jane has an interesting take on ‘being sociable at the allotment’. I ask her about other people at the allotment.

J: What about the other people on the allotments, are they important..?

Jane: No, ‘cos people tend to do their own thing don’t they? People just come to do what I’m doing. Come for peace and quiet, I think, just to get on with what they’re doing.

J: So you don’t really want to talk to other people in some ways?

Jane: No. (Don’t think) I’m a recluse or anything. I’ll speak to people, but I think people, that’s why people come to just grow their own, get away from their family life at home for a couple of hours and just do their own thing here.

Although Jane has not been tending the allotment for very long and so has not had chance to make friends, her reason for being solitary on the allotment seems plausible. She wants time for herself and so does everyone else. Whereas she is quite open about it, Liz and Heather seem to feel a bit guilty about not really wanting a lot of contact with other people.

6.7 Conclusion

6.7.1 Insights about the Weekend in General

The people of the allotment with whom I met, recognised the weekend as a different, even ‘special’ space, one that was experienced as part of the quotidian, but one that was, to a greater or lesser extent, extraordinary. The experiences of two people, Jane and Michael, delineated the weekend perhaps more sharply than the others. They were the only ones who worked now, or had worked in, employment which was temporally inflexible. Bill and Brian worked in the public sector with varying degrees of ability to modify their working times. On the contrary, Brian spoke of their flexibility at his place of employment. Liz and Heather have their own company and so have some say over how they organise their time; their work is possibly more task based and has intensive periods when they are on tour.

There was some acknowledgement of a boundary between the week and the weekend, and the work to produce the boundary was far more marked in Jane's case than for the others, who had to be pressed in order that they might 'find' a boundary. Michael may also have had more to say on this, if I had interviewed him whilst he was still in full time employment. There certainly had been a Saturday routine for him when he worked, around football, the pub and his friends. Most of those that I met had some notion of the qualitative differences between days, and especially the feeling around Sunday nights. Again, it was Jane who had the strongest reaction to the beginning and ending of the weekend, and there was a feeling that Sunday was spoiled by an impending Monday. Zerubavel writes of this phenomenon, "Mondays are experienced as 'cold' because they are associated with the transition from the attractive world of rest, playfulness, lack of responsibility, and intensive contact with loved ones to the serious, mundane and demanding world of work. These experiential characteristics of Monday morning often rub off on parts of Sunday as well. The mere anticipation of the approaching day they dread and regard as their least favourite day of the week leads many people to experience sometimes a sort of 'Sunday evening (or even afternoon) blues' (Zerubavel, 1985: 110).

Many of the allotmenters had descriptions of Sundays in particular. For Liz it was her favourite day and she was disappointed by its passing. Bill's Sunday evenings were to do with getting his children ready for the next day and settling them down with nature programmes on TV, and Brian sometimes did the ironing then. Michael's Sunday had religious connotations. There were commonalities around this day. It didn't seem to be a particularly exciting day for anyone. It did however seem a 'nourishing' type of day, the evening of which for those who were in paid employment, was about getting ready for the working week. Saturdays seemed to be a day for socialising, shopping or 'doing jobs' there was no time for doing in the week, an example of Lefebvre's 'compulsive time'.

Saturday seemed to be a time for 'being local', explicitly so in Jane's and Michael's case, but more implicitly for others. All whom I met with, in their commitment to their allotments obviously had a connection to the locale. Having a plot in a space where hundreds of other people come to cultivate their plots means that a number of

interactions between individuals and groups take place on any day. Massey articulates social space as ‘...a simultaneous multiplicity of spaces: crossing, intersecting, aligning with one another, or existing in relations of paradox or antagonism’ (Massey, 1994: 3). Within the allotments then, each social actor creates their own space which co-exists with others, not necessarily in harmony. Nevertheless, place is created here, where bonds are forged through a commonality of purpose, even if there are clashes between plot holders and the committee over such things as the lighting of fires, and the colour of paint used for sheds and the shade of netting used to construct a fruit cage. The time in which this place of spaces comes alive is the weekend.

Nippert-Eng (1996: xi) discusses the way in which each of us ‘draws a line’ between different segments of our lives to produce a ‘...distinct conceptual territory’ like the categories of ‘home’ and ‘work’. The week/weekend break is one such boundary which separates different ways of understanding of time and space and therefore different ways of ‘doing’ everyday life. She goes on to say that it is these means of classification ‘...which reflect and reproduce what is meaningful to a people.’ It is clear that the weekend *means* something to all those that I spoke with, to a greater or lesser extent. The significance of the week/weekend boundary is illustrated in various ways by the people of the allotment: through the journey home, the luxurious bath, when the clock reaches six on a Friday, and so on. Nippert-Eng later suggests that ‘...classificatory boundaries are the most essential element of culture. These are the girders supporting all interpretation, all experience’ (Nippert-Eng, 1996: xi). This boundary then, is far more than just a separation between two distinct time-spaces, it marks the historic struggle for ‘free’ time from our travails (though that notion hasn’t always extended to women) and latterly for two days off together. It has been such a pervasive idea, that those working what were deemed ‘unsocial hours’ were paid a good deal more for working at the weekend. Whether the boundaries between the week and the weekend have endured for those working in supermarkets, will be explored in the following chapter.

For all the people with whom I met, except for Michael who is now retired, the weekend seemed to be a time of contrasts and difference which was less rigidly gridded. Times of conviviality were discussed as well as times of quiet and

contemplation, the latter particularly associated with the allotment. The greater temporal flexibility on a Saturday and Sunday allowed time to be spent in the company of loved ones, whether family or friends. Bill, in particular felt that he must 'protect' this time away from paid work from encroachment by it. For Michael, there was little qualitative difference between the week and the weekend, but he did speak of his years in work, when at the weekend he would visit the numerous Irish clubs in the area. Michael's Irish heritage seems very important to him. Quite a few of the older male allotment holders were born in Ireland and they seem to have forged more than the passing acquaintance of many of the allotment holders.

The weekend also seems to be a time for outdoor pursuits, body maintenance and the consumption of sport. It could be argued that this, certainly for the two former, was to do with body maintenance for work. However, we could think about this activity in terms of desiring change, having time to resculpt the form which we inhabit, to re-make ourselves. Liz and Heather in the gym, Bill running and everyone 'doing' exercise on the allotment points to attempts at re-generation, so that we might be able to keep doing all the things we really want to.

Bill mentioned going camping with his family, a popular activity for many at the weekend. It might be understood as 'escape', only possible at the weekend or on holiday. It involves removing oneself from the ordinary spaces of the everyday into the exterior, extraordinary, often bounded space of the campsite. The distinctions we usually make between inside and outside, dirt and cleanliness, bedroom and sitting room, public and private are reversed or ignored in this situation. There is obviously little time other than the weekend for pursuits that involve being away from home, but would we go if there was no weekend? Do the rituals associated with beginning and ending the weekend mean that this is a distinctive space which cannot be reproduced in the non-shared 'flexible' days off in the middle of the week? If different members of the family rarely share the same days off, then this kind of 'break' would be impossible. We must remember that schools are tied into a 5+2 week/weekend break rhythm and so if parents are not, then time spent with their children might become minimal.

The Saturday half-holiday, inaugurated in Manchester in the same year as the 1843 Allotment Act undoubtedly accelerated the consumption necessary for the endurance of capitalism. Unintentionally perhaps it has also enabled humanity to catch a glimpse of what life might be like if we lived life under a different order. Freer time at the weekend can allow for the production of spaces which allow us to experience difference; that is, different people, places, experiences and so on.

6.7.2 Insights about the Role of the Allotment

Everyone with whom I met, with the possible exception of Michael, went to the allotment regularly at the weekend. Saturday and Sunday as days 'off' mean that they are able to spend hours at a time there and so were able to cultivate flowers, fruit and vegetables. Without the weekend and at least some of Saturday and Sunday free, there would have been no sustained ability by social actors to keep their allotment tended. Shared time off has meant a shared commitment to 'common' gardens. This common purpose means more than only getting allotments cultivated and taking home the produce; it means meeting with others and creating a place from a space. With no weekend it is debatable whether Potato Lane would have endured for nearly a century.

The allotments there are a bounded space, shut off from the outside world by a perimeter of trees and a pair of stout gates. The role of the allotment in the lives of their tenants tends to revolve around sociability and seclusion. It is a place in which Jane, for instance can isolate herself for a short while from 'outside' concerns. She is able just to '...think about where my plants are going to grow'. The walk to the allotment allows her to focus on the concerns of the season and it is a space entirely for her, which she is only able to visit on a Saturday. Jane discusses it in terms of 'achievement'; something she can say has learned about and has been a success and which she has total control over (providing she conforms to allotment 'rules'). Rather than seeing it as a sociable occupation, like Liz and Heather she suggests that 'I think that's why people come, to just grow their own, get away from their family life at home for a couple of hours and just do their own thing here'. Liz and Heather go on a Saturday morning when it's quiet, '... 'cos then you can work'. Bill appreciates the

quiet too and he adds 'magical' to his description of it, citing his 'end' of the plots as particularly one 'where you can get away from it ...'cos it's quite secluded'. Bill delights in the wildlife that accompanies the silence, describing the birdsong and the butterflies that he sees and hears as he cultivates his plot. The stillness of the space seems significant, and despite others being around, it is perhaps unwritten etiquette that people leave each other in peace.

In spite of allotments being regarded in some senses as work, the accounts of those with whom I spoke led me to believe that their time there could indeed be regarded as 'proper', as truly time for themselves (Nowotny, 1994). The allotments are a semi-public space yet one where it is possible to be intensely private in a mental or psychological sense. When engaged in the act of sowing seeds, weeding or clearing an overgrown patch, thinking and focussing particularly hard on an issue is possible without interruption. Might we relate this to the idea of the allotment as de Certeau's 'proper place', as an area from which to plan strategically? It is assumed by de Certeau that the subordinate would not have a place from which to organise to be 'strategic'. The allotments though, are a unique space, which, unlike the private or rented space of the private garden attached to a dwelling is one that is collectively worked, and, in a sense collectively owned. Where is it possible, for instance, to rent a piece of ground very cheaply that you can call your 'own'? This sense of collective 'ownership' seems very important. It is one from which political and social alliances can be built both within particular plots, across towns and cities, spanning eventually nations and continents. Allotments have in the recent past been spaces of diversity, sometimes rented by recent immigrants often to grow familiar produce unavailable generally in Britain. This ability to produce a proportion of one's own food using the fertiliser, seeds and pest control of choice has been an important statement for many concerned about its corporate cultivation, distribution and retailing. In common with the move towards buying from farmers markets, the popularity of the 'slow food' movement, and the switch to organic foods, the re-popularisation of allotments can be seen as a resistance to globalisation in the sense of its greater corporate control. The space of the allotments, then we might understand as a 'proper space' of the local state, one which, through the tactics of the plot holders, has become a 'proper space' of theirs.

There is a contradictory note in the discussions over whether allotment activities constitute 'work' or play. Many of those that I spoke to perceived it as both. Heather, while acknowledging that the tasks on the plot were difficult to fit into everything else they had to do, also cited the allotment as , '...like playing', and Liz follows on saying, 'Yeah, its like a big den'. Bill speaks of it in terms of 'being magical' thereby extending the idea of its difference from work. These descriptions bring to mind the idea of the allotment as a kind of magic garden where we can rekindle ideas of 'play'. Similarly perhaps, Michael likens it to the communal 'wash house' a sociable kind of place where he can socialise with his friends.

We can liken the boundary work necessary for producing the weekend to that required to distance oneself from the rest of everyday life. Jane's notion of preparing herself for the space of the allotment in her walk to it brings to mind the three stages of a Van Gennep's 'rite de passage', which were first discussed in an earlier chapter. The middle 'stage' is the liminal one, where things are different than in the everyday. The allotment plot could be understood as a kind of magical betwixt and between space where for a moment we can imagine we have 'proper' time in a 'proper' space. The liminal is one where the world for a brief moment is turned upside down; for the subordinate for once to have a proper place.

The allotment space is one where there are virtually no opportunities for consumption, in the sense of buying things with no 'use value' within its boundaries. Things such as seeds, tools and so on are bought, but there are very few items brought to the allotment that are superfluous to plant cultivation. Indeed there is a gift and exchange culture involving seedlings, vegetables, fruit, flowers, greenhouses, sheds and cloches which extends beyond this allotment to others in the city. This is not to say that new items are not purchased, but that it is not necessarily allotment custom and practice to do so. For instance, the sheds are generally those made from 'found' rather than 'new' wood, leading to an interesting 'ecological' aesthetic (although this has been less marked with recent plot holders). This emphasis on using 'found' materials orientates the space of the allotment once more into one which could be understood as resisting the logic of capitalism as well as a liminal space.

The idea of the allotment space as that in which one can be both ‘messy’ and one in which ‘control’ can be exerted was separately expressed by some of the allotmenters. Both of these ideas about the meaning of the allotment suggest that it, in some way serves as a space in which states of being which don’t seem acceptable at home are permitted. Being ‘messy’ at home is something which is not felt as being accepted, particularly by women. This reinforces the status of the allotment as a kind of liminal zone for being or having there, what is not possible at home.

For most people I met (Michael was retired and he still loved his allotment, but tended to go in the week as well) the weekend was linked symbiotically to the allotments. Without Saturday and Sunday ‘free’ to go to the allotment then there would be no future for the plots. The change in class take up is variable; it is a cause for concern that certain groups are to unable effect tenancy because of ‘flexible’ and weekend working. Without a shared Saturday and Sunday off, it is difficult to see how allotments and their anti-capitalist impetus would survive.

6.7.3 Insights about Method

Given that this was the first non-pilot study that I engaged in, decisions about method were difficult. I was reticent about approaching the people of Potato Lane and only did so through a friend who also held an allotment there. I was introduced to them on the allotments and made an appointment to meet a week or so later on the plots. On reflection this seemed a mistake. Early spring temperatures and wind made chatting relaxedly something of a problem. Rather than meeting for between an hour and an hour and a half, the conversation petered out after about forty minutes. I realised that formalising the meeting and suggesting their homes as a place to conduct the interview would probably have been more productive. I didn’t make clear the extent of the interviews partly because I was accompanied by a friend. This would have to be remedied when requesting meeting with the supermarket workers. I had also restricted the range of the conversation by clumsily restricting it to ‘the weekend and the allotment’. When reading later about ‘method’ in preparation for the next stage of research, I encountered the idea of autobiographical narratives as a means of beginning discussions. This seemed a useful way firstly to inaugurate discussion on a

subject upon which myself and the person with whom I would meet might be able to engage in meaningful exchange. It was a strategy I would employ in the next chapter of my research, which explores the weekends of supermarket workers.

The way in which I 'wrote' our conversations into the chapter format of this thesis was, too, a difficult task. I wanted to ensure that the voices of the people that I met were given appropriate respect, yet I also needed to shape an argument. Should I reproduce the transcription on to the page detailing the conversation as it unfolded, or should I attempt to weave words and synthesis into a more of a cloth than separate threads? The 'threads' approach seemed to be the method with which I managed to construct a meaningful chapter in terms of the allotments. This seemed adequate in the context of a first attempt at 'writing' the data. It also demonstrates the *process* of research, which is one an active one changing according to circumstance, including that of finding a more suitable form of expression. Following an appraisal of the threads approach, the more integrated 'cloth' of conversations and analysis was how I wanted it to read, which I would aim for in the following 'supermarket' chapter.

So in conclusion we can say that the weekend is recognised by all those to whom I spoke, most of them making a bridge to the weekend through some kind of event or time marker. Many of them spoke of the 'different' time of the weekend and the contrasting activities in which they participated on Friday nights, Saturdays and Sundays. The texture of their weekends included visits to the allotments, the frequency of which depended on the seasonal demands of their plots. The endurance of the allotment as a social space has depended on the 'free' time of the weekend. Many of the current plot holders needed the more flexible times of Saturday and Sunday in which they could 'fit in' going to the allotment. The way in which they described their time at there mirrored the ways in which we might describe the time of the weekend, in terms of 'play' and 'magic'.

The allotments are one of the few bounded social spaces, which belong to ordinary people. They might, therefore, constitute a proper space, (de Certeau) which through the 'tactics' of their residents has or could, become important strategic nodes in the response to corporate global domination. In the following chapter the same conceptual framework will be applied to supermarket workers and their weekends.

Chapter 7 - Working at Bettabuys

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is about the weekends of women and men who work in a supermarket in Salford, just outside the Manchester boundary. Let us call it 'Bettabuys'. The first section puts the road in an historical context, tracing its development from sparsely populated semi-rural location, through to well-known shopping street and residential area. Following this, its decline into dereliction and transformation from a neighbourhood shopping area with a significant night-time economy to a 'road-side' and the consequent redevelopment of certain parts into North American style retail parks, of which Bettabuys is a part. This section draws on the work of Augé on places and non-places to conceptualise the recent history of the road.

The second section of the chapter first of all introduces the sixteen interviewees from Bettabuys, initially through a simplified grid. The general structure of this part follows that of the allotment keeper's chapter. It focuses on the weekend, first of all discussing whether all those whom I interviewed recognised the weekend. The discussion went on to ascertain whether there were any specific routines, rituals or boundary work to produce the possibly different space and time we call the weekend and any which re-aggregated them back to the week. Further to this, we discussed the kind of activities that might take place at the weekend, whether they took place in the home, in the immediate area or away somewhere else. We also talked about in whose presence they 'did' the weekend, family or friends or both. Conversely, those who worked most weekends discussed what Saturday and Sunday were like and whether weekends in the middle of the week felt the same as having days off at the weekend. To some extent, the contributions of the people of the supermarket are conceptualised through discussions of their different temporalities and spatialities at the weekend, but further work on this will take place in the following analysis chapter.

7.2 Regent Road

7.2.1 Regent Road: From Place to Non-Place

Bettabuys is beside Regent Road, in Ordsall, Salford. Regent Road directly feeds the M602 Motorway and is therefore the main western arterial road into and out of Manchester. As traffic has increased, the road has been widened to form a dual carriageway. As Hillier-Parker (1986) put it, ‘The City of Salford is the western “gateway” into Manchester.’

The store is part of a retail park, on the edge of an area that contains a higher than average incidence of poverty, poor housing and crime. The UK Public Health Association reported that the ‘...Ordsall ward in Salford is the 12th worst council ward in the country for child poverty’ (Anon, 2002). Very close to Ordsall is the old dock area of the Manchester Ship Canal, which was busy with international shipping cargo until the 1970s. This dock area has been regenerated and re-named (making the association with leisure rather than work perfectly clear) as ‘Salford Quays’, a rather strange landscape of water, newly built apartments, The Lowry (cultural centre) and the Imperial War Museum (north).

Marc Augé (1995) describes ‘non-places’ as ‘spaces formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, commerce, leisure) and the relations that individuals have with these spaces’ (Augé, 1995: 94) and exemplified as the supermarket and retail park. This is in contrast to ‘Anthropological places’, which he describes as having ‘...at least three characteristics in common. They want to be – people want them to be – places of identity, of relations and of history’. They become that through their inhabitants, the things they do, the interactions with others and their memories.

We could understand contemporary Regent Road as a ‘non-space’, and compare it with its ‘anthropological’ past as a ‘living’, arguably diverse street which was produced through its social relations. Augé compares ‘anthropological places’ with the non-places of ‘the fleeting, the temporary and the ephemeral’ the former ‘never completely erased, the latter never totally completed’.

Contemporary Regent Road bears some comparison with the Roissy Airport departure lounge that Augé refers to. Like Roissy, which has little geographical relevance to the neighbourhoods of Paris except as a workplace for some of its residents, Regent Road itself has little benefit for the surrounding population and everything to do with being ‘the gateway’ from somewhere else into Manchester. It is a bleak road for pedestrians. Just as Roissy has become a hub for travellers and business people going from somewhere to elsewhere with no notion of the ‘lounge’ as place, so has Regent Road. It is a road the sides from which ‘anthropology’ has been all but erased. Salford has become the ‘roadside’ of this highway, an irony in that inner-city Salford has one of the lowest car ownerships in Britain. (City of Salford Unitary Development Plan (1995: 87:8.3) (Anon, 1995)

7.2.2 A History of Regent Road

In order that we may understand the transformation of Regent Road from place to ‘non-place’, it is useful to discuss its history and geography, from the early nineteenth century to the present. The area around Regent Road is bounded by the River Irwell in the east, Cross St. in the west, the railway in the north and the docks, now known as ‘the quays’ in the south. Salford, like its neighbour Manchester, experienced a massive growth in population during the mid-nineteenth century. In 1773, Salford had a population of 4 765. By 1801, this had risen to 13 611 and, by 1851, to 60 000 plus 21 000 in Pendleton and Broughton, areas which were made part of Salford in 1853 (Greenall, 2000: 1-2). People came to Salford and Manchester from, “...Lancashire and counties adjoining, and Ireland, with significant minorities of Scots, Germans, Italians, Greeks and Jews from Germany and (later) Eastern Europe.” (Greenall, 2000). In 1851, men over 20 tended to work in textiles, transport and warehousing and the building trades.

Just over a third of women over twenty worked outside the home and they were employed mostly in ‘textiles’ and in ‘domestic service and (as) washerwomen’, with a minority working in the clothing trades. Fifty years later, work for men over twenty centred on transport, ‘metals and engineering’ and ‘building and construction’, and for women over twenty on textiles, ‘clothing and footwear’, ‘domestic service’ and ‘chemicals’ (Source, 1851 Census and 1911 Census - Occupations of the People,

cited in Greenall, 2000: 4-5). Immigrants from other parts of Lancashire, Britain and the world worked in the area: in the mills adjoining the Irwell, the docks of the Manchester Ship Canal and the animal and meat industries around Water St, at the Manchester end of Regent Road. Women, as well as working in the mills, were employed in domestic service.

In response to this rise in population, a diversity of businesses grew up along Regent Road. The success of industrialisation and its emergent capitalism lay in encouraging domestic consumption as well as production, especially amongst the newly waged urban populations. As Lee (2000: xvii) proposes, ‘Thus we arrive at the simple and inescapable imperative of twentieth century capitalism: to ensure both the sufficient material means and the cultural desire within the population in general to enable this population to consume that proportion of goods that is roughly equivalent to the total net output of goods.’ Indeed, profits from the shops situated on Regent Road sustained the comfortable retirement of some of their owners. ‘William Timpson, a poor handloom weaver from Northamptonshire, built his villa at Kettering, so he said, from the profits of one shop in Salford alone, the branch at 88, Regent Road.’ (Greenall, 1974: 107)

As a means of researching the road, I looked at Kelly’s and Slater’s trade directories for 1895, 1922, 1940, 1951, and 1969 and their equivalent Ordnance Survey maps. These directories ceased after 1969, making equivalent research very difficult for the 1970s and 1980s. Extracts from newspapers compiled into local history ‘topic’ books have been useful in constructing a more recent historical narrative of Regent Road after 1969. (See Appendices One and Two for details and summaries of directory entries).

The ‘Slater’ and ‘Kelly’ directory entries enabled me to know who inhabited the street and what they did. Whilst we cannot be certain that the entries in Kelly’s Directory are businesses (those listed could be householders, for instance with ‘milliner’, their trade as listed, being carried out elsewhere). Tim Ashworth (librarian at Salford Local History Library) says we can be 99% certain that that the entries for the road are mostly, if not all, businesses, because Regent Road was a main shopping

street and much of the housing was in the surrounding streets (conversation with Tim Ashworth, June 2004).

There were fewer businesses in 1969 than there had been over the previous years of the twentieth century, although they possibly occupied the same number of premises. Some businesses moved within the area, but the general trend over ninety years is for less diversity in private businesses, greater consolidation by some and, by 1969, the growth of supermarkets. By 1990, there are no small businesses on the road (apart from pubs). Bettabuy's and similar big store retailers are by then situated in a retail park 'compound', replicating similar spaces throughout Britain.

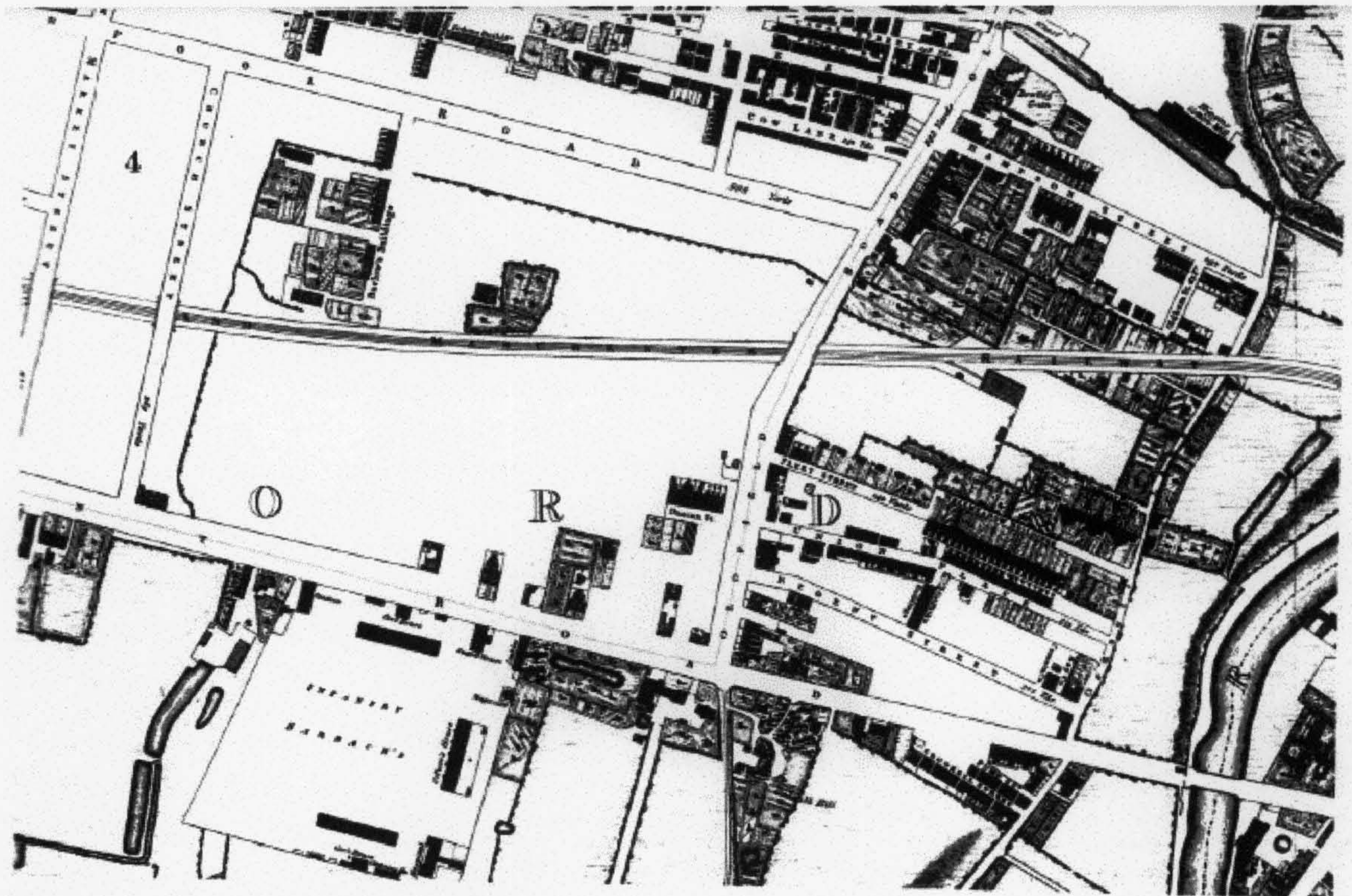


Figure 7.1 Map of Regent Road 1831



Figure 7.2 Map of Regent Road 1848

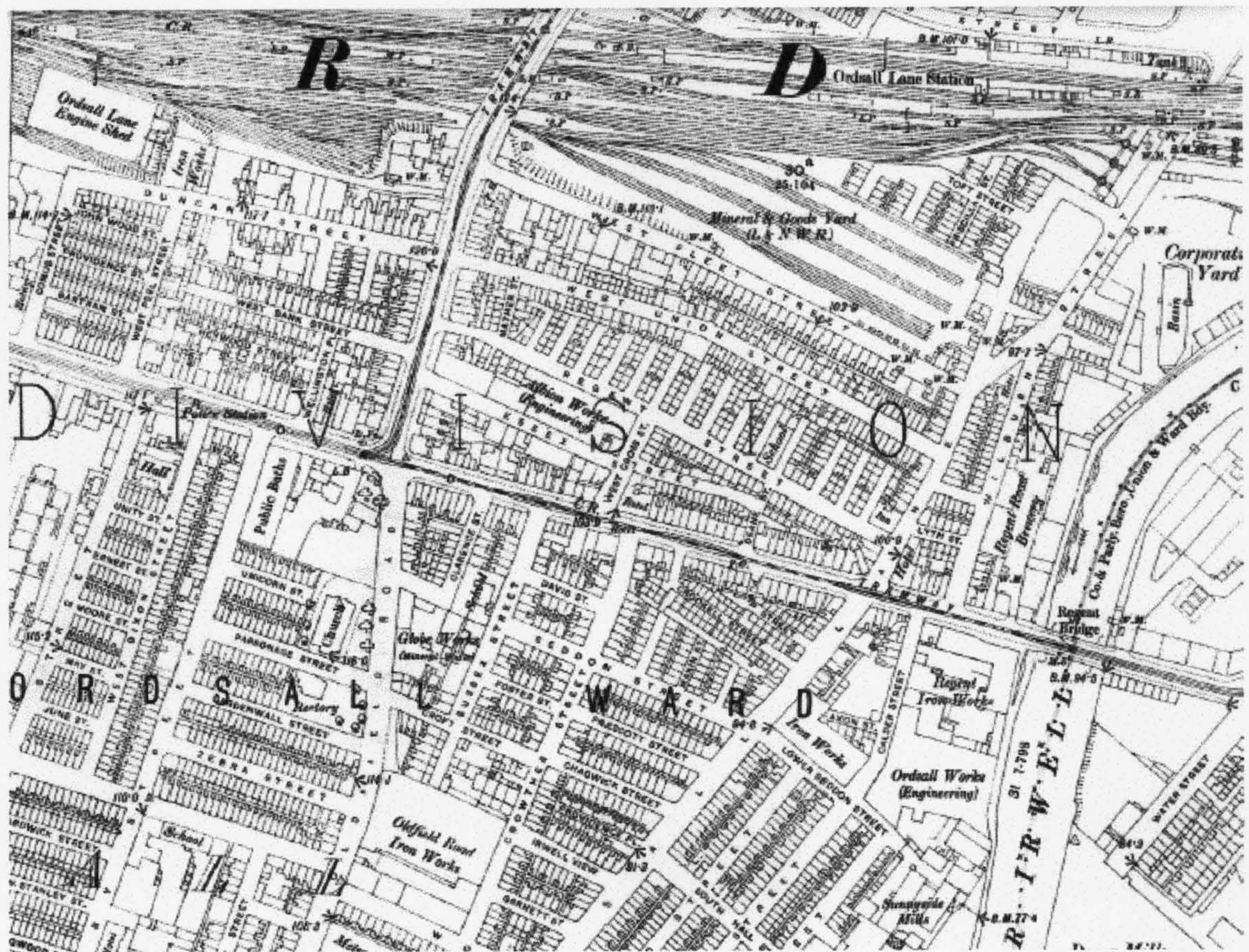


Figure 7.3 Map of Regent Road 1894

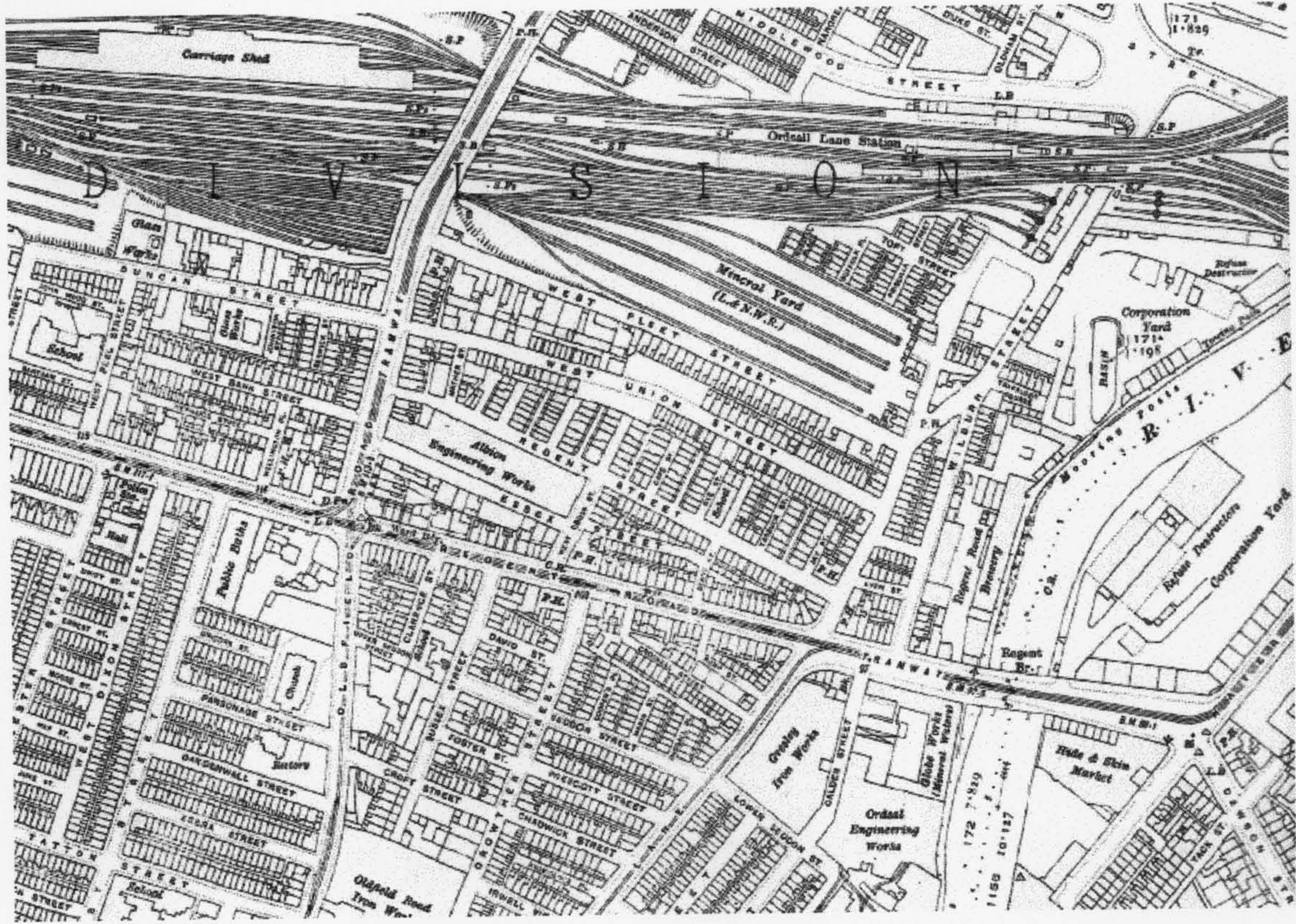


Figure 7.4 Map of Regent Road 1922

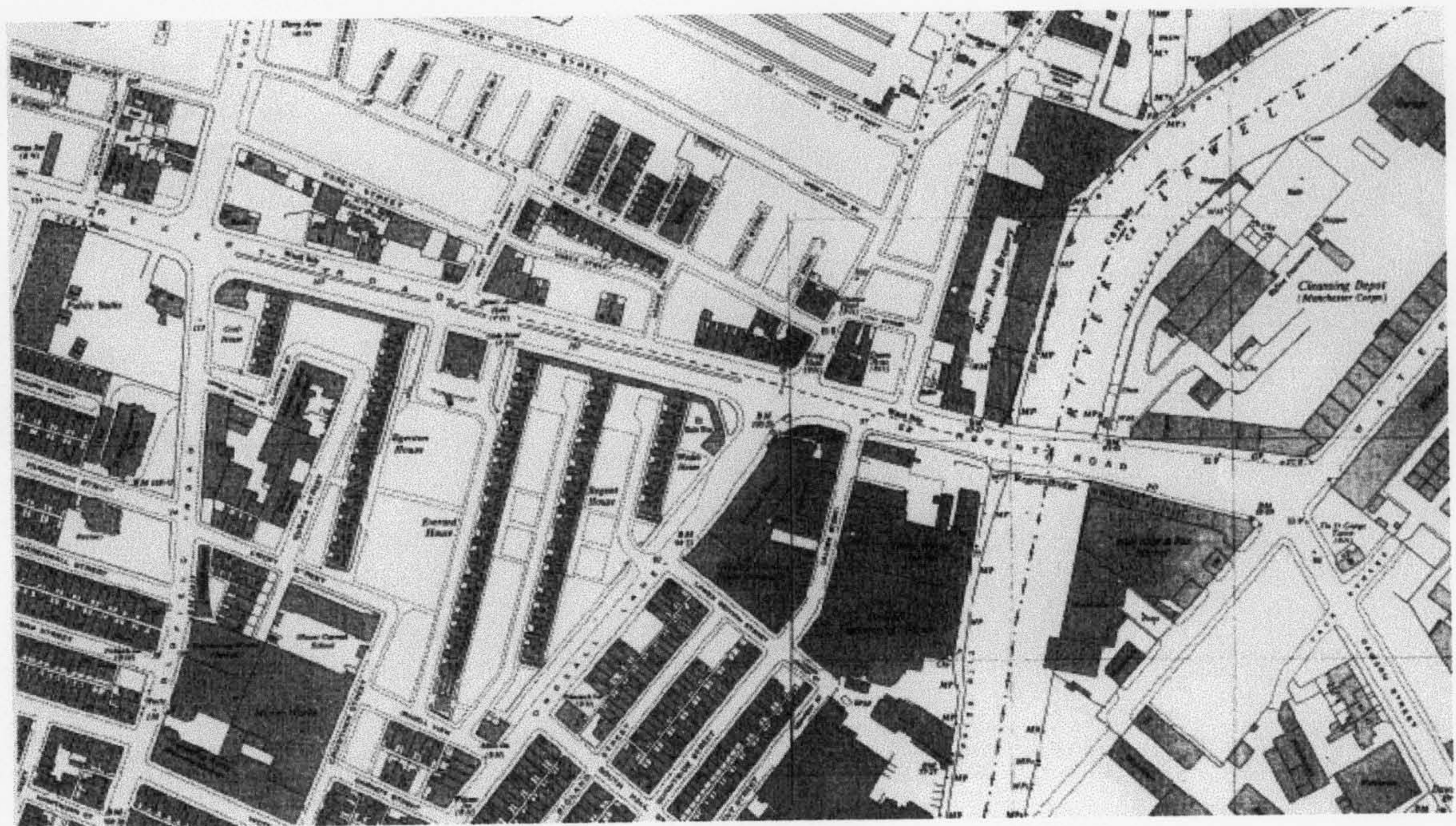


Figure 7.5 Map of Regent Road 1949/52 (two maps joined)

7.2.2.1 The Street in photos

The photograph collection of Salford Local History Library gives some idea of what the road looked like at various times. Although we cannot necessarily discern ‘the truth’ from such representations, they provide evidence of major historical events and latterly, a particular narrative of decline. Regent Road looked at its most busy and thriving in the photograph of 1907 (see Figure 7.6). There was much life in the street, whole animal carcasses hanging outside a butcher’s, children looking at the camera, a horse and carriage, tramlines and general hustle and bustle. The street of the 1950s (Figure 7.7) seems to be still busy and cars to some extent supplant the trams. There is evidence of Second World War bomb damage and subsequent demolition in some of the photos taken in the 1950s or 1960s coupled with the then fashion for ‘slum clearance’. By the 1970s (Figure 7.8), there is considerable evidence of decline, and despite the fact that some shops are still open, the end of Regent Road as a shopping street looks within sight. By 1985 (Figure 7.9), the dereliction has hastened, many shops have been demolished and a dual carriageway has been built (see Figure 7.10 for a more recent ‘development’). Other evidence also supports this narrative of decline.



Figure 7.6 Regent Road 1907



Figure 7.7 Regent Road 1959



Figure 7.8 Regent Road Shops 1975



Figure 7.9 Regent Road – Dual Carriageway and Larger Premises 1985



Figure 7.10 Regent Road – Industrial Buildings 1990s

7.2.2.2 Urbanisation on Regent Road

The growth of both business and population is evident in the number of entries in Kelly's Directory. In 1836, the number of entries was 46. There were some connected to the textile industry, such as Jas. Walch, cotton dealer, and Joseph Withers, dyer, and perhaps even Hannah Eyres, haberdasher. But there was also a school, run by Maria Neild, two brick makers, an artist and a rope maker. There were two pubs – 'The Wellington' and 'Duke of York' as well as a butcher, a brewer, a cabinet maker, a gardener, a gun maker and an infantry barracks. Great occupational diversity is evident and maps (Figures 7.1-7.3) show us that there was no continuous development along Regent Road as there was latterly in the nineteenth century. There is still evidence of the rural, such as 'Ordsall Hill'. The river Irwell has not yet been harnessed for its industrial possibilities and there are large areas of space adjacent to it. The infantry barracks takes up a large space along the south side of Regent Road and there is little evidence of the large scale housing or retail development that is revealed in later maps and directories.

In 1848, the Ordnance Survey map (Figure 7.2) illustrates the river as location for the Ordsall dye works. On the north and south side of Regent Road, for some yards after the bridge the area is beginning to 'build up' with streets, houses and shops which continue as far west as the infantry barracks. From there on a rural environment is still in evidence with almost no built environment and dwellings which suggest the country, such as 'New Barns' and 'The Grange'. Tomlinson (1974: 19) writes of Salford's rural heritage, 'As an old town, Salford developed for 700 years in similar fashion to many country towns which are now considered to be typical of rural England.' This is now difficult to believe, given the strength of 'industrial' narratives about the city. Also, '...the Eccles to Manchester (Liverpool Rd. section) of the Liverpool to Manchester Railway, which opened for traffic on 15th September, 1830.' (Gray, 1974: 72)

By 1894, Regent Road had undergone a dramatic change. Entries in Kelly's directory had reached 452, and this figure was to remain constant until 1969 (when the publishing of the directories ceased), despite property demolition, the Second World War blitz and business evolution. In 1894, virtually the whole of Regent Road had

shops, pubs and miscellaneous public buildings fronting it. The railway had added extra lines and there was an Ordsall Lane Station. A major tram line is shown on the 1894 OS map as running the length of Regent Road, veering off into various connecting side roads and into other parts of Salford, Manchester and Trafford.

The River Irwell south of the bridge has been colonised on the east side by Dacca Mills and on the west (southwards) by Regent Iron Works, Ordsall Works (engineering), Sunnyside Mills, Craven Iron Works, Liver Iron Foundry, Irwell Rubber Works, Ordsall Machine Works. Only yards from these 'works' were streets of densely-packed terraced housing. The Regent Road Brewery is situated adjacent to the bridge on the north side and there are even some 'works' situated amongst the housing, for example the Oldfield Rd Iron Works and 'The Globe' (Mineral Water works).

By 1922, the businesses along the road have proliferated to such an extent that it has become a shopping destination for Ordsall and beyond. Tim Ashworth (see earlier) pointed out that Salford has never had a centre, unlike Manchester, so district centres became paramount and shopping took place on three levels: first, the corner shop, providing for day to day necessities; second, Regent Road for the weekly shop and more specialised items; third, even more specialised shopping would be done 'in town', Salford residents' description of Manchester.

The 1922 map (Figure 7.4) shows little change from that of 1894. The Globe (Mineral Water) Works has been moved and houses have been built on the ground where it once stood. The Albion Engineering Works on both maps is located on the site where Bettabuys is now. On the maps of 1949/1952, the Dominion Theatre stands adjacent to the Gresley Works at the junction of Ordsall Lane and Regent Road and there is a space where once Albion Engineering Works stood. There is some evidence of 'reconfigured' housing around it. In December 1940, Salford was bombed. Ordsall was a particular target because of the docks and the Trafford Park Industrial Estate. Part of the space now occupied by the retail park was that which was bombed in the Salford and Manchester blitz.

The later photographs suggest a greatly changed landscape. The road is now wider, there are very few buildings lining the road and the housing is much less dense, demonstrating the amount of 'slum clearance'. The Bettabuys site is occupied by 'new' housing, and a shopping area called 'The Piazza' with a fountain at its centre. There is much more open, empty space on the map, which was presumably the planners' attempt at 'improvement'.

7.2.2.3 Changing Business Types

In 1895, businesses in the road ranged from herbalists to fried fish dealers, from pig salesmen to butter dealers, from tripe sellers to china dealers, from oyster sellers to bird dealers, as well as the more prosaic bakers and confectioners, tailors and greengrocers. At the Regent Bridge end of the road, there were businesses associated with the livestock market and hide and skin market at the junction of Water St and Regent Road. This, and the presence of a skewer maker, a cat and dog meat dealer and a musical instrument dealer illustrates the agricultural-related nature of some of the business of Salford. (Figure 7.11 from 1922 shows sheep on Regent Road Bridge).



Figure 7.11 Sheep on Regent Road Bridge 1922

On the site where Bettabuys is now, there were two butchers, a shopkeeper, a pub, Northampton and Leicester boot dealers, a confectioner and tobacconist, a baker and flour dealer, a boot and shoe maker, a shirt-maker, a surgeon, a draper, The British and Colonial Meat Co, The Consolidated Bank Ltd, a beer and wine retailer and a wringing machine dealer. 'Shipping Butchers' had been represented since 1922. Its proximity to the docks probably accounted for the location.

In 2004, Bettabuys attempted to perform the diverse functions of the many shops that had lined Regent Road and existed at least until the 1970s. However, it cannot in any real way duplicate the spatial practices engendered by the network of small businesses lining Regent Road. Zukin (1995: 205) writes of her childhood experience of a shopping neighbourhood in North Philadelphia, realising in hindsight that it was 'an outpost of urban Jewish culture'. Although Regent Road was, and is most definitely not as ethnically diverse as Zukin's street, the points she makes can be understood in its context. Eleventh Street, she says, '... reflect both the identity and the assimilation of an urban, secular, ethnic culture...yet the intimacy in a public space represented by a neighbourhood shopping street reflects more than the insularity of an ethnic community. It also represents the relatively small scale of social life that we associate with neighbourhood geography and the coherent social space of gender and social class.' The key words here are 'intimacy', 'small scale' and 'coherent social space'. The intimacy, conflict, networks and geography that created the space we know as Ordsall, made it work as a neighbourhood. Not all its residents would have welcomed the proximity of lots of people knowing your business; there was probably a lack of privacy. 'Difference' may have met intolerance. Nonetheless, Bettabuys as an organisation cannot reproduce this intimacy; it is large-scale, existing to sell things to make a profit for its shareholders. The design of the store facilitates quick movement through the aisles discouraging those who want to stand and talk. Decisions about the future direction of Bettabuys are made some distance from Salford, with no reference to the locale or even the region. We might call it 'disembedded' retailing, wholly removed from the neighbourhood in a way that earlier forms were not.

7.2.2.4 The Changing Scale of Businesses

The business organisation of Regent Road to some extent illustrates the social and cultural history of the neighbourhood, Salford, the north-west and the UK more generally. In 1895, the year with the highest number of listings, companies running 'chains' of shops rather than single ownership businesses became more common, although specialised retailers still dominated. There was a branch of the Co-op and of the Maypole Dairy (cited as a 'butter dealer'). There was a herbalist and several milliners and tobacconists. The public baths were an important amenity, since most of the surrounding houses would not at this time, have had hot running water or an inside toilet. Four banks were listed and, from 1922, five remained a constant presence in Regent Road until 1969 (and possibly beyond).

By 1922 the Co-op had expanded to four branches, now joined by Marks and Spencer and Boots the Chemist. Public services expanded to include a library and post office. The Electric Theatre was open in 1922 and 1940, becoming a cinema by 1951. Public Health becomes a concern in 1922 with Salford Corporation providing, amongst other services, a Child Welfare Clinic and a Tuberculosis dispensary. Salford Dance Palais and Hulme Boxing Club were on Regent Road in 1940, providing evidence of available popular cultural forms for those who had the money to participate.

By the 1940s, the numbers of each business are declining, but there is still variety. Local state provision of health services has expanded by this time. By 1969, the supermarket plays a significant role in the commercial life of Regent Road. Tesco Self Service Ltd for example is located here, as is Asda Queen's supermarkets. M&S Moneysaver Supermarkets (grocers) replaces Pendleton Co-operative Industrial Society. Kenton's Supermarkets Ltd (butchers) replaces the Regent Leather Company, grindery dealers. The latter's closure, and that of Richard Markendale and Company Ltd, Hide Merchants, suggests the demise of the 'Hide and Skin market', erasing the commercial references to 'agricultural' Salford.

The proliferation of supermarkets hints at the later decline of Regent Road as a shopping street, and the consolidation of many 'neighbourhood' shops into a few

superstores, of which Bettabuys is one. At this time, Pendleton Cooperative Industrial Society has renamed itself to become 'The Manchester and Salford Co-operative Society Ltd', and 'Manchester and Salford Equitable Co-operative Society Ltd', the former specialising in electrical goods, the first time in our directories. From the high point of four premises in Regent Road, 'the Co-op' has now declined to two.

7.2.2.5 The Gender Mix of Occupations

A large number of women were represented in the 1895 and 1922 directories. In 1895 we find female hatters, a hardware dealer, a watchmaker, a smallware dealer, a butcher, a newsagent and a furniture dealer. In the 1922 directory women pursued a variety of occupations, from Mrs Rosenthal, the tripe dealer to Mrs Wallis the hay and straw dealer and from Mrs Hewitt, the corn and flour dealer to the Misses Stirrup, stocking knitters. Interestingly, also in 1922, a 'Women's Social Club' is listed as well as a branch of the 'South Salford Women's C & U Association'. 1940 sees a large drop in the number of women (34) listed. As well as occupations such as tobacconists, confectioners and pastrycooks, women were also listed as the landladies of the many pubs on the road. This was wartime Regent Road, and perhaps women were more involved in work associated with war, such as dock work or working at Metropolitan Vickers on the Trafford Park Industrial Estate than managing businesses.

In 1969 only six women are listed, compared with the 1922 'high' of sixty-four: we can only speculate on the reasons. Perhaps in 1922, the deaths of many men during the First World War may have made it imperative for women to head businesses. The way in which capitalism developed may well have made it difficult for women latterly to finance a business, or in the institutional structures of growing 'limited companies' women could have been marginalised.

7.2.2.6 Entertainment and Leisure in Regent Road

There is some evidence of a growing 'leisure' infrastructure in the 'Electric Theatre', and the Dominion Theatre, later the Essoldo cinema (on the corner of Ordsall Lane and Regent Road). Andrew Davis (1992) suggests, on the basis of his interviews with Salfordians, that poverty constrained working class involvement in leisure before the Second World War. He cites Saturday night markets (e.g. Shudehill, Manchester) as having a twofold function. Firstly they were a source of cheap food (as it was sold off at the end of the night) and secondly as a cheap Saturday night out. Davies makes the point that,

Despite the rapid advance of commercialised mass entertainment industries such as the cinema during the early twentieth century, working class leisure was still firmly rooted in neighbourhood life. (Davies, 1992: 121)

He gives examples of dancing in the street in Ordsall, and cites evidence that, as late as the 1930s, Italian organ grinders from Ancoats toured Manchester and Salford districts : 'Street dances flourished in Manchester and Salford throughout the 1900s. The sight of dozens of young people performing polkas, waltzes and schottisches to music provided by Italian organ grinders was a common feature of the urban scene.' (Davies, 1992: 123). This localised leisure 'scene' with trips to Manchester perhaps on a Saturday night points to the place of Regent Road, with its many pubs and cinemas being important as a site of weekend evening culture. Anecdotal evidence supplied by the library, again referred to the vibrancy of its culture in the 1950s and sixties, with adjacent Cross Street also hosting a Saturday night market at one stage. In 2005 there is one pub left on the road, with no evidence of public weekend life except for the taxis ferrying people into Manchester City Centre.

It is surprising perhaps, that there was no mention of a betting shop in the directories perused thus far, until 1969 when Gus Demmy was listed as a 'turf commissioning agent' at no.174, Regent Road. Andrew Davies (1992) discusses the prevalence of street betting in Manchester, Salford and Bolton, an informal resistance to the legislation intended to prevent working class betting and the moral panic that accompanied it. Could it have been this that prevented much betting shop visibility?

The 1951 Directory relates that the 'Electric Theatre' is now renamed as a cinema. The Dance Palais is still on the road and so is a cycle dealer. New to the street is a Joe Gauntlett, a fishing tackle dealer and John Gibson, a 'tourist agent'. What may have been an Indian restaurant was located at No.28, Mohammed Udin's dining rooms. (All restaurants up until this time were listed as dining rooms.) Americanisation and perhaps a space for the youth is indicated in the Regent Snack Bar at no.291.

In 1969 there is an alteration in the naming of eating establishments, from 'dining rooms' to restaurants, and there is the first mention in Regent Road of a café. This suggests something of a European as well as a North American influence as there is also two snack bars, the invitingly named 'United Cattle Products Ltd' (UCP). snack bar, and 'The Griddle' snack bar. The café, predictably enough, is the 'Regent Café' and the only restaurant on the road is the 'Mother India', carrying on the tradition noted in 1951, of Mohammed Udin's dining rooms.

Leisure was more heavily represented in 1969, though it is one more reliant on consumption for private use. A gramophone record dealer is present as are F. Wilson and Fred Dawes, television dealers. Interestingly, these businesses still appear to be one person dealers rather than chains of shops (although there is a 'Dawes' chain today (2004) which deals in television and hi-fi.) At no.341, there is a rental/sales dealer 'Domestic Electric Rentals Ltd. – TV Sales'. Rex Radio is still there, though possibly diversifying into television. Three, or possibly four shops on the road selling televisions remind us of the British love affair with television. Since 1967 was the first colour broadcast, people may have been thinking about changing from black and white to colour sets.

Gibson's Travel Agency Ltd was here in 1969, carrying on from the 'tourist agent' of 1940 and 1951. 'Millets Camping Specialists' and 'Mathers Photographics Ltd' also have a presence. The former two give some idea of the greater regional, national and international mobility through package holidays abroad and camping in the UK, with associated photography an important family pastime. The car, by 1969, had changed forever the environs of Regent Road. As John Urry (2000) has written,

‘Automobility is a source of freedom, the ‘freedom of the road’’. However, that ‘freedom’ came at a cost to ‘anthropological’ spaces such as this one

7.2.2.7 Public Services

As well as spaces of micro capital in the form of shops, the power of the state was represented in the form of the army barracks, police station, and the police sergeant and inspector who appear to live at or adjacent to, the police station. The presence of the police continues throughout the directories researched. The emergent local state is embodied in Salford Corporation’s Child Welfare Dept, which, over the years from 1922, and later as the Welfare State is born, forms a significant frontage to the street. The public sector is emergent; there is a sub-post office, a main post office, a public baths, a police station, a public weighing machine and a free library which later becomes a ‘public’ library .

By the 1951 directory, the public health clinics and laboratories seem to have been reduced in scope, though the Children’s dept, the Welfare Food Sales dept, the ophthalmic clinic, and the School Dental Dept still operate. The upper floors of the Health Offices were to be used for a different purpose; in 1971 it was reported that they had been converted into ‘large family maisonettes... with four to seven bedrooms... for fifteen families’ (Bullock, 1998: 17).

Self-help organisations such as Friendly Societies, Salford Reform Burial Society and Provident Clothing and Supply appearing on the street at various points throughout the years researched seem to have to have left Regent Road by the time of the 1969 directory. The Salford Reformed Burial society for instance is replaced by ‘Bee-Hive Children’s Outfitters’ and the premises of the Salford South Labour Party have now been occupied by Peak Cleaners, dyers and cleaners. There is a seemingly reduced presence of public health services, most likely because diseases such as tuberculosis were by now rare and there was a growing tendency to centralise such services.

The move from municipal wash-houses to commercial laundrettes could be seen in 1969 in the occupation of no's.205, the 'Frigidaire Launderette' and 194, the 'Bendix Launderette', both named after manufacturers of white goods, presumably because the manufacturers thought vertical integration could make extra profit. This did not please local women, who when the Salford, Hodge Lane Wash House had its operating hours cut, protested with a petition to the council in July 1967, (Bullock, 1998: 5). Similarly, the women of Charlestown in the city gathered outside their Holland St washhouse in February 1969, to protest at its threatened closure. The arrival of more expensive and commercial, albeit modern washing facilities, which would eventually replace their diminishing communal and municipal ones was regarded with dismay by the demonstrators.

7.2.2.8 Later Years: Road widening and larger business premises

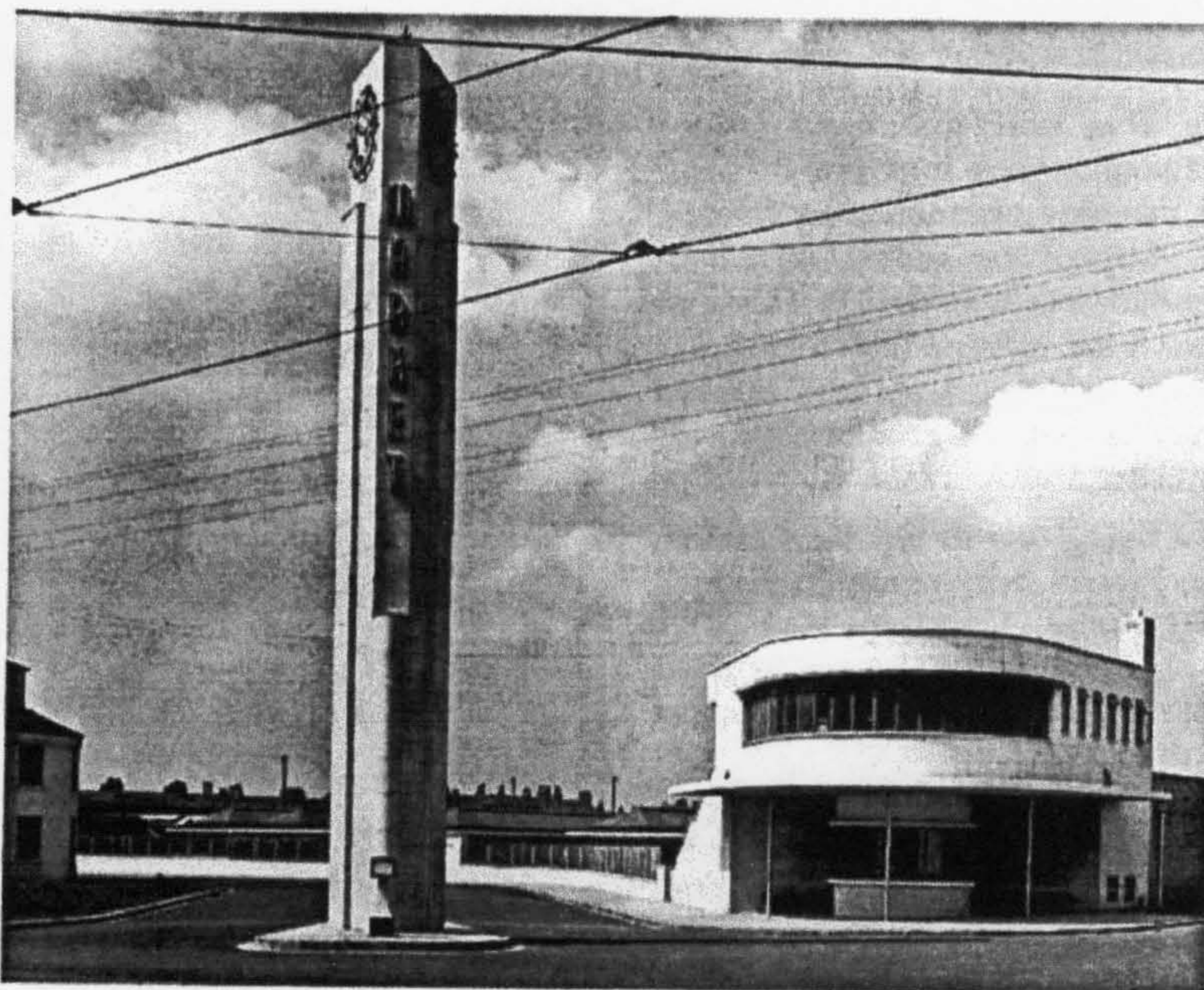
The neighbourhood of Ordsall was changing significantly in the 1960s. Large areas of terraced housing were being demolished and the days of Regent Road as a place to shop and socialise were numbered. Its days as a 'place' were numbered. However, this needn't have been the case, as Bullock reports (Bullock, 1998: 7), 'a massive redevelopment scheme is shortly to begin in Ordsall, involving 6,370 families housed in the 220 acre area. Salford's new policy of "re-housing on the spot" will be employed, ensuring that residents can have new homes in Ordsall and that the present close-knit community is preserved.' Given that many people were going to stay in the area, then it might have been an idea to also preserve their diverse shopping street and thus, their neighbourhood.

However the first moves toward an 'off' street shopping' area could be seen in the development of 'The Piazza' described in 1966 as a '...new shopping centre... open for business... at a cost of £126,000' (Bullock, 1998: 4). Whether owned by council or property dealer, this arrangement alters the ecology of the street for ever. The ownership pattern changes so that individual entrepreneurs find it difficult to afford high rents and other costs and so the destruction of a diverse shopping street with a purpose other than to make a profit continued. Paul Driver, who grew up in Salford

writes eloquently of these absences in the city, an absence which the ‘anthropological’ Regent Road was two decades later was to become.

Salfordians above the age of twenty five are habituated to the idea of ruin. Wherever they look, they see their familiar buildings corpsed. The roof beams are showing on the Bolton Road sports pavilion. Only the British Rail name-plate of yellow-bricked Pendleton station isn’t a squalid disgrace. The innocent park café is boarded up. Next time they look they find one of those increasingly common vacancies where signification used to be. It is not only individual buildings-which often as not is also to say buildings with individuality-are forever disappearing, but whole geographies have been erased from the landscape, every road and landmark swept away, to exist only in the invisible world of people’s memories or the publications of the local history society. (Driver, 1997: 293)

Regent Road began to literally and metaphorically crumble. Its success as a shopping street had lain partly in its proximity to Cross Lane (a street running off it) and its earlier livestock and produce markets. Cross Lane market hall was an innovative piece of architecture, reminiscent of the International Style, and opened in the 1930s (Flynn, 2004)(see Figure 7.12). The retail epicentre of Salford moved to the Pendleton Shopping centre, which was developed by Ravenscroft properties. Large companies being involved in the future of retail killed neighbourhood shopping. Local retail areas were now regarded as ripe for redevelopment by corporations for property investment purposes.



The entrance to the new Cross Lane Market in 1939

Figure 7.12 New Market Buildings at Cross Lane 1939

Hillier Parker (1986), in their 'Retail Study of Salford', came up with a number of interesting figures when undertaking this research to '...undertake...a realistic retail strategy for an improvement in shopping facilities in Salford, reflecting both the needs of its residents and the potential of the city...' They found that the City of Salford lost 14% of its residents between 1971 and 1981, much of it due to slum clearance. Ordsall was one of the areas which lost more than others. Inner city Salford (this includes the area around Regent Road) has a very low car ownership per household, 24.3% as compared with Britain generally, in which the percentage was 45.1% (Hillier-Parker, 1986: 12). This was ironic, considering that this part of the city was to be sliced into pieces by various roads. Regent Rd was eventually to be widened to a dual carriageway, all traces of neighbourhood shopping erased.

Retail expenditure in central Salford was cited as 'substantially below the national average' (Hillier-Parker, 1986: 14). The 'loss of some of the older retail floor space' is noted (1986: 19) and that both Worsley (an outer suburb of Salford) and inner city Salford (can't understand why they have been sectioned together in this context) 'could sustain more convenience shopping,...by a fairly large margin.' (Hillier-Parker, 1986: 23). Hillier Parker's recommendation for the provision of convenience outlets in Salford CB and Worsley/Swinton is this: 'Our economic assessment suggests that there is a substantial under provision of convenience outlets in two areas: Salford CB and Worsley/Swinton. We estimate that both locations could support superstore development – the number depending on size and location.' (1986: 45). Their prescription for Salford was more superstores of any time balanced by small speciality shopping developments of about thirty shops. There was little discussion of neighbourhood, which isn't very surprising since Hillier Parker are property developers. Four years later Sainsbury's opened on Regent Road.

This report, of course, did not hasten the decline of Regent Road. That was already happening. Despite the closure of shops, some pubs and clubs still opened during the 1970s, The Regency Club, for instance, in 1970, the Jazz Palace in The Gloucester Arms in 1971, the Ghana, latterly the Simo Club in 1973/74, and the Harem in 1974. As late as 1985, some pubs were refurbishing, such as the Park Royal (formerly the Globe). The weekend life must still have been hanging on by a thread. From the beginning of the twentieth century the market at Cross Lane and the shops on Regent

Road were open and providing a Saturday night out. There were plenty of pubs along the road, more than seem to be listed in Kelly's Directory. Richardson (2003: 41), in his study of the pubs of Salford, cites 33 being mentioned in the 1922 Ordnance Survey map. This was to decline until recently when only The Wellington is left. In 1982, Bullock (Bullock, 1998: 54-55) quotes that:

Last Wednesday, members of CAMRA, dressed in black and carrying a coffin down Regent Road, held a wake to mourn the loss of the pubs... [because] Salford council has won its battle to bulldoze seven of the few remaining pubs on Regent Road to make way for factory units.'

The Live and Let Live was allowed a reprieve until further road widening in the nineties. Bullock quotes that eight years previously:

Regent Road is slowly vanishing, as pubs, banks, clubs and shops of all kinds are demolished. Among the shops to go this week was the tobacconist's just before Cross Lane, where television personality Tony Wilson once lived. (Bullock, 1998: 35)

The destruction of the Regent Road was almost complete. In April 1984, 'Beau Furnishers, the last retail shop on Regent Road, closed its doors on Saturday after twelve years in the premises. All that is left is the Post Office, which is due to shut in the summer, when the whole row of elegant buildings will be demolished.' (Bullock, 1998: 61). The new warehouse shopping began in 1985, when 'Carpetworld' opened. The Regent Road Bridge over the Irwell was widened in 1988 and the whole road improvement scheme opened in July 1989. In August 1989, '... the last eight dockers employed on the Salford side of the Ship Canal left work for the last time.' (Bullock, 1998: 75). It was the end of an era, of Salford Docks, of Regent Road. Bettabuys opened in April 1990. Residents of the area have memories which represent Regent Road as a network of life, as a 'wonderful shopping area' (Lifetimes). They speak of the Penny Bazaar, the Kings Picture House and Essoldo Cinema, the Maypole Dairy, going to school there, sweet shops, the dance hall, Woolworths, fairs, churches, the 'monkey runs' (courting rituals for teenagers and those in their twenties), and one person who was 'nearly born in a queue on Regent Road' in 1918. By the end of the century Regent Road, is now a motorway from here to there, it and its side streets strangely empty of everyday local exchange.

7.2.3 Space, Place and Retail Parks

What is evident, is that that a ‘place’ called Regent Road was created, partly through the transactions that took place between the shopkeepers, the shop workers, and the men, women and children that grew up in industrial Salford and lived in the surrounding streets. From the space was created a place. A place is something which makes sense to us, that we may have helped create in some way. This is not necessarily to suggest that Regent Road. was an easy or democratic space/place to live in? Don Mitchell (2000: 215) draws on Foucault’s idea of heterotopia, which ‘understand(s) the world as a set of overlapping ‘heterotopias’ - spaces of multiplicity or spaces of difference. They are spaces that are *simultaneously* home to conflicting performances. And they are *utopian* in that they are not spaces of containment and control, but rather of experimentation, fluidity and disorder.’ Mitchell contrasts the Cartesian notion of space with the ‘place’ of heterotopia. ‘Cartesian space represents just that: *space*; and heterotopias can be understood as *place*, as the site we not only live *in* (or on), but which we make our own by investing them with meaning - meaning that varies by social and spatial position.’ (Mitchell: *ibid*) Regent Road represented the new industrial Salford, and through the thousands of transactions that took place daily, the place began to mean something to its various users. As Mitchell points out, the place is made through difference, through the co-existence of different worlds of gender, ethnicity, class or race. As these overlap, the place is made. A place would not be a place without difference. This is absolutely not to say that neighbourhood shopping spaces make for utopias. But they might make for neighbourhood rather than alienation.

The space of Ordsall has over the years been perceived/represented as ‘wild’ and ‘lawless’. That tradition continues in contemporary accounts. Greenall’s account cites a representation of the 1870s and 1880s (unfortunately not referenced by Greenall), ‘Manchester has its Charter St and Angel Meadow, and Salford has its ‘battery’, a name given to a number of intricate streets that are merely divided from the open and busy Regent Road. by a single line of shops...every house had its contingent of prostitutes, old thieves, cadgers and “bullies” and although the latter wretches were feared by their victims, they were evidently not exempt from the low, slangy chaff in which the females indulged’(Greenall, 1974: 108). He refers to this

area as being called the 'she-battery'. Engels refers to Regent Road by name in his account of conditions in Manchester and Salford.

The narrow side lanes and courts of Chapel Street, Greengate, and Gravel Lane have certainly never been cleansed since they were built. Of late, the Liverpool railway has been carried through the middle of them, over a high viaduct, and has abolished many of the filthiest nooks; but what does that avail? Whoever passes over this viaduct and looks down, sees filth and wretchedness enough; and if anyone takes the trouble to pass through these lanes, and glance through the open doors and windows into the houses and cellars, he can convince himself afresh with every step that the workers of Salford live in dwellings in which cleanliness and comfort are impossible. Exactly the same state of affairs is found in the more distant regions of Salford, in Islington, along Regent Road, and behind the Bolton railway. (Engels, 1987 [1845]: 100).

Retail parks such as the one which this supermarket inhabits are never completed seemingly; their very building structures are not that permanent and their occupation is of a 'revolving' nature. One day a 'travel hypermarket', the next a home and garden discount warehouse. The supermarket is more permanent. At the time of the study it had been there for 15 years, having opened in 1990. Even the chemist located on this 'park', when answering the phone has to relocate itself in Salford Quays, a place which is a couple of miles away. Their actual spatial identity is not 'placed' definitively enough in terms of the 'new' regenerated Salford, so they 'virtually' move it somewhere else. The site is bounded on two sides with roads; human exchange and movement is limited because of the space devoted to cars and their movement. The 'anthropological space' of Regent Road was erased in the 1980s, when it was thought that retail parks were the best chance of economic regeneration. Augé contrasts the 'organically social' of the place with the 'solitary contractuality' of the non-place, cites places as sites for building the social, while non-places prioritise individual transactions. The hegemony of the automobile means that for pedestrians to move between the shops without putting themselves in danger is almost impossible. This emphasis on car-parks and roadways means that there is very little room for standing and chatting, for passing the time of day, for creating some kind of meaningful space through which to construct new 'communities' and solidarities. Undoubtedly there is communication between the various social actors that use the park, but it is fleeting and from observation, confined to those without children. Making sure they are safe in those kinds of environments may preclude focussing attention on anyone else.

Non-places are produced as a result of the disembedding of social relations. If we consider the shops on the retail park, for instance, they are owned by corporations, often with global interests. They have little interest in the place as place, but in location as profit, whether for production or consumption of goods. The supermarket is not an easy place to be sociable, although there is a café. The workers for instance, while encouraged to be polite to customers are not advised to have conversations, either between themselves or with customers. The slogan, particularly on the counters that sell fresh food is ‘Don’t lean, clean’! Despite this entreaty there is social solidarity amongst most of the workers I spoke to.

7.3 Bettabuys

The store is adjacent to a large car-park and to the left of its entrance is a row of other shops. Bettabuys has the longest opening hours of all the shops. It opens on Mondays to Saturdays from 8.30 am-10pm and on Sundays from 10.30 am-5.00 pm, the only day it is closed is Christmas day.

7.3.1 The Interview Method

On the advice of the store manager, the staff interviewed were contacted at random, on a walk around the shop at different times of the day and on different days. This method was designed to introduce me to as many different shifts of workers as possible, and hence the broadest spectrum of possibilities and experiences. It was a rather odd experience - wandering around the store, ‘picking’ people with whom to talk at a later date. Most people were generous with their offering of details for contact at a later date. One month, a letter and phone call later, the conversations took place in the function rooms (occasionally the bar) of a local hotel, provided generously by the manager for a nominal charge. The conversations generally lasted about an hour and were generally fitted in around the shifts of the supermarket workers.

The details of the age of the workers, their gender, number of children and whether a student, a part-time or a full-time worker are indicated below. The interviewees are identified by pseudonyms.

Name	Gender	Children	Ethnic Origin	Degree	Under 20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50 +
Cath	F	3						#	
Maria	F	3						#	
Holly	F								#
Joyce	F	2						#	
Pam	F	2					#		
Mark	M	1		X			#		
Jasmin	F	3		XX			#		
Sarah	F			X			#		
Stephen	M	2							#
Gav	M				# (S)				
Emma	F			X		#			
Max	M					# (S)			
Katie	F					# (S)			
Kelly	F	1				#			
Judy	F	2					#		
Dave	M			X		# (S)			
<u>Note on Ethnic Origins</u> These have been recorded but are withheld so as to protect anonymity.					<u>Other Details</u> (S) indicates student X indicates Graduate XX indicates two first degrees				

The date of first contact was in early December, Bettabuys' busiest season, during which all workers' leave was forbidden. I decided to suggest to possible group members that we meet during mid-January, and meetings were arranged at their convenience.

The generosity of the people I spoke to was amazing. They made time for me, a complete stranger to them, took me seriously when I phoned them at home and mostly met me as arranged, spending as long as two hours talking with me on

occasions. Some even met me at their homes, brewing up and making me feel welcome. I had initially considered inviting people to my house to talk with them, but realised that the conversations would then have been on my territory, on my terms. More neutral territory was needed, and the solution, suggested by my daughter, was to arrange the meetings at a hotel near Bettabuys. The manager and staff were very helpful and a private room was provided for most of the meetings.

The meetings generally lasted for between one and a half and two hours and were recorded onto mini-disk. None of the interviewees objected to being recorded and were happy to give permission for the results to be publicly available, after having had the possible contexts of publication outlined. I met with each person once, except for a case where an interview had to be continued at a second meeting. In contrast to the previous set of conversations I had had with those who cultivated allotments (Chapter 5), I decided to include questions about their life history, as I felt it might throw some light on the main focus of my research. This was a very useful strategy as it aided my understanding of them and their lives and their weekend ‘history’.

As in the previous chapter, there were three areas in which I wanted to ask questions about the weekend. Firstly, since weekend working is ‘the norm’ in the retail sector, do those who work in different configurations of days on and off, recognise the *idea* of the weekend given that they are generally working on Saturdays and Sundays? Secondly, how are boundaries between the week and the weekend produced? Thirdly, working or not working, what would the interviewees generally do at the weekend?

First, however, it is useful to examine the employment contracts of the Bettabuys staff, as these are very important in shaping the weekends of the interviewees.

7.3.2 Contracts and the weekend at Bettabuys

Since the deregulation of the working week in 1994, workers in the retail sector are expected to work at the weekend. As I write, Sundays at Bettabuys are voluntary; incentives to work then are made through a small ‘Sunday Premium’. That ‘premium’ was double the hourly rate until 2003 when a new contract was

negotiated. The employers paid several hundred pounds to each worker who signed the new contract and awarded them a five percent pay rise overall (compared to only two-and-a-half for those who remained on the old, 'flexible' contract), but a cut in the premium rate. The new contract was a fixed, rather than the 'flexi-hours' contract which, by all accounts, both employers and most workers found anarchic; no one really knew what they were doing from week to week. The 'fixed hours' contract meant that workers who had no management responsibility would know their hours more consistently. It perhaps also meant that it would not be as easy for workers to refuse to work weekends through choosing their flexi-time, as Saturday working would generally be included in their initial contract.

The downgrading of the 'specialness' of Sunday rates seems to have a couple of implications. Firstly, workers may not see the financial benefit of working on Sundays, given the lower hourly rate and, secondly and more ominously, Sundays may not be regarded as voluntary henceforth. This introduction of new contracts at Bettabuys echoes the research of Rubery et al., which suggests that:

...there is evidence of a move towards a new 'temporality' based on an employer-led model of working time organisation which differs significantly from both the traditional UK system of working time regulation and that found in Continental Europe. (Rubery *et al.*, 2005: 1)

They suggest that such changes mean that the employment relationship is altered in favour of the employer, and an increasing tendency 'to reduce, eliminate or evade premia payments for additional and unsocial hours'. Bettabuys, for instance, opened on Boxing Day in 2003 and one of its other branches opened on Christmas Day. No one was forced into work; those that went 'chose' to do so, but some interviewees see this as the 'thin end of the wedge'. Pam expressed her feelings about unsocial hours:

It [Bettabuys] was open Christmas Day, which to me is a joke and it didn't do great, but it did not bad. It's going to happen, where we're all going to be open eventually, so we're not even going to have, never mind weekends, we're not even going to have Christmas and New Year. And it'll end up when they start taking on new people, they'll be contracting them to work New Year's Day, Christmas Day and Boxing Day. Cos it'll end up (like) that, I know it will.

When asked how she felt about that, Pam replied, 'Really mad, 'cos we have a *life*.'

Full-timers at Bettabuys work 39 hours per week; part-timers anything up to this number of hours. Part-timers, although contracted to work, say, nine hours a week, may work far more than that. For employers this is useful, since it means the work gets done, but at the lowest possible cost. Paid holidays, for instance, are pro-rata of contracted hours, rather than the hours actually worked.

The store is open from 8.30 am – 10.00 pm every day except for Sunday when it's open from 10.30 am – 5.00 pm. Those that work on the fresh food counters especially, often have to be in at work much earlier than this in order to prepare. For example, Maria works every Sunday from 6am – 2pm. She says, 'Yeah, basically on a Sunday I do two people's jobs don't I? I have to do the creaming room, the back side of it, filling the doughnuts and that.' Holly explains what the 'cream room' involves, 'It means like creaming everything up, you know like sponge cakes and things like that, doughnuts and we've got to fire the doughnuts up as well.' There are premia for working late nights and Saturdays, but these too are gradually being eroded. Maria's experience demonstrates that Sunday workers suffer doubly, both working on a Sunday and having to fill in for those who don't. There is what we might call a 'choice' about whether to work on Sundays, but for most who do work then, there isn't a choice but a financial imperative, as Maria makes clear. '...I'm working for that extra bit of money, because if we didn't work weekends we'd just be on a pittance.'

The subject of contracts was one the group returned to, again and again. This was, in part, due to the then very recent re-negotiation of contracts in 2003. Strangely, given the stress on 'flexibility' in employment contracts, the Bettabuys version had moved back from 'flexible' to fixed contracts. From the accounts of the interviewees, it is clear that contracts are a complicated issue. It appears that there were many different versions of the 'flexi' contract which many of them 'sold' back to Bettabuys.

Max, in his account, describes the 'flexi' as meaning that:

...as long as you gave them the times you could work, and as long as it was within that, they could have you working when they needed. And at times you couldn't plan anything for the future, because you wouldn't know more than two weeks in advance when you were working...

Max swapped to the new fixed contract because he wanted to be able to plan his social life more than two weeks in advance. Maria reiterates some of Max's points, explaining the need for employees to be careful when first giving Bettabuys notice of the times within which they were prepared to work. She explained the process of 'flexing up' (phrase used by the manager, not necessarily in this context.) 'When you start there, they give you a piece of paper to fill in, saying what hours you're willing to work between, so you fill it in and they've got you there.' Maria gives an example of 'flexing' when she was meant to have a particular Saturday off. 'I've had a row with my husband this weekend, because I'm working this weekend on a Saturday to cover for someone who's off on holiday, which isn't fair because it should be my Saturday off.' Holly, her friend and workmate says, 'I told her, she should have said no, really.' Maria replies, 'But they can do it to me because of the flexi-contract'. Maria has stayed on the flexi-contract for the extra money on a Sunday, whilst Holly has opted for the move on to the new fixed one. Maria hasn't had a weekend off (apart from holidays) since she started at Bettabuys three years ago. Most people I talked to thought the move to fixed contracts was a good idea. Not knowing from week to week what shifts they may be working makes for a disorienting and chaotic timetable. Mark says, 'I was happy to be on fixed, then you know when, you know when you're in.'

Emma gives an insight into the reasons for Bettabuys changing their contracts. When asked 'How could you bend the rules?', she replied:

Because it was 'flex-time and the schedule changed from week to week. You had to sign to agree to the hours because I think they put them up two or three weeks in advance, so you had to check like you weren't doing something, like you could've been going to a christening, or doing this or doing that, so two or three weeks in advance you'd have to sign to say 'yeah, I can do those.' But if you didn't sign, they couldn't make you do them, so you could come in a couple of hours earlier or a couple of hours later and there wouldn't be much they could do about it.

There is also, perhaps an element of unfairness in that some people do not work weekends. Stephen and Emma have a Monday to Friday contract. Stephen has no idea why this is, but Emma has bartered for hers. She took on long-life code checking, which no-one else wanted to do; in return she got an 8.30-5.30 shift from Monday to Friday, with weekends off, unless she chooses to do overtime. When I

asked her whether she thought the idea of the weekend still had currency, she replied, 'Yeah, but the ones who don't get a weekend are very jealous of the ones who do, so I think there is a big importance to it.'

One of the fissures which is beginning to open up in society generally, is between those that have weekends off and those that don't. As Rubery et al. conclude, about such workplace temporal organisation and regulation,

This model (employer led) based on the notion of free individual workers, unconstrained either by domestic commitments or their own requirements for a personal life - is increasingly at odds with the needs of advanced societies as the shift towards dual earner households consolidates.' (Rubery *et al.*, 2005: 27)

Cath, a recent recruit of Bettabuys, emphasises the role of the contract in capturing the weekend of potential workers,

...when you go for your interview, you're offered the job, but if they want you to work weekends they stipulate your Saturday, Sunday, and ah, if you don't want to work Saturday (and) Sunday, you don't get the job.

Recently, Tesco, the supermarket chain, who, *The Observer* report '...make £4.4 million profit per day' began to pilot a scheme to abandon sick pay for the first three days of any illness in an effort to '...stamp out the sickie once and for all.' (*The Observer*, 16.05.04: 4). So not only is the idea of unsocial hours being abandoned, the reality of being ill is now called into question by Tesco, the supermarket making the greatest profit. (Incidentally, Bettabuys is not part of the same chain.) Presumably this is part of Tesco's drive to maintain its pre-eminence in profit-making. As GP Naomi Craft put it, in a headline the next day, 'Face it, people do get ill.' (*The Guardian*, 18.05.04: 10)

7.3.3 Recognising the Weekend

There was general recognition by the interviewees of the weekend as 'collective' time off on Saturday and Sunday, weaker or stronger depending on family patterns of work and leisure and whether and for how long the interviewee might have worked at the weekend. There was a gender and possibly an age determinant here. Attending to the needs of their children certainly defined some of their weekends to some

extent, as did their enjoyment of their children's company, depending on the ages of the children and whether they had someone to share childcare.

The idea of a two day rest and recreation period, although not necessarily on a Saturday and Sunday, was experienced in their country of birth, by workers who had emigrated here in the last ten years. Jasmin, for instance, emphasises the sociable and relaxing nature of a weekend in her country of birth in the 1960s and 1970s:

..and Friday all restaurants are open, all of them, because Friday, most of the people they want to have a rest and enjoy themselves. They go out for lunch, for dinner and um, especially during the winter, but in the summer they can go for (a) picnic outside. They used to cook for example; maybe there are six families or more, but sometimes maybe just two of them. They prepare everything and they invite other guests....They cook rice, everything.

Jasmin goes further in emphasising the importance of the weekend:

Even...when, as I say, it was war in my country...the weekend was the weekend...

Weekends for Jasmin, now, are not so socially significant. She and her husband and children came to Britain in the mid 1990s. With their savings, life in London was generally good. Jasmin was able to get work with companies connected with her birth country, bridging the gap between these jobs with part-time work in a shop on Oxford Street, selling chocolate. The family could afford to go out at weekends. She says:

In London, London, yeah for example, on Sunday we could go to Brighton, Southend, it was very close to London and we could enjoy [it]. It was one day we could go with our friends, two or three families together, or um, Hastings. It was very nice. I like that Hastings.

Jasmin works at Bettabuys now on a Saturday, and occasionally on a Sunday. When I asked, 'So does the weekend mean anything to you now?', Jasmin answers 'No, because there is not any difference between the weekend and the other days. I have to work...'

Mark arrived in Manchester from his birth country as an adult to be near two of his brothers who were already living and working there. Mark remembers the role of weekends and of attitudes to working at the weekend in his birth country. 'You can't just force someone to work on Saturday and Sunday. It is for them [the] weekend;

relax, sit at home, just go [for] drinks...’ Mark works from 4.30 pm to 12.30 am on Sunday to Thursday one week and then has the weekend off the following week. So, for most weekends, he works at least one day. Mark has a little boy of school age, who because of his working hours, sees him less than he would like. I asked him, ‘How about your little boy. Do you miss him at weekends?’ Mark answered resignedly, ‘Yeah, but I mean, that’s the kind of life we live.’ Jasmin had a similar phrase to describe the situation that she and her family find themselves in, ‘That’s the life’.

Cath, a single parent with two sons and a daughter, has worked at Bettabuys for eight months is also emphatic about her weekends, even though she works some of them. I asked her, ‘So are the weekends something special to you still?’ Pam, ‘Ooh yeah [most emphatically], like Christmas. [We laugh] I love my weekends with the kids.’ She goes on, ‘When I have a full weekend off, that’s extra special.’ When asked what the weekend means to her, Maria replies, ‘Work, just basically work.’ Maria and her friend Holly, who spoke to me together, both laugh when asked this question) She explains further, ‘Years ago I never used to work weekends, but since coming to Bettabuys, basically I’ve worked every weekend unless I’ve been on holiday.’ (Maria has worked at Bettabuys for three years.) For Joyce, weekends in her birth country as a teenager were a social event when she could meet up with friends in the local town. She emigrated to Manchester in the 1970s to be near her fiancé. They later married and had children and weekends at this time became a matter of attending to the needs of the children as her husband was in constant demand as a builder, even on a Saturday and sometimes on a Sunday. Pam contrasts and regrets her pattern of working now, and its implications for her current weekends, with her free weekends when she, her husband and two daughters go camping. Weekends now, Pam says, ‘...mean nothing, weekends mean nothing to me now. Things get stuffed up.’ On weekends away camping, which she and her family used to do regularly, she describes how she feels, when asked what they meant to her, ‘Freedom, freedom, all the way, just doing what you wanted...’.

Sarah, who, before doing a degree and entering a nine-to-five job, spent some years in the hotel and catering trade after leaving school, started at Bettabuys in 2002 after spending some months travelling in Australasia. Before she signed her contract,

Sarah stipulated that she should have two days off together in the week as well as Sundays and that she would work thirty hours. She works a late night on a Saturday, so doesn't have sociable Saturday nights, '...normally, Saturday night I don't do much, like I don't go out much, like I don't like places that are totally crowded, you know, pubs and things..' Sundays, however, are significant. She says, 'I think I would probably just count Sunday as my weekend.' However, when asked about the connection between the weekend and 'time for herself', Sarah replies that there is no connection, '...unless it's to do with meeting up with friends...'

Max, a university student, is an enthusiastic worker at Bettabuys. His father's job brought the family to Manchester and has entailed permanent night shifts (including most weekends since he started). Consequently, the weekend has less significance for him than for some of the other interviewees. For many of the students interviewed the week was their significant time for going out because of the cheaper student nights at clubs. Hence, Max considered the weekend not to be a particularly special time. I asked him, 'And how about weekends when you were young. Did they have a particular significance?' Max answered, 'Um, just time off school really, just time to watch TV or play on the computer.' When asked a similar question about his weekends now, he answers, 'Nothing special. It's just time I get off uni' now. If I do go out, it doesn't tend to be at the weekend anyway' Whilst not feeling the weekend 'impetus', he does say later that it is a time when he can do things not possible elsewhere in the week. Emma, a student until fairly recently, worked all through university at a different branch of Bettabuys. She has worked for the company for seven and a half years, most of that time working at least part of the weekend. Going out at the weekend was so important to Emma that she would risk feeling terrible in work on a Saturday. She says:

I don't think I've ever I don't think the fact that I've got work in the morning has ever deterred me from going out.... I hate going on tills, I really hate going on tills. But when I'm hung over I'm the nicest till person there is.

The significance of the weekend is equally keenly felt by Katie, who, after two years working in a solicitor's office, became a university student, and when interviewed was in her final year. During her time in a nine-to-five job, she explains how she and her friends would live for the weekend. When I asked what that meant, Katie replied, 'Um, I don't know, it's just something to look forward to, like on a Monday morning

it's like four days 'til Friday. Like every Friday, I'd get an email saying 'It's Friday, it's Friday', off my friend at work.'

Stephen has worked at Bettabuys for around eight years. Until recently, he worked on Saturdays, but the newly negotiated contract has meant he has the whole weekend off as well as Friday afternoons, since on his working days he works from 5:30am to 1:30pm. He has always had Sundays off, doesn't practise any religion, but considers Sunday to be a special day, saying, 'You'll... never get me to work a Sunday. Bloody hell, some things are sacred, God.' In the summer, Sunday is the day Stephen goes out with the scooterists from the Salford Knights' club.

For college student Gav, the weekend means significant time with his friends and a period in which he can relax. When asked what the weekend means to him, he says, 'Well that's like my resting period for me, like. That's when I meet up with friends as well, but that's a day for me where I can just relax more and know I'm not doing anything the next day, so, could stay out later, could hang out more.'

7.3.4 The Week-Weekend Boundaries

Since the decision was made to broaden the conversations with the interviewees out into stories of their life, rather than only their time at Bettabuys, we often discussed their weekends while at home with their parents, or when they had left school, or when their children were small. For those whose weekends are most significant, their memories of how their weekends began at most stages of their life were very clear.

As with the allotment interviewees, there is some element of ritual involved in the beginnings and endings of the weekend, most clearly marked in those whose weekends are particularly important or significant in their lives. Van Gennep has articulated the three stages *rites de passage* as separation, margin or limen and re-aggregation. Turner (1987:25) interprets Van Gennep's research thus, 'Rituals *separated* specified members of a group from everyday life *placed them in a limbo* that was not any place they were in before and not yet any place they would be in, then *returned* them, changed in some way to mundane life'. Whilst 'modern' ritual

may not have such distinct phases, this framework is a useful one for understanding the relationship between the week and the weekend and the significance of the latter.

In many of the interviews, not only those from Bettabuys, television is significant in signalling the beginning of the weekend, especially the Friday night scheduling of Channel Four, an almost single genre flow of comedy which provided an inkling of the kind of time and place the weekend is supposed to be. Emma, for instance, whose family were Jehovah's Witnesses, would attend the Kingdom Hall on Friday night. There would be a meeting which they would sit through and then be expected 'to associate with everyone afterwards'. She and her sisters though, '... were always saying, "can we leave before the end, can we leave before the end? Cheers is going to be on in fifteen minutes"' Emma identifies watching Cheers as the beginning of her weekend, 'We'd always get chippy chips in, and watch Cheers on a Friday night.' When she was at secondary school, having chippy chips alternated with 'this pizza deal at Asda.' every Friday night. This meant a significant transition replicated across the UK, from the sociability of supporting the local chip shop on a Friday night and celebrating the start of the weekend, to a 'private' transaction in a supermarket with multiple shops and global connections disembedded from its immediate locale.

Chips were a feature of Judy's Friday night, too. Her grandmother used to look after her at the weekends because her mother and father managed a social club in which children were not allowed. Friday nights were 'chippy nights' when she and her gran would get fish and chips for tea.

The experience of weekends as young adults centred more on socialising with friends and venturing out into the world. Katie, who spent two years after school working in a 9-5 job in an office, remembers how important weekends were and that there was a very definite starting point. Katie remembers thinking on a Monday that it '...was only four days 'til Friday'. Sometimes her weekend started on a Thursday and she remembers the trouble getting in late to her house then, because,

...I slept in the attic, so I'd have to creep around, have to make sure when I got to the gate that I'd closed it, and the cats'd start miaowing and jumping around on the piano and things and I'm like 'oh no'. So it was, I don't know, it's just yeah it was, it was definitely the weekend.

She knew she was pushing the boundaries of the weekend back to Thursday rather than Friday night, compromising her ability to work the next day and also redefining herself as an adult by staying out late and disturbing her family on a weeknight. Most weeks though, her weekend would start on a Friday morning, when her friend would send her an email reminding her.

Gav's weekend begins on a Saturday evening. Friday evening is still part of the week because, '...on Friday I know I've got to wake up the next day 'round seven o' clock (and) get ready for work. So my weekend would probably begin (at) around six o' clock on a Saturday'. For the rest of the week Gav is studying at college and it is only when there is no prospect of work the following day, does he feel able to think himself into the weekend, which he does during Saturday afternoons at Bettabuy's. 'My starting point is around, after five. Like on Saturdays my shift can vary, but I like to just get it over and done with, out of the way, so then I've just got the rest of the night to myself.' The weekend for him is about his friends and the night, 'I just come out at night, not during the day, just meet up at night'. Around four o' clock on a Saturday afternoon he just '...can't wait to get outta there' and thinks about, 'What am I going to be doing tonight, which one of my friends will be around, just basic stuff like that.' At 'around half three I go for my break, at half three, that's when I think the weekend's kickin' in, just got one more hour.'

For those workers who had worked whole weekends for several years, beginnings and endings of weekends just didn't really mean anything,. Because there is no week/weekend boundary, there is no boundary 'work' for them to do. They have days off in the week, but these don't form the same 'symbolic time-space' that the weekend does. Maria and Holly explain why they can't participate in the kinds of activities that might represent the gateway to the weekend. Holly comments: 'You can't, well you can go out for a drink.'; Maria adds, 'Well you can't really'; Holly again: 'You can go out for a drink, but you can't go out for a drink and enjoy it in the same way, because you're thinking all the time 'ooh I don't want to be too late, because I've got to be up in the morning.'

Mark also works weekends, but doesn't always remember it's the weekend until he leaves work at half past midnight on a Saturday morning. 'Sometimes when I drive

back from work, home you know, there inside I don't feel like it's Friday, but when I come out I realise, yeah today's Friday... because the streets are busy, packed with people you know, packed with cars you know, just realise you know, yes, Friday.' For Mark, Friday and Saturday do feel different, but it is a difference which is hard to put into words. This difference is signified by the food and drink Mark may buy to signal the arrival of the weekend. '...usually you know, I'll open a bottle of wine, have a drink of wine you know' Sometimes 'when I realise, when I'm still there, I'll just buy some cans of... beer,' and when asked about food he says, 'I mean last weekend, last weekend I had some seafood and... crab...'

For those who have only recently been working weekends or those who don't work on a Saturday and Sunday, there was a very definite starting point. Cath works at the weekend, but still has a sense of the beginning point of a very special time-space which is spent with her two sons. She begins talking in the past tense recalling Fridays when her children were small enough to be met from school. She begins, 'My weekends, my weekends began (at) three o' clock on a Friday afternoon. I used to pick the kids up from school...' Cath then reverts to the present tense to emphasise that the weekend still starts as soon as her teenage son arrives at home on a Friday, 'Even now when he's still in big school and I'm not working weekends, soon as he comes in, quarter past three, our weekend starts there. We get all the washing, all the ironing done Friday night.' Cath's weekend revolves around her sons and herself. Her and her son's boundary work involves 'clearing the decks' for a Saturday free of tasks that have to be done. There are a number of markers which clearly signify the end of one thing (the week) and the beginning of another (the weekend). She 'shuts the door' on the week, looking forward to the weekend. All the mundane tasks such as washing and ironing are got 'out of the way' to prepare for the magic of the weekend.

Pam is a supervisor and as such has to work weekends. Before her weekends became so work-orientated, she and her husband and two daughters would go camping on every summer weekend they could. She describes the moment at which the weekend began. 'Well I used to do, like I said 'til half past four, so if you was finished work, I'd come home and he'd [her husband] have the stuff ready to go camping. We'd

load the car and then we'd be off. If he was on a late, I'd have the stuff ready for when he got in at seven and then we'd go.'

For many interviewees, there was a particular starting moment for their weekend, an activity which marked the break between the ordinary and the special, almost a celebration moment. Stephen, for instance, now has Saturday *and* Sunday off, rather than only Sunday, since signing the new contract. His early start means an early finish, so his weekend starts in the early afternoon on a Friday. 'I have me Friday bath...I like going home, having a cup of tea and having a bath. Have to have something to wash that place off....Friday. Have a bath and wash it off.' He goes on to emphasise the ritual of Friday afternoons when he gets home, 'Well, there's nobody in...I can go home, have a cuppa tea, maybe play a bit of music and go up and have a soak.'. Since one of the days at the weekend revolves around scooter activity, especially in the summer, his time in the bath prefaces this. 'I look at me scooter magazines. I've got loads of them. Every now and again I get one out and (think) I've not seen this for a while, you know.' After his soak, Stephen watches 'a bit of tele' and then, if his wife is at work, he will cook the tea. Later on in the conversation, Stephen goes further in his description of the ritual, letting slip that it also involves bubble bath, 'Ooh aye, I like me soak, bubble bath, aye, me bubbles,' and hints that Friday might be the only time he uses these.

Emma has also only recently gained a full weekend off with the new contract. She practises similar routines to mark the beginning of the weekend. It begins in her head before she leaves work. 'It's wind down. It's an hour to go and I've probably finished whatever I've been doing, because I've been that excited and trying to wrap it up ,that I've got it done before, before I should have done and I'm pottering about ...' When Emma walks out of the store on a Friday afternoon, she thinks, '... I don't have to come back until Monday morning' and has a plan 'to go home and put my feet up and have a totally relaxing weekend and not go out at all' (but she usually does). Her flatmate has a particular Friday night routine, which she found a little odd until she began to have regular Friday nights off herself. She stresses that her friend's time is more routinised than most, and describes that of his Friday night, 'He'd have his bottle of wine, he'd choose his video to watch...he'd listen to music, but he'd have his music all ordered as to what to listen to and everything.....you'd never get

him out on a Friday night, never. He'd never come out because that was his time for himself, his relaxing time.' She does something similar herself, now '...I'd get home from work and I'd just.., cos Friday night tele's quite good, get myself a bottle of wine, relax in front of the tele, just watch the tele and go to bed really late, but just having spent some time with my feet up, whatever, probably do a bit of pampering as well maybe.' I was interested in what the 'pampering' involved.

I don't know. Maybe have a long bath or something: maybe do a few girly things, pluck my eyebrows or whatever [laughs]. You can tell I've not had a few Friday nights in lately, they're all overgrown and messy and that. I really liked that. I really enjoyed it, knowing that I'd go home on a Friday night and it'd be nice and relaxing. I felt a lot better for it, rather than going home, throwing some clothes on and going out so...

There's something about the weekend which, seemingly, provokes a need to move symbolically from mundane quotidian, to 'special' quotidian, through the markers of baths and bubble bath, bottles of wine, special food and an emphasis on spending time with the self and pampering it. If the weekend's beginning is enacted through a series of routines and rituals, are there similar which signal its end? For those who don't have much of a weekend, there is no answer to this question, since there is, for them, no weekend, so no re-aggregating activities through which to reorient themselves oneself back into the five day cycle. For many of the group, activities to do with re-orientating themselves to the mundane quotidian were those that signalled the end of the weekend. Cath says:

Ah, the end of the weekend for me, how I know it's here, is because I've got to iron their uniform for work and Luke's for school you know and I think from 4-6, that is, dry the uniform and iron them because I like Luke to be in the bath for six o'clock and have his tea for seven and then he can just chill out and watch television... I've got to be here a certain time, Luke's got to be doing his homework, and Damian's sorting stuff out.

For many women, at least, particular household tasks signal the end of the weekend. However they are not vacuuming or dusting, but preparing the family 'selves' for the weekly cycle. Frequently, this involves ironing and 'getting the uniforms done' if their children are at school. Pam mentions several times when discussing her Sundays, that she has to set aside some time for getting her daughters' uniforms ready for the coming week. This Sunday boundary work of preparing for the working week is articulated thus, 'Right, work tomorrow. Ah, Caitlin, [Pam's daughter] come on, bath. And that's usually about six o'clock, seven o'clock. That's it, me

weekend's done.' Like Cath, Pam perceives the end of the weekend as Sunday evening, when the mood changes and orientation towards the working week begins. Baths seem to be an important activity, especially for the children, which signal the kind of more formalised environment of school or work.

Workers such as Maria and Holly who work every weekend didn't mention this feeling of moving from one time-space into another. Mark works two out of four weekends and, on a Sunday, from 12 midday to 8 o'clock. He says of his Sunday nights when working, 'My weekend ends usually after nine, because after nine when I come home [presumably Mark means from work], then I start thinking about [the] job tomorrow.' There is no boundary work cited here since, at least half of Mark's Sundays are working ones. Sarah, who works until nine on a Saturday night, counts her weekend as a Sunday. Before university and consequent 9-5 job, she spent some years in the hospitality and catering industry, working extremely long hours and very rarely having a weekend free. Weekends are not terribly significant to her and she cites no boundary work easing Sunday into Monday. Her weekend starts on 'Sunday morning and finishes Sunday night'. Max, student and weekend worker whose weekends are not particularly significant sees no great boundary between the week and the weekend. Sunday evening means watching *The Simpsons* or going out to Yates' Wine Bar karaoke night. When asked about a weekend 'ending' he replies, 'Just Sunday. It's getting ready for the next week really. It's - just got to carry on going and wait for Monday morning when I wake up.'

On the other hand, Cath's longing for the weekend to last another couple of hours was palpable,

And I know I've got to go back on Monday morning for work, but I don't like coming up to you know, to what I call the end of the weekend. If it could last that few hours longer. I know it does, but to me you know, it doesn't. I'd like it to last a couple of hours longer.

Monday comes before Sunday has ended.

For the younger workers that I spoke to, for whom the weekends were significant and/or weren't working, the beginning of the weekend was their important boundary work, while they very rarely mentioned the end of the weekend. For mothers, work

in preparation for their children to begin their week was particularly important. For those whose weekends were not significant, boundary work was minimal.

7.3.5 The Weekend

I talked with the people of the supermarket about whether and how the weekend was different, what they did at the weekend and the qualitative difference between the weekend and other days.

Emma and Stephen, who have recently been lucky in the hours 'shakedown' of their re-negotiation of contracts, celebrate their weekend and commiserate with those that have to work. Stephen even has moments of guilt on a Sunday and expresses his solidarity with his fellow workers,

Well like I say at the moment now, you might feel like Bettabuys open Sunday and they might be short and you're thinking, 'Sunday, oh you know they'll be short and I could've gone in and helped them.'

He makes the point that, 'If everybody, if Sunday was ... shut down, you wouldn't have any of that would you?' Stephen goes out with the scooterists on a Sunday; he explains his enjoyment of it, 'Going somewhere and there's a group of you and people looking at you, going somewhere you've never been, going down country lanes and seeing things you've not seen before and you get there and meet all your mates.' Stephen feels '...free, free as a bird...' on his scooter. Stephen is passionate in his defence of the weekend, 'It's your time, it's your time to do what you want. If you're giving five days at work, surely you're entitled to (two) days (off)...it's not too much to ask is it?'

Emma articulates the general feeling about having a weekend off. Fellow workers have asked about her Monday to Friday contract and remarked, 'How on earth did you get that? That's so lucky.' She sums up her luck, 'To have a weekend off is a big deal.' Emma then talks about why the Monday to Friday cycle works.

...I've not had any routine for a long time,...it's always been scattered. I've always been doing something and something's encroached on some day, something that I've had to do and I've never had like two days off together, a period of time when...there's a period I could separate work from leisure

time. It was always interspersed between the different bits. Everything was scattered about.

She further outlines the fragmented week of a 'flexible' worker when asked about 'the virtues of separating work from leisure'.

Because you can shut off. I don't think...you can enjoy something if you've got to do something at the end of it or there's repercussions from it, like if you've got work the next day, then there's always the worry, 'Am I going to get up in the morning?' 'Am I going to feel really bad?', or 'In the morning am I going to feel really rough?' (or) '...I shouldn't have done that last night', or whatever.

Emma then went on to explain the relief of being off at the weekend.:

It's a wind-down in whatever way from the week. There's a lot of times when I've come home from work all uptight and stressed out and I know I've got to go back in the morning and do it all again. At (the) weekend I can come home on a Friday night, I can relax or I can put my feet up or I can just, even if I'm not gonna literally sit down and unwind, I'm gonna let go of that little bit, let go of work for a couple of days and however I use the time, I know I'm not going back. I don't have to think about that for a little while. I can just think about me and what I want to do.

Emma shares many of the feelings of other workers, such as Maria and Holly. Maria sounds a lament for her weekend:

You just want to get away from the place. Sometimes it gets to me and I really feel like I need to be away, but you just can't do it. You need that extra money. That's all you need and there's basically nothing to do at weekends 'cos I can't go anywhere 'cos I'm up so early. People think that because the shop's open at eleven o'clock, you're there at about half past ten, quarter to eleven.... (They don't) realise you're there at six o'clock in the morning.

Maria's frustration with her regime is obvious and underlines what Emma has to say about weekends off being a 'big deal'.

The 'five plus two' weekly cycle which is shared by many people allows friends and family to synchronise their lives. Many other versions of this, particularly when workers don't get two days off together, mean that a person feels that she or he 'is never away from the workplace', or has no social life. For some, there are advantages attached to an alternative weekly cycle. Sarah, for instance, who would rather not work weekends, but at this stage in her life is reasonably happy to work on Saturdays. This allows her some flexibility in the week to allow her to begin a

counselling course in the forthcoming academic year. However, virtually everyone I talked to would prefer to have weekends off rather than work and those that serendipitously have Saturday and Sunday off, feel guilty about their colleagues in store on these days or feel a tremendous sense of privilege.

When asked about the passage of time at work, Cath talks the trajectory of her week, focussing particularly on Wednesdays:

I hate Wednesday morning, I hate it. I hate Wednesdays, I just, I don't know, I hate Wednesdays. A lot of people hate Mondays. I don't like the sort of getting up first thing Monday morning, but as soon as my feet hit the floor... you know, I'm awake, I'm there, but Wednesdays, no. I feel as though Monday morning I'm on that big you know, I'm up there... By Wednesday I'm coming down that slope and I'm hit, I'm almost at the bottom, feel drained and tired towards a Wednesday I really do, but once I have a good sleep Wednesday night I am, you know, By the time I'm going to bed, I'm like that you know, pulling myself up by the knees, but I have a good sleep Wednesday and picking up Thursday and alright you're going up a floor in a way... the best way you can describe it and then by Friday I'm right at the top you know, and I start coming down slowly but surely, you know what I mean. But Wednesdays are... I hate Wednesday because it's so slow, so boring. It's such a boring day because I think everybody must feel like that, because in work the atmosphere goes stilted and like stale. Almost nobody knows what to say. They just say, "huh, hiya, y'alright?", "Yeah", like automated. But no, I don't like Wednesdays. Monday to Wednesday is good.

Cath's week is measured against the high of Friday, where she is, as she says, 'right at the top'. She replies in the affirmative when asked if she looks forward to Fridays on Thursdays 'Oh yeah, yeah, (emphatically), because I know I've got my time for the kids, got my time for the kids, and I love that time, I really, really do.' Joyce, on the other hand has to take her 'weekend' on a Tuesday and a Wednesday, for 'economic' reasons. She says,

Having a weekend in the middle of the week is, its ok, but it's not the best, but I have to make the best of a bad job because on Tuesday I go shopping and cleaning and Wednesday I do some cleaning and whatever else I have to do, ... and then I do a computer course in the afternoon.

Joyce describes the computer course as 'something for me'. Her description of her mid-week 'weekend' is devoid of any excitement, such as that articulated by Cath. Tuesdays and Wednesdays are just not the same sort of days as Saturday and Sunday.

7.3.5.3 Saturday

Representations and perceptions of Saturday tend to revolve around consumption. Saturday is the day when we might go shopping, visit a football match, go out for a meal or go for a night out. The day seems to have more of an element of excitement about it, even if there is no engagement in consumption. Saturday seems to embody a promise, one that is denied to those who are working. Jasmin is disappointed that:

... there is not any difference between the weekend and the other days. I have to work... in the weekend I am at home with my children, but sometimes even they are, you know, they are busy. When they see me working, ok they go to their room. Ah, if I had better job, ah I think we could go (out) sometimes.

Jasmin, works every Saturday and some Sundays, and feels that there is no bounded recreation time for her and her family, no magic at the end of the week.

Gav discusses the feelings he has about Saturdays and the way in which differs from the rest of the week,

Ah, it's basically my own time, for spending with (my) friends and like do what I want to do, 'cos I know I've got the time to do it. Like on weekdays time's limited, because (I've) got to do schoolwork. Might have to go to work, friends might not be about. Saturday, I know I can do everything that needs to be done.

His words suggest a day on which 'everything' important to him seems possible.

Cath describes with passion the usual routine of her weekends at home, which on a Saturday involve a mixture of shopping and visiting family.:

So Saturday, we get up Saturday morning, have breakfast, we go to town early and if they (her sons) need any clothes or anything, we go and get them early doors and then we'll go down to visit my sister Eileen in Salford and um, we'll go up and visit my mum. She's in a home in Salford, Hope Manor, near Hope hospital. We'll stay with me mum for a couple of hours. We'll come home ... and we'll have a sandwich and a drink of tea. Then we'll go to the pictures in town – the AMC and... we'll go in one picture. We'll see, we'll stay ... until about 10 o' clock at night. You know it's a big complex... we'll see a few films, we'll come home and then we'll have supper, we'll watch a bit of tele; we'll go to bed.

For Cath, mobility outside of her immediate environs is rarely possible. She has no car and very little spare money, but she and her sons, daughter and extended family sometimes go to Blackpool, which is about forty miles away.

Pam is as passionate about her weekends as Cath. She, her husband and two daughters regularly went away camping at the weekends in their car. Pam describes where they would go:

Everywhere. Blackpool, down south, Devon, Cornwall, anywhere, just depending on where we felt like going that weekend. Most weekends we'd usually go to Blackpool and Garstang. If it was like, he was on a late night and he didn't get home 'til seven or eight, we'd go to Garstang, but if he was on an early finish, we'd go down south, Devon for the weekend.

In the earlier days she would go with her friend Debbie and her kids. 'We had a trailer tent second time; Debbie had a trailer tent and then we got a touring caravan. It used to spook me out ... it's dead scary ... then we got a static. We've just sold that now.' Pam explains the attraction of weekends away in a tent on a campsite.

Freedom, freedom, all the way; just doing what you wanted, no phone calls, no knocking on the door, just getting out the way, just...doing what you wanted in the day, coupla beers outside the tent, kids playing in the park. It's just great, just out the way.

When asked about the alternative to going away, Pam replies:

Just stay at home and um if we had no money we'd just be at home, just nothing. Sit in here doing nowt you know, watching TV, playing some games with the kids, whatever... If we had a little bit of money we'd go out for a meal or a walk on the Quays, go to the pictures or whatever, depending on how much money you had... If you didn't have a lot then you might have a night out with mum and dad.

She goes on to explain why the camping weekend is easier than the home weekend, beginning with the evening routine:

... we'll have a barbecue outside the tent, a few beers and then later on we'll all go in the club (at the campsite). At home if you're gonna have a night out, which doesn't happen very often... you've got to have a bath and give the kids their teas and make it early enough so you can drop them off to come here to get going to wherever you're going, but it's just a palaver and it's like a shift really..... So you've got no mither then, you've got nobody you know, they're there with you, and because they're enjoying themselves, it makes you enjoy it even more.

Gav and his friends also have magical spaces that they escape to on a Saturday night. He describes the build up to a Saturday night once he gets home from work at Bettabuys.

Once I'm home, (I) have something to eat, then probably go and lie down for an hour or so, then start ringing 'round my friends, then probably meet up around half six, seven o'clock and do what we're doing.... [going out to clubs that] are playing a type of music we like... r&b, hip-hop, something like that...[or] ...just mainly around the streets, just hanging around with friends, just talking with friends, yeah, just talking.

When asked about why the weekend is so special to him, Gav replies, 'It's just you've got more time with your friends, or you've just got more time to yourself, you know, you don't have to get up the next day.' He goes on to describe the weekend space,

Yeah, if we're in [district],...we'll just go behind a building, where it's like discreet by it and then just hang around there...there's like a garage and like a car shop that closes, so after that closes we'll hang around there. We know the people that live there. They're alright with us hanging there...It's a space for us. They don't mind us hanging about there 'cos (we're) looking out for their cars. It's quiet for us as well, 'cos there's not that many people walking past, cos it's a dead end, so it's alright for us. No-one else can see us....That's our space 'cos we know no-one else is gonna be there. (We) know like, that it's private for us.

Gav and his friends use it in all the seasons, even the cold and dark of winter. There is a 'ram bar' for them to sit on and a street light. Although they use it on other nights other than Saturday, it is particularly special for them on a Saturday night:

Because, because we all know we'll have some money in our pockets... and we know it's just a place where we can meet up and discuss what's happened during the week, if we haven't seen each other throughout the weekdays. Now some of us are, like, busy, got our own jobs, don't like, really meet up as a group together, probably...one or two people missing, so on a Saturday we're all there.

Gav goes on to describe it as a 'base from which they can go to meet other people'. They don't meet in each other's houses because '...we can't do what we want to do in a house.' The important thing for Gav and his friends is the seeming privacy of a public space, especially in the winter when it's dark and the time of Saturday night when they can all be there together. The collectivity of the experience is essential to its existence.

Max works at Bettabuys until half past ten on a Friday night, leaving little time for much more than ‘...time to get something to eat, have a drink and go to bed.’ On ‘...a typical weekend off ...’ on a Saturday, (he gets two weekends off a month) Max will ‘...quite often...go to a computer fair,(to) get bits and pieces for the PC and that, there.’ Whether they go morning or evening depends on ‘...whether my dad gets up or not, whether he’s been working the night before ...’ Max goes on, ‘That’s (how) we, for a couple of years (have) organised our day, if we go, me and him together, it’s the only real time we do anything that’s together.’ Sometimes on Saturdays he will ‘...(mess) around on the play station, whatever, not really doing anything, just not doing any uni work, just...not doing anything my mind has to think about, just clear my mind and relax..’

Working at Bettabuys on a Saturday is frustrating for many in that it restricts their social life and interferes with their family life. When I asked Maria, ‘What about your weekend?’ She replied, ‘I haven’t got one. I’ve worked seven days to... haven’t I? [to Holly]... to get tomorrow off, worked seven days straight to get tomorrow off, and up to the last six months, I used to have to work three out of four Saturdays.’ Maria now works two out of four Saturdays due to the intervention of Maria and Holly’s line manager, Brian. She outlines how her working hours make life difficult

...on Saturdays as I say, ‘cos I have to go in for six o’clock, I’ve got to be up at five, sorta thing, so I don’t feel like going out. Even if I’ve had the Saturday off, you know, I just don’t feel like going out anywhere.

Maria replies that she never goes out in the evening at the weekend now, but that life used to be different for the whole family,

... whereas when I was in my other life I was off at the weekends and we used to go out a lot then. We used to go out with the lads when they were younger, like Holly, taking them out for days out and going on trips all over the Manchester area with them, but now we just do nothing.

When asked how she feels about that, Holly replies, ‘I feel like it’s, you’re stuck in a rut I feel, but you’ve just got to do it for that bit of extra money because you *need* it’. She goes on to say, ‘The only time I get a weekend is when it’s my holiday.’

Holly echoes Maria’s feelings about Saturday;

My weekend for me really, is when I finish on a Friday and it’s my Saturday off, and I’ve got that day, but I can only do so much. Where at one time we’d

perhaps go to Southport for the day, or go to Blackpool, I mean, we might still do that, but I'm concerned about getting home then, because I know I've got to be in on a Sunday, where when you don't have to work on a Sunday, it doesn't matter does it, you can come home at eleven o'clock at night. I've found like if we wanted to go out anywhere on a Saturday night, you don't want to be out really late because you know you're thinking all the time, 'Oh God, I've got to be up in the morning.'

Holly points out that the 'bakery' counter Christmas 'do' on a Saturday night meant they all had to take the Sunday off as holiday because, '...we knew that generally it can be one and two o'clock in the morning you know, when we've been out at Christmas and we didn't want to go in on the Sunday...' Joyce feels similarly as to the effect on her social life:

...say if people want to go out at the weekends, say on a Friday night, go somewhere that you have to stay late, I can't really go out. I have to say, 'Well, I'm working tomorrow'; because I've got to get up at five o'clock to start work at seven, so I can't really go then. I have to say 'I'll have to leave it' It does impinge on your social life (if you) work weekends. Like if I work Sunday's,... I can't go out on a Saturday night, but you're always thinking, 'well I can't have a drink, I can't have too much, because I've got to get up early' ...I work early on a Sunday. Well nine o'clock isn't early, but...

Holly feels her Saturday night is curtailed too.

...generally if we're going to go out it's on a Saturday. ...me and me sister would maybe go up to see my niece. She lives at Disley. We sometimes go there and we'll either meet her in Stockport or go up to Disley and we'll have a meal there, you know and a drink. But there again we're having to come back. We usually come back at about nine o'clock, so we can, you know, be up. 'Cos Sue [Holly's sister] works on a Sunday as well.

Holly has to get up on Sunday '...at about quarter to seven and you just feel I suppose really, you just feel you haven't really got a social life any more.' This lament for the weekend and for some time free of the clock is a feeling shared by many of the workers I spoke to. Nevertheless, for many, Saturday is less special than Sunday.

7.3.5.2 Sunday

Holly, for instance feels that she:

Doesn't think so much (of) working the Saturday as the Sunday. I think if it was every Saturday I was working, I would prefer to work every Saturday...and have Sunday off. I really would. I think if you were working every Saturday, I don't know it'd be different, 'cos you'd have the Sunday and the Sunday's different to the Saturday to me... Sunday – everybody's sort of more leisurely especially in the summer. Um where Saturday's really is like a day in the week 'cos all the shops are open aren't they?

Holly's perception is shared by Stephen. He feels that Sunday is 'sacred', not in a religious sense, but that, 'I don't know... it's a Sunday. You shouldn't have to work. You just shouldn't have to work at all.' Many felt that it was a day for more personal activities, associated with family or self, with people that they felt very close to.

Holly, for instance says,

...before I started doing Sundays, especially in the summer, we'd be out somewhere every Sunday, 'cos we liked, we used to belong to the National Trust...I mean we've been all over, Lyme Park and um Chatsworth, and everything. Um, so really that's ...before I started doing Sundays. I used to get every other weekend and it was Saturday, Sunday, Monday.

For Cath,

Sunday is precious, you know I like the... time is so different. Don't know why it's different on a Sunday, different to any other time during the week, but Sundays is, once they started opening the shops and that, it has altered totally, fragmented the week for a lot of people.

Even though Cath works on some Sundays, her sense of a Sunday at home and of its routines is very strong.

But I still like to keep Sundays as Sundays, always (have). If I'm not working on a Sunday, get up, tidy up get the lads up. They have their breakfast first and we tidy up and everything and still always have dinner between twelve and one on a Sunday, always. There's something wrong if my dinner's not on the table between twelve and one...That is the one meal I do insist we all sit down together in the same room. 'Cos other than that, it doesn't, I don't know why, I don't enjoy it, I don't enjoy it if we don't have Sunday dinner together.

A whole weekend off, for Cath is '...extra special... it's my time, my [emphatic] time with the kids and I love being with them... They might not be here all the time... but I'm here, I'm a focal point. If they need me I'm here.' Cath is very clear about the

length of solitary time she will spend during this whole weekend off. She doesn't make clear when this might be, but looking at the rest of her 'weekend off' timetable it seems likely to be Sunday.

... The lads know when I'm off for a full weekend, like a full weekend Friday right through 'til Monday morning, they know I like at least four hours on my own. They know they have not got to disturb me no matter what. The house could be burning down and they've not got to disturb me and in that time I'll be reading, I'll have a good soak in the bath, I'll read a bit of me book... As soon as the four hours are up, they know they can have my time for them. It's undivided.

Cath tells me the codes that let her sons know she must not be disturbed.

They know if my bedroom door is shut to properly they *do not* open it. They know I'm in there; it's my time. But if my door is closed to, not shut, closed to, they know they can come in, speak to me. As big as they are, they come and they talk to me...

Cath speaks very clearly about time for herself. She goes on to explain what she does in her four hour slot,

Besides having a soak and having a read, I go, I know it sounds daft, I sit and think about what I've done. Not just that week or that day, it could be months ago, whatever... I just sit and think 'well if I had that time again, would I do this different, that different? I sit and look at photographs and think about, aw you know, what was I doing then, we was having a laugh and things like that.

Jasmin generally has Sundays off, unless the prospect of overtime is too financially tempting. Jasmin is the only wage-earner in her family and as her basic hours are few, she earns very little. She faces a contradiction over working and being with her family, with whom she is very close. On the necessity of overtime she says, 'I have to, I have to. Because eighteen hours for covering everything in a family is not enough, (it) is nothing. I *have* to work.' Sometimes when Jasmin has been asked to work on Sunday, when she feels she should be with her family, she feels torn, '...but if I close my eyes and say ok, I leave my family' and she goes off to work unhappily, 'because I think when we are living as a family together, we need to stay a few hours a week all together and talk or have something (to eat) together.' Everyone in the family is at home together on a Sunday and Jasmin feels, '...we can talk about the problems, we can solve the problems for each other'. Jasmin works hard on a Sunday to get ready for a week that is difficult to plan because the overtime she needs is never offered more than forty eight hours in advance. She says:

I try just to prepare, clean the house, prepare some food for the week... You know if sometimes suddenly they say 'we have got hours', ok I can go for that one and I'm happy that you know, the food is, you know, more or less ready... That's it, ironing, and on top of that I teach my daughter. This is, you know, my weekend. I teach my daughter my language...

The weekend then, is a time of hard work for Jasmin, and of time when she can catch up with her son and daughters and help them with anything that might be troubling them. Unlike Cath, she cannot sit and contemplate. It is too painful. She has left her mother and father and other family in her birth country and misses them very badly. Her time in Britain has not been altogether a happy one and she finds the people here difficult, 'But when I came to this country I find all the doors are closed you know'. Jasmin tries to keep herself busy:

'...because I don't want to think. If I think I would have a very sad time. No, if I go back to the past and think about those days, you know, the life you know. No, because I can't see the nice side of the life...I don't want to think. Nothing. Just keep busy...'

7.4 Conclusions

This section of the chapter will reflect theoretically on the two major strands of this thesis, time and space, insofar that they have been discussed by the interviewees. These will act as signposts for the more strictly analytical chapter, which follows this.

7.4.1 Time

We have already noted that the weekend is constructed through times and spaces. The times of the weekend can be much more fluid than the disciplined and commodified clock time associated with paid work. The spatialities of the weekend can be much less embedded in the home and work geographies those of the weekday. But in order to explore a different space, one has to have the time. The interdependence of time and space can thus be readily understood in the conversations with interviewees, where time off on consecutive days was a prerequisite for moving beyond their 'home patch'.

The weekend, as we have seen, is a relatively recent phenomenon. The 1960s and 1970s were generally held to be the highpoint of entitlement to two consecutive days off for some who did work outside the home. For those who had to care for children or other needy relatives, 'time off' was not an option. Adam (1995) and others have pointed to the complexity of lived time, obscured by the dominance of clock time since industrialisation. Adam describes such times as '...lived, given and generated in the shadow of the hegemony of clock time'. She illustrates the 'multiple times' produced and experienced in everyday life and argues that they are under-valued compared with those which are measured quantitatively. The acts of caring that many engage in can not be time-valued in the same way as 'faster' 'efficient', 'flexible' types of work. When the different times have to be negotiated simultaneously, those attempting to negotiate (Bettabuys workers, for instance) are put under a lot of pressure.

The weekend was important because it could involve two consecutive days off. Having Saturday and Sunday off at the same time as lots of other people was important. It meant synchronicity, being able to meet up and do things together. (although, of course that meant people in the entertainment sectors working) De regulated, neo-liberal economics have seen the arrival of flexi-time, especially in the retail sector where 24 hour trading is by no means a rarity. In the 1970s and 1980s there was a different idea of flexi-time, that is, as Adam points out, 'flexibility *for* the worker'; the flexi-time practised at Bettabuys is flexibility *of* the worker. The former was an attempt to create some flexibility at the beginning and end of the working day to take account of childcare issues and to create a minimum of autonomy for the worker. The latter is a means of colonising the time of workers, in order to be 'competitive'.

Flexi time at Bettabuys has been a problem for both employees and employer. It was so unpredictable that management had to revert back to a form of contract that stipulated more firmly, hours of work; they bought those employees that wanted to, out of these 'anytime' contracts, but with the sting in the tail of reduced unsocial hours premia. Bettabuys wanted what Adam has called 'controllable' futures'. They wanted to know that the store would open at a particular time and its operations run smoothly. The future can be controlled by exerting a time discipline.

Adam (1995: 88) writes of predictability and calculability as being requirements for punctuality, and punctuality at Bettabuys (and anywhere else) means money. As I understand it, two minutes late and fifteen minutes or more are docked from your pay, unless you can put in the time at the end of the day. The idea of predictability is an important one when considering the weekend. We perhaps need the predictability of knowing that we're having two days off in seven, but also the unpredictability of what might happen during those two days.

Friday and Saturday nights out are traditional for weekend pub visits. For those having to work on a Saturday and Sunday, it doesn't seem worth going and watching the clock. The time of the pub, possibly 'til eleven or later, depending on the landlady, doesn't fit in with having to get up for work the next morning, at six o'clock or earlier. Joyce, Maria and Holly would like an unpredictable night out at the weekend, where the clock doesn't intervene, and they can enjoy their companion's company in what we might call a 'time of conviviality'. As Adam (1995: 102) writes 'Flexibilisation of working time brings with it far reaching changes to people's lives. The decoupling of work from the time of the organisation and from the collective rhythms of public and familial activities erodes communal activities in both the public and private realm.' The weekend is one such collective rhythm.

Joyce who works every weekend would like to visit her son and his girlfriend in London, but since she works every weekend and they have the weekend off, that is difficult. Maria's husband gets annoyed because she can't share the planned weekend with him. She opted to stay with the more 'flexible contract' for the extra money and gets asked to cover for someone who is ill at the last minute. Holly would like to spend longer with her niece, or go to Southport at the weekend and have her tea out, but she can't enjoy it because her eye is on the clock and thinking about work. Jasmin would like to have her weekends at home and never work a Sunday, and Mark would like to see more of his son than a quick hello and goodbye it often is. There is an almost unbearable tension between the times of home and the time of work. This is exacerbated at the weekend, because this is a time for catching up with friends and family and if one has to work, there is a tension, particularly, though not solely, for those with families.

Sometimes the time of work and the time of conviviality overlap. This can be difficult as the tiredness and the possible hangover of a night out can make work near impossible. Both Katie and Emma discussed the tensions between each. Emma's favourite job at Bettabuys if she'd had a 'good night out' was being on the tills, while Katie, felt her Thursday nights out, in the smell of smoke when she went into work on a Friday. The hangover is time 'hanging over' from the night before in bodily form. The 'time of conviviality' cannot be over by seven o'clock the next morning; it 'hangs on' in the blood, a relic of last night's time. Our lives are full of activities whose time dimensions don't fit with those conforming to the discipline of work. Having a weekend was one way of resolving those contradictions until the next weekend.

The weekend is the antithesis of the 'controlled future', temporalities and spatialities being utterly predictable. There is little unknown about Saturdays and Sundays at Bettabuys, whilst if we have a weekend away from work, we might know roughly what our weekend routines are but there is always the promise of something 'different' happening. We don't necessarily know what time we'll do things or where we'll do them. Those that don't have a weekend haven't got that promise. 'Weekends' in the week are a different matter, as Joyce outlined. She described in a very graphic way, the routines of others living in the house that have the weekends off. While she might want to lie in on her weekdays off, her son gets up and off to work, so the trajectory of the day is one of activity, so she goes with the flow of that. At weekends, she is again working against the grain. She gets up and goes out and the street is asleep, except for the other few who work. She describes the silent world of, particularly, Sunday mornings.

7.4.2 Space

When the workers at Bettabuys have their weekends off, most like to visit spaces (and sometimes times) outside their immediate locale. At any rate, they like to escape the tyranny of the clock. Cath goes to Manchester City Centre with her sons and further extends her spatiality through cinematic and televisual space, either at the cinema or at home watching videos. She travels through time and space in her special time alone in her room when looking at old photos and moving backwards and

forwards, reflecting on her life. She only has the time and space to do this at the weekend. On a Friday afternoon, she and her sons shut the world out as they produce their weekend. For Cath, this time travel is a magical part of her weekend, a time-space to which she is much attached.

Pam likes to move physically very far away from home at the weekend. She and her family go camping in their car. Being able to do this depends on her and her husband Gary leaving work early enough to make it worth their while going. The act of getting in the car and going means the family moves into a space and time not predicated on the clock, where their need for food and the time it gets light and dark, determine what they do. Stephen also likes to 'escape' from home, with his scooterist friends into the countryside, where he feels a sense of 'freedom'. His scooter moves in a public space and alongside him are his friends, but his scooter seat as he rides along, is a very private space where he alone can experience the 'rush' of travelling in this way. For Gav, a tiny space outside a shop is a significant night time weekend space where he is able to meet up with friends away from the gaze of parents in their houses. What to unknowing eyes might be a scruffy patch of ground of no particular import, is the key space of Gav and his friends to smoke weed, swap stories and enjoy staying out on a night when they know they don't have to get up early the next morning.

The private spaces of the home are significant for many at the weekend. For Teresa the contemplative space of the bedroom is significant at particular times on a Sunday, as it is for Rachel on her newly gained Friday nights off. But for those who mostly work at the weekend, there was no time to for these escapes, whether in a private or a public space.

The spaces identified above which are all 'produced' at the weekend can all be understood in terms of Lefebvre's 'representational spaces'. 'Physical spaces' associated with other activities, such as sleeping, agricultural use, a walkway have all been appropriated for the weekend as 'representational spaces', therefore adding credence to the notion of the weekend, for those who have the time and the space as one of 'looking up at the stars'.

Part 3 – Analysis and Conclusions



Whit Walks, Regent Road, 1948

Chapter 8 - Analysis

8.1 Introduction

This chapter, along with Chapter 9, forms the final section of the thesis. It draws together the insights from earlier discussion of the ‘lost’ weekend, the literature on time, space and everyday life, and the historical and contemporary research. Using theories of spatiality and temporality, it seeks to understand the week/weekend difference and the significance of the weekend in everyday life. It asks whether the 5+2 ‘beat’ of Fordism is still lived by the people with whom I shared conversations and whether ‘flexible’ working is altering the temporal and spatial ecology of our social world. It will consider whether the weekend could ever be a more autonomous time space with the possibility of creating a different kind of world.

The ‘Time’ section is introduced with a discussion on the week/weekend ‘difference’, which is then succeeded by a discussion of clock time. The implications of both synchrony and de-synchrony and their structuring of our social world are then examined. The ‘flexing-up’ of some contemporary workers will be discussed alongside how that impacts on both their weekends and the significance for weekends generally. Finally, in a contemporary context, the importance of anticipating the weekend will be discussed.

The following section will discuss space in the context of Manchester and Salford, examining first of all how the city is implicated in global space, focussing down then on locales and embeddedness and then analysing the space of ‘the private’. These ‘levels’ of space will be discussed with specific reference to the weekend. The third section of the chapter is concerned with both temporality and spatiality and looks at the way in which entries and exits from the weekend are facilitated through *rites de passage* and boundary work. Everyday life forms the basis of the next section where the question of whether the ‘exotic’ weekend can be considered a part of the ‘mundane’ quotidian. Heller (1984) suggests that from the everyday ‘the current of history’ is formed. Since the gradual ‘slipping’ away of the weekend has come about

through macro economic processes, the question of some everyday lives experiencing the sharp end of these will be discussed. Finally, linking the concepts of ‘proper’ (Nowotny) time and space, ‘tactics’ (de Certeau) and the liminoid,(Turner), the idea of the weekend as a space for resistance will be explored.

8.2 Time

8.2.1 *The Week-Weekend ‘difference’*

The interviews undertaken strongly suggest an understanding of weekend time and space that is different in both a symbolic and a material sense to the rest of the week. The different ‘textures’ of the weekend, the ways in which time and space were produced and experienced, provided the people with whom I spoke, a great deal of pleasure. The 5+2 cycle and the ‘difference’ of the weekend made the whole seven days more bearable, more of a heterogeneous than homogenous experience. For those that didn’t enjoy regular weekends off, there was a feeling that day-to-day felt undifferentiated, with little contrast. This was particularly marked in the experience of Jasmin at Bettabuys.

8.2.2 *Clock Time at the Weekend*

For those who work at the weekend, even if it is only one day, there is a sense of their time being dominated by the clock. A particular temporal signifier of their weekends had been last orders at the pub. If Holly, Maria or Joyce were out for a drink on a Friday or Saturday they felt constrained by the thought of the alarm clock the next morning and so had to leave before last orders. The alarm clock was mentioned constantly and the time between setting it and switching it off, especially at the weekend, seemed to mark their relatively undifferentiated days.

Midweek ‘weekends’, as many Bettabuys workers have, are not shared by as many people and so, the sounds of the day are not those of the weekend. Sunday, for instance has a particular morning quiet, which is not shared by a Wednesday, and therefore presents some problems when trying to ‘do’ your Sunday on a Wednesday.

There is no feeling of shared time off. There was no reference to the three temporal stages of the weekend being paralleled by similar ‘moments’ mid-week. (Holly, Maria, Joyce).

Castells discusses the notion of ‘timeless’ time where ‘.... The whole ordering of meaningful events loses its internal, chronological rhythm, and becomes arranged in time sequences depending upon the social context of their utilization’ (Castells, 1996: 462). Such institutions as the supermarket, with their demands of workers to be endlessly flexible, mean that their focus is ever inward-looking, ensuring that every little piece of the jigsaw of time is one that is wrung dry of profit making potential. Their concern is the investing shareholders rather than the temporalities of the wider social world. Timeless time also means that there is no space for anticipation, that longing for something or someone, which will be in the future. Timeless time means that the future is now; it can’t be anticipated.

‘Flexible’ work operates within this ‘timelessness’, particularly if most weekends are worked. It means that one is in a kind of eternal present, a routine where there is only the cycle of the present, the ‘time sequences’ of working depending on the store and its needs, rather than the individual and her/his social world. Joyce, Maria and Holly, working in this environment and having to live by the clock, for the most part, did not consider the future; they spoke mostly of the present because work was all-embracing. Holly spoke regretfully of times past when she could anticipate time out of work, but this enjoyment of looking ahead has been undermined by the times of flexible working, no-weekends and perpetual clock-watching.

8.2.3 Synchrony and De-Synchrony

The Saturday Half-Holiday (Manchester) of 1843 restructured time so as to create greater temporal and spatial synchrony and avoid the uncertainty for employers, of ‘St. Monday’. What this ‘rescheduling’ achieved was to create the times for social actors to produce new spaces, especially those of consumption. The ‘fixed’ times for work and for play meant that, particularly in urban centres, lots of people were doing lots of things together. Since capitalism cannot survive on production alone, then time needed to be created for consumption. Without this time, namely the weekend,

then train journeys to the seaside, cinema attendance and so on would not have been as easily timetabled and commodified. This kind of timing created more than spaces of consumption, it created a 'way of being', a kind of society. Sir E. Watkin MP alluded to this at the 25th anniversary celebrations for the Saturday Half-Holiday when urged his audience to remember that 'A number of young men set to work to make the Athenaeum a success and out of that institution grew not merely the half-holiday movement, but the public parks movement...'

We have come to understand this kind of societal organisation as 'Fordism', one based around a particular mode of production; another way of understanding it is 'modernity'. Although we may have a critique of particular aspects of modernity, one of its redeeming features was a commitment to 'public' life, one in which, given the new synchrony, many people would be doing the same thing at the same time. Part of that commitment, from 1843 onwards was some acknowledgement of 'social' and 'unsocial' hours (uneven and intermittent admittedly). This demonstrated an understanding that if we were required to work at 'social times', then we needed some recompense.

The breakdown of the 'compromise' between capital and labour and consequent dismantling of workers' rights in de-regulated economies from the 1970s has meant a serious undermining of the commitment to 'social time'. The broadly synchronous society, where shared activities are fragmenting, is occurring in part because of the dismantling of the weekend. To some extent, the idea of a wholly synchronous world is a myth. There have always been temporal disjunctures and misalignments. Nevertheless, there has been some element of shared experience, one that has allowed our social world to still count as social.

There have been some temporalities which have been 'invisible', particularly at the weekend: women's caring time for instance. Historically and perhaps even contemporaneously, women's weekends have been less pleasurable than men's. They have had less time and space to themselves, and less opportunity to be part of a public conviviality. Nevertheless, in the course of our conversations, women were just as enthusiastic, if not more so, about the weekend, even if their differentiation between week and weekend may not be as marked. Women were particularly

concerned about the demise of the weekend. The de-synchrony produced by weekend working is particularly marked as Saturdays and Sundays have traditionally been a time for people, whether individuals or groups, to ‘get together’. Joyce and Sarah had found their having to work at weekends prevented regular meetings with friends and family and Emma discovered a new sense of day-time conviviality with friends when she no longer had to work at weekends.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the state in revolutionary France and later in Russia attempted to forge new temporalities through state decree, which eventually had to be abandoned because of the social chaos it produced. The deregulation of working hours has set the UK and countries around the world on a trajectory of ‘anytime’ opening for retail and other services. This is evidence of the growing power of capital to shape our lives. Those interviewees who worked at the weekend, experienced this desynchrony every week. It meant the inability to experience the intimacy of family or friends. It also meant the de-differentiation of the texture of their lives; there was more sameness than difference, a feature Jasmin, for instance, was not happy about. There was a definite sense of exclusion from a social institution that they had once been a part of. Both Joyce and Mark spoke powerfully of the sensation of looking or listening in to a weekend from which they were excluded. Working on Saturdays and Sundays means that there is firstly, no anticipation of the weekend and secondly, no feeling of being ‘in’ the weekend, of being in a shared ‘social’ time and space, of being socially included. As Castells (1996: 439) notes, ‘...paid working time structures social time’

8.2.4 ‘Flexing Up’ and De-synchrony at Work and at Home

To a large extent, the working environments of fifty years ago demonstrated synchrony, where most worked similar hours, arriving and leaving work simultaneously. Contemporary post-Fordist environments such as Bettabuys have a complicated network of contracts and shifts which produce a de-synchronous environment for their workers on several levels. There is de-synchrony amongst the workers themselves who, even if they wanted to do things together outside of work, might find it difficult because of the multitude of different hourly and daily configurations which make up their contracts. Both Max and Stephen spoke of the

complex nature of trying to make social arrangements with work colleagues. Maria and Holly's team had to take a day off as holiday when they wanted a Christmas night out together. Sennett (1998: 67) has written of the nature of this time of flexible working in his description of the working patterns of a bakery, contrasting his latest visit with one made twenty five years earlier. He writes, 'Workers come and go throughout the day; the bakery is a tangled web of part-time schedules for the women and even a few of the men, the old night shift replaced by a much more flexible labour time.' The 'tangled web' becomes even more so when we consider how Lefebvre's 'compulsive time' might take up a great deal of our time outside paid work. Wright writes of how the newly initiated half-holiday allowed a possibility of getting those tasks out of the way and having evenings free:

The working man has necessarily to the transacting of many little pieces of business to the end of the week; and when he had to work till six o' clock on Saturdays, by the time he had washed himself and changed his clothes, taken his tea and got through the deferred pieces of business, he was generally thoroughly tired, and it was near bed-time, and Sunday was upon him before he knew where he was. (Wright, 1867: 1)

As was not uncommon, Wright speaks from a male perspective where women seem invisible. Nevertheless, it does illustrate the point.

'Flexible' working often means hourly contracts and therefore lower costs for the employer, who might only guarantee, say, ten hours per week. To ensure a living wage, Jasmin, for instance, has to pick up all the overtime possible and since her 'time off' depends on weekly hours contracted, her schedule really is 'anytime working'. In between stints at the supermarket, she has to deal with household chores and admin and spend time with her family. Jasmin's week is filled with work - at home *and* at work: in between there is the anxiety of wondering when the next set of hours will be worked and whether she feels that her younger daughter will be ok at home. Jasmin rarely has the anticipation or the release that Friday evening brings for those that have weekends off. Instead she is constantly anticipating more work, and therefore filling her 'time off' with jobs she might not be able to do if that opportunity presents itself. This kind of temporality does not respect the distinction between 'social' and 'anti-social' working hours: it is almost as if it no longer respects the markers of time, such as the days or months themselves.

The interviews with allotment keepers, most of who worked in jobs with weekends that were relatively 'free', didn't reveal the issue of de-synchrony in the same way as those with Bettabuys workers. Most of them worked some kind of a day shift, with weekends off. Allotment tending, evidence suggests, could not be contemplated alongside 'Bettabuys-style' flexible working, because its disorganised patterns of working would not fit easily with attending to the seasonal routines of growing plants. None of the allotment keepers, unlike the Bettabuys workers, sounded a lament for their weekends. All of those I spoke to, within certain parameters, could please themselves what they did at the weekend. Their temporal rhythms tended to be fairly routinised, their patterns changing little from week to week unlike many of those who work at Bettabuys. For them, long term planning of a social and family life is made more difficult, especially around key festivals such as Christmas.

Many of the Bettabuys workers questioned the retail sector's move towards '24-7' opening. Some were angry that customers expected Bettabuys workers to work on days when they themselves would not have dreamed of doing so (Pam, Joyce). It is as if it is no longer possible to put ourselves in another's position to feel what it is like working on Boxing Day, for instance. It was generally accepted that some Saturdays would have to be worked (that has been the case since at least the nineteenth century); there was more regret for the lost Sundays. Few were interested in it as a religious day, but many craved, literally, a day of rest. Could it be also that they wanted a rhythm, a cycle, the possibility of anticipation? (Holly, Maria, Joyce)

De-synchronicity is particularly problematic for those with caring responsibilities. Complicated shift timings involving both parents for instance, in the same household can make meaningful life together very difficult indeed. (Maria, Pam, Max). It also presents problems for parents whose children have moved away. Visiting them is rendered almost impossible outside of holiday times (Joyce).

This situation is exacerbated if exact days of work are not known from one week to the next (Jasmin) For Jasmin and Mark, trying to get a foothold in employment and earn a living wage, working shifts whenever asked, and working many weekends shrug their shoulders resignedly and say, 'That/this is the life'. Jasmin goes further. She likes to be at home on Sunday to spend time with her youngest daughter, but if

asked to work, she has to make the choice between family income and time with the family. She has to ‘close her eyes’ and do it (i.e. work). We hear much about the ‘work-life’ balance, but generally only as it applies to ‘professional’ men and women (e.g. in the popular novel ‘I Don’t Know How She Does It’, by Alison Pearson (2002))

The reorientation of the 5+2 cycle for a significant proportion of the workforce has profound implications. Since the early days of the secular Half-Holiday in 1843, legislation being enacted to make this law (for men) in 1853 alongside the ten and a half hour weekday (Rule, 1994), the British pulse has beat to the 5+2 time for most people. The abandonment of this for some has profound implications. It divides our social world into those who do have a weekend and those who don’t. Since to have weekends off is probably something that most people would prefer, those with social and economic power are likeliest to have them as part of their time-off entitlement. Workers in the service sector no longer have that entitlement. This is divisive and unfair and is redolent of a kind of domestic service – I want my weekends and I don’t care if other people have to work with no premium to service them. Thomas Wright, writing in 1867, admonishes his artisan colleagues for shopping late on a Saturday night and keeping shop workers at work until late. He suggests that all shopping be completed by 4pm, so that shop workers could go home and suggests,

And of the matters in which it is in the power of some sections of the working classes to render material assistance to others, the extension of the Saturday half-holiday movement is one of the most prominent, and one in which aid may be given – with little or no self sacrifice upon the part of the givers. {Wright, 1867 #385@Part 3 – Social and Domestic Life – Working Man’s Saturdays}

The complexity of shift patterning and its consequences for everyday life is not comprehended by those of us lucky enough to have regular weekends off. Working shifts that, for instance, include early mornings and late nights also impinge on the quality of the preceding and succeeding days in ways that need to be more clearly understood. There are then, significant implications in the idea of ‘flexing up’, for the quality of human life and the ability of social actors to fully participate in our ‘democratic’ society, an activity in which we are so often encouraged to participate, by government.

8.2.5 The Anticipation of Weekends

Anticipation of Saturdays and Sundays seems almost as important as the weekend itself. A consideration of how the whole cycle (5+2) affects our experience of any particular point that we might be located within it has often been overlooked. Wright clearly describes this feeling of anticipation in the context of the half-holiday,

...yet everyone knows that the previous contemplation and mind-picturing of pleasures to come is in itself a pleasure of no mean order, in some cases...anticipation not only lends enchantment to the view, but really gives an added charm to the looked-for joy. (Wright, 1867: 1)

This shadow of the weekend hangs over the week, a phenomenon which Cath, particularly, articulated most vividly. Whilst Adam (1995) and others have argued for an understanding of the multiplicity of lived time it is the case for many of the interviewees, particularly those working in Bettabuoys, the time of the clock was one which dominated their lives. A move away from understanding time merely in terms of that measured by the clock, means that it is easier to argue for 'weekend time', one that has a looser grip on the clock and therefore allows a greater autonomy for social actors. Maria and Holly, for instance, who didn't have significant and regular two-day weekends, felt they missed out on alternative temporalities other than the clock. Clock time at the weekend, while still important, is not as significant as in the week. One still has to get to the cinema at a particular time, but the periods in between doing things are less determined by any imposed notion of time (other than day and night), and rather more by task. The relationship between the week and the weekend is a cyclic one, so on Monday for instance, once one weekend has finished, the anticipation for the next one begins. The cycle begins once more. One might liken 'weekend time' then, to a rather more pre-industrial temporal understanding. There is a strong desire for the weekend which becomes more intense as it gets nearer. For some people there was a low point during the week (for Cath it is Wednesday) after which there is an upward trajectory which culminates on Saturday or Sunday. Cath certainly felt the elation of the weekend last until Monday or Tuesday. To share that anticipation of the weekend (epitomised in the phrase 'POETS Day'- Piss Off Early, Tomorrow's Saturday), means to share a common understanding of the nature of social life.

There is, then, a ‘topography’ of the week, which is particularly related to the proximity of each day to the weekend. For many people, Monday might be their ‘worst’ day, epitomised in popular music, by the songs ‘Blue Monday’ (New Order) and ‘I Don’t Like Mondays’ (Boomtown Rats). For Cath, that day was Wednesday. For those without weekends there seemed to be few peaks and troughs and they spoke little of contrasts during their weeks. For them the outlook was ‘flat’, a ‘plain’ with little change, but not much interest.

8.3 Space

This section will move from a consideration of global space and the ‘space of flows’, through to locales, embeddedness and ‘spaces of places’, focussing in the final analysis on the private spaces of the home. Discussions of these will take place in the context of the weekend, to consider how each impacts on the other.

8.3.1 ‘City Space, Politics and the History of Space’

Manchester and Salford can, in their different ways, be regarded as part of the global space of flows and can thus be linked in infinite ways to various parts of the globe, through the movement of people, things, information, products and finance. Dicken (2002: 19) makes the important point that Manchester has always been linked to global trade networks, though in a different relationship than currently. Quoting King (1990:36), he suggests that ‘...the question is whether the real development of London or Manchester can be understood without reference to India, Africa and Latin America’. ‘...put simply’, Dicken says, ‘...their history is, to a degree, also Manchester’s history’. He later explains the current place of Manchester ‘...as a global city in the sense that it is tightly integrated into the global economic system (Dicken, 2002: 32)

Castells (1996) cites ‘flows’ as the characteristic of a globalised society, cities being made up of ‘spaces of flows.’ He argues that ‘Space is the expression of society’ (Castells, 1996: 410) and since, in the 1990s, a ‘structural transformation’ of society

was underway, then changes to the nature of space ‘naturally’ followed: ‘Furthermore, social processes influence space by acting on the built environment inherited from previous socio-spatial structures.’ This ‘structural transformation’ can perhaps be seen at its most evident in our cities, and crystallises particularly in the transformation of Ordsall (in Salford) where Bettabuys is now located, from ‘place’ to ‘non-place’.

When, in the 1970s and 1980s, capital re-located to more profitable manufacturing centres overseas where labour was cheaper, cities such as Manchester, which had made their wealth in making ‘things’, went through a deep recession which produced very high unemployment. The young unemployed developed a popular culture which resisted the new political hegemony of neo-liberalism under Margaret Thatcher. Manchester City Council, also at that time resisting Thatcherism, took on board the idea of new social movements and, for a short period, supported this cultural resistance. Peck and Ward criticize the council’s later turn,

Manchester City Council’s abandonment of municipal socialism in favour of a pragmatic strand of interventionist neo-liberalism – which can be summed up as ‘talking up, making over and trickling down – was as much a consequence as a cause of the social and economic shifts that were already under way. (Peck and Ward, 2002: 12)

The dole culture of popular music and clubbing and the growing reputation of Manchester as a space for gay and lesbian culture, coupled with relatively low land values, meant that key spaces in the city centre in the latter half of the 1980s and early 1990s were occupied by ‘the resistance’. This was particularly visible on Whitworth Street West, where the famous Hacienda Nightclub and several other clubs were situated, Oldham St, the focus of the independent music industry and Dry Bar (its ownership in common with the Hacienda) and the ‘gay village’, within easy walking distance of the city centre. The City Council, after expressing solidarity with groups and their spaces, used their dynamism as a tourist attraction. The spaces of resistance in the city were thus pressed into its economic service, hence the characterisation of municipal leaders as ‘entrepreneurial’ by Peck and Ward.

Manchester then became seen as the capital of youth culture, promoting a further kind of inward migration, that of the university student, who often made the city their

home after completing their degree. Salford was not seen in quite this same light; instead it became kind of subsumed under the Manchester 'brand', and the two cities were often regarded by outsiders as one. Castells cites '...easy access to cosmopolitan complexes of arts, culture and entertainment' as one of the preconditions for a residential 'node' in the 'space of flows.' Manchester then, in order to attract the professionals active in this space, have to have this 'walk on the wild side' as a attraction both for recruitment of individuals to specific firms and relocation of whole companies. One of the most prominent Mancunian recently created 'residential nodes' is the city centre. Whilst this is most definitely a 'place' in some senses of the word, since its history both as a manufacturing and warehousing centre and general centre of commerce as well as cultural centre has produced networks which generate memories and make it a living centre, there is also a level at which it is a non-place. The city centre shopping area is a clone, in some respects, of similarly sized cities such as Leeds and Birmingham. The mini-London effect means that each city has prestigious department stores such as Harvey Nichols and Selfridges. These cater for a minority of rich shoppers, with shoppers visiting the phantasmagoria on show

Whilst most of the attention in public discourse on Manchester focuses on the city centre, the nightlife and youth, particularly at the weekend when most of the consumption takes place, there is another side to the city, both in terms of its less 'shiny' neighbourhoods and in the lives of those that 'service' this 'new' Manchester.

So while we are made aware, for instance, of the spectacular architecture of the Manchester of the 'city of flows', its ordinary neighbourhoods or Castells 'space of places' are rendered invisible. This is not to suggest that the twain never meet. Most, if not all, of the people that I have interviewed enjoyed the 'new' city in some respects and intermittently used its facilities. But as Soja points out (after Harvey), '...capital is a crude and restless auteur. It strives and negotiates, creates and destroys, never fully able to make up its mind' (Soja, 1989: 157). Whilst social actors might enjoy the new city, they are never in control of it. Whatever capital decides is the fate of the city; its citizens have little power. Much of its centre is owned by corporations whose 'super-profit' making will persuade them to go elsewhere if the

spoils will be greater. In the first industrial revolution there may have been an element of control over city space, since its ownership would probably have been local. This work, though initially considering 'spectacular' weekends amongst the bright lights of the city, turned its attention to weekends in the 'space of places'.

Those with whom I talked who had lived in the city for some years, maybe visiting the city centre intermittently, sometimes more frequently, often expressed a view of Manchester as symbolic of newness, regeneration, hope and pride. The term 'Manchester' often seemed to refer to the city centre and its reconstruction after the bomb of 1995 and the recession. They recognised themselves as Mancunians, and expressed their love and affection for the city. If they were asked about Manchester, they would invariably think I meant the city centre. It has a powerful symbolic role which is a very important reference point in the construction of their identity. The same sentiments did not apply to those who lived right on the outskirts of Greater Manchester, or in particular to very new immigrants with no familial or friendship networks to link into. They found it unwelcoming. The city centre is particularly associated with the weekend economy, both in the daytime as a shopping space and hanging out space and at night as a space for the consumption of both 'high' and 'popular' culture. From 10pm onwards it is particularly associated with an 18-35 age group.

Drawing on Rob Shields' interpretation of Henri Lefebvre's account of the historicisation of space allows us to interpret the spatiality of the city in a more abstract and historical sense. He writes of the 'absolute space' of nature, 'made up of fragments of nature located at sites which were chosen for their intrinsic qualities (cave, mountaintop, spring, river)...'. This Lefebvre asserts was '...a product of the bonds of consanguinity, soil and language...', which Shields asserts is transformed firstly through the ' "sacred" era of city-states, despots and divine kings, and then through that of the "historical" - political states, Greek city states, Roman Empire and perspective. The space then became one of 'accumulation', where "...the forces of history smashed naturalness forever...". 'Abstract' space, Lefebvre writes, came about when 'productive activity' was separated from 'reproduction'. It was characterised by 'the political-economic space of property' which becomes 'a space of power'. More optimistically, he goes on to suggest that 'abstract space' harbours

contradictions, which might produce 'differential space'. Whereas abstract space homogenises, then this 'new' space would 'accentuate difference' (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 48-52). Shields contends that 'contradictory spaces' are too, produced within the contradictions of 'abstract space', where global capital vies with localised meaning (Shields, 2002).

Lefebvre explains how each city era is characterised by different social relations and contrasting means through which surplus wealth was disposed. The historical city, he argues, accumulated wealth, but also knowledge (*connaissances*), and *oeuvres* (works of art, monuments). Capitalism, however, concentrated on making products rather than works of art; exploitation rather than oppression characterised the relationship between powerful and subaltern (Lefebvre, 1996: 66-67). The post-1975 era has produced a different production emphasis, that of the production of symbols and a greater mobility of capital, people and things. The symbolic capital attached to a city, for instance, is now very important in its fortune. Manchester has been very successful, however, in converting its 'differential space' to 'abstract space'. This recuperation of resistant life as the motif of a city, appropriates the cultural capital of those at the margins and allows its commodification by the interests of capital.

This commodification is exacerbated by the global flows of digital information, which move very speedily across the globe. The 'reality' of place in, for example, the networks and products of the popular music scene in Manchester, is rendered somehow hyper-real through these speedy networks, which pick out only the exciting 'edits' and mythologise a small part of the everyday city which then comes to stand for the whole. The problem is that the cultural workers who produce 'the scene' are not necessarily those who profit financially from it.

The everyday city and its locales is a different city than the one processed by global information networks and that produced in the national media. We don't, for instance, see people tending their allotment plots on a Sunday afternoon (unless they are celebrities) or supermarket workers walking to work at seven o' clock in the morning. Manchester is regarded as a weekend city, a party city, as a city of the young, a city of leisure. This version, more easily commodified than the former, could not exist without the supermarket workers, the office, nightclub and restaurant

cleaners, the waiters, the public toilet cleaners, the street rubbish collectors, the civic gardeners, and so on. Their work is invisible. It is as if the operations of the weekend economy were produced through a kind of magic.

8.3.2 Locales and embeddedness

As a counterpoint to the discussion of Manchester and Salford as ‘spaces of flows’, I will now examine Manchester and Salford ‘locales’, which Giddens uses to ‘...refer to the use of space to provide the *settings* of interaction, the settings of interaction in turn being essential to specifying its *contextuality*’ (Giddens, 1984: 118). He discusses the way in which using the term ‘locale’, rather than ‘place’ allows us to understand it as a ‘setting’ through which social actors, move, negotiating ‘stations’ or ‘stopping places’ locales where ‘...the routine activities of different individuals intersect’. This is of interest in this context as it allows us to think about Ordsall, for instance, in terms of ‘stopping places’ and consequent opportunities for interaction, since the destruction of its neighbourhood shopping and entertainment and the building of Bettabuys. This idea of ‘stopping places’ has no place inside or outside Bettabuys. Workers on the ‘deli’ counter are advised ‘Don’t lean, clean’, limiting the possibility of chats with their co-workers or indeed with customers. The store is designed to mobilise them quickly around the aisles, buying as much as possible as they go. The car park and paths around the store are designed to do the same: facilitate quick passage in and out of the store. There are no ‘stopping places’ here.

The allotments similarly can be understood in these terms. We can mobilise the idea of Giddens’ ‘presence availability’ in conjunction with the idea of ‘stopping places’ as a means of understanding how a neighbourhood (space) can work together with the weekend (time) to produce interactions of respect. Medlock, for instance, has many small shops which are much slower to move around than shopping in Bettabuys. It involves many more stopping places and therefore many opportunities for face-to-face contact. Likewise the allotments. There are few significant ‘dividers’ between the plots and so a pleasant sociability is engendered, one that can be conversational or it can be just a greeting. There are many ‘stopping places’ for instance the tap, the wheelbarrow, the gate and so on.

Giddens' idea of 'locale' as *mise-en-scène* through which social actors move contrasts somewhat with Lefebvre's rather more dynamic idea of space. He (Lefebvre) insists on an understanding of space as *produced* through the discourses of planners and other hegemonies as well as physical movement and the imagination. Both of these approaches have been useful in this context. I like the idea of 'settings' and 'stopping places' as a means of analysing social space. Lefebvre's work entreats us to take space seriously, achieving this through detailing its historical context both pre-capitalism and within it.

There is some evidence from the people to whom I spoke that the weekend allowed more time for being local. Julie, for instance, eschewed the city centre, her place of work, for being around Medlock, her local area, at the weekend. The shopping centre, more rural pubs and DIY shops were those 'places' she most frequented at the weekend. She also demonstrated a considerable commitment to her local allotment association in tending her rented allotment plot. All of these locales provided opportunities for being part of the weekend production of Medlock and therefore keeping it alive. Medlock is a 'space of difference' and therefore exists at moments in antagonism with 'abstract space'. The people of the allotments, all of whom had a commitment to Medlock, in one way or another and lived their 'weekends off' there, contributed to its vitality. There were ways in which the corporate entertainment sector in the city centre, although perhaps culturally homogenising, provided a safe environment in which Cath and her sons could spend their Saturday nights. The cultural facilities in her immediate vicinity could not necessarily provide a comfortable or an anonymous enough environment for her to enjoy a Saturday night.

Similarly, when he was younger, Stephen, his brothers and friends would go to the city centre for late drinking and clubbing. Stephen, a 'big fan' of David Bowie, would join the others in the 'Bowie Room' at Pips nightclub, making up and dressing like his hero. Trips to 'town' allowed Stephen to perform a 'feminised' identity that would probably be marginalised in his local neighbourhood. Local embedded networks have perhaps been more difficult for marginalised identities who find the anonymity of the city more welcoming. Simmel (1950 [1903]) has articulated such an idea. Local areas are also more economically challenged as the pull of the 'centre'

becomes ever more strong as the pubs, clubs, shops and cinemas are made to compete with the greater 'efficiency' and profitability of corporate entertainment.

Cath, Stephen and Gav all spoke about their attachment to a local area, a locale that was significant because of the opportunities for 'being together' with others. Cath spoke of the liveliness, for instance of Regent Road in the late 1960s and early 1970s, where she would go on a night out when she lived there '...it was like five yards and there was a pub. There'd be four pubs on the corner of the streets and then a little bit further on past four or five shops, there'd be another few pubs. ...I never ever ventured into the city centre, Manchester city centre.' The city centre is about three quarters of a mile from Regent Rd. The road had numerous 'stopping places' where encounters were possible. Similarly Stephen also utilised (and still does, though less frequently) his local area of Salford in which to go drinking, rather than going 'into town' (Manchester). Gav similarly used a particular secluded space in the area where he lives, to meet up with friends, particularly on a Saturday night. Sometimes they would visit clubs in town, but that tended to be the exception rather than the rule. The meeting place and consequent activities were most significant on a Saturday night. These examples demonstrate the importance of 'local' areas at the weekend but perhaps suggest that it is not always the most comfortable place to be, for women and other marginalised groups.

Soja (1989: 148-49) articulates locale as, '...a bounded region which concentrates action and brings together in social life the unique and particular as well as the general and nomothetic.' He goes on, 'Locales are nested at many different scales and this multi-layered hierarchy of locales is recognizable as both a social construct and a vital part of being in the world.' For Cath, the locale of her family (in Salford) is where she wants to be, even though her own locale (in Manchester) is very close to them if we measure that proximity only in terms of miles. Soja notes that:

'Nodality and centring in turn pre-suppose a social condition of peripheralness: for every centre there is a more or less boundable hinterland defined by a geographical diminution in nodality that is brought about mainly through controls over access to the advantages of agglomeration'. (Soja, 1989)

Cath lives so close, yet so far, symbolically and materially, from the residential nodes of the city centre.

It is clear in my discussions with people, that their immediate locale was an important part of their weekend life, that of the street and the pub at the weekend. This was particularly marked in Medlock, where the allotments are located. For Michael, the pubs in the area were important for him to keep in touch with his Irish networks. The suburb still has small shops, a number of pubs and a newer tranche of restaurants. It still has a vibrant weekend economy and an infrastructure that promotes conviviality – places to have encounters and get to know others. Paul Gilroy (2004) has recently revived the term in the context of a multicultural society and it is useful in this context to convey, ‘Conviviality at root means living with; and the word's celebratory ring can connote not so much tipsy jollity as the realisation of the joyful potential in full living, with one another and with nature’ (Eyres, 2003).

The locale in which Bettabuys is situated has had the opportunities for weekend leisure wrenched away in various planning decisions about housing and the location of retail outlets. Until the 1960s and 1970s the area was described by various people as a lively mix of pubs and shops: in short, a viable neighbourhood which, however difficult to live in, had meaning for the people who lived there. Indeed, anecdotal and written evidence points to the deep trauma of other people's decisions about the neighbourhood on the residents. Lefebvre's idea of ‘representations of space’ spells out the power which professions such as town planners and policy makers have over particular neighbourhoods. Ordsall has been ‘regenerated’ through different forms of housing several times since the nineteenth century. During the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century its life was interwoven with that of the docks. Trafford Road bounds one side of Ordsall, and Regent Road one of the others, and when the docks were working (up until the 1970s) it was seen as ‘undesirable’, since it was a space of difference, of different ethnicities, nationalities, sexualities, food, cargoes, and ships. One of the residents describes walking into the road,

It was exciting, it was like walking into another dimension, because there was all these shops and there was all these cafes, they all had a smell coming out of them when the doors opened and there was always this feeling of life and excitement as you walked down Trafford Road...you'd hear a ship blowing...and you'd see these big cranes...and there was the smell of the

horses... all these different nationalities... and the prostitutes... you pass them and they'd leave this smell of cheap perfume and yet there was an excitement in it you know... (Brotherston and Windmill, 1992)

Ordsall or its immediate environs could not in any way be described as 'lively'; it is now a 'troubled' locale with few leisure spaces and a bad reputation.

'Representers of space' have to my knowledge had little meaningful consultation around 'material spatial practices' in Ordsall. Consequently there is anecdotal evidence that this has caused emotional scars amongst past and present Ordsall residents. Leslie Holmes, who has worked at Salford Lads Club undertaking art projects with young people, invited the population to an installation of his 'Ordsall Triangle', which represented the area as a gridded triangle in two 'diagrams' of 1922 and 2002. This shows that since 1922, 95% of the local streets in this inner city area have been demolished. Most of the churches remain, yet only one of the original 83 pubs. He invited residents (both current and former) to plot various landmarks on the map that they could remember, including where they had lived. Many, he relates, on seeing their streets that had been erased, broke down. They couldn't bear the loss. That fear of crime casts a shadow over the possibilities of the neighbourhood. It is seen as a place out of control, a 'dark' periphery contrasted with the 'lights' of central Manchester. With the decline of traditional industries and consequent income, the recreational and convivial life of the neighbourhood has been lost, with the tearing out of the places and spaces of human exchange. As Lefebvre put it, of human need, 'The human being has the need to accumulate energies and spend them, even waste them in play. He has a need to see, to hear, to touch, to taste and the need to gather these perceptions in a world' (Lefebvre, 1996: 147). The weekend was and is (for some) a primary site of 'creative' human exchange'. What happens if we lose neighbourhoods where such public exchange was possible? What happens if we lose the conviviality of the weekend? Lefebvre advocates the need for lively spaces: 'Would not specific urban needs be those of qualified places, places of simultaneity and encounters, places where exchange would not go through exchange value, commerce and profit? Would there not also be the need for a time for these encounters, these exchanges?' (Lefebvre, 1996: 148). Can any place be regarded as a place if there are no opportunities for such meetings? The spaces of play, of leisure therefore, one of the primary commodified spaces of the weekend should not always

be ones where money-making is the primary objective. And, given that many of the people living in Ordsall may be those who are on 'anytime working', is simultaneity now possible anyway? This question is an important one to address, for if there is little simultaneity, how do we get to know each other?

8.3.3 *The Space of the Private*

We have moved from the space of 'Manchester', to smaller, more local areas, such as Medlock, to discuss their role in the weekend. We now turn to an analysis of more private spaces such as the home and specific rooms within it, as well as the tent and modes of transport such as the scooter and the car and assess their role in the spatiality of the weekend.

For those who engaged in boundary work or ritual to produce their weekend, the bathroom was often the place where they made the transition from week to weekend. The use of water to 'wash off' the week marked the transition from one kind of spatially and temporal order into another. The choice of room is significant; this is the 'back region' of the house, one that is intensely private and one where, more than any other, we are on our own. Both Julie and Stephen spoke about this ritual, which was remarkably similar: it was one in which they participated in solitude, enjoying both the moment and the promise of the next day.

Despite the weekend often being perceived as closely associated with a more public, convivial life, it was also seen for some as having intensely private reflective moments. (Cath, Julie, Sarah). Particular spaces and specific weekend days were often connected; For Cath this was Sunday afternoon in the bedroom. During this time of reflection, she stopped all contact with her sons and they understood that the way in which she closed her door meant that she was not to be disturbed. Again, it is a 'back', rather than a 'front' region of the house in which this meditation takes place. For Jane, the meditative space of the allotment is one where she can think alone. Nowotny (1994) argues that individual private time (proper time) not determined by the clock or by what others are doing, is essential for us all. It is time that is due to us to do with as we wish. The weekend is the time when it is possible for some of us to 'take' this. Weekdays, as Joyce pointed out, were too busy to really

‘feel’ the weekend. Having ‘proper’ time in the week, therefore, seemed impossible for her, Holly and Maria.

For Pam and occasionally Sarah, the tent and the campsite were the preferred weekend spaces. ‘Escape’ from the weekday environment has been a constant motif of the weekend, initiated right from the Saturday Half-Holiday onwards. The book of walks and train journeys within a certain radius of Manchester, published in 1843, are evidence of that, as are the proliferation of day trip offers by railway companies in the latter part of the nineteenth century (see Chapter 5). We can see understand the notion of ‘escape’ in several ways. In the nineteenth century, trips and overnight stays, particularly to the countryside, might have been seen as ‘good’, rational recreation, which would keep certain classes out of ‘trouble’. However, visits to liminal seaside locations such as Blackpool contradicted this idea, and reinforced the weekend as a carnivalesque moment.

Being ‘away’ for the weekend, inevitably means a journey and that may be the *rites de passage* between the week and the weekend. The OED cites a definition of ‘weekending’ in the 1930s as ‘going away’ on a Saturday and Sunday. The possibility of mass car ownership in the 1960s meant that the ‘escape’ journeys, rather than the more public railway carriage, were now confined to immediate friends and family and there was the possibility of visiting more remote locations. The camp site is, in some respects, similar to the housing estate, but as of necessity, life is lived more publicly. Pam was very keen on camping as a means of ‘getting away’ at the weekend. She enjoys the informality, the sense of being able to ‘kick off your shoes’, ‘crack open a beer’ and ‘let the kids play’. Returning to our idea, cited earlier, of a weekend time standing still, camping allowed Pam and family to ‘just be’, to think only of ‘now’. We might cite this as a representational space, one that is of course produced through capitalism, but where ‘symbolic use’ is made of the open space, imagined for the moment as a space of possibilities. Only on Sunday evening when they returned to the family home did Pam consider Monday morning. The sense of play and conviviality (though not underestimating the work involved), together with a sense of time not dependent on the clock but on the more ‘natural’ cycles of night and day, contrast with the strict temporal and spatial regimes of Bettabuys.

It *is* only at the weekend (apart from holidays) that such a synchrony would permit firstly, children and adults or any group of people to have guaranteed time off to plan such a break. Secondly, the two day weekend allows time to get somewhere and time to do things. Without Saturday *and* Sunday such a variety of activities just wouldn't be possible. The 'aura' of the weekend as a different time and space with a less busy approach lends itself to such endeavours; days in the week wouldn't necessarily do so. Like anticipating the weekend, the pleasure of which relies on being able to share it, *knowing* that *your* weekend is *also* shared, in thought if not in deed is essential to its being special.

If we were to see the week and the weekend in terms of de Certeau's 'strategy' and 'tactics', we might see the week as the province of the powerful, a 'proper' space from which to plan strategy. The weekend, on the other hand, though initially planned to synchronise an industrial society and generate time and space for consumption could be understood as the time and space for the 'tactics' of the subordinate, a crack and crevice between one week and another which can be liminoid and occasionally carnivalesque. There are spaces associated with the weekend to which we have to travel physically, but other forms of travelling are done through the stories we tell to ourselves when we are able to have private space and time. We can travel through space and in our memory, but only if we have the time and space to do so. Cath in her bedroom and Jane in her allotment travel through time and space as they reflect on the stories of their lives, and in Jane's case, consider the spring produce of the seeds she plants in autumn. To do this, however, 'proper' time is essential. Their time off at the weekend allows them time to do that in a way that no other part of the week could.

8.4 Boundaries and *Rites de Passage*: Ways in and Out of the Weekend

8.4.1 *Ritual, the liminoid, tactics and the weekend*

There is a way in which we can understand ‘weekend time’ in the context of ‘*rites de passage*’ and ritual. If the end of the week is an historically shared (for some) moment when the transition to the weekend begins, then we can identify three temporal stages which correspond to or are part of, the three stages of the *rites de passage*. Friday evening for instance is a time for ‘looking forward’ to Saturday and Sunday. A sense of anticipation is experienced and that is reflected in the practices of consumption on Friday night. Saturday and Sunday (until tea-time) is the time of the weekend when there is a kind of temporal stasis; time stands still. This is time to ‘just be’. There is little looking forward for that would mean considering the working week. We could liken this stage of the weekend to the ‘liminoid’, which could encompass both riotous Saturday nights out (Emma, Katie) as well as Sunday afternoons in (Cath) or weekends away (Pam). On Sunday evening the temporal direction shifts forward once more into considering the Monday to Friday working week.

The evidence of the weekend being produced through ritual and boundary work means that it has cultural significance as ‘somewhere else to go’, other than the week. It can be argued that the ‘*rites de passage*’ which are the preparation for entry mean that we are entering a liminal, or liminoid time and space, with the possibility of different experiences. We might see this move, if we analyse it in an historical context, as moving from the ‘production’ of the week to the ‘consumption’ of the weekend. Since these have been gendered, with the former characterised as ‘masculine’ and the latter ‘feminine’, then we might see the weekend as feminised in its association with consumption and popular culture. If we were to understand the weekend as part of Lefebvre’s ‘bureaucratic society of controlled consumption’, then it might be understood as produced through, and thoroughly infused with the capitalist ethic. Lefebvre (1984: 36) regards ‘...meetings, parties and funfairs...’, that is to say, weekend activities as ‘...pleasant enough imitations on a reduced

scale...’, of his idea of the ‘Festival’ which might liberate us from the quotidian. So, although we might regard the weekend as fun using this analysis, it has no great significance politically. However, what Lefebvre does do is to raise the possibility of ‘the Festival’ being a catalyst for social change. De Certeau, on the other hand, does recognise that little acts of resistance or ‘tactics’ are continuous, and take place on the ‘proper space’ of the powerful. His argument is a powerful one in this context, since he suggests that time is the weapon of the powerless as they have little access to ‘proper’ space. That is why the weekend as a temporality is so important. Despite being commodified and recognised by capital as the time of greatest consumption, it is often a less controlled and stratified time for those that have Saturday and Sunday off. Although for women it has been less of a ‘free’ time, there is nevertheless evidence to suggest that the weekend is and has been their favourite time in the week. The weekend, for many, is now non-existent, and its demise has occurred with virtually no debate. This has serious implications for our social world.

Turner (1982: 36-37) describes the liminoid as capitalism’s answer to the liminal. As opposed to the liminal it is ‘...in theory, subject to individual choice’; more play than work orientated, ‘optional’ rather than ‘obligatory’ and involving ‘freedom to enter, even to generate new symbolic worlds’ and ‘freedom to transcend social structural limitations, freedom to play’. The weekend *is*, I would argue, liminoid. The degree to which it is ‘optional’ or generated through ‘individual choice’ is arguable. Nevertheless, it does allow entrance to ‘different worlds’, although the degree to which it does, is again debatable. We could cite it as a kind of ‘mini-festival’ which offers space and time for tactical resistance, even if that only amounts to gardening an allotment plot, shopping in neighbourhoods rather than big supermarkets and ‘reflecting’ in bedrooms. If weekends are regularly worked however, this shared symbolic world cannot be shared by a large percentage of the population. This work begins to pose questions about the consequences of this.

8.5 Everyday Life

Felski (2000) identifies everyday life as being produced through space, time and modality which she contextualises as repetition, home and habit. We have discussed the weekend through these concepts throughout this thesis. The week/weekend cycle is part of the 5+2 rhythm, one which makes up the temporality of our social world and forms the major repetitive pattern of everyday life. This repetition is experienced by those with whom I talked in terms of the shadow of the weekend, which imbues the days of the week to a greater or lesser extent, with anticipation, depending on their proximity to the weekend. Repetition, as Felski points out, helps us make sense of our lives, gives them some shape. Jasmin and other workers without a recognisable repetitive cycle of days on which they would work, felt the lack of an anchoring point such as the weekend and a moment where, in common with others, they would 'down some of their tools' for a while. Rather than the repetitive nature of the 5+2 cycle being perceived as mundane and therefore boring, it was seen as one which can facilitate 'difference' to the texture of the week. Without weekends, the repetitive week/weekend cycle becomes a seven day, fairly undifferentiated weekday cycle. As Felski points out, 'Thus acts of innovation and creativity are not opposed to, but rather made possible by the mundane cycles of the quotidian (Felski, 2000: 21). So the aura of the weekend is only made possible through its difference from the week and through the gradual move towards it in the course of the week.

Home is identified by Felski and others such as Heller whom she cites as the 'privileged symbol' (Felski, 2000: 22) of everyday life. This was certainly borne out by the conversations that I had with many of the respondents. One might expect that the weekend would produce other key locations. Undoubtedly there were those, but the home carried most significance, for instance in the rituals produced around the beginning and end of the weekend. Emma, for instance, found it surprising that her homeplace was a comfortable place to relax on a Friday night. She thought that out on the town was where she should be at that time, but being able to flop and pamper herself through bathing and bottles of wine, to her surprise, was intensely pleasurable. The turn to luxuries on a Friday night was described by several people with whom I talked. There is a hint of the carnivalesque, of the world turned ever so

slightly upside down as the more parsimonious week turns into the luxurious weekend. It was also one of the primary locations for being with significant others or conversely having private time on one's own.

The weekend is regarded by some as too 'out of the ordinary' to be constituted as 'everyday life' (the anthropological sense of 'the everyday' (Mackay, 1997: 7)). According to that viewpoint, 'the everyday' can only be understood in terms of the ordinary and mundane. However, we can see from the accounts of the interviewees that everyday life in the form of the weekend is far from mundane. Even if it is practised in locations other than the home, such as the camp site, night club or scooter, the home is very often 'the fixed point' at the beginning and end of such journeys (Heller, 1984: 23). It is the fixed point from which we feel able to venture out into the different symbolic worlds of the weekend, one to which, if all goes well we will return. As such, it is interesting that some of Manchester's weekend club nights adopt the iconography of home in their publicity to create an ambience of warmth and conviviality. Home for some is unfortunately not such a place of warmth, but nevertheless its associations are such that 'Friends and Family' is one such night and the trademark of another club night, that of the DJ 'Mr Scruff' is a tea bar, with 'Mr Scruff' teapots and aprons being sold on his website.

Felski's 'triad' is completed with reference to 'habit', which again is often associated with the boring, the repetitive, with actions that don't move us forward politically. The narratives of political change have generally consisted of 'ruptures' in the form of revolution, strikes or wars. Rarely is change associated with everyday habits. However, feminism and feminist scholarship has forced us to reevaluate this idea, since the revolution that is feminism did indeed come out of a pre-occupation with the everyday lives of women. Weekends are part of everyday life, even if 'home' is not the only location for their production. As we have seen, most weekends begin at home. Preparation for time away takes place here, as do the *rites de passage* associated with the transition from week to weekend

8.6 'Proper Time/Space', 'Tactics' and the Weekend

In the context of time at the weekend, and the ability of social actors to have control over and produce their own time, Helga Nowotny's (Nowotny, 1994) idea of 'proper time' is a useful one. Looking at the etymology of the word 'proper' suggests several ways of understanding it, such as 'own' and 'belonging only to one' (Chambers Dictionary). Its application in this context might be that of time being something which we can 'have' for ourselves. Roget's Thesaurus (1982) has an entry for 'proper time' in the index under 'proper'. Two understandings seemed fitting: firstly, 'occasion', where the network of words associated with 'proper', led to 'fittingness', and secondly 'good policy' which led to 'fitness' and 'propriety', the latter leading to 'what should be' and back to 'fitness' again. Many of the meanings associated with 'proper' are to do with what is 'right and proper', what is 'due someone', about 'fairness'. The weekend has been when, historically, the appropriation of time for 'us' might be possible. That expectation can no longer be taken for granted, as the people of the supermarket know only too well. Some felt that the 'mark' was being overstepped, that what was due to them as 'fair' (insofar as it can be under capitalism) was not being honoured.

Nowotny's idea of 'proper time' might be extended through analysing the web of meanings which radiate around the term 'proper'. 'Proper time' we might then define as 'time of one's own' and further, as time about which there is an issue of fairness and exchange, time which is due. Stephen makes this point when asked how he would sum up what the weekend means to him. Rather than speak on an individual level about only himself he comments in a more general way, "It's your time. It's your time to do what you want. You're giving five days at work, surely you're entitled to (two) days (off). I mean, it's not too much to ask, is it?" Indeed it is not much, but even this is being whittled away, under the schedules of flexible working. Having 'proper time' means having the time to visit more places than just home, work and the shops. It encompasses the extended weekend spatialities of, for instance, Pam and her family going camping and Stephen on his scooter outings and highlights the interdependence of time and space. Nowotny suggests that, "proper time viewed as self-time from the perspective of the individual, has to come to fresh terms with the time of others, with outside time, above all in the institutionalised

complex of working hours and its changed relations to time free of work.” (Nowotny, 1994: 41)

The time of the weekend is a special time which most people that I spoke with would prefer to conserve as proper time, to share with others in their social world a brief moment of fun, of comradeship, of reflection, or simply a time which was more theirs than others, where they were not subject to the dominance of the clock.. Increasingly, this time for contemplation, socialising and perhaps idling and dreaming is being chiselled away. For those at the sharp end of the labour market such as the retail sector, epitomised in the experiences of the Bettabuys workers that I spoke to, such as women, recent immigrants, those with few formal qualifications and students, this is happening faster than in other labour market sectors.

Nowotny's idea of 'proper time' can be understood here as 'own time', that temporal space which can generate an 'autonomous time', a time for oneself. Nowotny recognises that '...the struggle of the organised labour movement in the nineteenth century for shorter working hours was a first step towards the recognition of a minimal proper time...' (Nowotny, 1994). Nowotny traces the pre-industrial idea of time where there was little idea of 'time for oneself', since being part of a collective rhythm was what mattered. The idea of the 'private' domain and the 'private' self is only widely experienced as the middle classes begin to develop ideas of separate domains and private property. The subjective 'self' is revealed in the diaries of those who could afford the time, the space and the money for writing materials and paper. Private space and time are interwoven; without space in which one can have some privacy, time for oneself is to some extent redundant. Proper time Nowotny argues should be a political demand.

The weekend can be understood merely in terms of a 'body break', necessary for the efficiency of production the following week and as producing times and spaces for consumption; it also allows us time for consumption, the motor of capitalism. Lefebvre was pessimistic about 'modern' capitalist society. He wrote, 'Today leisure is first of all and for (nearly) all a temporary break with everyday life. We are undergoing a painful and premature revision of all our old "values"; leisure is no longer a festival, the reward of labour, and it is not yet a freely chosen activity

pursued for itself, it is a generalised display: television, cinema, tourism.’ (Lefebvre, 1984: 54). For Lefebvre, the weekend might have been understood as the epitome of the weekly cycle of consumption, determined, perhaps produced by advertising and various media forms. One might regard it, for instance, as the ‘proper’ space of capital, the weekly high point of our involvement in consumption.

In many ways the weekend is a product of capitalism. Nevertheless, we might regard it, too, as containing the cracks and crevices of the week, the limen, where time seems to stand still in some senses, for those who can be a part of it. De Certeau suggests another view, that ‘...“ways of operating” constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users reappropriate the space organised by techniques of socio-cultural production’ (de Certeau, 1984: xiv). So, although we live in dominated times and spaces, there are ways in which we can evade what he calls ‘the nets of “discipline”’. De Certeau makes clear the distinction between the powerful and subordinate, through the concepts of the ‘proper’ (‘a spatial or institutional location’) one from which a strategy can be planned and carried out, and ‘tactics’, which cannot rely on having a ‘proper’ space from which to operate, but instead, those who employ them, look for ‘opportunities’. To do this, tacticians require time. As de Certeau says, ‘The “proper” is a victory of space over time. On the contrary, because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time’ (de Certeau, 1984: xix). Nowotny’s concept of ‘proper time’ is then key to de Certeau’s idea of ‘seizing opportunities’. Time, de Certeau argues, is a key resource of the subordinate.

The weekend, I would argue, is one of those moments for ‘proper time’. There is a sense in which the most intense weekend experiences have a kind of temporal logic, identified by the many who I interviewed in terms of the three ‘ritualised’ stages. De Certeau cites everyday ritual as something which ‘permits’ everyday practices. For example, the allotment keepers and supermarket workers often produced the weekend through these ‘ritual’ stages, permitting themselves, perhaps to enter a different time and space.

Ever since the half day holiday began in 1843, there has been conflict between its role as an ‘improving’ time and space for ‘rational recreation’ and one of a ‘space of possibilities’, perhaps revolution, mixing with ‘others’, getting drunk or stoned,

being lazy or just ‘being’; in short, those not necessarily in tune with capitalist ideas of work and morals. However, global capital has understood the endurance of the weekend and its attraction. Since the demise of manufacturing in the UK, capitalists have turned to the service industry (of which the weekend night time economy is a key part) from which to make a profit. The high streets of towns and cities are now filled with ‘chain’ bars selling cheap alcohol, rather than shops which sell useful things. The space of flows (chain bars) has invaded the ‘space of places’, thereby homogenising and ‘de-placing’ the latter. Capital is recuperating the transgressive possibilities of the weekend, since the arrival of ecstasy threatened the sales of alcohol in the late 1980s and early 1990s. One might argue that to preserve the weekend as a ‘space of possibilities’ means evading the weekend in ‘the space of flows’ and finding more convivial alternatives. First of all, though we have to preserve the weekend.

To allow our weekends off to be whittled away without protesting very loudly betrays those trade union and other political activists who have struggled for the acknowledgement of a ‘proper time’, both for their members and in terms of a ‘good life’ for all. As Castells (1996: 433) points out, despite this resistance, ‘none have reversed’ the domination of commodified time epitomised in the clock.

8.7 Reflection on Research Approach and Limitations of Study

My initial inclination was to find out about ‘the ‘Saturday night’ of ‘spectacular’ weekends. On reflection, after spending an evening in a club doing some ‘observation’ and feeling a little foolish, I felt that such research may be better done by someone younger. I also realised that perhaps the ‘night-time economy’ of the 18-35 age group has been over-researched. After much thought and advice, I chose to work with allotment keepers, who activities on their plots are particularly associated with the weekend, and a group of supermarket workers, who often work on Saturdays and/or Sundays. Working with these groups did indeed reveal new things about the weekend; however, it inevitably presented a particular view. I wanted to

evade the cliché of the ‘bright lights’ weekend: that just is not possible for many people. So whilst that is alluded to (Katie, Emma, particularly), it has not been a particular focus.

The ‘placed’ context of each ‘study’ was particularly important here. Through reading the ‘histories’ of ‘Potato Lane’ and Regent Road I was able to trace social, economic and political trends; the former seeming to be almost an (welcome) historical anomaly, the latter representing capital as ‘relentless auteur’, shaping the topography of its immediate location. The insights gained through this work gave it an extra dimension, but given that I am not an historian then the accounts are incomplete and selective.

The work with allotment keepers was undertaken first, and from that I learnt two things. Firstly, choosing to conduct meetings on the allotment, while ‘authentic’, was not necessarily conducive to ‘deep’ conversations. Secondly, to confine conversations only to the weekend meant truncating them. I began the conversations with those who worked at the supermarket by chatting about their biographies, which inevitably led on to them discussing childhood weekends. This was much a much more fruitful exchange, where a layered discussion was possible. The location of the meetings was also important; they took place either at a hotel near to Bettabuys or in the homes of interviewees.

Analysing the conversations was done through close, numerous readings of the material during and after transcription, and then through manual coding with highlighters picking up themes associated with the weekend, time and space. The transcripts were copied into a series of hardback books by hand. I didn’t feel that I could type fast enough, but on reflection this was a mistake. I chose the extracts for their similarity and difference to each other, according to the themes and sometimes for their narrativity (for instance, Teresa’s account of the topography of her week). Initially as discussed in the method chapter, I was disappointed at not being able to undertake ‘proper’ ethnographic research, and then somewhat relieved that interviews perhaps could be ‘counted’ as ethnography. After undertaking the interviews and building a relationship with both sets of people, I realised it was of no real consequence.

8.8 Suggestions for Further Work

This work is one of the few in the field undertaking empirical research on the weekend. Consequently, it has proved a fruitful subject for research. There is much more work to do, speaking in a general sense about the role of Saturdays and Sundays in our social world. For instance, comparative work might be done with different groups of people (e.g. age groups, occupations, interests, ethnicities) around their weekends. Most revealing I thought, might be a comparison of weekends say in Herefordshire, with those of Manchester, the rural with the urban weekend. Similarly, conducting research with groups of people in different forms of ‘flexible working’, call centres, for instance might reveal the extent to which the weekend is worked, by what percentage of the population. Such work could be linked to international studies of call centre workers in the Indian sub-continent.

Work on Salford, in particular Ordsall uncovered its constant ‘regeneration’ and consequent displacement of people and destruction of ‘place’. This demands further work. Leslie Holmes’ work at the Salford Lads Club on the ‘Ordsall Triangle’ which represents the area as a ‘diagram’, both in 1922 and 2002 revealed trauma amongst former residents. Work on ‘memory’ might help make sense of this brutalism and affect future planning and social policy..

Particularly interesting in this context was the work on time, specifically that of the *anticipation* of the weekend, a subject which seems, to my knowledge, to have been neglected in theories of time. The role of anticipation in the lives of social actors and how that structures the ‘psychic’ week would be a useful continuance to this strand of my research.. In the 5+2 cycle, the role of anticipation is key to the ‘survival’ of ‘bad’ days in the week and important to all ‘marked’ moment of our calendars, for instance holidays, birthdays and so on. It might enquire as to how these are particularly linked to the week/weekend rhythm, and the implications of its fading, for the pleasure of anticipation.

More work on the debate over the 24 hour city seems prescient. This was an idea advocated some years ago which never seemed to address the conditions of workers

who would have to service that economy. Since this work on the weekend has established the strength of desire for Saturdays and Sundays off we cannot have this debate without addressing the conditions of low paid workers.

The demise of the weekend is a crucially important point for discussion which seems to get missed somewhere in the work-life balance debate. The most recent issue of *Soundings* was devoted to 'living well'. It seems as though this might at last be creeping on to the public policy agenda with the 'Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (very quietly) produc(ing) a topic of life satisfaction in 2002, and the New Economics Foundation... a "Well Being Manifesto" in 2004' However, this needs urgently to address the millions of invisible workers who service the weekends of those of us still lucky enough to have weekends. This might be difficult for a government with neo-liberal instincts.

Finally, the story of the Half-Holiday Movement in Manchester is one that certainly merits more sustained work. The reasons why a group of middle-class men from the Athenaeum club in the city would campaign so energetically for it is intriguing, as are the nature of the celebrations attached to its inauguration and 25th anniversary (attended by the Chartist Ernest Jones and its fund subscribed to by Charles Dickens).

Chapter 9 – Conclusion

The most surprising feature of this research is that, given the predominance and prevalence of the weekend as an institution, more work has not been done on it. In fact, in a number of ways, it is very often presented as ‘lost’. There are three aspects to this. Firstly, as I have demonstrated, in popular cultural forms and contexts, the weekend is often represented as ‘wasted’, as ‘lost’ through the effects of alcohol or other drugs. The conviviality associated with this kind of weekend is often one that has then been used by the corporate alcohol sellers and marketers who use it to sell their products. The second sense in which it has been lost is in social theory, where there is little specific reference to it at all. The forms very often tangentially associated with it might be analysed, such as popular music and television, but rarely Saturday and Sunday as a particular institution. Finally, the loss of the weekend as an institution is discussed as a preface to the discussion in succeeding chapters of how people at Potato Lane allotments and Bettabuys supermarket are able to both anticipate and spend their weekends.

The literature review found little work specific to the weekend. Exceptions were Zerubavel who historically contextualises the 5+2 ‘beat’ and discusses the week/weekend distinction and the ‘shadow’ of the weekend. This was useful in beginning to understand weekend temporalities. Rybczinski’s ‘essay’ on the subject was a ‘good read’ with some useful pointers to the parameters of any discussion on the historical and cultural context of the weekend, whilst Nowotny’s work on ‘proper time’ helped identify a means of representing ‘weekend time’. Lefebvre’s work on space aided an understanding of how the ‘trialectics’ of space operated to produce particular kinds of ‘dominated’ space. De Certeau, whilst agreeing that ‘proper’ space was often one dominated by the powerful, that power could be evaded through the ‘ace’ of the subordinate – time – which allows ‘resistant’ tactics to be employed. Heller and Felski both theorised the everyday in a way that enabled its use as a blueprint for understanding the weekend as part of the quotidian.

Based on issues which seemed to be important in the literature review, I chose conversational interviews with groupings of one or two people at a time from

particular groups as an appropriate way of examining their weekend. One of the groups – supermarket workers - was chosen because their weekends might be non-existent due to the extension of opening hours. The contributions of Bettabuys workers were, therefore, particularly revealing of contemporary working patterns in the service sector. In each case, historical research provided context.

The Saturday Half-Holiday appears to have originated in Manchester with a surprising amount of inaugural and anniversary celebration. Its role was perceived by hegemony as, firstly, a synchronising mechanism to rationalise production and, secondly, as a space and time for consumption. Thirdly, some religious people thought that time off on a Saturday might encourage reluctant church visitors who had had their ‘fun and games’ on a Saturday afternoon.

Conversations with allotment keepers and supermarket workers demonstrated a broad recognition of Saturday and Sunday as an important space and time. The space of the allotments contrast strongly with that of the supermarket, in that the former is municipally owned and not set up as a space of consumption (in the sense of buying things), whilst the latter is corporately-owned and built especially to sell as many products as possible. The former seems particularly connected to place and operates as part of the ‘space of places’ while the latter, conversely operates in the ‘space of flows’.

The weekend has been an intriguing subject to research. The half day holiday was heralded with celebration, whilst the weekend shows signs of disappearing with only a whimper. That surprised and disturbed me and so it did Bettabuys workers. At the start of this research I wasn’t sure whether anyone with whom I met would give a damn about the weekend, but those that were losing them did, passionately. Many felt that for workers, particularly in the retail sector, the weekend had all but disappeared. There was virtually no financial premium for weekend working and for new workers, one day’s work at the weekend was written into their contract. The keepers of allotment were mostly workers who worked a 9-5 day. Some worked extra, notably Jane who had two jobs in the weekend. Everyone I spoke to here had regular weekends off and weren’t as concerned with the demise of the weekend since they were not feeling it slipping away.

Nearly everyone recognised the weekend, anticipated and enjoyed it. Both men and women were vigorous in its defence, even though women may spend more of it in household management and childcare. On reflection, I may have pushed women more to reveal how much time they spent on such tasks and how these were integrated into their vision of the weekend.

The 5+2 rhythm of the week and the weekend has been one to which we all have moved. Our social world has been constructed through its 'beat'. The question I am posing further to this work is how this desynchrony will impact on that world. Many of the interviewees' working patterns were de-synchronous, often leading to mismatched social lives and dislocation within families. Could this disorganisation of the 5+2 have particular repercussions for a commitment to the public realm? A re-routing of the timescape in the 19th century led to the creation of new public spaces as Mr Ecclestone pointed out at the 25th anniversary in Manchester, that '...the Saturday Half-Holiday was the parent of the public parks', a sentiment echoed in the painting by the painting by Seurat of a Sunday on 'La Grande Jatte', a park in Paris in the 1880s. What re-routing may occur without the weekend? Would commitment to truly public space be ended when synchronous times no longer demand such large public spaces?

Having a weekend seems crucial to well-being. The feeling of having some 'free time' was almost universally enjoyed. Without a weekend, the week was flat, with little variance in topography. Anticipation was central to its pleasure, and if weekends are worked then both the anticipation *and* the weekend are denied. The 'ups' and 'downs' of the week provided contrasting texture, more likely in those working the 5+2 rhythm.

What was evident from the meetings was that 'flexible' working was a 'complex jigsaw' {Sennett, 1998 #382} which reinforced clock time. Those working at the weekend, particularly, heard the tick of the clock most loudly, especially when they felt most out of step with the time of others - 'last orders' at the pub, for instance. 'Flexible', anytime working is at the heart of the disappearance of the weekend. The

‘infinite de-regulation’ advocated in neo-liberal economics pushes aside anything which impedes the pursuit of profit.

The ‘effects’ of neo-liberal economics are felt most keenly in the times, spaces and habits which comprise everyday life. The quotidian is often, as Felski has intimated, seen as the ‘grey’ area, associated with women and children and where nothing much happens. Heller and hooks realised however, that it was a space from which we might gain strength and sustenance and that it was the domain both on which history was written and conversely *where* it is written. Everyday life, as Lefebvre says, ‘operates below the radar’ of discipline, and might be the place from which we can tactically resist the corporate impetus. Everyday life is the ‘space of places’, our neighbourhoods like Regent Road are invaded and displaced by the ‘space of flows’ and their regenerative ‘prescriptions’.

Allotments, their existence enacted by statute in the 19th century – in fact, in the same year as the Manchester Half-Holiday - stand as a unique 21st-century space. Still dominated by a gift and exchange culture, they are one of the few spaces left which don’t have consumption as their driving force. Interestingly, they matured at the same time as Fordism, their fortunes intimately linked to the dominant ideas of space and time. All those I spoke to there were not ‘flexed up’ and so could enjoy the space at the weekend, their routines fitting in with the seasonal cycles.

In conclusion, there is a real possibility that we are facing the demise of the weekend, with no public debate. The Manchester area was at the forefront of the Industrial Revolution and consequently one of the first, if not *the* first to grant the half-day holiday. Surely it won’t be the first to see the total collapse of the weekend? In 200 years time, will Saturdays and Sundays as ‘common’ days off be seen as a relic of the industrial age, something that merits a mention as an institution of the ‘good old days’, or will we fight for this piece of shared time and space which just might allow us to occasionally live ‘the good life’ and imagine ‘a better world’?

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Appendix 1 – Alphabetical Listing of Businesses in Regent Road, 1895-1969

Regent Road

Alphabetical Listing and Count of Business Types 1895-1969

Summary of Totals					
	1895	1922	1940	1951	1969
Total number of businesses	371	365	272	245	149

	1895	1922	1940	1951	1969
Business type					
Accountant			1		
Agent	1	0	0		
Allied Newspapers Ltd			1		
American Hygienic Valet service company			1		
Amusement caterer		1	0		
Analyst Dept				1	
Aniline and chemical merchants	0	1	0		
Artificial teeth fitters		1	0		
Artificial teeth fitters		1	0		
Assistant Brewer			1		
Baby linen dealer	1	0	0		
Bacon and Ham dealer	1	0	0		
Baker	8	3	4	3	2
Baker and flour dealer	1	0	0		
Baker and Pastrycook				1	
Bank	4	5	5	5	5
Beer and wine retailer	16	5	0		
Beer retailer	9	11	0		
BHS			1	1	
Billiard Hall			1		
Bird dealer	1	0	1		
Boot and etc dealer		1	0		
Boot and shoe dealer			3	5	4
Boot and shoe maker	3	2	1		1
Boot dealer	2	7	2	1	
Boot maker	13	1	0		
Boot mas		1	0		
Boot repairer		5	2	1	1
Boots Cash Chemists		2	2	2	1
Bottling	1	0	0		
Brewer	1	2	2	2	2
Burton Montague Ltd Tailors			1	1	
Butcher	21	9	6	6	5
Butter dealer (Maypole Dairy Ltd)	1	0	0		
Butter Factors (Maypole Dairy co Ltd)			1	1	
Cabinet maker	2	0	0		
Cap maker		1	0		
Caretaker		2	2	1	

Business type	1895	1922	1940	1951	1969
Carpet/rug dealers/retailers				1	1
Carter			1		
Cat and dog meat dealer	1	0	0		
Cattle salesman	3	0	0		
Cellarman		1	0		
Chemist	1	3	2	4	2
Chemist and Dentist	1	0	0		
Chemist and druggist	1	0	0		
Children's outfitters		2	1	1	1
China and glass dealer		1	0		
China dealer	3	4	1		
Cinema				1	
Clerk	1	0	0		
Clothes dealer	1	0	0		
Clothier	2	4	1	2	
Coal dealer/merchant/coal factors	1	1	0		3
Confectioner	20	21	7	7	4
Co-op	1	4	4	4	
Corn and Etc Dealer			1	1	
Corn and flour dealer	1	1	0		
Corn dealer	1	0	0		
Corn merchant	1	1	1		
Corset maker		2	0		
Costumier			1	1	
Crumpet maker		1	1		
Cutlooker	1	0	0		
Cycle dealer/Agent	2	2	1	1	1
Dairyman	1	0	0		
Dairyman		1	0		
Decorator	2	0	0		
Decorators			1	1	
Dental Mechanic			1		
Dentist	1	0	0	1	1
Dentist			2		
Dining room keeper	1	0	0		
Dining rooms	3	4	1	2	1
Dock foreman		1	0		
Draper	17	14	9	7	4
Dressmaker	4	0	0		
Driver				1	
Drug store		1	1		
Dry cleaners			1		1
Dyer	2	1	0		
Dyer and cleaner	1	1	2	3	2
Dyers agent		1	0		
Egg Dealer		1	0		
Electric Theatre		1	1		
Electrical Engineer		2	1	2	1
Engine driver			1		
Engineer (Regent Iron Works)	1	0	0		
Fancy Goods				1	3

Business type	1895	1922	1940	1951	1969
lent dealer		1	0		
Fifty Shilling Tailors			1	1	
Financier		1	0		
Fishing tackle dealer			1		
Fishmonger	2	1	0		
Fishmonger and fruiterer	1	0	0		
Florist		3	2	3	1
Foreman	1	0	0		
Free library	1	0	0		
Freeman Hardy and Willis Ltd Boot Dealers		1	0	1	
Freeman Hardy and Willis Ltd Boot Dealers			1		
Fried fish dealer	2	5	4	2	3
Friendly Society		2	0		
Fruiterer	3	4	2	2	
Furnishers				1	1
Furniture broker	3	2	1	1	
Furniture dealer	1	0	0		
Furniture dealer	6	3	0		1
Furniture remover		2	0		1
FW Woolworth and Co Ltd			1	1	1
Gas Tavern				1	1
General dealer				1	1
Glass and China dealer				1	
Gown manufacturers			1	1	
Gown manufacturers				1	
gowns			1	1	1
Greengrocer	3	3	2	4	2
Grocer	8	7	5	6	4
Hairdresser	9	4	5	1	1
Hardware dealer	2	0	0	1	2
Hardware dealer			2		
Hat manufacturer	1	0	0		
Hatter	6	1	0		
Hay and straw dealer		1	0		
Hepworth J and Son Ltd Clothiers			1		
Herbalist	2	6	3	2	
Herbalist and Tobacconist	1	0	0		
Hide merchants	1	1	1	1	
Home and Colonial Stores Ltd Tea Dealers		1	0		
Horsekeeper		1	0		
Hosier	1	5	2	1	
Hotel	2	3	5	6	6
House furnisher	1	2	4	3	5
Householder	3	7	0		
Hulme Boxing Club			1		
Incandescent gas fittings dealer		1	0		
Infantry barracks	1	0	0		
Insurance broker			1		
Irish shirt and collar			1	1	1
ironmonger	6	5	0		1
Ironmonger and brush makers	1	0	0		

Business type	1895	1922	1940	1951	1969
J.P.				1	
Jeweller/Silversmiths		2	1	1	1
Joiner	1	1	0		
Just Names			4	4	3
Kemsley Newspapers Ltd.				1	
Ladies hairdresser			1	1	4
Ladies outfitter		3	2	7	3
Ladies tailor		1	0		
Launderer			1		
Laundress		1	0		
Laundry				3	1
Leather dealer	1	1	1		
Leather merchant				1	1
Leather seller	1	1	0		
Licenced Broker		1	1	3	
Licenced Broker		2	0		
Lipton Ltd Provision Merchants		1	0		
M.O.H.- Enqs				1	
M.O.Health. S.C & Educ. Dept.				1	
Magneto Mass		1	0		
Major and JP			1		
Manager	1	0	0		
Manager	1	1	1		
Manchester Corp Town Yard			1		
Manchester Soap Company	1	0	0		
Mantle maker		4	0		
Mantle manufacturer		1	1	1	
Manufacturing Chemists			1		
Marks and Spencer Ltd Smallwear Dealers		1	0		
Maypole Dairy Ltd Provision Dealers		1	0		
Mcr and Distr. Licence Holders' Protection Assoc			1		
Mcr Reg. Hosp. Board				1	
Mcr, Salford and Dist but&mttrdrsassoc				1	
Meadow Dairy Co Ltd Provision Dealer			1	1	
Meat salesman	0	1	2	1	
Medical Officer of Health		1	1		
Metal and rag merchant		1	0		
Methodist chapel			1	1(church)	1(church)
Milliner	8	10	4	5	1
Ministry of Food, slaughter house				1	
MO Health - Enquiries			1		
MO Maternity and Child Welfare			1		
Motor driver			1		
Motor engineers			1		
Motor engineers				1	
MRHB - chest clinic				1	
MRHB(MOH)				1	
Municipal chemical labs			1		
Municipal Path Labs and Clinic			1		
Music dealer		1	0		
Music seller	2	0	0		

	1895	1922	1940	1951	1969
Business type					
Musical instrument dealers	0	1	1	1	
Musician	1	0	0		
Newsagent	4	3	2	2	2
Newsagent	1	0	0		
Novelty furniture stores			1	1	
Optician	1	1	3	4	3
Outfitter	1	2	4	2	1
Overall Manufacturers			1	1	1
Oyster dealer	3	2	0		
Paint manufacturer		1	0		
Paint merchant		2	0	1	
Painter	1	2	1		
Pastry cooks			3	2	1
Pawnbroker	7	6	3	2	
Pet Stores				1	
Photographer	2	3	1	1	1
Physician				1	
Physician/Surgeon				3	1
Piano tuner	1	0	0		
Pianoforte dealer		2	0		
Picture frame maker	1	0	0		
Pig Salesman	1	1	1		
Pillar letter box		1	0		
Plasterers		1	0		
Plumber	4	1	1	1	
Plumbers merchants			2	2	1
Police inspector	1	0	0		
Police sergeant	1	1	0		
Police station	1	1	1	1	
Policeman	1	0	0		
Post Office	1	0	0		1
Printer	2	1	0	1	1
Provident Clothing and Supply		1	1	1	
Provision dealer	7	6	1	1	
Pub	5	4	14	13	11
Public baths	1	0	0		
Public baths		1	1		
Public library		1	1	1	1
Public weighing machine	1	0	0		
Raincoat manufacturer		1	0		
Refuge Assurance Co ltd		1	1	1	
Regent Leather Co grindery dealers			1	1	
Reliance Clothing and Supply		1	0		
Rosenbergs furnishers			1		
S.C. artif.sunl.clinic				1	
S.C. M&C Welfare Dept			1		
S.C. School Clinic Dept			1		
S.C.M&CWDept				1	
S.C.M.O.Mat&child welf				1	
S.C.Sch.Clinic Dept				1	
S.C.School dentist dept.				1	

Business type	1895	1922	1940	1951	1969
Saddler	1	0	0		
Salford Corp Child Welfare Dept		1	0		
Salford Corp Maternity and Child Welfare Dept & Art Sunlight Clir			1		
Salford Corp Medical Dept		1	0		
Salford Corp School Dental Dept		1	1		
Salford Corp Tuberculary Dispensary		1	1		
Salford Dance Palais			1	1	
Salford Education cttee cookery centre		1	1		
Salford Reform Brial Society			1	1	
Sanitary Inspectors Dept		1	1		
Sanitary Inspectors Dept				1	
Sausage skin manufacturers	0	1	0		
Saw makers	0	1	1	2	
Saw makers			1		
Schoolteacher		1	0		
Sears Truform Boot Company			1		
Secretarial Training College			1		
Service battery company			1		
Sewing machine manufacturer (Singer)	1	1	1		
Shipping butcher		1	2	2	1
Shirt maker	2	0	0		
Shoe dealer	1	0	0		1
Shopkeeper	1	0	0	1	
Shopkeeper	1	0	0		
Shopkeeper			1		
Skewer maker	1	0	0		
Slaughterer				1	
Smallwear dealer	2	0	0		
Smallwear dealer		1	1	1	
Snack bar				1	2
Soldiers' Home and Institute	1	0	0		
South Salford Labour Party			1	1	
South Salford Womens C&U Assoc	0	1	0		
Stanford Shoe shop			1		
Stationer	1	2	0		1
Stocking knitter	1	0	0		
Stocking knitter		1	0		
Straw bonnet cleaner	1	0	0		
Sub post office	1	2	1	3	1
Sunlight Laundry Receiving Office		1	0		
Surgeon	7	5	5	1	1
Surgical Instrument makers	1	0	0		
Tailor	10	9	5	1	
Tailor			1		3
Tailor and draper	1	0	0		
Tailoress	1	0	0		
Taxi cab proprietor		1	1		
Tea dealer	4	0	0		
Teacher of Music		1	0		
Teacher of Shorthand		1	0		
Tobacconist	16	14	10	6	4

Business type	1895	1922	1940	1951	1969
Tourist agent/Travel agent			1	1	1
Town Sub Post and MO and Telephone call office		1	1		
Toy dealer/merchant	2	1	0		2
Tripe dealer	1	2	0		
Tripe dresser	1	2	1	1	
Tripe seller	1	0	0		
Typewriter supplies		1	0		
Umbrella maker	1	0	0		
Umbrella repairer		1	0		
Undertaker	2	1	0		
Universal Clothing and Supply		1	0		
Van driver				1	
Wallpaper merchants/dealers			3	3	4
Wallpaper workers union	0	1	0		
Wardrobe Dealer		1	0		
Warehouseman	1	0	0		
Washing machine dealer	1	0	0		
Watchmaker	9	4	2	2	2
Weaver to Wearer Ltd tailors			1	1	
Weighing machine makers		1	0		
Wesleyan and General Assurance			1	1	
Wesleyan Chapel	1	1	0		
Wholesale clothiers			1		
Wholesale Confectioner			1		
Wholesale Grocer		1	0		
Wholesale tobacconist			1		
Window blind maker	1	0	0		
Wine and Spirit merchant			2	1	1
Wireless apparatus dealers			2		
Wireless supplies dealers			3	1	1
Women's Social Club		1	0		
Wool repository/dealers			1		1
Wringing machine dealer	1	0	0		
Carpet stockroom				1	1
Shopping bag manufacturers				1	1
Salford CC Children's Dept.				1	
Welfare Foods Sales Dept.				1	
S.C. Child Welfare Clinic.				1	
S.C. School Dental Dept.				1	
Sewing Machine Dealers					1
Fuel Distributors					
Oil Merchants					
Gramophone record dealer					
Landerette					2
Co-op Electrical dept.					
Models, sports goods and cycles.					
Tesco Self Service Ltd. Grocers					
Economic stores (Regent Rd) Ltd					
Television Dealers					
Turf Commissioning Agent					
Druggists Sundriesmen					

Business type	1895	1922	1940	1951	1969
Fish and Poultry dealers					
Restaurant					
Car Hire					
Car Accessories					
Café					
Men's Wear Outfitters					
Credit Check Traders					
TV/Radio Rentals					
Retail Dept. store					
Camping specialists					
Photographic apparatus dealers					
Totals	371	365	272	245	149

Appendix 2 – Summary of Most Common Business Types in Regent Road 1895-1969

Regent Road

Summary of most common business types 1895-1969

Top Ten in 1895

Butcher	21
Confectioner	20
Draper	17
Beer and wine retailer	16
Tobacconist	16
Boot maker	13
Tailor	10
Beer retailer	9
Hairdresser	9
Watchmaker	9

Top Ten in 1922

Confectioner	21
Draper	14
Tobacconist	14
Beer retailer	11
Milliner	10
Butcher	9
Tailor	9
Boot dealer	7
Grocer	7
Householder	7

Top Ten in 1940

Pub	14
Tobacconist	10
Draper	9
Confectioner	7
Butcher	6
Bank	5
Grocer	5
Hairdresser	5
Hotel	5
Surgeon	5

Top Ten in 1951

Pub	13
Confectioner	7
Draper	7
Ladies outfitter	7
Butcher	6
Grocer	6
Hotel	6
Tobacconist	6
Bank	5
Boot and shoe dealer	5

Top Ten in 1969

Pub	11
Hotel	6
Bank	5
Butcher	5
House furnisher	5
Boot and shoe dealer	4
Confectioner	4
Draper	4
Grocer	4
Ladies hairdresser	4