

## Chapter 6

### Producing Habitus: ITV Soap Operas and the 'Northern Powerhouse'

Peter Atkinson

In this chapter I examine the relationship between two ITV soap operas and the recent development of the cities where they are made. *Coronation Street* is produced in Salford, and formerly in Manchester, and *Emmerdale* is produced partly in Leeds, where there are studio sets, and partly on location at the Harewood Estate to the north of Leeds. I demonstrate that the two soaps contribute to the economies and cultures of these cities which have recently been promoted in political rhetoric as being at the seat of an emergent economic 'Northern Powerhouse'. I show the impact upon these cities to be in four particular ways: through the profiling of brand, through processes of representation, through association with the heritage of the cities, and through their contemporaneous and regular delivery. Adopting an interdisciplinary approach, I employ Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, noting that there is a parallel between habitus as represented in soaps, and the use of this theoretical concept in some urban studies work which investigates the effects of gentrification in cities. I observe that there is an increased commodification of lifestyle evident in the two soaps and argue that this reflects the growth of the economies of Manchester and Leeds and the subsequently more nuanced modes of consumption in those places in recent years. I conclude that the soaps are ambiguously placed in this milieu: the original form of these programmes represented traditional lifestyles in close-knit working communities but such communities are now being broken-up and often replaced by a commodified gentrification of place. I begin by outlining Bourdieu's concept of the habitus and how this relates to soap opera and the communities in the cities which they represent.

#### Habitus

The way in which people use facilities in social space, and social organization can be evaluated by using what Bourdieu termed his 'thinking tools', the conceptual tripartite relations between 'practice', 'habitus' and 'field' (qtd. Jenkins 1992: 67). Bourdieu observes the visible world of social practice. All social life for him is practical and located in space and time. Bourdieu contends that practice is not wholly consciously undertaken, but rather that one thing follows on from another. Paraphrasing Jenkins, the social actors that are a part of this practice have learned cultural competences which include a social identity (Jenkins 1992: 70). Habitus really is concerned with what is inside the heads of social actors and what causes

them to interact with others, physically, in the way in which they do. For Butler and Robson, the term refers to ‘the ways in which the processes of class formation – and reproduction – are facilitated by the storage and (transposable) transmission of core cultural dispositions in the individual’ (Butler and Robson 2003: 36). The habitus builds a bridge between individual decision-making about lives, and the structures of society in which such lives are participant. With relevance to the argument being made here, in Bourdieu’s terms we are all social actors with particular dispositions which are often shaped by the individual’s class, and class-training. Habitus is key to the representational form of soap operas which enact a fiction of this, one that particularly mirrors that of real-life individuals in as much as that it is on-going, without end. The stereotypes that soaps construct in their portrayal of social and cultural relations are founded in sets of signifiers that indicate how society’s ‘supra-individual’ structures interrelate with individual practice and the consequence of this for others involved in the immediate arena of social practice (Jenkins 1992: 74). My engagement with the concept of habitus here is prompted by my proposal that the two television dramas under discussion have both contributed to, and represent, the economic growth of Manchester and Leeds. I now provide an outline of how this is the case.

### Soaps and brand profile

I begin by clarifying that, although it is often regarded as a part of Manchester, Salford is a separate, twin city. *Coronation Street* was originally produced in Manchester, but only a matter of yards away from the border with Salford. It is now produced in Salford (see Brooks-Pollock 2014; Schmid 2007; Atkinson 2015: 73-74, for a discussion of the importance of referring to each city separately). In the broader context, *Coronation Street* and *Emmerdale* impact upon the economies, cultures and profiles of the cities in which they are produced through brand-profiling. The programmes themselves are brands which have high media visibility and which help brand ITV. They also brand the cities where they are made, and which are represented in their fictional narratives. This is because of the regularity of their broadcast. Although programmes are now treated as ‘interchangeable options’ in the age of multi-channel, multi-platform, multi-access TV, as Spence suggests, the soap opera is always there (Spence 2005: 5). Their consistency of delivery is only sacrificed for large sporting occasions, or for extraordinary circumstances. Both the ITV soaps have increased the number of episodes transmitted each week to six. This ‘high-volume, year-round’ factory-like production utilizes economies of scale (Hobson 2003: 46). Intintoli argues that ‘soaps are industrially manufactured’ for ‘continuous consumption’ (Intintoli 1984: 121). They are

‘compatible with, or complimentary to’ the commercials at their core. Taken together, he concludes, soaps ‘simultaneously reach viewers, potential markets, and consumers in the context of an advanced capitalist society’ (62). Soaps are products, mass-produced fictions. They nonetheless offer a personal engagement, and this communicates brand identity. Spence observes that programme and viewer, ‘intersect and interpenetrate one another in elaborate and subtle ways; they exist in an interdiscursive and mutually constituting space, with viewers utilizing both shared cultural conventions and personal histories each time they watch’ (Spence 2005: 12). At the same time, soaps may offer a more fantastical engagement, wowing viewers with spectacular events (tram and helicopter crashes, murders, fires, or explosions). They subsequently stimulate considerable media interest, providing material for dedicated weekly magazine titles, for soap gossip online, and for the columns of celebrity news and lifestyle magazines and newspapers. The TV channels also build their brand as they include soap news and features in their own morning magazine shows. Meanwhile soap awards ceremonies are broadcast as self-celebrating industry spectacles designed to attract media attention. In addition to this, ITV have for many years capitalized on its soaps as tourist attractions. Currently, *Coronation Street on Tour* is an installation in Glasgow SECC which displays the ITV soap's iconic cobbles, sets, props, costumes and memorabilia. It will be available until January 2017 in a partnership between Scottish Television (STV) and Gala Bingo. The installation may then move to Belfast. Over in Yorkshire, *Emmerdale – The Tour* includes a guided tour of the fictional village and its former actual locations - Arncliffe in Littondale, and Esholt. It also includes the real West Yorkshire town of Otley, just north of Leeds, where shooting of scenes of the fictional market town of 'Hotten' is undertaken. *Coronation Street* and *Emmerdale* thus both brand ITV and profile the northern region which is represented in their narrative as they become ‘part of the fabric of other media’ (Hobson 2003: 2).

### Figure 6.1. The Emmerdale studio at ITV Leeds

#### Representing and representative of place

Place is signified in soaps through a range of textual forms and codes including narrative, dialogue, sets, mise-en-scene, actors, costumes, props, sounds, and outdoor locations. Most of the narrative world is fictional: *Coronation Street* is set in ‘Weatherfield’, commonly understood to be a fictional Salford, the name being designated with some humour presumably, given the Manchester conurbation’s reputation for an inclement climate.

However, some of the places referred to in the narratives of the soaps are real: in *Coronation St*, Deansgate, Market Street (two of the main streets in Manchester), Denton, Canal Street (Manchester's gay area), the names of local footballers and teams, and also other places in the North West such as Blackpool and Lake Windermere have been referred to. It has been seen that the village itself, and nearby 'Hotten', are fictional locations of *Emmerdale*. But Leeds, York, Liverpool and the 2014 *Tour de France* (which passed through Yorkshire) have been referred to in the soap, as well as some specific retail outlets in Leeds. These references to real locations and events ensure that the 'comfort of the compellingly familiar', that Spence argues is the appeal of soaps, is rooted in reality in these cases (Spence 2005: 72). Another way in which soap operas impact upon their cities of production is that actors and crew actually become a part of those cities, socially. Particularly when production was in central Manchester, *Coronation Street* actors were seen in town: in the street, in shops, bars, restaurants, theatres and gyms. Actors also become a part of the life of the city by being engaged in promotional activities or with local theatre and educational groups. Additionally, actors regularly feature in local press and media as they donate various services to, and become involved in, local charity work and events.

Meanwhile, the extent of the virtual tourist sites pertaining to these soaps is expansive. Whole fictional histories are provided, *Corriepedia* makes available a plot summary of every single episode ever broadcast, and many other details of production and cast. There are detailed online maps of locations used, and of fictional territory, as well as various out-takes, related clips and interviews. These enhance the perception that the programme is a part of the city that it represents. They combine to produce a fiction of place and promote Manchester and Leeds as attractive destinations. This affects their cultural economy and people's dispositions towards these cities.

### Heritage

Heritage is important to both branding and the representation of place in the case of ITV. The company has a rich heritage in the North West as evident in 'Granadaland' mythology. That a geographic area should be named after the independent commercial Television channel that once served it is testimony to the influence of Granada Television between 1956 and 2004. After it was awarded its franchise in 1955 the broadcaster served a region including Lancashire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, North Wales, Westmorland, Cheshire and the northern

parts of the Midlands. After 1968 the label 'Granadaland' came to apply to the smaller, western area of the North as Yorkshire Television took over the franchise for the east of the region. Granada is considered to be one of the most distinctive broadcasters in the world. Cooke (2012) offers an extensive assessment of its influence, and Finch, Cox and Giles (2003) provide an informative collection of memories of former employees and associates. Tributes to the broadcaster on the fiftieth and sixtieth anniversaries of its birth confirm the reverence in which Granada is held. Formed by the Bernstein brothers who ran Granada cinemas, the company decided to apply for the ITV franchise in the North West because of density of population, its distance from London and, as myth has it, because of the rainfall count (which, it was thought, would persuade people to stay indoors more). Sydney Bernstein was a committed socialist, and active in party politics, to the extent that there was an attempt to block Granada's application for the franchise (Cooke 2012: 46-47). Hallam notes that Granada was 'against cultural segregation' and aimed for a blend of popular programming with 'innovative drama, hard-hitting investigative documentaries and pioneering coverage of political events'. It gained a reputation as the 'most socially conscious' of the new British commercial channels (Hallam 2003: 12). The Introduction in the programme of the *Granadaland* conference held on the sixtieth anniversary of Granada's first broadcast, summarizes some of the company's unique achievements: it created the influential current affairs programme *World in Action*, along with *What the Papers Say* and the *Seven Up* documentary series. Granada 'spearheaded' music programming, being one of the first TV companies to screen footage of The Beatles, and featuring American rock 'n' roll artists in the early 1960s (a significant point, considering that the only other British television channel at the time was the BBC) (Granadaland 2016). It created shows such as *The Comedians* (1971-1993) and a lineage of drama including the world-renowned *Family at War* (1970-72) and the acclaimed heritage drama *Brideshead Revisited* (1981). David Liddiment, Chair of Fremantlemedia UK, and a former Granada Head of Entertainment and Director of Programmes, expressed that the company 'challenged what a commercial station could be' at the conference (Granadaland 2016). *Coronation Street* has been Granada's most enduring title. Created by the late Tony Warren, a Salford boy, and starting on 9 December 1960, it 'defined the British soap opera', Ellen suggests (Ellen 2016). Cooke notes that northern writers 'were central to the ethos of *Coronation St*, their local knowledge of Lancashire people and customs helping guarantee its authenticity' (Cooke 2012: 69). Meanwhile, *Coronation Street* has been a training ground for some of Britain's greatest television writers,

including: John Finch, Jim Allen, Paul Abbott and Sally Wainwright. This dense cultural heritage informs the public perception, and image, of Manchester and neighbouring Salford.

Manchester mythologies intersect in the relationship between Granada and the city's famed popular music scene of the late 1970s and late 1980s. Founder of Factory Records and Manchester's iconic eighties nightclub The Hacienda, Anthony 'Tony' Wilson, worked for Granada as a reporter and a television host from the early 1970s. He observed the importance of the company in creating a 'sense of place' in North West England, a place with Manchester at its hub (Cooke 2012: 50). Wilson's position enabled him to book the bands he liked for music slots for his own show *So it Goes* (1976–1977) and to style himself as the city's music mogul. He subsequently nurtured a regional music scene that rivalled London's whilst vocally celebrating Manchester's rich cultural heritage and promoting a separatism in which North West England was promoted as the country's music capital.

The former headquarters of Granada Television is a short walk from the site where the Hacienda once stood (it has been replaced by luxury apartments, which retain its name). Across the road is the new HOME cinema and theatre complex – a facility which reflects the city's cultural ambition. This is surrounded by new bars, restaurants and coffee shops in Tony Wilson Place. Thus, Wilson's influence upon the city's transition to a thriving post-industrial metropolis centred round service industries and creative cultural production is acknowledged. *Coronation Street* is associated with this Manchester legacy. An example of how the fictional soap makes reference to factual Manchester popular culture is evident in episodes in the week ending 30 August 2015. In these, the notice board in the 'Roy's Rolls' café has a poster for *Do You Own the Dancefloor?* pinned up. This is an actual documentary film about the auction of artefacts from the Hacienda night club after its closure. The poster uses the same iconic yellow and black safety warning stripes as Factory Records and the Hacienda. Such incidences link *Coronation Street* to local culture and perpetuate Manchester mythology.

### Contemporaneity

The places represented in the ITV soaps feature communities which are being affected by considerable socio-economic change. Some of the real cobbled streets and terraced houses of Salford and Manchester are being knocked down, some are subject to renovation or cosmetic

upgrading in processes of gentrification. Slum clearance is a part of the fictional history of 'Weatherfield', as detailed on the Wickia website *Corriepedia* which portrays an act typical of a Victorian industrialist:

By the turn of the century, Sir Humphrey Swinton's vision of new Weatherfield was taking shape. Tenements were being cleared and demolished, and replaced by modern working class housing. Two of the last streets to be constructed were Mawdsley Street and Albert Street, two rows of terraced houses built in the shadow of Hardcastle's Mill, a major centre of employment since 1882. The new houses were partially intended as accommodation for the mill's workers ... .

In this fictional world the name of Albert Street was changed to Coronation Street, as it was opened shortly before the coronation of 1902. Brake and Aitken detail a modern parallel in their observation of the impact of 'successive phases' of 'regeneration' on, what they term, 'the disregarded space' of a housing estate in Pendleton, Salford close to MediaCityUK, where *Coronation Street* is now produced (Brake and Aitken 2012: 193). This will be further discussed below, but these references to real and fictional clearances of housing that is considered to be outmoded illustrates the way the drama relates to the actual places. Such issues also highlight the mirroring of issues of habitus in the fictional world of the soaps – the characters in *Coronation Street* have similar social problems to the people represented in Brake and Aitken's portrayal of the embattled residents of the Pendleton estate. Meanwhile, the rural community represented in *Emmerdale* has also been subject to change during the period since the soap started in 1972. The appeal of *Emmerdale Farm* (as it was titled until 1989) in its early years was in its representation of rural life and farming. It was a daytime soap until 1978 and its concept was inspired by BBC Radio's *The Archers* and the Irish TV show *The Riordans* which focused on farming and the keeping of animals.

To provide context for these changes in the social life in the cities and their surrounds, both Manchester and Leeds, like much of the country, suffered economic hardship in the 1970s. London's economic turnaround of the 1980s did not reach these northern cities until the turn of the decade and into the 1990s at which time Leeds was being hailed as, potentially, the new financial centre of the country. The mythology generated by Manchester pop music was one element that encouraged people to move into a city centre that had previously been a ghost town in the evenings after shops and offices shut. Urban regeneration meant that some

derelict city-centre sites got a makeover. Some of the city's stock of fine historic buildings was converted into high-density apartment accommodation. Some of those cobbled streets that remained after the 'clearances' were revamped into fashionable town residences. An example of this is Urban Splash's Chimney Pot Park – a street of converted terraces in Salford. Both Stinshoff (2007) and Pearce (2013) note the regeneration of Castlefield, which is close to both the site of the original Granada building and the Hacienda. Castlefield now features a mixture of offices, residences, bars and restaurants, all bowled around the canal basin,

**Figure 6.2. Modern luxury apartments built next to an original canal warehouse in Castlefield, Manchester city centre**

which accommodates plentiful mooring for visiting and resident barges. Thus the gentrified lifestyle has come to central Manchester, as it has to Leeds, which has also regenerated some of its inner-city canals and their immediate surroundings. This accommodates the habitus of those people who have sufficient privilege with which to indulge selective tastes. These may be satisfied in a nuanced lifestyle consumption. And such habitus is increasingly represented in the ITV soaps, I argue. Having discussed how soaps have a contemporaneous reference I now consider the relationship of these two northern productions to the wider issue of the region's changing fortune

### Cultural economy and creative milieu

Heßler and Zimmerman's theories of the 'cultural economy' and 'creative milieu' provide a useful way of mapping the relationship between the two soaps and the changes occurring in their cities of production. These authors observe that a connection is now postulated connecting the city, culture and the economy. Policy makers and creatives, they argue, 'believe that creative industries, the creative class and culture will be the engine of the economy, and that cities will both be the condition of this development and its beneficiary' (Heßler and Zimmerman 2008: 12). They define two essential components of the concept of 'cultural economy': the 'economization of culture' and the 'culturalization of the economy' (16-18). In their analysis the 'economization of culture' concerns 'the increasing competition of cities for the settling of industries, but also for the streams of tourists' (18). Both the scientific and cultural life of cities are essential to their identity and 'image building.' Classical areas of urban culture, such as theatre, museums, or opera are in a highly competitive arena in which cultural events and productions compete for audiences and help

build a city's brand (18). Contemporaneously, there is a tendency for some standardization of cultural events between cities, with attractions such as city runs, Pride, inner-city music and theatre festivals, and various food and drink festivals being shared by many cities. Individual cities now strive for originality. This was the objective of the Manchester International Festival, inaugural year 2007, a biennial which stages series of newly commissioned works of art. Meanwhile, the Leeds West Indian Carnival continues to grow and celebrates its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2017. The *State of the City Report: Leeds 2012* acknowledged the role of festival and spectacle in the multi-cultural city,

Leeds ... continued to attract large and diverse audiences to the festivals that celebrate the rich heritage of Leeds communities, including the annual St. Patrick's day parade, Leeds Pride, Leeds Carnival, Refugee Week, Vaisakhi and Holocaust Day. These initiatives continue to improve people's perceptions of their areas and neighbourhoods, and have continued to attract more volunteers and stimulated the development of new community groups.

Heßler and Zimmerman define their second component, 'culturalization of the economy', as:

A process of economic transformation, to be understood as symbolic economy, in which the production of signs and symbols became at least as important as that of utility-based values. So-called creative industries produce cultural goods, like fashion, design, advertisement, etc. Their economic significance continues to grow enormously. (Heßler and Zimmerman 2008: 16-17)

The symbolic economy tends to be centred in cities, and Manchester and Leeds have strong symbolic economies. Cities that are enjoying such processes of economic transformation both nurture, and are nurtured by, creative milieus. This term refers to 'certain urban spaces in which various actors interact and meet, formally and informally. Competition and co-operation as well as shared values and common problems are further features of creative milieus. Face-to-face communication is essential' (Heßler & Zimmermann 2008: 17).

Metzger, paraphrasing the report of *Groupe de Recherche sur les Milieux Innovateurs*, notes the

Complex networks of mainly informal social relationships within a limited geographical area, often determining a specific external image and a specific internal representation and a sense of belonging, which enhance the local

innovative capability through synergetic and collective learning processes.’

(Metzger 2008: 386)

The development of MediaCityUK in Salford has nourished and expanded the Salford / Manchester creative milieu. It has facilitated new space for creative interaction at Salford Quays, where formerly freight was unloaded and loaded from vessels using the Manchester Ship Canal. This reassignment of use of space is illustrative of the emergence and importance of the 'symbolic economy' - a shift from the exchange of utility goods towards 'symbolic merchandise' and 'lifestyle products' (Heßler & Zimmermann 2008: 20).

The MediaCityUK creative hub is the consequence of a BBC initiative, first discussed in national media in autumn 2003. The BBC adopted a strategy of being less 'London-centric' in the run-up to the renewal of its Royal Charter in 2007, this being because they wished to appear more representative of their licence fee payers. As the idea developed, Director General Mark Thompson praised Manchester's 'great heritage of network television' (*Manchester Evening News*, 7/12/04), this confirming the centrality of the broadcast medium to the city's modern post-war image. Thompson was a former BBC 2 controller who first commissioned the northern-realist sitcom *The Royle Family* (1998-2000), initially made by Granada. A continuity of northern production and representation is evident in these connections. By summer 2005 the BBC was hunting for a new Manchester home as it looked to move hundreds of staff to the North West as part of a strategy of job cuts (*Manchester Evening News*, 01/07/05). With backing from the North West Development Agency, the idea of a new 'Media Zone' was formulated by autumn 2005, one which would 'include independent producers, facility suppliers and, potentially, other broadcasters' (Conlan 2005). The Salford site was picked from a choice of two (the other being Central Spine in Manchester city centre), and the project received cross-party political support, being considered 'hugely important' for the North West and the wider northern region. Significantly, for the argument made above concerning cultural economy, Thomas said in 2006 that 'The BBC wants to maximise the impact of a new base on its audiences, the creative industries in the North of England, and for the further regeneration of both cities' (*BBC News*, 17/01/06). The first phase of MediaCityUK opened in 2011. ITV moved there from their central Manchester site in 2013 and also completely rebuilt the *Coronation Street* set there. Peter Salmon, who oversaw the BBC move to Salford, recently enthused about its success. He pointed to the quadrupling of the hours of TV that came from the North since the facility opened. Speaking in late June 2015, shortly after fourth birthday celebrations for MediaCityUK, he recalled that 'We welcomed some special guests to our base in

MediaCityUK in Salford earlier this week. The cast and crew of Coronation Street came across the canal to give us a masterclass in making great telly. It was riveting stuff' (Salmon 2015). This is evidence of the collective spirit at the new media hub and of the creative milieu that has emerged there. A celebratory article in the *Manchester Evening News* in October 2015 confirmed the level of its success following an independent report by KPMG. Fitzgerald wrote that the report had identified that the new facilities boosted the UK economy by £277m in one year and that many more digital firms, and other providers, 'have set up nearby.' MediaCityUK has fostered a collaborative environment for independent digital agencies and facilitated a 'greater flow of creative industry talent to the area'. The report concluded that the development was 'vital' to the then Chancellor George Osborne's vision of a 'Northern Powerhouse' (Fitzgerald 2015).

### The promise of a 'Northern Powerhouse'

The Manchester conurbation, and Leeds, weathered the 2008/2009 economic recession and some areas of the cities continued to prosper. By the time of the 'Beyond the City' report commissioned by IFB 2016 and produced by Oxford Economics, Manchester's prospects looked good. The report briefing was led by Sir Terry Leahy at the London Stock Exchange and delivers insights into expected trends for the UK economy over the following years. 'Beyond the City' put employment growth at 3.8 per cent in Manchester between 2015-2020, outpacing some of the world's leading capital cities including Paris, Berlin and Tokyo. Manchester witnessed an overall growth in employment of 68,154 since 2010, which makes it the seventh best employment hotspot in the UK. In the report, Max Steinberg, Chair of the International Festival for Business, is quoted as saying, 'this study indicates that the renaissance of the north is real', creating employment, particularly in the 'knowledge sector' (Roue-Man 2015).

In June 2014 Chancellor George Osborne scoped a vision for bringing the northern cities along the M62 corridor together in a 'Northern Powerhouse,' the first step in the project being a new high-speed trans-Pennine rail link between Manchester and Leeds. The project promised to bring together the combined economic and creative energies of Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield and Hull to make a second 'global city' for the UK. This would be a 'brother in arms' for London in the fight to grow Britain's share in the world economy, *The Telegraph* reported (2014). The political rhetoric on this issue intensified as a second, associated, strand emerged with talk of devolution of power from Westminster and an

empowering of some local authorities. The motives of these Conservative initiatives were ambiguous and certainly an attempt to persuade the North of England to be less hostile to them and to the South. Elliott noted in 2015 that Manchester and Leeds 'have been the focus of special attention' in the chancellor's Northern Powerhouse scheme and are now 'pulling away from the rest of older industrial Britain in the same way that London is pulling away from the rest of the country' (Elliott, 2015: 29). The effect of the Brexit vote on 23 June 2016 will not be known for some time, although predictions are that the decision to leave the European Union will result in a slowdown of the British economy. Meanwhile, Manchester's growth immediately before Brexit, its rising employment and investment, its buzzing creative arts scene and cultural economy, is reflected in the degree of gentrification of Manchester and, to a lesser extent, Salford, its immediate neighbour. Gentrification for Butler and Robson, in their study of such effects in London, is 'a process of middle-class formation and filtration.' Areas 'acquire meanings, resonances and identities that are both attractive to middle-class individuals and also deeply socializing of them' (Butler and Robson 2003: 2). The meaning of the term is disputed however - Butler and Robson note that some commentators feel that gentrification is the outcome of tendencies in capital; and others feel it is 'a function of the changed cultural practices' of the 'new middle class' (15). Either way, it always refers to the effect of middle-class investment in areas in which such investment results in a change in the environment, and often character, of that area.

I now discuss this in relation to the ITV soaps' representation of life in the economically buoyant cities of Manchester and Leeds and surrounding area. Butler and Robson (2003) use Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, practice and field in their sociological study of the effects of gentrification. I now note how, in parallel fashion to this, soaps use habitus as part of their technique of representation. I thus show that there is a certain complicity between that representational media form of the soap opera, and the processes of gentrification that are being enacted in Manchester and Leeds.

In her report on Manchester's development in 2006, Houston notes the 'stylish hub of ultra-modern glass buildings and designer shops' which include Selfridges, Harvey Nichols, Heals and Louis Vuitton. The 'new look city', she continues, 'has sprouted loft-style apartments' as an extra 14000 people live in the city centre in comparison with 1991 (Houston 2006). Leeds is very similar. The new inhabitants of the city centres practice more nuanced forms of consumption as evident in the development of small gallery spaces across the cities, restaurants, and in the trend for 'craft' beers in some city centre bars. A similar, differentiated and distinctive provision is evident in the range of specialist coffee suppliers and in shops as

they employ connotations of craft and artistry in their promotional material: in one example a bakery labels its product range a 'Collection', in another, a shop's northern pie is promoted as being 'handmade'. Such things are a part the habitus of the new metropolitan class, with their discerning selection of particularized produce, art and services in what Beck and Beck-Gernsheim term 'the staging of the self in processes of aesthetic lifestyle presentation' [italics in the original removed] (2002: 43). The fashionable London areas of Shoreditch and Hoxton are now being recreated in Manchester and Leeds.

Regarding habitus, there has been a subtle change in representation of both ITV soaps which sees a representation of a community in which some characters, and institutions, exhibit signs of the nuanced forms of consumption detailed above. This is particularly evident in *Emmerdale*. Since becoming producer in 2013 Kate Oates has delivered some compelling storylines, some of which have dealt with highly emotional subjects. ITV Managing Director of Continuing Drama John Whiston enthuses that Oates has been responsible for the show's 'on-going resurgence' in which it has 'reached new heights and importantly, new audiences' (qtd. Brown 2015). Indeed, *Emmerdale* won Best Soap in the British Soap Awards in May 2016 for the first time. Along with the sensitive storylines and spectacular events, the look of *Emmerdale* has also been restyled under Oates. Characters such as Priya Sharma, Leyla Harding and Bernice Thomas dress in a glamorous style. Bernice has opened a beauty salon ('Beauty and Bernice') and pamper treatments feature regularly in the drama. David's store, a farmer's shop formerly named 'Home Farm Fayre', now sells a more upmarket and extensive range of produce and its décor reflects the current vogue for 'modern rustic' design and features. Leyla meanwhile runs a wedding planning agency along with Megan Macey, formerly resident of the country house, 'Home Farm'. *Emmerdale* has demonstrated a movement towards the representation of a commodified, gentrified society in recent years. The soap has a four class narrative structure. This ensures that class is always an issue and that there is strong differentiation between characters who belong to each social grouping. The family who inhabit 'Home Farm' represent the hegemony. Their business interests are diverse, although usually unspecified. But they own rental properties in the area. Their residence is furnished expensively, they hire help. They are at the other end of the spectrum to the proletarian Dingle family who have a meagre dwelling and who keep pigs. In episodes during the week ending 17 July 2016 the land-owning entrepreneur Lawrence White (the very name having connotations of the dominant middle-class social group) goes on a destructive drinking binge after the revelation of his gay relationship. He is portrayed

bullying the hapless Sam Dingle, his gamekeeper. Sam is ordered to 'pull' household items, the belongings of Lawrence's new wife Bernice and his daughter Chrissie, into the air with a clay pigeon throwing machine, so that he can shoot them down. This is conducted on the expansive, manicured lawns of his country residence. As White's former lover Ronnie arrives, three of the classes of *Emmerdale* are represented in the scene: the upper-class landowner, the working class skilled tradesman, and the proletarian. The three clearly have different social dispositions and these are connoted through signifiers in the text: Lawrence has an educated accent and keeps a gun to use for sport on his land; Ronnie dresses casual, has a mild regional accent, and drives a white trades van; Sam is inarticulate, socially awkward, and in Lawrence's service. The differentiation of habitus is clear in such examples of soap narrative.

A similar shift towards representation of a more commodified community in *Coronation Street* is less pronounced. 'Nick's Bistro', a fashionably middle-market bar / restaurant, was added to the fictional world in 2011, its name having been changed from the short-lived 'The Joinery' eatery. Here customers sip Prosecco and enjoy a selection from the menu that extends well beyond the 'Betty's Hotpot' offered in the local pub (the traditional heart of the English soap opera) which, in this case, is 'The Rovers Return'. The premises was previously 'Turner's Joinery', an actual joinery and the reassignment of function provides an example of the transition from the utilities of the industrial society, to the symbolic economy of post-industrial culture and society. In another narrative development, a gym, 'V Court Fitness', is created by Sharif and Kal Nazir with Devendra Alahan and this is representative of the current vogue for health and fitness regimes and the celebration of the body in consumer culture. Additionally, and until recently, Carla Conner – a partner in the company 'Underworld' – resided in a fashionable apartment near the street. She was represented as visibly enjoying the life of a successful woman, owning an expensive car, taking holidays in exotic locations abroad, and having a taste for designer clothes and jewellery. Thus evidence of inner-city regeneration, and even of gentrification, has also spread to *Coronation Street*. It is useful to compare such representations with those found in early days of its broadcast. In the very first episode there is a scene in which the young Ken Barlow sits at supper with his mother and father. The table is set in front of the fire in the parlour of the two-up-two-down terraced house. A sauce bottle takes centre place of the table, but Ken declines to season his meal with the contents, a decision derided by his proud working class father. Ken is a scholarship boy who has won a place at university and his actions, as portrayed in the coded

signifiers of the text, connote that his is a transformational habitus: his individual experience in the face of society's organizational structures (including, employment, education, housing and a state grants system) is a changed one, as he has gained advantage. He has potential to become middle-class and escape the life in the terraced house.

Jordan argues that *Coronation Street's* beginning was in a period when social realism and the representation of working-class English life became important in literature, film, radio and the theatre. All these engaged in a conscious effort to achieve 'relevance' (Jordan 1981: 27). Yet she notes that the 'Soap-Opera Realism' of programmes such as *Coronation Street* conventionally excludes everything that is not plausibly connected with the characters. Thus, 'most social explanations, and all political ones, are omitted', she contends (Jordan 1981: 29). This continues to be the case. What this chapter has argued is that two ITV soaps are a part of the production of two cities and, in some ways, represent those cities and their environs. Butler and Gibson quote Savage's claim that the working class has 'lost its defining role in determining British culture' although it still has 'a ghostly presence'. They conclude that, 'Whereas previously identity was measured in relation to manual - usually male - labour' and the working class acted as the 'moral identifier' that 'lay at the heart of British society, this is no longer the case' (Butler and Gibson 2003:17). Such analysis patently also refers to the working class of rural areas. Select areas of a small number of northern cities, and select areas of the rural North, are being gentrified and/or are subject to regeneration. In their project concerning housing in Pendleton, Brake and Aitken note that 'Pendleton is classified as an area of multiple deprivations and has recently suffered a significant decline in population.' The area was subject to a Private Finance Initiative which will involve further transfer of social housing stock to private ownership, demolition of some blocks and property before a typical inner-city scheme of 'regeneration' is implemented. This, they observe, is happening just a kilometre or so away from MediaCityUK (Brake and Aitken 2012: 195). Pearce observes that the above mentioned regeneration of Castlefield, Manchester was funded by 'private-public' partnerships which included contributions from the European Regional Development Fund and English Heritage. Castlefield has become gentrified, the bar / restaurant Dukes 92, which takes its name from Lock 92 of the Rochdale Canal, has just undergone a £1m refurbishment. Yet Pearce notes that there has been a good deal of local criticism of where the money was spent for the original regeneration of the area and who benefitted from it. She writes that the generally 'up market' nature of both the domestic and the commercial architecture erected in such projects means that people 'most affected by the

demise of Manchester's industrial past have largely been excluded from a share in the post-industrial prosperity' (Pearce 2013: 35-36). Over the Pennines, meanwhile, the Yorkshire Dales represented in *Emmerdale* only has a population of around 20,000 people and a fifth of houses are second-homes, Bounds wrote in the *Financial Times* of 23/24 July 2016. As this national park expands on 1 August 2016, he urges Londoners to buy there, and observed that there are already a lot professional people from northern cities like Leeds and Manchester who 'come to raise a family but want to keep a career' (Bounds 2016: 4-5). Such in-comers contribute to the local economy, but also inflate prices and this leads to local lower-classes being prevented from owning property in their home areas. A similar syndrome has been evident in areas of the central Lake District for some time. Distribution of opportunity, involvement and inclusion is uneven across the North, which now has a patchwork economy and society. The settings of *Coronation Street* and *Emmerdale* formerly represented the habitat of fairly homogenous social groups: a working class industrial community, and a rural farming community. As Beck and Beck-Gernsheim note, 'The association of place and community or society is coming unstuck' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 25). There is consequently a disjuncture in the representational form of these soap operas.

This chapter has focussed on the situation of the two soaps in their cities of production. They are a part of the economies of their cities, and of their cultural economies. It has been shown that they help brand their cities, and they include contemporaneous references to those cities. The soaps are drivers of knowledge about the cities and the stereotypes that feature in their portrayal of social life are stereotypes that individuals absorb in their mental mapping of place. The northern cities of production of these soaps have been seen to be prospering and growing in the past few years and have global mobility because of the cultural facilities itemized above: festivals, theatre and music venues, creative productions of an international standard, venues to accommodate world touring acts, sporting arenas, extensive media production capacity, and rich histories and heritage. They are cities which aspire to 'world city' status, and have gone a long way towards achieving this. The relationship of ITV's soaps to these two cities, and the region fêted as the Northern Powerhouse has been seen to be an ambiguous one. However, the very essence of their function as products of Manchester and Leeds, is in the historic consistency of their presence. There is a factory production, like in the former industrial communities of the cities where the soaps are produced and they are now a part of a symbolic economy in the three cities in which economic and cultural development is – to be continued.

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