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Folkes, Louise ORCID logoORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7857-6953> and Mannay, Dawn (2023) 'You feel like you're throwing your life away just to make it look clean': Insights into women's everyday management of Hearth and Home in Wales. In: The Palgrave Handbook of Psychology, Power and Gender. Springer International Publishing, pp. 77-93. ISBN 9783031415302

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‘You Feel like you’re Throwing Your Life Away Just to make it Look Clean’: Insights into Women’s Everyday Management of Hearth and Home in Wales

Introduction

The entrapment of women in domestic architectural spaces has long been the focus of classic gothic literature, and these representations can suggest that there is ‘no horror like home’ (Kneale, 2018). Other writing celebrates the everyday placement within and management of hearth and home as an idealised intimate harmony of walls and furniture, where nest-like refuges are built by women, inspiring dreams and poetry (Bachelard, 1994). For Woolf (2012), this assignment of muse and homemaker is one that has facilitated the literary contributions of men, while simultaneously silencing the voice of women artists. Accordingly, literature may be fictional, but it can reflect, refract and remake aspects of lived subjective experience. This traditional legacy of gendered inheritance, the ideology of the women enclosed inside and responsible for the assumed safe space of the home, has also been the focus of sociological and psychological interest.

Contributing to the existing literature, this chapter draws from four studies to consider the ways in which white working-class Welsh women construct gendered identities. We recognise the importance of the intersection of ‘race’, ethnicity, dis/ability and sexuality, however, this chapter is primarily concerned with intersections of gender, social class, age and locality. The featured studies were situated in Wales, UK, accordingly, there are geographical specificities. Nonetheless, the themes presented have wider applicability to understandings of motherhood, identity, and value beyond these geographical boundaries.

The chapter explores how the psychological is inextricably linked to the political and notions of ‘stigma’ and ‘otherhood’ are offered as lens to understand the everyday experiences of hearth and home in Wales, and the construction of ‘acceptable’ gendered subjectivities. The following sections provide a background to the research studies and explore the tension between domesticity and paid employment; how gender and class intersect; and the role of place and stigma in forming gendered subjectivities. The studies are then introduced and their findings are examined in relation to the key themes of this edited collection, psychology, power and gender.

Domesticity versus Paid Work

For Sydnie (1987, p. 105), domestic labour stands outside of productive labour as the housemaker has no direct relationship to capital, and so domestic labour becomes a ‘hidden source of surplus labour’. Yet, the labour continues to get done. Writing in 1976 in an edited collection entitled *Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage*, Davidoff (1976, p.148) warned that sociologists can ‘no longer go on turning their attention to everything but the kitchen sink’; and an understanding of this doing necessitates an exploration of the everyday experiences of women in the management of hearth and home. Housework has now been recognised academically as ‘work’ (Delphy, 1984) but the doing of managing a home is an intersectional space where gender operates in conjunction with other markers of difference such as class, ethnicity, dis/ability, age and locality.

This chapter centralises the experiences of white Welsh working-class women and the impact of domesticity on their identities. Alongside gender and class, the chapter explores intersections with age and place as these were pertinent in shaping women’s experiences, particularly generational notions of what the role of a ‘Welsh mam’ should be in family life (Mannay et al., 2018a).

Gender is foregrounded here as orientations to domestic labour are bound with the ‘relationship between the notion of being a [homemaker] and the psychological identity of women’ (Oakley, 2018, p.184). The salience of gender is evident in Pilcher’s (1994) seminal work, which involved interviews with families of Welsh women, mothers, daughters and adult-granddaughters between 1989 and 1990. For Pilcher (1994, p.44), the oldest generation of women – mothers – born around 1915, had been ‘socialized to invest their female identities within the domestic sphere, as dictated by the cultural expectations of the time’, and even when their husbands had retired from paid employment they actively resisted the idea of male participation in domestic labour.

The second generation – the daughters – had grown up in a different socio-economic climate and many had entered the workplace. Nonetheless, the responsibility for the domestic sphere still remained with women, even though they recognised that this position was inequitable, and there was an underlying tension with and investment in the connection between being a woman and undertaking women’s work. The third generation – the granddaughters – born in 1967 were influenced by feminist ideologies and voiced an egalitarian vocabulary, based on fairness and sharing. However, at the point of interview most of this group were still living at home and had not experienced living independently with a partner: in this way their discussions were anticipatory and philosophical.

More recent work suggests that despite the rhetoric of egalitarianism in this generation of women, they continue to have the main responsibility for housework, even when involved in paid employment. For example, Miller (2011) studied parenthood and in her interviews with both mothers and fathers she found that despite the presentation of egalitarian gender relations and social arrangements in their talk, the actuality was that everyday practices were inflected

by traditional gendered expectations in which the woman was centralised as primary care giver and homemaker. Parenthood can present as a catalyst for returning to more traditional gendered role taking (Vogler et al., 2008; Shahvisi, 2019), but these patterns are also embedded in the practices of women's childhood experiences as cross-cultural studies have evidenced that girls are given a larger proportion of family responsibilities and household chores than their male siblings (Page and Jha, 2009).

Paid work then stands in contradiction to women's culturally presumed, innate 'capacity to care', which centralises the needs of the family and reinforces gendered norms and assumptions that demand an active display of this 'capacity to care' to achieve a normative femininity (Hollway, 2006). If domesticity is chosen solely over paid employment, it can provide another way to 'become' a woman, outside of the career woman discourse (Walkerdine et al., 2001). Yet, more women are taking up careers in fields that were once male dominated (Parken, 2016) and even when a 'career' is not sought many women work out of necessity (Lloyd, 2016), and do not have the option to choose to be solely a homemaker.

The notion of 'having it all' appears to ignore the often-feminised duties of care-giving and domestic responsibility that working women undertake (Skeggs, 1997; Walkerdine et al., 2001; Warren, 2003; Littler, 2018). Accordingly, although there are opportunities for women to work outside the home, the home still demands maintenance - 'in so as it [the role of women] has been changed it has been added to' (Winckler, 1987); and often, women take up paid employment that acts as an extension of domestic care work (Skeggs, 1997; Littler, 2018). Younger generations of women can then be seen as more burdened by the 'double shift' (Aaron, 2016), having to engage with both paid work and maintaining the domestic sphere.

Intersections of Class and Gender

Alongside a gender-based approach to the study of the domestic division of labour it is important to acknowledge the role of class. Analysing data from the British Household Panel Survey, Warren (2003) employed the categories of time-wealth and time-poverty to examine gendered and classed differentiations and found that working-class dual-waged couples were more likely to fall into the time-poverty category than their middle-class counterparts. Furthermore, women in these couples contributed a proportionally higher share of caring and domestic work than both their partners and women in professional roles, who can often afford to contract out domestic tasks (see also Reay, 2005).

Despite arguably having to undertake more work overall, being able to 'do' home well, such as cleaning and caring, and the centrality of the home as a nurturing place can inculcate a sense of respectability and morality for working-class women (Skeggs, 1997; May, 2008). Yet this is difficult amid wider discourses that construct a deficit view of working-class parenting and home management (Gillies, 2005; Reay, 2013; Wenham, 2016). These discourses of failure ignore the unequal distribution of resources across families, especially in relation to economic and cultural capital (Fishkin, 2014; Calder, 2016). This political emphasis on parenting and social mobility is often focused on the most marginalised and poorest in society, devaluing working-class culture as middle-class values are framed as morally acceptable and legitimate (Skeggs, 1997; Lawler, 2018). The problem of social mobility and working poverty is framed as rooted in underperforming parents, who are unable to control their home or their children, rather than the structural barriers that entrench inequality (Gillies, 2005; Reay, 2013).

These suggestions of working-class inadequacy in the everyday management of hearth and home are intensified for young working-class mothers. Although working-class motherhood can be a source of pride and respect, marking an important transition to adulthood, this becomes contaminated by discourses of the young mother, and the threat her reproduction engenders to the social order (Gillies, 2007). Young working-class mothers are subject to stigma and blame in their everyday negotiation of parenting and homemaking (Brady & Brown, 2013) and this is extenuated by their treatment in the media. For example, Tyler (2008, p.17) has documented how in the UK the figure of 'chav mum', a representation of young, low-income mothers, circulates within a wide range of reality television, consumer culture and print media, enabling a publicly sanctioned wave of contempt for working-class young mothers, which impacts on both public perceptions and social policy.

Place, Gender and the Imprinting of Stigma

Another consideration is that of place and the ways that histories of place impact on lives in the present. There is an 'intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships' (Bakhtin, 1994, p.84), where spatiality, and indeed locality, is always intertwined with temporality and the history of place and nation. According to the historian Beddoe (2000), the lives of Welsh women have been shaped by nonconformity, religion, industrialisation and a virulent strain of patriarchy. The moral imperative to adopt an English middle-class model of femininity put forward in the English 1847 Report of the Commissions of Inquiry, *The State of Education in Wales*, had a pervasive influence over the identities of generations of Welsh women; and was central in placing Welsh women as inferior, dirty and immoral (Aaron et al., 1994). As Thrift (1997, p.160) contends, 'places form a reservoir of meanings which people can draw upon to tell stories about and therefore define themselves'. In rejecting accusations of being inferior, dirty, and immoral,

the figure of the ‘Welsh Mam’ has been centralised, and the identities of working-class women in Wales have been rooted within this rhetoric. The ‘Welsh Mam’ came to represent an archetypal image of the respectable working-class married woman that emerged in 19th century; ‘characterised as hardworking, pious, clean, a mother to her sons and responsible for the home’ (Mannay, 2014, p.159).

Understanding the construction of gendered subjectivities and acceptable femininities cannot be separated from notions of power. The psychological is inherently tied up within matrixes of power. For example, experiences of stigma are often conceptualised as individualised, personal experiences of shame and discomfort, however this is at the expense of recognising stigma ‘as a material force, a structural and structuring form of power’ (Tyler, 2020, p.9). Drawing on the work of Foucault, power is productive, and stigma in particular can be seen as a productive form of power, or what Tyler (2020) calls ‘stigma power’. When considering gendered relations, stigma can act as a site of political and social struggle. For Tyler (2020, p.8), stigma is embedded within the social relations of capitalism, inseparable from ‘histories of capitalism, colonialism and patriarchy’.

This is evident in McKenzie’s research in St Ann’s, Nottingham, UK. St Ann’s is an ex-industrial, multi-ethnic community home to a council estate that has some of the highest deprivation statistics in the UK and is hyper-stigmatised. McKenzie (2015) contends that women on the estate were aware of how ‘others’ saw them as ‘rough’ and ‘ready’, with connotations of dirt, aggression, violence and sexual availability. They discussed how they felt ‘looked down upon’ and devalued, an example of how stigma reproduces social hierarchies and the power of state-cultivated stigma to induce change in how people understand themselves and others (Tyler, 2020). Despite motherhood being valued in St Ann’s and providing a sense of pride to mothers as they coped with the difficulties of life on the estate, the collective ‘othering’ of working-class women ensured that working-class femininities held little value outside of localised settings. As previously noted, Tyler (2008) exemplifies how class and gender are intertwined in the UK through the abjection of the ‘chav mum’ and this forms part of the productivity of stigma, as it provides the legitimisation for punitive social welfare policies that disproportionately affect working-class women. Gendered, classed and place-based stigmatisation excludes and ‘others’, as stigma gets under the skin and is written on the body, demonstrating the psychopolitical nature of stigma (Tyler, 2020).

Although stigma and shame can be resisted and negotiated locally, and localised values and gendered identities invested in, wider structures of power, or stigma machines, ensure that stigma is maintained (Tyler, 2020). Often this is linked to economic structures and the development of capitalism into its current, neoliberal form (Walkerdine, 2003). In Jimenez and Walkerdine’s (2011) work, the de-industrialisation of the South Wales Valleys was the driving factor in the collective loss of identity felt by the young working-class men. As gendered (and place-based) identities were so heavily entrenched and intertwined with an economy based on industry, its demise led to collective identity loss but also individual feelings of shame and embarrassment as the young men navigated service sector employment considered to be ‘feminine’.

As neoliberal capitalism demands successful and continual reinvention of the self, ‘the practices of subjectification produce a constantly failing subject who has to understand their position in essentially personal and psychological terms’ (Walkerdine, 2003, p.241). This can help explain why women in McKenzie’s (2015) research reported ‘never feeling good enough’. Yet, it is essential to extend our understandings beyond the personal and psychological experiences of stigma and shame, to understand how wider practices of stigma power operate and entrench systems of inequality and social hierarchy.

These interlinked themes of gender, class, age, and place will be explored further in the chapter in relation to a sample of white Welsh working-class women’s experiences in the home. The concepts of stigma, identity management and ‘acceptable’ feminine subjectivities are foregrounded to highlight how the psychological is political in the construction of Welsh working-class notions of femininity, relating to the key themes of this handbook. However, first it is important to provide an overview of the studies in which this data was generated, and these are outlined in the following section.

The Studies

This chapter draws on data from four separate studies conducted with women and their families in Wales, UK. The first, was a doctoral study involving nine mothers (aged 30-60 [1]) and their nine daughters (aged 9-21) that focussed on the ways in which gender and locality impact on the education, employment, and everyday lives of those residing in marginalised areas (Mannay, 2012) [2]. The second, was a research study that was interested in the everyday practices of young motherhood in relation to wider mediated forms of idealised and stigmatised parenting, which involved six mothers in their twenties who had given birth to their first child between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two, including four women who had previously lived in homeless hostels or mother and baby units (Mannay et al., 2018a, 2018b) [3].

The third study focused on the everyday practices of parenthood by incorporating a desk-based analysis of 167 online images that examined the representation of contemporary forms of motherhood in relation to social class and age, a focus group with four fathers (aged 23 to 39) whose partners were in their early twenties, and individual interviews with two mothers who had their first child between the ages of sixteen and twenty-three but were ‘new’ mothers again in their forties (Mannay et al., 2018a, 2018b) [4]. The fourth was a doctoral study concerned with the ways in which social

class, place-attachment, and gender are interconnected within narratives of social (im)mobility and the horizon of participants' trajectories (Folkes, 2019) [5]. This study generated data with twenty-five participants, thirteen of which were women and girls. The sample represented different generations, including primary school children, parents and grandparents. Participants were recruited via community networks, third sector organisations and snowballing techniques.

Across all of the studies the authors were interested in the subjective meaning making of their participants and they drew on the qualitative approaches of individual and group interviews and ethnographic observations, interactions, and reflections. The studies featured various forms of creative data production including collage, photographs, maps, and written narratives, which were explored with participants in the associated elicitation interviews. These were mainly organised in participants' homes with participants collating and creating data independently to share with the researcher but in study three the researcher introduced media images as prompts for the group discussions.

Data production and analysis were conducted concurrently, with emergent themes being explored in future interviews. The visual products created by participants were photographed at the point of data production. These creative outputs acted as tools of elicitation rather than objects of analysis per se; however, they were considered in the analysis to clarify and extend the associated interview transcripts. All interview data were transcribed verbatim and analysed applying a thematic framework, allowing codes, categories, and themes to be constructed from the data, and then further examined through lenses of analysis including concepts drawn from the work of Foucault, Bourdieu and Klein.

Ethical approval for all studies was granted by Cardiff University's Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. Participants were asked to provide written informed consent to take part in all stages of the research process and the names of people and places were changed [6]. Beyond procedural ethics, we worked closely with participants to ensure that the processes of data production were respectful and centralised the meaning making of the families. As working-class researchers, we shared some characteristics with our participants that enabled us to establish common ground and build trustful relationships. However, we were also careful to ensure that familiarity did not overshadow the research process. Overall, creative methods worked well to quieten the voice of the researcher and provide opportunities for participants to lead conversations about the visual outputs they produced. Our positionality and research design enabled the production of a nuanced data set which is presented and explored in the following sections.

Findings

Participants' accounts covered a range of themes including family relationships, changes in identity, health and well-being, childcare practices and routines, education, employment, aspirations for the future, and reflections on their pasts. However, the findings presented here focus on participants' subjective experiences of the everyday management of hearth and home. The data presented explores the home as space within wider spaces of employment and education, ideologies of acceptable femininity and the 'Welsh Mam', and discourses of class, stigma, and 'otherhood' (Mannay et al., 2018a). These themes are explored throughout the sections that follow as we explore how power and psychology intertwine in the making of a 'acceptable' Welsh working-class femininity.

Who should do the dishes?

In conducting the fieldwork, the 'waiting field' (Mannay & Morgan, 2015, p.758) of spaces before interviews began and the interruptions to these interviews, provided an opportunity to explore the times where real lives carry on before they make room for the intrusion of techniques of data production. The neatness and cleanliness of homes was notable and observable actions, as well as women's interview accounts, implicitly suggested that this maintenance of domestic order was achieved by women. For example, in interviews with family groups, fieldnotes were made reflecting on the research encounter, and these often recorded women 'emptying dishwashers, feeding babies, ironing clothes, making lunchboxes, calling the doctor for a poorly child, dropping children off at school' (Folkes, 2019, p.73).

In keeping with previous research, where women were more likely to gain help with tasks, rather than for husbands to agree to accept ongoing accountability (Dempsey, 2000), in these four studies there was an implicit ownership of housework in the data produced with women [7]. Where husbands, partners or children took part in housework activities these were often referred to as them 'helping' and being 'as good as gold'. This selective helping is illustrated in this example from an interview with Bella, a married woman and mother;

Bella: *'No he's pretty good, I got to be fair he's pretty good, like if I've got to work if I'm go to work in the morning and (husband's) at home it's clean when I come home... You know like (husband), wouldn't put the washing machine on and he wouldn't iron... He's good like that and you know he wouldn't expect me to clean the bath out after him'*

Bella worked part-time, while her husband has a full-time role, which can account for differential contributions to homemaking. However, there is a clear divide in the types of housework undertaken. Furthermore, the repetition of the

adjective 'good' in Bella's account situates this contribution as something that is both voluntary and appreciated. This stands in contradiction to the work of women in the home, no women referred to themselves as 'good', rather housework was presented as a cyclic inevitability, as Bella noted *'whatever you do today, tomorrow you got to do it again'*.

Another working mother and sole breadwinner in the family, Gwennan, discussed housework as *'constant constant constant same old, all the time'* but unlike Bella she overtly positioned the family expectation that she would have sole responsibility for domestic tasks as a source of inequality. Nonetheless, this resistance to inequality was dissipated when causal blame for this disparity was owned by Gwennan, who explained that *'it's my own fault'*. The rationale Gwennan offered for this was that she should have asked her partner and children to help and because she did not *'they don't think, that it is their job'*. However, asking in itself is contentious, for as feminist author Emma (2018, p.7) contends, *'when a man expects his partner to ask him to do things, he is viewing her as the manager of household chores'*, in this way women are conferred not only the physical load of housework but also the mental load of home management.

Even in cases where partners helped, without being asked, this was a source of internal conflict and there were implications about how participants would be viewed by others. There was shame attached to accepting assistance with domestic duties, as it undermined doing 'woman' and 'working-class' well (May, 2008). As mother and student Vicky commented, *'Yeah he does help, I'll probably come across as a lazy bitch now'*. Aligning with earlier studies (Pilcher, 1994), women may resist support from partners if it risks their positioning within discourses of acceptable motherhood where housework is a naturalised, feminised activity.

In some cases a mother's emphasis on keeping a clean home appeared to influence their daughters. For example, Chloe (aged 9) was provided with paper featuring blank cloud outlines and asked to provide suggestions about what would make her community a better place to live. In one of these clouds, Chloe wrote 'look after your house' situating homemaking as a valued activity. The following section explores how these gendered positionings do not simply create a 'second shift' (Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Aaron, 2016) but also define the type of work that women undertake.

Paid work versus housework?

There is a pressure for women to be both homemaker and breadwinner. These neoliberal notions of 'new motherhood' depict a woman who holds down a full-time job, brings up children and manages the domesticity of everyday life (May, 2008). However, although it was possible to keep the home clean, work and take on a caring role, this was problematised in relation to the difference between taking on these competing roles and doing them 'properly'. This is illustrated in the following account from married mother of three, Lesley;

Lesley: *I enjoyed it, I did enjoy it, um, but once you, once you've had kids it's really difficult to, well I found it really difficult to go back, cos I only went back part time... um, and you end up sort of, trying to do, what you end up not doing anything fully... so you don't do your job properly and you don't do home properly and, so, in the end I ended up, at first I took a career break, and then just finished*

Lesley trained and then worked in psychiatric nursing, but she gave up work to care full-time for her children and for her chronically ill mother. There is a tension as Lesley discusses how she enjoyed her paid work role but that with her other responsibilities this became untenable as she could not balance the expectations of these two 'greedy institutions' (Morgan, 2016; Salisbury, 2016). Concern and compassion are two characteristics that Hollway (2006) associates with the capacity to care, which is gendered and feminised. In his interview, Lesley's father Roger positioned his daughter's decision to leave work and take care of her family as 'very unselfish' and described Lesley as a 'good support' – the selfless good mother – as opposed to a 'selfish' mother who does not prioritise the home and care (Skeggs, 1997, 2011; Walkerdine, et al., 2001).

However, to be a selfless good mother, this means avoiding the label of the 'selfish mum' as indicated in Roger's account. In full-time nurse Louisa's interview, she explained that in managing the home, *'you feel like you're throwing your life away just to make it look clean'*. However, later she explains how domestic tasks play a role in defining her maternal identity;

Louisa: *And the washing up and the hoovering, I like to do it sometimes, because I still feel like I'm doing something for my children, I'm... for where they live, does that make sense, I'm not just going out to work and being a selfish Mum, and earning the money and sitting on my arse and doing nothing*

There is an awareness here of the ideal of the selfless mother, a quality that was admired in Lesley's father's account; and perhaps of the 'Welsh Mam' who prioritises hearth and home (Aaron, 1994). For Louisa, this doing of household chores is *'throwing your life away'* but it also acts as a protective factor in constructing a 'psychological identity of women' (Oakley, 2018, p.184), one in which she displays a 'capacity to care' (Hollway, 2006), and avoids an alignment with the attribute of selfishness. However, this is gendered as *'earning the money'* has, for men, been enough in itself and their engagement with the orthodoxy of productive labour (Sydie, 1987, p.105) has not required the dual domestic

labour of *'the washing up and the hoovering'*. Even with more recent shifts towards notions of the 'new man' and the 'modern man' (Morant, 1998), studies illustrate the gendered gaps in who takes responsibility for hearth and home (Warren, 2003; Vogler et al., 2008; Miller, 2011). Nonetheless, Louisa claims agency in her account, *'I like to do it'*, suggesting an element of choice that was also constructed in other women's interviews.

For example, Lisa explains why she chose not to take up the offer of teacher training and progression, and instead maintained a lower paid role as a teaching assistant.

Lisa: *It's not worth the, the added stress. I do, I do quite a bit at home, but I do it because I enjoy it, not because I have to do it, and I think if you have to do it, you probably realise you're not enjoying... doing it so much, but *laughs* umm, no, so I wasn't, I wasn't too keen.*

Lisa was keen to emphasise that she does 'quite a bit at home' because she enjoys it and not because she has to, constructing a narrative of choice. For Lisa, there was value in having an adequate amount of time to be able to look after the home, which is why she 'wasn't too keen' on embarking on a teacher training course as a means to career progression. Accounts such as these suggest that the home is a nurturing space that is created by women, where cleanliness and order are a signifier of respectable femininity for working-class women; being able to be a good 'Welsh mam' whilst upholding a job and the home simultaneously (Davidoff, 1976; Skeggs, 1997; Mannay, 2016a). From the last three extracts we see that Lesley found she had to give up work to meet the expectations of the 'capacity to care' (Hollway, 2006), Lisa rejects career progression, and Louisa speaks of *'throwing your life away just to make it look clean'*. In this way they were required to negotiate between the 'greedy institutions' of paid work and the invisible labour of the home (Morgan, 2016; Salisbury, 2016), often choosing to prioritise the home and resist the label of the 'selfish Mum' at the expense of their careers.

Narratives of choice occur in these accounts. However, satisfaction is essentially rationalised and accepted in relation to circumstances, so it is important to consider 'obligatory choices' (Bennett et al., 2009) and the ways in which discourses of acceptable femininity and legacies of the 'Welsh Mam' impact on women's everyday lives. There is a socially constructed pressure to be a 'good' caring mother to avoid the gaze of the judging 'other' (Skeggs, 1997); and there are additional layers of judgement for individuals who are both living in poverty and are young parents, which are explored in the following section.

Unacceptable femininities and 'otherhood'

Cleaning is often used as a method of achieving a respectable and acceptable working-class femininity by distancing the self from 'dirt' and a discourse of lack (Skeggs, 1997; Mannay, 2015, 2016). However, for some women this is more difficult to achieve. Notkin (2014) has used the concept of 'otherhood' to challenge cultural assumptions about single women and childlessness. In her work, Notkin (2014) explores the social and emotional impact of childlessness in the US in relation to the formation of alternative, 'othered' femininities. However, 'otherhood' has also been adopted to consider mothers who are positioned 'outside the normative expectations of idealised forms of parenthood in relation to their class, age, and residence in marginalised areas' (Mannay et al., 2018a, p.37). This section considers the experiences of young mothers, and fathers, who have spent time in homeless hostels and experienced being under the gaze and surveillance of those who question their abilities as both parents and homemakers.

Participants discussed how they were monitored in terms of how they cooked, cleaned, shopped and took care of their children. Some participants who were living in a hostel setting described how workers in hostels had set ideas about what was the 'correct' way to be a homemaker, which often conflicted with their own values and plans. These were seen as untenable in negotiating the everyday of parenting once they left the hostel environment and had to parent in the real world. For example, Chelsea described an incident where she wanted to leave her tired child within the remote monitor care of another mother while she went to the local shop, which was only a short walk from the hostel. Chelsea had intended to leave her phone with her sleeping child connected to another mother's phone in a different room, in the same way that a baby monitor would be used.

Chelsea: *I said, what d'you expect me to do, I said, he's in a cot that he can't get out of, I said, he can't hurt himself because there's nothing in there apart from ... a blanket and she was like ... what are you doing then. I said, well I'm going in there to ask if I can ring one of their phones, for a monitor for my child I said so I can run up the shop. I can get milk and bread, so I can do his dinner, and she was like, no you'll have to... you'll have to go and get him so I had to go upstairs. I grabbed him and he's still f... he's falling back to sleep as I'm coming down the stairs and I felt so sorry for him.*

For Chelsea, as her child is tired, it is preferable to let him sleep in the remote care of another young mother for this short journey, rather than to wake him. However, her capacity to care (Hollway, 2006) is called in to question, and her request and resistance is challenged and denied. When young mothers do not comply, there is the threat of eviction and

the removal of their child (Morris, 2018), and in these situations and a myriad of others, they have to agree to a set of ascribed rules for parenting and domesticity, which they know will be untenable when they leave the hostel. This demonstrates the stigma power of institutions such as children's social care that work to make young parents regulate their behaviours as stigma gets under the skin and their activity is surveilled (Tyler, 2020). Tom, a father who had lived in a hostel with his partner, also discussed this element of surveillance outside of the hostel space, when he visited the local playgroup provision.

Tom: *Even the kids are looking at you like, who are you, you know like kids can look at you, and I swear like one time I looked up and every kid was just like that at me staring, I think it's like what's a bloke doing in here*

For Tom, the incongruity of a man in playgroup is noticeable, even by pre-school children. However, it is not only gender that is an issue here, the 'new man' (Morant, 1998) enables spaces for men to inhabit caring roles, but only some men. As the other three male participants in study three commented, these spaces of acceptable masculinity are only available for 'proper real good dads, prim and proper dads'. As stigma is written onto the body, this did not include fathers who were associated with the semiotic signifiers of poverty and youth, such as energy drinks, smoking, the 'wrong' clothes and accents, which set them apart as 'defective consumers' (Bauman, 1998, p.38). In this way, fathers from marginalised locales felt doubly deviant in these feminised and middle-class spaces, and constantly surveyed. As Tom discussed, this surveillance and his subjective reading of the space as exclusionary, meant that simple, practiced and rudimentary tasks of domesticity were impacted.

Tom: *When I was doing it I felt all eyes on me, this is fucking um I'm just changing a nappy um obviously I've changed loads, like I done something wrong I don't know what it was, but I made like a proper basic mistake that I'd never done before it's just because I felt so under pressure with all these people watching me like, because I almost felt like they were expecting me to fuck up and then I did*

In this account, Tom describes a disposable nappy that is put on back-to-front. In this intersection of gender, class, and place he is marked out as different and also as incapable. For Tom, marginalised yet caring masculinities form a dualism, in the same way that Chelsea is marked out as the wrong kind of parent, 'otherhood' versus motherhood (Mannay et al., 2018a) and in contrast to acceptable, domesticated femininity. These forms of surveillance and low expectation can lead to what has been referred to as a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968, p. vii), where the continual positioning as a failing parental subject could impact on parents' confidence and in turn their performance as parents and homemakers. This demonstrates the psycho-political power of stigma as institutions wielding stigma power construct and perpetuate narratives of individualised failure when classed and gendered middle-class norms are not met (Walkerline, 2003; Tyler, 2020).

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter has explored the everyday management of hearth and home. The home has been presented as an intersectional space that draws on gender, class, age and locality to produce complex and nuanced power relationships. The chapter has set out how these relationships play out and are made visible in the mundane context of the everyday. Underpinning this chapter has been the focus on three key themes: the home as space within wider spaces of employment and education; ideologies of acceptable femininity and the 'Welsh Mam'; and discourses of class, stigma and 'otherhood'.

For the successful homemaker to prosper, the failing subject is necessarily brought into being, 'as both are relative constructs, and these positionings are made and remade through mediated forms and everyday interactions' (Mannay, 2018a, p. 37). These constructions of un/acceptable gendered subjectivities are productive and illustrative of wider 'stigma machines' which work to entrench structures of inequality, linking the psychological to the political, a key consideration of this handbook. The accounts presented here illustrate how spaces of domesticity continue to be sites of gendered inequality and classed judgement, in which sacrifice, powerlessness, and exertion are often keenly felt yet internalised alongside the invisible labour that continues to constitute activities of homemaking and the incessant enactment of care. What is clear from the findings shared in this chapter is that the personal (and thus the psychological) is always political, and constructing 'acceptable' gendered identities is a process tied up in webs of power relations, where stigma is negotiated and resisted. 'Acceptable' and 'valuable' gendered identities are always constructed within the matrix of psychology and power.

Notes

1. The eldest participant in the 'mother' sample was a biological grandmother who was a kinship carer for her granddaughter who was in the 'daughter' sample.

2. The doctoral research project from which this chapter is drawn was titled 'Mothers and daughters on the margins: gender, generation and education' and was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (Mannay, 2012).
3. The study titled 'Negotiating young parenthood: A study exploring the ways in which mediated stereotypes of teenage parents Impact on their perceptions of their parenting practices and their engagement with service providers' was funded by the Wales Institute of Social & Economic Research, Data & Methods (WISERD) as part of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Transformative Research Seedcorn Initiative. Dawn Mannay conducted the research interviews.
4. The study titled 'Young Parents and the Media: Exploring Visual Representations and their everyday Impacts' was funded by the Cardiff Undergraduate Research Opportunities Programme (CUROP). Sherelle Mason and Jordon Creaghan conducted the research interviews.
5. The doctoral research project from which this chapter is drawn was titled 'Collective (re)imaginings of social mobility: Insights from place-based, classed and gendered (im)mobility narratives' and was funded by Cardiff University's AHSS College Investors in Excellence scheme (Folkes 2019).
6. In study one and study four the pseudonym for place was derived from Welsh language words reflecting the geographical location. In study one, a combination of the words 'hi' (her) and 'stryd' (street) were combined to create the pseudonym Hystryd. In study four, 'Hiraeth' a Welsh word meaning nostalgia, yearning, or longing, which was pertinent to the findings of the study was the pseudonym for the research site. In study one, participants originally selected their own pseudonyms, however, this became problematic when participants chose the names of other participants. Therefore, in all of the studies participants pseudonyms were decided by the researcher.
7. There were four men involved in study three and twelve men and boys participated in study four. Their accounts did not feature discussions of housework. However, it is worth noting that the data on housework in study one was shared with young men in a community workshop. Reflecting on their own experiences, they suggested that as working patterns change a more equitable sharing of the domestic sphere could emerge where practices are not fixed in traditional, outdated gendered discourses (see Mannay 2016b).

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