ESRC Final Report
RES-148-25-0025

Identities and regeneration in the former coalfields of East Durham
Katy Bennett (University of Leicester)

Background
The major aim of this project was to examine the relationship between regeneration and identities in the former coalfields of East Durham, UK. The project was concerned with how public policies, funding programmes and regeneration efforts intersected with places to affect identities. When the project was conceived it was the 10 year anniversary of the final colliery closure in an area that had once been a coalmining heartland of the UK. The area has been the focus of considerable regeneration efforts which have been rewarded with success. The North East attracted 3-4 times the national average number of FDI jobs per capita1 with jobs lost from the coal industry in Durham from 1981-2004 matched by an increase in noncoal jobs for men2.

Previous research tended to focus on ex-miners who had experienced job loss and the weakening of the social fabric of coalmining communities that the coal industry and unions supported (see, for example, Turner and Gregory 1995). Given that women have been traditionally in the shadows of coalfield communities and peripheral to research concerned with the experiences of men, this research brought women centre stage to explore what their experiences of home, work and change meant for their identification. Furthermore, whilst previous research has explored the economic consequences of pit closures and regeneration efforts (Beatty et al 2007), there has been less focus on the emotional and socio-cultural consequences of such change. This research was designed to fill that gap with its focus on identities and emotion. It worked at the interface of identity and political economy.

To support its focus on identities and emotion, and through its inclusion in an interdisciplinary research programme, the project was keen to contribute to conversation across the psycho-social boundary. The project was informed by theoretical perspectives on identity influenced by social anthropological perspectives that theorise symbolic boundaries and senses of belonging underpinning (self conscious) identity practices (Cohen 1982, 2000. See also Hall, 1996). Feminist cultural theory and cultural geography informed the (less self conscious) discursive, performative sense of identity important to the project (Butler 1990, 1993; Gregson and Rose, 2000; Nelson 1999). The project was keen to engage with psychodynamic/psychoanalytical perspectives on subjectivity and processes of identification to improve its research methods and develop its understanding of emotion, affect and identification.

Aims and Objectives

Aims
The research aimed to address the following research questions:

RQ1. How do regeneration agendas affect processes of identification?

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RQ2. How do women in the former coalfields of East Durham identify themselves?
RQ3. How can regeneration initiatives be made more effective?

A detailed explanation of how these aims were addressed is provided in the Methods section.

Objectives

1. To develop a theoretical agenda regarding identification that bridges disciplines exploring symbolic boundaries and (less/self conscious) performances based on research in the former coalfields of East Durham. As part of this objective, to engage with academics on the programme with expertise in psychoanalysis to develop a theoretical context that facilitates a study of identities in the former coalfields.

This objective was addressed through the Research Programme and networks that developed beyond this:

- Participation in the psycho-social sub group of the Research Programme that met to discuss theories of identity, methodology and methods of data analysis;
- Participation in psycho-social reading group meetings organised by academics at the Open University;
- Participation in the Annual Conference of the International Research Group for Psycho-Societal Analysis at the Inter-University, Dubrovnik, in June 2006. Contributed on analysis of in-depth group work;
- Contribution to Emotional Geographies through presentations at Edinburgh University and Queen's University, Kingston (see Activities below) and forthcoming publication (in Area, September 2009)

2. To generate research data using semi-structured interviews, participant observation, focus group work, documentary and cultural media analysis in a former coalfields setting to address research questions on the relationship between identities and regeneration.

This objective has been addressed. See Methods section and Results Section for details.

3. To focus the project primarily on women's identities.

In-depth group work with women was a critical part of the project. See Methods section and Results Section for details.

4. To develop an innovative methodology that draws on the work of the amber Film and Photography Collective.

This objective was addressed through:

- semi-structured interviews with Amber Film and Photography Collective and photographers who took part in 'Coalfield Stories' to understand processes and intentions of their work;
- Participant observation of events and exhibitions organised by the Amber Film and Photography Collective;
- Use of photographs from ‘Coalfield Stories’ in in-depth group work.
5. To feed back to policy makers and actors formally engaged in the former coalfields to explain resistance/acceptance of regeneration agendas

This objective has been addressed through:

- Publication of accessible key findings which have been distributed to policy makers and actors formally engaged in coalfields regeneration;
- Project website;
- Contribution to programme events, including a session on Social Exclusion (see Activities) with an audience of policy makers, practitioners and journalists working on issues of Social Exclusion.

This objective will be further addressed through:

- A workshop on Coalfields Regeneration. A proposal has been put forward to the steering group of the Northern Rural Network to run a workshop in 2009/10;
- Media dissemination. Have been approached by journalists to contribute to Radio 4 Thinking Aloud; Women’s Hour and an article on housing, homelessness and social exclusion in The Guardian;
- Diverse activities including, for example, contributing to research and work on the regeneration of the Kent coalfields.

6. To make the most of being part of a Research Programme.

This objective has been addressed. See under Objective 1 and Activities Section.

**Methods**

The methodology employed discourse analysis to examine how the coalfields were represented in texts and imagery of regeneration initiatives. It drew upon ethnographic methods to examine the interconnection between regeneration and identities. The research questions determined the data-gathering and data analysis techniques used, outlined below.

1. **How do regeneration agendas affect processes of identification?**

This question was addressed through:

- An analysis of:
  - Transcripts from interviews with 10 policy makers involved in the formal regeneration of East Durham coalfields (1998-1999. Funders: ESRC and JRF). I was one of the research assistants employed on these projects and so had access to transcripts from interviews that we conducted in 1998/1999. The 'Agenda for Change' for East Durham was in its 3rd phase with a remit that included tackling land dereliction, coastal improvement, infrastructure, a shortage of land for industrial development, poor quality housing, a shortage of jobs, retraining, inward investment.
  - Grey Literature and media concerned with the regeneration of the former coalfields. This included the analysis of grey literature and place marketing campaigns produced by East Durham Task Force, Easington District Council, East Durham Development Agency, EDBS, ONE NorthEast, GONE, Durham
County Council and films and exhibitions produced by Amber Film and Photography Collective.

- **Semi-structured interviews with:**
  -14 people key to the formal regeneration of the East Durham coalfields. Interviewees included officers and councillors for Easington District Council, representatives of ONE NorthEast, East Durham Business Service, County Durham Development Company, Durham County Council
  -members of Amber Film and Photography Collective and 9 photographers who contributed to the 'Coalfield Stories' exhibition; one person involved in Amber's film and photographic work (one other participated in in-depth group work). Accessing people who had taken part in 'Coalfield Stories' proved difficult following my move to Leicester. To compensate for this, I increased the amount of in-depth group work that I did (see following section for more details), with support from Easington District Councillors.

2. **How do women in the former coalfields of East Durham identify themselves?**
In addition to methods used to address Research Question 1, the following methods were employed:

- **In-depth group work with women who live in East Durham.** Four groups of women met three times in Autumn/Winter 2006. Twelve in-depth groups ran in total (see Burgess et al 1988a; 1988b; Morgan and Thomas 1996). The decision to shift from 9 groups of women meeting once to four groups of women meeting three times was guided by my participation in the psycho-social sub group of the Research Programme and work in Emotional Geographies on relationality (see Hollway and Jefferson 2000; Lucey et al 2003; Walkerdine et al 2001; Walkerdine et al 2002; Thomson 2006; Bondi, 2003a, 2003b, 2005; Oliver 2003). Emerging relationships within the groups became an important part of the research. The groups were organised around age: 16-24, 25-40, 41-54 and 55+. This meant that group members had different and varying memories and associations with the former coalfields. Group sizes ranged from 6-10 people plus myself and Emily Nolan, a locally based consultant employed to help with the organisation of the in-depth group work. A councillor and officers at Easington District Council helped with the recruitment of group participants and a minibus service and childcares facilities were arranged to support inclusive research practices. Meetings lasted for 2-3 hours and were held at Surestart (Seaham), Homestart (Seaham) and Wheatley Hill Community Centre.

3) **How can regeneration initiatives be made more effective?**
In addition to methods used to address Research Questions 1 and 2:

- The research produced accessible key findings that were fed back to selected policy makers and practitioners formally involved in coalfields regeneration (and who were interviewed for the project) for comment and discussion;
- Through participant observation work at events organised by local residents and the Amber Film and Photography Collective;
- A website;
- A future workshop on Coalfields Regeneration organised through the Northern Rural Network.

**Results**
The results produced here are based on initial analysis and publication. Further results will be available from the project website.
All about home

Whilst other studies have been concerned with economic impacts of regeneration, this research has explored its emotional and socio-cultural dimensions. Regeneration involves familiar landscapes and senses of home. The results reported here relate to home and its deep connection with identity and what happens to people when home feels alien. Housing is fundamental to senses of home, but not the complete story. Home also embraces landscapes, memories, emotions and relationships (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Mallett 2004)

Here, results from the research that concern home and identity are briefly explored:

- **Landscaping East Durham with passion: Identification of home, a former coalfield** (addresses RQ1)
- **Home, homelessness and identity** (addresses RQ2)
- **Nostalgia and identity** (addresses RQ2)
- **How can regeneration initiatives be made more effective** (addresses RQ3)

*Landscaping East Durham with passion: Identification of home, a former coalfield*

Place marketing campaigns for East Durham and the North East identify landscapes important to people’s sense of home in new ways. These campaigns support economic agenda, aiming to attract new industries that demand different skills and workplace practices and put new pressures on the home life of those who live in the area, with, for example, more women in paid work. Recent place promotion expects not only new roles from residents but also the display of appropriate feelings for the place where they live and work, affecting relationships with home.

"The place to be" (East Durham Development Agency, 1998)

*Welcome to the District of Easington. You made it. This is the place to be. The epicentre of business activity in North East England - the UK's most dynamic investment arena* (Easington District website, 1998)

Early marketing campaigns launched as the last of the deep mines in Easington District closed were quick to disassociate the former coalfield area from its mining heritage in an attempt to transform negative images of a redundant place polluted by its industrial past. The marketing campaigns were part of an impressive agenda of economic regeneration designed to bring jobs, funding and investment to Easington District. In marketing campaigns East Durham was identified as moving away from its 'yesterdays of coal to a present of computer chips and microtechnology' (East Durham Development Agency Property Guide, 1998). These marketing campaigns revealed more about the character of potential inward investment than they did about Easington District. Easington District was identified as a place ripe for inward investment and the creation of new, hi-tech industries with modern industrial estates and attractive office space supported by its Enterprise Zone status offering a package of financial incentives to companies considering East Durham as a location for their business. It pitched itself at the hub of business activity with Siemens and Nissan to the north, Fujitsu to the south west and Samsung to the south. Some of these companies no longer operate in the region or are, as in the case of Nissan, reducing their workforce, demonstrating that the task of coalfields regeneration is enormous and ongoing.
'Passionate people. Passionate places': ONE NorthEast 2006

One NorthEast's Regional Image Campaign called 'Passionate People. Passionate Places' focuses on 'people who are passionate about their work in North East England together with examples of the fantastic places, businesses, brands, attractions and events that make up the North East today'. It is different to Easington District's earlier marketing campaign in that its audience includes not only companies, but potential visitors and local people too. The campaign features 'ordinary' people who live and work in the North East and radiate passion regarding the region's lifestyle opportunities, visitor attractions and knowledge economy. The marketing of the North East sits comfortably alongside the Regional Economic Strategy and Regional Spatial Strategy which focus attention on city-regions, the Northern Way and key industrial growth sectors (GONE 2008; ONE, 2006). It is selective regarding the places and heritage that it promotes to identify the North East. Easington is notable for its absence.

- Home, homelessness and identity
  'I was living with me nanna and (pause) I had really bad post natal depression because she was just trying to take over my life basically and I couldn’t cope with it and still they wouldn’t give us anything. And me nanna threatened to chuck us out and they says well you can go in a refuge. And I says I don’t want to, I’ve just had a baby. I don’t want to be stuck in a refuge by meself. I says I’ll find me own’ (Mother of one young child living in council owned accommodation).

This section is about women who identify themselves as homeless in East Durham (see Levitas et al 2006; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Wardhaugh1999). Some of this homelessness resides in a shortage of social housing. This shortage can partly be explained by a policy of housing market renewal in areas described as 'low demand' with an oversupply of sub-standard terraced housing (Holmans et al 2007; Cameron 2006). Parts of villages and towns in Easington District have been targeted for demolition accompanied by largely private housing developments designed to attract and retain a professional and skilled workforce needed to support regional economic regeneration agenda. Although it is stipulated that 20% of private housing developments should be reserved for the social sector, local residents are lucky if this happens.

(In) 1999/2000, when we were dealing with the Parkside Scheme, em, we had to chuck in land for nowt. We’ve had to get exemption from the Secretary of State to be able to do that just to enable something to happen there. There was only one house builder willing to take it on. So it’s not as though we’ve got much choice. The power to influence and condition developers is a damn sight less than it would be down in Leeds, Bristol, anywhere else. The developers are accountable to shareholders and (pause) we’re glad for something to be happening here (Easington District Council officer)

The consequence of this policy shift is that since the end of the 1990s homelessness appears to have risen most rapidly in those regions where housing market renewal policies are concentrated. In the four year period between 1999-2000 and 2003-4, statutory homelessness in the North East region rose by 73% (Cameron 2006). Deepening the problem of homelessness and a shortage of social housing is the continuing policy of Right to Buy. In April 2006 Easington District Council owned 9278 dwellings (22.1% of total dwellings in Easington District), compared with 12,297 dwellings (29.9% of total dwellings) in April 2001. Some of this, but not much in Easington District, has been offset by an increase in dwellings owned by Registered Social Landlords which has increased from 4.1% to 4.3% of total dwellings over the same period.

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Homelessness and a shortage of social housing have also been affected by the continuing problem of a lack of funding. Tranches of central government funding aimed at housing focus on the needs of conurbations, leaving their hinterlands comparatively bereft of financial support. Housing market renewal funding, for example, has been allocated to urban cores, such as NewcastleGateshead, through CLG’s Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder Programme, leaving sub-regional housing markets under-funded (DCC, 2007). Attempts by Easington District Council to lever in additional funding through, for example, the transfer of the management of its stock to an arms length management organisation have been held back by East Durham Homes' failure to meet the necessary standards to qualify for top tier funding.

Even some young women with a place to live identify themselves as homeless - feeling far from 'at home' where they live because they live in the most deprived areas of East Durham or too far away from friends and family or in sub-standard accommodation (Pawson and Kintrea 2002; Robinson 2002). This sense of homelessness is caused by both a shortage of social housing and its failure to meet appropriate standards with 75% of local authority owned properties classified as non-decent (GONE 2007). Tenants of privately rented accommodation often live in houses of an even worse standard:

'You could tell it (the heating) was dodgy from day one because you would turn it on and the pipes - I mean the neighbours were even complaining because it literally sounds as if someone's got a hammer and banging it on all your pipes if I try and turn it on. So I turned it off. I said well I’m frightened, I don’t know what the noise is and then we tried again the next day and nothing, there was just no heating whatsoever and I spoke to the landlady and she got someone to come out and then I was speaking to her and she said the problem I've got is that I can't afford to pull £2000 out' (Mother of two living in privately rented accommodation).

Feelings of homelessness create an unsettled home life as women search for a decent place to live (see Miller 2001a, 2001b). Home provides limited space for the nurturing of selves and children because it is shaped by living in a perpetual state of planning and waiting to move house (see Young 1997).

'No carpet on the stairs. No money to do it. And then you don't know if you're gonna move because you've put your name down for another council house. Do I spend the money on a coat or do I need a carpet? Do I get the carpet? No I don't. Well that money will go on something else and so oh, it's a vicious circle' (Mother of two young children living in council owned accommodation).

- Nostalgia and identity

Nostalgia: ORIGIN from Greek nostos 'return home' + algos 'pain'

Living in a place that has witnessed much change, there is often a desire, especially amongst village elders, to go back in time and return home. Nostalgia is part of the emotional consequences of pit closures as individuals and communities reflect on the way things were as they cope with how their sense of home has changed. Although a much maligned emotion associated with a reluctance to get on with the present, nostalgia helps people to cope with the change they face as they explore a sense of continuity in their lives in the face of apparent discontinuity (Davis 1979).
Wheatley Hill's Centenary Heritage Gala Parade started at 10 o'clock sharp on 30th June 2007 outside the Heritage Centre. The parade was led by a man dressed in Edwardian costume to look like Peter Lee, someone long since dead but symbolically important to the village. Behind this iconic figure the bright silks of lodge banners billowed in the breeze, conveying images and statements important to the identity of this ex-mining village and the Durham coalfield. Prominent among them was the Wheatley Hill Lodge Banner. Following the banners marched the Peterlee Brass Band, local residents, some of whom were dressed in costumes representing various bygone eras. The parade progressed through the streets of Wheatley Hill, finishing at the Old Scouts' Hut, which had its doors open and stalls prepared for the crowds escaping the start of the rain (excerpt from research diary)

The Gala Parade was one event in a four day period when residents of Wheatley Hill celebrated the centenary of what used to be the Chapel of Rest and is now the Heritage Centre. The nostalgic celebrations, supported by Easington District Council, embraced the village's mining heritage using symbols such as the Wheatley Hill lodge banner to affect a sense of collective identity, belonging, culture and continuity. They also demonstrated what has been achieved since pit closure with events held in the Heritage Centre, a facility organised and run by local people, and the Community Centre, which used to be the Miners' Welfare Hall, but is now a facility that hosts events, meetings, classes and a café. Nostalgia sometimes galvanises community.

- How can regeneration initiatives be made more effective?

Through:

a) supporting communities in their celebration of home. Heritage matters;

b) commitment at regional and national levels to a long term regeneration programme in East Durham. Local economic growth, supported by improved business infrastructure adjacent to the A19, is vital to the employment prospects of Easington District residents. Home life for those with no access to a car will only improve with good job opportunities nearby;

c) sustained funding. Easington District has been subject to periods when it has received substantial funding that it has had to spend quickly, followed by periods when there is a shortage of funding – a current problem for those concerned with housing;

d) faster response to changing situations. Identified as a 'low demand' area regarding housing, there is now a shortage of social housing in East Durham and homelessness is on the rise;

e) being viable. 'Choice Based Lettings' will not work in places where there is a shortage of social housing (Fitzpatrick and Pawson 2007). New housing allocation models will still require a needs based element to house the most vulnerable (DCC, 2008).

f) a focus on those in most need. There has been a shift in housing discourse from concerns with low housing demand and abandonment to a focus on housing market renewal. This is largely designed to support the regeneration agenda of Regional Economic and Spatial Strategies through, for example, exclusive private developments designed to retain and attract a professional and skilled workforce to the area. Social housing is a relatively marginal concern. It is important that the social sector is actually allocated its stipulated 20% from private sector development and that areas beyond urban cores are allocated adequate central government funding to improve and expand social housing stock.

Activities
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<td>Challenging emotions</td>
<td>Department of Geography</td>
<td>Edinburgh University</td>
<td>November 2006</td>
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<td>Living in the shadow of a coalfield's past: Memory, emotion and identity</td>
<td>School of Arts, Design, Media and Culture</td>
<td>University of Sunderland</td>
<td>March 2007</td>
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<td>Identity, emotion and belonging</td>
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Outputs

To cite this output:
RES-148-25-0025
**Key academic publications**
- 2 research papers have been submitted/accepted in academic peer reviewed journals

Bennett K (accepted) Challenging emotions *Area*

Bennett K (responding to referees' comments) Unsettling home *Antipode*

- 2 book chapters have been published:
  Bennett K 2009 Telling Tales: Nostalgia, Collective Identity and an Ex-Mining Village in Smith, Mick, Davidson, Joyce, Cameron, Laura and Bondi, Liz (Eds.) *Emotion, Place and Culture* (Burlington VT and Aldershot: Ashgate Press)

  Bennett K and Lee R 2007 Amber and an/other rural: film, photography and the former coalfields in Fish R (ed) *Cinematic Countrysides*. Manchester University Press, Manchester 249-268

**Dissemination**

**Key Findings** providing a brief overview of the project and initial results, written in an accessible style and produced in a high quality format for wide distribution within the research area and to other interested parties.

**Display of Key Findings in Community Centres and Local Libraries.** Large posters rich with images and findings (particularly from the in-depth group work) have been given to Community Centres and Libraries.

**Website** has become the public face of the project. It is a live resource featuring information about the project and publications. Details regarding future events and dissemination activities will be announced on the website.

**Data set**
I can confirm that I am in the process of depositing anonymised transcripts from the project with the ESRC data archive

**Impacts**

**Practice:** The project impacted on research practices, exploring the benefits and difficulties of engaging with psychotherapeutic techniques for social scientists. Presentations on research practices were given at invited seminars and conferences (see Activities), followed by a forthcoming paper in *Area* (called ‘Challenging Emotions’).

**Policy:** This is on-going with the project having policy relevance regarding issues of social exclusion, housing and regeneration. The project contributed to an event on Social Exclusion organised by the Identities and Social Action Programme and has proposed a workshop on Coalfields Regeneration with the Northern Rural Network. The aim of the workshop is too pull together research on coalfields regeneration (Sheffield Hallam University, Durham University and Leicester University), alongside presentations from policy makers and practitioners. Coalfields regeneration is sometimes marginal to Regional Economic and Spatial Strategies (that focus on conurbations of city regions, the northern way and a knowledge economy) and rural policy agenda.
Future Research Priorities

Research on:  
the impact of new workplace practices on men and women. Although jobs lost from the coal industry in Durham from 1981-2004 have been matched by an increase in noncoal jobs for men (Beatty et al, 2007) and there are more women in paid work, job (in)security, working conditions and workplace practices experienced by employees would merit further study. This project, conducted before the 'credit crunch' hit the headlines and companies, like Nissan, announced job losses, highlighted the insecurity of paid work, the significance of employment agencies and temporary employment and substantial changes in working conditions. The former coalfields could be particularly sensitive to a recession with deep consequences for people.

masculine domesticities. Whilst women's relationships with others were an important part of the research, women's voices were central to the project's agenda. Unanswered questions linger regarding the home life of fathers who break up with the mothers of their children, who remain important, tangential or invisible in the lives of their children. Women talked in detail about their relationship with their mother (and her impact on home life), but fathers rarely figured in conversation. Boyfriends were often an important source of support and love, but rarely lived with women, staying for no longer than a couple of nights each week. Any longer and mothers lost their lone parent benefit status and faced reduced household income. Questions remain regarding the impact of all this on men and their home life.

Ethics

To guide the ethical approach of the project I used the British Sociological Association's Statement of Ethical Practice (see Appendix 2). Interviewees were contacted by letter and telephone and given information regarding the intention of the project. Data collection was overt and interviews were undertaken through verbal consent. Participants of in-depth group work were provided with consent forms at the end of the first meeting. During fieldwork the uses to which the fieldwork would be put, confidentiality and right to withdraw were made clear. All data was kept on password protected file space and in locked filing cabinets.
Appendix 1: References


Bondi L 2003a Meaning-making and its framings: a response to Stuart Oliver Social and Cultural Geography 4 323-7

Bondi L 2003b Empathy and identification: Conceptual resources for feminist fieldwork ACME: An international e-journal for critical geographers 2 64-76

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Appendix 2:

STATEMENT OF ETHICAL PRACTICE FOR THE BRITISH
SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

MARCH 2002 (Appendix updated May 2004)

Statement of Ethical Practice

This statement is one of a set of Guidelines on a variety of fundamental aspects of professional sociology.

The British Sociological Association gratefully acknowledges the use made of the ethical codes and statements of the Social Research Association, the American Sociological Association and the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth.

1) The purpose of the statement is to make members aware of the ethical issues that may arise throughout the research process and to encourage them to take responsibility for their own ethical practice. The Association encourages members to use the Statement to help educate themselves and their colleagues to behave ethically.

2) The statement does not, therefore, provide a set of recipes for resolving ethical choices or dilemmas, but recognises that it will be necessary to make such choices on the basis of principles and values, and the (often conflicting) interests of those involved.

3) Styles of sociological work are diverse and subject to change, not least because sociologists work within a wide variety of settings. Sociologists, in carrying out their work, inevitably face ethical, and sometimes legal, dilemmas which arise out of competing obligations and conflicts of interest.

4) The following statement advises members of the Association about ethical concerns and potential problems and conflicts of interest that may arise in the course of their professional activities. The statement is not exhaustive but summarises basic principles for ethical practice by sociologists. Departures from the principles should be the result of deliberation and not ignorance.

The strength of this statement and its binding force rest ultimately on active discussion, reflection, and continued use by sociologists. In addition, the statement will help to communicate the professional position of sociologists to others, especially those involved in or affected by the activities of sociologists.
Professional Integrity

5) Sociological research is a valuable activity and contributes to the well-being of society. Members should strive to maintain the integrity of sociological inquiry as a discipline, the freedom to research and study, and to publish and promote the results of sociological research including making data available for the use of researchers in the future.

6) Members have a responsibility both to safeguard the proper interests of those involved in or affected by their work, and to report their findings accurately and truthfully. They need to consider the effects of their involvements and the consequences of their work or its misuse for those they study and other interested parties. Sociologists should note that there are national laws and administrative regulations (for example Data Protection Acts, the Human Rights Act, copyright and libel laws) which may affect the conduct of their research, data dissemination and storage, publication, rights of research subjects, of sponsors and employers etc..

7) While recognising that training and skill are necessary to the conduct of social research, members should themselves recognise the boundaries of their professional competence. They should not accept work of a kind that they are not qualified to carry out. Members should satisfy themselves that the research they undertake is worthwhile and that the techniques proposed are appropriate. They should be clear about the limits of their detachment from and involvement in their areas of study. (Also see 45.-47)

8) Social researchers face a range of potential risks to their safety. Safety issues need to be considered in the design and conduct of social research projects and procedures should be adopted to reduce the risk to researchers.

9) In their relations with the media, members should have regard for the reputation of the discipline and refrain from offering expert commentaries in a form that would appear to give credence to material that, as researchers, they would regard as comprising inadequate or tendentious evidence. (Also see 20.-24).

Relations with and Responsibilities towards Research Participants

10) Sociologists, when they carry out research, enter into personal and moral relationships with those they study, be they individuals, households, social groups or corporate entities.

11) Although sociologists, like other researchers are committed to the advancement of knowledge, that goal does not, of itself, provide an entitlement to override the rights of others.

12) Members should be aware that they have some responsibility for the use to which their data may be put and for how the research is to be disseminated. Discharging that responsibility may on occasion be difficult, especially in situations of social conflict, competing social interests or where there is unanticipated misuse of the research by third parties.
Relationships with research participants

13) Sociologists have a responsibility to ensure that the physical, social and psychological well-being of research participants is not adversely affected by the research. They should strive to protect the rights of those they study, their interests, sensitivities and privacy, while recognising the difficulty of balancing potentially conflicting interests.

14) Because sociologists study the relatively powerless as well as those more powerful than themselves, research relationships are frequently characterised by disparities of power and status. Despite this, research relationships should be characterised, whenever possible, by trust and integrity.

15) In some cases, where the public interest dictates otherwise and particularly where power is being abused, obligations of trust and protection may weigh less heavily. Nevertheless, these obligations should not be discarded lightly.

16) As far as possible participation in sociological research should be based on the freely given informed consent of those studied. This implies a responsibility on the sociologist to explain in appropriate detail, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be disseminated and used.

17) Research participants should be made aware of their right to refuse participation whenever and for whatever reason they wish.

18) Research participants should understand how far they will be afforded anonymity and confidentiality and should be able to reject the use of data-gathering devices such as tape recorders and video cameras.

19) Sociologists should be careful, on the one hand, not to give unrealistic guarantees of confidentiality and, on the other, not to permit communication of research films or records to audiences other than those to which the research participants have agreed.

20) Where there is a likelihood that data may be shared with other researchers, the potential uses to which the data might be put must be discussed with research participants and their consent obtained for the future use of the material.(iv). When making notes, filming or recording for research purposes, sociologists should make clear to research participants the purpose of the notes, filming or recording, and, as precisely as possible, to whom it will be communicated. It should be recognised that research participants have contractual and/or legal interests and rights in data, recordings and publications.

21) The interviewer should inform the interviewee of their rights under any copyright or data protection laws

22) Researchers making audio or video recordings should obtain appropriate copyright clearances

23) Interviewers should clarify whether, and if so, the extent to which research participants are allowed to see transcripts of interviews and field notes and to alter the
content, withdraw statements, to provide additional information or to add glosses on interpretations

24) Clarification should also be given to research participants regarding the degree to which they will be consulted prior to publication. Where possible, participants should be offered feedback on findings, for example in the form of a summary report.

25) It should also be borne in mind that in some research contexts, especially those involving field research, it may be necessary for the obtaining of consent to be regarded, not as a once-and-for-all prior event, but as a process, subject to renegotiation over time. In addition, particular care may need to be taken during periods of prolonged fieldwork where it is easy for research participants to forget that they are being studied.

In some situations access to a research setting is gained via a 'gatekeeper'. In these situations members should adhere to the principle of obtaining informed consent directly from the research participants to whom access is required, while at the same time taking account of the gatekeepers' interest.

Since the relationship between the research participant and the gatekeeper may continue long after the sociologist has left the research setting, care should be taken not to compromise existing relationships within the research setting

26) It is, therefore, incumbent upon members to be aware of the possible consequences of their work. Wherever possible they should attempt to anticipate, and to guard against, consequences for research participants that can be predicted to be harmful. Members are not absolved from this responsibility by the consent given by research participants.

27) In many of its forms, social research intrudes into the lives of those studied. While some participants in sociological research may find the experience a positive and welcome one, for others, the experience may be disturbing. Even if not harmed, those studied may feel wronged by aspects of the research process. This can be particularly so if they perceive apparent intrusions into their private and personal worlds, or where research gives rise to false hopes, uncalled for self-knowledge, or unnecessary anxiety.

28) Members should consider carefully the possibility that the research experience may be a disturbing one and should attempt, where necessary, to find ways to minimise or alleviate any distress caused to those participating in research. It should be borne in mind that decisions made on the basis of research may have effects on individuals as members of a group, even if individual research participants are protected by confidentiality and anonymity.

29) Special care should be taken where research participants are particularly vulnerable by virtue of factors such as age, disability, their physical or mental health. Researchers will need to take into account the legal and ethical complexities involved in those circumstances where there are particular difficulties in eliciting fully informed consent. In some situations proxies may need to be used in order to gather data. Where proxies are used, care should be taken not to intrude on the personal space of the person to whom the data ultimately refer, or to disturb the relationship between this person and the proxy. Where it can be inferred that the person about whom data are sought would object to supplying certain kinds of information, that material should not be sought from the proxy.
Research involving children requires particular care. The consent of the child should be sought in addition to that of the parent. Researchers should use their skills to provide information that could be understood by the child, and their judgement to decide on the child's capacity to understand what is being proposed. Specialist advice and expertise should be sought where relevant. Researchers should have regard for issues of child protection and make provision for the potential disclosure of abuse.

### Covert Research

31) There are serious ethical and legal issues in the use of covert research but the use of covert methods may be justified in certain circumstances. For example, difficulties arise when research participants change their behaviour because they know they are being studied. Researchers may also face problems when access to spheres of social life is closed to social scientists by powerful or secretive interests.

32) However, covert methods violate the principles of informed consent and may invade the privacy of those being studied. Covert researchers might need to take into account the emerging legal frameworks surrounding the right to privacy. Participant or non-participant observation in non-public spaces or experimental manipulation of research participants without their knowledge should be resorted to only where it is impossible to use other methods to obtain essential data.

33) In such studies it is important to safeguard the anonymity of research participants. Ideally, where informed consent has not been obtained prior to the research it should be obtained post-hoc.

### Anonymity, privacy and confidentiality

34) The anonymity and privacy of those who participate in the research process should be respected. Personal information concerning research participants should be kept confidential. In some cases it may be necessary to decide whether it is proper or appropriate even to record certain kinds of sensitive information.

35) Where possible, threats to the confidentiality and anonymity of research data should be anticipated by researchers. The identities and research records of those participating in research should be kept confidential whether or not an explicit pledge of confidentiality has been given.

36) Appropriate measures should be taken to store research data in a secure manner. Members should have regard to their obligations under the Data Protection Acts. Where appropriate and practicable, methods for preserving anonymity should be used including the removal of identifiers, the use of pseudonyms and other technical means for breaking the link between data and identifiable individuals. Members should also take care to prevent data being published or released in a form that would permit the actual or potential identification of research participants without prior written consent of the participants. Potential informants and research participants, especially those possessing a combination of attributes that make them readily identifiable, may need to be reminded that it can be difficult to disguise their identity without introducing an unacceptably large measure of distortion into the data.
37) Guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity given to research participants must be honoured, unless there are clear and overriding reasons to do otherwise, for example in relation to the abuse of children. Other people, such as colleagues, research staff or others, given access to the data must also be made aware of their obligations in this respect. By the same token, sociologists should respect the efforts taken by other researchers to maintain anonymity.

38) Research data given in confidence do not enjoy legal privilege, that is they may be liable to subpoena by a court and research participants should be informed of this.

39) There may be fewer compelling grounds for extending guarantees of privacy or confidentiality to public organisations, collectivises, governments, officials or agencies than to individuals or small groups. Nevertheless, where guarantees have been given they should be honoured, unless there are clear and compelling public interest reasons not to do so.

40) During their research members should avoid, where they can, actions which may have deleterious consequences for sociologists who come after them or which might undermine the reputation of sociology as a discipline.

41) Members should take special care when carrying out research via the Internet. Ethical standards for internet research are not well developed as yet. Eliciting informed consent, negotiating access agreements, assessing the boundaries between the public and the private, and ensuring the security of data transmissions are all problematic in Internet research. Members who carry out research online should ensure that they are familiar with ongoing debates on the ethics of Internet research, and might wish to consider erring on the side of caution in making judgements affecting the well-being of online research participants.

Relations with & Responsibilities towards Sponsors and/or Funders

42) A common interest exists between sponsor, funder and sociologist as long as the aim of the social inquiry is to advance knowledge, although such knowledge may only be of limited benefit to the sponsor and the funder. That relationship is best served if the atmosphere is conducive to high professional standards.

43) Members should ensure that sponsors and/or funders appreciate the obligations that sociologists have not only to them, but also to society at large, research participants and professional colleagues and the sociological community. The relationship between sponsors or funders and social researchers should be such as to enable social inquiry to be undertaken professionally. In research projects involving multiple funders or interdisciplinary teams, members should consider circulating this Statement to colleagues as an aid to the discussion and negotiation of ethical practice.

44) Research should be undertaken with a view to providing information or explanation rather than being constrained to reach particular conclusions or prescribe particular courses of action.

Clarifying obligations, roles and rights
45) Members should clarify in advance the respective obligations of funders and researchers where possible in the form of a written contract. They should refer the sponsor or funder to the relevant parts of the professional code to which they adhere. Members should also be careful not to promise or imply acceptance of conditions which are contrary to their professional ethics or competing research commitments.

46) Where some or all of those involved in the research are also acting as sponsors and/or funders of research the potential for conflict between the different roles and interests should also be made clear to them.

47) Members should also recognise their own general or specific obligations to the sponsors whether contractually defined or only the subject of informal and often unwritten agreements. They should be honest and candid about their qualifications and expertise, the limitations, advantages and disadvantages of the various methods of analysis and data sources, and acknowledge the necessity for discretion with confidential information obtained from sponsors.

48) They should also try not to conceal factors that are likely to affect satisfactory conditions or the completion of a proposed research project or contract.

Pre-empting outcomes and negotiations about research

49) Members should not accept contractual conditions that are contingent upon a particular outcome or set of findings from a proposed inquiry. A conflict of obligations may also occur if the funder requires particular methods to be used.

50) Members should clarify, before signing the contract, how far they are entitled to be able to disclose the source of their funds, the personnel, aims and purposes of the project.

51) Members should also clarify their right to publish and disseminate the results of their research.

52) Members have an obligation to ensure sponsors grasp the implications of the choice between alternative research methods.

Guarding privileged information and negotiating problematic sponsorship

53) Members are frequently furnished with information by the funder who may legitimately require it to be kept confidential. Methods and procedures that have been utilised to produce published data should not, however, be kept confidential unless otherwise agreed.

54) When negotiating sponsorships members should be aware of the requirements of the law with respect to the ownership of and rights of access to data.

55) In some political, social and cultural contexts some sources of funding and sponsorship may be contentious. Candour and frankness about the source of funding may create problems of access or co-operation for the social researcher but concealment may have serious consequences for colleagues, the discipline and research participants. The emphasis should be on maximum openness.
56) Where sponsors and funders also act directly or indirectly as gatekeepers and control access to participants, researchers should not devolve their responsibility to protect the participants' interests onto the gatekeeper. Members should be wary of inadvertently disturbing the relationship between participants and gatekeepers since that will continue long after the researcher has left.

**Obligations to sponsors and/or Funders During the Research Process**

57) Members have a responsibility to notify the sponsor and/or funder of any proposed departure from the terms of reference of the proposed change in the nature of the contracted research.

58) A research study should not normally be undertaken where it is anticipated that resources will be inadequate.

59) When financial support or sponsorship has been accepted, members must make every reasonable effort to complete the proposed research on schedule, including reports to the funding source.

60) Members should, wherever possible, disseminate their research findings as widely as possible and where required make their research data available to other researchers via appropriate archives.

61) Members should normally avoid restrictions on their freedom to publish or otherwise broadcast research findings.