Acta Philologica vol. 57 (2021): 143–154
ISSN 0065-1524
DOI: 10.7311/ACTA.57.2021.12

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Taste and Social Distinction. The *Chav* Coleen McLoughlin in the *Daily Mail* between 2004 and 2006

Received: 05/08/2021 *Accepted: 10/10/2021*

Abstract: The aim of this article is to examine how the representation of Coleen McLoughlin in terms of *chav* taste in the *Daily Mail* between 2004 and 2006, reinforced class distinctions and classed notions of femininity. Making recourse to Pierre Bourdieu's terms of *cultural capital* and *symbolic capital*, this article demonstrates how the category of *chav,* identified with a lack of cultural and symbolic capital, reproduces historically classed associations and upholds the values of the symbolic order.

Keywords: *chavs*, taste, cultural capital, social class, social distinction

Introduction

Chav entered the British media in the early noughties as a derogatory term associated with social class. A catch-all label whose meaning roughly overlapped with the American *white trash*, it reinforced stereotypes about poverty, class and whiteness while obfuscating structural conditions of inequality (Jones 2011)[1]. As a term of abuse demonizing and othering of the poor, it exploited historically familiar associations of poverty with criminality in order to perpetuate myths about inequality arising from prevailing moralities and individual choices rather than policy (Pickering 2013) and obscured structural reasons behind the manifestation of poverty; ascribing them to individual failings (le Grand 2015) rather than three decades of neoliberal policies.

1 Wray (2006) examines the cultural significance of stereotypes attributed to the poor rural whites in the US in the 19th and 20th and framing it as liminal identity whose separateness upheld symbolic order.

Reinforcing the discourse of meritocracy, hard work and personal responsibility in status and class formation, it masked the role played by the transference of symbolic capital (Savage 2015). Occasionally referred to as a subculture, *chavs* were rebuffed for their poor taste and consumption choices, and between 2004 and 2006 Coleen McLoughlin emerged in the *Daily Mail* as the epitome of *chav* taste. The aim of this essay is to investigate what is at stake when taste in consumption, in particular fashion, is represented as *chav*. It will be demonstrated that pejorative descriptions of taste as *chav* are not innocuous aesthetic judgements but expressions of social positioning and distribution of cultural capital. Without explicitly referencing social class, taste is used to reinforce class distinctions by denying cultural capital to aesthetic choices associated with *chavs*, which results in an upholding of the legitimate symbolic order and its values, in particular those related to fashion and femininity.

In order to outline the parameters of the discussion of *chavs* in reference to taste, it is necessary to point to some key facts regarding social divisions in the United Kingdom. Class and status changes in the post-war period brought about classism and class snobbery, which later funneled into class distinctions and class anxieties expressed more distinctly in the vernacular of class labels, the *underclass* and *classless society* of the last two decades of the 20th century (Adonis 1997) as well as through euphemisms, sound-bites and neologisms (Bromley 51). Social class had been largely absent from the public discourse and instead – without being explicitly addressed – articulated through class-specific tropes of which *chav* is a prime example (Savage 2015; Gillies 2007). A class label, stereotype or a stigma, the *chav* came into existence through language and symbols enabling it to function as a coded representation ridiculing and stereotyping the white working-class (Gillies 2007). With an emphasis on the visual aspects of the *chav* lifestyle – tasteless council estate residents decked out in garish clothes and jewelry – cultural consumption was singled out as a barometer of *chavness*. Through representations of cultural consumption and taste as *chav*, the British press reinforced class distinctions in surveys and quizzes where answer choices indicating poor taste and judgment were labelled as *chav* (White 2005; "Try the chavometer", *The Sunday Times*; "To chav or chav-not", *The Independent*).

The scholarship related to *chavs* abounds in investigations related to taste, consumption, respectability and morality. Researchers have discussed *chavs* as a class-signaling stereotype in a symbolically and spatially articulated conflict around outdoor displays of Christmas lights (Edensor and Millington 2009). It has also been noted that class-related anxieties were expressed not only with reference to taste and consumption, but also disgust which – under the guise of humor and mockery – distanced the white working-class and provided a mechanism for class distinction (Raisborough and Adams 2008). The role played by the *chav* label in moralizing discourses and practices along the respectable or non-respectable binary has been shown as crucial for the class-formation process (le Grand 2015) and as instrumental in shaping modern anxieties related to crime, economic insecurity and ambiguous class position (Nayak 2006).

Methodology

Although consumption has been a tool of social differentiation for the English middle class since the 18th century (Savage 2015), it has been argued that the construction of social position around consumption choices intensified in the last few decades of the 20th century (Hayward and Yar 2006), with lifestyles and cultural markers closely associated with class positions (Savage 2015) . Social and cultural realms being increasingly dominant as the production sites of social difference, symbolic expression – such as consumption – came to the fore as a reservoir of sociological material (Crompton 140-141)[2]. In this context, the work of Pierre Bourdieu allows us to better capture the relationship between social class, taste, representation and the *chav*.

For Bourdieu, social class is not a derivate of production but fluctuates as a web of social relations conditioning position in social space. One's placement in this space results from an aggregate of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals which orient towards dispositions, i.e. the habitus (Bourdieu 1984). Possession of similar forms of capital (gauged in terms of volume, composition and trajectory over time) leads to analogous conditioning that shapes not only similar dispositions (habitus), but also "the principles and vision of division of social world" (Bourdieu 1987). Economic and cultural capital may come in different kinds (cultural capital could be formal – education, or informal – taste or style), whereas symbolic and social forms of capital are strongly correlated with the latter consisting of "resources based on connections and group memberships" (Bourdieu, "What" 4). With the four capitals at the crucible of distribution in social space, the symbolic capital claims primacy as it is "the form the different capitals take once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, "What" 4). Bourdieu's relational and processual take on the social class recognizes the role of social and cultural factors in the class-making process, with the symbolic capital at its pinnacle.

According to Bourdieu, tastes and choices in cultural consumption are determined by their position in the social space. Although frequently naturalized as an individual preference or an inborn ability, taste reflects social conditioning: education, social origin and upbringing (Bourdieu, "Distinction" 1). It is thus "the product of the internalization of the structure of social space in the form in which it impinges through the experience of a particular position in that space" (Bourdieu, "Distinction" 175). Consequently, taste stands for a competence shaped by external conditions, in particular cultural and symbolic capitals. Not only does one's position in a social space dictate taste, but when backtracked, taste can reveal the conditioning that informs one's choices and classifications: "Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between beautiful and ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed" (Bourdieu, "Distinction" 6). As a result, the classifications of the *chav* taste lay bare the social position of their authors.

2 "With the rise in standards of living, it is argued that issues related to consumption, rather than production, are becoming more relevant; and that lifestyles, rather than classes are playing increasingly important part in shaping a whole range of attitudes and behaviours" (Crompton 140).

Taste not only reveals social class (Bourdieu, "Distinction" 2) but also has the capacity to deepen distinctions as it mediates between the cultural and symbolic value – it is

> the practical operator of the transmutation of things into distinct and distinctive signs, of continuous distributions into discontinuous oppositions; it raises the differences inscribed in the physical order of bodies to the symbolic order of significant distinctions. It transforms objectively classified practices, in which a class condition signifies itself (through taste), into classifying practices, that is, into a symbolic expression of class Position. (Bourdieu, "Distinction" 174)

Considering taste's ability to uphold legitimate, symbolic power (Bourdieu 1984; Skeggs 2004) it reinforces social distinctions by way of representations, which – as evidenced in the analysis presented below of the *chav* taste – became a battleground for disseminating legitimized, classed and world-creating visions of the social. Production of symbols and representations is at the core of these visions – a process also known as a symbolic struggle:

> What is at stake in symbolic struggles is the imposition of the legitimate vision of the social word and of its divisions, that is to say, symbolic power as worldmaking power […] the power to impose and inculcate principles of construction of reality, and particularly to transform established principles of union and separation, of association and disassociation already at work in the social world […] that is essentially, power over words used to describe groups or the institutions which represent them. (Bourdieu, "What" 13)

Through the process of symbolic struggle, representations exert an impact as a cognitive frame for social reality.[3] For this reason, the depictions of the *chav* taste analyzed below will be considered not only as a thinly-veiled expression of class distinctions based on cultural capital, but also as a tool in the struggle to advance a certain vision of the world.

Who is a *chav*?

The term *chav* came to nationwide prominence in the United Kingdom in 2004 as the buzzword of the year through an annual language report "Larpers and Shroomers: The Language Report by Susie Dent" (Dent 2004). The occurrence roughly coincided with internet hype on websites *Chavscum* and *Popbitch*, popularizing and imbuing *chav* with the meanings it later became associated with and further popularizing interest in the label. From 2004 onwards, the *chav* was ubiquitous in the pages of British newspapers[4] and considerable press coverage was devoted to fine-tuning its meaning or simply slapping the epithet on all things undesirable. Full endorsement came with its entry to the

3 "It is through this endless work of representations […] that social agents try to impose their vision of their own position in that world" (Bourdieu, "What" 10).

4 The word chav was mentioned over 200 times in the Daily Mail, the Daily Telegraph, the Times and the Sunday Time between 2004 and 2006.

Oxford Dictionary in 2004 where *chav* was defined as a slang term denoting "a young person from the working class, usually without a high level of education, who typically behaves in a loud and annoying way and wears designer clothes" ("Chav" [Oxford]). Arguably a nickname coined to christen a nascent subculture, the Longman Dictionary identified the term's derogatory undertone: "an offensive word used especially by newspapers to talk about a young working-class person who is rude and aggressive, has a low level of education, and who wears a certain style of fashionable clothing such as trainers, sportswear and baseball caps"[5] ("Chav" [Longman]). Although discrepancies about the exact meaning of *chav* and *chav* culture abounded and ranged from a youth subculture, folk devil to the underclass (Hayward 2006; le Grand 2013), the unmistakably disparaging character of the moniker was transparent as *chav* became the latest addition to a litany of classist labels created by the British media, including an Essex girl, Essex man, yob, Croydon facelift, Sloane Ranger, pramface, WAG, Wayne and Waynetta and others.

Despite an array of existing regional designations for poor urban youth such as *neds* (Glasgow), *schemies* (Edinburgh) and *scallies* (Liverpool), the media – in particular the internet – popularized *chav* (Beal 2006). Along with the gradual proliferation of the word, popular representations mushroomed as newspapers, the internet and TV spewed sardonic and denigrating representations of *chavs.*[6] Surveys prompted people to "identify [with] your inner chav"; whereas hatred-filled jokes sneered at the intelligence of individuals labelled as *chavs*, and criminalizing images flourished online[7]. Vicky Pollard (*Little Britain*) and Lauren Cooper (*The Catherine Tate Show*) emerged as iconic embodiments of everything *chav*. Crudely stereotyped through a myriad of clichéd attributes, Vicky Pollard was a comprehensive school student sporting a quintessentially *chav* image: a flashy pink shell suit, outsized accessories and tightly pulled back hair in a 'Croydon facelift'. A resident of a council estate and a mother of twelve children, she was a brazenly law-defiant bully. Just like Vicky Pollard and her catchphrase "Yeah but no but yeah", Lauren Cooper's invariable rejoinder "Am I bovvered?", epitomized a quintessentially *chav* attitude.

Presently defunct, by 2006 *Chavscum* had flourished into a fountain of knowledge about *chavs* and *chav* culture. Churning out stereotypes about fashion, consumption, lifestyle choices, leisure activities and attitudes, the website contributed to the essentializing of a body of knowledge and the production of *chavness*. A uniform of sportswear, sport shoes, jewelry all frequently topped off with a Burberry cap, was mocked for its excessive style and unabashed display of brands. Classed as an onslaught on 'good'

5 In 2006 the word was traced back to a Romany derivation originating in South East England and meaning a boy or a child (Beal 2006).

6 All the excerpts from the websites *Chavworld* and *Chavscum* used in this essay were collected in year 2007. The websites were not live anymore at the time of writing.

7 Newspaper survey in the *Sunday Times* encouraged to identify one's *chav* qualities ("Try the chavometer") and the Independent ("To chav or chav-not: are you a 24-carat ned?") Jokes about *chavs* swelled the websites dedicated to chav culture (www.chavworld.co.uk), degrading visual representations deriding *chavs* ("Haves and Chavs – how man will look in the year 102,000.")

(i.e. modest) taste, the *chav* garb fronted cultural practices characterized by a preference for visually attractive, simplistic and intellectually untroubling content. A deemed partiality for mobile phones, cars and ferocious dogs rounded off the stereotype of urban youths with a low educational attainment level; dressed in a tribal uniform who enjoy consumption and a particular lifestyle. The *chav* was implicitly Caucasian and heterosexual.

Chav taste

In order to appreciate what *chav* meant with regards to fashion and its class-reinforcing use in relation to consumption, it is necessary to look into a string of articles about the *chav* style. In the British press published between 2004 and 2006, the coverage of "underclass chavs" was accompanied by the multimillionaire "chav royalty" who "have wealth that far outstrips Britain's aristocrats"[8]. The newspaper most willing to confer the *chav* stigma to popular culture celebrities was the *Daily Mail* wherein its representation of *chavs* focused on identifying or creating an embodiment of the stereotype. No longer an abstract image, the *chav* found its incarnation in a tabloid star whose 'shameful' qualities ("queen of chavs") atoned for her financial prosperity. The thirteen *Daily Mail* articles analyzed in this essay demonstrate a consistent depiction of Coleen McLoughlin, at the time the nineteen-year-old fiancée of Wayne Rooney (a successful footballer), as an epitome of the quintessential *chav* taste – vulgar and unrefined[9] while also, on occasion, casting Victoria Beckham in the role.

Representations of the *chav* taste frequently coincided with the notion of excess. The house of Coleen McLoughlin and Wayne Rooney was offhandedly named as "a shrine to chav tackiness". The "display-only", "extravagant" and "extraordinary" features of the site were presented as a challenge to "good taste" (Kiki 2005). C*hav* implied fake and excessive – the residence was described in a way to conjure up an impression of conspicuous abundance antithetical to an average modest house: "A pink-tiled swimming pool, a Dallas-themed living room, cinema, gym and games room and American diner-themed kitchen" (Kiki 2005). Similarly, in "Coleen and Wayne move into Chav Towers", the *chav* epithet was used to imply excess while the article conscientiously enumerated features of the "lavish property". A scrupulously itemized price tag ("more than £4.5million, additional cost of £50,000", "£50,000 Cadillac and £25,000 Chrysler") warranted the *chav* slur, whereas the description of the décor hinted at tastelessness: "One

8 "Queen's banker goes in search of footballers wives" (Farndon).

9 Although not analysed in greater depth in this essay, an important factor informing the reproduction of social class is celebrity culture and its role in communicating conservative attitudes toward classed femininity. A social figure of a celebrity *chav* – "one who enjoys a plenitude of economic resources, but whose stocks of cultural resources are so 'debased' as to result in a fascination with 'expensive vulgarity'" (Hayward and Yar 14) remains crucial for producing and sustaining class relations (Tyler and Bennett). Due to their perceived failure to perform the 'correct' femininity, female working-class celebrities have become an embodiment of class hatred and a source of pleasurable entertainment stemming from incompetence at mastering respectable femininity (Tyler and Bennett).

peep through the keyhole is enough to confirm that this is serious Footballers' Wives territory". In a similar vein, a chapel at the Beckhams' residence was deemed excessive, artificial and ostentatious, and eventually mocked as "the *chav*'s chapel" due to its price ("an incredible £100,000"), decoration ("the chapel … has a statue of a white angel above a grand arched entrance, echoing the angel that's tattooed on David's back") and the artifice ("fronted by a mock ruin") (Lampert 2004). Thrashing the extravagant display as being "over-the-top" and in need of "an army of butlers" helped to map out a semantic cluster around the word *chav*: tacky, tasteless, expensive, artificial, lavish, extravagant and over the top. The meaning of *chav* taste centered around a lack of (legitimate) taste and moderation. In short, *chav* taste was devoid of cultural capital.

Coincidentally, these descriptors were in opposition to traditionally middle-class values. As observed by Beverly Skeggs, the dichotomy between excessive and restrained has been historically associated with social distinctions: "The middle class are represented by their distance from [the working-class excess], usually through associations with restraint, repression, reasonableness, modesty and denial" (Skeggs 99). By imposing *chav* attributes on the style of residences and depicting them in aesthetic terms, taste involved in passing judgements was naturalized as an expression of an objective system of style. However, far from being an innocuous yardstick, taste – a classifying practice – was actually a symbolic expression of class. By defining the *chav* qualities, their implied opposite (restraint) emerged as being endowed with cultural capital and, thanks to the legitimizing authority of the press, enshrined in symbolic capital. Thus, without expressly referencing social class, social distinctions based on cultural capital disguised as taste were made. This, in turn, reinforced the symbolic power of such historically classed values such as modesty and understatement.

Depictions of McLoughlin's and Beckham's taste as *chav* shone light on various aspects of their lack of cultural capital. Beckham's representations usually revolved around style and purely aesthetic qualities. In the article "Styled by the stars: celebrity fashion lines" (Kay 2006), her fashion design attempts were ridiculed as being the antipode to the vintage chic: "great for aspiring footballers' wives – not so great for those who would rather eat Old Turf than be labelled a chav, whereas in "Is Posh's short back and sides a cut too far?" (Clarkson 2006), "the provenance of those particularly chavvy looks" drew fire because of the "comedy out-sized sunglasses" and hair extensions, which were deemed unstylish. Challenging the taste represented by these consumption choices echoed depictions of McLoughlin's and Beckham's houses which underscored their ignorance or unsuccessful performance of the legitimate, understated taste.

The narrative of historically associating excess with working-class (Skeggs 99) was complemented by references to ignorance as evidenced in the articles about Coleen's consumption choices. In "Coleen: why waste rabbit skins if they can be boots?" (Maller 2005), her consumerism was presented not only as conspicuous but also unethical: she flaunted fur boots ("Fur and animal skins are very much a part of the ostentatious 'bling bling' style to which Miss McLoughlin aspires and which have earned her the nickname 'Queen of the Chavs') and showed ignorance of wildlife conservation ("In a less than fully-informed defense of her footwear, she has made matters worse" and displayed a "carefree approach to animal products"). Critical of the affluent *chav* due to her lack

of environmental awareness, the article also managed to recap the hefty sums spent on clothing. A bloated shopping list ("£1,000 designer handbag made from the skins of five pythons", "£1,300 parka jacket lined with fur produced from the hides of 25 chinchillas and minks"), highlighted her obliviousness to ethical shopping and discounted McLoughlin's ample resources ("She is said to receive £100,000 a year in 'spending money' from Rooney and last month it was revealed that she had blown at least £16,000 on handbags"). The articles chastising McLoughlin's and Beckham's taste used the *chav* label to denote a lack of cultural capital not only in terms of aesthetic (taste) but also environmental awareness. Judged from the position of legitimated cultural capital encapsulated in restrained, middle-class aesthetic, their consumer choices were worthless and dangerous. These representations also treaded a path originated around the 1970s which represented the working-class as un-modern and stupid, and consequently an obstacle to progress: "The respectable middle-class are the phantasmic construction of the modern nation, hindered by the working-class who represent the atavistic block to progress" (Skeggs 98). The distancing scorn directed at McLoughlin's and Beckham's consumption choices were thus driven not only by denying them cultural capital in terms of taste and education, but also by exploring their associations with the working-class. This double-edged strategy pointedly boxed them in a classed position.

Unsurprisingly, the indelible *chav* stereotype attached to her did not escape McLoughlin's attention. In the article, "Coleen: I'm not a chav", a reference to her puzzlement over the *chav* label was clear: "I don't understand the *chav* label. I don't know what it's supposed to mean" and in "Coleen: I don't shop all the time" (Griffin 2005), she denied shopping escapades and demanded a fairer public image ("People don't realize there's a lot to me than shopping.")[10] The futility of her plea threw into relief the violence involved in the symbolic struggle around representations and the *chav* stigma. Discredited on the basis of her lack of cultural capital, she articulated her subjection to the symbolic violence committed the representations of her in the *Daily Mail* – an outlet wielding sufficient symbolic power to advance and impose a certain image. Herself devoid of resources to counter the narrative promoted in the media, McLoughlin hinted at what could be understood as the violence of symbolic struggle – a process which by producing and imposing representations, a world-making power is exerted. McLoughlin's predicament exemplified the inability of those with less cultural and symbolic capital to offer a counter-narrative.

As could be expected, McLoughlin's appeal was inconsequential and it was only when she submitted herself to a makeover instituted by professionals that the tone of the articles warmed up. The author of "Classy Coleen goes from chav to chav-not" (Maddick 2006) gushed over her transformation evidenced by a Vogue photoshoot in 2005 as she finally conformed to the refined, glamorous middle-class taste. Described as a "footballer's fiancée, universally derided for her appalling but expensive fashion sense" and brandishing telltale *chav* accessories ("penchant for Burberry check and garish velour

10 McLoughlin's comments bring to mind Ervin Goffman's observations around the burden of stigma: "My guise had been put on me without my consent or my knowledge like the ones on fairy tales, and it was I myself who was confused by it, as to my own identity" (Goffman 8).

tracksuits earned the teenage girlfriend of England football ace Wayne Rooney the unflattering title Queen of the *Chavs*"), she was "an unlikely fashion icon" and a "shopaholic" with a "down-market image". The *chav* look was evoked only to be contrasted with a newly-acquired distinction immortalized in "stunning photographs". The "stunning new series of photographs" were a triumph of "astonishing transformation from chav to chav-not". The key to eschewing the chav label turned out to be a successful makeover involving the performative adoption of conventional femininity. Submitting herself to the indisputable cultural capital of stylists and photographs, McLoughlin basked in their legitimate knowledge and taste, incarnated in a modest, vintage and chic throwback to classics: "Coleen recreates the understated style of the refined screen sirens from Fifties Hollywood." She espoused canonical femininity through style and poses ("glamorous poses") – modelling in a sexually alluring way ("seductively", "coquette-like"), thus gaining approval by making her image ripe for sexualized commodification. The enthusing tone over 'Coleen's reinvention' culminated with her adhering to the standards of the body discipline. After an exercise regimen, praise about her "toned new physique, the results of a strict fitness regime and a thrice-weekly visit to a personal trainer" was sung (Maddick 2006). Changes in the tone of press coverage, coming hot on the heels of McLoughlin's transformation, attested to yet another facet of the symbolic struggle: body presentation functioning as a classed symbol and an sphere where cultural competence could be exerted[11]. Similarly to houses or fashion, body shape was also judged in terms of excess, which scorned on aesthetic grounds in fact expressed legitimated cultural capital and class distinction: "Disgust at the body and other forms of exaggerated display is a judgment made by the middle class to maintain their (presented as universal) standards and symbolic order" (Skeggs 103). Devoid of symbolic power or access to conversion mechanisms that could legitimate her *chav* taste and body image, McLoughlin managed to gain approval through yielding to the symbolic order's dominant aesthetics. Only after relinquishing her taste – poor, *chav* and frequently associated with the excesses and ignorance of the working-class, did she escape the judgements invalidating her cultural capital; or devaluing her consumption choices.

In the wake of the "glamorous" photoshoot (Maddick 2006), McLoughlin was no longer sniped at for her penchant for spending and her *chav* taste. The article "Is new-look Coleen queen of chav or chic?" attempted to reevaluate a former "schoolgirl with puppy fat and a suspicious taste in clothes" and her new style in fashion and bodily appearance won an endorsement ("she is looking slimmer than ever"). The success of McLoughlin's new chic image was instant and total: articles picturing or associating her with *chavs* almost completely vanished. Only once did a *chav* association crop up (Pearlman 2006), followed by a single reiteration of the phrase "Chav Towers" ("Pendersen 2006). The renunciation of the depiction of McLoughlin as being the "Queen of the *Chavs*" attested to her successful strategy that involved adopting the values of the symbolic order associated with legitimate femininity and its values of modesty, chic and discipline.

11 "Obesity is inscribed onto the body as an indicator of self-control and discipline associated with 'working-class' women" (Skeggs 102).

Conclusions

This essay has demonstrated how representations of Coleen McLoughlin (and to a lesser degree of Victoria Beckham) in terms of *chav* taste reinforced class distinctions and notions of 'appropriate' femininity. Without expressly referencing social class, social distinctions were drawn by means of a naturalized taste, which promoted the symbolic order of classed values, such as restraint and modesty. On the other hand, representations of excessive and ignorant taste as *chav* not only reinforced social distinctions between those with and without legitimate cultural capital, but also attested to what Angela McRobbie called the "public denigration of women dispossessed of taste" a harshly critical discourse appealing to working-class women to "emulate their social superiors" (McRobbie 97). With over 50% of newspaper readership being female (McRobbie 2004), articles sniping at *chav* consumption transgressing legitimized standards, implicitly schooled women about an 'acceptable' taste in consumption, in particular fashion, and body presentation. The message conveyed through the pejorative depictions of the *chav* style affirmed and protected the symbolic order and violence involved in a symbolic struggle to muzzle the subaltern voices espousing alternate forms of cultural capital.

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