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CHAPTER 2

This Is England: Authorship, Emotion and Class Telly

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Considering the significance of authorship and social class in contemporary television, this chapter sets out to analyse *This Is England '86* (Channel 4, 2010), *This Is England '88* (Channel 4, 2011) and This Is England *'90* (Channel 4, 2015). Television spin-offs from the 2006 BAFTA winning film directed by Shane Meadows, my aim is to think through what authorship might mean in the context of these mini-series. In addition, I also want to explore the critical contexts of class, gender and emotion as central themes for interpretation and examine how the change in medium – from film to television – affects both the types of and ways in which stories are told.

What is an author in contemporary television? To begin it is important to note that rather than focusing on Meadows as a single working-class 'auteur' in line with much UK media coverage on the mini-series', the following chapter aims to understand TV authorship as a broader creative process. In line with the historically aggregate nature of the medium, and as noted by Robert J Thompson (1990: 14) 'television authorship always takes place in the context of collaborative storytelling.' It is, in these terms my intention to consider the multiple mini-series in relation not only to the authorship of Meadows, his co-writer, Jack Thorne and collaborator Mark Herbert, but more specifically, I also want to suggest that the 'below the line' crew can also be considered as agents of authorship here. In particular, I want to analyse actor Vicky McClure's creative contribution to the mini-series as the 'author' of the central character, Lol, paying particular attention to her emotional labour, class status and gender.

In terms of academic engagement this chapter draws on the work of scholars such as Purnima Mankekar (1999), Sara Ahmed (2004), Kristyn Gorton (2009) and Henry Jenkins (2006, 2007) to unpick the various key terms of class, emotion and authorship. Akin to what Anita Biressi and Heather Nunn (2016: 16) call the 21st century 'theoretical 'turn' to emotion in cultural analysis', emotion and its place in understanding television is an abiding critical concern. Specific aspects of this turn are of interest to me in relation to McClure, particularly what Biressi and Nunn (2016: 16) nominate as 'the emotional and experiential dimensions of contemporary classed lives.' As Beverly Skeggs (2004: 5) reminds us 'class formation is dynamic, produced through conflict and fought out at the level of the symbolic.' Here, through focusing on the life and labour of Vicky McClure in the TIE mini-series, I aim to fight against the idea that McClure's Lol should be given over to Shane Meadows, and instead proffer that McClure's improvisation and performance of Lol amount to authorship. Looking at the mini-series' from this critical perspective, and focusing on emotion rather than male-dominated auteurism, produces a rich and valuable study of not only the televisual texts themselves, but of McClure's clear talents beyond performance. Considering the TIE mini-series from this (arguably feminist) angle also offers a more democratic approach to understanding the collaborative process of making class telly. In this scenario, authorial power is achieved rather than ascribed. This way of looking, thinking and feeling the power of television texts also allows for an opening up of and to the audience, taking into account their emotional responses and interpretative labour, in essence, critically valuing rather than dismissing their feelings.

Vicky McClure: A Biographical Sketch

Born in 1983 in Nottinghamshire to working-class parents, McClure attended her local comprehensive school. Aged eleven she successfully auditioned for the Italia Conti Academy

of Theatre Arts in London but turned down her place as her parents couldn't afford the fees. Instead, she joined the Television Workshop, a no-fee, after-school theatre club in Nottingham that focused on improvisation. There, she noted in an interview with Megan Conner (2016), "I started out as this little performer, all singing and dancing, but we did proper kitchen sink stuff. It gave me a taste for the sort of actor I wanted to be." McClure's belief in the power and importance of 'kitchen sink' or working-class realist stories, can be seen, on the surface at least, to mirror Shane Meadows' own. As is well documented, Meadows film This Is England was, like much of his other cinematic work, semi-autobiographical, born from his own classed experience. In both cases, McClure and Meadows managed to break through what the Sutton Trust study recently called the 'class ceiling'[i] that dominated and continues to dominate the fields of theatre and film. Yet, McClure as a performer rather than a director, and as a female rather than a male, arguably also had a 'glass ceiling' to break through.

Aged fifteen, McClure successfully auditioned for a role in Shane Meadows' film A Room for Romeo Brass (1999). In it she played Ladine, the teenage sister to the titular star, Romeo (Andrew Shim), and love interest of Morell (Paddy Considine). Though on the one hand McClure undoubtedly played a stock type (a regional working-class girl who, in the words of Roger Ebert was (2000) 'stranded in the Midlands backwater'), she equally, via improvisation, developed Ladine, transforming her from an ordinary to an extraordinary, compelling and recklessly realist character. Speaking to Petridis (2012) of a scene in which she was, unbeknownst to her, confronted with a naked Morell demanding to be sexually satisfied McClure noted that: "the scene worked because I had no warning of it. It was easier for me to do that than if I'd known it was going to happen. So he just walks in with his erection and my natural reaction was to go: 'What the hell are you doing?', burst out laughing and leave the room.'"

Though the film was a critical success, it did not change McClure's life. At age sixteen, after leaving school, she got a job: "H Samuel for two years, then Dorothy Perkins. Then a sunbed shop, where I lasted about a week" she tells Conner. McClure then got an office job where she remained for eight years. It was during this time that Meadows again approached McClure to ask her to play the character of Frances Lorraine Jenkins (Lol) in the British film This Is England (2006).

As Lol, McClure's role in the 1980s period film was a collaborative one in that she played (again via improvisation techniques encouraged by Meadows) a member of the central skin-head gang alongside Woody (Joe Gilgun), Milky (Andrew Shim), Shaun (Thomas Turgoose), Smell (Rosamund Hanson), Kelly (Chanel Cresswell), Gadget (Andrew Ellis), Trev (Danielle Watson), Harvey (Michael Socha), Banjo (George Newton), Meggy (Perry Benson) and Combo (Stephen Graham). Though Meadows noted that much of the dialogue spoken by the cast was improvised, it was not until the change in medium – from film to television – that McClure's creative input into the newly central character of Lol, a woman experiencing emotional turmoil, came to full fruition. In this sense, Meadows film can be understood as a platform, a springboard from which McClure's authorship and voice emerged.

An interview with McClure and Meadows by Chris Harvey (2015) sheds further light on the televisual authorship of Lol. Though Meadow's notes his work up until the TIE spin-offs had been primarily about men, McClure states that she had, in her own words "given him so much shit" regarding a desire for more female-centred stories. Indeed, Meadows admits that the This Is England project started off as an 'autobiographical tale', yet its development and in particular the pushing front and centre of Lol was, in large part, the work of McClure. McClure's creative contribution was, as acknowledged by journalist Gabrielle Tate (2015), significant: 'Meadows and his key collaborators, Mark Herbert and Jack Thorne, have always

written around the actors, encouraging improvisation and input; but it was McClure's idea that Lol should come from an abusive background.' This background abuse of Lol as envisaged by McClure and explored through each of the television mini-series' was hugely influential, arguably the central story arc and point of convergence around which the other storylines unfolded.

As Jonathan Gray (2013: 88-9) suggests discussing critical concerns over single authorship 'a key problem with the theory of the author as controller and creator is a temporal one, wherein texts are erroneously imagined to be, rather than imagined to be becoming.' To create an abusive background that exists in the present of Lol's character is a temporal evolution, an achievement by McClure that marked a shift in her status from performer to collaborator and co-author alongside Meadows. This notion of becoming, of developing, is particularly relevant to the TIE mini-series as examples of long-form television drama set over multiple-decades in which the characters literally grow up on-screen. Though many of the characters may have started out in the original film as one thing, the cast have all, as McClure (2015) noted in interview with Miranda Sawyer, 'forged characters that are much further away as we've gone through [the mini-series'].

This developmental journey that McClure speaks of is also an emotional one, connected, like television itself, to the rhythms of everyday life. Developing Lol was a process enacted through Method, through feeling, thinking, embodying, living the character in the real and allowing her to grow. It was a process McClure described to Alexis Petridis (2012): "I took Lol home with me every night. I remained in character for the majority of the time […] It affects your real life. I couldn't call home much because they could tell I was too busy in a different world. That part deserves that sort of dedication." The 'part' that McClure is referring to here specifically is Lol's emotional suffrage, however, her words can also perhaps be

interpreted more broadly, in a feminist sense, as a concern regarding emotionally honest representations of working-class women's stories and lives. This would tally with McClure's political ideologies. As a professional performer, class, gender and social injustices are continuing preoccupations of McClure's – a knowledge and an awareness that she does not only contribute to and perform, but that she lives by. As she noted to Richard Goodwin in a 2011 interview for the Evening Standard:

> I know that people who have been to RADA and LAMDA can smash accents, and do Shakespeare, all those things that I never really trained in. If I could have trained, I'd be very different. But I'm very much a real person, I don't want to get involved in all that... drama, so to speak. You've got to live it, you can't just act it. There's a massive difference.

As Kristyn Gorton (2009) acknowledges, an understanding of emotions and how they operate on television is also something that is important in relation to audiences. Unlike film studies where Gorton (2009: 77) argues there is 'very little feminist questioning of the distancing that is stressed in the process of identification' the emotional territory of television means that 'the elision made between 'distance' and 'intellect […] must be challenged.' In terms of McClure then, it is not just her class and gendered positions that are useful to identify, but how and what textual elements of her performance make us feel.

This Is England '86

This *Is England '86* begins by making visible the failure of Combo's racist political project and the subsequent personal growth of Shaun. Most significantly however, *TIE'86* partially closes

off or at least puts on hold the story of Shaun in order to bring to the fore the story of Lol. Though Shaun dominates the first scene, it is Lol and her working-class woman's perspective that is soon brought into sharp and extended focus. Seen waking up to the sound of an alarm clock (akin to Shaun's introduction in the film), the camera focuses on her face, no longer girlish but adult with defined cheek bones, bleached blond hair and black kohl-painted eyes. Now an adult beauty, Lol's problems are also soon established as adult beginning with her partner of ten years, Woody, being unable to go through with their wedding, instead standing mute and desolate looking at the make-shift alter. The issues introduced in the mini-series are, as the text plays out over four 45-50 minute episodes, revealed to be much more personal, gendered and painful than could have previously been envisaged – uncovering a litany of domestic violence, sexual abuse, infidelity and broken relationships. The gravity of these issues work to transcend the theme of class that was positioned as central to the original film and yet, class is not entirely omitted from *TIE'86* but rather, is employed diegetically as a backdrop, a context, a frame in which the story proper unfolds.

As David Rolinson and Faye Woods (2013: 186) argue, *TIE'86* and *'88* can be understood through 'the serials' key themes – the weight of the past as revealed in returns, hauntings and traumatic memory […] facilitated by the larger space of serial television.' It is both the issue of return and the long form of the television serial that allows for what Andy Medhurst (2007: 148) referred to in his article on the British sitcom The Royle Family (BBC Two, BBC One, 1998–2000) as an 'intense concentration' on key figures leading to 'characterisations of extraordinary depth'. Indeed, it is the intimate characterisation of Lol that is made central in TIE*'86*, particularly in the final episode which sees Lol murder her father with a hammer after he rapes her friend Trev and attempts, again, to rape her in the living room of her family home. Unlike the sharp focus on class in The Royle Family that was facilitated in part by the stasis of the location (the living room) and physical movements (or lack thereof) of

the family members, *This Is England '86*, in contradistinction to the fixity suggested in the title, is a series designed to move.

The importance of movement as noted above is double-horned – a movement I suggest that both develops the characters by revealing the effects of the past on their present, and that through its intense engagement with emotional turmoil, works to 'move' the audience that watch it. The final episode of *TIE'86* is a case in point in that the attempted rape of Lol is a scene that is incredibly hard to watch as it feels painfully 'real'. Speaking of this scene Miranda Sawyer (2015) noted how it moved her describing it as 'one of the most frightening I've ever seen on TV.' In part this is of course due to the superb performances of McClure and Johnny Harris (who plays her father, Mick) but it can also be associated with the improvised methods employed on-set, described by Sawyer thus:

> Although there is always a script […] Meadows and Thorne actively discourage the cast from learning their lines […] Sometimes the actors are given beats, emotional places that they need to get to. Sometimes they're not told what's going to happen at all, just that they're, say, about to go to a cafe and to see what happens. Or that there's going to be a fight. […] There is a lot of improvisation […] As the series have progressed the actors have become […] more aware of […] where the emotion lies.[ii]

This focus on emotion – on locating it and living it in and through improvised performance - is key in creating scenes and stories that 'feel real' for the audience. As argued by Kristyn Gorton (2009: 90) 'emotion can be used as an aesthetic quality […] and, at the same time, emotion is used to create empathy between the characters and viewers which facilitates their understanding and interpretation of the programme.' In the case of Lol's attempted rape, Meadows discussed in a 2011 interview with Chris Harvey the aftereffects on both McClure

and himself. Speaking to McClure he noted: "Something very physical happened between you and Johnny Harris one day that I feel quite bad about as a normal human […] It left a mark." McClure's response was telling: "I've never talked about it since […] We were both battered and bruised after that scene. I was proud of those bruises to a degree. It's not an enjoyable experience but knowing that we actually managed to go there is an achievement." While Meadows focuses on the physical, McClure stresses both the physical and the emotional experience of enacting such a trauma and it is the emotional aftermath of Lol's terrifying experiences that are mined most intently in *TIE'88*.

This Is England '88

Set two and a half years later over three days from 23rd to 25th December, *This Is England '88* opens with an image of Lol, now with tired, sallow skin and short raven black hair, sleeping in a single bed before being woken by a child's voice: "Mummy, come and play." Looking at her alarm clock and registering, with exhaustion, the early hour of the morning – 6.07am – Lol, in close up, responds under her breath with "For fucks sake, Lisa" before closing her eyes, shaking her head and whispering "not again." While her ex-partner, Woody and his new girlfriend, Jennifer (Stacey Sampson) are introduced moments after, *TIE'88* is undoubtedly Lol's story and goes on over three approximately 50 minute episodes to explore her emotional turmoil and isolation caused by the events of the past. Though, as Rolinson and Woods (2013: 192) attest the episode goes on to show a 'title sequence, soundtracked by The Smiths', featuring major news events from the period and bookended with speeches by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher,' this overt political rendering is soon left behind, established as a backdrop, in order to mine the intricacies of the story and characters themselves. Interestingly, if overt politics are addressed through the diegesis they are concerned not so much with class as with gender. In *TIE'88* Lol is a single mother, exhausted, isolated and suffering from depression. While her

surroundings (her shabby, cramped council house) help to reflect her own mental and emotional state, they do not function as the problem from which her depression arises. Rather, *TIE'88* is established as an economy of gender, of women's work, of emotional labour.

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While Lol's daughter, Lisa (Lyra Mae Thomas), is born prior to the opening of *TIE'88*, the mini-series is quick to establish her nervous and physical exhaustion in relation to the never ending maternal work that is required of her, in particular the broken sleep that is implicit in early motherhood and the on-going labour of caring for a child. Unlike in the previous mini-series, Lol does not spend much time with the gang, but is instead a world apart, seen desperately trying to exist and stave off a full mental breakdown.

This engagement with gender politics is significant and as Chris Harvey noted in 2011, McClure's Leading Actress BAFTA for her stunning performance in TIE'86 had the effect of 'vindicating' Meadows from accusations of only being able or willing to write and direct stories about men. *TIE'88* then was an opportunity to foreground women's stories and lives even

further, delving deep into the contradictions and emotions of Lol. Lol's crumbling mental health in *TIE'88* is made up of multiple layers – her sexual abuse as a child; having to live with the knowledge that she killed her father and has allowed a friend, Combo, to take the blame; her split from Woody and her guilt at betraying him with mutual friend Milky; post-natal depression topped up by acute clinical depression; having to keep secrets from those she loves the most – Woody and her sister, Kelly, and her increasingly terrifying visions of her dead father. The combination of these horrors lead to Lol cutting herself off emotionally from those around her.

As emotion is key here in understanding the journey of Lol's character, it seems appropriate to briefly try to articulate some of my own emotional response to *TIE'88*. Though I am aware of the danger of doing so – the accusations of a non-academic or non-objective reading – I want to state, in line with the feminist ethnography of mass media envisaged by Purnima Mankekar (1999: 24) that it is possible to 'critique televisual discourses at the same time [as one is] intimately engaged with them.' It is probably important to start by noting that on both a professional and personal level I had enjoyed the film, particularly its explicit focus on class. It is fair to say though that my intense emotional engagement with the characters became deeply meaningful (or so it seemed to me), when watching the multiple mini-series'. This was in part to do with the pushing front and centre of Lol as a key character – a woman of strength, emotional intelligence, of deep love but also a woman conflicted, flawed, damaged. For me, the mini-series' were not what I had been expecting. Prior to viewing *TIE'86* for example, I had wanted to see a text that focused on class as much as character. In the mini-series I found that along with the school-life of Shaun brought to a close at the very beginning of *TIE'*86, it seemed it was a case of 'class dismissed'. The struggle I had expected to see through the televisual renderings of the story had been diegetically class based. Instead, the struggles depicted were familial, domestic, personal and romantic. If someone had have told

me prior to watching the mini-series' that this was to be the case I would, I know, have registered my disappointment. What surprised me most when I watched the mini-series' was how much I did not mind, and how deeply and emotionally the stories told moved me. I feel I need to be clear here that my emotional response was not one of identification with Lol in terms of what had happened to her, but rather one in which I seemed to feel her pain.

If I were allowed to use one word to describe my emotional response to *TIE'88* it would be 'devastating'. If I were allowed two words they would be 'emotionally devastating'. This emotional movement on my part contrasts with (and was enhanced by) McClure's markedly tired and at times still physical performance in the first three episodes. Indeed, until the final episode, the work of McClure is performed most affectively through her reluctance to move. Her performance of exhaustion, of wanting the world to stop, is overwhelming in its nuance, its exactitude. In McClure's authorship of Lol, her movements, speech, are all writ small, subdued in order to convey the weight of her despair. When finally roused to go and see Evelyn (Helen Behan), a nurse who she had previously verbally abused, Lol sits on a chair, her body inert, hands clasped together, her head heavy, whispering "I'm sorry […] I think I'm a bit poorly." Arguably, this understated admission of her emotional breakdown (caused by the real and menacing presence of her abusive dead father in her life, the work of motherhood, her guilt at her friend's imprisonment and her grief at being separated from Woody), work to convey through a medium shot and then a lengthy close-up, the emotional gravity of her misery.

After viewing the final episode of *TIE'88* - in which Lol, having finally had to cut herself off emotionally from others takes an overdose and, on being found is subjected to a violent medicalised purging - I was so affected that I couldn't watch anything apart from children's television for nearly 4 weeks. It was, I think, the witnessing of the labour involved in staying alive when life is experienced as so entirely exhausting and painful that moved me to a point of emotional debility.

Akin to Lol's character, I felt I came out of the experience changed. Analogous to my own reflection now, McClure reflected on the pain she enacted in an on on-set 2011 interview with Adrian Lobb: "You know it is not real, but because you are living it and breathing it you really hurt. And it is so important to do justice to women out there who are really suffering." This clear and conscious understanding of the pain of gendered violence and gendered work is then recognised not only on-screen through McClure's authorship and performance, but off-screen through her socially conscious and feminist understanding.

In terms of work, McClure's roles beyond Lol are also intimately linked to concerns of gender, class and injustice. In the recent short film The Nest (2016, Dir. Jamie Jones), McClure plays Janine, a single mother of three children, evicted from her home and at odds with her community. Speaking to Conner (2016) about her reasons for doing the film McClure noted: "[It] was really important. I'm a working-class girl, so I get it."

In Rolinson and Wood's 2013 work on *TIE'88* they describe the montage of Lol's stomach pumping 'which intercuts Lol's trashing body with flashes of her father, her mother's muffled screams […], news footage of starvation, flashes from This Is England […] and flashes from *'86*, including Trev's rape and Lol's adultery with Milky' (2013: 19), linking this to Alison Landsberg's 2004 text Prosthetic Memory. In so doing they note that the images in this montage have become part of Lol's 'personal archive of experience'. Having witnessed the scene and the story play out over six and a half hours, I also felt like these images, these televised memories and moments, had become part of my personal archive. When *TIE'90* was screened, I recorded it and again waited nearly a month until I felt able to watch it. There was, I know, a fear of witnessing or re-living those moments, of more aftershocks. Even though *TIE'90* was set two years afterwards and viewed, in real terms, three years later, the act of watching, of carrying on in spite of the fear or pain inherent in doing so, was and remains very present. In effect, I had not experienced the mini-series' as fictional stories, but rather had felt

them as personal accounts. The work of Sara Ahmed on the 'cultural politics of emotion' seems relevant here. Ahmed (2004: 10) writes: 'emotions are not simply something "I" or "we" have. Rather, it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the "I" and the "we" are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others.'

While I am aware that my emotional experience was bound up with feelings of empathy, I also want to acknowledge that it was more than that – perhaps an 'intimacy', something that 'Aunt Sally' describes as: 'the admission of human frailties on both sides […] two people who recognise the damage in each other.' This seemingly personal recognition was also played out in *TIE'88* itself in the form of Lol's burgeoning relationship with Community nurse, Evelyn – a woman to whom she entrusted her secrets – and her friendship with Trev, both of whom provided care or diegetic lifelines for Lol that continue beyond the close of *TIE'88* into *TIE'90*.

This Is England '90

While in *TIE'90* we see Lol and Woody reunited as a couple, now bringing up Lol and Milky's baby (with Milky as a happy and included third parent), plus a new baby of their own, Combo's imminent release from prison sets in motion a state of affairs in which Lol and Woody must inform their close family and friends that Mick died at her hands and not at Combo's. In this way the mini-series, made up of four parts, the first three named 'spring', 'summer' and 'autumn' (all between 45-52 minutes long), and culminating in a 75 minute 'winter' finale, continues its emotional journey.

This emotional journey is one however in which Lol very much fades into the background. Why after yet another BAFTA nomination for McClure for *TIE'88* was this the case? For McClure, it was concerned with honesty: "I cannot see her taking any more damage"

she told Petridis in a 2012 interview. This focus on honesty can be understood as part of McClure's professional attention to detail. Akin to both her version of Lol and her role as Kate Fleming in the British drama series Line of Duty (BBC Two, 2012-2016) she is:

> Straightforward and reassuringly familiar […] a tomboy with a broad Nottingham accent and the same turn of phrase. There are other recognisable mannerisms: a resistance to sugar coat things, a sharp logic, a sense that she doesn't care too much what people think […] It's a quality that hasn't gone unnoticed by her directors […] "Whatever the part is, Vicky makes it authentic," says Jed Mercurio, writer and creator of Line of Duty. "She's the kind of actor who will challenge you if she doesn't think something makes sense."

This notion of television characters being authentic in order for the story to make sense, is something that Gorton (2009: 76) comes back to in her work on emotion and television audiences: 'stories must make sense emotionally and allow you to feel their effect on you.' In these terms, emotionally rich television stories that move audiences to feel are also able to move audiences to think. As Henry Jenkins (2007: 3) argues: 'popular culture, at its best, makes us think by making us feel.'

Conclusion: Class Dismissed?

Though class is not the primary politic stressed in the diegesis of the various mini-series', McClure's status as a working-class, emotionally honest actor is undoubtedly important in thinking through the politics of television representation and authorship here. The TIE mini-series' are not superficial continuations of the original filmic story, but emotionally driven, salient and seminal televisual texts – texts that might be referred to in the midlands and

Northern English regions as 'class' (meaning excellent). This sense of engagement with the emotional dimensions of classed lives – both McClure's and Meadows - can be understood as distinct when considered in line with critical reviews which repetitively situate the television texts as Meadows' alone. As McClure stressed in a promotional interview for Channel 4, Lol is a character created through a close collaboration between the two. The professional collaboration is not only an integral part of the work of television but is also personal, bound and moored by a shared class heritage, regional identity and deep mutual respect. McClure notes: "[Meadows] draws Lol out of me better than anyone else ever could, because we created her together." To read the various mini-series' through this critical context provides an alternative rendering of quality as a frame for intimate and emotional engagement.

The collaborative authorship discussed in this chapter can also extends to what Henry Jenkins (2006: 331) calls 'participatory culture'. As Laura Minor's (2016) research in relation to quality and fan-culture around the various TIE mini-series notes, the slow pace offered by the long form of the mini-series is reflected in much of the fan-work so that 'fan rituals focus on the emotional/sentimental appeal of the series [and] use slow-moving, animated images (GIFs) to textually dissect the series and understand meaning in character relationships.' This type of research, displaying respect for emotion on both a textual and aesthetic level as a marker of quality is significant. Much like the mini-series themselves, Minor is interested in not only the emotional context but the emotional aftermath and labour that goes into making and remaking meaning. The purpose of this, in line with my own work here, is to better feel and better understand the emotional impact, echoes and resonances of the stories so that such work is acknowledged for what it is, what it makes us feel and what we can learn about ourselves and others through it.

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[i] 'Class Ceiling' Study available at: http://www.suttontrust.com/researcharchive/leading-people-2016/

[ii] Italics mine.