

2019

Automobility and masculinities between home and work: trucks as the 'new normal' in
Newfoundland and Labrador

Lachlan B. Barber

Department of Geography, Hong Kong Baptist University

This document is the authors' final version of the published article.

Link to published article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1552926>

APA Citation

Barber, L. (2019). Automobility and masculinities between home and work: trucks as the 'new normal' in Newfoundland and Labrador. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 26 (2), 251-271. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1552926>

**Automobility and masculinities between home and work: Trucks as the “new normal”
in Newfoundland and Labrador**

(Accepted for publication in *Gender, Place and Culture* June 19, 2018)

Abstract: Automobiles are ubiquitous objects of private consumption and their meaning and use are shaped by different aspects of identity, including gender. The gender dimensions of automobility associated with particular types of vehicles have not been extensively researched. This article studies pickup trucks and masculinities in relation to home and work in the industrial construction sector in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. There, like in much of North America, trucks have become the most commonly purchased new vehicles over the last decade. Their widespread popular appeal contrasts with their historical development for manual labour gendered as masculine, such as farming and fishing, in rural places and environments conducive to such labour. Drawing on interviews with construction industry actors and workers, the article shows how new, expensive trucks have come to reflect the hegemonic masculinity at male-dominated industrial construction projects, while also showing how the meanings and uses of trucks are complex and contested. Trucks are understood to be functional for work and driving, but they are also status symbols, often used only sparingly for commuting, masculinized domestic work and leisure activities. The article unpacks the new and expanding popularity of the truck and its positioning in practice in relation to masculinities, work, and to the landscape in a place-based gender regime. In doing so, it contributes to efforts to contextualize masculinities in place, while also revealing how they are related to gender constructs in other places and at other scales.

Keywords: masculinities, automobility, Canada, work, construction industry

It was a lovely day in June up until it was nearly ruined

I was on my pedal bike and headed back for home

I heard a rumble, turned to see

A great big truck come down at me

And that encounter was the first time I met Johnny Chrome

(Penny 2017)

Introduction

Alternatives to the private automobile are proliferating in cities across the global North.

Sharing economies, investment in public and active transport infrastructure, and increasing evidence of public health crises linked to an overreliance on cars have begun to loosen long-standing dependencies. Automobile sales present a contradictory development: the popularity of larger automobiles, including suburban utility vehicles (SUVs) and light-duty or “pickup” trucks,¹ has been steadily growing. Trucks, in fact, have become the best-selling new cars in Canada (Cover 2012). Several factors related to this trend deserve attention. Trucks, like that driven by Johnny Chrome in Dave Penny’s folk song, are more expensive than smaller cars and use more fuel; in popular discourse and imaginaries they are gendered as masculine.

Studies of automobility have said remarkably little about how particular types of cars relate to their users’ mobilities in particular socio-spatial contexts.² This article unpacks the new and expanding popularity of the truck and its positioning in practice in relation to masculinities, work, and landscape. The research is based on fieldwork conducted in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada in 2015 and 2016. There, the notion that trucks are necessary for daily life

¹ Henceforth all use of “trucks” will refer to pickup trucks unless otherwise noted.

² However, research has examined sub-cultures and practices associated with particular vehicles, for example Volvo “greasers” in Sweden (Joelsson 2015).

is a “structural story” accepted as fact that serves to obscure the status of these vehicles in a gender regime (Freudendal-Pedersen 2009).

Trucks have long been associated with manual labour, gendered as masculine, and with places and environments conducive to such labour. The construction industry, as a masculine employment sector, exemplifies the status of the truck as a tool of work but also an object of personal consumption imbued with symbolism. The article focuses on this apparent contradiction to present three intersecting arguments. First, the relationship between trucks and work is changing. This is evident in generational differences in the vehicle consumer practices of construction industry workers and the changing uses of these vehicles in daily life. Second, meanings and uses of trucks are shaped by intersections of work and masculinity. Here, these intersections are studied in the context of the landscape and extractive economy of Canada’s Eastern-most province, but they are related to more widespread tendencies. Third, attention to the symbolic and material dimensions of trucks can help understand the persistence of the construction industry as a masculine employment sector. These three arguments reflect the ways that truck mobility is integral to a hegemonic masculinity based on the centrality of resource extraction in a regional economy in which a separation of the gendered spheres of production and reproduction is reasserted but also contested. The findings contribute to efforts to contextualize masculinities in place (Gorman-Murray and Hopkins 2014), and reveal how these masculinities are related to gender constructs in other places and at other scales.

The article proceeds as follows. A brief discussion of the methodology is presented, including the emergence of trucks as an important theme within a larger study, the qualitative methods employed, and the positionality of the author. The following sections review the literature on automobility and automobiles with an emphasis on how gender is presented and excluded from various analyses. The discussion stresses how masculinity can be understood

to reflect the relationship between not only the driver and car, but also the car in the gendered household economy. Here, trucks have an important but overlooked relationship to masculinity and work, both within and outside the home. This is particularly the case in rural North America, including rural Newfoundland and Labrador. Findings are presented to discuss the symbolic and material dimensions of the ways trucks are consumed, how they are driven (or not), and how they are perceived. The conclusion reflects on the significance of the analysis for feminist geographical scholarship and the continued importance of studying automobility in ways that are attentive to gender relations.

Study methods

This article is based on research conducted as part of the On the Move Partnership, a multi-disciplinary Canadian research initiative examining employment-related geographical mobility at different scales and places and in a variety of employment sectors (Roseman, Barber, and Neis 2015). This paper draws upon research focused on the industrial construction sector in Newfoundland and Labrador. Trucks emerged as a prominent theme in discussions about how construction industry workers move between home and work, and how and where they make major household purchases. Field research was conducted in the St. John's area and the Burin Peninsula of the island of Newfoundland in 2015 and 2016. St. John's is the provincial capital, the largest urban centre in the province, and a centre for the off-shore services sector. The Burin Peninsula, 160 kilometers west of the city, has small coastal communities that developed as fishing outports and a major centre, Marystown, that experienced growth after the 1950s with shipbuilding and fish processing industries. It is known as a hub for mobile construction workers who drive to construction projects in the province and/or commute interprovincially to Alberta and elsewhere on rotational work schedules. Trucks are ubiquitous on the Burin highway and across the province.

A total of sixty interviews lasting between 30 minutes and two hours, with most lasting approximately 1 hour, were conducted during three periods of fieldwork. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants (cited as KI#) connected to the construction industry, including employers, industry associations, government agencies, and unions. Interviews were also carried out with men (16) and women (4) construction workers of various ages and stages of their careers, from apprentices to retired journey people (cited as Trades#). Interviews with a range of informants took place on the Burin Peninsula (cited as Burin#). All interviews involved questions regarding work and mobility. Trucks and driving emerged as important themes because many workers own trucks and drive long distances to work. Questions addressing these themes included how personal vehicles are selected, how often they replaced, perceived differences between trucks and other vehicles, the status of vehicle consumption and use within the household economy, and the gendered, place-based meanings and symbolism of trucks. Most interviews were conducted individually or as joint interviews with two or three workers. Two joint interviews conducted with men (one retired, one early-career) and their spouses (women) provided important insights on absences from the home, domestic work, worry, and personal autonomy. Interviews were transcribed and coded thematically using N-Vivo software according to project-wide themes and those specific to construction work, including transience and gender in the construction sector.

My positionality as a researcher and as a cis-gendered man from another part of the country who does not own a car shaped my engagement with intersections of class, identity and masculinity in field research. Having mainly lived in urban neighbourhoods in larger cities, I have rarely found an automobile indispensable and have never owned one as an adult. Finalizing plans to travel to Burin for fieldwork in 2016 I learned that the only remaining rental car was a compact Fiat. Nervously driving a small car – both because the car and the roads were unfamiliar and because I am a nervous driver – I felt out of place: the car stood

out on the highway and in parking lots and people I encountered commented on it. In one instance a man looked at the car and asked, “where is the rest of it?” My positionality contributed to shaping my interactions with the field of research more generally, as I grappled with coming to know a male-dominated industry and work within it that were far from my experience. Unlike other studies that reflect on masculinities in the field (Vanderbeck 2005), the research was not ethnographic. As such, the interpretation relies mainly on the interview data and other texts. Despite this, informal interactions and impressions were significant in my coming to grasp the character of the masculinities in question and how trucks figure in them.

Gendering Automobilities

Studies of automobility (Jain 2005; McLaren and Conley 2009; Urry 2004), against the backdrop of the development of new mobilities research (Sheller and Urry 2006), have emphasized the extent to which the rise of the private automobile has been transformational. In North American transportation systems, built environments and daily rhythms have developed around and adapted to cars. Not only are automobiles useful for mobility and transport, they acquire symbolic meanings in their materiality and use (Joelsson 2015). Individual and collective identities, inflected by gender, sexuality, class, race and ethnicity and ability, are influenced by and constituted in automobility (Reid-Musson 2014; Redshaw 2012), where the car is an extension of the body (Katz 2000). Though men and women both rely on private automobiles and consume them in relatively even numbers, the types of vehicles they purchase vary, as do the ways they use them (Freund and Martin 1993; Uteng and Cresswell 2012). Similar variability exists in the geography of automobility. Scholars have recently begun to propose that a shift away from car-dependence is on the horizon as the unsustainability and injustices of automobile systems become more apparent and untenable,

and as alternatives become more viable (Newman and Kenworthy 2014; Sheller 2011). While some urban examples support this proposition, others in suburban and rural places suggest otherwise. Here, Hanson's (2010, 6) contention that gender and mobility are "completely bound up with each other, to the point of almost being inseparable" is especially true of dominant and privileged mobilities such as driving. In particular, the trend toward larger, more expensive, and more energy-intensive vehicles is noteworthy, and its relationship with gender requires unpacking.

Following Connell's (2005) classic work and its use by feminist geographers and others, I understand masculinities to be multiple and relational, often positioned in relation to a hegemonic form. Masculinities, like other gender constructs, are performed (Butler 1990), and are reflected in bodies, objects, and places "well beyond the confines of biology and sex" (Hoven and Horschelmann 2005, 10). Geographers have been among those to take up Connell's framework and also critique its apparent tendency towards reductionism (Hopkins and Noble 2009). A reworked conceptual framework asserted the significance of geography in the study of masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). At the construction work site, hegemonic masculinities and heteronormativity have shaped work-place practices around safety, language, and behaviour that may subjugate or exclude women and non-hegemonic masculinities (Iacuone 2005). Sex and gender are vulnerable to slippage because much work that explores the topic of gender and mobilities (Hanson 2010), like that treating gender in the construction industry, examines the differences between men's and women's practices and experiences. Although there exists a significant body of literature revealing the gendered differences of journeys between home and work (Hanson and Pratt 1995), including by mode of travel (Rosenbloom 2006), this literature has not treated specific types of motor vehicles. Importantly, it has revealed that home and work, like normative gender constructs, are best understood as inter-dependent and relational rather than separate spheres.

Employment in a masculinized workplace at shifting locations far from home implicates a home-work relationship in which gendered automobility plays a prominent role.

In automobile-dependent contexts driving has been shown to be an important part of gendered household and family roles, including mothering (Dowling 2000). This is reflected in the types of vehicles driven. Sheller and Urry (2000, 748) write, “once family life is centred within the moving car, social responsibilities tend to push women towards ‘safer’ cars and ‘family’ models, while men have greater luxury to indulge in individualistic fantasies.” This argument resonates with critical perspectives on car cultures, including the car as an object of men’s desire (Jain 2005). Beyond purchasing and driving a vehicle, which may more or less individualistic, men, especially young men, have been shown to express rebellion, differentiation and alienation through cars, car sub-cultures and risky driving to a greater extent than women (Walker, Butland, and Connell 2000; Redshaw 2012; Balkmar 2014). The relationship between biological sex and cars, however, is not fixed. The first automobiles in the United States were developed and sold to elite men *and* women as fashionable accessories, not useful household items (Seiler 2009). Lezotte’s (2015) work on women truck, “chick car” and sports car aficionados is a reminder that the imagery and discourses that permeate car cultures obscure lived experiences that may contradict or subvert normative constructs.

Masculinities and the pickup truck

The present analysis uses the descriptor “truck” to refer to “light-duty” trucks that vary in weight and size but share in common a large, flat-bed cargo area (see figure 1) separate from the enclosed passenger area. This feature distinguishes trucks from other large vehicles, such as SUVs, that reserve relatively more space for passengers and that have been associated with contested middle class and “yuppie” consumption (Pralle 2006). It also

distinguishes them from larger trucks used for the “mobile work” of transporting goods in the trucking industry (Gregson 2017). As treated here, personal trucks have symbolic connections to manual labour and the land that mark them as different from other vehicles. The fact that automobility scholars have failed to treat their exploding popularity may stem from the primary focus on cars in the urban system (Sheller and Urry 2000; Walks 2014). A historical view reveals the origins of contemporary trucks in the rural.

Pickup trucks were developed for agricultural work. Kline and Pinch (1996) point out that the gendered division of labour on farms in the United States in the early 20th century put men in charge of technology, including creative uses of pre-truck automobiles. Following these informal adaptations, automobile manufacturers designed and marketed trucks for carrying or towing large, bulky, or heavy items or loads on farms. They later became appealing for other kinds of work, like construction, and leisure activities, such as camping and hunting. Advertising and pop culture imagery reinforced the symbolism of the truck as masculine and rural (Rasmussen 1997). This was not always the case, including a short time in the 1970s and 80s when pink and pastel colours were used to market trucks to newly-empowered women consumers (Howard 2010). The gendering of the truck in Canadian rural space has regional iterations. In Alberta, trucks are part of the mythology that blends cowboy and frontier imagery with that of the oil industry (Miller 2004). More broadly, rural masculinities are centered around connections to manual, particularly farm labour (Campbell, Mayerfeld Bell, and Finney 2006), outdoor activities in the wildness (Bull 2009), and independence, all of which are reflected in the symbolism of the truck. Brandth (2016, 3) notes that “the mastery of agricultural machinery has been shown to resonate with and legitimize rural masculinity as strong and powerful”, but that mechanization and agglomeration had led to a decline in rural manual work. Rural restructuring has contributed to a shift from spaces of primary production to those of tourist consumption, with

implications for archetypal masculine forms (Brandth and Haugen 2005). Paradoxically, the popularity of trucks has expanded both within and beyond the rural as the work they were originally designed for has declined.

A shift towards larger vehicles since the early 2000s cannot be explained as a purely rural phenomenon or a yearning for tradition. Freund and Martin (2007, 39) suggest this trend reflects an era of “hyper-automobility,” while other scholars interpret it in relation to socio-political developments, including the emergence of new juridical conceptions of public space (Mitchell 2005), and post-9/11 politics of oil and security (Campbell 2005). Like SUVs, trucks allow their drivers and passengers to ride high, providing the illusion that they are above traffic rather than in it. This contributes the discourse of trucks being safer than other vehicles which, as has been shown, is true only in certain circumstances, while also externalizing the risk of injury to the occupants of other vehicles (Campbell 2005), and to bystanders, a problem shared with all automobiles (Jain 2004). White (2004) has gone so far as to identify an “arms race” on American roads. Research has shown that larger vehicles are often driven in particularly problematic ways. Anderson, Winn and Agran (1999) compare the characteristics of the driver-owners of pickup trucks and conventional automobiles, finding that the former are more likely to be male and to engage in risky driving behaviour.

These trends are not limited to North America. In the Australia large vehicles foreground leisure and work in non-urban contexts. Four-wheel “drive-scapes” offer tourists a embodied experiences that render land ahistorical, unpeopled and uncontested (Waitt and Lane 2007). The Ute (short for utility vehicle) has come to be associated with the figure of the “Cashed-up bogan” (CUB) working in the mining industry. Utes share the work-related functionality of North American trucks and a historical connection to rural landscapes. The figure of the CUB has been documented in public discourse because of its visibility – men (and their families) with consumer power who use it in ways that transgress class boundaries,

particularly those of the middle class (Pini, McDonald, and Mayes 2012). Similar masculinities that are “problematic” for different reasons have been identified in Canada’s extractive industries sector (Miller, 2004). For trades workers in the oil and gas industry, trucks have become a status symbol reflecting a renegotiation of class. Construction work is historically working class (Willis 1977), but many jobs in construction tied to resource extraction are highly paid. While a skilled trade used to offer the promise of a decent but sometimes irregular income, much higher wages are possible on industrial construction sites and this work has been plentiful in recent years. While the types of class conflict that have emerged in Australia are not as apparent in Canada, it is clear that new trucks are a marker of upward mobility related to work in the construction industry.

Situating the truck in Newfoundland and Labrador

Newfoundland and Labrador occupies an ambiguous space in relation to the Anglo-American centre that has served as the field upon which universal knowledge about masculinities in geography has been constructed (Berg and Longhurst 2003). Like some other northern and rural peripheries, it has existed at the margins of national consciousness, and before that of European space. Its culture and economy have been shaped by long-distance connections with other places and by the presence of the natural environment (the ocean, the land) in everyday life. Across much of the province the fisheries supported patriarchal gender relations and a predominant form of masculinity reflecting the sexual division of labour (Porter 1985). The closure of Atlantic regional groundfish fisheries in the 1990s caused by stock collapse did not spell the demise of “masculine ideologies”; however, as they emerged in new forms in other industries (Norman and Power 2015, 55), including the construction industry and work in Alberta. Taking these dynamics, and their connection to economic and social processes into consideration, this study adopts a relational understanding of place

(Massey 1994). Following Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, 850), local or regional articulations of gender relations are related to larger orders: “Although local models of hegemonic masculinity may differ from each other, they generally overlap. The interplay with society-wide gender dynamics is part of the explanation.” The local masculinities in question may exist in a marginal space, but they are not isolated or unique. They concern consumption patterns and gendered socio-spatial relations that are dominant, highly visible, and increasingly pervasive. The home-work relationship in this article is understood as constituted by and constitutive of a particular “gender regime” (Appleton 1995). Subject to various interpretations, gender regimes generally consist of relatively stable but incomplete and sometimes contested relations of power, production and desire (sexual or otherwise) in which gender relations are reproduced (McDowell 1999). Individuals, including women, who may be disadvantaged in a given regime may actively participate in it but also change it over time.

Beginning in the 1990s, monthly sales of trucks began to occasionally surpass those of smaller passenger cars, usually from December to March (Canadian winter) when overall sales are low (Statistics Canada 2016). Significantly, this suggests that truck purchases may not be conditioned by the same constraints, such as extra holiday expenses, as other vehicles. Construction of the Hibernia offshore oil platform, Newfoundland and Labrador’s first such platform, began in 1990. Employment at Hibernia, mainly limited to men, provided a salve to ease the effects of the 1992 ground fish moratorium on fishing-dependent communities. A key informant who works for the provincial government recalled the boom in truck sales in this period and attributed it to construction employment at Hibernia (KI12). The first year that trucks overtook cars in annual sales was 2009 (Statistics Canada 2016). This trend has continued, with trucks as a proportion of total sales increasing at a faster rate than the national average. Sales have continued to grow through an economic recession which began

in late 2014, with news reports proposing this as an indicator of trucks as a household item critical to lifestyles in the province (Smellie 2018).

Construction work is transient and subject to ebbs and flows associated with broader economic conditions, including housing markets and the price of global commodities. This has implications for the availability, location and conditions of work (Loosemore, Dainty, and Lingard 2003). When the research began in 2014, several large-scale industrial construction projects were in progress in Newfoundland and Labrador and the Alberta tar sands were relying in part on labour from Atlantic Canada. The downturn that began in late 2014, sparked by a sudden drop in the price of Brent Crude, had important implications. While large projects in Newfoundland already underway continued, many workers in Alberta were laid off (Markusoff 2016). While more senior workers have experienced such shifts before, others, particularly younger workers, were facing uncertain conditions for the first time. It was against this backdrop that questions regarding mobility for work in the construction industry, the implications of shifts in employment location, and of periods of unemployment, that the presence of trucks in the lives of workers and their families appeared as important. Trucks are rewards for work and they are positional goods that confer distinction, but they have also come to be understood as indispensable for rural life. The uncertainty of the duration and location of construction industry employment in periods of economic volatility cast different perspectives over the status of trucks as a practical tool, a household consumer item, and a “toy”.

The naturalization of trucks in everyday life

Interviewees justified their preference for trucks with evocations of the weather and landscape, proposing the vehicles as necessary and natural. Construction workers who live in rural communities and work on rotational schedules in Alberta, as well as those who work at

remote industrial sites like the oil and gas construction site at Bull Arm and at Long Harbour³ in the province, must contend with poor road conditions. In addition to the quality of the pavement, which deteriorates due to wear and tear by transport trucks and freeze-thaw cycles, driving at night and in inclement weather create additional risks. The large number of moose, a large animal that can weigh hundreds of kilograms, present a risk of collision, especially in twilight hours when they are least visible. The main highway on the Burin Peninsula was described variously by interviewees as “very, very treacherous” (Burin25), and “moose-infested, ice-covered” (Burin13), and “horrible” (Burin15), and “notoriously difficult” (Burin20). The Trans-Canada Highway, the principal route across the island, is better but visibility and the road surface conditions vary considerably throughout all seasons. These conditions partly reflect climate and environmental factors, but they also reflect the uneven quality of investments by the state in infrastructure management, the devolution of responsibility to citizens, and an emphasis on continued workplace productivity. Male interviewees tended to emphasize the inevitability of dangerous conditions and partially use these to justify the decision to purchase trucks and drive them in any conditions.

Joe (pseudonyms are used throughout) is a married journeyed pipefitter in his early 40s with two school-aged children. His partner left her job to be a full-time mother in part due to his schedule. They live on the Burin Peninsula and he commutes back and forth to Alberta, choosing a driving schedule that maximizes his time at home but requires late-night driving. He works a schedule of 14 days on, seven days off and his employer pays the cost of his travel home during his time off. He usually departs on a 7:00am flight. He leaves home at around 1:00am for a four-hour drive to the airport with a co-worker who lives nearby. His

³ Some of these workers were employed on the Hebron project at Bull Arm, a project to construct a gravity-based offshore oil platform which entered production in 2017. Long Harbour is a nickel processing plant. Both projects have employed thousands of unionized construction workers on rotational work schedules at sites approximately 130 km west of St. John’s.

willingness to drive in poor conditions resulted in his truck ending up in the ditch twice in the year leading up to our interview. While Joe suggested that employers should do more to ensure that workers are safe while commuting, he was adamant that the truck provides a greater level of mobility and safety in poor conditions than would be possible in a smaller car. The added protection and safety for drivers and occupants of larger vehicles that he spoke of has been shown to come at the expense of increased risk for other road users (Anderson 2008). Joe's willingness to travel to work in hazardous conditions in part reflects the demands of a workplace culture of "presenteeism" (being at work no matter what) that is pervasive in the construction industry and referenced as a barrier to increased participation of women in the building trades (Watts 2007). Trucks contribute to this by normalizing travel in poor weather.

If features of the landscape, such as the roads and poor, weather provide a common justification for the purchase of trucks as personal vehicles, other explanations are less clear-cut. When asked why trucks are so popular in Newfoundland, Carl, a union business manager, evoked how trucks reflect symbolic, rather than material, connections to place, "I don't know. It's funny. A little part of Newfoundland culture intertwined with Alberta culture. You got to have your 4X4 truck" (Burin15). The truck in Dave Penny's folk song, *Johnny Chrome*, is called an "Alberta Beast." In this way trucks symbolically link their owners to lucrative work in both provinces. Jim, a recently divorced labourer in his early 30s, has owned his truck for five months. When asked why he chose it he replied, "I don't know, just pretty I guess. I just liked it that's all" (Burin08). Others don't bother to venture an explanation: "I drive a truck. Everybody drives trucks, eh" (Burin20). Such statements naturalize trucks as a practical and necessary tool for safe personal road transport. Yet this position overlooks the reality that these vehicles are not accessible to everyone, the fact that safe roads are a responsibility of the state, and that employers may have a duty of care for

workers commuting in dangerous conditions. The decision to purchase and drive trucks is explained by its connection to a place where people lived without them for centuries.

Trucks for work, leisure and commuting

A number of respondents spoke of how they use their trucks to perform tasks that would not be possible with smaller or less powerful vehicles. These tasks are related to both manual work and leisure activities. Mike, a journeyed carpenter in his 50s, explained that he upgraded to a new, larger truck because his previous one was not able to haul the trailer that he and his wife take to a park during summer in July and August. She holidays there, using a different vehicle when needed, while he continues to work on his regular shift. An ironworker named Andy “always had a truck, right? Or... I had a jeep before I had the truck, but we always had a four-wheel drive to get to the cabin and do the stuff that you wanted to do.” He specified fishing as a pastime and added, “A car wouldn’t be much good to me!” (Trades01). Trucks can be used to transport the equipment required for hunting and fishing, activities associated with rural masculinities (Brandth and Haugen 2005), and can also provide access to off-road areas not accessible in conventional vehicles. When Andy states that a “car” would not be useful for him he is also suggesting that he primarily uses his truck for activities and contexts that, in his view, require it.

Trucks are also used for purposes more closely associated with the work for which they were developed. Some interviewees use their trucks for transporting home improvement materials, including for neighbours and other family members. Andy spoke of using his truck for “helping out someone if they’re building a patio or, you know, stuff like that.” (Trades01) For workers engaged in rotational commuting, the time off spent at home, usually one week out of every three, might involve maintenance activities or “projects.” In the absence of a truck, such activities might be performed by a hired third party, something which is

increasingly common. When trucks are used for household work, they are positioned differently than other vehicles. In families with two automobiles a “family vehicle,” a smaller more fuel-efficient car, is commonly used for day-to-day activities, including commuting to work in the community, transporting children and running errands, and for family activities in warm weather. In contrast, a truck is used by men construction workers for longer-distance highway commuting and for transport in snowy and icy conditions. A sales representative at a car dealership went so far as to say, “as a rule, the wife doesn’t drive the truck. The man owns the truck. They have their little cars” (Burin19). The juxtaposition of trucks for “project-based” household chores with smaller vehicles for daily use including groceries and chauffeuring reflects a gendered division of feminized and masculinized household labour. Beyond the household the schedules of the work requiring the truck match those of the rhythms of the construction work schedule. Many workers who live on the Burin Peninsula and commute to Alberta, like Mike, leave their vehicles in storage at or near the airport while they are away. This removes the truck from household use for the period of their work rotation, making a second vehicle necessary, and cementing its role as the woman’s and family’s “little car”.

In contrast to the idea of the truck as a working vehicle, some interviewees use their vehicles sparingly and carefully. Those who use their trucks to drive back and forth to work often do so in a carpool. This allows some members of the carpool to rest or sleep while others drive, and it provides a sense camaraderie. It also saves money on gas and reduces vehicle mileage, which has implications for warranty coverage. Three trades workers (men) employed at a major industrial construction site interviewed as a group were all aware of the exact mileage and age of their trucks. “I’ve got a truck right now, I haven’t had her for a year now, I’ve got 40... 42 thousand kilometers on her”; “My truck’s a year and 7 months old and I’ve got 60 thousand”; “A year and 8 months... and what, 62000 kilometers. The warrantee’s

up at a hundred” (Trades03). This speaks to the importance of the truck as a presence in their daily routines – they check the odometer and take turns adding mileage to their vehicles – and also the care taken in monitoring and maintaining its newness. While many workers drive carefully and sparingly, not all do. Long drives stand in the way of time at home, and speeding is common. Describing the scene on the road at the end of a shift, Mike says, “it’s just a flow of traffic and everybody is trying to get home. So I think it’s a little bit rushy and speedy” (Burin12). Unsafe driving is discouraged by Occupational Health and Safety inspectors on work sites, but it is not possible to control actions of workers off the clock and employers do not take formal responsibility for driving risks outside of worksites.

Compared with the complex routes of women’s daily travel patterns (Hanson and Pratt 1995), the long drive between a construction worksite and home at the end of a ten-hour shift, perhaps one of 14 in a row with no days off, is a direct, long, fast and sometimes dangerous journey. This space, along with the use of trucks for certain kinds of household chores and leisure pursuits, make visible the place-based gendering of truck mobility. Home and work are interlinked and interdependent, but the use of the truck in the scenarios described above, shaped in part by exigencies of construction workplaces, contributes to their separation.

The shifting and contested meanings of trucks

Interviews with workers of different ages revealed contrasting perspectives on the relationship between work, income and major purchases. In the past trucks were used for manual work, including hauling fishing gear and household agricultural activities which were once common in rural Newfoundland. “When my dad had trucks, they were rough and tumble and there was no carpets and they were work trucks...” (Burin20). A vehicle was not a purchase that came easily. They were often bought second hand and maintained to last for

many years. “I’ve got a good wife who don’t waste. And I’m not a person who wastes either. I grew up with a big family: it was eight kids in our family. It was only my father working, and we didn’t have everything. We had a good life, but there were no luxuries. We had lots to eat and lots of clothes to wear and stuff, but that was it. Those people that are making this *big money* [emphasis added]... they’ve got trailers, they’ve got boats, they’ve got ski-doo’s, big trucks...” Trucks have changed: “now trucks have reclining leather seats and heated seats and stereo systems and trucks are like luxurious cars” (Burin20). This quote reveals the historical patriarchal family structure and a masculinity based on thrift rather than consumption.

Women trades workers and some men who do not conform to the hegemonic masculinity presented critiques of the status of trucks in the construction industry. An electrician in his 30s who identifies as a feminist said, “having a new truck is the new normal. It’s just sort of expected of you. Especially a trades person. You’re expected to have a brand-new truck.” He and his partner do not own a truck. This has not been an issue at his jobs in Newfoundland and Labrador but he recalled an incident in Alberta: “In the past when I’ve brought up that I don’t have a truck that might have been one of the situations where I was called a woman, before I learned to stop talking about my ideals and politics” (Trades09). Alice, a woman pipefitting apprentice who is a single mother, refused to spend money on a new vehicle because she wanted to ensure future financial stability (Trades04). Two other women, Jen and Sara, choose to work on major projects selectively, taking time off occasionally to spend time with their families or to travel. Jen, a divorced mother of two children, owns a truck and uses it to travel to work and for home improvement projects (Burin26). Sara does not own a truck but spoke of encountering and resisting pressure from male colleagues to purchase one (Trades07). Most men interviewed did not report experiences of such pressure, suggesting a location within rather than at the margins of or subordinate to the dominant masculinity. Women workers may be variously positioned in

these gender relations. Sara pointed out that the women who most successfully integrate into construction workplaces are those who have or adopt stereotypically masculine traits including bodily comportment and aggression. Part of this self-presentation involves driving a truck.

Among workers who came of age during the recent boom in Alberta's oil sands bitumen production between approximately 2003 and 2014 (with a dip during the 2008 recession), a period that also coincided with the increasing availability of opportunities to work closer to home on major projects, trucks are symbols of success, of having a well-paying job. Yet, the volatility of the construction industry, able to shed workers rapidly in periods of contraction, exposes many people to the risk of unemployment. A disciplining tone emerged in some interviews, particularly with older respondents, in which the irresponsible consumption decisions of younger people were criticized. Moreover, interviews also pointed to the complicity of car dealers and lending institutions, elements of the system of automobility (Urry 2004), in encouraging precariously employed workers to accept unmanageable financial burdens. News heralded the "bravado" of the car sales industry in a period of rising unemployment (Smellie 2018). The owner of a small business with links to the construction industry noted the ease with which young people are able to purchase trucks: "So if you're 20... when you finally go out and get a job and get that first cheque and the bank says oh, I'll give you \$50,000 for a truck, no problem. What happens? You go out and you buy it" (Burin27). Interviews revealed that workers' perceived agency can overshadow the pressure they may feel from peers or a sense of keeping up with or outdoing others. I met Randy at his home on a warm late afternoon in June. We sat in his garage and I remarked on his truck. "Just got her as a matter of fact. She's a week old," he said. We were surrounded by

other machines – a motorbike, a sea-doo,⁴ an all-terrain vehicle. Surveying this scene, he said “a few toys, but that’s it. I worked for it. I worked hard for it” (Burin12).

Modifying the material and structural features of personal vehicles, including trucks, can express gender identity and group membership (Thomas 1995; Balkmar 2014). A common modification of trucks is to alter the suspension to increase the distance between the wheels and the chassis. By “lifting” the body of the truck, the clearance of its base is increased. This is said to allow a greater range of off-road mobility, for instance traveling over rocks and tree roots. Lifted trucks are common in Newfoundland, especially among workers who have returned from Alberta (Burin01). A sales representative at a car dealership where trucks represent 80 per cent of sales advises its customers against lifting because it can invalidate the warranty. According to this informant, lifted trucks also drive poorly and are rarely used for the intended purpose of off-road activities. The bicycle-riding narrator in the folk song *Johnny Chrome* encounters a lifted truck with “windows tinted solid black and extra-high suspension [that] put’er six feet off the ground.” What follows is a confrontation and race along and off rural roads in which the bicyclist out-maneuvers the truck, which ends up being destroyed by the rough land (Penny 2016). The song ends with Johnny Chrome replacing his wrecked truck with a new bicycle. This can be read this as a folk challenge, from the position of an embodied nostalgic place-based masculinity, to a relatively new and, here, inauthentic hegemonic masculinity expressed in an expensive lifted truck.

Conclusion

This article has explored the centrality of the truck in the system of automobility between home and work and the gender relations that constitute it and are shaped by it in the context of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. Although this a distinctive Northern place, the

⁴ “Sea-doo” is a brand of personal watercraft used for recreational purposes.

empirical findings have broader implications concerning masculinities and automobiles. Although the popularity of trucks has grown faster in the research context than elsewhere in Canada, these vehicles are now the best-selling new personal vehicles across North America. The environmental and collective safety impacts of the proliferation of large automobiles have been clearly established as negative (Anderson, Winn, and Agran 1999; Pralle 2006). However, the gendered dimensions of trucks as a cultural phenomenon require more attention, particularly their changing relationship with the masculine work for which they were developed and their place in established and changing gender regimes. There is a geography to trucks that adds nuance to understandings of masculinity and automobility. In some North American cities trucks are “out of place,” but there are many more places where they are not. If trucks are bound up with masculinities, where are these masculinities located, how are they sustained, and how are they changing? How do they interact with other gender constructs and gendered practices? This article has ventured partial answers to these questions.

Trucks are understood as useful and necessary for driving on poor roads and in inclement weather and for performing certain kinds of activities and tasks. These aspects of the reality of truck ownership undergird a cultural imagination of trucks that makes their status in the hegemonic masculinities of the construction industry less visible. Trucks are a mainstream phenomenon around which masculinist, sexist language and gendered stereotypes are reproduced and rendered as unproblematic. The use of gendered pronouns “her” and “she” in reference to trucks, their removal from the household for long periods and use for masculine domestic work and leisure pursuits, and the presence of a second smaller vehicle for family needs are part of the “structural story” in which trucks are believed to integral to freedom and autonomy (Freudental-Pedersen 2009). The gender regime in which this hegemonic masculinity has developed, however, is not uncontested. Not everyone owns

trucks, not all trucks are status symbols in the same way, and trucks are used differently in the family gendered division of labour. People occupying various positions in relation to the construction industry and to the changing economy of Newfoundland problematize the fetishization of new trucks and the willingness of banks and car dealers to sell them to young men.

The findings presented here also reveal elements of the transformation of masculinities in relation to rural restructuring. The moratoria on the Atlantic Canadian groundfish fisheries in the early 1990s caused some commentators to suggest that a crisis in masculinity had emerged in which the end of long-standing livelihoods would provoke a loss of identity among Newfoundland men. Against this Power (2005) argues that patriarchal relations and the privilege they generate are alive and well, and that those most able to adapt to state visions of restructuring will fare the best. These visions have focused largely on resource extraction and energy projects that have transformed the economy, resulting in significant profits for transnational corporations that own these projects and income for the provincial government in the form of royalties. Jobs at construction projects in the province, as well as work in Alberta and elsewhere, have provided high wages for short-term and contingent work, for large numbers of men and a small but growing number of women. The identities tied to fishing for a living and the sea as a way of life may be lessening, but new hegemonic masculinities reflecting connections to Alberta, mobile work, and increased consumer power have developed. Within them, the truck figures prominently. It is perhaps not surprising that trucks contribute to both injustice and unsustainability, the reverse of two trajectories identified as integral to mobility transitions (Sheller 2011). Recognizing and considering the feminist implications of such problematic developments that fall outside the predominant focus on automobility in major urban centres is important for mobilities scholarship.

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to Barb Neis, principal investigator of the On the Move Partnership, for her contributions to the research and for feedback on an early draft. Samantha Breslin and three anonymous reviewers provided detailed and helpful comments. Funding was provided by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (Partnership Grant Appl.id 895-2011-1019) and the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

- Anderson, Craig L., Diane G. Winn, and Phyllis F. Agran. 1999. "Differences between Pickup Truck and Automobile Driver-Owners." *Accident Analysis & Prevention* 31 (1–2): 67–76. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0001-4575\(98\)00046-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0001-4575(98)00046-3).
- Anderson, Michael. 2008. "Safety for Whom? The Effects of Light Trucks on Traffic Fatalities." *Journal of Health Economics* 27 (4): 973–89. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhealeco.2008.02.001>.
- Appleton, Lynne. 1995. "The Gender Regimes of American Cities." In *Gender in Urban Research*, edited by Judith Garber and Robyne Turner, 44–59. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Balkmar, Dag. 2014. "Negotiating the 'plastic Rocket': Masculinity, Car Styling and Performance in the Swedish Modified Car Community." In *NORMA*, 9:166–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2014.943004>.
- Berg, Lawrence D., and Robyn Longhurst. 2003. "Placing Masculinities and Geography." *Gender, Place & Culture* 10 (4): 351–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369032000153322>.
- Brandth, Berit. 2016. "Rural Masculinities and Fathering Practices." *Gender, Place & Culture* 23 (3): 435–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2015.1013454>.
- Brandth, Berit, and Marit S. Haugen. 2005. "Doing Rural Masculinity – From Logging to Outfield Tourism." *Journal of Gender Studies* 14 (1): 13–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0958923042000331452>.
- Bull, Jacob. 2009. "Watery Masculinities: Fly-Fishing and the Angling Male in the South West of England." *Gender, Place & Culture* 16 (4): 445–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690903003959>.
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge.
- Campbell, David. 2005. "The Biopolitics of Security: Oil, Empire, and the Sports Utility Vehicle." *American Quarterly* 57 (3): 943–72.
- Campbell, Hugh, Michael Mayerfeld Bell, and Margaret Finney, eds. 2006. *Country Boys: Masculinity and Rural Life Edited by Hugh Campbell, Michael Mayerfeld Bell, and Margaret Finney*. Penn State Press. <http://www.psupress.org/books/titles/0-271-02874-2.html>.
- Connell, R. W. 2005. *Masculinities: Second Edition*. University of California Press.

- Connell, R. W., and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19 (6): 829–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639>.
- Cover, Dina. 2012. "A Shift to Trucks Leaves Canadian Fuel Economy Flat Over the Past Decade." TD Bank.
- Dowling, Robyn. 2000. "Cultures of Mothering and Car Use in Suburban Sydney: A Preliminary Investigation." *Geoforum* 31 (3): 345–53. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185\(99\)00048-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(99)00048-2).
- Emily Reid-Musson. 2014. "Automobility's Others: Migrant Mobility, Citizenship, and Racialization." In *The Urban Political Economy and Ecology of Automobility: Driving Cities, Driving Inequality, Driving Politics*, edited by Alan Walks, 184–96. Routledge.
- Freudental-Pedersen, Malene. 2009. *Mobility in Daily Life: Between Freedom and Unfreedom*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Freund, Peter, and George Martin. 1993. *The Ecology of the Automobile*. First Edition edition. Montréal ; New York: Black Rose Books.
- . 2007. "Hyperautomobility, the Social Organization of Space, and Health." *Mobilities* 2 (1): 37–49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450100601106237>.
- Gorman-Murray, Dr Andrew, and Professor Peter Hopkins. 2014. *Masculinities and Place*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Gregson, Nicky. 2017. "Mobilities, Mobile Work and Habitation: Truck Drivers and the Crisis in Occupational Auto-Mobility in the UK." *Mobilities* 0 (0): 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2017.1343987>.
- Hanson, Susan. 2010. "Gender and Mobility: New Approaches for Informing Sustainability." *Gender, Place & Culture* 17 (1): 5–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690903498225>.
- Hanson, Susan, and Geraldine Pratt. 1995. *Gender, Work, and Space*. London: Routledge.
- Hopkins, Peter, and Greg Noble. 2009. "Masculinities in Place: Situated Identities, Relations and Intersectionality." *Social & Cultural Geography* 10 (8): 811–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360903305817>.
- Hoven, Bettina van, and Kathrin Hörschelmann. 2005. *Spaces of Masculinities*. Psychology Press.
- Howard, Ella. 2010. "Pink Truck Ads: Second-Wave Feminism and Gendered Marketing." *Journal of Women's History* 22 (4): 137–61.
- Iacuone, David. 2005. "'Real Men Are Tough Guys': Hegemonic Masculinity and Safety in the Construction Industry." *The Journal of Men's Studies* 13 (2): 247–66. <https://doi.org/10.3149/jms.1302.247>.
- Jain, Sarah S. Lochlann. 2004. "'Dangerous Instrumentality': The Bystander as Subject in Automobility." *Cultural Anthropology* 19 (1): 61–94. <https://doi.org/10.1525/can.2004.19.1.61>.
- . 2005. "Violent Submission: Gendered Automobility." *Cultural Critique* 61 (1): 186–214. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cul.2005.0035>.
- Joelsson, Tanja. 2015. "Breaking Bored – Negotiating Spatial Boredom and Masculinity in the Volvo Greaser Culture." *Gender, Place & Culture* 22 (9): 1252–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2014.958064>.
- Katz, Jack. 2000. *How Emotions Work*. University of Chicago Press.
- Kline, Ronald, and Trevor Pinch. 1996. "Users as Agents of Technological Change: The Social Construction of the Automobile in the Rural United States." *Technology and Culture* 37 (4): 763–95. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3107097>.
- Lezotte, Christine. 2015. "Have You Heard the One About the Woman Driver? Chicks, Muscle, Pickups, and the Reimagining of the Woman Behind the Wheel."

- Loosemore, Martin, Andrew Dainty, and Helen Lingard. 2003. *Human Resource Management in Construction Projects: Strategic and Operational Approaches*. Taylor & Francis.
- Markusoff, Jason. 2016. "The Death of the Alberta Dream." *Maclean's*, June 1, 2016. <http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/the-death-of-the-alberta-dream/>.
- Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. 1sted. Univ Of Minnesota Press.
- McDowell, Linda. 1999. *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*. University of Minnesota Press.
- McLaren, Dr Arlene Tigar, and Dr Jim Conley. 2009. *Car Troubles: Critical Studies of Automobility and Auto-Mobility*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Miller, Gloria E. 2004. "Frontier Masculinity in the Oil Industry: The Experience of Women Engineers." *Gender, Work & Organization* 11 (1): 47–73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2004.00220.x>.
- Mitchell, Don. 2005. "The S.U.V. Model of Citizenship: Floating Bubbles, Buffer Zones, and the Rise of the 'purely Atomic' Individual." *Political Geography*, Political Geography Plenary Lecture (pp.1-38), 24 (1): 77–100. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2004.06.003>.
- Newman, Peter, and Jeffrey Kenworthy. 2014. "Automobility and Resilience: A Global Perspective." In *The Urban Political Economy and Ecology of Automobility: Driving Cities, Driving Inequality, Driving Politics*, edited by Alan Walks, 59–80. Routledge.
- Norman, Moss Edward, and Nicole Gerarda Power. 2015. "Stuck between 'the Rock' and a Hard Place: Rural Crisis and Re-Imagining Rural Newfoundland Feminine Subjectivities." *Gender, Place & Culture* 22 (1): 50–66. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2013.855707>.
- Penny, Dave. 2016. *Johnny Chrome*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hA00-mGQb3s>.
- Pini, Barbara, Paula McDonald, and Robyn Mayes. 2012. "Class Contestations and Australia's Resource Boom: The Emergence of the 'Cashed-up Bogan.'" *Sociology*, January, 38038511419194. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038511419194>.
- Porter, Marilyn. 1985. "'She Was Skipper of the Shore-Crew:' Notes on the History of the Sexual Division of Labour in Newfoundland." *Labour / Le Travail* 15: 105–23. <https://doi.org/10.2307/25140555>.
- Power, Nicole Geralda. 2005. "The 'Modern Fisherman': Masculinity in Crisis or Resilient Masculinity?" *Canadian Woman Studies* 24 (4).
- Pralle, Sarah. 2006. "'I'm Changing the Climate, Ask Me How!': The Politics of the Anti-SUV Campaign'." *Political Science Quarterly* 121 (397–423).
- Rasmussen, Henry. 1997. *The Great American Pickup*. Osceola, WI: Motorbooks Intl.
- Redshaw, Sarah. 2012. *In the Company of Cars: Driving as a Social and Cultural Practice*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Roseman, Sharon R., Pauline Gardiner Barber, and Barbara Neis. 2015. "Towards a Feminist Political Economy Framework for Analyzing Employment-Related Geographical Mobility." *Studies in Political Economy* 95 (0). <http://spe.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/spe/article/download/22676>.
- Rosenbloom, Sandra. 2006. "Understanding Women's and Men's Travel Patterns." Research on Women's Issues in Transportation, Volume 1: Conference Overview and Plenary Papers. Washington, DV: National Research Council.
- Seiler, Cotten. 2009. *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America*. University of Chicago Press.
- Sheller, Mimi. 2011. "Sustainable Mobility and Mobility Justice: Towards a Twin Transition." In *Mobilities: New Perspectives on Transport and Society*, edited by Margaret Grieco and John Urry, 289–304. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

- Sheller, Mimi, and John Urry. 2000. "The City and the Car." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24 (4): 737–57. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00276>.
- . 2006. "The New Mobilities Paradigm." *Environment and Planning A, Environment and Planning A*, 38 (2): 207–26.
- Smellie, Sarah. 2018. "'I Just Don't See the Downturn': What's behind the Bravado of the St. John's Car Trade." *CBC.ca News*, January 15, 2018.
- Statistics Canada. 2016. "CANSIM Table 079-0003 - New Motor Vehicle Sales, Canada, Provinces and Territories, Monthly." <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/>.
- Thomas, Jeannie B. 1995. "Pickup Trucks, Horses, Women, and Foreplay: The Fluidity of Folklore." *Western Folklore* 54 (3): 213–28. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1500348>.
- Urry, John. 2004. "The 'System' of Automobility." *Theory, Culture & Society* 21 (4–5): 25–39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276404046059>.
- Uteng, Mr Tanu Priya, and Professor Tim Cresswell. 2012. *Gendered Mobilities*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Vanderbeck, Robert M. 2005. "Masculinities and Fieldwork: Widening the Discussion." *Gender, Place & Culture* 12 (4): 387–402. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690500356537>.
- Waitt, Gordon, and Ruth Lane. 2007. "Four-Wheel Drivescapes: Embodied Understandings of the Kimberley." *Journal of Rural Studies* 23 (2): 156–69. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2006.07.001>.
- Walker, L, D Butland, and RW Connell. 2000. "Boys on the Road: Masculinities, Car Culture and Road Safety Education." *The Journal of Men's Studies* 8 (2): 153–69.
- Walks, Alan. 2014. *The Urban Political Economy and Ecology of Automobility: Driving Cities, Driving Inequality, Driving Politics*. Routledge.
- Watts, Jacqueline H. 2007. "Porn, Pride and Pessimism: Experiences of Women Working in Professional Construction Roles." *Work, Employment and Society* 21 (2): 299–316. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017007076641>.
- White, Michelle J. 2004. "The 'Arms Race' on American Roads: The Effect of Sport Utility Vehicles and Pickup Trucks on Traffic Safety." *The Journal of Law & Economics* 47 (2): 333–55. <https://doi.org/10.1086/422979>.
- Willis, Paul. 1977. *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. New York: Columbia University Press.