GEOGRAPHIES OF BELONGING IN THE NOTTINGHAMSHIRE COALFIELD: AFFECT, TEMPORALITY AND DEINDUSTRIALISATION

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at

the University of Leicester

by

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December 2018

Abstract

This thesis investigates the affective-temporal processes of belonging among mining families in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, examining how affective histories and memories of deindustrialisation and the coal industry mediate belongings. Literatures on the post-industrial working-class have noted how processes of deindustrialisation and industrial ruination have dismantled previous formations of belonging based around work, community and place. Research has also highlighted ways that the past emerges and surfaces in the present to unsettle and disrupt contemporary belongings. Analysis prescribed around specific methods belies the relationalities of discursive, embodied and sensorial textualities and distorts from how the past in the present is lived. Further, fundamental to understanding and recognising the past in the present is an attentive reading of those pasts from an historical perspective. Relatedly, social scientists have identified how affective class histories transfer intergenerationally and dispose working-class bodies to industrial forms of life that no longer exist. I suggest that the relationalities between belonging and memory, lived experience and intergenerational transferences need to be understood as one affective-temporal process. Drawing on weak theory, Anderson's 'analytics of affect' and the genealogical method, I propose a multi-modal methodology emphasising attunement to the embodied, reflexive and more-than-representational modes that the past emerges, as well as a nuanced tracing of place pasts. Through this methodological and analytical framework, I conceive the Nottinghamshire coalfield as a set of temporal and affective enfolded blendings conditioning the capacities of residents to belong and resist alienation. I begin by documenting the affective genealogies of belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield from 1850s until the present, examining the atmospheres and embodiments of the mining community over time, apprehending previous means of belonging or not and how these conditions have been transmitted and transformed. I argue that the intergenerationality of working-class bodies and spaces is discernible in forms of behaviour, sensibilities, atmospheres and embodiments.

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Abbreviations

BFI – British Film Institute
BUFVC – British Universities Film and Video Council
BLN – British Library Newspapers
BWL – British Workers League
CEF – Coalfields Enterprise Fund
CISWO – Coal Industry Social Welfare Organisation
CTF – Coalfields Task Force
CRT – Coalfields Regeneration Trust
DCLG – Department for Communities and Local Government
EMC – East Midlands Collection
EMDA – East Midlands Development Agency
MACE – Media Archive for Central England
MAGB – Mining Association of Great Britain
MARR – Mansfield–Ashfield Regeneration Route
MFGB – Miners Federation of Great Britain
ML – Mansfield Library
MP – Member of Parliament
MTF – Margaret Thatcher Foundation
NAO – National Auditing Office
NCB – National Coal Board
NCP – National Coalfields Programme
NMA – Nottinghamshire Miners Association
NMIU – Nottinghamshire and District Miners' Industrial Union
NRO – Nottinghamshire Record Office
NRT – Non-Representational Theories
NUM – National Union of Mineworkers
PAC – Public Accounts Committee
RDA – Regional Development Agency
SEV – Sherwood Energy Village
TNA – The National Archives
UDM – Union of Democratic Mineworkers

Chapter One – Introduction

The Emery family have lived for generations in the village of Warsop, in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. My patrilineal family, like many others, arrived in Warsop in the early twentieth century with the promise of coalmining work at the newly opened collieries of Welbeck and Warsop Main. My Scottish mother migrated from Fife with her immediate family to Meden Vale, a village less than a mile from Warsop, in the 1960s. Her father had transferred to work as a coalminer at Welbeck Colliery, as had many out of work men from Scotland and North East England at that time. Following a school romance, my parents married and moved to the home where they still live, in Warsop, almost directly opposite the house my grandparents lived, and my father grew up. In these two semi-detached houses I was raised, just a short walk from the primary and secondary schools I attended, along with my siblings and cousins and our parents before us. It was between these houses and schools that I first came to know of a contained and bordered working-class universe, its struggles and resilience, its dispossessions and hopes, its senses of belonging and identity.

Throughout the surrounding coalfields, a predominately rural landscape peppered with nucleated hamlets, larger former mining villages and, larger still, post-industrial towns, Warsop is known as the place where people leave their front doors open. In fact, asking 'are you from Warsop?' is a rhetorical chastisement in the area to anyone who does not shut the front door behind themselves. The foundations of this folklore are disputed by the three and a half thousand or so 'Warsopians,' with three versions being proposed.[1] It is sometimes suggested that the tale relates to a time before the sinking of the collieries when Warsop was a farming settlement. Houses were fitted with split Dutch-doors and the top half of the door would be kept open to ventilate the stone buildings. A competing claim roots the provenance nearer to the present in the period when the coal industry dominated Warsop's social, cultural and economic rhythms. It is remembered that the village was, supposedly, both so safe and friendly that its mining families had no need to fear intruders and, also, social relations were so solidaristic that friends, neighbours and family were constantly in and out of each other's homes. The final response is a locally understood joke inspired by the everyday realities in Warsop since the decline of the coal industry from the 1980s. Usually made by people who have heard the legend but do not know its source, they facetiously retort that front doors might as well be left open because 'no one's got oat wo'th nicking.'[2] This may well be followed up by the assumption that the folklore is most likely to do with the 'pits,' every other dominant collective memory is.[3]

These perhaps parochial anecdotes of genealogy and place direct to the central research question of this study: with a primary focus on colliery closures and industrial ruination, how has belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield been affected by historical transformations? The stories highlight some of the historical-geographical transformations that have taken place within the Nottinghamshire coalfield. They are histories of socioeconomic processes, working at multiple scales, that have conditioned changing formations of working-class experience, mobilities and attachments. Industrialisation, namely mining, brought generations of workers and their families to the Nottinghamshire coalfield, establishing mining communities, before deindustrialisation erased the original

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[1] The local nickname of people from Warsop. See: http://forum.warsopweb.co.uk/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=7001 for an online discussion.

[2] Trans. 'Nobody has anything worth stealing.'

[3] 'Pits' is the most common name for collieries in the subject area.

purpose of their being there and led to industrial ruination which endures into the present. Investigating the intergenerational transference and transformation of belonging is not merely critical to academic understandings of belonging, it is fundamental to understandings and critiques of class inequalities, disadvantage and restorative justice.

Processes of deindustrialisation have disrupted previous formations of belonging located on work, class and community, resulting in alienation from spaces, imagined communities and socioeconomic orderings (Strangleman, Rhodes & Linkon, 2013; Rogaly & Taylor, 2009). Far from dissipating as the industrial past recedes further into history, belonging continues to be attenuated by both pervasive social memories of nostalgia, trauma and loss and the encroachment of neoliberalism into ever more areas of existence (Harvey, D., 2018a). Pasts of social relations and industrial work foreshadow present day landscapes of industrial ruination, alluded to in the folklore of Warsop which relate to some of the discrete ways that the past surfaces to intervene in belonging. 'Nowhere has the past overshadowed the present quite so much as in the British coalfields' (High, 2013a, p. 144) and the stories, of loss, of places, people and the way things were, index how memories are transmuted into stories that come together in lived moments of telling, expression and knowing. In these moments memories are intergenerationally transferred, stored and repackaged to be told again. Glib and humorous responses, such as 'no one's got oat wo'th nicking,' afford a means of coping with temporal and spatial dispossessions but also signal how memories and histories contain meanings that hold resonances in the present and, knowing them, connects us to the past. Meanings that are contested emerge and actualise affectively and emotionally, in nostalgias, loss and alienation and are generative of contemporary conditions and anticipated futures (Evans & Tilley, 2017). The stories chronicle how memories are operationalised to assemble senses of belonging and attachments to place histories, and, through these operationalisations, form cognitive and imagined borders of inclusion and exclusion.

The converse or absence of belonging is often articulated in the term alienation (Antonsich, 2010). Alienations are seen as manifesting politically in the growth of nationalist movements, rooted in an imagined collective memory of the industrial past (McKenzie, 2017; Mishra, 2017; Winlow, Hall & Treadwell, 2017). Even though the extent of working-class participation in these mobilisations remains unclear, there remains

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a political and empathetic urgency to develop understandings of belonging, its loss and its opposite emergences (Bhambra, 2017). I prefer alienation as a term to alternatives such as exclusion or unbelonging but I suggest that alienation is not simply the absence of belonging, although it is closely related. Here, alienation is conceived as emerging from the refusal or dispossession from belonging. In this sense, belonging or claims to belong are prerequisites of alienation. For alienation to emerge requires a knowing of what it means or is needed to belong. This thesis addresses the affective and temporal processes of belonging and alienation in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, examining how the capacity to belong has been enabled and denied over time.

Temporal dynamics, and their relationship with space, are conceived as critical to forming and maintaining senses of belonging (May, 2016; Tomaney, 2015; Nagel, 2011; Rogaly & Taylor, 2009; Lovell, 1998). Multiple processes of memory ranging across spectrums of cognition and intention, from embodied, material and declarative forms, are all seen to be constitutive of belonging through attaching or accumulating meanings to place histories and shared memories (Degnen, 2016; Bennett, J., 2014a). Seeking to engineer positive affective relationships between people, time and space, regeneration policies of local governments and development agencies have targeted collective histories in the form of heritage and landscape representations in efforts to foster belonging in spaces of social disadvantage or exclusion. However, in attempts to present a unified and authoritative past, contestations arise over what and whose past is represented and whose is excluded from authorised formulations of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2011; Fenster, 2005). We cannot always self-determine our own belonging or the conditions in which belonging is permitted, enabled or possible. Belonging is a negotiated process of legitimation and resistance between external and internal spatial and subjective forces in the present (Tomaney, 2015; Nagel, 2011). Belonging is also contingent of the set of always-already conditions – memories, citizenship, spaces, subjectivities, political economies, and so forth – that people find themselves in, with specific ramifications with marginalised groups lacking the agency to determine and fix their belonging within political hierarchies (Delanty, Wodack & Jones, 2008; Clavering, 2010; Castles & Davidson, 2000).

Couched in studies of the (post-)industrial working-class, the focus of my study is on long-term working-class inhabitants of the Nottinghamshire coalfield and the spaces

they inhabit, those with extended temporal connections to the area, who grew up and have families who grew up there. My research investigates those whose pasts are connected and embedded in the histories of a specific geographically and imagined bounded space, whose lived experiences and those transferred to them are spatialised, took place, in the Nottinghamshire coalfield and are enmeshed in the histories of industrialism and its demise. I want to capture the simultaneities of shared, familial and personal pasts and presents and uncover their mediations of belonging.

Threaded through extant literature on the post-industrial working-class is a collective endeavour to capture how 'legacies' (Mah, 2012) of deindustrialisation and industrialism have mediated belonging, identities and place (High, MacKinnon & Perchard, 2017). Industrial pasts, or 'legacies,' inhere in the present through multiple forms. Much of the work explores the testimonies of former industrial workers in emotive oral histories of labour, comradeship and eventual disruptions of identity wrought by job loss (Portelli, 2012; Walkerdine & Jiménez, 2012; MacKenzie et al., 2006; High, 2003; Linkon & Russo, 2002). Some have looked at ways that historically forged formations of class and gender and significations of value and pride endures in bodies, dispositions and attitudes to work among young people living in post-industrial spaces (Bright, 2011; Nayak, 2003, 2006; McDowell, 2000). Others have focused on the performance and remembrance of working-class and labour histories in heritage practices (Smith, L., 2006; Dicks, 2000; Smith, Shackel & Campbell, 2011). Studies have focused on material and represented industrial landscapes, in varying states of decay and erasure, and their capacity to evoke affective memories of nostalgia, loss and mourning (Mah, 2017, 2012; Meier, 2013, Linkon; 2013). Scholars from the humanities have examined literary and artistic sources to conceive how these nostalgias and remembrances are engendered in biographies, artworks, films and in semi-fictional novels of deindustrialisation (Linkon, 2018; Daniels & Nash, 2004). Recent developments capture how atmospheric, affective and spectral 'ghosts' envelop and haunt spaces, bodies and materialities of industrial ruination (Bright, 2016; DeSilvey & Edensor, 2013; Edensor, 2005a). A noticeable trend in studies of the working-class is the number of researchers, like me, who have personal connections to the spaces, people and histories that they research (High, 2013b). Caught up in the pasts and presents of deindustrialisation, researchers with working-class backgrounds use their positionality to explore how the

shared and collective past manifests in the self and the personal (High, MacKinnon & Perchard, 2017; Walley, 2013). However, two critical and interrelated weaknesses are shared across the fields of belonging and industrial ruination studies, which I seek to address.

The first weakness in the study of belonging and industrial ruination is the lack of historical knowledge on the specific trajectories of the people and the spaces that research centres on. The critical importance of historical interpretations to understandings of the affective and temporal dynamics of belonging in spaces of industrial ruination is three-fold. The first pertains to political agendas. To empathetically and contextually connect to loss of belonging and the emergence of alienation inherent in industrial ruination requires that audiences know what was lost through deindustrialisation (Linkon & Russo, 2002). Comprehension of the importance of work, community and place to the ordering of life and formation of belonging need to be disseminated if informed critiques of neoliberal post-industrialism are to be formulated. The second purpose for foregrounding historical analyses is that it is analytically imperative we understand the histories that memories are based, to fill in the gaps of memories, to contextualise and understand them more deeply, to illuminate what is not said or what is suppressed or forgotten, and how memories have altered and transformed over time (Gibbs, 2018; Rogaly & Qureshi, 2017). To apprehend the affective dimensions of memory and its constitutive and mediating force in belonging, we need to examine the foundations of those memories. Historical analysis is most important, however, because historical intergenerational processes are fundamental to how working-class people come to know themselves and the world around them (Walkerdine, 2016). Our affective lives and how we experience the world through our emotions, bodies and senses is largely owing to the imprinting of histories lived by those who predate us. It is increasingly proposed that forms of being are transferred intergenerationally, identifications and significations are carried forward across linear time, and the affective manifestations of class and its inequalities are transmitted and flow from one historical phase to the next (Strangleman, 2017; Walkerdine, 2015). The coalfields, in particular. are where '[g]eography, geology and history intertwine … and have had a profound influence on the development and later decline of the industry and communities that were supported by it' (Strangleman, 2001, p. 257). These under-researched, yet intuitive, phenomena

require critical analyses of the affective histories of working-class spaces, subjectivities and belongings (Walkerdine, 2015). This thesis traces these transmissions of belonging and class over chronological time, locating and examining the historical processes entwined with formations of belonging.

The second weakness within existing work is that the emotional and affective dynamics of belonging and cognate concepts have rarely been at the centre of inquiry. Belonging is a phenomenon that 'quivers' (Thrift, 2004, p. 57) with emotional intensities, attachments and feelings (Mee & Wright, 2009; Wood & Waite, 2011). The absence of belonging is also often expressed in affective terms as 'feelings of loneliness, isolation, alienation, and displacement' (Antonsich, 2010, p. 649). Terms such as belonging, alienation, loss and displacement routinely show up in studies of the post-industrial working-class, however, the meanings and theorisations of these terms are very rarely discussed. We are continually left to assume that the compositions of these affective concepts or emotional states are axiomatic and universal, that belonging, and its contradistinctions, are self-explanatory. Rejecting these tautological assumptions, I suggest there is a lack of clear formulations of how belonging, alienation, loss and so forth are affectively structured, encountered, felt and expressed, as well as the temporal and spatial contingencies of these affective intensities. To advance understanding of the multiple affective-temporal dynamics and processes relating to belonging requires a more sustained focus on affect and emotions theory, as well as engaging methodological approaches toward embodied, psychosocial and critically-reflexive research (Hoggett, et al., 2010).

We have, then, two analytical and theoretical issues forming the connected aims and contributions of the thesis: examine the classed and affective histories and intergenerationality of belonging; and advance both understandings of working-class belonging and affect theory by bringing them into critical and generative dialogues. The next chapter further refines these critiques and research aims, alongside a more extensive review of literatures on belonging, class, deindustrialisation and industrial ruination. I end chapter two by arguing that current research practice associated with belonging and the post-industrial working-class is overly organised around specific methods, missing much of the affective and temporal complexities of place, the concatenation of affective-temporal poesis, foldings and emergences across human and more-than-human textualities. The

moments and encounters where our senses of belonging are stimulated can variably be enduring or fleeting, imperceptible or felt intensely. I call for multi-modal research incorporating embodied and psychosocial methodologies into existing praxis that better attune to temporal and affective processes of belonging.

Chapter three outlines the epistemological and methodological approaches of the study. The chapter begins by evaluating conceptualisations of affect with reference to subjectivities, temporality and emotion, noting how affect and emotions are classed, the temporal dynamics of affect and exploring the interrelations and distinctions between affect and emotion. I conclude this section by detailing my theoretical approach to affect, temporality and belonging. Following Wright (2015, p. 392), I approach the affective and temporal dynamics of belonging through weak theory, which 'sees things as open, entangled, connected and in flux.' Deviating from Wright, however, I suggest that to focus the study, which intentionally has diffused and sprawling themes, a mimesis of the messiness of everyday life, some analytical rigidity is required. Anderson's (2014; see also: 2012) 'analytics of affect' provided a triadic framework of analytical versions that can be examined – 'collective conditions', 'bodily capacities' and 'object targets' – allowing both space for experimentation to advance apprehension of affect's potentialities, as well as a suitable overarching orientation to concentrate analytical and epistemological thinking. I then go on to explain the epistemological and methodological frameworks, considering the research process, field and critical-reflexivity. Couched in literatures of affect theory, embodiment and reflexivity, my research approach emphasised situatedness, embeddedness and attunement to the intricacies of embodied and discursive experiences of both the eventful and the everyday (Stewart, 2011).

Chapter three then turns to specific methods used. The study involved two research agendas, proceeding concurrently, both informed by the 'analytics of affect' and emphasising embodiment and reflexivity. One research process was directed toward understanding the formations of belonging in the contemporary Nottinghamshire coalfield. The second was tracing the affective transformations and transmittances of belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield over chronological time. Specific research methods used to uncover contemporary belonging are discussed in turn: embodied and reflexive autoethnography; observant participation; psychosocial life-history interviews; and

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documentary and textual analysis. The genealogical method, established by Nietzsche (1887) and developed by Foucault (1978), provided a praxis for analysing the affective genealogies of belonging, tracing the unfoldings and rhythms of multiple processes, assemblages and apparatuses over linear time. The genealogical method was combined with innovations in embodied and affective methods in historical geography and the History of Emotions (McGeachen, 2017; Mills, 2013). Chapter three ends by documenting my approach to communicating analyses which employs storytelling techniques to capture some of the excessiveness of everyday life, evoke the political and affective intensities of the Nottinghamshire coalfield and structure the analyses in a way that emphasises the affective intergenerationality of belonging.

Arguments are then developed over five chapters of analysis that progress chronologically and intergenerationally across historical time, beginning in the 1850s and culminating in an extended focus on the present day.

Chapter four documents the affective histories of the Nottinghamshire coalfield from industrialisation in the middle of the nineteenth century through to the nationalisation of the coal industry in 1947. The chapter covers the inception of largescale coalmining in Nottinghamshire and evaluates the means that the coal industry under private ownership was formative of collective conditions of socioeconomic struggle, hardship and insecurity. It is argued that the exigencies of these collective conditions were generative of pervasive states of alienation permeating across human and non-human relationships and denying bodily capacities of belonging. Moreover, private coal companies actively made insecurity an object-target to dispose the workforce toward obedience. Conditions of alienation would, however, transform from 1947.

Chapter five covers the period 1947 until the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and concerns the Nottinghamshire coalfield's experiences of nationalisation. I analyse how nationalisation and wider cultural and political flows transformed collective conditions within the Nottinghamshire coalfield to security, instilling a sense of purpose and dignity in mining communities and enabling formations of belonging rooted in positive associations to the present and future. Critical to these transformations was the institutional apparatus of the National Coal Board (NCB), the body tasked with running the nationalised industry, the Coal Industry Social Welfare Organisation (CISWO), engaged in social, culture and

welfare provision in the coalfields, and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the trade union representing Britain's miners. In their pursuit of the shared object-target of security, the NCB, CISWO and the NUM transformed how Nottinghamshire's miners and coalfield communities viewed and positioned themselves within wider geographies of inclusion. Further, the Nottinghamshire coalfield's experiences of nationalisation were premised on geographical and historical specificities that were distinct from that of other coal mining areas. These local distinctions played a critical role in the Miners' Strike of 1984 – 85 when the majority of Nottinghamshire's thirty-five thousand miners refused to join the national dispute (Paterson, 2014).

Chapter six investigates the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and the subsequent decline of the coal industry from the 1980s (Samuel, Bloomfield & Boanas, 1986). Not joining the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 led to fractured relationships and bitter splits in union affiliation within the Nottinghamshire coalfield when the Nottinghamshire Area NUM broke away to form the Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM). These events subsequently impacted and facilitated the experience of colliery closures, job losses and post-industrialism. The industrial ruination wrought by colliery closures and industrial decline persists into the present despite over twenty years of government interventions and funding (Foden, Fothergill & Gore, 2014). Chapter six concludes with a critique of neoliberal regeneration from 1997 which acted to entrench feelings of loss and alienation in the Nottinghamshire coalfield.

The first three analysis chapters, thus, examine the affective genealogies of belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, tracking transformations and transmittances of belonging over historical time. The analysis then shifts focus toward present day belonging, examining how the pasts and memories of the previous three chapters impart and interpellate themselves into contemporary formations of belonging and alienation.

Chapter seven draws on psychosocial life-history interviews, observant participation and textual analysis to interpret the relationships between memory, affect and belonging among people aged fifty to seventy-five, the generation who directly lived the coal industry and its demise. I examine how belonging is assembled through remembering and the intended and unintended dialogues people in the Nottinghamshire coalfield have with difficult and traumatic affective pasts. I argue that historical decisions to either strike

or not over thirty years ago has had implications for the spatial and temporal exclusions of former miners, with former miners that joined the strike experiencing exclusions from their place-histories and former miners that did not strike experiencing exclusions from the class-histories of the trade union and working-class movement. It is posited that the past is continually imminent and surfacing in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, forcing people to confront histories that they try to silence, problematising abilities to belong. These conditions are exacerbated by the industrial ruination encountered in the present that mediates how the past is remembered and communicated.

Chapter eight relates to formations of belonging and alienation in the generation that grew up and came of age during the period of deindustrialisation. In the chapter I use embodied critical reflexivity to elicit personal experiences of growing up deindustrialised where my own senses of belonging and alienation surfaced (Thompson & Thompson, 2008). I combine autoethnographic reflections with psychosocial interviews and observant participation with people of a similar age to me, between twenty-five and thirty-five. Analysis focuses on the interrelations of memory, industrial ruination and belonging. These experiencings of belonging's emergence and presence are documented through a series of iterations written in creative forms and situated within the wider political realities of class identifications and inequalities (Stewart, 2007).

Chapter nine concludes the study, discussing the findings with a specific exposition of the relationalities between the various threads of knowledge accumulated. I develop and synthesise the overarching argument and detail why the findings are significant and how they can inform current and future research.

Chapter Two – Reviewing the literatures: Belonging, deindustrialisation and industrial ruination

I have outlined the central objective of the thesis: assess how belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield has been affected by historical transformations through a focus on temporality and affect. This chapter is an interdisciplinary literature review, discussing and critiquing the broad literatures framing my inquiry. The next section outlines the main developments in the study of belonging, with specific attention to temporal and spatial concerns and the mediating, formative and political relations between these factors. I then move on to recent studies highlighting the rupturing of belonging and the emergence of alienation among the working-classes, as well as the political mobilisations of these affective intensities. I contextualise discussions by outlining how industrial political-economies and organisation ordered working-class spaces and rhythms. I then briefly outline how deindustrialisation, as a geographical and socioeconomic process, has been conceived and the main areas of focus. I move on to explore how the presence of the past in the present has been apprehended: expectations and valued forms of identity, landscapes, industrial ruins and materialities and heritage. To conclude I develop two salient critiques

currently shared across all the associated literature and identify where this thesis seeks to make its contributions: the lack of historical focus and inquiry and the absence of affect/emotion theory. I conclude by suggesting that belonging, and its temporal and affective multiplicities and enactions, cannot be portioned into simplistic and reifying analyses ordered around prescribed research methods or demographics. I hold that, as the (de)industrial past emerges and makes itself known in multiple and mutually imbricating ways, we need multi-modal methodologies receptive to this messiness, that attune to its plenitudes and complexities (Mason, 2011; Law, 2004).

Introducing belonging: temporal and spatial dimensions and politics

Belonging is an ambiguous and amorphous term that has so far escaped a dominant, agreed upon, conceptualisation or definition (Nagel, 2011; Wood & Waite, 2011; Mee & Wright, 2009; Probyn, 1996). A recent study codifying social sciences literature through qualitative content analysis of publications states that the 'multiplicity of the ways [belonging] has been used and reconceptualised within each scholarly field have made it the multidisciplinary and, at times, vague concept it is today' (Lahdesmäki et. al, 2016, p. 236). Studies have gravitated toward articulating belonging as 'sensed,' further illustrating the slipperiness and more-than-representational dynamics of the concept. We are said to require, need and search to attain a 'sense of belonging,' but we often feel this sense of belonging without consciously naming it or recognising it as such.

Belonging first attracted the attention of geographers within the humanistic and phenomenological traditions (Relph, 1976; Buttimer, 1976). Early theorisations fixated on 'place-belonging' (Antonsich, 2010; Di Masso, Dixon & Durrheim, 2014) and explored the connective processes between humans and space. Formative work conceptualised belonging as senses or feelings of 'rootedness' which 'in its essence means being completely at home' in one's surroundings (Tuan, 1980, p. 5). Definitions of belonging have not strayed far from these initial ideas and, while appearing to be a central concept in geographical thought, belonging 'somehow seems to have escaped the level of rigorous theorisation applied to many other foundational terms' (Wright, 2015, p. 391). Although there is a resurgent interest, social scientists still 'actually know very little about what belonging stands for and how it is claimed' (Antonsich, 2010, p. 644). This might be

because belonging is often being assembled in the background, unconsciously and pre-reflexively and, therefore, not 'lend[ing] itself particularly to discursive articulation' (Savage, 2008, p. 156). Academic study of belonging appears to mirror belonging's presence in everyday realities where it 'is often considered self-explanatory' (Wright, 2015, p. 391).

It is not regularly thought about in detail 'those instances that helped us gain our current sense of belonging – they merely become part and parcel of the overall sense of belonging that we experience' (May, 2017, p. 407). As Wright (2015, pp. 391) asks, rhetorically: '[w]e all know what it means to belong, or not belong, don't we?' Awareness of this 'taken-for-grantedness of one's place' (Seamon, 2014, p. 14) in the world may often only surface when compromised, when senses of belonging are disrupted, leading to 'some degree of emotional distress ranging from momentary annoyance to sadness, regret, worry, depression, anger, fear, or grief' (ibid, p. 14). Assuming the interiorities of belonging and its composite affects 'axiomatic' (Wright, 2015), it is when seeking to uncover what it means to belong, and discovering that those meanings are variegated across geographies and time, that the subject becomes perplexing.

Sustained interest in belonging as an object of inquiry is fuelled by the coming together of two forces. The enduring fascination with belonging is because belonging is so intrinsic and critical to the human experience. The need to achieve a stable sense of belonging is so desired and the sharpness of which its absence or erosion is felt so keenly. At the same time, the inherent humanness of belonging, its appearance of universality, evades capture, understanding and comprehension (Schein, 2009). These two forces reference the affectivities of belonging, which I place at the centre of this research. The affective contingencies of belonging, much like its contents, remain inchoate. While it has long been taken for granted that belonging refers to 'conditions of existence which tend to stress the emotional gravity of place' (Lovell, 1998, p. 1), 'too little attention has been paid to the specifically emotional nature and experience of belonging' (Wood & Waite, 2011, p. 201; see also: Antonsich, 2010). However, it is recognised that belonging is not a specific emotion rather an assemblage involving the 'full range of human emotions and passions, from pain and grieving, via fear and disgust, to shame and love' (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 178) which co-produce an affective state of belonging.

This affective assemblage of connections to spaces, times and their actors is seen as critical for personal and social wellbeing, with the absence of belonging seen as manifesting in a series of negative affective intensities and feelings (Young et al., 2004; Krause & Wulff, 2005). Again, focus on 'the flip side of belonging, the idea of non-belonging, is rare' (Lahdesmäki, et. al, 2016, p. 238), but being 'out of place' (Cresswell, 1996) is most often expressed in affective terms as 'feelings of loneliness, isolation, alienation, and dis-placement' (Antonsich, 2010, p. 649). Further evidencing the amorphousness of current theorisations, not belonging may also be 'uprootedness, disconnection, disenfranchisement or marginalization' (Wright, 2015, pp. 395–396). Whilst '[t]he growth of work concerned with the affective dimensions of social life makes a term such as "belonging" with its embedded affective dimensions an appropriate concept to employ' (Mee & Wright, 2009, p. 774), belonging approached through affect theory remains forthcoming.

Conceptualisations do tend to gravitate toward belonging being an emotional attachment to and identification with a bounded space and of being at ease within that place to which you belong (Lovell, 1998; Wood & Waite, 2011; May, 2016; May & Muir, 2015). Geographical space regularly 'functions as a concrete frame connecting various other dimensions, aspects, and relationalities of belonging' (Lahdesmäki, et. al, 2016, p. 236). In more recent years, scholars have focussed on the processes, performances, practices and politics enacted in space and involved in the production and expression of belonging, as well as how these can be undone (Tomaney, 2015; Probyn, 1996). Belonging to and within place is widely appreciated as being multi-scalar, with attachments to localities, cities, nations and continents being identified. Moreover, multiple scales of belonging often exist at the same time and in relation and tension to each other, highlighting the 'fraught nature of belonging and border crossing for some groups of people' (Mee & Wright, 2009, p. 773). Diasporic populations have negotiated disruptions to their senses of belonging through the restatement of cultural practices transported from one territory to another, signalling how 'belonging is commonly explored in relation to geographical, social, and temporal spaces' (Lahdesmäki, et. al, 2016, p. 236).

Temporal dynamics – 'where in time people feel at home' (May, 2017, p. 402) – have emerged as being of key significance to the study of belonging, 'which in turn has

consequences for how people can construct a coherent sense of self' (ibid, p. 402; see also: Game, 2001). A widely accepted position is that processes of memory and their interrelations with space – the 'synchronicity of time and space' (Lovell, 1998, p. 11) – are 'fundamental' (Tolia-Kelly, 2012, p. 331) to the production and reproduction of identifications, attachments and belongings. For Hoelscher and Alderman (2004, p. 248) 'social memory and social space conjoin to produce much of the context for modern identities,' with Lewicka (2014) arguing that the embedding of memories in space provide the 'glue' between people and place. Indeed, that 'the identity of places is very much bound up with the *histories* which are told of them, *how* those histories are told, and which history turns out to be true' (Massey, 1995, p. 187, emphasis in original) has long be appreciated within geography, even if understandings of these processes remain unclear (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1980; Seamon, 2014).

Studies of temporal belongings have identified three groupings of stimuli critical to the interrelations of memory and space. Firstly, the role that landscapes play in providing 'a geographical plane from which to place and narrate the past and present senses of identification with place' (Tolia-Kelly, 2012, p. 323; see also: Schein, 2009). Secondly, the 'media[s] of memory' (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 190) which include materialities and other forms of physical signification, for 'the past is not only discussed and thought about, it is also materialised in bodies, things, buildings and places' (MacDonald, S., 2013, p. 79; see also: Blokland, 2001). Finally, a growing area of interest is the potentialities of the embodied and sensory geographies of touch, smells, tastes and sounds to evoke memories and intervene in constructions of self (Wiley, 2017; Jones & Garde-Hansen, 2012; Mason & Davies, 2009). As Jones (2015, p. 1) wrote:

> The past survives however much one tries to drive it down and away from one's consciousness. It rears up provoked by something overheard or a scene, a place, an object, a tune, a scent even. It is inescapable.

Whilst remaining mindful that, analytically, 'aspects of place, landscape, memory, and heritage are mutually constitutive and need to be understood as one dynamic socio-spatial process' (Fuchs, 2015, p. 13), for the purposes of clear explanation, memory, where it most concerns belonging, can be separated into two dominant processes.

The first memory process is what social psychologists refer to as procedural memory, connected to implicit memory, and what some social scientists prefer to term embodied memory or habit memory (Lewicka, 2014; Connerton, 2011, 1989; Bergson, [1896] 2011). Procedural or embodied memory conceptualises the repetition of direct embodied interactions and performances with other people and space and has been used to conceive how everyday belongings are produced. Influenced by De Certeau (1984), it is argued that quotidian movements, communications and engagements with and between human and non-human subjects embed memory and meaning into material surroundings (Fenster, 2005; Degnen, 2016; Blokland, 2001). This 'repetitive performativity' (Bennett, J., 2014a, p. 660) of everyday embodied engagements, as well as the more aberrant interactions that punctuate these routine experiences, 'build up a sense of belonging to those places where these events took place' (Fenster, 2005, p. 248; see also: Kalekin-Fisherman, 2013). Critical to the spatiality of the 'embodied sensorial register of experience' (Degnen, 2016, p. 1646) are mundane public spaces which often evade the attentions of social scientists. Hebbert (2005, p. 583), referring specifically to streets but whose arguments can be extended to public spaces more generally, suggests that ordinary spaces act as an 'organising basis of memories, hopes, evasions, meaning, emotions, celebrations, and worries.' Corners, parks, steps and thoroughfares, amongst myriad topographies, are sites that 'express the accumulation of memories from below, through the physical and associative traces left by interweaving patterns of everyday life' (Hebbert, 2005, p. 592). As Julia Bennett (2014a, p. 660) states, '[w]hen imbued with significant social encounters and absorbed into the rhythm of life, places become part of a dense web of relationships which, in turn, become inalienable from the place itself.'

Yet, belonging as produced by the embedding of affective meanings through 'repeated navigation of intimate and daily spaces and routines' (Degnen, 2016, p. 1655) is wholly contingent upon the levels and types of engagement with and within that bounded space. These, in turn, are determined by socially reproduced subjectivities and how types of engagements, for example, types of employment or leisure pursuits, are situated and perceived within wider frameworks of judgement and value (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005; Gorman-Murray, 2011; Fenster, 2005). Yvette Taylor (2012, p. 19) states:

class and gender are embodied in individuals' sense of place, in feelings of belonging and in everyday dis-identifications; they are materially enacted in the resources and opportunities that are available or denied.

Regarding these denials of resources and opportunities to belonging, theorisations linking embodied memory and belonging tend towards positive or hoped-for attachments. Not often considered are how certain spatialised memories and conditions, contingent of class, race or gendered codifications, produce a response of, for instance, fear or trauma. Also, as previously intimated, not enough attention is placed on how these traumatic memories engender senses of alienation and displacement from these spaces or the processes of dispossession that occur (Yuval-Davis, 2011).

Thinking about belonging 'inevitably leads us to an investigation of power: power to claim and to control space, to inscribe space with particular meanings, and to regulate who and what can be fully part of any given space' (Nagel, 2011, p. 121; see also: Askins, 2015; Antonsich, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2011; Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2004). Belonging has an unavoidable dimension of reciprocity in that in the act of place-making people come to belong to specific places and, thus, construct claims to that place belonging to them. Consequently, '[t]hose outside the boundaries drawn by orthodoxies are excluded' (Trudeau, 2006, p. 435). In the conscious and unconscious creation of place-belonging, exclusions of those outside these identifications takes place, often on grounds of gender, race and class, for instance (Yuval-Davis, 2011; Moore & Whelan, 2007; Fenster, 2005). The nation state apparatus, especially, has positioned itself with the power to determine who 'officially' belongs through the material, legal and legislative mechanisms of citizenship, passports, rights and so forth. Such administrative declarations of who belongs are not always enacted at the local level, however, where dissenting forces reject dominant sanctions.

The dialectics of memory and space are critical to processes of inclusion and exclusion. Through the process of inscribing memory and history into landscapes, who belongs to that space and to whom that space belongs is determined by the mutual ownership of the 'legitimate' histories. As Trudeau (2006, p. 435) states, '[l]andscapes are visual representations of what belongs. Those groups or characteristics that do not belong are simply not represented.' The spatiality and representation of memory is as much an act

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of exclusion as inclusion as claims over what and who belongs in the bounded space are often legitimised and validated by which group has ownership over the competing place histories and dominating collective memories. Further, 'all such enactments of communal belonging … involve the selection of particular memories to be commemorated and the manufacturing of particular histories to be honoured' (Nagel, 2011, p. 112). Adding further complexity to the processes of exclusion/inclusion, historical accounts of selected collective memories can be interpreted and ascribed meanings in ways that conflict with those of different groups and individuals claiming the same place-histories. Often specific sites, landscapes or materialities come to represent and embody contestations of memory and belonging and act as foci for much wider societal antagonisms (O'Keeffe, 2007; Misztal, 2003; Nora, 1989). These processes are bound-up in the second form of memory.

The second memory process can take the form of more cognitive and reflective remembering – 'collective ways of sharing, discussing and debating memories of place' (Degnen, 2016, p. 1647). This more expressive and discernible form of memory is termed declarative memory. It is the process of declarative memory that is enacted in formalised modes of 'image remembrance' (Bergson, [1896] 2011) such as commemorative events, performances and practices, but also informal group or collaborative remembering. Declarative memory produces belonging through feelings of affinity and emotional attachment to collectively shared histories of place and other forms of identification (Sather-Wagstaff, 2015). In particular, heritage, as a cultural process 'that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present' (Smith, L., 2006, p. 44), is a 'powerful means of defining' belonging, identity and place (Dicks, 2000, p. 78; see also: Uzzell, 1996; Tilley, 2006; Lowenthal, 1998; Samuel, 1994). As Edwards (1998, p. 150) states, 'stories about the past … are as much to do with forging local identities and senses of belonging, as they are with history' and the performative and embodied act of telling and consuming stories about the past enables belonging to shared histories of place (Lloyd, 2014; Dash, 2006)

Where before there was 'scant attention to the historical geography of heritage landscapes' (Johnson, N. C., 2005, p. 324; see also: Harvey, D. C., 2001), the shared themes of identity, memory and belonging, as well as the recognition that 'heritage is inherently a spatial phenomenon' (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000, pp. 4–5; see

also: Claval, 2007), has led to growing cross-disciplinary work between Geography and Heritage Studies (Dittmer & Waterton, 2016; Kearney, 2009). Among many developments, the interdisciplinary work between geography and heritage has been effective in challenging pejorative associations with nostalgia and sentimentalism (Hewison, 1987). It is often suggested that nostalgic inclinations can have deleterious effects on coping strategies within everyday life and to anticipate the future (Lawler, 2014). For Tolia-Kelly (2012, p. 325) 'the experience of nostalgia actively links a sensibility of mourning to a picturesque past, one that is intangible and which evokes a sense of placelessness.' Such is the pervasiveness of emotional connections to the industrial past in spaces of industrial ruination, '[a]ny researcher who records the lives of working people has to confront the issue of nostalgia in the narratives they elicit' (Strangleman, Rhodes & Linkon, 2013, p. 18). However, nostalgia, previously often 'dismissed as a romantic yearning for days of yore' (Loveday, 2014, p. 729), and employed as a term of derision, is now approached with increasing degrees of awareness to its complexities (Bonnett, 2010; Keightley & Pickering, 2012; Boym, 2001). Rather than generalised conceptualisations, nostalgia can emerge in individuated forms that are highly localised and specific to certain historical contexts and trajectories (Campbell, Smith & Wetherell, 2017). Nostalgia is increasingly seen as potentially productive, radical, restorative or retroactive – a 'tool on which people spontaneously rely in order to restore self-continuity disrupted by major life turns and traumatic events' (Lewicka, 2014, p. 53; see also: Bonnett, 2010; Boym, 2001). Nostalgia can be used 'as a technique to connect with a sense of belonging in the past that is then used to "warm up" and give vitality to a bleak present, and is thus evidence of the creative ways in which people can establish temporal agency' (May, 2017, p. 412). Nostalgia can also help people to 'cope with the present as they make sense of it through a journey into the past that either avoids or erases painful experience, or recasts it in more emotionally manageable terms' (Bennett, K., 2009b, p. 192)

Respective scholars are particularly eager to stress how using heritage in policies of inclusion and belonging unavoidably exclude and disinherit (Harrison, 2010; Laurence, 2010; Smith & Akagawa, 2008; Olick, 2007; Moore & Whelan, 2007). Heritage is a central mechanism through which nation states produce a shared or collective past – real, mythical or imagined. In turn, these pasts inform and legitimise national belongings formed around

historically constituted shared values, social norms and citizenship, where '*any* group that currently stands outside of the dominant heritage narrative and the cultural symbols that support it is asked to acquiesce' (Waterton, 2010, p. 147, emphasis in original; see also: Smith, L., 2006; Waterton, Smith & Campbell, 2006; Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000; Anderson, 1990; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). We must be careful, however, not to overstate the reach of the heritage policies of nation states. Multiple studies have demonstrated the complexity and contested nature of heritage discourses and the abilities of under-represented groups to challenge dominant representations and carve out their own heritage-based belongings (Waterton, 2014b; Watson, 2011; Wedgewood, 2011; Kean, 2011; Busteed, 2007). Examples include how mining communities have at various points utilised the Durham Miners' Gala to challenge power, promote labour politics, establish unity and solidarity among coalfield communities, celebrate local culture and traditions and, consequently, form senses of belonging (Wray, 2011). Baxter and Bullen (2011) also found that grass-roots organisation allowed the Pullman community in Chicago, USA to successfully challenge government-backed developers and maintain local control over what they deemed to be their shared heritage.

This work illustrates that belonging, no matter how deep or affectively rooted, is not entirely within the agentic capacities of people or groups to assemble and maintain (Hack, 2010). External processes willingly and unwillingly impact and alter the conditions from which belonging emerges. The literature focusses primarily on the physical and territorial displacement from belonging where cultural memories and practices remain situated in the places they depart. However, people do not necessarily have to physically move to be dispossessed from extant formations of belonging. Just like space can be an enabler of belonging, spaces where belonging is constituted are constantly open to alteration and change, provoking uncertainty and disruption. In these circumstances memories, histories and presents are fought over and people are impelled to reassert and legitimate the underpinnings of belonging. One such process is industrial ruination, a socioeconomic and temporal-geographical process. The discontinuations of deindustrialisation have surfaced issues surrounding the spatial enaction of temporal belonging, with socioeconomic change forcing people to (re)interpret their industrial pasts and post-industrial futures (Linkon & Russo, 2002).

Working-class belonging and alienation

Emergent scholarship has sought to interpret reformulations of classed subjectivities, and the effects these reformulations are having in a period of neoliberalism, growing economic inequalities and increasing forms of insecurity (Mishra, 2017; Savage, 2015; Piketty, 2013). What binds this work is an acknowledgement that in Western societies the old industrial order has eroded, and identities and belongings are in an increased state of flux with potentially adverse or fragmentary political and social manifestations (Winlow, Hall & Treadwell, 2016; Hochschild, 2016). As former workers attempt to 'come to terms with the legacies of [deindustrialisation] on themselves as individuals and on their communities' (Perchard, 2013, p. 81), anger and bitterness towards class injustices have led to social and political identities to mobilise around ethno-centric nationalism and populist sentiments. Debating Hardt and Negri (2018), Harvey (2018a, 2018b) has recently linked the neoliberal project, which required deindustrialisation in older industrial states and its attendant rundowns of organised labour, wages and the relocation of exploitation, with widespread alienation among the most affected populations, namely the working-classes. Harvey, drawing from Marx's (1844) analysis of alienation within capitalist political economy, labels the accumulation of disaffection with neoliberal political and socioeconomic processes 'universal alienation.'

Where previously geographers had 'shied away from developing a robust working-class geography that understands the relationship between space, place, and power in all its historical complexity' (Mitchell, D., 2005, p. 95; see also: Smith, N., 2000), there is now an emergent interdisciplinary interest in examining the points where classes come together in tension, the discursive and symbolic constructions of class and its spatial and material inequalities (Beer, 2018; Crossley, 2017; Dorling, 2014; Rutherford, 2010; Dowling, 2009). A current area of conflict within media discourses is the role that an (assumed to be) alienated 'white working-class' play in the rise of far-right and nationalist populism across the Global North (Gest, 2016, 2018; Hochschild, 2016). Accounts suggest that enduring grievances of industrial decline amongst the 'white working-class' are mobilising around anti-globalisation sentiments and the rejection of neoliberal political economies (Mishra, 2017; McKenzie, 2017; Williams, J., 2017; Thorleifsson, 2016). For instance, a comprehensive quantitative study of voting in the Brexit referendum found that 'areas with

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a strong tradition of manufacturing employment were more likely to vote Leave, and also those areas with relatively low pay and high unemployment' (Becker, Fetzer & Novy, 2017, p. 32). However, the grievances of white working-class men were identified in studies of 'whiteness' at the turn of the century, so to what extent we are seeing the manifestations of these grievances now remains unclear (McDowell, 2003; Reay, 2002; Barrett, 2001). Conversely, post-colonial studies link a rise in nationalist sentiments with a loss of empire, presupposing that belonging among the working-class forms around colonial nostalgia (Shilliam, 2018; Bhambra, 2017). Further complicating understandings of the 'white working-class' is the slipperiness of class distinctions and the continuing tendency of some commentators to set the parameters of working-class inclusion to suit their pre-existing agendas (Hochschild, 2016).

Part of the concern of locating the actions and opinions of the working-class is certainly determining what constitutes the working-class in the first place (Bottero, 2004). This is far from a recent development but 'classificatory struggles' (Tyler, 2015) have become increasingly problematic than previously when social stratifications were largely fixed around employment types. Not only did former classificatory systems miss the importance of cultural and social 'capitals,' the employment structures on which they were based are largely redundant because of the labour market and industrial base shifts of the last half century. In a recent major study of class in Britain, Savage (2015) formulates nine contemporary social classes. Based on the Great British Class Survey (BBC, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-22000973), the industrial working-class are seemingly confined to the 'traditional working-class' and will, presumably, disappear within a generation, with their children and grandchildren mainly occupying such classes as the 'emerging service worker' or 'the precariat' (Standing, 2011). I am wary of the value of an imposed reclassification of named social classes. Designations are permeable and unreflective of the self-identification of those that formulations seek to classify. As noted above, there is more value in investigating the points of encounter with structural inequalities (Wills, 2008). Relatedly, as I will come to delineate, class identifications are fundamentally constituted by temporal processes of history and memory, as well as geographical lineages. To contextualise the current malaise of the working-class, its senses

of alienation and losses of belonging, it is important to appreciate the historical precedents of industrialism on which the conditions are based.

Industrialism, industrial communities and belonging

Despite industrialism being 'a brief moment in the history of capitalism' (Cowie & Heathcott, 2013, p. 4), the industrial order exerted an overwhelming influence on the organisation and formation of working-class lives and spaces. Most texts evaluate male industrial worker identities and interpret women in their domestic roles as working-class mothers and daughters, omitting their employment in textiles and clothing manufacturing among other industrial roles. Senses of belonging among male industrial workers are understood to have been founded on the purpose, pride and dignity derived from heavy manual work (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). These types of employment held a value not only at the local level but within wider discourses of nation building and class-based identities (Strangleman, Rhodes & Linkon, 2013). This refers to the concept of 'industrial citizenship', the cultivation of a sense of belonging and identity among the working-class to a greater national society ordered around industrial forms of work, self and community (Strangleman, 2015; Marshall, 1950). Further, industrial communities were often sustained by a single industry or employer, promoting a sense of homogeneity. These networks 'extended out from the shop floor into the industrial communities in which they were located' (High, MacKinnon & Perchard, 2017, p. 5), evoking senses of solidarity and belonging among localities. Generally, there were also clearly defined spheres and spaces of participation separated into work, social and domestic life, and primarily demarcated along gender lines (Massey, 1984). Working-class industrial communities were formed around a shared endeavour, incorporating shared values and notions of the home, family, work and specified roles and purposes. The state, through the apparatuses of education, labour markets and welfare, sought to reproduce these social, cultural and economic conditions of industrialism (Willis, 1977).

In Britain, coalfield communities have received notable and sustained scholarly attention, constituent of working-class community studies of the 1950s through to the 1970s (Strangleman, 2018; Phillips, J., 2018; Day, 2006). Coalfield community studies came under the rubric of an explicit socialist academic activism of the 1960s. Much of this

leftist scholarly research was predicated on the romanticised and politicised view that mining communities were 'archetypal' proletarian societies and vanguards of militancy (Adeney & Lloyd, 1986). Early studies of coalfield communities emphasised the collective enterprise of coal mining encompassing all inhabitants of localities, the tightknit social relations that resulted from an isolated bounded space and the camaraderie produced by the danger of mining work (Phillips, J., 2018; Bulmer, 1975; Dennis, Henriques & Slaughter, 1956). Important to these processes of sociality were the interdependent networks of the colliery, social and welfare institutions and political representation through the NUM (Taylor, A., 2005; Griffin, C., 1999). The working-class of mining communities were appropriated, conceived and valorised by middle-class political activists as the proletarian 'labour aristocracy' of political change (Hobsbawn, 1978).

The extrapolation of the mining community as a politicised construction and the elevation of the miner to 'mythic status' (Day, 2006, p. 78; see also: Orwell, 1937) is largely a distortion that ranges across both the academic literature and discursive mobilisations of mining populations. As Strangleman (2018, p. 23) states, there has been a 'continual desire on the part of commentators, politicians and at certain moments academics, to homogenise the experience of the mining industry, to squeeze out difference in an appeal to identifiable tropes.' Sociologists, bound-up in leftist agendas, endeavoured to understand how 'community' and belonging was constituted and operated in the coalfield localities (Gilbert, 1995). In contrast to these agendas 'historians and some sociologists attempt to explore the empirical reality of huge differences within and between coalfields' (Strangleman, 2018, p. 23).

The fundamental geographical dimensions of sociality, experience and identity made any overarching definition of the miner or mining community problematic and later coalfield community studies sought to qualify some of the generalisations of early work. Important to the shaping of identities and belonging in coalfield communities were different settlement types, divergent traditions in industrial relations, competing formations of local and regional identification and patterns of women's employment and participation in social and political life (Beynon & Austrin, 1994; Harrison, 1978). This heterogeneity of conditions at the regional and local level impacted the compositions of belonging ranging from a more cosmopolitan and socially varied experience in the urbanised areas to an

insular one within isolated rural coalfields (Strangleman, 2001; Harrison, 1978). Suggestive of the tendency to predetermine stasis within the coalfields rather than be mindful of their situatedness within wider social and cultural flows, studies highlighted how factors such as demographic change and expansions in mass media and communications led mining communities to become less insulated and isolated from outside influence by the 1980s (Waddington, Wykes & Critcher, 1990; Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). It is also worth noting that '[t]reating the community as a seamless, unified entity' tends to 'play down, or ignore, the presence of minority opinion and those who are in anyway unusual' (Day, 2006, p. 69).

Adding to existing critiques, I suggest that studies rarely, if at all, critique how alterations to the institutional relationships between employer and employee at the bureaucratic, discursive or symbolic level brought about by nationalisation changed the contingencies of identity and senses of belonging. Also, no mining community existed entirely isolated from increasingly wider scales of socioeconomic and cultural flows. Further, existing research neglects to consider how different coalfields saw each other and how these formulations internalised and manifested in presentations and formations of self at the level of the coalfield. Finally, studies have been too ready to codify and categorise mining communities, instead of seeking to document and apprehend their networks, flows and vitalities, how place, subjectivities and culture were performed, and their capacities to assemble belonging. Generalising coalfields across a wide chronology nullifies understandings of gradual change and the importance of specific events to the emergence of new realities.

Conversely, it is apparent across the literature that the embodied and economic activity of mining coal had a determining role in the constitution of lived experience in coalfield locations. Collieries dominated not just male employment and identity but the rhythms of life beyond the colliery gates. This has also been identified in international studies of mining, supporting the notion that mining as an economic and labour process produces a locatable set of sociocultural contingencies, seeping into 'all aspects of the material, economic, relational and emotional dimensions of the community' (McDonald, Mayes & Pini, 2012, p. 34). The effects this had on the organisation of public and private lives differentiated these spaces from non-coalfield areas, but similarities were most

present in other working-class industrial settlements (Waddington, Wykes & Critcher, 1991). The large-scale decline of valued and secure forms of industrial employment from the 1970s, as well as attendant socioeconomic deprivations, has resulted in a rupturing of formations of belonging among the working-class that emerged from industrialism, problematising temporal relationships.

Deindustrialisation, temporal 'legacies' and the past in the present

The study of deindustrialisation has gathered pace since the turn of the century as 'it was only with the fullness of time, that the longer-term effects of deindustrialisation revealed themselves and became a more established area of academic interest' (Strangleman & Rhodes, 2014, p. 413). It is increasingly apparent that 'deindustrialization as an ongoing process of capitalism reveals itself in various iterations and elicits disparate responses in different contexts' (High, MacKinnon & Perchard, 2017, p. 8). Regardless of diverse geographical and subjective contexts, Tomlinson (2016, p. 77) states that deindustrialisation has been 'so significant in effects, economic, social, and political, that it should be central to our narratives' of post-war Britain (see also: Arnold, 2012; Offer, 2008). Moreover, with specific reference to the British coal industry, a multi-authored impact study described the widespread pit closures of the 1980s and 1990s as 'represent[ing] the most dramatic contemporary example of social transformation in Britain since the Second World War' (Bennett, Beynon & Hudson, 2000, p. 1).

The first studies tracking the effects of deindustrialisation reacted to the rapid economic restructuring of the USA and UK from the 1970s that saw industrial capital and production shift to low wage economies in Asia and South America. The studies sought to quantify the impacts of widespread factory, mill, mine and dockyard closures on industrial job losses and socioeconomic indicators, such as welfare claims (Bluestone & Harrison, 1982). Whilst valuable in laying testament to the transformations taking place in working-class areas, these studies lacked the humanness of what deindustrialisation meant and continues to mean. Shifting both in scope and focus from the so-called 'body count' studies, a collection of activist scholars later emerged who put the multiple social and cultural dynamics of industrial decline at the core of their analysis (Strangleman, 2014; Russo & Linkon, 2005).

Much of the most insightful work has been conducted by a group of social scientists and historians loosely organised around the remits of 'new' working-class studies (Stenning, 2008; Russo & Linkon, 2005). These scholars approach deindustrialisation as a process, 'a historical transformation that marks not just a quantitative and qualitative change in employment, but a fundamental change in the social fabric on a par with industrialization itself' (Cowie & Heathcott, 2003, pp. 5–6). Attention has predominately centred on spaces where the worst ruination has taken place, particularly urban areas in the north of England and the 'Rust Belt' in the USA, however case studies of individual factory or mill closures have also featured (High, 2018; High, MacKinnon & Perchard, 2017; K'Meyer, and Hart, 2011). Regardless of location, foregrounded in this vibrant literature is the importance of temporal understandings, and most works are interdisciplinary studies combining historical, as well as sociological and geographical, methodologies and analyses (Russo & Linkon, 2012). Oral histories, in particular, are utilised as part of a politicised incentive to recover the testimonies and memories of working-class people, to allow them to tell their own stories (Strangleman, Rhodes & Linkon, 2013; Portelli, 2012; 2005; High & Lewis, 2007).

Whilst generally '[m]emory and history are important processes of placing and locating people and communities both geographically and socially' (Taylor, 2012, p. 56), spatial and temporal processes have emerged as being critical both to the assembling and disassembling of identity and belonging in the post-industrial working-classes (see also: Legg, 2007). 'Meaning-making' in deindustrialised communities 'occurs within a powerful framework of social memory' (Bright, 2011, p. 69), which must be appreciated in any academic inquiry. Mah (2012, p. 13) offers up the idea of 'legacies' to conceptualise the 'diffuse social, economic, cultural, psychological, and environmental impacts of industrial and urban decline on people and places.' Mah (2012, p. 199) argues that:

> [l]egacies of industrial ruination and urban decline are embodied in local
> people's experiences, perceptions, and understandings and emerge in
> unexpected, indirect, or diffuse forms: as ambivalence, as nostalgia, as trauma.

Existing work is united in arguing that 'legacies' of the past continually intervene in the present to shape and unsettle formations of belonging in post-industrial space. Studies have identified multiple means that the past emerges and surfaces through testimony,

landscapes, cultural representations and material cultures, interrogating these textualities 'for what they reveal about what the past means in the present' (Linkon, 2013, p. 39).

Balancing expectations and desires of identity and belonging

Working-class expectations and valuations of performance, presentation and economic activity are historically conditioned. Repeated studies have argued that male industrial worker identities have retained their meanings, continuing to form much of the basis of belonging in post-industrial spaces (MacKenzie et al., 2006; Clarke, 2015, 2017; Walkerdine, 2010; High, 2003). Sometimes this is not so much the specific form of industrial employment, but the ethos, values and subjectivities attached to hard physical labour and definitions of masculinity. However, the job type of steelworker, miner and so forth is often a specific source of pride and belonging. Talking methods have elicited time and again the senses of loss, dislocation and mourning wrought by job loss and workplace closures among former industrial workers where '[t]hat which is missing in their lives today looms hauntingly in their memories of former times' (Meier, 2013, p. 469; see also: Portelli, 2012; 2005; MacKenzie et al., 2006; Nadel-Klein, 2003). The intensities of loss and associated feelings of mourning among male former industrial workers appears to be pervasive across deindustrialised working-class areas. For example, a study of the south Yorkshire coalfield found that the 'feeling of loss and sad resignation at the widespread and accelerated closure of the region's coal mines was apparent in almost every interview' (Murray et al., 2005, p. 349).

Whilst women's industrial job losses 'have received far less scholarly or public attention' (High, 2013b, p. 1002; see also: McDowell, 2008), Clarke (2015) examines the experiences of women made redundant through the closure of domestic appliance factories in France. Women dominated the factory floors of those workplaces and Clarke (2015, p. 111) found that rather than the physicality and practicalities of the work, missed by men, the former workers 'draw … on memories of the [assembly] line as a space of feminine working-class sociability and solidarity.' Clarke further argues that collective memory played a role in sustaining the present among former factory workers, by resisting what Clarke terms 'neoliberal time', which emphasises forwardness, progress and the future being always better than the past. Although Clarke's study is creditable for introducing

female industrial workers into the literature of deindustrialisation, there is still a lack of attention on how women responded to the job losses of husbands and fathers (Spence & Stephenson, 2009, 2007). As already noted, women were critical to the maintenance and ordering of the industrial community in operation (Spence; 1998; Faue, 2005).

These conditions, where legacies of industrialism and deindustrialisation shape valuations and stigma surrounding job types, are not confined to those who lived through socioeconomic transformations, they also exert their influence on the lives and bodies of working-class young people. In a study of the impacts of a steelworks closure in Wales, Walkerdine and Jiménez (2012a; 2012b) document the extent to which the rhythms, processes and identities ordered by the steelworks when it was in operation have endured within the study area since its closure. Analysing evidence from psychosocial narrative interviews, the authors identify the emergence of fissures within formations of gender identity caused by service sector jobs, perceived locally as feminine employment, replacing former types of work considered masculine. Such findings, also documented by Nixon (2009) and McDowell (2003), illustrate how post-industrial labour markets, compounded by the 'sense of traumatic collective loss' (Walkerdine & Jiménez, 2012a, p. 151), have led to working-class geographies of shame and embarrassment (Jiménez & Walkerdine, 2012; 2011; Sayer, 2005).

Post-industrial neoliberalised geographies are difficult to navigate for young people who have been bereft of the stable economic and social institutions to anchor belonging. Using what is described as an 'intergenerational ethnography,' Bright (2012a; 2012b; 2011) enunciates how social memory acts to construct young peoples' identities informed by past ways of life. Traumatic histories of deindustrialisation have disrupted intergenerational transfers of identity and belonging as older generations struggle to communicate class and place in changing circumstances (see also: Strangleman, Rhodes & Linkon, 2013). Further, participants struggled to conform to neoliberal definitions of aspiration centred on personal academic attainment. Consequently, young people across the gender spectrum have been left 'adrift from "illegitimate" histories that are their legitimate "heritage" and, at the same time, [are] subject to the traumatic affective legacy of those same histories' (Bright, 2012a, p. 316; see also: Mannay, 2014). Whereas Bright focussed

on spatial dimensions, others have explored gendered distinctions of the post-industrial experience.

Research on young men has suggested that enduring 'expectations of masculinity' in deindustrialised spaces 'have a huge impact on expectations of manhood, and the performances that are then deployed link back to these traditions' (Ward, 2014, p. 63). Nayak (2003; 2006) found in a 'historical ethnography' that the shift in labour markets from industrial to service-based were challenging the abilities of young white working-class men in Newcastle, UK to form coherent senses of identity and belonging. Nayak (2003; 2006) concludes that embodied constructions of masculinity centring on excessive drinking, football and distinct, sometimes derogatory, gender significations among participants were interpretations of their class and cultural inheritances and a strategy to form some semblance of stability and continuity in a precarious and confused space (see also: Roberts, 2014). The gendered processes of deindustrialisation also have impacts for the socioeconomic experiences of young women (Walkerdine, 2001; Skeggs, 1997). Katy Bennett (2015, p. 1290) found in a study of young women in the Durham coalfield that the 'industrial legacy, (patriarchal) households and values that characterise [the community] shape some of the discourses that influence what can be thought, said and done.' Taylor (2012), also in North East England, found that working-class women felt excluded and dislocated from regenerated spaces where older generations of women once felt they belonged and had senses of ownership over. Taylor's findings allude to how internal forces to conform to legacies of class and place identity come into contact with external expectations, leading to prejudiced conceptions of working-class youth.

Young people in deprived deindustrialised areas often experience classed and gendered codification, as do the places they reside (Crossley, 2017; Rhodes, 2012). Valuations by outside, advantaged 'gazes' demarcate along gender lines with young women stigmatised as excessive, bad mothers and 'pram faces' and young men as angry, violent, lazy and 'chavs' (McKenzie, 2015; Skeggs & Wood, 2009; Gidley & Rooke, 2010; Skeggs, 2009; Bennett et al., 2009; Nayak, 2006). Negative valuations from outside toward the working-class, the codification of working-class young people as 'lesser-than,' circumscribes the expectations and desires of participation and behaviour in shared spaces. Even those who reject perceived behavioural failings of working-class identities, seeking

out belonging in alternative sub-cultures, are often 'still bound to the classed and gendered codes of the former industrial heritage of place' (Ward, 2014, p. 65).

Not all young people growing up in deindustrialised areas are maladjusted to contemporary conditions, however, and there are examples of groups navigating the temporal tensions between pasts and presents successfully (Roberts, 2014). In an investigation of male working-class academics, Loveday (2014, p. 732) suggests that 'the use of the past as "resource" in male working-class identity construction is fundamentally retroactive':

> the fusing of memory and imagination … opens up a dialogue between individual strategies of identification based on a collective cultural landscape and the wider social processes which shape the conditions and possibilities of identification (Ibid).

Participants in the study were shown to be able to draw from and balance histories of labour and memories of working-class life with new positions within the middle-class space of the university. However, those interviewed by Loveday have traversed the neoliberal discourses of meritocracy to break through the 'class ceiling,' and are not representative of the substantial numbers of their working-class counterparts who face more restrictive pressures to perform and practice masculinities at variance to wider society (Friedman, Laurison & Miles, 2015). As the university versus the deindustrialised locality illustrates, geographical location plays a role in how working-class people adapt to changing circumstances (Bathmaker, Ingram & Waller, 2013). Temporal relationalities between the landscape, its representation and its embedded and evocative meanings is fundamental to how the working-class have navigated contested terrains.

Evocative landscapes and geographies of memory and loss

Research on deindustrialisation has drawn particular attention to the ways that post-industrial landscapes both shape and represent memory and assemblages of identity, belonging and place. Industrialism transformed the built landscape as networks of factories and mills sprang up along major rivers, mines sunk, and small towns swelled into cities with canals carved out and railways laid to connect them. Dockyards took over major ports on coastal routes and warehouses littered industrial areas. Deindustrialisation left this

infrastructure redundant and buildings were abandoned, often reduced to dereliction. The process of industrial ruination is ongoing and also extends out to affect industrial housing, buildings of social and political institutions, social spaces and topographies as socioeconomic deprivations continue to enact material decay.

Across deindustrialised landscapes material and architectural remains of, for example, factories, mills and headstocks act as sites of memory for former workers and their families, 'physical reminders of industrial production and decline, and of the lives which were connected to these spaces' (Mah, 2010, p. 402; see also: Mah, 2009). Mah (2012) proposes we conceptualise deindustrialisation as a continually lived process, termed by Mah as *industrial ruination*. Industrial ruination encompasses the cognitive, cultural and material degradation of geographic areas of industrialism and is useful in conceptualising the effects of deindustrialisation at the centre of interrelations between memory, people and landscape. Many investigating the relational processes of industrial ruination and memory have highlighted how industrial ruins engender senses of loss, mourning and the death of industrial ways of life (Strangleman, 2013; Summerby-Murray, 2002; Hill, 2013; High, MacKinnon & Perchard, 2017). Mah (2012, p. 6), endeavouring to '"read" the past within the present in order to better understand the present,' discovered that:

> [t]he process of reading the landscape reveals the deep interconnections
> between spatial, socio-economic, and temporal layers … important for
> understanding the wider processes and complexities of industrial ruination
> (Ibid, p. 152).

In this regard, 'the strong emotions evoked by encounters with former workplaces, now shut down or completely transformed, can be compared to a grieving process' (Meier, 2013, p. 475; see also: Muehlebach & Shoshan, 2012). The widespread erasure of industrial landscapes during regeneration initiatives have not eradicated memories, which are now embedded within eidetic imaginaries of what was once there, evoking a 'sense of absence in the landscape' (Byrne & Doyle, 2004, p. 166).

It is not only the ruins of industrial workplaces that factor into the relationships between topographies, memory and community. Industrial communities comprised working-class housing and institutions that are also embedded with temporal meanings. Mah (2012, 2009) found that some inhabitants of Walker, a former industrial settlement in

Newcastle, UK, have embedded meaning into depleted housing estates and subsequently organised to resist their demolition. In a study of Youngstown, Ohio, USA, known as *Steeltown* through its association with the steel industry, Linkon and Russo (2002) document how spacio-temporal processes have shaped memory and assemblages of belonging. For Linkon and Russo (2002, p. 66) '[l]andscape and history together tell much of the complicated story of a place.' By using the landscape as text, along with documentary sources and ethnography, they effectively map the changing associations and meanings between people and space across time. Through these empirics Linkon and Russo conceptualise what they term a 'community of memory' bonded through a shared, and at times traumatic, history. This 'community of memory' is geographically bounded within Youngstown and assembled from collective experiences and representations of work, leisure and, subsequently, deindustrialisation. Investigating how competing political, economic and social institutions, individuals and groups intervened and mediated the historical and spatial development of Youngstown demonstrates how temporal trajectories influence present subjectivities of memory and place. Walley (2013, p. 22), documenting autoethnographic mobile-methods research in her deindustrialised home town, provides an insight into how these temporal and spatial processes of intergenerational transfer can take place:

> On those drives with my father, I was fascinated by the way a landscape could
> be so saturated with history. For my relatives, every place, every building,
> every piece of ground in Southeast Chicago seemed to hold a meaning or a
> story, stories that might be spontaneously bestowed upon us children or that
> might have to be coaxed with effort. It was through these stories that we came
> to be tied to this place across generations.

However, awareness of these histories is variegated among local populations. Reminiscent of Bright's comments noted above, it is argued that if Youngstown 'is to be a real community, then, it must understand its past' (Linkon & Russo, 2002, p. 247).

Although innovative in its approach to apprehending together space, representations and people, as well as their temporal interrelations, Linkon and Russo's (2002) concept of a 'community of memory' has been critiqued for being too geographically structured, that there is little to suggest that location is a determinant to memories of industrialism, or the

exclusive ownership of these memories, and their capacities for belonging (High & Lewis, 2007). High suggests that industrial decline should be interpreted as more of a classed experience rather than a geographical one, arguing that narrowed focus on local or regional culture and bounded space is inadequate to understandings of the 'wider discourse about the meaning of economic change' (High & Lewis, 2007, p. 85). This is reminiscent of the 'locality debates' of the 1980s and 1990s which sought to explain the flows of industrial capital and the geographies of economic development and decline (Harvey, 1989; Sayer, 1991; Massey, 1984; 1979). As both Mah (2012) and Mitchell (2005) have argued, such large-scale theorisations, whilst invaluable for comprehending the nature of globalised capital, risks stripping humans and real-life experiences from analysis. High, urging studies of deindustrialisation to engage with a broader political project, somewhat misses the point being made by Linkon and Russo (2002), and that High (High & Lewis, 2007) himself has articulated elsewhere, that national and global political economic systems are always enacted and experienced differently across spaces and populations, perhaps 'most apparent at the level of community itself' (Waddington, Critcher & Dicks, 2001, p. 213). I contend that it is at these spatial scales that we must endeavour to elucidate the deeper meanings, nuances and ramifications of the political processes and economic systems from which labouring classes become (dis)enfranchised across times, spaces and subjectivities, contrasting where these experiences align and diverge.

It is certainly not the case that working-class experience is uniform, and contestations exist within localities. Warning against narratives of collective loss, it must be acknowledged that '[p]laces that seem to share an industrial past are often stratified by meanings that can indicate opposing conclusions' (Roberts, 2007, p. 18). The campaign to save industrial housing in Mah's study (2009), for instance, was resisted by some residents hoping for physical redevelopment of the area. In Linkon and Russo's (2002, p. 4) study of Youngstown the authors encountered '[s]eperate and conflicting communities of memory ..., based largely on differences of class and race,' territorialised within different districts and areas of the city. Rhodes (2013), also focusing on Youngstown, draws specific attention to the contested meanings underpinning cultural representations. In a study of the boxer Kelly Pavlik, Rhodes identifies competing groups actively seeking to appropriate Pavlik as, at once, a representative figure of a blue-collar, racially white and hardworking

past and, conversely, a youthful, virile and resurgent future. While Linkon and Russo (2002, p. 5) point out that 'the representations of the powerful tend to be the most visible,' Rhodes argues that these power-geometries can run along generational lines.

It is perhaps taken-for-granted that the older working-class generation in Youngstown, who had directly experienced the security and value of industrial jobs, as well as witnessed their disappearance, were attempting to retain those meanings through nostalgic reformulation of representations. Whilst the younger generation, who had been bereft of industrial community and employment, and had only known deindustrialisation, were eager to reinvent Youngstown around an image compatible with their desires for its future. What these generational contestations allude toward is how memories can become embodied, meaningful and contested precisely because of the affective resonances that they carry, issues that are at the centre of critiques on the emergent field of ruins research.

Industrial ruins, materialities and embodied, affective memory

Indexing 'an emerging fixation on time itself' (Dawby, 2010, p. 756), ruins of modernity have recently been examined for their capacities to unsettle preconceived understandings and experiencings of time (DeSilvey & Edensor, 2013; Dawby, 2010; Stoler, 2008). For Martin (2014, p. 1039), regardless of the particularities surrounding the causes of ruination, ruins 'disrupt the normative veneer that architecture confers on the settings of everyday social practices.' 'Decay reveals itself', DeSilvey (2006, p. 232) suggests, 'as a process that can be generative of a different kind of knowledge.' It is claimed this alternative knowledge 'is not empiricist, didactic, or intellectual knowledge but an empathetic and sensual apprehension, understood at an intuitive and affective level' (Edensor, 2005b, p. 847) where the 'always already affective nature of matter and the material opens up opportunities to think through the role of past in the present from an entirely novel perspective' (Hill, 2015a, p. 419).

Industrial ruins, in particular, have enlivened geographical imaginations (Edensor, 2005a). Focus is on exploring the affordances of decaying and seemingly unused spaces to animate senses of past, present and future and 'disrupt notions of presence and absence' (Hill, 2017, p. 70). Foregrounded is the cognizance that 'memory is not located merely in the visible and the narratable but is embodied and affective' (Edensor, 2005b, p. 846).

Centring on the agencies of the more-than-human, it is further proposed that in acting on and through bodies the atmospheres and tactilities of ruins 'can open up the multiplicity and mystery of the past by stimulating involuntary memories' (Wheeler, 2014, p. 23).

In their 'uncanny ability to embody multiple temporalities' (McClanahan, 2014, p. 199), critical to how embodied knowledges of affect and time are elicited in industrial ruins is the methodological attunement of the senses and body of the researcher. Movement around topographies of ruins, remaining attentive to the haptic, olfactory and audible, in addition to the visual, 'gives rise to a host of associations and sensations' (Edensor, 2005b, p. 834) and 'complicates and unsettles our understanding of the world as taken-for-granted, obdurate and concrete' (Hill, 2015a, p. 423; see also: Lorimer & Murray, 2014; Edensor, 2007). It is suggested that animating these absent and indeterminate pasts and memories draws us empathetically and analytically closer to lost labouring lives and practices and their perpetual becoming in the present. Further, a focus on the evocations of decay allows for a subversive reimagining of ruins as aesthetic sites resistant to sanitised urban terrains, 'offering a kind of contested or "anti"-heritage' (Wheeler, 2014, p. 23; see also: Pikner, 2014; Edensor, 2005a).

Knowledges produced through embodied encounters have drawn criticism from academics outside Geography, mainly those engaged in 'traditional' analysis of deindustrialisation. The resolve to disorientate understandings of how the past is, and can be, experienced in industrial ruins has led to either the complete omission of historical-geographical contexts of investigated ruins or cursory noting of, for example, intended usage or dates of construction or abandonment. For Edensor, awareness of specific factual histories is of little importance, with degrading and abandoned industrial buildings providing opportunities for adventurous respite from the complexities and chaos of modern urban spaces. As High (2007, p. 60) states, this 'strips these former industrial sites of their history and their geography' (see also: High, 2013a, 2013b). Conflating embodied academic research with the leisure pursuits of the UrBex movement, who explore and photograph ruined buildings, High (2013b) dismisses Edensor's approach as 'the hipster commodification of misery' (p. 999; see also: 2007; Zadoorian, 2009), fetishizing material remains and lacking the 'desire to inquire into adjoining working-class neighbourhoods or even to ask what happened there' (High, 2013a, p. 146). However, for Edensor (2008, pp.

325–326, emphasis in original), '*not finding out*' about the historicity of industrial ruins 'is part of the methodology of confronting ghosts, it allows the spectral to continue haunting without exorcism.' Whilst Strangleman (2013, p. 30) posits that the repudiation of historical-geographical knowledge 'allows [Edensor] to develop general and abstract understandings of industrial ruination,' ruins are, I contend, ineluctably contingent of historical-geographical processes.

Relatedly, the privileging of the researcher's experiencing of ruins to the exclusion of those who are intimately entangled with them has caused further enmity toward embodied methodologies (Mah, 2017; High, 2013a). Whilst the introduction of embodied methods into research on deindustrialisation should be welcomed, it holds that deindustrialisation, and its constituent materialities, directly affected, and continues to affect, human beings within these localities. Keeping foregrounded that '[e]ach site of ruination speaks to the trauma, uncertainty, and tenacity of lived experiences with painful post-industrial transformations' (Mah, 2017, p. 205), studies, as outlined above, have elucidated how industrial ruins evoke complex memories across affective registers, unsettling senses of belonging in former workers (Degnen, 2016; Mansfield & Trustram, 2013; Mah, 2012). With industrial ruination being an ongoing process of dispossession, '[t]o treat industrial ruins purely as aesthetic objects is to ignore the social relations invested in them, to romanticize them, and to strip them of their meaning and context' (Mah, 2012, p. 196). Further, the 'somewhat romantic celebration of the alterity of ruins' (DeSilvey & Edensor, 2013, p. 478) in much of the existing ruins literature, is enabled by a distanciation between the embodied researcher and the temporal and spatial processes of ruination they are seeking to reveal (Mah, 2014). They have not been dispossessed by these processes or cultural immiserations and are confined to inferential imaginaries of other people's pasts.

However, it is apparent from descriptive accounts of fieldwork encounters centring the body that contemporary life is saturated with affective absences that nonetheless make themselves present (Wylie, 2009). Located within a 'wider concern and questioning around loss, erasure and disregard' (McGeachan, 2017, p. 3), these methodological and empirical innovations can advance understanding of how the past assembles and is experienced in the present in spaces of industrial ruination. Further, it is often difficult for the post-industrial

working-classes to authentically communicate the affectivities of these experiences or the interrelations between these emotional intensities and the spaces of industrialism (de Boise & Hearn, 2017). Finally, the above work signals to both the politics of representation, whose voices are heard, and the temporal affectivities of materialities, two concerns which have recently animated studies of working-class heritage.

Working-class heritage: emotion and the politics of representation and memory

Heritage, in part, seeks to provide 'people with an affective connection to the place's past' (Wheeler, 2016, p. 481). Whilst 'the heritage of working-class people has been significantly neglected within heritage research and practice' (Shackel, Smith & Campbell, 2011, p. 291), there has been critical work on the uses of heritage in attempts to alleviate socioeconomic deprivations (Dicks, 2015; Kift, 2011; Debary, 2004; Taksa, 2003). Place and class heritages have been used to engender senses of belonging and social cohesion through a range of means aimed towards public engagement, for example, commemoration, display, performance, producing local history texts and archaeology-based school projects (Wedgwood, 2011; Watson, 2011; West, 2010). Extant heritage is not only celebratory but has been used to resist the socioeconomic disruptions of deindustrialisation and foster belonging through a continuity with the past (Stephenson & Wray, 2005; Dicks, 2000).

With the demise of the coal industry, mining communities have been at the forefront of attempts to retain the cultural and collective memory of the pre-closure order through heritage practices (Dicks, 2008, 2003, 2000, 1999). A review of mining heritage programmes found that materiality and perceived traditions of community were intrinsic to how deindustrialised coalfields have sustained a sense of belonging (Power, 2008). Several studies have also found that memories of the Miners' Strike 1984-5 have been utilised as cultural heritage and put to work in the regeneration of place-identity and belonging (Bailey & Popple, 2011; Smith & Campbell, 2011). Stephenson and Wray (2005) have demonstrated how 'emotional regeneration' is being achieved in the north eastern coalfields of Britain through engaging with cultural inheritances, in this case by the commissioning, display and maintenance of union banners, which act as the 'symbolic and representational heart of [their] village' (Ibid, p. 180). Lodge banners of the NUM from the various collieries and coalfield communities across Britain are brought to the annual

Durham Miners' Gala every July to march through the city centre and congregate in a demonstration of solidarity and working-class mining culture (Wray, 2009; Mellor & Stephenson, 2005). Since the demise of the coal industry, the Durham Miners' Gala has swelled to include banners and representation of other trade unions, becoming the largest gathering of trade unionist and working-class politics in Europe. Now that all the collieries in Britain have closed, the contemporary Gala emphasises the cultural and class heritage of mining and community as a commemorative demonstration of strength and endurance. Apposite for my inquiry, when the majority of Nottinghamshire's miners left the NUM to form the UDM in 1985 they were forever banished from the Durham Miners' Gala, and henceforth have been ostracised and excluded from participating in the largest mining heritage event in Britain. However, since 1985, the Nottinghamshire Area NUM have received a special welcome each year they have attended, acknowledgement of their ongoing solidarity despite a marginalised status within their own coalfield.

The politics of industrial heritage participation also takes place at the local level and involves the negotiation of competing intentions and perceptions of what heritage should be for and its economic and cultural ambitions. The case studies noted above achieved varying degrees of success and delivering effective heritage involves coming into contact with numerous obstacles. Studies have found that representations of working-class history that are in opposition to prevailing neoliberal ideologies and place-identities envisioned by local governments is suppressed by refusing funding for heritage programmes and denying access to and purchasing of land holding potential heritage value to local communities (Kallio & Mansfield, 2013; Maunder, 2011). In addition, interagency working has caused conflicts between participating stakeholders representing oppositional intentions for heritage, for example, a space for community renewal versus a marketable venture to attract outside visitors. Further, Wheeler (2016, p. 477) found that heritage as practiced in local history groups – intentionally seeking to produce belonging – was not the amenable environment that some would expect but 'a contested process that in some circumstances can threaten, as well as promote, social cohesion within communities.' It has also been argued that forms of belonging anchored to collective histories can act as a barrier to the future regeneration of places and communities within changed socioeconomic conditions, rendering communities 'impenetrable to change' (Doering, 2013, p. 7). With its history of

internal fractures, violence and contestation, as well as vilification from the wider mining community, the issue at stake in the Nottinghamshire coalfield is whether it has or can achieve serviceable heritages which provide useable pasts to draw senses of belonging.

Questions surrounding the politics of heritage, how to represent the past through heritage, matter in places of industrial ruination because the affective resonances of the past and memory continue to insist on the present: 'museums and heritage sites are places where people go to feel, and indeed they are arenas where people go to "manage" their emotions' (Smith & Campbell, 2015, p. 446; see also: Campbell, Smith & Wetherell, 2017; Waterton, 2014a). The complex interrelations of temporal and affective processes, therefore, emerge as critical to understanding belonging (Crouch, 2015).

Critiques: history, affect and methodological pluralism

So far, I have drawn attention to the temporal dynamics of belonging, and its attenuation, in working-class spaces, highlighting the role of memory processes in constructions of belonging and the myriad ways that the industrial past lives in the present. The literatures reviewed provide an instructive body of work to question issues of belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. To advance these agendas, I identify two primary and interrelated weaknesses shared across the belonging literature and research on the post-industrial working-class: the lack of historical understandings and inquiry and the absence of affect and emotion theory. I conclude this chapter by proposing that parcelling analysis around a select few research methods loses the feeling of temporal and affective belonging and place as they are experienced and lived.

The need for history

Texts focussing on the post-industrial working-class across disciplines emphasise the importance of historicism and historical analysis (Rogaly & Taylor, 2009; Linkon & Russo, 2002). For instance, in Heritage Studies, Smith and Campbell (2011, p. 89) argue that 'to understand what was at stake it is important to outline what was both lost and gained' through deindustrialisation. Similarly, Walkerdine and Jiménez (2012a, p. 8) assert that it is 'impossible to engage effectively with the present without understanding how that present was possible.' In Geography, Warren (2018, p. 44) provides a 'biography of place' to contextualise a study of deindustrialised Teeside, UK, stressing that 'the intersection of

individual and spatial biographies is particularly significant for understanding the structure and impact of disadvantage and social exclusion.' Moreover, it is suggested in two studies on the impacts of colliery closures in Britain that understanding histories of industrialism and its demise is critical to the successful regeneration of the coalfields, which continue to be blighted by social deprivations (Waddington, Critcher & Dicks, 2001; Bennett, Beynon & Hudson, 2000; see also: Foden, Fothergill & Gore, 2014). In addition, studies have called for such practices as 'redemptive remembering' (Bright, 2012a; 2012b) and instating historical knowledges in local deindustrialised communities (Linkon & Russo, 2002).

Thorough and critical engagement with history is lacking in the same literatures advocating these agendas. For example, in an otherwise noteworthy contribution, Walkerdine and Jiménez (2012a, p. 8) espouse that historical perspectives and analyses are 'necessary to understand how the present is constituted.' The authors, thus, begin their study of a former steel town with an explication of the historical trajectories of the area, concluding that socioeconomic anxiety and uncertainty has been an intergenerational condition of the town stretching back two centuries. Walkerdine and Jiménez argue that Malthusian attitudes towards the economically poor, coupled with working-class fears of admittance to the workhouse, still resonated and surfaced in the collective consciousness, disrupting and intervening in constructions of belonging. Despite access to an extensive local archive covering two centuries of the town's history and Welsh industrial societies being examined extensively in historical studies, the histories on which the authors base their interpretations of contemporary society are taken almost exclusively from a single unreferenced history conducted by a local historian. The local history is augmented with the reading of primary texts by prominent economists of the nineteenth-century. The claim that fear and anxiety of the nineteenth-century workhouse still imbues contemporary working-class experiences and belongings appears tenuous without exploration of the demographic and socioeconomic compositions and transformations of South Wales over chronological time.

Concurring with others that historical geographies are fundamental, to theorise and understand how pasts emerge and intervene in present-day belonging requires more extensive historical analyses of place pasts than is currently practiced (Roediger, 2005; Johnson, C., 2002). I aim to contribute a more nuanced and thorough analysis of the

historical geographical processes of industrialism and deindustrialisation, in this case of the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Historical analyses are critical to the central and broader aims of this project, and the wider study of the post-industrial working-class more generally, for three primary and interrelated reasons.

Providing a critical interpretation of the subject area's history is politically paramount to contextualise the present-day conditions of the working-class. It is imperative that we understand the histories of class-based injustices to draw us empathetically closer to them, to understand the behaviours, politics and dispositions of those who have been most directly impacted by deindustrialisation and the shifts within the political economies of post-industrial places. It is not enough to delineate post-industrial places without appreciating, as fully as is possible, what happened to them. By omitting historical-geographical knowledges of these spaces we remain ignorant of the complexities and associations within the working-class lives, past and present, we unavoidably represent. Not attending to the processes of industrialism and industrial ruination renders the mutability of working-class spaces as inexorable and, somewhat, normative. Accounts abstracted from history intimate that how places and people come to be how they are, and what is lost in the process, is uncontrollable and beyond the decisions of people. Chronological time is not an omnipotent force bringing ineluctable change but is directed and furthered by agents working within geometries of power. Assumptions of a mystical, indifferent guiding hand of history works counter to social justice and accountability. Ahistorical accounts let off the hook those that have orchestrated the socioeconomic violences against the working-class, that have inflicted the current and historically-rooted malaise of alienation and struggles to belong, which this thesis seeks, in part, to reveal.

Beyond the broader political critiques of deindustrialisation and social inequalities, historical analyses are also analytically important to the understanding of memory, testimony and the presence of the past in the present. Work focusing solely on memory, sufficing with short contextual histories placed at the beginning of studies, regularly use Oral History to construct narratives of deindustrialisation and the working-class. Although oral histories are critical for the political representation of peoples' pasts absented from the documentary archive, they are problematic as historical source material because history and memory are distinct, but entwined, temporal processes. Suggesting lived memory can

provide all that is important to know belies that recollected shared memories are incomplete, contested and conditioned by the circumstances and contexts in which they are communicated (Rogaly & Qureshi, 2017; Wertsch & Roediger, 2008). Memories elicited in interviews are regularly inconsistent with the documentary record and shared memories are often contradicted by other interviewees.

Oral histories are best approached through their capacities for understanding memory processes. Historical knowledges produced from archival material are necessary to fill in the gaps of memories, to contextualise and understand memories more deeply, to illuminate what is not said or what is suppressed or forgotten, intentionally or otherwise. Of course, historical material and archives come with their own suite of problematics in rendering the past knowable, and I do not valorise historical material as allowing the authoritative and substantive record of objective truth. Merely, archival material provides a more pluralistic data and evidence source than does Oral History. It is important to also add that historical analysis is not intended to contest the recollections of participants whose episodic memories reference their versions of events, rather it is to advance understanding of their memories, to trace how memories have transformed over time and to grasp at the operative capacities of them, substantive or false.

It is crucial to appreciate that memories, and the emotional valences they evoke, are not only shaped by the moment they are communicated but also by experiences before and after what is being recollected. As Kensinger and Schacter (2016, p. 568) state, '[t]he ultimate effects of arousal on memory, …, reflect a culmination of the processes engaged both as the event is initially experienced and in the time that intervenes until retrieval.' Critical to this study, memories of deindustrialisation are continually shaped and reshaped by the experience of life prior to deindustrialisation, the processes of deindustrialisation itself as well as present-day geographies. The Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 is a pertinent example in the case of Nottinghamshire coalfield whereby events can be re-remembered differently because of the subsequent events of colliery closures and vice versa. The Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 was also a year of confusion, with events rapidly occurring in conjunction to each other, precipitating misinformation and falsehoods that have filtered into collective and vicarious memories and become generative of historical narratives. Further, the task of unpacking memories is problematised by the proposition that memories

are shaped by things unknown to and hidden from us. Affective memories of childhood are filled with events stripped of context that may or may not be explained in revelatory conversations with older relatives later in life. This is no less the case in adulthood. Events may be made memorable, for example, by the behaviours and attitudes of people without ever knowing the reasons or causes behind those dispositions. So many of our personal and shared memories are devoid of knowledge or information about why they are how they are, and this shapes the emotions that are enlivened by them.

Central to the arguments made in chapters four, five and six is that unknown actions, decisions and events have intervened in the development of the Nottinghamshire coalfield and have, concealed, assembled themselves in the affective registers of collective and individual memory documented in chapters seven and eight. It follows that historical processes not only have an agentic role in memory formulation but impact profoundly on the complex emotional valences of specific memories. The prevalence of nostalgia in working-class communities is an example of this process. The past is romanticised and distorted as a direct result of the trauma of deindustrialisation and an uncertain, precarious present. To understand the transformations of how the past is remembered we need a careful and attentive tracing of the historical trajectories of post-industrial places from the inception of industrialism to their contemporary conditions. This necessitates the consultation of historical material to explore the dialectics of memory and history.

In addition, relating to the past in the present and the politics of representation, we cannot begin to investigate how authorised place histories, in the form of heritage and dominant declarative memories, are used to manifest belonging if we do not know in detail the historical narratives they are seeking to inform us of or conceal from us. Heritage is intentionally and unavoidably selective, curated, performed and displayed pertaining to the ideologies and intentions of those that design and construct it. It is required of academic inquiry that we know the histories so that we can critique what is not being shown, the selectivity of curatorship, and the manipulation of representation and presentation of the past.

The final, most critical, reason for historical research relates to localised ontologies of the subject area and belonging. Historical time as a chronological passing sequence of days, months and years, as well as its representation, does not only serve as contextual

surrounds for analysis of the contemporary but is constitutive in the production of presents and futures. Also picked up by Strangleman (2017, p. 478):

> [h]istory, the past, is too often deployed as a mere context, a background for present events. What this leads to is a vision of the unstable 'now' juxtaposed to a stable 'past'. This does violence to a more sensitive understanding of the flow of history and the presence of the past in the present.

It is increasingly conceived that embodied subjectivities of class, gender, race and so forth, as well as the inequalities consequent of them, are transmitted unconsciously and unreflectively between generations over time (Walkerdine, 2016, 2015; Pickersgill, 2014; Ahmed, 2004). Walkerdine (2015, p. 172) argues that:

> we can consider the intergenerational transmission of class as an interlinked set of hauntings in which discourses, practices, policies, and events are experienced and felt in the bodies of both those who experienced them as well as those who followed them.

In this sense, we are affective palimpsests or historico-affective assemblages of pasts both known and unknown which predetermine or limit the potentialities of affective life – our capacities to affect and be affected (Stewart, 2011). Walkerdine (2016, p. 701) suggests that the relationships between discourses, human and non-human bodies, practices and performances 'need to be understood as being the product of sociality and historical processes, rather than simply providing a context or backdrop for them.' This intergenerationality is implied in the work reviewed above whereby 'legacies' (Mah, 2012) of industrial ordering continually resurfaces in the identities, expectations, politics and senses of belonging among the post-industrial working-class.

The emphasis on the role played by personal and collective histories on the manifestations of affective performance and practice has led to increasing calls to historicize affect and emotions, said to be 'essential to understanding the human condition' (Rosenwein, 2010, p. 8). Walkerdine (2016, p. 702) concludes, 'thus, to understand the present of [post-industrial working-class] communities we need to understand how that affective history shapes the present and how it is also contained in layers of meaning.' To historicise affect and emotion 'entails ceasing to understand [emotions] as isolated personal experiences or as prewired intuitive, instinctual or gut responses set off by specific stimuli'

(Harding & Pribam, 2002, p. 424) and approach them as being geographically, socially and temporally contingent. Further, a subsidiary benefit of mapping the historical and intergenerational trajectory of affect and emotion is the possibility to interpret the power geometries involved in the mediation of affective lives, to theorise how affective states such as belonging change, are maintained, refused and attenuated. Indeed, 'the emphasis on the political manipulation of emotion/affect is key, and indeed offers a necessary line of examination for geography' (Sharp, 2009, p. 78). This thesis proposes and demonstrates a framework for apprehending the affective intergenerationality of belonging, providing a deeper understanding of the complexities and depth of belonging and alienation in the present.

The need for affect/emotion

Social sciences have increasingly acknowledged the centrality of affect and emotion to people's being-in-the-world, with human and cultural geographers in particular having 'recognised the epistemological importance of emotions in mediating identities, relationships and place' (Pini, Mayes & McDonald, 2010, p. 559). Whilst it was previously lamented that the related subjectivities of emotion, feeling and affect had been critically left out of social and cultural analysis, 'there is now an extraordinary proliferation of versions of what affect is and does' (Anderson, 2014, p. 7; see: Leys, 2017 Harding & Pribram, 2002; Anderson & Smith, 2001; Widdowfield, 2000). Crowding of the theoretical ground is optimistically seen as 'an encouraging sign of the creative fluidity of an emergent field that will hopefully continue to resist the desire to present a single unifying theoretical totality' (Smith et al., 2009, p. 11). There is also a growing awareness of the relationality of memory, place and belonging as emotional and affective processes. As Jones (2011, p. 880) states, '[m]emory (of one kind or another) is… a fundamental aspect of becoming, intimately entwined with space, affect, emotion, imagination and identity' (see also: Jones, 2005; Jones & Garde-Hansen, 2012). Katy Bennett (2009b, p. 203) has also highlighted that 'a focus on emotions opens up space for thought and reflection for a geographer dealing with issues of community and identity in a post-industrial landscape' (see also: West & Ndlova, 2010). Additionally, we have seen in the work on industrial ruins that memory is evoked and surfaces through affective means, as atmospheres and absence

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(Edensor, 2005a). There is also the issue of the interconnected politics of memory, remembrance and belonging and how these intersect with affect (Smith & Campbell, 2015).

This review has highlighted how writers have framed deindustrialisation in explicitly affective and emotional terms, as senses of loss, mourning, trauma and alienation, for example. However, there is a notable absence of theorisation or discussion of affect and emotion theory in these literatures. This, compounded by an inadequate attentiveness to temporal multiplicities, hinders a deeper analysis of the temporal and class contingent affects emerging from deindustrialisation and wider social historical-geographical inequalities. The terms surrounding negative emotional valences are often not used by participants themselves but are co-opted and communicated in research with an assumption that specific feelings are universal, that such affective states as alienation or loss are translatable across class, generation, geography and other subjective distinctions. This belies the cultural specificity of emotion, at the centre of debates in affect and emotions literatures and addressed in the next chapter. It is distortive to presume a universality of feeling and projection of emotion onto the working-class of a particular space without examination of the interiorities of those affects and emotional intensities. Further, there is a lack of consideration for how named expressed emotions and states take on localised meanings. Stewart (1996, pp. 142–143) highlights that 'names trace the social densities of naming itself as an act caught in local ways of seeing, acting, and talk, and mark the space of mediation of a cultural real in social aesthetic forms.' I contend that understanding the resonances, meanings and subjective specificities of affects, such as loss, mourning, nostalgia and so forth, is crucial to advancing the apprehension of belonging as these affective intensities and states are so intimately entwined with the experience, emergence and constitution of belonging.

The lack of attunement to the affective dimensions of belonging is notably absent across the literature. As addressed above, belonging is acknowledged as an affective and emotional state. However, '[t]he notion of belonging as an emotional feeling of being at home in a place is not frequently analysed' (Antonsich, 2010, p. 647) and '[s]eldom are questions asked that explore what belonging feels like; how it "works" as an emotional attachment and the significance of the emotionality of belonging' (Wood & Waite, 2011, p.

201). It is certainly true that 'very little is known about the exact processes through which people form emotional bonds with places' (Lewicka, 2014, p. 51). This thesis situates the affective processes contingent of belonging at the centre of analysis. Although, how we apprehend affective and emotional processes, capacities and intensities requires advancing and pluralising the methodologies currently servicing the study of working-class belongings.

Affective analytical frameworks and methodological pluralism

The tendency in much of the research focussing on belonging and the post-industrial working-class is to centre empirics around one or two methods that capture the presence of the past in the present and relate those surfacings back to constitutions of belonging. Collectively, this research has been useful in ascertaining how people have remembered the past and the intersections of place, landscape, memory and representation. However, the spatial relations between past and present are much more complex, excessive, more-than-human, embodied and affectively dense than implied in studies based only on reading the surface of representations. There appears a desire to demarcate experiences and what it means to live in these places into easily digestible and simplified insights distorted from how ordinary everyday life takes place (Pink, 2012; Whatmore, 2006; Stewart, 1996). Existing methodological frameworks prescribe a representation of deindustrialised areas as fixed and ordered, they are partial analyses that miss the vitality of places as becoming. Little consideration is given to the complexities of how textualities of, for example, signs, speech, art, histories, heritage and more-than-human lives interact, mutually constitute and enact the multiplicities of places and how they are occupied by people (Whatmore, 2006; Stewart, 1996). A circumscribed approach misses the more-than-representational ways life is lived and the plurality of emergences and encounters of the past in the present.

In addition to traditional forms of apprehending the past and its constitution of belonging, I contend that places need to be approached through the eventfulness and mundanity of the everyday, through an embeddedness and attunement to localised value systems and encounter, to capture essences of the realities of working-class existences. To better understand how the past lives in present day belongings we need a more

sophisticated theorisation and epistemology of the various temporal experiences and an attunement to how the past, present and future converge and mutually constitute experience. Also, a deep investigation of temporal dynamics will advance understanding into the affective and emotional dimensions of working-class belonging, lacking in both the literature on belonging and deindustrialisation.

Chapter Three – Researching affective-temporal belongings: epistemologies, methodologies and communication

I have documented how the literature has conceived belonging as a series of relationalities between temporal, spatial and structural elements, assembled from attachments to places and times, rooted through positive affectivities and configured through signs, symbols, materialities and subjectivities. I have also suggested that alienation, conceived as being related to the attenuation or absenting of belonging, can arise from these conditions. To restate, the two core and interrelated processes I seek to address in examining belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield are: temporal dynamics, transfers and discontinuities of belonging; and the affective and emotional dynamics and complexities of belonging. To understand how temporal and affective processes intervene, produce, mediate and attenuate belonging, we must be attentive to multiple textualities – memories, speech, representations, embodiments, surfaces, materialities. Textualities are mutually constitutive and interact to co-produce the enfolded blendings of events and the everyday from which emerges belonging and alienation. To capture the complexities of experiencing the enfolded blendings and poesis of time in space necessitates ethnographies that examine a

broad range of available material (Crang & Cook, 2007). This requires attuning to how pasts emerge and surface in eventful and everyday moments of exposure and encounter, not purely in verbal communications but invoked by cultural representations, sensory landscapes of industrial ruination, bodies and materialities. It also requires apprehending the non-conscious, embodied and affective means that the past emerges as absence (Seamon, 2014). Critically, I also propose that to understand the 'presence of the past in the present' (Strangleman, 2017) we must first understand the presence of the present in the past, to trace how the genealogical flows and capacities of belonging have transformed and transferred over linear time. This involves evaluating the social, economic and cultural processes that intervene in the (re)production and destruction of belonging.

The study of contemporary belonging and intergenerational transferences of belonging required two differing but related research approaches, one couched in historical inquiry and one in present day inquiry. Both historical and contemporary research was foregrounded by a methodological and epistemological emphasis on embodiment, the psychosocial, the affective and the more-than-human. This chapter details my methodological process.

However, it is important to begin by tracing the recent genealogies of the fields of affect and emotion, drawing out the main areas of argument surrounding their ontologies to delineate formative conceptualisations for my inquiry. As several surveys of affect theory already exist, I will direct my expositions to the linked concerns of the thesis (Leys, 2017; Anderson, 2014; Lorimer, 2008; 2007; 2005). I use critiques of Non-Representational Theories (NRT) as a lens to locate the temporal and class dynamics of affect, examining: how affective dimensions of subjectivities have been theorised in affect theory; how issues of memory, history and time have been approached in work on affect; and the conceptual distinctions between affect and emotion (Thrift, 2008). This section ends by settling the interdisciplinary tensions surrounding theorisations of affect/emotion for the purposes of this inquiry, stating the interrelations of affect, class and temporality and the implications for understandings of belonging. Following Wright (2015; see also: Stewart, 2008; Sedgwick, 1997), I state that 'weak theory,' which leaves space for innovation, vitalism and the formulation of speculative analyses, provides an effective theoretical foreground for the study of belonging.

Proposing that 'weak theory' needs some organising analytical framework, I then outline Anderson's (2014) analytics of affect, used to think about the affective-temporal conditions and complexities of the Nottinghamshire coalfield and to order and apprehend the data. Following this, I move on to outline my epistemological approach that emphasised situatedness and embeddedness in the field, reflexivity, embodiment and attunement to the multiple textualities through which life comes to be lived.

I then explain the specific methods I used to elicit my data on contemporary forms of belonging: autoethnography, observant participation, psychosocial life history interviews and document and textual representations. The relationality of these methods and empirics must be continually foregrounded. I then document my approach to tracing the affective histories of the coalfield and the intergenerationality of belonging. For this task, I drew upon Foucault's (1978) genealogical method and Anderson's (2014) analytics, combined with embodied and innovative historical methodologies. I conclude the chapter by outlining how I present the analysis.

Locating affect and emotion and their temporal and class dynamics

For NRT's adherents, affect forms the critical 'background' to which academics have hitherto been either unaware or reluctant to acknowledge (Anderson & Harrison, 2012; Thrift, 2008, 2004; Anderson, 2006). Although diffuse and, at times, loosely formulated, affect in Thrift's ontologies is most often conceived as non-conscious, or semi-conscious as is conceded in later work, pre-cognitive and at the same time both non-human and embodied (Thrift, 2009). Drawing on a wide range of theorists from post-structuralist philosophy to the physical and natural sciences, affect, NRT proclaims, inhabits the spaces beyond representation or thought and cannot be brought into consciousness without distorting affect's original constitution or form. Yet, this unknowable version of affect wields, supposedly, unknown power and political potentialities (Creswell, 2012; Lorimer, 2008, 2007, 2005).

As affect, in NRT's reading, acts before consciousness, emphasis has been placed on the contingencies of events or encounters to be unpredictable, changeable, transformative and emergent, '[i]n short, so much ordinary action gives no advance notice of what it will become' (Lorimer, 2005, p. 84). Relatedly, representations, and academic

inquiry predicated on the interpretation of representations, are inadequate sources of information for revealing life in all its emergent becomings, always arriving too late. Such assumptions on the presence and power of affect would preclude a study such as mine which seeks to apprehend the transformations of belonging over time. Following the precepts of early NRT, historical study would be reliant upon representations and, thus, redundant. Elicited memory would also be representational and belonging as a realisation of affects, an affective state, would perhaps be unknowable. However, NRT's ideas have been critiqued for being ahistorical, dismissive of social formations and lacking in explanations of structure and fixity across time and space (Leys, 2017; Cresswell, 2012). Subsequently, some theorists aligned to NRT have re-evaluated their claims, softening their assertions over the indiscernibility of everyday life, and NRT is now often referred to as 'more-than-representational' (Creswell, 2012; Jones, 2011; Lorimer, 2005).

Temporalizing Affect

NRT's explanations of a pre-cognitive, non-representational world fixed on a minute instant between the influence or intervention of affect and its expression or action, derisorily referred to as the 'NRT moment.' Pile's (2010) most salient criticism of NRT, which has been expressed by other critics, is the underlining paradox at the heart of the NRT project (Dawney, 2011; Bondi, 2005). If affect, as proposed by NRT, is unknowable, unidentifiable, pre-cognitive and non-representational then how is it that researchers 'constantly evoke moments when affect is evident' (Pile, 2010, p. 16; see also: 2011). Highlighted by social psychologists, assumptions of a pre-conscious 'NRT moment' stem from a very narrow reading of dissident psychological and neuroscience literature that conflicts with dominant theories stressing the interlinked nature of the body, mind and cognition (Wetherell, 2012; Leys, 2011a, 2011b; Connolly, 2011). Humans do observably act without conscious thought in ways that are reminiscent of reflex, however, this is not to suggest that these acts are unintentional or located outside of spatial-temporal orderings. Taking to task one of the observable examples of affect's presence noted by Thrift, Leys (2011a, p. 455) states that only because pianists appear to play the piano without conscious thought 'this does not make those movements unintentional or negate the fact that pianists intended to play music.'

A more substantive explanation of these phenomena is the formulation of embodied

memory, whereby schematic navigation and movement across space and materialities becomes programmed into bodies, no longer requiring cognitive excess. Most often embodied memory practices manifest in mundane interactions with space, absent of focussed thought – walking familiar terrain, sipping a cup of tea, opening a door. Yet, as work has found, mundane embodied interactions amalgamate with localised specificity to engender affective meanings over repetition (Degnen, 2016).

As the fields of affect and NRT have developed from the 'NRT moment,' affect theorists have extended ideas surrounding embodied memory to think around the intersections of temporality, memory, bodies, cognition and affect. Multiple studies have explored memory and the past in the present beyond merely verbalised or declarative remembering, pluralising how the past is encountered, looking instead at the emergences of the past that are involuntary, multisensory and affective (Wiley, 2017; Hill, 2017; Wheeler, 2014). The influence of affect theory can be seen in Heritage Studies, for instance, which has begun thinking beyond merely representation and declarative memory to consider how engagements with heritage are embodied and affective, asserting that heritage and museums are performed by emoting bodies 'involving complex relationships between emotion, memory (both personal and social) and cognition' (Smith & Campbell, 2015, p. 458: see also: Crang & Tolia-Kelly, 2010). Smith and Campbell (2017, p. 621) argue that industrial heritage are sites for post-industrial communities 'to work through the emotional complexity the history of deindustrialization engenders.' I have already referenced work on industrial ruins that seeks to 'convey the complex interdependencies between past and present, future-present and past, the incessant becoming-past of the present' (Hill, 2013, p. 392). Constitutive of wider geographical engagements with 'how the past returns through haunting, spectres, ghosts and echoes' (McGeachan, 2017, p. 5), this work operates within broader concerns with absence and presence and how things and landscapes act on bodily senses to conjure and disorientate imagined and real affective memories (Lee, 2017a; Maddrell, 2013; Maddern & Adey, 2008).

Informed by writers such as Benjamin (1999), Gordon (1997), Derrida (1994) and Sebald (2001), explorations of the mutability of past and present often frame their investigations in synonymic language relating to the spectral, ghostly and haunting, used 'as a means of apprehending that which we cannot explain, do not expect, understand, or

struggle to represent' (Maddern & Adey, 2008, p. 292; see also: Bell, 1997). I fear pre-existing meanings surrounding this language obscures and mythologises from the lived realities of social injustice, specifically deindustrialisation. Maddrell (2013, p. 505) provides a more fully developed conceptualisation of these phenomena in the formulation *absence-presence*, bringing together two forms of discerning environments 'in order to emphasize the dynamic relationality of the two intersecting, but apparently oppositional, terms.' Maddrell (2013, p. 505) states:

> [a]bsence is not merely a 'presence' in and of itself, but rather the absent is evoked, made present, in and through enfolded blendings of the visual, material, haptic, aural, olfactory, emotional-affective and spiritual planes, prompting memories and invoking a literal sense of continued 'presence', despite bodily and cognitive absence.

Absence-presences, as formations of the past in the present, are 'expressed through a combination of representational spaces and material forms as well as embodied practices and emotional performances' (ibid. p. 517).

Studies investigating absence-presence have been effective in relating discreet emergences of the past in the present to the production of personal belonging and identity (Wiley, 2017; Lee, 2017b; Jones & Garde-Hansen, 2012; Horton & Kraftl, 2012). Much like autoethnographic studies of class and deindustrialisation, this literature explores the affective evocation of personal memories by past landscapes, photographs or objects, capturing the emotional states these rememberings evoke and how personal identities and senses of belonging have been formed, challenged or compromised by involuntary or unexpected temporal interventions. But forms of temporal affect also have a role in constructing communal forms of identity and belonging (Walkerdine, 2016; Tumarkin, 2013; Bright, 2012a). Alongside a pluralising of temporality to include affective and embodied emergences of the past, we must also consider how the affective past interacts and constitutes social structures.

Social and cultural structures and classed affects

Ascribing an infinite potentiality and ungovernability to affect eschews the social fixity of subjectivities and it is apparent that '[t]he mundane – yet still vitally important – categories of age, sex, ethnicity, race and dis/ability do not feature in [NRT's] topography

of affect' (Sharp, 2009, p. 77). To this list we can add social class. Probably in consequence of the inabilities to account for these categories, or perhaps disregard for their importance, leads NRT to lack sufficient explanations of power geometries and 'an acknowledgement to these are vital to any individuals' capacity to affect and be affective' (Tolia-Kelly, 2006, p. 213). In its original conception, NRT was interlinked with a political project premised on the assumption of a level playing field of humanity facilitated by the infinite political potentialities of affective encounters (Amin & Thrift, 2002). Within this ontological framework, considerations of, for example, class, race or gender are inconsequential because of their perceived artificiality. Yet, '[t]o accede to the one-dimensional portrait of a flat earth is to blind oneself in one eye and refuse the parallax that allows us to discern the depth of the scene' (Smith, N., 2005, p. 895). Class, gender, race and so forth are so obviously materialised in everyday life and history that a denial of their existence or significance is unworthy of critique and, perhaps, more indicative of the privileged (white middle-class male) identifiers of NRT's early adherents.

Others, however, have directly and indirectly challenged NRT's position on subjective classifications and structures, suggesting that affect is both gendered, classed and racialized, as well as constitutive of these distinctions. With regards social class, work remains primarily theoretical, although 'it is evident that emotions are complexly related to cultural qualifications and constructions of identity' (Phillips, M., 2016, p. 17). Introducing the term 'psychic landscape of social class,' Reay (2005, p. 912) speculates that 'emotions and psychic responses to class and class inequalities contribute powerfully to the makings of class.' We are reminded of the work of Walkerdine and Jiménez (2015; 2012a) that conceived intergenerational transmission of classed affect as critical to explaining contemporary formations of behaviours and identities (see also: Brennan, 2004). Further, Bright (2016) found that celebrations of Margaret Thatcher's death by adolescents born after her premiership suggested that the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and deindustrialisation are 'a continuing – if more often than not, unspoken – *affective context* for the lived experience of thousands of young people within Britain's former coalfields' (p. 143, emphasis in original). Whilst not explicitly situated in affect theory, recent work on class has clear affective, as well as temporal, dynamics, focussing as it does on, for example, the processes and feelings of stigmatisation, working-class industrial nostalgia and senses of

loss (Crossley, 2017; Meier, 2013).

As social, cultural and economic experiences and interactions with the world are deeply classed, such is the case with memories of those experiences. In the Nottinghamshire coalfield, like other research has found, memories of strikes, workplace closures, job losses, working-class culture in Workingmen's Clubs or Miners' Welfares, of the foods, styles and activities of industrial working-class life are dense with classed affective meanings, associations and intensities, cohering at a level of personal and shared experience (Linkon, 2017; McIvor; 2017; Storey, 2017; MacKinnon, 2017; Rhodes, 2013; Lucas & Buzzanell, 2011; Clarke, Critcher & Johnson, 2006). Relatedly, bodies can be regulated through the 'emotional capital' of accumulated memories and histories, carried on the surface of bodies, invoking affective associations (Ahmed, 2004). As Tolia-Kelly (2006, p. 214, emphasis in original) states, '[a]ffective economies are defined and circulate through and within historical notions of the political, social and capacities of various bodies as *signified*' (see also: Kearney, 2009).

How we affectively encounter spatial, material and structural contexts, our 'anticipatory attunements to place' (Edensor, 2015, p. 83; see also: Duff, 2010), I contend, is largely constituted by the 'geo-historicity of the body' (Anderson, 2014, p. 85), which refers to 'the manner in which capacities have been framed through past encounters that repeat, with variation, in the habits, repertoires and dispositions of the bodies.' For Anderson (2014, pp. 134–135), 'the geo-historical formation of a body's "force of existing" will mediate how a structure of feeling is expressed in feelings, qualified in emotions or otherwise attuned to and sensed' (see also: Edensor, 2015; Sayer, 2005; Ahmed, 2004). Critically, working-class bodies in the Nottinghamshire coalfield continue to carry entrenched classed affective meanings in nuanced and localised ways, inherited from a past not always directly experienced. Examples are myriad but include the shame of being called scabs at Mansfield Town football matches by local rivals, a 'sticking' to bodies of a working-class betrayal (Ahmed, 2004).

What is clear is that emotions and affect, are conscious phenomena, historically, culturally, socially and politically constituted and experienced (Walkerdine, 2015; Gobert, 2009; Berlant, 2008). As belonging, as an affective and emotional capacity, is dependent upon social, cultural, economic and political structures which are themselves historically

constituted, then an examination of those genealogies becomes paramount, as does a working through of the conceptual distinctions between affect and emotion (Walkerdine, 2016).

Affect and Emotion

I have thus far referred to affect and emotion in interchangeable terms. This is distortive of how they have been contested within associated literature, as well as my own position. In NRT, emotions have been of limited importance, focussing too much on the personal and distracting from the more-than-human nature and agency of affect (Anderson, 2006; Anderson & Harrison, 2006). In NRT's reading, emotions are representations, or 'actualizations' (Anderson, 2006, p. 738), of affect that come too late and, therefore, of little consequence to the wider significance of the affective. For McCormack (2003, p. 501), 'while it's implicated in corporeal sensibility, affect is never reducible to the personal quality of emotions.'

Emerging parallel to NRT, the field of Emotional Geographies has provided the most penetrating criticisms of the devaluing of emotion (Smith, et al., 2009; Thien, 2005; Davidson & Bondi, 2004; Bondi & Davidson, 2011). Far from secondary, for Emotional Geographers, '[e]motions are vital (living) aspects of who we are and of our situational engagement within the world; they compose, decompose, and recompose the geographies of our lives' (Smith et al., 2009, p. 10; see also: Bennett, K., 2004a). Crucially, devaluing emotion disconnects affect research from the human – '[w]hat human social actors do to themselves, to their objects, and to each other fades from view as the movement of affect becomes the dominant actor' (Wetherell, 2015, p. 159). In these readings the separation of affect and emotion present in NRT creates 'unhelpful dualisms that detract from geographers' capacity to engage with the ubiquitous and pervasive presence of emotions' (Bondi, 2005, p. 445).

This thesis takes the importance of emotions seriously. Investigating the emotional geographies of the Nottinghamshire coalfield is central, examining how place and temporality shapes and represents the emotional experience of being part of the Nottinghamshire coalfield. It is the potentialities afforded by centring emotion that meaningful, critical geography is made possible and human-centred analysis of the classed experience of deindustrialisation is realisable. Relatedly, 'emotions are understandable –

"sensible" – only in the context of particular places. Likewise, place must be *felt* to make sense' (Davidson & Milligan, 2004, p. 524, emphasis in original). It follows that the neglect of emotions as a field of academic inquiry has held back the deeper penetration of humanness as a whole and the relations between humans and space. Emotions are far more complex and nuanced than the stasis that a universalist theory would presuppose (Scherer, 2005; Eckman, 2003).

The temporal and affective dynamics of belonging

I suggest, following the literature, that affect and emotion are both always-already present yet avoid easy definition or distinction (Anderson, 2014). The essential point is to consider both affect and emotion as amorphous and mutable, and to not reify the concepts in a totalizing, dualistic theorisation (Curti et al., 2011; Bondi, 2005). For the purposes of communication and argumentation, I propose a workable distinction between affect and emotion for studying temporality and belonging. This distinction relates to the opposing directions of travel and the different locations affect and emotion originate and flow from in relation to the human body. I suggest that affect imparts itself on bodies from outside, entering via senses, affecting an emotional response that radiates out in opposite directions by the same sensorial and cognitive lines of travel. Whilst affect exists beyond bodies, affects can be, and regularly are, set in motion by emotions, transmitted by emotional expressions and emoting bodies. Emotion here is an inherently human, but no less fundamental, experience that originates from bodies, producing affects through their expression. In this sense, affect and emotion are deeply interrelated and relational, and cannot exist in knowable forms without each other as it requires bodies and emotions to read them, to make sense of them. That is, affect or emotion cannot be separated from what they do – their effects – or from how they mediate everyday life and produce geographies (Anderson, 2014; Wetherell, 2012).

Examples of the distinctions and relationalities of affect and emotion and their everyday, always-already capacities, are provided by an interaction I had with 'Les' in the mining community where he grew up. Discussing how the village had changed, Les serendipitously noticed the dilapidated Miners' Welfare, evoking memories of days, evenings and events spent there. This is, I suggest, the presence of affect, the capacity of the building in a state of ruination to engender affective memories of how it was before,

and the present condition of the building to mediate those affective memories. The relationship between Les and the Miners' Welfare is not benign, it is enlivened by affective temporal resonances, affecting emotions in the body. Les's associations with past and present uses of the Miners' Welfare transferred, and were transformed, into an emotional qualification of nostalgia and mourning as memory was merged with present-day observation. Moreover, Les's emotional expression, as affect travelled in and out of him, affected in me emotions of empathy and solidarity, in a loop of affecting/emoting and being affected/emotional.

This example alludes to the temporalities of both affect and emotion, referencing personal memory. But affective-temporal processes exceed the direct memories and experience of the individual (Walkerdine, 2015, 2016). Les's prior association with the Miners' Welfare was conditioned by subjectivities intergenerationally transferred to him through his exposure to representations of the past, for instance the memories of others. Les's father drank in the Miners' Welfare, and it is where his parents celebrated their wedding. At a communal level, the Miners' Welfare was where generations of his community had gathered as a site to enact a specific working-class culture and form of belonging, which transferred and endured in Les as a social and affective lineage (Bright, 2012a, 2016).

Our encounters, exposures and interpellations of indirect vicarious experiences that predate us, our class and place 'legacies' or inheritances, happens at the same time as we accumulate our own direct memories from lived experience, becoming entangled in the temporal enfolding of spaces accreted with intergenerational and personal affective meanings. Rather than distinct processes, I contend that the indirect (intergenerational) and direct affective experiencings of the past can be usefully conceived as being part of the same affective-temporal intergenerational process of understanding and knowing who we are and the place that we are from (Hoskins, 2016; Cubitt, 2007; Brennan, 2004). As will be documented, this affective-temporal process of entwined direct and indirect exposures to the past, present and future interpellates, constitutes and intervenes in the capacity to belong and be alienated.

Thinking through affective and temporal processes suggests belonging is a complex and highly variegated capacity that can be assembled and disassembled through a multitude

of transformations in the material and discursive conditions an individual or group is situated within. If we are still to fully substantiate belonging's temporal and affective qualities, processes or how subjectivities of class inform or dissemble its expression or reception, we must be open to all belonging's potentialities. Not seeking to reify concepts of belonging, or its affective and temporal contingencies, then, I propose approaching belonging through weak theory (Wright, 2015; Sedgwick, 2003, 1997). Weak theory resists strong theory's 'tendency to beat its objects into submission to its dreamy arguments' (Stewart, 2013, p. 284), allowing room 'to wonder where [objects of study] might go and what potential modes of knowing, relating, and attending to things are already somehow present in them as a potential or resonance' (Stewart, 2008, p. 73). Wright (2015, p. 392) posits that 'weak theory, with its focus on emotion and affect, suggests a need to attend deeply to the ways belonging is constituted by and through emotional attachments.' Further, 'weak theory also points to the affective domain, to the myriad more-than-human processes of attunement and attachment through which belongings are constituted' (Ibid, p. 392). Although I was not constrained by 'strong theory' during research, being receptive to spaces as affective-temporal states of plenitude, excess and perpetual becoming, and multiple textualities as sites of potential and encounter, required some organising thought and process. Relatedly, Anderson (2014) offers up, rather than a rigid conceptualisation of affect, an 'analytics of affect' in order to focus on the moments affect surfaces, makes itself known and traceable or intervenes in social, cultural or political life. Parallels between Anderson's approach and weak theory are apparent in the openness to the plenitudinous capacities of affect to manifest in things, conditions, bodies and more ambiguous forms of emergence.

An 'analytics of affect'

A key contributor to NRT, Anderson has clearly been receptive to critiques of NRT's positions regarding the temporality or timing of affect and has maintained an openness to affect's conceptualisation, power and promise. Importantly, Anderson (2014) has advanced away from NRT's fixation on 'the moment' and the methodological limitations of using representations as source material, for instance, producing historical work on the formulation of neoliberal thought using historical texts in imaginative ways (Anderson, 2016a). In a culmination of a decade of affect research, *Encountering Affect*, Anderson

proposes three relational concepts to explore where affect might be observable, how it might operate and what interventions it makes: 'object-target,' 'bodily capacity' and 'collective conditions.' These three propositional categories provided a theoretical, methodological, analytical and terminological framework for this research.

'Collective conditions' are the affective everyday 'environments within which people dwell' (Anderson, 2014, p. 105) and refers to the 'shared ground from which subjective states and their attendant feelings and emotions emerge' (Anderson, 2009, p.78). Anderson draws on Williams's (1977) 'structures of feeling' which 'allows some purchase on the vague, amorphous affective conditions' (Anderson, 2014, p. 12) and his own term 'affective atmospheres' (see also: Anderson, 2009) to offer two ways of thinking about how collective conditions can be conceived and conditioned. For instance, a room can be described as tense, a nation can be characterised as in mourning, periods of time have been described as ages of anxiety, paranoia and emergency, institutions can manifest cultures of hate or fear. As my research demonstrates, collective conditions can also take place at localised geographical levels and sometimes a space can be occupied by competing collective conditions. An example from this study is during the Miners' Strike 1984–85 whereby the Nottinghamshire coalfield's striking miners experienced collective conditions of animosity, suspicion and anxiety distinct from the miners still working. Importantly, the collective conditions of the Miners' Strike have continued to surface and intervene in later collective conditions of industrial ruination, precarity, insecurity and shame, through such apparatuses as memory and representation.

Reading structures of feeling and affective atmospheres comparatively, it is not immediately clear how they differ beyond that affective atmospheres provides an elaboration and development from Williams's tentative proposals. Collective conditions will be used in this thesis to reference both affective atmospheres and structures of feeling. Collective conditions can be produced and transformed by the material, institutional, socio-economic and historical apparatuses of the moment. Transformations to the collective conditions are continually ongoing and regularly act without human intention. As Williams (1977, p. 132) posits, 'structures of feeling,':

> although they are emergent or pre-emergent, they do not have to await
> definition, classification, or rationalization before they exert palpable pressures

and set effective limits on experience and on action.

Indeed, by the time structures of feeling are defined, classified and recognised, 'a new structure of feeling will usually have begun to form, in the social present' (ibid. p. 132). These affective atmospheres, to which those in the spacio-temporal moment and encounter are collectively conditioned, are not solely determinate of action, expression and response but do, however, mediate these. It will be argued that collective conditions at various spatial scales, often encroaching across borders and occupying other collective conditions, are critical to the formation and experiencing of belonging and alienation.

Anderson's (2014, p. 77) term 'bodily capacities' conceives how bodies affect and can be affected, indexing how affects are 'real forces that are part of the composition of common worlds rather than mere epiphenomena' (see also: Anderson 2012). In this reading affects are transpersonal: both collective, being produced through encounters with other humans and non-humans; and personal, through their transfer into expressed and qualified emotions or feelings. It follows that bodily capacities to affect and be affected are mediated by the geo-historicity of bodies, the personal and transpersonal experiences of bodies across the lifecourse. The existing range of class, gender, race, ethnicity and other personal and shared subjectivities – what Anderson (2014, pp. 134–135) terms 'the geo-historical formation of a body's "force of existing"' – mediate also. To illustrate, Anderson uses the example of precarity. Precarity conceptualises the affective atmospheres emerging from neoliberalised collective conditions of short-term contracts, irregular employment and rentier accommodation, resulting in bodily capacities of anxiety and uncertainty surrounding the present and future – termed 'predictably unpredictable' (ibid, p. 129; see also: Waite, 2009).

Like much of the NRT literature, Anderson is primarily concerned with larger scales than the personal and, again, does not dwell long on the topic of emotion. Although emotions feature within bodily capacities, it is not made explicit whether emotions play a primary role in the relationalities of affect, that emotions also have the capacity to affect. Anderson does allude, however, to a 'cultural politics of emotion' (Ahmed, 2004), which moves beyond core emotions theory, suggesting that emotions are socially and culturally contingent. How emotional life is historically formed and how historically contingent emotions inform bodily engagements with the world is considered by Wetherell (2012) in

the concept of 'affective practice.' Wetherell (2012, p. 159) suggests we should approach affect as a situated practice – 'the participation of the emoting body.' Wetherell, like Anderson and Ahmed, sees discourses and semiotics as intrinsic to meaning-making and the formations of emotional and affective experience, as well as how these are historically constituted. For Wetherell (2012, pp. 129–30), '[o]ur affective performance bears a complex relation to our past affective practice and relational history.…What comes "naturally" and "spontaneously", then, refers back to past histories.' Referring back to precarity, this temporalized reading of affect and emotion is evident in the dispositions of some of my own participants. The geo-historicities of their bodies, conditioned by former collective conditions of security and solidaristic social relations, manifest in bodily capacities of animosity and nostalgia, problematising bodily capacities to belong.

'Object-target' refers to how affects become objectified and politicised as a means of intervention, to dispose bodies toward political agendas, conformity and many other ends. Critical for my inquiry into the historical presence and transformation of collective conditions and bodily capacities, 'power has not somehow just discovered affective life' (Anderson, 2014, p. 29). Anderson focuses on morale in World War Two to explore how governments and the state apparatus produced and attenuated the affective atmospheres of morale through propaganda, communication and violence. It was thought that morale, as an affective atmosphere and bodily capacity, was critical to British success in the war and opposing governments made substantive material interventions to enable its growth or, conversely, destruction.

Thinking through the idea of object-target, we can reconceptualise studies from the deindustrialisation literature. For instance, in a study of regeneration in the Durham coalfield, local institutions used affective atmospheres of 'pride', 'home' and 'hard work' as object-targets to promote the area to economic investors (Bennett, K. 2013). Heritage organisations, also, have used idealised affective notions of 'community' as object-targets to harbour local senses of belonging (Stephenson & Wray, 2005). In my own research, social and political institutions have, over time, sought to foster belonging through shared endeavour, culture and solidarity. Conversely, colliery owners prior to nationalisation sought to use employment practices in order to destabilise workforces, mobilising insecurity as an object-target to ensure conformity and profit. Although we must be aware

of the state's exponential powers, these examples demonstrate that power can intervene in and mediate affective life from a multitude of directions.

How we deploy the analytical categories of collective conditions, bodily capacities and object-targets in the field, how we use them to organise and make sense of lifeworlds, and the multiple affective textualities that flow through and inform them, necessitates a methodology emphasising plurality, embodiment, attunement and experimentation. Couched in methodologies of affect and embodiment, these approaches have attempted to advance ways to bring the researcher into closer emotional and affective dialogue with the histories, spaces, materialities, people and participants of their research, to bring awareness of multiple affective forces.

Conceptualising the Nottinghamshire coalfield as research field

The Nottinghamshire coalfield covers an area of approximately 670km^2, with three large former mining towns of Mansfield/Sutton-in-Ashfield, Worksop and Hucknall, and, ostensibly, the city of Nottingham. The geographic limits are, though, permeable and geologies underlay county and administrative borders. At its westerly hinterlands, the Nottinghamshire coalfield blends with that of the Derbyshire coalfield, and, to the north, melds with South Yorkshire. When the NCB grouped collieries into administrative jurisdictions, some 'Nottinghamshire Area' collieries were situated over county lines and vice versa. Warsop Main colliery, for example was in the county of Nottinghamshire but in the 'Derbyshire Area'. A few collieries were south of Nottingham so perhaps Nottinghamshire's only city should be included in the coalfield. Bevercotes colliery, the coalfield's most easterly point, sat isolated in rural farming settlements, quite opposite to the urban environments of Nottingham's inner estates. Nor is the Nottinghamshire coalfield made up of settlements solely connected to the coal industry. The Nottinghamshire coalfield is more a collage, mottled with places dense with spacio-temporal entwinement with the coal industry, run through with landed estates, farmland, and forests. But, the Nottinghamshire coalfield also exists and extends beyond its indeterminate cartographic borders and spaces. It is evident through traces and fragments in archives, locatable in national political and cultural discourse and representations. Its presence is felt in its exclusions from the histories of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and, for instance, at the Durham Miners' Gala. It is carried in bodies either forced to move away because of a lack

of jobs or pulled away to better climes.

Apprehending place and belonging within and beyond the Nottinghamshire coalfield, in all its spatial, imaginary, textual, discursive, temporal and affective abundance, is a project shared with Stewart (1996, p 4), documented in her cultural ethnography of Appalachian coal camps, 'at once occupied, encompassed, exploited, betrayed, and deserted…. where the effects of capitalism and modernization pile up on the landscape as the detritus of history.' Aiming to capture some of the temporal and affective density of Appalachia, a space interpreted as being 'on the side of the road,' overflowing with mundanity and exceptionalism, Stewart (1996, p. 37) invites us to conceive of a place 'that comes into view when something happens to interrupt the ordinary flow of events and leaves the narrator surrounded by a scene that palpitates with vulnerability.' Where 'there is more to things than meets the eye and people are marked by events and drawn out of themselves' (Ibid). I encountered protracted moments like those recounted by Stewart, where a seemingly insignificant or mundane event swells and runs away into a series of ever more events, infiltrating everyday discussions in social and private spaces, taking on increasing quantities of political significance and resonance. Where lines of truth, misinformation and fabulation feature across textualities of media, thought and discourse, coming together in moments of cultural poesis – 'the creativity or generativity in things cultural' (Stewart, 2005, p. 1015) – where things generate new things, forcing questions of what it is that is going on.

An example from my own research comes from the summer of 2016. Rumours began to circulate that people were living in makeshift camps in Sherwood Forest. There were apparent sightings of up to thirty people, chopping down trees, hanging out clothes and, strangely, stringing up a deer caught for food. The local newspaper for north Nottinghamshire, *The Chad*, sent a reporter out to investigate the rumours, coming back with quotes by an apparent eyewitness. *The Chad* posted articles propounding that the group were either from the travelling community or Eastern European migrants, basing the latter assumption on the presence of a pack of Sports Direct playing cards at the scene. Sports Direct, constructed on the former site of Shirebrook Colliery, employs many Eastern European economic migrants on zero-hour contracts working in notoriously poor conditions (The Guardian, 9 December 2015). The insinuation was that the encamped

group were employees of Sports Direct, commuting the seven-mile distance by foot to Shirebrook. It was even claimed that the group were brandishing knives at residents. Photographs of an elaborate wooden camp appeared to validate the stories.

What seemed like an innocuous, easily disproven tale at the time, was subsequently picked up by mainstream news outlets. *The Express* and *Daily Mail*, along with smaller right-wing publications, posted stories on their websites, regurgitating the conjectures of *The Chad*. Reprinting photos of the camp, *The Express* by-line ran: 'ROBIN Hood's famous Sherwood Forest has been invaded by eastern Europeans who are chopping down trees, killing deer and threatening people with knives, it has been claimed' (The Express, 9 June 2016).

Quickly after the story spread a group of young people from Warsop came forward claiming it was them who had, out of boredom, built the camp six years before. Despite the story being discredited, members of Britain First, a far-right nationalist group, started a campaign to 'rid' the forest of migrants. The leaders of Britain First turned up in Edwinstowe to leaflet the area and rally support, filming a video viewed over 348000 times proclaiming that the area was in a state of fear (Huffington Post, 28 June 2016; BBC website, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-nottinghamshire-36693136).

For this moment the migrant camp story had captivated the local population. Comments swirled around Facebook and in the pubs of the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Significantly, the story emerged in the lead-up to the EU referendum where the Leave vote averaged almost seventy per cent across the four constituencies that make up the Nottinghamshire coalfield. One occasion, indicative of many face-to-face and online discussions I witnessed, I was sat in a Miners' Welfare and overheard three people sat talking about the migrant camp story. One thumped his fist down on the table and, in reference to the upcoming referendum, announced: 'Well that's made my mind up. Leave it is.'

A pertinent question is what to do with knowing these narratives, the vicissitudes of events playing out. What can be gleaned from these, sometimes parodic, events and their affective and temporal densities. How to conceive the fabulations that tear at a thin fabric covering a perpetual state of collective anxiety beneath the surface and wrought by industrial ruination, mediating conceptions of who belongs. How to process and convey a

narrative that was enacted and altered by various textualities at the local and national level – social media, print, hearsay. The challenge is to represent such a story, to deconstruct its complexities into units of analysis, without destroying the essence that sometimes 'it's just the way it is' (Stewart, 1996).

Rejecting a methodological reductivism, I sought to attune to the events and moments of temporal surfacing, to capture some of the lived essence of the Nottinghamshire coalfield across and within encounters with textualities of speech, space, text and bodies, to map 'an affective circuitry of what it (sometimes) feels like to live in' (DeSilvey, 2012b, p. 54) the Nottinghamshire coalfield. At the same time, 'in trying to understand the identity of places we cannot … separate space from time, or geography from history' (Massey, 1995, p. 188) and so it is critical to explore the dynamics between past as history and past as memory. Such an endeavour will always be incomplete and partial. Not all stories can be captured, landscapes apprehended, archives plundered and so forth, and pasts perpetually spill over in moments of imperceptibility and alterity. Salient, we have seen from recent work on the affective past that temporal experiencings can be barely discernible, surfacing as absence, detectible as unreflexive sensory traces (Baraitser, 2017). We must be attuned and receptive to the pluralised means that the past emerges across textualities, fragments and traces, and the operative capacities of these affective-temporal representations to form and attenuate the intensities of belonging (or not).

Methodologies toward the affective-temporal processes of belonging

NRT has critiqued the deficiencies of viewing representations as merely 'static mirrors of reality rather than active assemblages which are informed by, and in turn intervene with, everyday embodied practices' (Griffin & Evans, 2008, p. 11). NRT suggests data collection and analysis have become overly formulaic and procedural, relying heavily on the observed surface or the coded interview text (Dewsbury, 2010). Congruous with preoccupations with the intractability and pre-conscious nature of affect, NRT scholars have promoted experimental methods which seek to interrogate encounters and moments – 'the eventness of the world' (Vannini, 2015, p. 321) – enlivening their subjects through the utilisation of the body and the full range of senses, feelings and imaginations. Researchers are encouraged to 'get embroiled in the site and allow ourselves to be infected by the effort, investment, and craze of the particular practice or experience being investigated'

(Dewsbury, 2010, p. 326). It is proposed that attending to sounds, smells, sights, textures and tastes, and investigating the full range of emotions and affects that these evoke within the interstices of data, will enable some capture of the affective moments and excess escaping recognition in more formalised research (Jones & Fairclough, 2016; Rycroft, 2007).

Whilst advancing creativity, more-than-representational, embodied methodologies merely enhance established ethnographies through emphasis on relationality, performativity and embodiment, developed out of the phenomenological or humanist traditions concerned with how the human and non-human constitute our emoting and emotive selves (Spinney, 2015; Seamon, 2014; Cresswell, 2012; Kraftl & Adey, 2008; Crang, 2003; Tuan, 1980). Willing us to be less dispassionate with our research, social scientists concerned with emotion and affect engage with the material, environmental, discursive and, at times, spectral through closer ethnographic attunement to the sometimes hidden, yet fundamental, aspects of experience. The impetus is 'to get involved, to feel and care and be moved by what we are studying in the hope that our abstractions will be "less" abstract' (Spinney, 2015, p. 242; see also: Desmond, 2016; Macpherson, 2010). Wetherell (2013a, 2013b) suggests that affect should not be mystified as some unreachable other and, rather, affect is merely a part of wider flows of significance within recognisable socio-spatial processes. For Wetherell et al. (2015, p. 60) material from which to examine the emotional and affective 'is there to refer to in social life; it is usually not chaotic or uncanny but open to transparent qualitative investigation.' Following, geographers have used traditional methodologies in affect research, conceiving the more-than representational capacities of affect as a 'background hum' (Lorimer, 2008, p. 556).

To reveal the hidden spaces of verbal and non-verbal communication, the event, discourse, space and the more-than-human requires the attunement of the relational and reflexive body, with all of its senses, and the animated geographical imagination (Stewart, 2011). Attuning involves pulling into:

> tricky alignment … the amazing, sometimes eventful, sometimes buoyant, sometimes endured, sometimes so sad, always commonplace labor of becoming sentient to a world's work, bodies, rhythms, and ways of being in noise and light and space (Stewart, 2011, p. 445).

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Attuned to the Nottinghamshire coalfield, I reacted to the cultural poesis enlivened by speech, documents, songs, comments, news and so forth to follow new lines of inquiry (Stewart, 2005). Research was explorative and responded to the messiness of everyday excess, remaining alert to the eventfulness of everyday life, the multiple ways the past emerges or lies beneath the surface, discerning absences, performances, speech and so forth and reflective regarding how these textualities represent and indicate belonging (Plows, 2018; Pink, 2012; Punch, 2012; Law, 2004).

Rather than compartmentalise data collection and analysis into separate contiguous stages, it was my intention to remove these seemingly logical borders. Such messy embodied ethnographies challenge the mechanics and practicalities of data collection and normative standards of social scientific inquiry that require research to be conducted in a recognisably systematic, structured and, at least perceived to be, empirical manner (Plows, 2018). A reactive and messy research process replicates how life is lived and seeks to capture some of the excess of everyday life, its temporal encounters, surfacings and flows, its multiple textualities and engagements with stimuli (Plows, 2018; Law, 2004). We cannot separate or delimit the relational and affectual body into such things as singular senses or extricate it from its spatial or subjective conditions – all ethnographic knowledge is always situated. Analysis must take place near to the spatial and temporal point of its collection, as well as be reflected on and reanalysed at various points dependent on emergences of interpretation or argument.

Positionality, embodiment, reflexivity and affect

Remaining attuned to reflexive variances in how the past emerges across and through subject positionalities, particularly within shared space, is methodologically and analytically imperative (Maddrell, 2013). Problems arise, however, with work attending to the imagined memories of others that does not triangulate imaginaries with other qualitative data. The inferences that the authors' make are entirely individualised and specific to their own dispositions and histories (Sidaway, 2012). For instance, Wylie's (2009, p. 280) creative study of memorial benches along a coastline may for him evoke a 'sensuous, mossy, crumbly, rusty feel and smell and taste of memory.' However, the actual memories are purely imagined. Wylie, not knowing the people commemorated nor the people that may visit the benches, dehistoricizes and depersonalises the affective memories

that he imaginatively conjures (Maddrell, 2013). Many researchers who contrive to surface affective pasts through embodied methodologies conceive their bodies as if they are merely conduits through which evinced sensations flow unencumbered by any affective residue from their own subjective pasts, their own body's geo-historicities (Price, 2010; McCormack, 2003; Wylie, 2005). Researchers, the direction goes, need only attune themselves to the universality of feeling. Yet, it is manifest that 'each person brings a different perspective or frame to the experience, depending upon their relation to it' (Maddrell, 2013, p. 503). As we are always-already charged with affective intensities, contingent of the geo-historicity of intersecting subjectivities of our bodies, then the positionality of the researcher becomes a fundamental dimension in embodied, affective research (Anderson, 2014, 2012; Stoler, 2008; Dawby, 2010).

Similar issues with reflexivity have also negated working-class studies, where an overdetermination of class subjectivities preclude considerations of other identifications and subjective structures. There is a notably high representation of working-class academics occupying the field of post-industrial working-class studies who 'locate their own decision to study deindustrialization in childhood experiences or in deep family roots in industrial work or working-class communities' (High, MacKinnon & Perchard, 2017, p. 9). Long established research traditions aim to examine social processes, subjectivities and spaces to which their own identities and histories are inextricable entangled (McGarvey, 2017; Vance, 2016; Hanley, 2016; Kirk, 2007).

The shared motivations of working-class academics to examine their own place stem from three sources. As Walley (2013, p. 22) describes, the compulsion to understand where one is from can be like 'scratching an itch or salving a wound.' Others look to correct misunderstandings surrounding the working-class they see as being perpetuated by middle-class academics, policy makers and media (Skeggs, 1997; Charlesworth, 2000; McKenzie, 2015). The motivation for research can also be 'because class often feels as if it is the modern day truth of our identity' (Dorling, 2014, p. 454). I share in all of these provocations and a significant reason for this research is to understand more fully the behaviours, views and circumstances, and their temporal roots, of the people and places to which I am too a product. This study, unapologetically, taps into traditions of working-class writers describing their own environs.

Different approaches to 'proximity' signal toward the scholarly climates the respective author practiced within, along with their own intersubjectivities (High, 2013b). For instance, Dudley (1994) writes her study of Kenosha's declining automotive industry not only in a period when ethnographic studies of deindustrialisation were rare but also when self-reflexivity within academic practice was still treated with derision. Dudley's analysis focuses almost exclusively on the perceptions of others. However, Dudley's work is strongest when articulating her own palpable senses of anger at the socioeconomic effects that factory closures, and those responsible for them, have inflicted on her, her family and friends and their hometown. Unlike Dudley, the intention for Charlesworth (2000, p. 26) is not to dwell on issues of positionality, but to offer theorisations that 'honour the suffering' of people in his hometown of Rotherham 'in a way that is adequate to its significance: to do justice to them, to honour their lives.' Charlesworth, bitter at the dissipation of class from research agendas in the later twentieth-century, casts himself as 'authentically' working-class, 'someone who has faced the same cultural exigencies and done so through the same temporal and existential structures' (ibid, p. 85). In Charlesworth's view, how it 'feels' to be working-class, and how deindustrialisation is experienced can only be understood in any meaningful sense by someone who has been entirely subjected to its contingencies. Further, people are seemingly reducible to their working-class status and the intersections of gender, age, geography or race are inconsequential, 'a Pakistani farmer of the Mirpur Valley shares an attitude to perception, experience, persons, objects and belief with a working-class person in Rotherham' (ibid, p. 17).

Charlesworth's is perhaps an extreme case of the, sometimes, obnoxious undercurrent in much contemporary working-class writing, suggestive of an exclusive insider knowledge off limits to anyone outside the, seemingly, monolith of class and place (Gest, 2018; McKenzie, 2017; Williams, J., 2017). Conforming to this epistemology would mean ignoring the valuable work produced by academics that do not disclose their class status and rejecting the evidence of variations in experience along generational, racial and gendered lines. Charlesworth does exactly what Yvette Taylor (2012) warns against, and I hope to avoid, uncritically and unreflexively reproducing oneself as a white, working-class man in the confusing and conflictual position of writing about his hometown within an

educational and professional space perceived to be occupied by unknowing middle-class 'others' (Kirk, 2007). Although I believe that my geo-histories can afford insights into the embodied and affective experience of deindustrialisation, I am also aware that many intersectional limitations exist due to the dynamics of subjectivities beyond class.

I am a white male who grew up in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, and I am from a mining family, but the specificities of my geo-historical experiences will also impact how I interpret others with similar subjectivities, and how they perceive me. For instance, to go to university is still considered an identifier of the middle-class in the village where I am from, and I am the only one within my year group to have undertaken a doctoral programme. Relatedly, Wakeling (2010) asks: 'Is There Such a Thing as a Working-Class Academic?'. For many, '[b]eing working-class becomes an impermeable identity one can never get away from' (Ibid, p. 44) and, yet, once working-class scholars have a PhD and an academic salary they, supposedly, attain the social, economic and cultural capital to situate them comfortably in traditional definitions of the middle-classes – even if they, or indeed their colleagues, think otherwise. As will be explored, these geo-historicities have transformative capacities to how we see ourselves and are seen by others, even if from the same geographical and subjective place.

Despite some social scientists with working-class backgrounds conceiving themselves as unchanged by the atypicality of their educational experience and attainment, others explicitly examine and qualify their nuanced positionality to their research subjects. Walley (2013, p. 90) discusses openly the feelings of fear, anxiety and the 'disorienting conflicts of identity' attendant with feeling 'out of place' (Cresswell, 1996) now that she is an associate professor at Harvard University, USA. Ambivalence toward finding herself a 'success' within discourses of upward social mobility is compounded by a sense of betraying family, friends and Southeast Chicago where Walley grew up, a 'hidden injury of class' associated with being between classes (Sennett & Cobb, 1972). Further, like Walley (2013), I am marked from others in the Nottinghamshire coalfield precisely because I am conducting academic research on it. My critical reflexivity is distinct from a localised epistemological process of 'getting on with things' and not dwelling on the past. The intention to not look back, as will be seen, is illusory and the persistent mediation of the past pervades the area and its people.

Conversely, I discovered during fieldwork that being 'inside' the research does not always result in insights into the nuances and particularities of working-class affective life. In certain instances, the opposite can occur where the embeddedness of the self in the subject area can lead to things, actions, events and dispositions being taken-for-granted, as just always being so. When certain things have always appeared as universal it becomes an exertion to reflect on what is specific and notable. Being an outsider can aid identifying these nuances (Degnen, 2012; Stewart, 1996). Also, even when someone is from somewhere, grew up and lived within its confines and is deeply attuned to its rhythms and ways of being, they cannot be from all of it. I know from growing up in Warsop that 'Warsopians' like to draw cultural distinctions against their neighbouring villages and, whereas Warsop was known for having its doors open, 'Warsopians' attach negative associations on villages very similar to our own. Every village in the Nottinghamshire coalfield is separate, 'a sharply tuned spatial logic whose muscled core is an affective-attachment to place so powerful that it's as if there's an invisible gate at the town line' (Stewart, 2013, p. 276). Relating back to my earlier discussion of the research field, the coal industry, borders and administrative cartographies actualised the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Although these systems of governance were formative of shared experience, collective memory and identification, there is also a more narrowed body of knowledge and knowing focussed at the level of the village.

Further, it is a concern that what one can say about their own emotional and affective memories, experiences or encounters may not be applicable for, and representative of, others. This may be increasingly the case as researchers practice and train at attuning to their senses and what they are telling, perhaps ever only, each other in their academic silos. At least in my own research, people in their everyday lives rarely pay as much attention or thought to topographical landscapes or the meanings and associations contained within them as do the practitioners of embodied reflexive methodologies. It is a real danger that we are imprinting what we wish to be there within these spaces, acting to reproduce ourselves (Taylor, Y., 2012).

However, we must not forget that researchers are in the first humans and, so, are also caught up in the messiness of life, with all its affective and emotional excessiveness. It is widely accepted that the researcher's positionality impinges on findings whether they

acknowledge this or not. This is certainly true in Human Geography where '[c]ritical reflection – has long been central to qualitative methods' (Dowling, Lloyd & Suchet-Pearson, 2016, p. 683). It requires reflexive researchers to be aware of these critically embodied actions that they share with participants. Whilst research should seek to reveal the sociality of affect, the limits to which this can be sufficiently and ethically achieved must also be recognised. Attending to industrial ruination through reflexive embodied methods presents an opportunity for working-class scholars who are embedded in the historical-geographical processes of industrial ruination to 'engage directly with such processes and reveal their class-bound nature' (Kirk, 2007, p. 204), using their positionality to proffer innovative, uninhibited and meaningful perspectives.

I also concur with Lee (2017a, p. 5) that studies examining affective-temporal disorderings 'have provided new avenues for studying the psychosocial effects of individual and collective experiences of upheaval, tragedy and loss.' However, whilst examples exist (Fraser, 2017; Hill, 2013; DeSilvey, 2012b), there is much more to be done to achieve an adequate distribution between personal and social forms of embodied and affective knowledges that illustrate the plurality of meanings and associations engendered by absence, landscapes and other textualities, at the same time appreciating that we are all subject to emergences of the past (Guo, 2003). I maintain that a narrowed focus on the expositions of individualised embodied engagements do not elicit sufficient empirics to formulate substantive critiques (Wiley, 2017; DeSilvey & Edensor, 2013; Stoler, 2008; Degnen, 2013). Further, my retrievable experience only extends back to the early 1990s and, thus, limits my autoethnographic capacities.

These problematics require a multi-methods approach embracing traditional and innovate techniques that capture the moments affect surfaces and makes itself known, to 'reveal the haunting spectre of the past in the present' (Hill, 2013, p. 383). To advance this critical agenda, I propose a methodological augmentation of socially-attentive, autoethnographic embodied methods with historically and socially oriented qualitative methods (Dowling, Lloyd & Suchet-Pearson, 2017a, 2017b).

Multi-modal methods toward belonging and the past in the present

Autoethnography

Critically reflexive embodied autoethnography involved remaining alert and attuned

to the surfacing of memories, affects and sensations evoked through engagements and dialogues with material remains, people and atmospheric stimulus (Moriarty, 2013; Etherington, 2004). Observations were captured in fieldnotes and, on occasion, spoken into a recorder (Punch, 2012). These were revisited to add reflexive material that escaped being recorded in the moment. Old photographs were gathered from my parents, and collaborative remembering with them took place while rifling through old chocolate tins on the floor of my parents' living room (Roberts, E., 2012). For the last few years my dad has been sporadically piecing together his (and my) family genealogy, attempting to create a lineage and place in his own life (Smart, 2007). Brief conversations about what he has discovered transmuted into reflections of our family's past (Bennett, J., 2015). Psychogeographic walks were conducted around the coalfield, as well as mobile methods whilst driving the roads I have driven on many times (Bonnett, 2017; Pinder, 2001). Chance conversations and interactions on the street, bumping into people I had not seen for years, evoked critical reflections, as did phone calls and social media posts.

The use of the self has been taken up by those interested in affective memory and is particularly open to claims of self-interest, indulgence and atypicality (Mah, 2014; Shaw, DeLyser & Crang, 2015; Jones, 2011: Jones & Garde-Hansen, 2012). Exploring one's personal memories, even within shared landscapes or materialities, can be a highly individualised and especial endeavour (Fewell, 2016; Jones, 2015; Horton & Kraftl, 2012). What this work achieves, however, are substantive accounts of how remembering is an affective and emotional practice tied to identity construction and belonging and how emotions, affects, landscapes, materialities and other textualities fold into and out of each other, situated within specific and changeable moments and contexts (Wylie, 2017; Jones, 2015; Lorimer, 2014). Often ignored in critiques is the honesty with which some of these self-reflexive autoethnographic narratives exorcise personal memories and their attendant emotions, exposing the inner self, and 'honest autoethnographic exploration generates a lot of fears and doubts – and emotional pain' (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, p. 738).

Similarly, industrial ruination and the process of deindustrialisation has been, and continues to be, a traumatic collective condition, manifesting in difficult and repressed affective memories. The affectivities of these experiences, and the interrelations between them and the spaces of industrialism, are often difficult to authentically communicate by

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the post-industrial working-classes (de Boise & Hearn, 2017). To adequately expose some of the emotional intensities of ruination of industrial culture, and its absence-presences, it is useful to examine the personal, reflexive and embodied dimensions in a space I have had many habituated interactions in and with.

Appropriately used, critical autoethnography should 'inform readers' understanding of some aspect of the social world that exceeds the autoethnographer's individual experience' (Butz & Besio, 2009, p. 1666). Overwhelmed with reflections and remembrances in the field, the memories, as well as the typologies of events, occasions or practices that are the basis of these memories, have been specifically documented for they are recognisable to, and resonate with, those of similar working-class geo-histories. The challenge with using critically reflexive work in social research, again, is to avoid universalising or privileging your own perspectives and undermining the subjectivities and dispositions that differentiate myself from others' experiences.

Observant Participation and everyday temporal lives

The research involved extensive ethnographic and embodied iterations within the field, intending to uncover how the past lives in the present and mediates through atmospheres and bodily capacities (Macpherson, 2010). As previously mentioned, I did not separate research into parcels of time, preferring to practice an ethnographic totality whenever in the field. This approach required me to pay attention to the minutiae of everyday temporal and affective processes because it can never be known when the past may surface.

I spent approximately 2200 hours, spread over three years, physically in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, walking, interacting and attuning to the everyday rhythms. Approximately one hundred of these hours were spent in Miners' Welfares, day and night, observing and meeting people for drinks. On multiple nights out in Mansfield, Hucknall or in Warsop, I would attune to the interactions and performances of people around me, paying closer attention to what was being said and what was not (Bennett, K. et al., 2015). I spent approximately eighty hours exploring authorised heritage sites. As I conceive heritage broadly, the boundaries of what constitutes heritage in the common usage was nebulous – everything is someone's heritage. Authorised heritage sites refer here to sites that were previously part of the mining industry or its infrastructure that have now been

turned into, for example, memorial gardens, museums or specific heritage events. Here I hoped to meet other inhabitants and enquire as to why they were using the space or to what aim. Likewise, I spent two days at Mansfield Museum, two days at Pleasely Pit Museum and two days at Bilsthorpe Heritage Museum. Regeneration projects in the Notttinghamshire coalfield were visited, including the Thoresby Colliery site currently being prepared for a large regeneration project.

Observant Participation was sometimes a strange experience for someone who grew up in the area and has spent time in most of the villages at points during my lifecourse – for birthday parties or youth football games. I often felt betwixt and between positions. On one side I am conducting academic research – the observant-participant – and, yet, on the other I am from and of these spaces – the autoethnographer (Back, 2015). I knew that unfamiliar faces are enquired about, for example, and when asked why I was taking pictures or recording my thoughts I struggled to do justice to my research and maintain a presentation of myself which would be locally accepted. This was especially the case when working in places where I knew a lot of people and chance meetings were reasonably common.

Psychosocial life-history interviews

Fifty-three interviews in total were conducted during the study (Appendix A). Potential interviewees were contacted by phone and email with some approached at meetings or social events, scheduling interviews for later dates. Snowballing occurred where participants put me in contact with other participants they thought would be helpful or, during interviews, bringing partners, offspring or friends over from somewhere else to join in. Some interviews took place spontaneously, taking the opportunity to turn an everyday interaction into a more formalised interview. I did not seek to prohibit or narrow the interview base beyond the requirement that interviewees either lived, worked or self-identified as being from the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Much like Julia Bennett's (2014a, p. 660) project on belonging, the participants all have 'long-standing connections to their local place.' As well as not being confined to a study of, for example, young men or women, I sought a broad base of participants I deemed as having an equal stake in the geographic area of the coalfield.

Eleven interviewees could be termed 'key informants' from the heritage industry, local and national government or regeneration sector. These interviewees were used, in

part, to provide information and perspectives on the politics of heritage and regeneration from a decision-making position. It is important to note that these interviewees, far from detached, are also caught up in the affective spatial and temporal dynamics of the subject area and were, thus, interviewed using a similar approach as other participants not in public office or directly engaged in regeneration.

Thirty-two interviewees were between the ages of fifty and seventy-five, six women and twenty-six men. In keeping with the embodied and situated approach, attempts were made to interview participants 'in the field' (Bissell, 2014). Most interviews, however, were conducted in participants' homes, although four walking interviews in the Nottinghamshire coalfield were conducted (Mah, 2012). All male interviewees in this category were former miners and the six women were either the daughters or wives of miners, three were both. A persistent issue arising from researching people between fifty and seventy-five years old was eliciting women's memories, experiences and senses of belonging. Recruiting women of this age group was particularly difficult, and the ones that were persuaded to have their life-histories recorded most often wanted to be interviewed with their partner, who were invariably former miners. It was suggested that I would get more from interviewing the man rather than the woman. During interviews women would regularly offer the vicarious memories of their male family members, talking about what happened to miners rather than what happened to them. It is difficult, from my male position, to determine why women participants diverted memories through men and why the male experience was privileged. I suggest that there has been a reproduction of historical gender inequalities, present in mining communities, into the memories of those histories. Memories of male work and job loss take precedent over the impacts of those experiences on wives, mothers and daughters.

A further ten interviewees were aged between twenty-five and thirty-five at the time of the interview, five women and five men, all with different jobs and experiences. The participants were all directly subject to the industrial ruination of the place they were born, and all have genealogies embedded in the coal industry and the Nottinghamshire coalfield, either through fathers or grandfathers. Distinct from interviews with older participants, these interviews were heavily constructed through collaborative remembering of shared experiences (Meade, et al., 2017). Although I did not know the participants prior to

research, during the interviews we would arrive at shared experiences, developing a dialogue around familiar subjects and exchanging and contesting viewpoints.

My research praxis paid close attention to the whole of the interview as a relational and situated process, attuning to the affective atmospheres, contexts and emotional and psychosocial dialogues of the research encounter (Dowling, Lloyd & Suchet-Pearson, 2016; Hollway & Jefferson, 2008; Kraftl & Adey, 2008). This required reading non-verbal communication, the narrative and co-production of the interview. Issues surround how we trust our interpretations of what is being communicated by our participants outside what is said. Also, as emotions and affects are classed, gendered and so forth, it was important to recognise that the understanding of emotional experience may be impeded as it transfers through subjective interpretative frameworks, 'the relationship between our own bodily sensations and the feelings of others' (Bondi, 2014b, p. 53). Self-reflexivity is, again, critical, remaining aware that '[n]ot only are emotions an inherent and integral part of conducting research, but emotions can have a real and tangible impact on the research process' (Widdowfield, 2000, p. 201; Bennett, 2009a). We must be aware and examine our own emotions as well as those of our interviewees (Thompson & Thompson, 2008).

As this study is concerned with the affective dynamics of memory and belonging, questioning sought to engage participants in affective remembering to elicit data on the emotional valences of memory. Questioning involved aspects of both Oral History and psychosocial interviewing, which share complementary practices (Walkerdine, 2010, 2016). Oral History, or life history interviewing, acts as a 'theoretical and methodological tool for geographers interested in exploring place-based understandings of memory, identity and consciousness' (Jackson & Russell, 2010, p. 177). Life history interviews also 'remind us that job loss was about more than wages. It was about identity and belonging, too' (High & Lewis, 2007, p. 14). Like psychosocial interviews, Oral History works most effectively if the constructions of narratives and discourses are unrestrained by closed questioning and, instead, dialogues are co-produced between the researcher and subject within the spacio-temporal specificities of the interview (Rogaly & Qureshi, 2017; Andrews, Kearns & Kontos, 2006). Further, '[a]ll psychoanalytic models are based on theory which claims that subjectivity needs to be understood biographically' (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000, p. 136), that our present-day affective selves are products of our histories,

memories and pasts, both shared and personal (Wengraf, 2000). These techniques propose that interviewers should, through open questions, be a 'facilitating catalyst to [participants'] stories' (Wengraf, 2000, p. 309). As Julia Bennett (2015, p. 450) notes, 'the past, as it is always viewed from a distance, is often seen as relatively fixed and stable compared to present.' The task was to reveal the changes and ruptures within life courses, probing at critical moments of flux. Participants were asked to provide stories or examples to illustrate or exemplify their points (Hollway & Jefferson, 2008, 2000). These were often backed up with questions on how these stories made them feel. Generic questions relating to experiences shared by the majority of people were asked to progress biographies – 'Tell me a bit about your work life/school?' – and to open up the dialogue to pursue avenues specific to the interviewee based upon their answers – 'What can you remember about living there?'.

The use of psychoanalytic or psychosocial methods poses ethical dilemmas and hesitations for the geographer trained in the techniques of psychotherapeutic practice. Interventions by trained therapists have sought to mitigate these anxieties. Psychotherapist and geographer, Bondi (2005, 2014a) urges social scientists to employ the deep questioning of psychoanalytic methods in their research to get closer to how the interviewee feels, whilst minimising the threat of harm to participants (see also: Kingsbury, 2009; Philo & Parr, 2003). It was not my intention to use psychoanalytical methods to interrogate participants about traumatic incidents in their past. Integrating psychoanalytical questioning, instead, 'serves to enrich our research, but also, and importantly, to protect (especially psychically sensitive) research participants' (Parr & Davidson, 2011, p. 283)

Textual representations

Documentary and textual sources were approached specific to the type of document, considering audience, purpose and form, but were always evaluated for what they could say, and the formative work they do, regards the affective-temporal processes of belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Literary sources in the form of poetry, plays and autobiographies provided data on the affective processes of memory and remembering and the interrelations between these processes and belonging (Linkon, 2018; Strangleman, 2011; Aitken, 2005). Reports from government or regeneration organisations on policy, plans and progress were also consulted in reference to the object-target of belonging. Local

and national newspapers were critically evaluated for their formative capacities toward affective discourses (Wetherell, 2015, 2013a).

Analysis of social media, a critical site for contemporary remembering, also provided critical textual data on collaborative remembering and expressions of the affective-temporal dynamics of belonging (Hoskins, 2018; Hirst & Yamashiro, 2018; Wang, 2018; Ash, Kitchen & Leszczynski, 2018; Garde-Hansen & Gorton, 2013). Facebook groups specifically designed for the purposes of recollection and reminiscing on local history are popular in the Nottinghamshire coalfield and users specifically go to these to engage in remembering (Simon, 2012; Giaccardi, 2012). Along with a useful place to source photographs, the semiotics and regimes of expression in the comment sections of Facebook posts often divulge unsolicited, considered and authentic statements, with posted photographs acting as informal photo elicitation. Facebook was also critical for keeping abreast of developments at the local level, in tracing the emergence of the past and expressions of alienation and belonging in everyday community groups.

Analysis

I have, throughout, made reference to the analytical process of specific empirics, the focus on reflexivity and the triadic framework of collective conditions, bodily capacities and object-targets (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Representative of the explorative and iterative nature of the project, my approach to analysis aimed to avoid individuating textualities, and analysis ran concurrent to data collection. Material was collated, transcribed and analysed using NVivo 10 software, producing a database of interview transcripts, field notes, policy documents, plays, parliamentary debates, visual material, amongst much else (Crang, 2010; Crang & Cook, 2007; Rose, 2012). The database underwent multiple rounds of analysis. The first involved standard textual analysis of word and phrase 'open coding' before establishing intertexualities, connections and trends between empirics and developing themes shared across material (Crang, 2005).

Material was also subject to more tailored analysis specific to its elicitation. Following psychosocial and reflexive epistemologies, analysis of interview data involved taking the whole interview as a process, analysing how the interviews developed, what was communicated outside the words spoken and reflection on my role in mediating what was communicated (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003; Hollway & Jefferson, 2013). Discourse

analysis principles were adopted for the analysis of textual data, investigating their affective resonances or intensities, as well as their political aspects (Dittmer, 2010; Waterton, Smith & Campbell, 2006; Ruusuvuori, 2013). Policy documents regarding heritage, for instance, may not in themselves contain evidence of feelings or affects, however, they are useful in determining how the emotional processes of memory and the past, are shaped and intervened in – as apparatuses which are commandeered to enable the object-target of belonging. The exclusive focus on the written or spoken word, however, disallows interrogation of the real, yet, amorphous feelings, affects or emotions which surface and intervene in the situated moment in contingent landscapes, spaces or settings, shaped by both human and non-human actors (Wetherell, 2015, 2013a).

Anderson's analytics of affect underpinned the analysis, enabling me to think through intertexualities and their co-productive capacities. The 'analytics' were not prescriptive, however, whereby data was merely ordered and deposited into the categories of collective conditions, bodily capacities and object-target. An example which reappears in chapter eight helps explain the analytic use. In reference to the simultaneous feeling of belonging and alienation, I noticed from codings that participants from my generation spoke of Mansfield in elusive terms alluding to a taken-for-grantedness or typicality of the place they grew up, without being able to give a descriptive definition of what Mansfield is like. From reflective and psychosocial analysis of the text, I realised I was perhaps complicit in these obfuscations as my shared geo-histories meant that I presupposed what was bound up in the terms. My interview participants felt that the question had been adequately answered or relaxed into a more conversational style of address:

Kate: 'You know what I mean, don't you? Mansfield's jus' like that, int it?'

Me: 'Yeah, I think I do, yeah. It's funny though int it? How we both just know?'
Whilst these interactions were insightful of how Mansfield is discursively framed in a localised epistemology communicated in glances, smiles and other indicators of knowing, I wanted to understand more thoroughly how Mansfield, as a geohistorical place and imaginary, produced and attenuated belongings. I sought to remedy the gap in my interpretations of Mansfield by revisiting notes from fieldwork to search for analytical threads. From these I posited that the feeling my participants and I had toward and in Mansfield was related to atmospherics contingent of bodies. I then decided to spend further

time in Mansfield, explicitly thinking with the analytics of affect to analyse how bodies, materialities and performances co-created affective atmospheres. The analytics of affect was also attuned to trace the affective histories of the Nottinghamshire coalfield.

Constructing affective histories and genealogies of belonging

I have so far outlined the methods used to ascertain and analyse the affective-temporal processes of modern-day belonging, using a multi-modal methodology to read the presence of the past in the present, and underpinned with approaches associated with embodiment, reflexivity and affect. In planning my project, I envisaged that historical research would provide a contextual foregrounding to a contemporary analysis of belonging and that two distinct facets of research were to take place. As the project progressed I came to conceive that history and memory in the Nottinghamshire coalfield are deeply entwined in one intergenerational affective-temporal process, deeply imbricating the experience and formations of belonging. To unravel the intergenerationality of belongings, and understand the ways that class and affective 'embodiments are passed down generations' (Walkerdine, 2015, p. 169), requires historical research with the objective of tracing the affective histories of the Nottinghamshire coalfield.

Drawing on the psychoanalytic theories, Walkerdine (2016; 2015; 2012; see also: Studdert & Walkerdine, 2016; Walkerdine, Olsvold & Rudberg, 2013) suggests archival material be used to substantiate heavily theoretical ideas. I propose that the genealogical method is better placed to examine affective histories, enabling a more nuanced and thorough examination of place histories, that does not presume the persistence of affect states unaltered by changing conditions (Foucault, 1978). Anderson's 'analytics of affect' – collective conditions, bodily capacities and object-targets – was still used as an organising and analytical framework for historical research. I adopted Foucault's genealogical practice in order to historicize Anderson's analytics and trace intergenerational transferences, transformations and discontinuances of belonging over time.

First premised by Nietzsche (1887), but mostly associated with Foucault (1978), the genealogical method is 'not something altogether different' (Saar, 2008, p. 297) from historical research but is 'differently practiced' (ibid). Two central tenets of the genealogical method distinguish it from normative historical praxis. Firstly, genealogy has a specific focus on 'writing the history of the present' (Foucault, 1978) and involves the

working backwards through linear time to interpret the emergences and development of objects of study which carry present-day salience (Leys, 2017; Garland, 2014; Hook, 2005). In my case, this is the loss or absence of belonging predicated by industrial ruination. Secondly, departing from an epistemology that everything is historically constituted, genealogy has a clear focus on, and an overt political objective to expose and critique, how power intervenes and mediates the constitution of the object of study. Rejecting naturalizing or teleological notions of social norms – 'the metahistorical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleologies' (Foucault, 1978, p. 77) – genealogists are instead concerned with critiquing concepts and social constructions through locating and examining moments of rupture in how they have previously been understood or practiced (Bevir, 2008).

Relatedly, an overarching emphasis is placed on the recovery of 'subjugated knowledges' to problematise normative understandings. In its original formulation as a research practice, Nietzsche (1887) sought to trace the genealogy of morality across time and space, exploring its disparate conceptualisations and understandings. Genealogists since have tended to focus studies on the 'historical emergence and transformation of concepts, practices or institutions that relate to the making of selves by influencing their self-understanding and way of conduct' (Saar, 2008, p. 307; see also: Leys, 2017). 'The work of genealogy,' Hook (2005, p. 14) summarises, 'is to locate a precontext, to plot a particular historical "surface of emergence," to sketch a complex of events and circumstances' (Foucault, 1978). For a genealogy of an object of study to be effective '[w]hat needs to be examined is the system of relations between' (Elden, 2001, p. 110) a multitude of textualities, what Foucault refers to as *dispositif* [apparatus], 'the nature of their connections and their strategic function' (Ibid).

I trace the transformations of belonging, providing a fine grained account of how belonging has been assembled through multiple affective relationships between spaces, materialities, bodies and atmospheres bound up in both everyday life and events over linear time. Spaces, materialities, bodies and atmospheres cannot be separated from the discourses, performances, representations and practices that give rise to the meanings attached to them. Place histories and imaginaries at the local and regional scale must also pay close attention to how these 'small histories' are entangled with wider national and

global scales (Lorimer & Parr, 2014; Walkerdine, 2015; Lorimer, H., 2003; Massey, 1995). I do not wish to suggest, and nor do genealogists, that historical processes have a wholly deterministic agency. Rather that histories play a critical role in constituting the present. Decisions made, actions taken, and events transpired delimit the scope of subsequent potentialities and are key factors when seeking to explain the unfolding of events, happenings and behaviours (Mahoney, 2009).

My analysis is open to claims of reverse engineering, that conclusions are predetermined. This may draw the ire of some historians that emphasise cognitive distance between researcher and historical study. I have a deep emotional connection with the histories of the Nottinghamshire coalfield predating this research and, therefore, questions could be asked as to how convincing the narratives presented can be. However, as a result of poststructuralist critiques, such as Foucault's, it is increasingly recognised that themes selected for historical study are always subjectively sought out – the 'will to knowledge' – by the position of the historian, as well as issues arising in wider society (Salber Phillips, 2008; Foucault, 1978). Conversely, there are issues concerning how the affective past can indeed be rendered knowable, related to the central problem with genealogical thinking (Robinson, 2010).

Genealogists not only stress the alterity of past understandings and formulations of their elusive objects of inquiry, but also doubt the capacity of researchers, if these pasts were indeed knowable, to produce universal 'truths' about them. We have here an almost insuperable paradox in genealogical thinking between epistemology and empirics. A 'suspicion of utter certainties' at the same time as 'trying to develop compelling narratives supported by evidence derived from empirical research' (Bevir, 2008, pp. 271 – 272). Foregrounding the situatedness of knowledge does not mean that genealogical narratives can be entirely speculative and producing genealogies 'requires patience and a knowledge of details, and it depends on a vast accumulation of source material' (Foucault, 1978, pp. 76 – 77). This research involved the analysis of large quantities of historical source material as my 'will to knowledge' (Foucault, 1978) impelled me to seek out usable material to assemble genealogical narratives – 'scratching an itch or salving a wound' (Walley, 2013, p. 22). The 'truths' and knowledges derived are ones among a myriad that could be proffered, and I offer a qualified analysis from my positionality. A defence of the

conclusions and arguments drawn is that the narratives *feel* true to me and I hope they convince and make sense to others. These issues of subjectivity and reliability are somewhat compounded by the central themes under examination, being the temporal and affective transformations of belonging.

Scheer (2012, p. 219) identifies the critical issue of historicising affect and emotion, and their intersections with belonging: '[h]ow are we to know what people "really" felt if they kept it to themselves and left no historical record.' I suggest we can produce convincing and well supported historical accounts of affective lives, whilst also abandoning 'claims to the possibility of recovering in fullness the realm of lived gesture, touch, and emotion' (Gagen, Lorimer & Vasudevan, 2007, p. 5). As with any historical analysis, the task premised by the historicising of affect and belonging is to bring to life the past by using the breadth of material available and 'reading along the archival grain' (de Leeuw, 2012, pp. 280-81; Snell, 2006). Emergent historical research has shown how artistic representations, letters, diaries, as well as more prosaic sources offer an entry point into how emotions and affective assemblages are communicated, understood and expressed and how these 'emotionologies' intersect with gender, race and class across a range of periods and geographical scales (Plamper, 2010; Matt & Stearns, 2014; Gammerl, 2012; Rosenwein, 2010; Matt, 2011). These histories remind us that each type of source needs to be treated within its own contexts, limitations and potentialities.

Further, the turn to reflexivity, embodiment and affect in Geography is producing innovative approaches to reading source material and 'increasingly diverse ways that cultural and historical geographers [engage] with "the archive" and its fragments, materials and ghosts' (Mills, 2013, p. 701; see also: McGeachan, 2018, 2017; Robinson, 2010). Innovative archival practices seek to extend and reconfigure how fragments and traces of historical material can elucidate past worlds, objects and bodies and their ways of navigating and assembling contemporaneous lives (McGeachen, 2017). The central theme is experimentation to both 'animate' the material and voices under analysis, as well as reflecting on the personal embodied and affective process of archival research (Craggs, 2016; see also: Robinson, 2010; Gammerl, 2012; Maddern & Adey, 2008; Bourke, 2003). As de Leeuw (2012, p. 275) instructs, '[t]his orientation, or perhaps even method, demands a heartfelt and emotive orientation to both the physical spaces of an archive and to the

materials and narratives housed therein.'

Research presented here took place in five archives, the reading rooms at the National Archives (TNA), the East Midlands Collection (EMC) of the Manuscript and Special Collections archive at the University of Nottingham, the Nottinghamshire Record Office (NRO), the Media Archive for Central England (MACE) and the newspaper archive at Mansfield Library (ML). My home office also acted as an archive through the consultation of documents and video material hosted online at The Margaret Thatcher Foundation (MTF), The British Film Institute (BFI), British Library Newspapers (BNL) and British Universities Film and Video Council (BUFVC). But the real innovation and insight came from taking sources away from their archival homes and into the field where they were created or represent (Lorimer, J., 2010; Lorimer & Whatmore, 2009). This historical research agenda intends to challenge the limitations of the text when decontextualized from the specificities of its production. There is a growing body of imaginative historical geographical work being done that breaks down the boundaries between archive and field (Lorimer, H., 2010), again spurred on by preoccupations with the reflexive, researcher positionality and turn towards embodied research. This emergent research praxis, marrying well with the overarching research approach of this thesis, has led practitioners to leave the preserve of the record office and read source material *in situ* (Nelson, 2015) or, at the least, sensorial experience and question the spaces and landscapes from where documents and texts originate or to which they refer (Hill, 2015c).

Practising embodied historical geography means shifting focus from not only 'seeing' texts but having a haptic, audible and reflexive engagement with historical material (Hill, 2013c; DeSilvey, 2012a; Lorimer & Whatmore, 2009). My research involved imaginative sensory excursions across the coalfield to read source material *in situ,* as 'experiment[s] in a substantive practice of historical geography that corrects some of the limitations inherent in merely reading a text' (Nelson, 2015, p. 57). Sources I took on historical ethnographic fieldwork included literature, videos of news and documentary footage, home and amateur videos, photographs, maps, death records, diaries and objects. Other texts consulted, that I could not remove from the archives, included newspapers, press releases, maps, meeting minutes of the NCB and trade unions, quantitative sources, governmental reports, promotional material, visual and material analysis of mining banners

and other iconography and artistic representations. Photographs were of primary importance, taken into the field to demarcate the material and architectural changes in the landscape and evoke a peopling of the scene (Burke, 2001). A noteworthy example is the Cobb Collection, 116 photograph negatives providing vivid imagery of life above and below ground at Brinsley Colliery and surrounding villages in the 1910s.[4] The TNA and NRO also have extensive holdings of photographs from the period.[5] As previously noted, community groups on social media are also active in searching out photographs from their own place-histories and regularly post these online. Archival video material from 1910s to present was gathered from MACE, Youtube, BFI, and BUFVC, downloaded or transferred onto my smartphone and viewed in the field, where I would re-enact the rhythms of miners and mining communities at various points in history, using the videos and pictures to conjure images and embodiments of what it was once like (Hill, 2015c).

The limitations to embodied re-enactments of historical geographies are determined by how far back in time the period is and how much the material and sensory landscape has either transformed or been erased in the intervening decades. For instance, I sought to situate myself within the historical geographies of the early twentieth-century Nottinghamshire coalfields of D. H. Lawrence. The '[c]olliers hanging about in gangs and groups, or passing along the asphalt pavements heavily to work' (Lawrence, 1915, p. 451) exist now as absence-presence. The sensory experience of the collieries, the 'sulphur from the burning pit-bank' and 'harsh sound of machinery,' (Lawrence, 1925, p. 20) have gone. As too have the domestic scenes playing out in the streets and the shared washhouses in courtyards behind terraced houses. Vehicular traffic now occupies the roads where children played and much of contemporary life shields many of the old buildings.

However, still there are the 'pinkish rows of thin, unreal dwellings of five rooms each' (Lawrence, 1915, p. 450) built by colliery owners, such as Barber-Walker, or the municipal government who then rented them to mining families. Between the rows of terraced houses, are the alleys, which remain navigable, 'where the children played and the women gossiped and the men smoked' (Lawrence, 1913, p. 10). The 'little red rat-trap'

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[4] The Cobb Collection, COAL 13, TNA.
[5] Photographs, COAL 80, TNA. Note: In collaboration with local councils, Nottinghamshire County Council have digitised some of the photographs consulted. These appear on Picture the Past (https://picturethepast.org.uk/). Hyperlinks to examples are cited throughout.

(Lawrence, 1929, p. 293) homes containing the kitchens where 'people must live' (Lawrence, 1913, p. 10) have been recreated at the D. H. Lawrence Birthplace Museum. Pubs frequented by miners, and which feature in Lawrence's works, are still open and largely unchanged, such as The Sun Inn, Eastwood, where union meetings and death inquests took place. Victorian colliery workings are preserved at Bestwood Winding Engine House Museum and Pleasley Pit Museum, where visitors are allowed to handle the tools, touch the machines and experience the atmospherics of the colliery above ground. I endeavoured to situate myself into the embodied and sensory experience of mining work by going underground at the National Coal Mining Museum near Wakefield. Death records and inquests, printed in newspapers, provided details of the homes of miners killed in the coal industry and visits to houses still standing drew me affectively and empathetically closer to their lives.

Summarising, utilising the senses and body in historical work 'can broaden our conception of working-class subjectivity, representations of the working class, and the construction of class as a category of analysis' (Bender, 2010, p. 244). I posit that approaching the material landscape through documentary and visual sources enables a greater attunement to the exigencies and existences of past lives in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. The originality of my research is, in part, using extant historical analyses, along with original material approached in innovative and embodied ways, to apprehend the emotional and affective historical geographies within the coalfield. My contribution comes from eliciting the affective meanings underlying previous historical analysis, rather than contesting historiographies of the Nottinghamshire coalfield. 'If once all life *was* there, that which remains presents the means to craft more emotionally sensitive geographies' Lorimer, H., 2010, p. 265, emphasis in original) and, by engaging with creative methodologies, a broad source base of material and existing histories, apprehending the flows of belonging over time becomes possible (Snell, 2006),

Communicating analyses, storying belonging and narrativizing genealogies

Diffuse and complex analyses have implications for effective communication and argumentation, and the presentation of arguments corresponds closely with realising their potential force. Attending to the temporal entanglements of pasts and memory 'demands

new ways of writing; narratives that better cope with our fragile and contingent recollections, disclosing the haunting presence-absence of the spectral in all its shapes, apparitions and phantasms' (Hill, 2015b, p. 93; see also: Wylie, 2007). Experimental literary forms of academic writing, which 'blur the fictional and the factual, the creative and the rational' (Dowling, Lloyd & Suchet-Pearson, 2017b, p. 3), serve as a challenge to the historical-cultural geographer seeking to intervene in these dialogues (Edwards, A., 2016; Lorimer, 2003). Communicating one's own working-class histories is also a difficult task and I relate to Strangleman (2005, p. 138) who has 'often found [him]self in the difficult position of trying to describe something that [he is] the product of in academic terms.' I disagree with Charlesworth (2000, p. 3) that the first 'task is to elucidate the phenomenon, not to write something that is easy to read.' I have, too, experienced Walley's (2013, p. 12) observation when reading literatures on class that 'the more theoretically sophisticated a text seemed to be about class, the more inaccessible and distant it sometimes felt from the working-class lives it was intended to describe.' The problem of communication is compounded by the intention to convey the entwined processes of intergenerationality, memory and the flow of the past in the present bound up in belonging.

To overcome, I draw on storytelling, vignettes and thick description to distil diffuse, complex and chaotic findings into a coherent analysis which captures some of the thrown-togetherness of the Nottinghamshire coalfield, to synthesise threads, fragments and traces of minutiae, mundanity and eventfulness. I attempt a form of writing that:

> talks to the reader not as a trusted guide carefully laying out the perfect links between theoretical categories and the real world but rather as a subject caught in the powerful tension between what can be known and told and what remains obscure or unspeakable but is nonetheless real (Stewart, 2005, p. 1016).

Through these means I seek to evoke in the reader something of what it feels like, or felt like, to belong to and within the Nottinghamshire coalfield.

Whilst storying analysis, as a form of academic argumentation, 'has long been part of geography's repertoire' (MacDonald, F., 2014, p. 478), the capacities of stories are particularly suited to the concerns of affect, temporality and belonging. In providing a 'compelling order to events' (Price, 2010, p. 207), stories can effectively 'express something irreducibly particular and personal, and yet they can be received as expressions

of broader social and political context' (Cameron, 2012, p. 574). To provide a logic to the analyses and emphasise the flow and intergenerational transfers of history, I present my analyses in chronological and generational order, a story beginning in the 1850s and ending with a chapter focussing on the contemporary belonging of a generation raised in a deindustrialising Nottinghamshire coalfield (Benson, 2014; Hudson, 1994).

Beyond chronological logic, stories have representational power. It is through stories that we communicate our lives and express the emotions with which stories are endowed. Knowledge and evidence was transferred to me by the telling of stories, from intergenerational narratives, research participants exampling responses to questions posed, to life-story memoirs (Walley, 2013). Stories allow us to effectively 'set down a living record, a testimony to the dying of a way of life' (Charlesworth, 2000, p. 1), in a form that those living the realities of the narratives documented would like them to be represented.

Stories can also be critically generative, evoking emotions of their own in the reader, producing their own bodily capacities of empathy and engendering critical and political urgency (Linkon & Russo, 2002). In its impulsion to unpack and dissect, academic research often reifies subjects that are in flux through a 'static plane of analysis' (Stewart, 2007, p. 3), halting flows of excess and imminence at specific moments to pick the bones of something still living, transforming and more-than-representational. Lost in conventional academic writing are the everyday emergences of affective remembrances, their dwellings in moments of reflection, how remembering falls away or is replaced by interrupting forces. Abstracted are situated and mobile blendings of place, the coming together of things (Stewart, 1996). Concealed is the plenitude of affective remembering that intervenes in lived realities and imaginaries and the persistent becomings of past, present and future, enlivened by continual interactions with landscapes, dialogues, materialities, beings and perpetual encounter, planned and happenstance. The advent of literary forms of prose in geographical writing is an endeavour to 'render it less susceptible to criticisms that researchers are obsessed with framing and fixing' (Edwards, A., 2016, p. 234). Affective immanence, emergences and encounters benefit from being documented uncoded, as interludes suggestive of alternative modes of knowing that are incomplete, modest and reflective of how life and belonging are lived (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008). Stories allow research to speak for itself, capturing some of the thrown-togetherness of life,

how experiencings of time and affect gather up in excessive events, overflowing with emotional plenitude, that are not always perceptible in the moment (Wiley, 2017). Stories can capture and convey the disorderliness of embodied temporalities and the surfacing of inchoate affects and absence-presences, as well as situate these within wider scales of classed experience and spatial production.

I use research vignettes of mundane life, interactions and quotidian routines, 'to fashion some form of address that is adequate to their form; to find something to say about ordinary affects by performing some of the intensity and texture that makes them habitable and animate' (Stewart, 2007, p. 4). I sometimes spend time with these stories, reflecting and dwelling within them, making explicit my arguments and points of pertinence (Zadoorian, 2009). Vignettes focus on moments when the mundanity of belonging, lurking beneath the surface of the everyday, unquestioned, is ruptured by intense encounters as questions of belonging emerge, forced by interventions with things, people and memories. Further, '[a]ttending to atmospheric attunements and trying to figure their significance incites forms of writing and critique that detour into descriptive eddies and attach to trajectories' (Stewart, 2011, p. 452) and I rely on thick description of certain sources, used to elucidate broader realities and experiences in the coalfield. The sources selected for extended documentation are representative and emblematic of broader realities rather than the only sources consulted. The task is not to delineate every aspect of historical or present-day existences of the Nottinghamshire coalfield, an impossible undertaking, and I unavoidably elide certain themes and events. The purpose is to create a compelling non-fiction story of belongings in the Nottinghamshire coalfield as they have transformed over time, to proposition understandings of the broader changes enacted in the coalfield and the transferences and reformulations of belonging.

Chapter Four - Insecurity, alienation and barriers to belonging: the development of the Nottinghamshire coalfield, 1850s – 1947

This chapter covers the period from the 1850s, which witnessed the formation of a deep coal mining industry in Nottinghamshire, to the nationalisation of the British coal industry in 1947. I argue that the material and systemic ordering of mining communities during this period gave rise to collective conditions of deprivation and insecurity (Walkerdine & Jiménez, 2012; Waller, 1983). Emerging from these collective conditions were affective atmospheres and bodily capacities of alienation, acting as barriers to belonging.

In the next section I document the development of the mining industry in the Erewash and Leen Valleys, bringing into focus the organisational, spatial and structural geographies of the Nottinghamshire coalfield (fig. 1). I then investigate the affective, emotional and embodied geographies in the coalfield. The following section assesses the spread of the Nottinghamshire coalfield into the area called the Dukeries from the 1910s, evaluating the differences and continuities in these later mining settlements. I then focus on industrial relations and unionism, examining the formation of organised labour in the coalfield, Nottinghamshire's place within the wider coal mining union movement and the

Shireoaks

Steetley
Manton

Whitwell

Creswell

Chesterfield

D e r b y s h i r e

Warsop Main
Shirebrook

N o t t i n g h a m s h i r e

Pleasley

Silverhill Teversal

Mansfield

Sutton

New Hucknall

Kirkby

Langton
Bentinck
Portland

Pye Hill New Selston
Annesley
Newstead

Pollington Underwood (Selston)
Linby
Hucknall Hucknall
Highpark
Plumptre)rgreen
Watnall Hucknall no. 1
Eastwood Newthorpe
Bestwood
Eastwood New London Bulwell
Lodge Digby Kimberley Gedling
Awsworth Babbington (Cinderhill)
Cossall Broxtowe Newcastle

Trowell Moor Wollaton **Nottingham**

Clifton

2.5   0   2.5   5   7.5   10 km

Legend

Colliries marked

Figure 1: Collieries in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, 1900. Source: QGIS open source software. Open source data Ordnance Survey, UK.

critical events surrounding industrial unrest. Here, affectivities of insecurity, deprivation and uncertainty were promulgated as object-targets by colliery owners and government administrations to ensure a complaint workforce of underserving working-class poor. The same object-targets were the focus of emergent trade unions who sought material transformations to alleviate the exacting social and material cost of mining on the workforce and communities.

The early Nottinghamshire coalfield

The first deep coal mines were sunk in Nottinghamshire during the mid-nineteenth century in the valley of the Erewash river before spreading to the Leen valley.[6] From 8300 in 1851, the number of miners working in Nottinghamshire and north Derbyshire collieries increased to 93200 miners by 1911 (Mitchell, B., 1984, table 5.3 & 5.4). Collieries were situated on agricultural land and, with their attendant housing and infrastructure, the landscape transformed from wholly agricultural into a mixture of farming and industrial settlements. The coal industry developed concurrently with expansions in the lace and hosiery industries, with collieries and factories clustered in and around Hucknall, Eastwood and Sutton-in-Ashfield, themselves swelling to sizeable industrial towns by the turn of the twentieth century. By 1900 collieries and industrial housing punctuated the landscape, connected by miles of railway, creating a web of industrialised urbanity surrounded by agricultural land and countryside. Once established, collieries transformed the ordering of everyday sensorial rhythms, routines and social relations within the Nottinghamshire coalfield (fig. 2). Mutually constitutive was the wider class structure and relations in which mining families were situated.

The first collieries in the Erewash and Leen valleys were primarily smaller operations than those sank post-World War One. Initially, companies operated only one or two collieries, however, eventually, these operations were acquired by large coalmining companies, for instance the Butterley Company, Barber-Walker and the Stanton Company. The labour and production process in Nottinghamshire collieries up until the 1930s was mainly organised around the 'Butty system.' A Butty, an experienced miner who had worked through the ranks of the different levels of mining roles, was provided a 'stall' at

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[6] Mining of outcropped seams of coal was present in Nottinghamshire since the late-Medieval period (See Griffin, A., 1971).

the coalface by the colliery owner or manager.[7] The Butty then subcontracted around four or five miners to work for him. The team of miners was paid a sum per tonne of coal mined that week, determined by the market price of coal at the pithead. After taking their higher share, the Butties then distributed the rest of the monies to his team according to agreed percentages. This system of piecework inevitably led to inconsistent variations in miners' wages, either by encountering obstructive geological conditions and not producing consistent weekly tonnages or by fluctuations in the market price for coal. The Butty system also meant precarious employment for subcontracted miners, as well as exacerbating the dangerous conditions of mining work by incentivising risk (Gilbert, 1992; Griffin, A., 1962).[8]

Figure 2: Pleasley Colliery built 1870s. Taken by author, 2017.

Although consistently poor and mistreated, the working conditions and socioeconomic security of miners in Nottinghamshire were arguably better than counterparts in other coalfields (Supple, 1987; Kirby, 1977; Griffin, A., 1962). Productivity was higher in Nottinghamshire collieries than in other coalfields owing to favourable

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[7] 'Coal-mining or underground life': driving a stall, COAL 13/37, TNA.
[8] A minimum wage was not achieved until the Mines Act 1912.

geological conditions, where coal seams were deeper and easier to access.[9] The Butty system was seen as conducive to higher output, providing comparatively higher wages. Also, the Nottinghamshire coalfield was mechanising long before nationalisation, gradually replacing the 'Butty system.'[10] By 1938, seventy per cent of coal in the Nottinghamshire coalfield was cut mechanically and eighty-two per cent was mechanically transported on conveyor belts, much higher than the national averages of sixty per cent and 54.2 per cent respectively (Griffin, A., 1962). Further, due to being inland, the vast majority of coal from Nottinghamshire collieries supplied domestic markets, whereas the coastal coalfields of Durham, South Wales and Northumberland primarily exported. The exporting coalfields were exposed to foreign competition and the volatility of international energy markets, with the collieries producing for British industries, such as Nottinghamshire's, tending to have a consistent and reliable demand (Supple, 1987; Church, Hall & Kanefsky, 1986; Buxton, 1979; Griffin, A., 1962; Townshend-Rose, 1951).

However, I contend that the historiographical preoccupation of comparing and ranking standards of living and hardship between coalfields detracts from the harshness of conditions shared across the whole British coalmining population during the pre-nationalisation era (Harrison, 1978). That other coalfields experienced worse conditions than those in the Nottinghamshire coalfield does not mean that Nottinghamshire mining families did not suffer in almost unimaginable ways. Further, regular and widespread periods of underemployment in the East Midlands coalfields, particularly in the inter-war period, meant that miners 'struggled to achieve the average national income for coalminers which itself compared badly to that of most other occupational groups except agricultural labourers' (Griffin, C., 1993, p. 343). The physical act and conditions of coal mining during the period 1850s to 1947 was a pernicious, injurious and life-threatening enterprise and coalfield communities, irrespective of location, were characterised by deprivation and struggle. These conditions were compounded by a rigid and impermeable class system

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[9] Clifton Colliery, Colliery Road [photo], NTGM009559, https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/ntgm009559/posterid/ntgm009559.html [accessed 2 May 2017]; Largest Piece of coal removed from Pollington Colliery, Brinsley, 1903 [photo], DCAV001632, https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/dcav001632/posterid/dcav001632.html [accessed 2 May 2017].
[10] 'Coal-mining or underground life': cutting the top coal [photo], COAL 13/39, TNA; 'Coal cutter. Brinsley, Dec 1913'. COAL 13/41, TNA; 'Coal cutter. On bank and at work' [photo] COAL 13/42, TNA.

imposed on the working-class which ordered social, economic and cultural relations and ways of being.

The demographic stratification of the class system in the Erewash and Leen valleys was described by Lawrence in *The Lost Girl* (1920, p. 1) as:

> a vast substratum of colliers; a thick sprinkling of tradespeople intermingled
> with small employers of labour and diversified by elementary schoolmasters
> and non-conformist clergy; a higher layer of bank-managers, rich millers and
> well-to-do ironmasters, episcopal clergy and the managers of collieries: then
> the rich and sticky cherry of the local coal-owner glistening over all.

Differentiated from more militant coalfields, 'a particular ethos and practice of industrial relations developed' in Nottinghamshire from the 1880s 'which was more conciliatory and less conflictual than in many other coalfields' (Griffin, C., 2005, p. 97). This was predicated 'in large measure on favourable geological conditions' (ibid), enabling greater productivity and fewer stoppages to work. Further, relations between colliery owners and the workforce 'drew upon the established patterns of deference and paternalism and the disciplinary structures of a capitalist enterprise' (Gilbert, 1992, p. 150). Coal-owners in the Nottinghamshire coalfield were primarily landed gentry who, along with aspirational colliery owners, went to a great deal of effort to placate miners and their families through welfare, such as holding dances and providing amenities.[11] Miners rewarded these efforts by regularly voting coal and colliery owning MPs of the Liberal Party back into office, up until the rise of the Labour Party (Griffin, A.,1962).[12] The Butty system also created a hierarchical structure of employment whereby Butties were seen as a mediating force whose entrepreneurial interests were best served by the maintenance of the status quo. Despite deferential class relations, mining communities were still subjected to control through dependency on colliery companies and managers, and the attendant bodily capacities of alienation.

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[11] Such events and occasions were reported in the local newspapers: The Nottingham Evening Post [newspaper] (Nottingham, England), Friday, September 28, 1906; pg. 1; Issue 8759. BLN, Part IV: 1732-1950.
[12] The Nottingham Evening Post [newspaper] (Nottingham, England), Thursday, March 02, 1922; pg. 5; Issue 13635. BLN, Part IV: 1732-1950.

Affective, emotional and embodied geographies of the Erewash and Leen coalfields

Over two dozen collieries were stretched along the Erewash and Leen countryside and the smoke, flames and machinery were smelled, heard, felt and seen from almost every vantage point. This filtered into everyday expectations and limitations of the sensory lifeworlds of inhabitants across generations and genders: 'When I was a boy, I always thought a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night was a pit, with its steam, and its lights, and the burning bank, – and I thought the Lord was always at the pit-top' (Lawrence, 1913, p. 364). Lawrence's prose highlights the anthropomorphism of the colliery by its workers and their families.[13] Mining communities conceived the colliery as a functioning, moving, body – almost a deity – giving and taking away their existence and capacity to belong. Although the collieries shrouded the lifeworlds of all reliant on them, their dominance exerted itself most apparently on the bodies, thoughts and emotions of miners.

During normal production, miners rose before dawn to labour for up to ten hours every day apart from Sunday. There were nuanced variations in conditions between the different collieries, coalfaces and the attitude of the Butty operating the stall. For example, depths of the coal seams, amounts of water and temperatures to be worked in and whether the Butty was overly dictatorial. Also, not all miners worked underground for their whole working lives, and many were 'surface workers' at various times.[14] However, despite variations, collieries were uniformly difficult and inhospitable places to labour.[15] Popular imaginaries of coalmining, of the hardships endured underground in the pursuit of coal, are often based on depictions of this period of Victorian and Edwardian mining.[16] For underground workers, the day began by plunging hundreds of meters down the mine shaft and, during winter months, miners would only see, feel and absorb sunlight on one day a

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[13] Bulwell Back Legs, Cinderhill Colliery, Nottingham, early 20th century [photo], DCHQ006331, https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/dchq006331/posterid/dchq006331.html
[14] Bulwell Back Legs, Cinderhill Colliery, Nottingham, late 19th century? [Photo] DCHQ006332, https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/dchq006332/posterid/dchq006332.html [accessed 9 September 2017].
[15] Interior of mine showing the shafts and workings [photo], COAL 13/7, TNA.
[16] Miner using pick at coalface COAL 13/34, TNA; `Coal-mining or underground life': miners undercutting with picks. COAL 13/36, TNA.

week.[17] In most collieries, the coalface would be some distance from the bottom of the shaft, meaning miners walked, crawled and dragged themselves to where they would spend the day mining. Labouring in damp, dark, dusty and cramped environments, the unbearable heat of most collieries often forced miners to strip naked to endure.[18]

Mining exacted a heavy price on the physical and mental health of miners' bodies and the expectation of serious and minor injury and the tangible possibility of death produced affective atmospheres of fear and anxiety, spreading through the underground shafts, coalfaces and crevices (Selway, 2016). In 1935, after safety standards had improved from those of the nineteenth century, an average of four miners were still dying underground every day across the British coalfields, out of a workforce of 750000.[19] Colliery disasters, taking multiple lives by gas explosion, flooding and being trapped, were frequent, though mostly the collieries took victims one or two at a time. The most commonly reported cause of death was the collapsing of roofs, the debris indiscriminately crushing those underneath.[20] Roof falls happened most often at the coalface where the millions of tonnes above could not always be properly supported, as the roof props inhibited miners from hewing the coal.[21] On occasion, operating machinery by lamp light also proved fatal. Thomas Bradley Dale, twenty-three, was killed by a coal cutter at Digby Colliery in 1906.[22] Miscommunication led to the machine being turned on when Thomas was still in the way. In a small space with no way of escape, he was chewed up by the cutter. Sometimes death was instant, though often injured miners brought to the surface alive later died in hospital or at home. Job Millership, twenty-one, was sat resting when 'a

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[17] 'Coal-mining or underground life'. Men descending in two level cage, COAL 13/24, TNA; Miners waiting to descend into pit, COAL 13/25, TNA; 'Brinsley 3 o'clock shift waiting to go down. Nov 1913', COAL 13/27, TNA.

[18] *A Day in the Life of a Coal Miner,* [1910] Kineto Films [Film]. COAL 13/1–116, TNA. Two of the Cobb Photographs have been reproduced here: https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/photos/rev-fw-cobb?mediatype=photography&phrase=rev%20fw%20cobb&sort=mostpopular&family=editorial

[19] A. Cavalcanti, *Coal Face*, [1935] GPO Film Unit [Film].

[20] Newspapers reported inquests into deaths in collieries across the Nottinghamshire coalfield. A substantial archive of these covering numerous collieries, both transcribed and reproduced, are accessible from: http://www.healeyhero.co.uk/rescue/Fatalities/Inquest/Inq-1807.html#top2 [last accessed 13 December 2017]. Tables of names, ages and cause of deaths of fatalities at many Nottinghamshire collieries are accessible from: http://www.healeyhero.co.uk/rescue/Fatalities/Notts/Notts-A.html#top [last accessed 10 December 2017].

[21] Miner supporting surface, old print [photo], COAL 13/62, TNA.

[22] The Nottingham Evening Post [newspaper] (Nottingham, England), Friday, September 28, 1906; pg. 1; Issue 8759. BLN, Part IV: 1732-1950.

heap of stuff fell upon him,' crushing his lower limbs.[23] Job was paralysed and spent Christmas and New Year in Nottingham General Hospital before dying from his injuries on 3rd January 1880. Injured and dead miners, trapped under fallen roofs, regularly spent hours alone in the dark until a colleague discovered them. Fatalities also included being crushed between heavy coal tubs, drowning in flooded workings, blown up in gas explosions or falling from height.[24] Harry Arnold was 'about thirteen' when his shovel got caught in the gears of the conveyor at Bentinck Colliery in 1899. His leg was severed completely from his body, his arm was broken, and his body crushed. He was extricated from the colliery but died in the ambulance taking him to his home, rather than hospital.[25] Indicative of the value placed on miners' lives, despite all the deceased receiving an inquest, and witnesses appearing to document events, the overwhelming majority were declared 'accidental death.'[26]

No less anxiety inducing, 450 miners were injured or maimed daily in Britain in the 1930s, one in five miners suffering an injury annually. Limbs were severed, hands and feet were trapped in workings, having to be amputated, insanitary conditions spread bacterial disease, splintering steel and wood pierced eyes, cuts became infected and thumbs were blackened. Impacts on the body did not merely result from accidents. The labour process of coal mining caused its own medical afflictions: prepatellar bursitis, painful inflammations of knees and elbows, was caused by constantly kneeling; permanently crooked backs from crouching; the lack of sunlight from working underground at an early age – being 'pit-bleached' (Lawrence, 1925, p. 21) – led to rickets, causing bow legs; and coal dust resulted in lung and breathing problems, such as pneumoconiosis (McIvor & Johnston, 2016; Perchard & Gildart, 2015). Such was the public association of some of these medical conditions with coal mining, they were known as 'miner's knee' and 'miner's lung' and the coal miner was widely recognisable from his stance and appearance (Zweig, 1948).[27]

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[23] Nottinghamshire Guardian [newspaper] (London, England), Friday, January 09, 1880; pg. 5; Issue 1807. BLN, Part II: 1800-1900.

[24] `Explosion of coal-mine', old print [photo], COAL 13/60, TNA.

[25] Nottingham Daily Guardian [newspaper], Saturday 10 June 1899; The Nottingham Evening Post [Newspaper] (Nottingham, England), Saturday, June 01, 1878; pg. 4; Issue 28. BLN, Part IV: 1732-1950.

[26] http://www.healeyhero.co.uk/rescue/Fatalities/Inquest/Inq-1807.html#top2 [last accessed 13 December 2017].

[27] Digby Colliery, Giltbrook [photo], NTGM010846, https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/ntgm010846/posterid/ntgm010846.html [accessed 12 October 2017].

Labour of this intensity and danger required an exhausting amount of physical and mental energy and, following a shift, 'miners, single, trailing and in groups, passed like shadows diverging home' (Lawrence, 1909a). Once home there was often nothing left in the miner for a productive caring or meaningful engagement with wives and children: 'The women have what is left. What's left of this man, or what is left of that – it doesn't matter altogether. The pit takes all that really matters' (Lawrence, 1915, pp. 346 – 347).[28] Marriage was still a fundamental institution within mining communities, but mining work also imparted on the complex dynamics of working-class marriage and home. Many marriages depicted in Lawrence's work are through necessity and conformity rather than companionate (Lawrence, 1912; see also: Szreter, 1996; Bourke, 1994). Within the gendered cultures of the mining community, miners were responsible for providing wages to their wives who were then tasked with running the house and associated tasks – cleaning, cooking, child rearing: 'They were married on a Saturday. On the Sunday night he said: "Set th' table for my breakfast, an' put my pit-things afront o' th' fire. I s'll be gettin' up at ha'ef pas' five"' (Lawrence, 1909b).[29] The meagreness and unpredictability of wages meant managing the domestic economy was a difficult task for wives.

These socioeconomic dynamics were conducive to acrimonious tensions within interpersonal relationships. Some women were afforded the agency to express their own grievances as long as they were vocalised within the confines of the home. The festering resentments between husband and wife manifested themselves in combative intensities of anger and bitter confrontation:

> Mother: And he gives me a frowsty twenty-eight [shillings]... and I've got his club to pay, and you a pair of boots.... Twenty-eight!... I wonder if he thinks the house is kept on nothing.... I'll take good care he gets nothing extra, I will, too (Lawrence, 1909c).

Pressures on wives and mothers to run households were sometimes exacerbated by the reluctance of men to hand over sufficient funds, withholding money for pursuing personal habits, most commonly drinking and gambling: 'I knew he'd been running up a nice score

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[28] 'Dinner time'. Miner and child at home [photo], COAL 13/91, TNA; `Dinner time'. Miner and child at home COAL 13/92, TNA.
[29] `Miner and family' [photo] COAL 13/93, TNA.

at the Tunns' [The Three Tuns Inn] – that's what it is…. I wonder if he thinks we live on air?' (Ibid; see also: Zweig, 1948). The suspicion that wages were being hidden resulted in entrenched enmity and marital conflict: 'Gives me a miserable twenty-five shillings to do everything with, and goes jaunting off for the day, coming rolling home at midnight' (Lawrence, 1913, p. 32; see also: Lawrence, 1910).

Whilst women exercised agency through expressing their frustrations toward economic stresses at their partners, women's capacities of self-determination were heavily circumscribed within the classed power geometries within and beyond the home. Husbands may have had economic control over their wives, but it was the class system that had power over the household. The following exchange, from the play *A Colliers Friday Night* (Lawrence, 1909c), provides insight into the dynamics of marriage and home and the bodily capacities of animosity and tension emerging from the emasculating and alienating collective conditions of entrenched patriarchal capitalism:

Father (suddenly flaring): But I'm not going to be treated like a dog in my own house! I'm not, so don't think it! I'm master in this house,

Here, the father and husband, emasculated and insecure at work, seeks to exert authority in the home. This is resisted by the wife and mother:

Mother: You're the only one who thinks so.

The father then tries to reassert his authority by targeting the supposed idleness of his son. The father seeks to communicate the disconnect between a miner's life below ground that only miners know, alluding to the hardships and exacting cost of his labour.

Father: … I should like to see him go down th' pit every day! I should like to see him working every day in th' hole. No, he won't dirty his fingers.

Mother: Yes, you wanted to drag all the lads into the pit, and you only begrudge them because I wouldn't let them.

Father (shouting): You're a liar – you're a liar! I never wanted 'em in th' pit.

Mother (interrupting): You did your best to get the other two there, anyway.

In addition to the social reproduction of the workforce, the closing exchanges above reference the conflictual, ambiguous position of the colliery and mining work within the mining community, alluding to the intergenerational transfer of belonging extracted from being a miner, as well as the marital tensions these parental expectations bore. Mining was

a debilitating and disabling job which paid meagre wages and, yet, there was an impulsion to the labour as an available way to belong to something, an urge to serve a purpose, to be able to see oneself as a miner.[30]

The confined, claustrophobic space and material environments of domesticity were generative of volatile affective atmospheres of acrimony (fig. 3). Although there were degrees of size and standard within the housing stock, the vast majority of housing was back-to-back terracing, invoking a 'strange desolation of a ruin ..., the homogeneous amorphous sterility of the whole suggested death rather than life' (Lawrence, 1915, p. 451). In the routines and value systems of the domestic space, the front room or lounge was only ever used on Sundays and Christmas when the miners were granted a few days leave. The enclosed spaces meant that 'the actual conditions of living … were quite unsavoury, because people must live in the kitchen, and the kitchens opened onto that nasty alley of ash-pits' (Lawrence, 1913, p. 10; fig. 4). It is understandable that miners, having worked underground, would evade the confined and insanitary spaces of the home by going to the public house to drink or to the fresh air of the countryside. Patriarchal systems excluded women from gathering in public houses and clubs, and the social and domestic life of miners' wives was largely confined to the kitchen and the alley. Compact living arrangements determined porous spheres of personal and private:

It was an understood thing that if one woman wanted her neighbour, she should put the poker in the fire and bang at the back of the fire-place, which, as the fires were back to back, would make a great noise in the adjoining house (Lawrence, 1913, p. 40).

Women were employed in the lace and hosiery industries, as well as domestic service positions (Gilbert, 2016; Sunley, 1990). Women's labour market participation in Hucknall, Sutton-in-Ashfield and Mansfield has been calculated at fifty per cent (Gilbert, 2016). However, alternative analysis of the 1921 census places this between twenty-five and thirty per cent and in all cases below the national average.[31] Whilst unmarried women worked in paid employment, wives of miners, especially those with children, were

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[30] Three generations of miners? [photo], COAL 13/106, TNA.
[31] For Hucknall see: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10220452/rate/CENSUS_FEM_ACTIVE. For Sutton see: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10102467/rate/CENSUS_FEM_ACTIVE. For Mansfield see: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10026817/rate/CENSUS_FEM_ACTIVE.

overwhelmingly confined to the home. Wives sometimes utilised the skills acquired in the hosiery and lace industries to establish informal cottage industries, selling decorative pieces displayed in drawing room windows facing the street. Ultimately, women's employment remained tertiary within mining communities behind both women's roles as mothers and homemakers and men's employment as miners.

Figure 3: Mining families' housing, Eastwood. Taken by author, 2017.

With these collective conditions, and preclusions to express unauthorised emotional displays in public, the home became a space for female expressions of anger and disillusionment: 'It is a scandalous thing as a man can't even come home to his dinner! …. Past his very door he goes to get to a public house, and here I sit with his dinner waiting for him' (Lawrence, 1909a; see also: Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Changeable affective intensities of both love and alienation were evoked by materialities embedded with meanings, acting as reminders of lives unfulfilled:

> 'Don't they smell beautiful!' Her mother gave a short laugh. 'No,' she said,
> 'not to me. It was chrysanthemums when I married him, and chrysanthemums
> when you were born, and the first time they ever brought him home drunk, he'd
> got brown chrysanthemums in his button-hole' (Lawrence, 1909a).

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Figure 4: Alley behind houses, Eastwood. Taken by author, 2016.

Local gossip networks, pejoratively labelled 'clat-flarting' in the vernacular, acted to enforce regimes of respectability and behaviour: 'I'm sick of it – disgracing me. There'll be the whole place cackling this now' (Lawrence, 1914, p. 10). 'Putting on airs,' the disingenuous display of falsely elevated status, was condemned and the derision surrounding its performance was a way of controlling the aspirations of women (Lawrence, 1913). So too was the ability of the husband to perform his duties at work which, if word spread, could lead to his unemployment, worsening the deprivations of the family:

> 'Aye!' she said. 'You may back your life Lena an' Mrs Severn'll be out
> gorping, and that clat-fartin' Mrs Allsop.'
> 'Oh, I hope they haven't heard anything! If it gets about as he's out of his mind,
> they'll stop his compensation, I know they will.'
> 'They'd never stop his compensation for *that*,' protested Ethel.

'Well, they *have* been stopping some –'

'It'll not get about. I s'll tell nobody.' (Lawrence, 1909b).

The above extract relates to the lack of meaningful compensation or sick leave granted to miners over this period.[32] The miner is delirious with fever as a result of an infected cut received at work. Disabling accidents and deaths were ruinous for families in the incessant socioeconomic precarity between starvation and subsistence. In both loveless and loving marriages, grief was suppressed by the more immediate anxieties of survival: 'Elizabeth's thoughts were busy elsewhere. If he was killed – would she be able to manage on the little pension and what she could earn?' (Lawrence, 1909a). Although the back-to-back terraces afforded little respite, and alienated inhabitants, they were vastly better than the workhouse. Material environments did, however, improve in later mining settlements in Nottinghamshire from the Victorian and Edwardian terracing found in the Erewash and Leen valleys.

The Golden Harvest of the Dukeries? 1918 – 1947

Following World War One, technological advances facilitated the opening of 'the great new coalfield of South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, where rich seams of good quality coal, but situated at considerable depths, [were] being actively worked' (Samuel Commission Report, 1925, p. 46). In Nottinghamshire, new mining ventures exploited coal beneath the area known as the Dukeries, in reference to four contiguous ducal seats at Clumber House, Welbeck Abbey, Thoresby Hall and Worksop Manor (fig. 5). Previously, the aristocratic landowners resisted exploiting the financial benefits of their mineral holdings, fearing that collieries would ruin idyllic landscapes and that mining communities would disrupt the paternalistic rural societies already rooted (Waller, 1983). A decline in wealth from death duties and World War One impelled landed elites to allow companies to purchase mining licences, extracting royalties on any profits made. At the same time, collieries in the Erewash valley began to close on economic grounds and exhaustion of coal reserves. Miners laid-off, as well as from coalfields further afield, such as Cannock Chase, migrated and 'all came to reap the golden harvest of the Dukeries.'[33]

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[32] 'Bringing Daddy home' [photo], COAL 13/94, TNA.
[33] *New Statesman*, 24 December 1927.

Figure 5: Collieries in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, 1930. Source: QGIS open source software. Open source data Ordnance Survey, UK.

Where to establish the mining villages of the Dukeries was decided in correspondence between mining companies and landowners, via their agents, and these negotiations evidence the discursive perceptions and valuations of the middle and upper classes toward mining families (Waller, 1983). In a period of limited mobility, the coalmining companies wanted to minimise competition for labour, stifling labour market fluidity by keeping settlements at a distance from each other, preventing miners from transferring to other collieries for higher wages or better conditions. Conversely, landowners were loath to have collieries, with their attendant smoke, noise and workers, blotting the panoramas from their residences and disrupting the rhythms of estate life (Waller, 1983). In compromise, isolated villages close but separate from traditional nucleated farming settlements began to appear at several miles distance from one another, as far as possible from country houses. Unlike the more demographically diverse settlements of the Leen and Erewash valleys, Dukeries mining villages were, apart from the shop owner or publican, predominately occupied by miners and colliery managers. The arrival of the mining settlements caused some consternation with the existing population, who took exception to the unsettling of rural rhythms of life by the 'influx of folk alien alike in thought and tradition, in outlook and purpose to the natives and rural folk' (see also: Waller, 1980).[34] It would seem that the pre-existing inhabitants had as much agency in resisting the immigration of miners and their families as those migrating mining families had over the economic circumstances forcing them to relocate.[35]

Social class framed ruling class discourses on the planning and building of the new mining settlements (Burnett, 1986). For instance, in 1919 the Southwell Rural District Council stated that central government was prepared to give site approval in the parish of Edwinstowe for 'the erection of working-class dwellings.'[36] The council also reported that the Duke of Portland was offering the council the opportunity to purchase lands around Clipstone 'for the purpose of erecting working-class dwellings.'[37] The Dukeries mining villages, informed architecturally by the garden city movement and the ethos of the

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[34] Letter, *Newark Advertiser*, 5 October 1927.
[35] Photo of miners in Ollerton boarding house, 1932: https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/ntgm022160/posterid/ntgm022160.html [accessed 24 May 2017].
[36] Housing Committee Minutes – 1919-21. Meeting of 10 October 1919. DC/SW/1/2/9/2, NRO.
[37] Ibid.

paternalistic 'company town,' incorporated housing, churches and schools for incumbent mining families, with many following grid systems with wide linear streets of semi-detached housing or short terraces of four or six (Borges & Torres, 2012; Buber, 1990). Recreational and welfare facilities followed shortly after, owned and ran by the companies, so that money paid to miners at the colliery was paid back to the company over the shop counters and bars.[38] The *Samuel Commission Report* in 1925 captured some of the new dawn atmosphere of the time: 'where modern collieries are established, …, the proprietors are often ready to spend very large sums of capital in the erection of good housing accommodation' (pp. 199 – 200). Apart from the addition of housing in the 1950s and 1960s and, of course, the absence of the collieries, these villages are largely unchanged materially and continue to be remote housing estates in agricultural landscapes, set back from arterial main roads.

Figure 6: 'New' housing in Clipstone. Taken by author, 2015

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[38] Photograph: Coal miners, Ollerton, 1932, Picturing the Past, NTGM022161. https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/ntgm022161/posterid/ntgm022161.html [accessed 30 May 2017].

Houses are much bigger than the terraces found in other mining settlements in the Nottinghamshire coalfield with indoor toilets in every house, and gardens front and back (fig. 6). Crescents break the monotony of straight streets and churches, playing fields and Miners' Welfares were centrally positioned. Walking around, the feeling of space compared to settlements in the Erewash Valley is tangible and homes, set back from roads, without shared washing and toiletry facilities, afford a sense of privacy, self-worth and dignity. The interiors and build are substantially better than the terraces that preceded them. A letter writer in the April 1926 edition of the *Spectator* was impressed with the improvements in living standards in the Dukeries mining villages. In reference to Ollerton they wrote that 'the standard of amenities provided is equal to that of any housing scheme in the country … Other features of this mining village are the spacious rooms, the number of cupboards, the playgrounds for children and the beauty of the lay-out.' However, reality within these villages was far removed from the garden-city ethics of social improvement. The hierarchical class structure and apparatuses of control, prevalent throughout the coalfields, reached an apotheosis of sophistication in the Dukeries villages (Waller, 1983).

The symbolic embedding and inscription of class-based power is evident in the spatiality and toponyms of the new mining villages (Alderman & Inwood, 2013; Robertson, 2013; Rose-Redwood, Alderman, & Azaryahu, 2010). Streets in Bilsthorpe, where 'the hierarchic layout of the colliery village was particularly well developed' (Waller, 1983, p. 85), are named after the local landowning aristocracy, such as, Saville Road and Scarborough Road, referring to the family name and title of the Earl of Scarborough. There is also a Saville Street in Blidworth. Portland Crescent in Meden Vale is named after the Earl of Portland and numerous toponyms refer to the Bentinck family, Duke of Newcastle and Welbeck. Many of the new streets and estates took their names from the royal family. For example, Warsop's Royal Estate, built in 1910s and now demolished, bared the street names Alexandra, Albert, Victoria and Edward. In addition, the houses for colliery managers, much larger and grandiose than miners' housing, were strategically positioned between colliery and housing estate, ensuring that the miners 'knew their place' both geographically and within social stratifications (Robertson, 2013).

The power apparatus was also exercised in more deliberate material and performative ways. The fluidity of labour markets afforded by a diversified employment in

more urban areas was not available to miners in the isolated Dukeries villages who were exclusively employed by the colliery, with no alternative employment within commutable distance. Moreover, all housing in the Dukeries settlements was owned by the colliery companies and attached to employment at the colliery, charging employees rent. Any transgression of the rules imposed by colliery owners meant not only dismissal from employment but also eviction from homes. Coal companies, such as the Butterley Company in Ollerton, hired company policemen to enforce the regulations governing the village, including the requirement of households to maintain gardens, the banning of dogs and congregating in public spaces (Waller, 1983; 1979). Colliery owners also encouraged unemployed men seeking work to loiter in the colliery grounds, 'where they acted as living testimony as to how beholden the miners were to the companies for their livelihood' (Waller, 1983, pp. 124 – 25). Reflecting on the 'magnitude of repression, intolerance and bitterness' in the Dukeries villages, Bernard Taylor (1972, p. 59), a Nottinghamshire miner and a union organiser prior to his parliamentary career, stated that 'the area was a prison or a fortress from which there was not the slightest chance of escape.' While projecting the appearance of material improvement and socioeconomic security, the Dukeries villages remained under the collective conditions of uncertainty and anxiety contingent of their class position and the apparatus of class power. The hegemony of colliery companies over all aspects of life in the Dukeries villages and entrenched deference to ruling elites was to impact the trajectories of trade unionism in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, sowing the seeds for the county's reputation and legacy for the rest of its history. A legacy that resurfaced at moments of tension and industrial action.

Unionism and employment relations before nationalisation

Traditions, practices and expectations of trade unionism in the Nottinghamshire coalfield were often at variance to other coalfields. At times these differences ossified and emerged in explosive and affectively intense events between the Nottinghamshire coalfield and its counterparts. The first serious organisation to represent the interests of Nottinghamshire miners was the Nottinghamshire Miners' Association (NMA) which began to attract large numbers in the 1880s, following a relaxation of anti-union practices by the coal owners, who realised co-operation ensured greater profit and control of workers (Mitchell, B.,

1984; Griffin, 1962, 1971).[39] Policy within the structure of the NMA was largely controlled by its leaders who had open and conciliatory relationships with colliery owners. The union's constitution was even written in collaboration with colliery owners (Gilbert, 2016).

The NMA was a founder member of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (MFGB) in 1889 (Gregory, 1968). The MFGB was established to coordinate and advance the various mutual and regional aims of miners under a national body, signalling the national organisation of miners around shared industrial and social interests and experiences (Page Arnot, 1961). The organisational structure of the MFGB meant that areas retained extensive local autonomy and representation but were called upon to vote, shape and endorse national policy. It was this effort to accommodate the interests of all respective coalfields, often at variance with each other, that resulted in fractious negotiations of policy and methods. By the establishment of the MFGB, historical, geographical and geological contingencies had already influenced how miners interpreted each other and their own position within class structures and national imaginaries (Gregory, 1968).

Although unstable at times, labour relations between workforce and management in the Nottinghamshire coalfield were notably peaceful compared to the coalfields that experienced episodic periods of leftist militancy, such as Yorkshire, South Wales and Scotland (Campbell, 2000; Campbell, Fishman & Howell, 2016).[40] As previously noted, geological conditions led to high productivity and provided few reasons for stoppages. In addition, there was a pervasive culture of paternalism and deference in the coalfield with moderate Butties filling the top leadership positions within the NMA. From 1918 national policy was largely determined by militant leaders in other coalfields and the NMA often struggled to accept decisions or convince the workforce it represented to support them (Campbell, Fishman & Howell, 2016).

By the end of World War One, the MFGB had secured their national policies of a basic minimum wage, a reduction to the working day, increased safety measures and

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[39] The Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Miners Union was the first attempt to unionise miners in the coalfield. It never totalled more than a couple of thousand and faltered to a halt by the 1880s.
[40] The Nottingham Evening Post [newspaper], (Nottingham, England), Tuesday, May 20, 1884; pg. 4; Issue 1874. BLN, Part IV: 1732-1950

compensation for widows of miners killed at work (Page Arnott, 1953).[41] In addition, following the Mining Industry Act of 1920, a Welfare Fund, reporting to the government's Secretary for Mines, was established, which levied one penny per tonne from colliery owners.[42] Intended 'for the purposes connected with the social well-being, recreation, and conditions of living of workers in or about coal mines' (Ibid), the one penny levy on coal raised approximately £1 million annually, gradually leading to the provision of sports grounds, Miners' Welfares and, in some cases, pit-head baths in the Nottinghamshire coalfield (Griffin, C., 1999). With additional donations from miners, the fund financed the building of a convalescent home for sick miners in Mansfield in the 1920s.[43] Provisions overwhelmingly benefited men, with women largely excluded from Miners' Welfares unless working there.[44] Nationalisation of the coal industry was also increasingly on the agenda for the MFGB, who considered state ownership a viable means of alleviating insecurity and waste (Phillips, J., 2017; Taylor, A. J., 1983; Tawney, 1920). Nationalisation was made more realistic after the Government took control of the industry away from colliery companies in 1916 as part of war time central planning. Despite the substantive advances made by the MFGB in welfare, the coal industry continued to be a 'theatre of unrest, which constantly [gave] rise to stoppages of work here and there, and occasionally develop[ed] into labour disputes on a vast scale' (Report of the Samuel Commission, 1926, p. 108; see also: Church & Outram, 1998). Prior to 1984, the 1920s witnessed the most turbulent period in the coal industry and, consequently, mining unionism, with an average of 181 separate disputes a year between 1919 and 1925 (Griffin, A., 1962, p. 30).

In 1919 a Royal Commission was established to consider the future of the coal industry. The Sankey Commission, in a series of reports, advocated that the industry should be brought into the ownership and administration of central government and that wages should be increased. Despite members of the MFGB overwhelmingly voting to endorse the

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[41] Photograph: Coal Picking at Bestwood Colliery, Bestwood, Nottingham, 1912, NTGM007055 https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/ntgm007055/posterid/ntgm007055.html [accessed 20 May 2017].
[42] Mining Industry Act 1920, http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1920/50/pdfs/ukpga_19200050_en.pdf [accessed 7 November 2017].
[43] The Nottingham Evening Post (Nottingham, England), Tuesday, January 09, 1923; pg. 4; Issue 13901. BLN, Part IV: 1732-1950.
[44] Aerial view of Forest Town, Mansfield, c 1930 [photo], NTGM016770, https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/ntgm016770/posterid/ntgm016770.html [accessed 18 November 2017].

proposals, nationalisation was firmly rejected by the Conservative government who returned the collieries back to private ownership in 1921.[45] Almost immediately after control had been wrested, the national body representing the various regional associations of coal and colliery owners, the Mining Association of Great Britain (MAGB), demanded an impoverishing reduction in wages and a lengthening of the working day to combat losses incurred by a post-war decline in the export market and low prices for coal (Buxton, 1979). The class-based disdain of the MAGB towards their mining workforce, and the lack of apprehension of the physical and mental actualities of mining labour, can be summarised by the comments of Mr F.J. Jones, a representative of the MAGB:

> The effect of the large absenteeism from work, we think abundantly proves that the wages paid to the miners are more than sufficient, or they would not be able to absent themselves from work (quoted in Griffin, A., 1962, p. 26).

The MAGB proposals led to widespread animosities and heightened militancy in the coalfields, culminating in the national strike (or lockout) of 1921. An agreement between the mining, transport and railway unions to strike in solidarity if an industrial dispute arose in any of those industries failed to materialise and the miners went it alone. After five months the miners returned to work defeated (The Spectator, 2 July 1921). The paying of strike pay was massively detrimental to the NMA and the leadership had to seek loans to avoid bankruptcy. Crucial for later events, the NMA could not pay off these loans until five years later in 1926. Further, the creation of wage districts after the defeat led to a 'very heavy reduction' (Griffin, A., 1962, p. 113) in wages for Nottinghamshire miners whose output and productivity offset those of its less profitable neighbours. Alan Griffin (1962, p. 113) argues that 'there is no doubt' that the combination of wage decreases in Nottinghamshire and the failure of the 1921 lockout 'encouraged the growth of apathy and even positive anti-unionism amongst Nottinghamshire miners, and union membership in the NMA dropped significantly. The defecting membership polarised from Nottinghamshire's moderate tradition. A proportion of aggrieved miners began organising within the East Midlands division of the British Workers League (BWL), an anti-socialist, patriotic labour group. Gilbert (2016) argues that most of the miners joining the BWL movement were Butties, in an expression of their own aspirations. There were also

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[45] The NMA voted 30385 to 1764 in favour to accept the proposal of the Sankey Report.

communists and hard-left socialists active before 1921, strengthened by the handling of the strike. John Lavin, who worked at Welbeck Colliery, was particularly influential in mobilising workers around the Mansfield branch of the Socialist Labour Party, that once included among its ranks Rose Smith, a communist organiser. Owen Ford was also active in organised militancy in the Leen valley, and the Rufford Star, a communist pamphlet, was circulated around the Dukeries.[46]

After several recuperative years, the MFGB began to recover its influence. Led by the Welsh militant unionist, Arthur J. Cook, as General Secretary, author of the influential syndicalist pamphlet, *The Miners Next Step* (1912)*,* the MFGB managed to successfully pressure the Labour Government to persuade the MAGB to agree a thirteen per cent increase in wages in 1924. The agreement did not last long. A return to the Gold Standard increased coal prices, making them even more uncompetitive on export markets.

At the end of June 1925, the MAGB demanded wage cuts and the ending of the minimum wage to reduce the price of coal. The miners had one month to accept or else their employment would be terminated, and they would be locked-out of their collieries. The MFGB managed to secure a reprieve from the lockout and, on 'Red Friday,' the Conservative Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, agreed a nine-month government subsidy to maintain the current wage levels. It was resolved that in the intervening period another Royal Commission, the Samuel Commission, would conduct extensive surveys of all aspects of the coal industry to both ameliorate the demands of the MFGB and, ostensibly at least, to seek out a resolution to the concerns of both miners and coal owners.

Members of the Samuel Commission returned their analysis and recommendations throughout 1926 in a series of ranging conclusions dependent on the politics of the respective commission member (Jones, 1926).[47] Drawing on discussions with miners and union officials, the final Samuel Report documents the grievances of miners, including a perspicuous insight into the intergenerational transference of affect (Appendix C):

> … the present grievances of the mining population are frequently viewed by
> them in association with the grievances of the past. They are well aware of the
> history of their industry. Through reading and through family tradition, abuses

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[46] Copies of the Rufford Star: http://mrc-catalogue.warwick.ac.uk/records/TUC/A/9 [accessed 6 July 2017].
[47] 12. ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE COAL INDUSTRY, POWE 16/514, TNA.

which have been remedied and which may be forgotten by others, are kept alive

in the memory (pp. 108).

Experiences of hardship and struggle, transmuted into stories, were shared over kitchen tables, pints of beer and in the recesses of the mine. Adults in mining communities had childhood experiences of destitution and witnessed the deaths or disabilities of fathers and other men. Memories of these experiences were operative of class struggle through the MFGB.

The Samuel Commission ultimately recommended reorganisation of the coal industry but, to the dismay of the MFGB, stopped short of advocating nationalisation (Jones, 1926). The report supposed that the living standards of miners could be adequately improved by further increases to welfare provisions, for example, the building of more pit-head baths. The Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, had the difficult task of reaching a settlement between the miners and colliery owners. At meetings between Baldwin and the leaders of the MFGB and the MAGB, Baldwin sought to emphasise the gravity of the situation, which, if unresolved, would impact on all areas of Britain.[48] Regardless, the talks proved fruitless and the colliery owners again posted notices of final terms to come into effect at midnight on 30th April, when the government subsidy ended. The miners could, as in 1921, either accept them or be locked-out from work. The Trades Union Congress (TUC) resolved to support the miners in the event of an industrial dispute.

The accumulation of this series of events culminated in early May 1926 when the miners did not accept the MAGB's terms and the TUC voted in principle for a general strike. The Home Secretary, Winston Churchill, retaliated by issuing a State of Emergency by Royal Proclamation, enlisting special constables and bringing the army onto the streets. The refusal of printers to print an issue of the *Daily Mail* condemning the TUC was the spark the tinder keg of compacted class injustice needed, and the 1926 General Strike began 4th May. Civil unrest spread throughout Britain. In Nottingham, large brawls between strikers and police broke out in Market Square in the city centre and a tram was derailed and overturned (Geary, 1985; Wyncoll, 1972). Rose Smith organised women to

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[48] Meeting between the Prime Minister and representatives of the Mining Association and Miners' Federation of Great Britain (verbatim report), 6 March 1926.
https://wdc.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/strike/id/1331/rec/1 [last accessed 6 October 2017].

demonstrate throughout Mansfield (Johnson, B., 2005).[49] The General Strike would dissipate after nine days, however, the miners did not concede to demands, nor returned to work, and were locked-out, in some cases for seven months (Laybourn, 2006; McIlroy, Campbell & Gildart, 2004). The MFGB were, like 1921, forced to concede in November 1926 and returned in a worse position than when the dispute began. However, the return to work started much sooner in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, having ramifications for relations between the coalfield and its counterparts for the decades to come.

By October 1926, sixty to seventy per cent of Nottinghamshire's miners had drifted back to work (Sunley, 1990, p. 30).[50] A.J. Cook tirelessly tried to stem the flow of strike breakers in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, using his fiery oratory skills to encourage solidarity with other coalfields and imploring women to join the fight and shame working miners into re-joining the dispute (Foot, 1986). Cook struck a conciliatory tone, positing that 'those who have gone back to work [in Nottinghamshire] have been forced to do it through sheer starvation' (quoted in Sunley, 1990, p. 39). Historians have also suggested that the return to work in the Nottinghamshire coalfield was a result of intense hardships. The diminished funds of the NMA following the 1921 dispute meant that they were unable to sustain an adequate strike fund (Sunley, 1990). Further, poor law guardians, working against the strike, compounded these hardships in the Midlands by lowering, and later stopping altogether, relief for miners seeking piecemeal alleviation from deprivation for them and their families (Griffin, A., 1962).

Conversely, it is suggested that the drift back to work 'needs to be understood in the context of the character of the coalfield' (Gilbert, 2016, p. 175; see also: Sunley, 1990). The Butty system and the traditions of deference towards coal and colliery owners combined to precipitate competing solidarities. In addition, the NMA was led by moderate leaders such as George Spencer and Frank Varley, who were openly opposed to the wider aims and practices of the MFGB. George Spencer, a former miner born in Sutton-in-Ashfield and MP for the coalmining constituency of Broxtowe in Nottinghamshire,

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[49] General Strike sources from the TUC archive, accessed online here:
https://warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/explorefurther/digital/gs/ [accessed April 2017].
[50] Miners returning to work through picketlines of miners, women and children can be viewed here:
https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/ntgm011101/posterid/ntgm011101.html
[accessed 16 June 2017] and https://picturethepast.org.uk/image-library/image-details/poster/ntgm011100/posterid/ntgm011100.html [accessed 16 June 2017].

continually advocated conciliatory methods to resolving industrial disputes, drawing condemnation from representatives of other coalfields (Mason, T., 2004). Spencer, acting on both his antipathy to the MFGB militancy in the 1926 lockout and his preference for conciliation, negotiated a settlement at Digby and New London collieries while the strike was still in force. Once word spread that Spencer was willing to break union ranks and negotiate with colliery owners, miners from other collieries in Nottinghamshire began negotiating and the lockout was broken indefinitely.

Following the 1926 lockout Spencer's actions were not to go unreprimanded by the MFGB. At a conference later that year A.J. Cook, addressing the national representative body of the MFGB, including Spencer, stated:

> I hope this conference will treat Mr Spencer as they would a blackleg. Mr
> Spencer is a blackleg of the worst order. A conscious blackleg. I want to say
> here that Nottinghamshire has been more responsible for the present position
> we are in, and Mr Spencer is more responsible for Nottinghamshire than any
> other district in the coalfield … I think we ought to ask him to leave the
> conference and excommunicate him as we would any other blackleg (quoted in
> Griffin, A., 1962, p. 188)

Spencer was not to bow down to MFGB pressure and, with the support of other likeminded leaders in Nottinghamshire, specifically the Butties operating in the BWL, began establishing a breakaway union under the support of company officials. The Nottinghamshire and District Miners' Industrial Union (NMIU), pejoratively dubbed the Spencer Union, was formed, operating from 1928. Practising Mondism, known pejoratively as Spencerism throughout the trade union movement, the NMIU received privileges from the Nottinghamshire Coal Owners' Association, such as donations, closed shop arrangements and the oppression and exclusion of the NMA in colliery villages owned by mining companies (Waller, 1983). The NMA was effectively shut out from collieries in the Dukeries, but retained a small presence in the Erewash and Leen valleys.

The NMA was not able to make inroads until strike action was provoked at Harworth in 1936 and 1937 (Church & Outram, 1998). On the border with Yorkshire, Harworth had a workforce embedded in the militant traditions of the Yorkshire coalfield and, after a refusal by the colliery company to recognise the NMA, miners came out on

strike sporadically until April 1937 (Gilbert, 2016). Violent clashes between police, pickets and strike breakers made national headlines and forced the Labour Party and Parliament to intervene. In resolution, the NMIU and NMA unified to form the Nottinghamshire Miners' Federated Union, paving the way for the establishment of a centralised union in 1945, the NUM.[51]

The Nottinghamshire coalfield's role in the 1926 strike and the breakaway Spencer Union 'run like twisting threads through twentieth-century mining history' (McIlroy, 2004, p. 222) and left an indelible suspicion of Nottinghamshire solidarity with the wider mining membership. Alan Griffin (1962), a member of the NUM, and later an industrial relations officer for the NCB, opined that:

> the Nottinghamshire breakaway was a tragedy. The miners of
> [Nottinghamshire] have demonstrated over the years their loyalty to their class.
> But in 1926 circumstances were too much for them. They were driven back to
> work by hunger and anxiety (p. 308).

Barriers to belonging and geographies of alienation and estrangement

In the period 1850s to 1947, the historical contingencies of class, industry, geography and gender enacted collective conditions that gave rise to affective atmospheres and bodily capacities of hardship, anxiety and insecurity in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, more formative of bodily capacities of alienation than belonging. These affective atmospheres were operationalised as object-targets by coal and colliery owners to ensure compliance of the workforce. The same object targets were the focus of emergent trade unions who sought material and structural transformations to alleviate the exacting social, economic and bodily cost of mining on miners and communities.

The coal industry was precarious and volatile, and miners were denied agency to determine their labour process. The danger of mining created a complex affective relationship with the process and objects of their labour – coal. Coal was the source of their survival through its extraction but also the source of their suffering, impairment and, often, death. The collective conditions of insecurity and uncertainty emerging from the geographical and historical specificities of mining work under the vagaries of capitalist

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[51] The Nottinghamshire Miners' Federated Union voted 24001 to 2836 to join the NUM.

colliery owners precluded miners of belonging by means of self-determination. This alienation, borne out of both the relationship with the labour process and the exhausting and pernicious conditions of labour, manifested in the behaviours and dispositions of heavy drinking and animosities towards spouses and children: 'They [miners] believe they must alter themselves to fit the pits and the place, rather than alter the pits and the place to fit themselves' (Lawrence, 1915, p. 345).

It was the convergence of patriarchy and capitalist coal mining that determined the experiences of women and their class and gender specific alienation. Patriarchal capitalism alienated wives from their husbands because of the freedoms husbands had for temporary amelioration of their own alienation. Men were informal employers of women through the system of household economies, whereby miners handed wives a proportion of their earnings to provide the necessities for survival. This alienated women from men and the spaces of their labour – the home – from which they had little opportunity for restorative escape

These alienating collective conditions of insecurity were intergenerationally and affectively transmitted, partly through constrained opportunities but also social reproduction. Children within mining families were experientially aware of the limitations on opportunity, demarcated by gender. Although there were exceptions, the majority of sons would become miners and 'follow their dad down the pit.' Girls, precluded from working down collieries from 1842, were employed in menial service work or in factories until marrying a miner, becoming a housewife and perhaps doing temporary paid work or labouring in cottage economies.

The use of Lawrence's pessimistic accounts may overdetermine the pervasiveness of alienation in the Nottinghamshire coalfield in this account. I do not suggest that alienation explains the multitude of behaviours or dispositions, nor that all inhabitants felt alienation in totality. It is, indeed, likely that alienation was variously experienced depending on gender, age and work role. Within the colliery, scales of alienation could have begun with the Butties as the least alienated and ended with the lowest paid and most expendable workers. In addition, an alienating labour process did not necessarily preclude miners from assembling other forms of belonging by other means. Belonging was available to those able to mediate the conditions of their existence through avenues such as religion

or the NMA. Both these institutions were in fact seemingly organised to challenge and ameliorate the emergence of alienation and were of great importance to belonging for some. Moreover, it is also likely that some men, particularly those that were more religiously conforming, did not drink, gamble or spend their money frivolously. This does not mean they were not alienated from the insidiousness of the capitalist economic practices. Further, not all marriages and family dynamics were volatile and destructive, and it is probable that many miners and women formed senses of belonging within the family unit. However, patriarchal capitalism put pressure on domestic spaces and interpersonal relationships.

Yet, alienating capitalistic modes of production are neither static nor averse to transformation. Changes within the labour process and infrastructural organisations of production could alter the relationships between working-class and ruling-class and the ways workers perceive their labour. As we will see in the next chapter, nationalisation of the coal industry instigated material, organisational and discursive changes, impacting profoundly on formations of belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Importantly, the historical trajectory of the Nottinghamshire coalfield was significantly determined by the early establishment of the Dukeries collieries and the fortuitous, and later cursed, geologies that lay underneath them.

Chapter Five – Scales of communal belonging and security: The Nottinghamshire coalfield under nationalisation, 1947 – 1984

This chapter investigates the historical geographies of belonging over the period from 1947 to the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85. Before nationalisation of the coal industry, the confluence of liberal capitalism at wider scales and deferential class relations at the local level resulted in collective conditions and bodily capacities of insecurity, anxiety and alienation which inhibited capacities of belonging. This chapter argues that these collective conditions transformed over the period of nationalisation up until the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85. I argue that collective conditions under nationalisation of socioeconomic security, that were locally specific to the Nottinghamshire coalfield, were generative of bodily capacities of belonging. Critical to the emergence of belonging were the institutional structures, discourses and networks of the NCB and the NUM.

Geographical and geological specificities were decisive in producing formations of belonging distinct from miners in other coalfields. The Nottinghamshire coalfield was individuated from other coalfields in important ways (Howell, 2012; Ackers & Payne, 2002). In the nationalised coal industry, the Nottinghamshire coalfield, and north

Nottinghamshire in particular, was to be at the forefront of the NCB's industrial strategies (Amos, 2012). From the central position of the Nottinghamshire coalfield in the planning and discourses of the NCB emerged positive associations with the future and pervasive sense of security. The shift from private to public ownership of the coal industry also transformed how the Nottinghamshire miner perceived himself and his wider purpose within the national discourse. Self-assuredness was embodied by miners and extended out from the colliery, producing progressive communal belongings where subjectivities, space, culture and everyday performances and rhythms were imbued with meaning.

Nationalisation of the coal industry also enabled and reinforced belonging by other means. Welfare provision in the coalfield was extended and centrally organised through the Coal Industry Social Welfare Organisation (CISWO), a government run charity funded through deductions in miners' wages.[52] CISWO, along with the NUM and the NCB, was fundamental to the institutional and organisational networks that stitched mining communities together, through providing material space to socialise and the infrastructure to run and organise events, teams and so forth. From these networks and institutional structures emerged a culture that enabled belonging, attenuating the negative affects associated with mining. The formation of a discernible culture, embodied, practiced and performed, was intergenerationally significant, generative of heritages and traditions, through which people came to know their temporal place. However, transformations in the experience of mining work and the growth of mobility and communication mediums exposing the Nottinghamshire coalfield to wider societal and cultural flows, both unified and fragmented communities, and intergenerational disjuncture began to appear.

'The promised land': nationalisation, the NCB and the Nottinghamshire coalfield

The nationalisation of the coal industry was at the centre of Labour Party industrial policy from the 1920s (Tomlinson, 2008; Taylor, A., 1983). Following the MFGB/NUM, it was conceived that only an economically and structurally planned coal industry could remedy the perennial chaos and decline of the industry.[53] By the end of World War Two the British coal industry was again in turmoil, unable to recover from the crises of the 1920s and

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[52] CISWO, http://www.ciswo.org.uk/other-services/miners-welfare.
[53] Coal: the labour plan, National Council of Labour pamphlet. TUC Archive. MSS.292/603.95/2

1930s (Perchard & Gildart, 2015). Under investment and a labour shortage in many coalfields meant demand outstripped supply.[54] Public ownership of the coal industry was finally implemented in 1946 with the passing of the Coal Industry Nationalisation Act, and the vesting of the industry set for 1st January 1947.[55] In addition to its aim of stabilising the industry, nationalisation sought to instil a tangible sense of security and dignity among the coalfields, correcting the injustices of the past (Phillips, J., 2017).[56] Generating affective atmospheres of security, stability and ownership was to be harder than imagined.

Although the miners had 'no doubt that nationali[s]ation was both necessary and beneficial' and 'brought them many great improvements' (Zweig, 1948, p. 158), it 'did not meet the expectations or aspirations of many miners' (Taylor, A., 1983, p. 197). The Labour Party, through Herbert Morrisson, modelled the NCB on a technocratic structure, rejecting NUM demands for greater representation and excluding miners from 'any meaningful degree of control' (Taylor, A., 1983, p. 197; see also: Phillips, J., 2017). The NUM was admitted into the consultative apparatus over colliery closures and wage negotiations. In addition to vast sums of compensation paid to them, the extant managers and colliery owners under privatisation were offered positions within the various central and regional offices of the NCB. It was not misleading that triumphant signs at collieries stated that they were now being run by the NCB 'on behalf of the people' rather than by the people.

Additionally, although nationalised, the financing, obligations and economic structure of the NCB did not provide the coal industry much protection from fluctuation in international energy markets or government expediency (Tomlinson, 2008; Ackers & Payne, 2002; Allen, 1981). The legislated institutional and fiscal responsibilities of the NCB to the state meant that the industry had to, at a minimum, be cost neutral. Periodic bailouts of the NCB, as well as investment funds for mechanisation, technological improvements and development, came in the form of loans to be repaid to the Exchequer, although loans were sometimes written off or reduced. A persistent area of conflict between the NCB and government was the effective balancing of increased productivity,

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[54] 'Coal Crisis', 1947, *This Modern Age.* https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-coal-crisis-1947-online
[55] Coal Industry Nationalisation Act, 1946. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/9-10/59/contents/enacted.
[56] A Plan for Coal, 1952, NCB Film Unit.

which lowered costs but sometimes also output, and meeting the temperamental oscillation of output demands (Tomlinson, 2008). With this institutional structuring, the uncertainties and instabilities that characterised the coal industry prior to nationalisation discussed in the preceding chapter, collective conditions that public ownership was intended to remedy, continued under quasi state-control.

Job security under nationalisation

Colliery closures are inevitable in an extractive industry such as coal. Mineral reserves become exhausted and geological faults create conditions too dangerous to mine. However, when faced with increased economic and market pressures, the NCB's industrial strategy throughout the chairmanships of Alfred Robens (1961–1971) and Derek Ezra (1971–1982) was to rationalise the industry and concentrate production in the most profitable and productive coalfields (Ashworth, 1986). Between 1957 and 1975, the number of collieries fell from 822 to 241, with the workforce reduced by sixty-five per cent, from 704000 to 245000 (Parker, 2012; Turner, 1985). Under both Labour and Conservative governments, the industry retreated from its geographic peripheries of Scotland, South Wales and North East England to its core in Yorkshire and the Midlands. The share of industry output in Yorkshire and the Midlands increased from just under fifty-two per cent in 1957 to 63.8 in 1973 (Phillips, 2018).

The inability of the NCB to balance miners' expectations of job security with the vagaries of capitalist economic systems resulted in a catalogue of broken assurances on job security from the NCB and government.[57] The NUM had made collective ownership a primary objective and, eager to ensure that the hard-fought nationalisation was a success, offered little resistance to colliery closures. The NUM instead acquiesced to NCB concessions of providing alternative heavy industrial employment in regions impacted by colliery closures or to offer relocation packages to miners to other coalfields (Gibbs & Phillips, 2018; Phillips, J., 2013; Tomlinson, 2008; Ackers & Payne, 2002). Nationalisation had 'clearly not delivered on the security it promised' (Mitchell, J., 2014, p. 594), resulting in disaffection among miners with the NCB, as well as the Labour Party, during the 1960s and 1970s. However, this was not the case in the Nottinghamshire coalfield where

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[57] Richard Wood to NUM, November 1960, Notts NUM Minute Book 1960, EMC, 33.

deindustrialisation prior to 1985 had a more complex geography.

Collieries in the south of the Nottinghamshire coalfield were vulnerable to closure in the 1960s and 1970s. Amos (2012) was a miner in the late 1970s and remembers the feelings of antipathy borne of the insecure position of collieries in the south of the county. Amos (2012) is eager to challenge what he considers to be incorrect perceptions of Nottinghamshire being a monolithic coalfield without internal variations. There were colliery closures in the Nottinghamshire coalfield during the early decades of nationalisation, mainly concentrated in the older coalfields of the Leen and Erewash Valleys where collieries were smaller, had narrower seams and had been mined intensively for close to a century. The closure of Kirkby Colliery in 1968 caused backlash from local MPs and, at the Nottinghamshire Area NUM Gala that year, the NUM Kirkby branch carried a coffin emblazoned with the text: KIRKBY COLLIERY MURDERED BY NCB PROMISES.[58] However, increased redundancy packages and expansions at the highly productive profit-making collieries in the north of the Nottinghamshire coalfield offset most job losses and mediated public antipathy to the NCB. Also, Calverton Colliery, the first new colliery in the nationalisation period, opened in 1952 and promised 'to turn out a million tonnes of coal a year for the next hundred years.'[59] This was followed by the opening of Bevercotes Colliery in 1965. Only 778 mining jobs were lost in the Nottinghamshire coalfield between 1957 and 1975 and north Nottinghamshire miners, especially, had reason to trust the May 1960 headline of *Coal News*, the official NCB newspaper read widely throughout the coalfields, that there was a 'Certain Future for East Midlands Coal.'[60]

Several geographical, technological and economic reasons, apparent before nationalisation, contributed to the Nottinghamshire coalfield's favoured position within the NCB. Extensive coal reserves in north Nottinghamshire, estimated to last up to between two hundred and 480 years, had favourable geological conditions, as well as being worked

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[58] Notts Miners Rally; late 60's(silent). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dmOrMkqGoNA&feature=youtu.be For a parliamentary discussion, see also: KIRKBY COLLIERY (CLOSURE) HC Deb 26 June 1968 vol 767 cc771-82 https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1968/jun/26/kirkby-colliery-closure

[59] Mining Review 6th Year, no. 3 (1952), MACE, http://player.bfi.org.uk/film/watch-mining-review-6th-year-no-3-1952/

[60] 'Certain future for East Midlands coal', Coal News, May 1960, COAL 71/13, TNA.

with increased mechanisation (Waller, 1983). The Nottinghamshire coalfield's collieries regularly broke production records and featured heavily in the national top ten for tonnes of coal produced per month.[61] Importantly, the NCB adopted the same markets as under private enterprise. Unlike the coastal coalfields, coal mined in the Nottinghamshire coalfield was under contract to supply nationalised domestic energy producers, protecting it against international competition. The north Nottinghamshire coalfield was also hugely important to the NCB. Between 1972 and 1984 the NCB was organised at the regional level into twelve coalfield areas.[62] The North Nottinghamshire Area (NNA) was consistently the most profitable area by some margin, often being the only area to make a profit.[63] These statistics placing north Nottinghamshire's collieries at the top of the industry were disseminated freely to employees via *Coal News* and NUM communications. This productivity helped secure the coalfield's position at the centre of the NCB's long-term industrial strategies, and the area received extensive investment for further modern mechanisation and expansion.[64]

The profitability of the South Nottinghamshire Area (SNA) certainly fluctuated between profit and loss over these years, although never came close to the extensive annual losses existing in North East England and South Wales.[65] The SNA had at times some of the most productive and profitable collieries in Britain, for example at Hucknall and Annesley. The NCB also factored the future job security of miners in the south of Nottinghamshire into their long-term industrial planning, remediating the instability of the late 1960s. Addressing a meeting of the Nottinghamshire Area NUM in 1976, Ezra, chair of the NCB, stated that a strategy was in place that would see a 'stabilisation of output' from 1976 to 1984, 'whilst the period of 1985 to 2000 will be one of expansion.'[66] When a report surfaced that brought this strategy into question, the NCB met with the Nottinghamshire Area NUM again, reassuring them that 'there was unlikely to be any

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[61] Coal News, August 1983, TNA, COAL 71/91.
[62] Before 1972 the coal industry was organised into regions with Nottinghamshire being in the East Midlands Division.
[63] Coal News, COAL 71/75, 79, 83, 87, TNA. Note: The NNA had fifteen collieries before the closure of Teversal in 1980.
[64] Modern methods at Bevercotes Colliery 1965, British Pathe, http://www.britishpathe.com/video/modern-methods-at-bevercotes-colliery last accessed 12 August 2016.
[65] Coal News, COAL 71/37-76, TNA.
[66] Sir Derek Ezra speech to Notts. NUM, 1976, Notts NUM Minute Book 1976, EMC.

serious drop in manpower in Nottinghamshire pits in the period up to 1986.'[67] Exhaustion of reserves would result in some colliery closures after 1986 but 'expansion at existing long life pits and the possible development of new mines was likely to offset' job losses.[68] A year later the NCB brought plans for closures in the SNA forward but reemphasised that any job losses were still to be subsumed into the NNA, with expansions at Harworth and Bevercotes collieries, and the planned opening of a new coalfield in the Vale of Belvoir.[69]

Such was the centring of the coalfield within the NCB's future, the expansion of the north Nottinghamshire coalfield was also used to offset redundancies in declining coalfields in Scotland, South Wales and North East England in the 1960s through the NCB's Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme. The scheme proved successful and, with new housing estates added to mining villages to accommodate migrating mining families, acted as visible and experiential evidence that mining jobs in the Nottinghamshire coalfield were assured (Taylor, 1966).[70] The folk singer Jack Purdon captured these sentiments at the time in the lyrics to 'Farewell to 'Cotia':

> But leave your cares behind ye
>
> Your future has been planned
>
> And off ye go tae Nottingham
>
> Tae Robens' Promised Land.[71]

Acknowledging the atmospheres of insecurity and anxiety emerging from job losses in other coalfields, security of employment and socioeconomic stability into the future was used as an object-target by the NCB to persuade miners to migrate to the Nottinghamshire coalfield. A recruitment poster distributed through local newspapers and on colliery noticeboards in North East England, carried the strap line, above images of the material benefits of migrating to the county: 'If Security Is Your Target, Come to the Robin Hood Country' (Taylor, 1966, plate 4, p. 72). Additionally, a segment of *Mining Review*, a short film series broadcast in cinemas in the coalfields, sold the north Nottinghamshire coalfield,

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[67] NCB and AEC meeting, 3 March 1977, NUM Minute book 1977, EMC, 78.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Joint Meeting Between the AEC and the NCB, July 1978, Notts NUM Minute Book 1978, EMC, 197-201.
[70] Transfers, Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme, COAL 75/3916, TNA.
[71] J. Purdon, Farewell To 'Cotia [song], 1965. Note: Robens refers to Alfred Robens, not Robin Hood.

proclaiming that mechanisation and modern technology were delivering higher productivity, 'big wages and the luxury that they imply.'[72] Reaching its crescendo, the segment declared that the 'future beckons bright' for the north Nottinghamshire coalfield, 'the most productive coalfield' in Britain.

It is entirely possible that senses of security varied at times between the north and south of the Nottinghamshire coalfield, however, the coalfield did receive preferential treatment by the NCB. The material and discursive strategies of the NCB had, by the 1970s, produced 'a sense of security, that ha[d] hitherto been unknown' in the Nottinghamshire coalfield.[73] As the programme of the 1978 Nottinghamshire Area NUM Annual Demonstration and Gala stated:

> [t]he demand for coal both now and what is forecast for the future, guarantees security of jobs within the industry. Vast undeveloped coal reserves mean that we and future generations will continue to play our key role in the economic stability of the country.[74]

Whilst jobs were believed to be assured, wages in the industry under nationalisation were subject to more complex patterns over time, often causing dissatisfaction and testing the loyalties of Nottinghamshire miners.

Pay, economic stability and trade unionism

The NCB inherited significant wage disparities existing across all levels of job type, colliery and coalfield, with miners on different pay agreements for performing the same role. Despite discord among members of the NUM, little progress was made to equalise wage levels until the mid-1960s. The National Power Loading Agreement (NPLA) of 1966 sought to standardise faceworker wages. The NPLA would also end the systems of piecework and productivity bonuses carried over from privatisation. Rather than immediately setting a basic rate of pay, wages would be gradually equalised over five years by lowering the rate of increase at the upper wage scale and increasing the growth rate of the lowest earners. Nottinghamshire miners voted convincingly for the introduction of the NPLA out of solidarity with other coalfields and the NUM's policy of equal pay, regardless

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[72] Mining Review 10th Year No. 1, 1956, MACE.
[73] Twenty-Sixth Annual Demonstration and Gala Programme, NUM Notts. Area, Saturday 7 June 1975, personal collection.
[74] 1978 Demonstration Resolution, Notts. NUM Minute Book 1978, EMC.

of location. In practice, under the NPLA those at the bottom of the wage scale had periodic pay increases and the highest earners, namely Nottinghamshire miners, suffered drops in real earnings (Searle-Barnes, 1969). Relative reductions in wages resulted in anger and antipathy toward the NCB and Nottinghamshire Area NUM.[75] As miners wallowed near the bottom of industrial pay tables, the NUM argued that mining was 'a special case,' distinct from other industries, being both vital for the success of the nation as well as especially dangerous and arduous.[76]

The issue of wages and a dignifying remuneration for labour came to a head in 1972 with a national miners' strike. Although a comprehensive victory, the NUM was forced to strike again in 1974 when promises made in 1972 did not come to fruition, ending in another victory for the NUM. Consecutive victories ended the relative hardship and substantial pay increases were awarded across the industry. The comprehensive victories, where the NUM effectively brought down Edward Heath's Conservative government, were also the first unbroken demonstrations of solidarity across the coalfields in the NUM's history, redressing the major defeats of 1921 and 1926 and galvanising perceptions of power among miners. Notably, in an uncharacteristic moment of militancy, the Nottinghamshire coalfield were critical to the success of both strikes of the 1970s.

The Nottinghamshire Area NUM, as was documented in the previous chapter, was largely moderate, though militancy could emerge at the colliery level. Nottinghamshire miners were not averse to displays of solidarity over issues meaningful to them: safety, working conditions, respect and dignity. For instance, at Clipstone Colliery in 1976 the entire workforce went on strike because one belligerent Deputy was 'throwing his weight around.'[77] The miners stayed united for five days until the management was forced to remove the Deputy. Although, the binding traditions of militancy and union solidarity were not as strong as in other areas and the Nottinghamshire Area NUM continually sought to mediate between miners and NCB management when grievances arose.[78]

Contestations between the Nottinghamshire Area NUM leadership and their

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[75] Notts NUM Minute Books, 1966 – 1970, EMC

[76] The NUM's position is presented in the commissioned text: J. Hughes and R. Moore (1972), *A special case?: social justice and the miners.* Penguin: Harmondsworth. Note: That a trade union had a book published by a leading publisher and placed on general sale speaks to the power of the NUM at this time.

[77] ATV Today: 10/5/1976, 12/5/1976 and 14/5/1976, MACE.

[78] Nottinghamshire Area NUM Minutes 1950 – 1983. EMC.

members flared when wages again began to slip behind those in comparative industries in the mid-1970s and the perennial issue of productivity bonuses surfaced. The Nottinghamshire coalfield had always been marginally in favour of productivity bonuses. The Nottinghamshire miners, distinct from other coalfields, believed itself to be modern and progressive and were in the privileged position of deeming unproductive coalfields as out of sync with the progress of the nation. The NUM held a vote on the reintroduction of productivity bonuses which Nottinghamshire miners voted in favour of by a large majority but respected the overall vote to reject. It was only when rumours began to spread that other coalfields were discretely negotiating with NCB regional offices to implement bonusses that Nottinghamshire fought for the NUM decision to be overturned.[79] The Nottinghamshire Area NUM then obtained a lucrative productivity agreement and wages in the Nottinghamshire coalfield increased exponentially. Photographs from the late 1970s and early 1980s evidence an expansion of consumerism, as miners in Nottinghamshire splashed their increased disposable incomes on new cars, domestic appliances and holidays abroad.[80]

High wages in the Nottinghamshire coalfield fed into perceptions in other coalfields, rooted in the 1920s and Spencerism, of Nottinghamshire being affluent and arrogant, believing themselves to be separate and better than their counterparts. These beliefs had major consequences in 1984. Mining families in Nottinghamshire were certainly proud of their record breaking production targets, with photographs of celebratory miners gathering around boards documenting the tonnages they had achieved (fig. 7). However, mining families were firmly rooted in their localities, which they deemed sustainable, with little aspiration to move away.

In the late 1970s, the NCB began scaling back its housing stock, offering to sell NCB houses at a reduced market price to tenants. A precursor to the Right-to-Buy programme of the Thatcher government, the scheme proved popular in the relatively affluent Nottinghamshire coalfield. Jim Phillips (2018) calculates from county census reports of the 1981 census that council housing tenure in the coalmining towns of Sutton-

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[79] 'Underhand deals afoot, claims Miners' Association Secretary, 2 November 1977' [video], BUVFC, http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0017500207010 [accessed 10 June 2017].
[80] Photographs of social life were sourced from research participants and online social media forums. Permission to reproduce was denied.

in-Ashfield and Mansfield were approximately thirty-three per cent, with Newark district around twenty-five per cent. Although there were high rates of miners, these districts were relatively diverse and there was a mixture of housing tenure among mining families, with miners occupying rented homes from the council, private landlords as well as 'pit houses' from the NCB. A focus on ward level data of the Bilsthorpe, Blidworth, Boughton, Clipstone, Edwinstowe, Ollerton and Rainworth, more isolated and less diverse villages, we can ascertain a more accurate, if circumscribed, account of change in housing tenure among mining families.[81] Using the 1971 census, before the start of the NCB scheme, and 1981 census, several years into the scheme, owner-occupier rates almost doubled from twenty-three per cent to forty-four per cent, showing a receptive uptake of house buying by mining families.[82] The transition to affluent and secure communities was nearing completion in the Nottinghamshire coalfield by the late 1970s, impacting on formations of belonging.

Figure 7: Welbeck Colliery, 1970s. Used with permission from 'Welbeck Miners' Facebook group.

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[81] Casweb, UK Data Service, http://casweb.ukdataservice.ac.uk/step0.cfm.
[82] The total number of households in all the ward samples were 10237 for 1971 and 10221 for 1981.

Communal belongings: networks, welfare, culture, embodiment and performance

Emerging from affective atmospheres of security, purposefulness and dignity was an assured sense of communal belonging, both generated by and reflected in cultural practices and performances (Cohen, 1985). Critical were the networked infrastructures of nationalisation, industry and class. CISWO extended and centralised the existing institutional frameworks of welfare that were previously administered through the Welfare Fund. Funded through deductions in miners' wages, CISWO had numerous roles within the coalfields, providing extra support to disabled miners and funding events and teams. The primary purpose of CISWO was the administering of Miners Welfares.

The Miners Welfare

From the 1950s, Miners' Welfares came to be centres of social and cultural life in the mining communities of the Nottinghamshire coalfield. The Dukeries mining communities were, and in many respects still are, isolated villages and, as 'islands of light in the dreary uniformity of bleak ugliness' (Zweig, 1948, p. 127), the Miners' Welfare was often the sole place, proximate to home and work, for social recreation and interaction (Waller, 1983; fig. 8). Over time Miners' Welfares came to be known by colloquial names, such as the Welly, Club and 'Stute.[83] The majority of mining localities had new or extended Miners' Welfares in the 1960s and 70s to accommodate the incoming population and the rise in popularity of the venues, as well as more women using them (fig. 9). New Miners' Welfares were built in the contemporary architectural styles and represented and reinforced the modern and progressive affective atmospheres, materialised in Ollerton and Bevercotes Miners' Welfare, built to replace the undersized building across the road in 1964. Servicing an already large local population, the Ollerton and Bevercotes Miners' Welfare intended to attract visitors from other localities, becoming known colloquially, with tongue both in and out of cheeks, as the 'Palladium of the Midlands.'[84] During the 1970s, the larger Miners' Welfares, such as Ollerton's but also Hucknall and Linby Miners' Welfare and those in

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[83] 'Stute is a shortened nickname for Institute, Miners' Welfares established in the inter-war period were often called the Miners' Institute, particularly in South Wales.

[84] *Ollerton of Yesteryear: the story of a pit village and its people,* (Ollerton of Yesteryear, date unknown); A. Barret, The Best Bobby Satan, August 2003, http://tracearchive.ntu.ac.uk/24-8/new_writing/a_barrett.htm accessed [accessed 3 April 2017].

Forest Town, Clipstone and Meden Vale, played host to popular soul and funk artists from the USA, for example Heatwave and Chairmen of the Board.

Figure 8: Clipstone Miners' Welfare. Taken by author, 2015.

Although their name suggests a gendered patronage, Miners' Welfares were inclusive of all as multi-purpose venues. The daily use of Miners' Welfares was, though, primarily for drinking and pub games by miners before and after shifts. On Friday and Saturday nights in the 1970s, Miners' Welfares would be heaving with groups of single friends and couples wanting to dance and drink.[85] On weekday nights under-eighteens would fill the backrooms of *their* welfare for discos, like the Monday night Yellow River disco in Meden Vale. In addition to quotidian social interactions, Miners' Welfares were popular venues for wedding receptions, christenings, wakes, birthdays and Christmas parties, sports club awards evenings, practice and performance venues for colliery bands, as well as meeting spaces for gala committees, NUM branch meetings and parish councils (fig. 10). It was common to be christened, married and mourned within the same space, as well as, celebrating the christenings, birthdays, marriages and lives of others.

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[85] Hucknall Miners Welfare Friday Night Welbeck Suite Part 1, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YUaI47SUlLI [accessed 10 January 2018].

Figure 9: Women's group, Bilsthorpe, c. 1960s. Reproduced with permission from Bilsthorpe Heritage Museum.

Sports and cultural clubs were also organised through the Miners' Welfare and played on the grounds adjoining the main building.[86] Sports clubs and brass bands were sources of local pride. Colliery football, rugby, cricket, bowls, darts, tug-o-war teams and many others competed in regional leagues against other mining localities. Boxers represented their collieries at regional contests and projections of local masculinity were channelled through them. The proliferation and extent of sports clubs in the localities evidences a vitality of collective engagement. People were expressing, practicing and performing their belonging through their willingness to represent their 'place' through competition. Competitive events between mining localities drew distinctions between almost interchangeable localities and assembled cognitive boundaries around inclusion and exclusion. Sports and games were used as spaces for jocular banter where players would

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[86] SO/NCB File 1, NRO.

undermine the quality of each other's coal, masculinity and community 'spirit.' Communal belonging was also demonstrable through the local Gala each year, mainly held on the sports grounds of the Miners' Welfare. It was here that local communal belongings were performed to and with each other.

Figure 10: Creswell Miners' Welfare. Taken by author, 2016.

Through embodied interactions and encounters, the 'emotional deep-mapping' (Maddrell, 2016, p. 169) of the mining community found its social and cultural epicentre in the Miners' Welfare (Thien, 2009). Complex emotional valences of joy, lust, love, care, grief, anger and despair were accredited into the spaces of Miners' Welfares, affect embedded into their walls and materialities. Affective associations were embedded through embodied repetition, from the times spent immediately after work having a couple of pints and a game of pool, discussing whether to go to the football on Saturday, through the moments on one Saturday night falling in love with your life partner or laughing at your friend getting rejected by the person they thought would be theirs, to the heated tension of union meetings on the eve of industrial action, the disorder of a wedding reception ending in a fight between family, the shedding of tears saying goodbye to a cherished one. Miners' Welfares were perceived to belong to the mining population and they belonged to and within it.

The NUM Annual Demonstration and Gala

The Nottinghamshire Area NUM Annual Demonstration and Gala was also an opportunity to display and perform the vitality and pride of individual localities, as well as reinforce the centrality of mining communities in defining the region.[87] First held in 1949, the Galas were highly symbolic and performative, taking on political, classed, geographic and occupational meanings. The purpose of the event was not only to perform and project collective senses of identity but produce belonging.[88]

The Gala would start with a parade weaving its way along a two-mile long route across Mansfield through the streets and marketplace, lined by crowds. The procession was headed by the NUM leadership joined by leading figures from the labour movement. These men – and it was notably always men – were followed by brass bands from all the representative collieries, marching behind the NUM branch banner. Behind the brass band was a decorated tableau carrying men, women and children in fancy dress.

The NUM branch banners acted as symbolic and affective materialities, illustrative of the temporal and embodied dynamics of mining culture in the Nottinghamshire coalfield.[89] Painted on silk, branch banners depicted and represented the meaning embedded in place, politics and industry, which entwined to produce belonging.[90] Portraits of forbearers in the national and local union movement adorned the corners, landscapes of the respective colliery were central on most banners, as were folkloric imagery specific to Nottinghamshire, such as Robin Hood. Most banners also carried images and text drawn from popular socialist speeches and proverbs, referencing strength, unity, industry and socialism. Critical in the imagery represented on banners in the Nottinghamshire coalfield is the hybridity of local and national symbolism. For instance, the Mansfield Colliery banner, based on the Festival of Britain in 1951, seeks to connect the importance of the Nottinghamshire coalfield and industrial work to the nation (fig. 11). On Silverhill's branch banner is a quote from *Autumn* from Thomson's *Seasons* poems:

All is the gift of Industry; whate'er

Exalts, embellishes, and renders life

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[87] The Nottinghamshire NUM Annual Gala 1968-75 [Event Programmes].

[88] http://www.ourmansfieldandarea.org.uk/page_id__70.aspx?path=0p2p51p.

[89] For a documentary on banners see: BBC Civilisations – The Art of Mining. 2018.

[90] Images of many of the banners can be found here: http://nottsbannerstrust.org.uk/photo-gallery/.

Delightful…

Banners materialised the more-than-representational sense of who mining communities were, but also acted to reinforce who they should remain being, a temporal continuity to be cultivated and honoured (fig. 12). The representational and material importance and meaning of the banners was demonstrable in the care taken to maintain and preserve them. Banners were mainly stored carefully away, only being unravelled, attentively fixed to frames and displayed with pride on special occasions such as industrial disputes and the annual Gala.
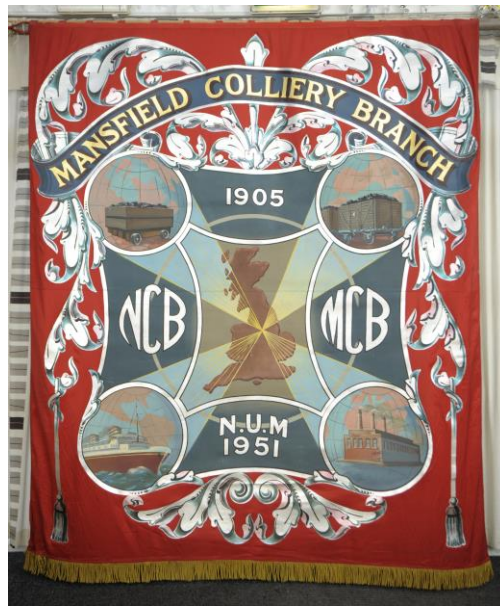
Figure 11: Mansfield Colliery branch banner. Reproduced with permission from Nottinghamshire Coalfields Banners Trust.

After making its way through Mansfield, the Gala parade would pass the Nottinghamshire Area NUM headquarters, before congregating on Berry Hill Park. Regularly attracting upwards of thirty thousand people, buses from across the coalfield would take residents to the Gala and colliery teams would compete in the Gala competitions against other collieries. Beer and refreshments were provided by the local Mansfield Brewery and celebrities acted as special guests. Events ranged from motorbike display teams to dance troupes. Dog shows were held, fashion shows showcased clothing designed by women from mining communities, and amateur gardeners competed in fruit and vegetable contests.

Figure 12: Bilsthorpe branch banner and procession, 1960s. Reproduced with permission from Bilsthorpe Heritage Museum.

<u>*Belonging beyond borders*</u>

Communal forms of belonging were also produced through shared events outside of community borders. These events were charged with positive valence and brought back to communities to enrich shared memories, galvanising local and classed ways of life. One example is annual day trips to coastal holiday resorts. Subscriptions were paid throughout the year to the Miners' Welfare to secure placement on one of the buses going for the annual 'Club Trip.' When the day arrived, buses would line the main streets of villages to transport mining families to Skegness or Mablethorpe, for instance (fig. 13).

On one occasion two train carriages were hired to transport over eight hundred residents of Clipstone to Cleethorpes for the day. The Clipstone Cine Club, itself an example of the burgeoning of local hobbyist groups, was there to capture the 1967 Club Trip, providing rare documentation of an event marked in the shared calendar of mining communities.[91] The footage begins outside the awaiting train, capturing the streams of day-trippers arriving wearing their best suits and dresses. Children impatiently pull parents along to the train that would use the tracks normally reserved for the coal locomotives taking Clipstone's coal to the power stations in the Trent Valley. Smiling heads hang out of

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[91] Clipstone Colliery Annual Outing, 1967. Youtube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aUGkJrw6yqc [accessed 3 August 2016].

windows to sneak glimpses of the colliery yard where their fathers worked, an unseen world ordering so much of their lives and awaiting the boys once they reached working age. Once arrived some day-trippers descend on the beach for ice-creams and to paddle in the waves, others take to the 'Wonderland' funfair, whilst another group wander around the zoo to look in wonder at the tigers and dolphins and feed the elephants. When it is time to return, people wave contentedly to the camera as they board the train, carrying keepsakes bought and won from the funfair, material reminders of the trip. As the train makes its way back to Clipstone, children rest sleeping heads on parents' laps as the headstocks come into view, signalling home.

Figure 13: Bilsthorpe Miners' Welfare trip. Reproduced with permission from Bilsthorpe Heritage Museum.

Nottinghamshire's mining families also holidayed together at Derbyshire Miners' Retreat just outside Skegness. The Miners' Retreat, partially funded by CISWO, allowed mining families affordable holidays each year and was a popular destination (fig. 14). At the Miners' Retreat mining families conversed and socialised with other mining families from the East Midlands. Sports teams also went away on mini-tours to Wales, Kent and other coalfields representing the team and playing other collieries.

The annual trips to the coast involved intergenerational socialising between families, evidencing the importance of children as a facilitator to shared experience. As the event was experienced collectively it produced and reproduced cohesion and gave meaning

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and memories to social relationships. As with everyday repetition, the excursions provided positive shared cultural memories and senses of permanence within the localities.

Figure 14: The Derbyshire Miners' Retreat, Skegness. Taken by author, 2016.

Institutional and embodied networks and belonging

Communal belonging and culture emerged from networks and apparatuses of mutuality between people, space, institutions, performances and practices, cultivated by the NUM, CISWO and the NCB. Inhabitants were embedded in the community in embodied and sensory encounters with networks of activity, organisation and participation in social and cultural life. An example of how sensory landscapes became embodied comes from a 1978 edition of *Mining Review 32nd year*, charting the formation of the Rainworth Rebel Jazz Band, composed of around fifty under-16s from the mining village.[92] Community jazz bands were popular within the coalfields, spreading from the South Wales coalfield where, during the depression of the 1930s, the jazz bands were a 'simple and homespun means of keeping the kids out of trouble.' The *Mining Review* team used volunteers from the band and other residents of Rainworth to act out their own story.

A miner who migrated from North East England in the 1960s helped the Miners' Welfare committee to establish and train the band. Two hundred attended a public meeting held to gauge the enthusiasm among residents. Children raised money from sponsored

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[92] Mining Review 33rd Year 1st edition, 1978, NCB Film Unit [personal collection].

walks and swims and adults donated items for jumble sales. Parents helped by making costumes and a banner to parade underneath. The Miners' Welfare provided space to practice as well as sports grounds to drill marches. As the children practice their choreography, the headstocks of Rufford Colliery loom large nearby, the constant drone of the winding gear and the smell of the slag heap drifting across the site, subconsciously signalling to them where they are and where they are from.

Neighbouring villages imitated Rainworth's jazz band, all coming together to parade and play in a competition at the Annual Demonstration and Gala. Any trophies won were proudly displayed next to the bar in the Miners' Welfare alongside those won by football teams, rugby teams and so forth. The segment represents a self-assured community projecting their ways of life without shame or embarrassment. As the voiceover concludes:

> Juvenile jazz bands in the coalfields … have relied on local initiative, local
> pride, local enterprise to give youngster comradeship, discipline, precision *and*
> to reinforce their sense of community of which they are justifiably proud.

Participation in the repetition and regularity of these occasions, routines and events, detailed above, was formative of communal cultural traditions and shared heritages. These traditions were embedded with temporal and affective meanings, imbued with direct and vicarious emotional memories and provided a form of continuity and intergenerationality to lives.

Migration, mobility and multiple place belongings

As previously mentioned, the Nottinghamshire coalfield experienced largescale immigration from the late 1950s until the early 1970s. Irrespective of any anxieties or reluctance to leave, the NCB was resolved to transfer miners to the more productive coalfields, stating that 'it's been done before, and it'll be done again.'[93] To smooth the transition, miners were trained on differing mining terminology and technology within the new coalfield. Incoming families from Scotland and North East England were housed on newly built estates of semi-detached properties, known locally as 'Geordie Estates.'[94]

Miners were already rooted and had their own sense of belonging to the place they

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[93] *Mining Review 16th Year,* MACE.
[94] 'Packing Up and Moving Out', *Man Alive* [Television Programme], BBC (Broadcast 20/12/1967).

were leaving. [95] A miner from Ashington, County Durham, about to move to Ollerton to work at the newly opened Bevercotes Colliery, expressed that 'working with the men [in Ashington] was working with your best friends.'[96] Such was the significance of a move away from Ashington that well-attended sermons aimed to comfort both the migrating mining family and the relatives and friends they were leaving. Parties were held in the Miners' Welfare to wish them well, to say goodbye and to sing *Auld Lang Syne.*[97] The resigned acceptance of migration was in part due to the way that regional colliery closures were approached by the Labour government. Redundant miners at closing collieries had three options: to relocate to the Midlands, transfer to a larger colliery in their coalfield, or try for work at a large manufacturer opened to mediate the impact of local colliery closures. Migrants, thus, possessed a certain degree of agency over their decision to leave, with a readiness to integrate following their choice. If a prospective migrant wished to remain a miner, and many did, but was also anxious and fearful of a further rundown in an insecure coalfield, a reasonable decision was to transfer to 'Robens' Promised Land.'

Conversely, wives of miners appear to have been less anxious than their husbands (Taylor, 1969). One woman stated, 'as far as Ashington's concerned I won't miss it all that much,' with another having no anxieties 'whatsoever' about moving.[98] Another woman was keen to point out that the people they were leaving behind 'have cars' and if anyone missed them they could visit.[99] An anthropological study of 240 families from five mining villages in County Durham found that the dominating perception of the Nottinghamshire coalfield was unfriendliness (Taylor, 1966). As one miner phrased it, the Nottinghamshire mining communities lacked the same *'espirit de corps*.' [100] Overall though, the migration of mining families was harder upon the localities of County Durham and Scotland than the migrants themselves, who were largely ambivalent or attracted by the promise of security.

It is important when considering the migration of the 1950s and 60s that the receiving localities of the Dukeries were relatively young and already made up of inhabitants from various declining coalfields, such as Cannock Chase, as well as North

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[95] *Mining Review, 16th Year No. 3* (1963), MACE.
[96] 'Packing Up and Moving Out'.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] *Mining Review 16th Year,* MACE.

East England. Incoming miners shared both a national and occupational identity with the Nottinghamshire miners and, rather than perceptions of migrants compounding competition for work, the need for labour was imagined as indicative of a flourishing coalfield vital to the needs of the industry.

There was also a presence, although small, of eastern European refugees following World War Two and, from the 1950s, African-Caribbean miners, particularly at the collieries surrounding Nottingham. Moorgreen Colliery, where between thirty and forty per cent of the workforce was black, was referred to as the 'Pit of Nations' because of its high rates of migrant labour.[101] The regional culture in the Nottinghamshire coalfield was not as impenetrable or resistant to change as that supposed in other mining localities and it was entirely possible to belong to and in a Nottinghamshire mining community without foregoing or rejecting place belongings and identities to other nations or regions (Bulmer, 1975). Incoming populations absorbed changes in living conditions, working practices and language. Imagined 'spiritual' homelands and displays of differing regional identities, for example, dialect, support of football teams and whippet racing continued to be practiced and performed within the Nottinghamshire coalfield. The identity of the migrant was understood within a wider industrial imaginary of coal mining. Incoming cultures and identities from migrating miners were accommodated within the localities and syncretised with existing symbolic cultures and the everyday routines and practices of the coalfield.

Gendered expectations, experience and belongings

Gender roles and experiences were more complex than the dichotomous breadwinner-housewife distinctions predominant before nationalisation. Historicising performances and constructions of gender subjectivities draws attention to the accelerated changes in formations of both masculinity and femininity, as well as interpersonal relationships, in the Nottinghamshire coalfield from 1947.

Whilst it has been suggested that there were 'astonishing and perplexing differences' (Zweig, 1948, p. 39) between miners in different areas, collective identities of Nottinghamshire miners are discernible. Previous studies suggest that coal miners, in part, assembled belonging through collective and personal feelings of pride, solidarity and

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[101] G. Morris, Black Miners and the Miners' Strike, *New Beacon Review*, November 1986.

purposefulness, coalescing at the level of the colliery and village and extending out to class identity and union affiliation (Harrison, 1978). These conditions were present within the Nottinghamshire coalfield and I do not contest these positions. However, nationalisation also played a critical role in transforming masculinities and perception of the self among miners in the Nottinghamshire coalfield.

Impetus for the NCB was to 'give each man horsepower to work with instead of arm power':

> Today the point has been taken that old methods were uneconomic and
> wasteful. Wasteful of the miners' true ability and dignity. Wasteful of his
> strength. Wasteful of his body too often maimed and broken.[102]

Technological, mechanical and managerial advancement expanded the number of specialist jobs within the broad employment type of 'miner.'[103] Increasingly, the title of miner encompassed a multitude of individual responsibilities and job specifications unique to the colliery, both above and below ground: rippers, overman, deputy, faceworkers, drivers, electricians, mechanics, engineers, development workers, chargemen, among many more. Extensive training programmes in mining engineering and technical specialisms were rolled out across the coalfields, particularly at the more modern and productive collieries like those in Nottinghamshire. Bevercotes, for instance, was the first fully automated colliery in Britain. Miners spent months training at Lound Hall mining training college before entering the industry and, once in position, received additional training at the University of Nottingham. Through these processes miners came to see themselves as highly skilled workers in a technically advanced industry.

Nottinghamshire miners did not transform entirely into subjectivities more closely resembling white collar, middle class professionals though. Intergenerational working-class constructions of masculinity and definitions of manliness retained value in the coalfield communities. The emergence of technical knowledge and expertise was synthesised with more entrenched identifications of physical toughness and heavy manual labour. Pride and dignity derived from heavy labour was enhanced by new working practices perceived to be

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[102] New Power in their Hands, 1959. NCB Film Unit.
[103] The Miner, NCB, 1950' [video]. http://player.bfi.org.uk/film/watch-the-miner-1950/ [accessed 14 November 2016].

technologically modern, progressive and future-proofed.

New job roles brought about by the modernisation of the coal industry took on significations and were targets for camaraderie and banter between colleagues in a syncretisation of new and past assemblages of miner identity. Jokes were made about electricians being lazy, rippers being stupid and deputies and overmen being incompetent. One example: A deputy asks an obdurate miner not paying the deputy the expected amount of deference, 'do you know who I am?'. In response, the miner addresses his workmates: 'We're alright here. This bloke's in charge and he doesn't even know who he is!' A local example of satirising management is the joke that all that is required to take a management position is to learn how to say 'whistle' as all this role involves is telling people that 'whistle [we shall] do this,' 'whistle do that' and 'whistle need one of them,' without joining in with the physical labour of their instructions.[104] Banter among colleagues, in the worst cases a form of social control, allowed miners to accommodate and inherit sensibilities and traditions of their forebears. Camaraderie performed through banter was still seen as necessary as collieries continued to be hazardous spaces to labour in the nationalised industry.

The NCB sought to form the identity of the nationalised miner as modern, skilled and vital. Discourses and symbols navigated between new imaginings and the generational transfers of working-class masculinity as virile, physically tough and capable of heavy manual labour. NCB promotional material attempted to capitalise on working-class valuations of masculinity to recruit them into the coal industry: 'Mechanisation is making the miner's job a far better one and something more of an adventure.'[105] Advertisements were often huge misrepresentations of mining work and the lifestyle it afforded. An exaggerative advert of the mid-1970s for the South Wales coalfield, falsely promising 'lots of money and security,' suggested that miners were more likely to attract a desirable partner and live a life of fast cars, skiing and womanising.[106] A more realistic and representative advertisement from the 1960s for mining apprenticeships detailed specifics

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[104] 'Whistle' said in a broad Nottinghamshire coalfield accent sounds like 'we shall'.
[105] Adventure of Coal, 1947 [video], NCB Film Unit, http://player.bfi.org.uk/film/watch-adventure-of-coal-1947/ [accessed 11 June 2017].
[106] 'People Will Always Need Coal' [video], https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-people-will-always-need-coal-1975-online [accessed 11 November 2016].

of what new recruits can expect.[107] 'It is an industry of men', the voiceover proclaimed, 'and, to get the most out the machines, we need … young men who want to learn the thousand skills a miner must master.' Workshops and training from mining experts would equip them for 'an important future.' The film ends by urging young men to go to their local NCB office to find out more about 'an exciting *lifetime* career in mining.' How long that lifetime would be, however, was still conditioned by the colliery.

The dangers facing miners under nationalisation were similar to those predating public ownership, however, the NCB placed primary emphasis on safety.[108] The workforce was critical in ensuring the rising safety standards. Having witnessed the death and suffering in privatised collieries, the NUM and rank and file miners felt emboldened by nationalisation and the moral economy of public ownership to pressurise the NCB to maintain the highest safety standards. Although the NCB stuttered over certain safety provisions, the numbers of deaths in collieries markedly decreased during the period. There were also far fewer disasters causing multiple deaths and those there were received extensive media scrutiny and thorough investigations, such as at Creswell in the Nottinghamshire coalfield in 1950 when a fire underground claimed eighty lives.[109]

The introduction of more heavy machinery and mechanisation brought its own industrial injuries and disease. Machines were loud and deafening noise would need to be nullified by ear defenders or lead to tinnitus. Machine cut coal resulted in collieries filling with coal dust and pneumoconiosis, emphysema and chronic bronchitis were prevalent and still afflict ex-miners (McIvor & Johnston, 2016; Coggan, et al. 1995; Rogan, et al., 1973; Liddell, 1973). Under pressure from the NUM, the NCB made the wearing of dust masks mandatory and organised for screening centres at pitheads to test lungs for exposure. Prolonged use of vibrating tools and equipment led to Vibration White Finger, the deadening of nerves in hands causing chronic pain and loss of use. Again, the constructions of masculinity in the nationalised miner were a milieu of past and modernity whereby heavy labour imparted itself on the body in fresh ways due to the evolving nature of mining work.

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[107] 'Big Job', 1965, NCB Film Unit.
[108] The Miner, NCB, 1950' [video]. http://player.bfi.org.uk/film/watch-the-miner-1950/ [accessed 14 November 2016].
[109] Cresswell Pit Disaster (1950), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S0FEgh_GNn8

These embodied and affective nuances emerge in the 1966 film, *Portrait of a Miner*, which captures the modern miner in his day-to-day existence at Thoresby Colliery, at one time the most productive colliery in Europe. For the film the producers asked miners at Thoresby to act the roles of their characters to give the narrative authenticity, much like the NCB feature on Rainworth's jazz band. The film depicts the everyday rhythms of a miner in his thirties going about his routine and his encounters with the colliery, leisure and people. *Portrait of a Miner* serves as a record of the transformations in self-image taking place toward the end of the 1960s and how the NCB was both facilitating and documenting these altered identities, making an object-target of modernity, purpose and national belonging.

In the film, the main character, Pat Leigh, leaves for work in the morning, his wife seeing him off from the door of their new house on the recently built estate at Edwinstowe. Pat walks down the path to his new car before the woman, sat in her contemporary home, turns to the camera to tell us that she no longer worries about her husband being injured at work, 'you get used to it after a while.' At work Pat shares cigarettes and banter in the canteen with his fellow miners. The film then works through motifs synonymous with a miner's life: the nervous, silent descent down the lift shaft broken only by a joke; daydreaming of an alternative life as a professional cricketer to alleviate the glumness of his work; the sharing of an apple between miners on the paddy train; reading erotic literature aloud; conversations about the economic and political intricacies of the industry at 'snap time;' and the scrubbing of each other's backs in the pithead baths following a shift.[110]

An important part of the film is when Pat sits next to an older miner who begins telling him about the old days, before nationalisation, when miners would come to work every day only to be sent home because there was not enough work for them all. The older miner opines that 'it wer' a bloody carry on'.[111] The older miner continues his monologue about past hardships, of not having enough to eat and no security. For this older miner the young workers 'don't know they're born.' Suddenly Pat interjects and tells the older miner

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[110] In the Nottinghamshire coalfield lunch was called 'snap' after the metal clasp on tins used to carry food underground. The clasp would snap into place to prevent rats from eating the food inside.
[111] Meaning: absurd, undesirable situation.

to 'stop guin on … we've 'eard it all before.' Captured are intergenerational disjunctures resulting from the rapidly changing landscape of mining. The experiences of precarity and hardship of miners before nationalisation, remembered by older miners, seemed alien and foreign to those entering the industry in the late 1960s and 1970s, although there was a strong culture of oral history within the collieries as well as in families with several generations of miners.[112]

It was not only the experience and existences of young men that were beginning to diverge from that of their fathers. There is a tendency to evaluate the experiences and realities of women in mining communities in the mid-twentieth century against middle-class conceptions, expectations and valuations of womanhood, erasing the class dynamics pertaining at the local level. The image of the embittered housewife confined to the kitchen, vividly depicted in Lawrence, had all but disappeared in the first two decades of nationalisation. Labour market participation, for instance, increased dramatically over the period. By 1971, employment for single, divorced and widowed women was averaging ninety-two per cent across the isolated localities of the Dukeries, with employment rates for married women over ninety-five per cent. Although full-time employment rates vary between a low of sixty-two per cent in Blidworth and seventy-five per cent in Bilsthorpe, it is evident that the majority of women, irrespective of marriage or motherhood, worked upwards of thirty hours per week in paid employment.[113]

Due to women being legally disallowed from working in collieries, there was, of course, a gendered division of labour, and spaces of labour for women had male presence in managerial roles. Large employers of women were the hosiery mills, prevalent in the main urban areas, whilst many women worked in shops, pit canteens, schools, Miners' Welfares and leisure facilities. Aside factory work, women's employment was considered unskilled, undervalued and, consequently, low-paid. Inside hosiery factories women performed highly-skilled work but for wages that were lower than their mining husbands. Overall, where working-class men worked working-class jobs so too did working-class women. However, it was the colliery and its associated institutions and geography that

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[112] Clipstone Strike 1971. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lx72L9PoxYI&t=21s
[113] Office of National Statistics, *Census 1971* accessed through UK Data Service, http://casweb.mimas.ac.uk/ [accessed 10 March 2016].

dictated the socio-spatial rhythms of life and men's employment took prominence. Pragmatism and practicality is more explanatory of negotiating the practice of gender roles within the home and family by the 1960s and 1970s, with companionate marriage being generally well-established (Williamson, 2009). Within continuing patriarchal capitalism, mining paid more than women's employment, and women continued to adopt caregiver roles within the home and the village.

Employment was not the only form of autonomous agency among women. Women's economic, social and political agency greatly increased over the period of nationalisation and women began to appear in public life much more from 1947. Women organised at the grassroots to provide amenities within mining communities, sat on Gala committees and lobbied and engaged in debates in Parish Council meetings.[114] The security afforded by the nationalised colliery combined with wider societal change to afford women more emancipation and allow them to embed their own belonging and identity into the landscape. Women's groups were well-established at Miners' Welfares and groups of women organised sports and hobbyist groups. Whereas prior to the 1950s a group of women drinking in the Miners' Welfare would have been a cause of local gossip and familial policing, women now attended the Welfare freely, apart from, perhaps, the taproom which remained a predominately male space aside from Friday and Saturday nights.

Around this period the trend of *Northern Soul* – rare music from small American soul record labels, such as Ric-Tic – was taking root in the industrial heartlands of Britain. Where punk, disco and new-romantic were largely confined to the middle-class urban youth of London and other metropolitan cities, *Northern Soul* was a distinctly industrial working-class phenomenon emerging in the deindustrialising towns of the north (Wilson, 2007). Characterised by sub-cultural significations and performance of dancing, clothing and attitudes, *Northern Soul* was widely adopted by young people in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Men and women descended on Miners' Welfares at the weekend to karate kick and spin to 1960s soul records, attired in vests and wide-bottomed trousers, carrying barrel bags with 'Keep the Faith' badges stitched onto them and stuffed with talcum powder,

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[114] http://www.ourmansfieldandarea.org.uk/page_id__549_path__0p2p31p.aspx

spare clothes and, sometimes, amphetamines.[115]

Far from unfettered, female participation tended to reflect and reproduce gendered and classed roles as mothers and care givers, for example, mother and baby groups, play schemes and local chapters of the Women's Institute. A group of women drinking in the daytime at a Miners' Welfare would still be castigated as inappropriate. The capacity of mining localities to construct distinct gender roles and identities was illustrated by the annual beauty competition to find the regional 'Coal Queen.' Organised by the NUM and CISWO, each colliery held local competitions to find a candidate to represent them at the area Miners' Gala where a contestant was crowned Nottinghamshire Coal Queen. The 'Coal Queen' would then go on to represent Nottinghamshire at the National Coal Queen Competition held at a seaside destination, typically Skegness.[116] However, while heavily gendered, women's participation in, and facilitation of, the cultural life and belongings of the mining community, such as running mother and baby groups, organising annual club trips and so forth, fed back into the atmospheres of security and communality of the period.

Conclusion

This chapter has made a series of claims pertaining to the affective and embodied dynamics of belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield over the period 1947 to 1984. With nationalisation and the institutional infrastructure of the NCB, NUM and CISWO, associations with work and the position of the Nottinghamshire coalfield within political and social stratifications of Britain transformed. Widespread belief in the permanency of the coal industry within the local area engendered senses of belonging that began to drift from being rooted in the collective memories and histories of hardship and struggle, as has been documented in other coalfields, to being rooted in the present and future. New realities of security and centrality underpinned communal forms of belonging. The everyday sensory landscapes of the Nottinghamshire coalfield continued to be constituted by collieries, shaping the culture generated from it, as were the everyday rhythms and performances of mining families. Repetition of these rhythms with the regular interjections of special events and occasions produced communal belongings, initiating nascent

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[115] Hucknall Miners Welfare Friday Night Welbeck Suite Part 1,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YUaI47SUlLI [accessed 10 January 2018].
[116] NUM Nottinghamshire Annual Demonstration [event programme].

traditions and heritages that, by the 1980s, had been fully realised as identifiers of how the Nottinghamshire coalfield was known.

The analyses may appear to romanticise the period leading up to the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85. Mining remained a difficult and dangerous industry, damaging the bodies of miners. While women were fundamental to the fabric of the mining community, their experience, expectations and conformities were regularly determined by their connections to men, as wives, mothers and daughters. The example of women alludes to the exclusionary nature of the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Dominant significations were primarily masculinised: physical and hard labour, being able to join in with the camaraderie underground and engaging in attendant cultures of mining, for example, playing sports or drinking in the Miners' Welfare. Conforming to these standards accumulated social capital. For women, valued significations were being married to a miner or being a miner's daughter and supporting them in their labours. Social capital was further accumulated by accepted forms of gendered engagement and participation in the industrial culture of the mining community, for instance, helping run events such as the gala. Any transgressions of these rigid designations were alienating for individuals and some simply did not 'fit in,' finding themselves out of place.

These exclusions must be understood within the longer histories of the coalfield. The period covered so far has seen the transformation of the collective conditions of the Nottinghamshire coalfield from insecurity and alienation to one of security and long-term assurance. Mining families grasped at these opportunities and, in doing so, formed a thick skin (Walkerdine & Jiménez, 2012) over their localities. Critically, the security and affluence of the Nottinghamshire coalfield in the 1970s, and the belongings that emerged from this, took over a century to actualise and were short-lived. By 1980, more sons and daughters were being born than the capacity of collieries and factories could accommodate, and youth unemployment was beginning to rise.[117] As would prove ruinous for the coalfield, the rise in youth unemployment coincided with widespread colliery closures from 1985 and the retreat of the NCB from areas of welfare and social amenity.

As will be examined in the next chapter, the perception of guaranteed security against redundancies and colliery closures within the Nottinghamshire coalfield was part of

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[117] *Social need in Nottinghamshire* (1984) [report]. Nottinghamshire County Council.

a wider outside perception of the Nottinghamshire coalfield. These perceptions were to become an area of conflict and intervention by the NUM and NCB during the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85. The responses of Nottinghamshire miners to these conflicts would have lasting effects on the atmospheres and bodily capacities of colliery closures, deindustrialisation and belonging.

Chapter Six – The deindustrialisation of the Nottinghamshire coalfield: Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, union splits, colliery closures and ineffectual regeneration

I have so far traced a genealogy of the affective experience and conditions of the Nottinghamshire coalfield from 1860s until the early 1980s. I have evaluated transformations from anxiety and alienation to security and communal belongings. In the case of the Nottinghamshire coalfield, nationalisation facilitated collective conditions of security and a mood of indispensability. Emerging from these conditions was a working-class and mining culture situated in the everyday and eventful affective registers of the coalfield's inhabitants. I have argued that belongings within the coalfield also transformed from alienation to a communality anchored in positive valences toward the present and future. By the 1960s, the Nottinghamshire coalfield thought and understood itself to be stitched into the wider project of the nation. Their place within the national discourse and trajectory was assured. Belongings at the local, national and class scales were not in conflict with each other but aligned and mutually constitutive. This process took close to a century to realise but would last only a few years. Events and processes from the early 1980s fundamentally altered affective relationships, attachments and discourses within the

Nottinghamshire coalfield.

This chapter tells the critical story of the Nottinghamshire coalfield from 1984 until to the present, assessing the fracturing of affective experiences and belongings during and after the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and the subsequent period of colliery closures and deindustrialisation. The Miners' Strike, union splits and colliery closures were critical junctures in affective relationships between people, space and the coal industry. In the first section I address the lead-up to the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, arguing that the collective conditions of security proliferating in the Nottinghamshire coalfield became an area of object-target between forces outside the coalfield. These perceptions and anxieties surrounding the Nottinghamshire coalfield impacted heavily on how the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 transpired, underpinning tactics and strategies of both the government and the NUM. The following section examines the Miners' Strike, a traumatic and violent year in the Nottinghamshire coalfield that shaped the collective conditions of the colliery closures that followed and later played a key role in remembering and forgetting, and consequently, belonging (Arkell & Rising, 2009; Beckett & Hencke, 2009; Milne, 2004; Richards, 1996, Winterton & Winterton, 1989). The chapter then moves on to document the split in union affiliation in the coalfield almost immediately following the strike and the relationship between the Nottinghamshire coalfield, the NCB, the NUM and the UDM.[118] I argue that the harbouring of resentment by the UDM pertaining to the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 was compounded by both a delusion that the NCB would extend preferential treatment to them, as well as the UDM's acceptance of the NCB's policy discourse of enterprise and neoliberalism. I then move on to detail the traumas and affective intensities of colliery closures and deindustrialisation, positing that the UDM were ill-prepared to resist the closures, having been deceived by the NCB and Government. The chapter then ends with a critique of coalfield regeneration, arguing that the failures to regenerate the coalfields illustrates the depth of the impact of colliery closures. The approaches to regeneration were also critically flawed, actively avoiding the historical-geographies of coalfields and the traumas of the past. Regeneration has also faltered because it has been rooted in neoliberal

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[118] In 1987 the NCB changed its name to British Coal. Again, on privatisation in 1995, British Coal changed to the Coal Authority. For consistency and to avoid confusion, I will continue to use NCB to refer to the organisation.

agendas that emphasised enterprise and is premised on an unquestioned understanding of temporality as forwardness, perpetually equating the passage of time with progress.

Threaded through this chapter is an explicit emphasis on how events fold into each other, informing and determining the range of possibilities for subsequent events over linear time. In addition to its central aims of apprehending the immediate impacts of the Miners' Strike, colliery closures, union splits and regeneration, the chapter also acts to contextualise the next two chapters, highlighting issues and events of significance.

Lead up to the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85

Wider perceptions of the miner and mining communities were critical in the lead up to the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85. Arnold (2016) argues that political and public perceptions of the miner changed from reverence to disdain following the strikes of 1972 and 1974. Industrial unrest and economic performance within the nationalised industries during the 1960s and 1970s had enabled a narrative of national decline to be confected and promulgated: that the political economic system of full-employment and mixed economies was not working, and a new system based around the individual, the market and enterprise was required to remedy the 'sick man of Europe' (Tomlinson, 2008).[119] In 1979, a Conservative government, under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, was elected on a mandate to reorganise the nationalised industries and challenge the power of the unions, the most powerful of which was the NUM. Thatcher was also a minister during the embarrassing defeats of the Conservative government in 1972 and 1974 and harboured a personal animosity toward the NUM (Black, 2012; Vinen, 2009).

In 1980, Teversal Colliery closed in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, causing a ripple of anxiety throughout the workforce, and New Hucknall Colliery was also struggling to remain open.[120] The Nottinghamshire Area NUM consulted with the national NUM to call for solidarity from other coalfields, however, support was not forthcoming.[121] It was clear, though, that more widespread colliery closures were on the horizon.[122] The government first tested the NUM's resolve for strike action in 1981, releasing a list of proposed colliery

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[119] Monetarism Is Not Enough (1976). Centre for Policy Studies.
[120] NUM Meeting Minutes book, 1980, EMC.
[121] NUM Meeting Minutes book, 1980, 1981 and 1983, EMC.
[122] 'Derek Ezra on pit closures' [news report] 1981, BUFVC, http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0014100387011 [accessed 16 September 2017].

closures. Unsurprisingly, given that Ezra, the NCB chairman, demonstrably favoured the north Nottinghamshire coalfield, no collieries in the NNA were on the list, but a few in the SNA were.[123] A potential national strike was averted when the government realised that the NUM held the better hand.[124] Sensing a rundown of the industry, the NUM began to mobilise resistance, as did the government, discreetly increasing coal stocks at pitheads.[125] The friction between the government, NCB and NUM intensified the following year when the moderate Joe Gormley retired as president of the NUM to be replaced by the vastly more militant Arthur Scargill, who secured an emphatic majority in all coalfields (Crick, 1985; Routledge, 1993).[126]

When Ezra resigned as NCB chairman in 1982, the former miner, Norman Siddall, was appointed as a compromise between the NUM and government. Lasting only a year in office due to poor health, Siddall used his short time as chairman to restate that the Nottinghamshire coalfield was safe from colliery closures, writing that '[w]e have to … concentrate on modern pits producing cheaper coal, high wages and a secure future for coming mining generations.'[127] Following Siddall's resignation, Thatcher appointed Ian MacGregor, angering the NUM since he had already earned the nickname 'Mac the Knife' after mass redundancies of steelworkers under his chairmanship of British Steel.[128] MacGregor acted quickly to assuage anxieties in north Nottinghamshire and to reinforce the pervasive sense of security. On a visit to Thoresby Colliery at the beginning of his tenure, MacGregor reiterated that, '[i]t is from the core of the industry in this Area that we are going to see the future of the industry built.'[129] It was these persistent and duplicitous

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[123] Sir Derek Ezra speech to Notts. NUM, 1976, Notts NUM Minute Book 1976, EMC; NCB and AEC meeting, 3 March 1977, EMC, 78; Joint Meeting Between the AEC and the NCB, July 1978, Notts NUM Minute Book 1978, EMC, 197-201.
[124] 'Government u-turn over miners dispute, 1981,' [video] LBC/IRN Digitisation Archive, BUFVC. http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0004100518013 [accessed 3 March 2017].
[125] NUM conference debate on pit closures [video], 8 Jul 1982, BUFVC, http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0017200150003 [accessed 3 March 2017]; *Coal News*, August 1983, COAL 70/91, TNA; NUM Meeting Minutes book, 1981, EMC, p. 36; PREM19/494 f4, MTA.
[126] NUM conference interview with Scargill [video] 5 Jul 1982, BUFVC, http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0015200366008 [accessed 3 March 2017]; NUM Meeting Minutes book, 1982, EMC.
[127] Front Page, *Coal News*, July 1983, COAL 71/85, TNA.
[128] 'Background of Ian MacGregor,' [video], 3 Mar 1983, BUFVC, http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0000600308009 [accessed 3 March 2017]; 'Arthur Scargill on MacGregor coal board appointment, 1983,' [video] LBC/IRN Digitisation Archive, BUFVC. http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0007200264007 [accessed 3 March 2017].
[129] 'Work together to stay on top', *Coal News*, December 1983, COAL 70/92, TNA.

assurances of the future, reinforcing perceptions of indispensability, that contributed to the Nottinghamshire coalfield being at the centre of the Miners' Strike the following year.

The Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 would be singularly premised on colliery closures and job losses, not on pay and conditions like 1972 and 1974 (Taylor, A., 2005). Due to both the Nottinghamshire coalfield's high productivity and collective conditions of security, whether miners in the coalfield went on strike was seen by both sides as being decisive (Coates & Barratt Brown, 1997). As tensions rose across the coalfields, other Areas of the NUM expressed concerns about the solidarity of Nottinghamshire miners in the event of a national strike (Darlington, 2005). The memory of 1926 and Spencerism was strong within the collective memory of more militant NUM members and Nottinghamshire's militancy in 1972 and 1974 had done little to admonish the perception of Nottinghamshire being 'Scab County.' Further, the contemporary perception, rooted in material conditions and the conflicts over production bonuses, was that the Nottinghamshire coalfield was greedy and selfish.[130]

As a future strike was to be about colliery closures, the worry was that, as Nottinghamshire was perceived to be safe, they would not endure the hardship to support other coalfields. Indicative were national ballots on industrial action held in January 1982, October 1982 and March 1983, in which Nottinghamshire voted for strike action by only thirty per cent, twenty-one per cent and nineteen per cent respectively (Callinicos & Simons, 1985, p. 44). Wary that the Nottinghamshire coalfield would be the weak link, other Areas pre-emptively threatened the Nottinghamshire Area NUM to try to enforce solidarity. The Nottinghamshire Area NUM retaliated, reminding their counterparts of their refusal to support them against recent closures of Teversal and New Hucknall (Amos, 2012).[131] Forewarnings were tested on the announcement of the closure of Cortonwood Colliery in Yorkshire in March 1984. The Cortonwood workforce walked out on strike, followed by neighbouring collieries and then other coalfields. Within 48 hours, South Wales, Scotland, Kent and Yorkshire were all on strike.

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[130] *Coal News*, August 1983, COAL 70/92, TNA.
[131] *Coal News*, August 1983, COAL 70/92, TNA; NUM Meeting Minutes book, 1983, EMC.

The Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 in the Nottinghamshire Coalfield

From the beginning of the strike miners from other coalfields, mainly South Yorkshire, flooded south into the Nottinghamshire coalfield to ensure the productive collieries were observing the industrial action (Wilson, 2004).[132] Violence and intimidation outside colliery gates soon followed and mining villages erupted in chaos and conflict (Paterson, 2014).[133] Overwhelmed, Nottinghamshire police called for mutual aid from neighbouring forces. In response, the handling of the strike was largely centralised to a control centre in London and the largest police operation in British history was launched, with thousands of police drafted to Nottinghamshire, accommodated in army camps (McCabe & Wallington, 1988). Checkpoints were set up on roads leading into the Nottinghamshire coalfield and police roamed villages in heavy numbers (McIlroy, 1985; Fine & Millar, 1985).[134] 'Snatch squads' of police burst into crowds of pickets to violently arrest individuals and nebulous charges were brought against them (Coulter, Miller & Walker, 1984; Christian, 1985).

Rumours about the police operation were rife, that phones of striking miners were being tapped, that the army were posing as police officers, that MI5 were involved and that *agent provocateurs* were being sent into crowds of pickets to incite violence (Milne, 2004). The MP for Mansfield, Don Concannon, proclaimed that the government had 'turned the area into a police state.'[135] However, seven years before the strike, the Conservative Party drafted a plan in preparation for a show down with the NUM. The 'Ridley Plan' of 1977 proposed that the government choose the battleground on which to fight the NUM and that a 'large, mobile squad of police' be assembled to ensure that those wishing to work could do so.[136] The Nottinghamshire coalfield, with its perceptions of moderation and security was that battlefield.

The rapid escalation and strategies of the strike caught the Nottinghamshire Area

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[132] Baker, R. 'Pits grind to a halt – Yorkshire pickets tighten grip on Notts. Coalfield,' *The Chad* [newspaper], 15 March 1984, ML.

[133] - Miners strike - Thoresby pickets, Mar 1984 [video], LBC / IRN Digitisation Archive, BUFVC. http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0002900205014 [accessed 6 March 2017]; Miners strike - Pickets getting more violent, Apr 1984 [video], LBC / IRN Digitisation Archive, BUFVC, http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0002900205020 [accessed 6 March 2017].

[134] Baker, R. 'What next in Mining Crisis?,' *The Chad* [newspaper], 22 March 1984, ML.

[135] *The Chad* [newspaper], 22 March 1984, ML.

[136] 'National Industries Policy Group Report', *Economic Reconstruction Group*, 1977, Thatcher MSS (2/6/1/37), MTF. https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/110795 [accessed 12 April 2017].

NUM leadership and its members off guard. Finding themselves at the centre of a national dispute, most miners in Nottinghamshire called for a national ballot of members on strike action.[137] When this was resisted, the Nottinghamshire Area NUM resolved to hold an area ballot to determine Nottinghamshire's position. The night before the ballot was held, violence exploded in Ollerton. Pickets, police and working miners clashed, projectiles were thrown, and David Jones, a picket from South Kirkby, Yorkshire, died.[138] Over the next two days seventy-two per cent of Nottinghamshire's miners voted no to the question 'Do you support strike action to prevent pit closures and massive run down of jobs?' Voting distributions varied between collieries, but not a single branch returned a majority. Most miners across the Nottinghamshire coalfield showed impiety toward the picket lines and went back to work immediately. Most of those that remained on strike drifted back over the proceeding months. Some collieries had several hundred miners out on strike until the very end whilst others had only a few dozen. Estimates suggests around two-thousand miners in Nottinghamshire stayed 'loyal to the last.'

Violence and intimidation spread through villages as both sides engaged in retaliatory attacks, vandalism and intimidation. Working miners, scared of what would happen to their wives and homes whilst at work, were transported into collieries in armoured buses, flanked on both sides by shouting pickets behind rows of police.[139] In one reported incident a rabbit belonging to the daughter of a working miner was nailed to the front door with the words 'Scab's rabbit, you're next' written below it.[140] A group of working miners, The National Working Miners Committee, compiled a dossier of incidents from March to October, sending a copy to Thatcher's office.[141] Working miners were also prone to incitement and violence. Wage slips were waved in the faces of pickets.[142]

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[137] 'No Strike Without Ballot,' *The Chad* [newspaper], 8 March 1984, ML.
[138] 'Central News East: 14.03.1984: Miners Picket Llines' [video], MACE; 'Central News East: 15.03.1984: Miners Dispute (2)' [video], MACE; 'Miners' Strike - Eyewitness account of picket line violence' [video], 13 Mar 1984, LBC/IRN, BUFVC. http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0000500310024 [accessed 20 March 2017].
[139] 'Central News East 13/4/1984 (Miners Dispute)' [video], MACE; https://www.facebook.com/groups/428674903954135/permalink/660533050768318/.
[140] P. Brudzinski, *The Chad* [newspaper], 22 March 2004, ML.
[141] National Working Miners Committee, *The Miners Dispute – A Catalogue of Violence*, THCR 2/6/3/175/part1/ f3, MTF. https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/137656 [accessed 30 April 2016].
[142] Owen, J. 'Reunited at Last: The striker and the scab', *The Independent* [newspaper], 9 March 2009. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/reunited-at-last-the-striker-and-the-scab-1639777.html [accessed 13 May 2016].

Threatening letters were posted to striking miners and graffiti was sprayed on cars demanding they go back to work (Symcox, 2011, pp. 54 – 56). Striking and working miners regularly threatened each other and each other's families in the streets, in Miners' Welfares and in shops.[143] The windows of both striking and working miners were broken, cars vandalised, and children were prohibited from being friends with the sons and daughters of 'scabs' or strikers. Groups clashed at a mass demonstration at the Nottinghamshire Area NUM headquarters and at a march in Mansfield to rally working miners to join the strike.[144] Scargill implored Nottinghamshire miners to 'recognise what's at stake. It's not just your job and your pit, it's your dignity, your self-respect and the future of your own union. The only defence you've got.'[145] It was to no avail and over the course of the year friendships forged in childhood were irreparably destroyed, sibling and parental relationships were torn apart and communal belongings were fractured (Symcox, 2011; Beaton, 1985).[146] A member of the Welbeck Women's Action group represented the affective atmospheres across mining communities in the Nottinghamshire coalfield: 'This was a happy community once … but it's terrible now.'[147]

In the minority, the Nottinghamshire striking miners struggled more than other coalfields to sustain a strike presence. In these conditions, friendships, which did not exist before, were formed through solidarity and joint struggle. Networks were established with strikers at other collieries to co-ordinate picketing and fundraising and to share resources. A command centre was established at Ollerton where picketing sites were delegated, legal advice for striking miners arrested on picket lines was provided and hardship funds were allocated. Women were instrumental in setting up the command centre, indicative of the role that wives and mothers of striking miners played. Women's groups were organised in most mining villages, those without were teamed up with ones in neighbouring villages.[148]

[143] O. Craig, 'The Pithead Baths is a supermarket now,' *The Telegraph* [newspaper] 7 March 2004. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1456226/The-pithead-baths-is-a-supermarket-now.html [accessed 13 May 2016].
[144] Baker, R. 'Ballots Backlash!,' *The Chad* [newspaper]. 3 May 1984, ML; *The Chad* [newspaper], 17 May 1984.
[145] 'Miners strike - Arthur Scargill visits Nottinghamshire pits', [video], 30 Apr 1984, LBC/IRN Digitisation Archive, BUFVC. http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0003200305006 [accessed 6 March 2018].
[146] Central News East: 1/10/1984, MACE.
[147] Notts Women Strike Back (Steel Bank, 1984). https://vimeo.com/253835586 [accessed 10 April 2018].
[148] Ibid.

Women largely reproduced their domestic gendered roles, setting up soup kitchens and providing meals, caregiving and emotional support to striking families (Witham, 1985). Women's wages were crucial to striking families, but women were also critical to maintaining the strike both in terms of morale and fundraising, travelling the country to speak about their experiences in non-coalfield areas (Kelliher, 2015; Holden, 2005; Beaton, 1985). Despite the efforts of all involved, there was a steady drift back to work throughout the year as the financial stress actualised in broken marriages, hunger and repossessed homes and possessions, compounded by the sense of futility watching the vast majority of colleagues going to work every day.[149]

When the NUM called off the strike without securing any of its demands the 'scabs' of Nottinghamshire were widely blamed for the defeat, with the unwillingness to strike seen as vindicating their presumptions of a conceited self-interest and sense of indispensability. What must be acknowledged, however, is the careful management of affective discourse, rhetoric and perception by the NCB and government throughout the dispute (Steber, 2018). Part of the strategy of the NCB and government was to reinforce the object-target of security in Nottinghamshire in order to keep the coalfield's miners at work. Effectively, using the collective conditions that nationalisation had facilitated in the Nottinghamshire coalfield to successfully break the NUM and the industry. The strategy was aided by a sympathetic mass media that carried news stories demonising the striking miners and the NUM leadership, falsifying information if necessary (Jones, Williams & Lazenby, 2014; Jones, 1985). A Ministerial Group on Coal was established within a week of the strike starting, comprised of all cabinet members and meeting regularly to discuss the strike and strategize responses to unfolding events (Phillips, J., 2014).[150] Developments in the Nottinghamshire coalfield were of critical concern, and the group remained 'alert for any change in the position' of the miners that were working.[151] While still maintaining the appearance of being outside the dispute, supposedly between the NUM and the NCB, the government resolved on several occasions to press the NCB to improve the effectiveness of its public relations in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. The NCB communications strategy

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[149] Central News East: 18.06.1985: Broken Marriages, MACE.
[150] Cabinet Ministerial Group on Coal, CAB130/1268 f8-f290, TNA; CAB130/1285, TNA.
[151] Cabinet Ministerial Group on Coal, Wednesday 28 March 1984, CAB130/1268 f6, TNA,

focussed on ensuring that Nottinghamshire miners continued to believe that their jobs and collieries were secure by emphasising the necessity of coal to the nation and its abundant reserves in Nottinghamshire (fig. 15).[152] Additionally, the government resolved that it would 'take particular care to highlight … Government confidence in the future of the industry at every opportunity.'[153] So, when Thatcher said publicly that '[t]he real way to keep jobs in coal is to concentrate production on the newest and most excellent mines,' the subtext intended for working miners in the Nottinghamshire coalfield was that their jobs were safe.[154]

By the end of summer 1984 it was reasonably certain that Nottinghamshire miners would not be joining their colleagues on strike. Thatcher then began public and private communications giving the appearance of solidarity with working miners, further dividing them from their counterparts. Jim Phillips (2018, p. 50) argues that the:

> government recast striking miners in discursive terms, from the working class
> heroes of the 1970s, deserving of special treatment because their labour was
> both vital and dangerous, to greedy self-seekers whose opposition to pit
> closures on economic grounds was a major social hazard.

But, whilst vilifying the NUM as the 'enemy within,' Thatcher sought to falsely entrench Nottinghamshire's position within the dominant imaginary of the nation, using her 1984 Conservative Conference speech to describe working miners as 'lions' and proclaiming, in a personal thank you note to Nottinghamshire's working miners, that they were 'an example to us all.'[155] In letters written to wives of Nottinghamshire's working miners, Thatcher stated that the Conservatives would 'never forget' the role they played and there would be 'no betrayal of the working miners to whom we owe so much.'[156] However, following the strike collieries in Nottinghamshire began to close and the workforces at those remaining were significantly reduced.[157]

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[152] 'Where the Coal Board Stands,' *The Chad* [newspaper]. 26 April 1984, ML.
[153] Cabinet Ministerial Group on Coal, Meeting Seven, 4 April 1984, CAB130/1268 f40, TNA.
[154] M. Thatcher, Prime Ministers Questions, Engagements, HC DEB 15 March 1984 HANSARD vol 56 cc503-6.
[155] M. Thatcher [speech], Conservative Party Conference, Friday 12 October 1984, MTF, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/136240 [accessed 12 September 2016]; Reprinted in *The Chad* [newspaper], 7 October 1992, ML, p. 1.
[156] M. Thatcher to A. Hopkins, 26 October 1984, THCR 2/6/3/143 Part 1 f20, MTF; M. Thatcher to P. Linton, 4 February 1985, PREM 19/1579, TNA.
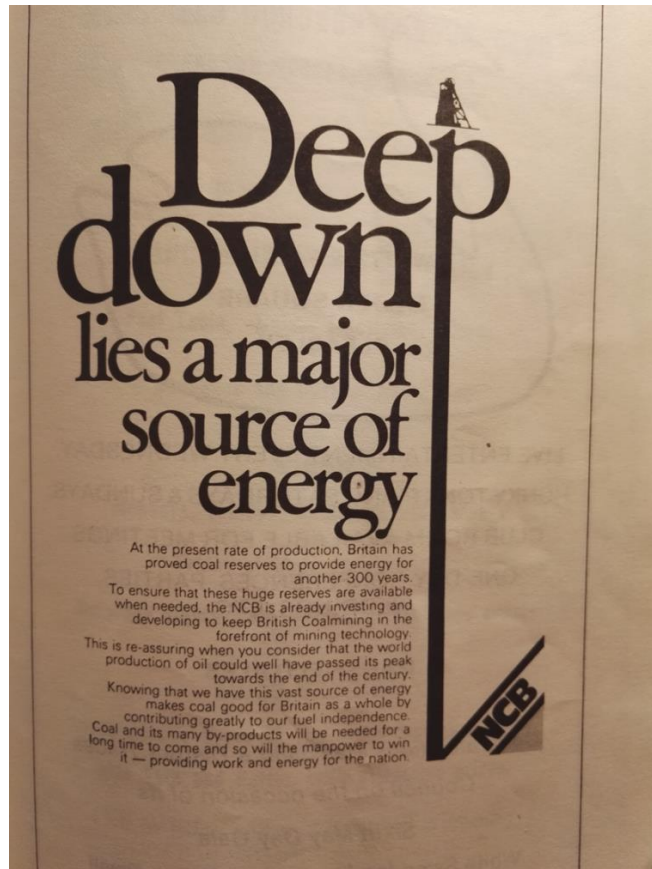[157] *Rural Coalfield* Appendix 3, NRO.

Figure 15: Mansfield & District TUC May Day 1984, Event Programme, 7 May 1984. Source: personal collection.

Union splits, the NUM and the UDM

After a year out on strike those 'loyal to the last' were back working with those who they felt betrayed the NUM and the industry. Animosities still burned among the workforce and divisions continued until collieries closed (Allsop, 2005). The refusal of miners to talk to each other resulted in teams being constructed solely of miners loyal to the strike (Stanley, 2009). The previous conditions of the colliery had changed from one of solidaristic unity to one of tension and bitterness.[158] One man who stopped talking to his brother during the strike said that he 'could rot before I'd ever talk to him again…. I can't forget and I never will.'[159]

Working miners vented their frustrations at the Nottinghamshire Area NUM leadership for prevaricating during the strike by voting to replace Chadburn and Henry

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[158] K. Stanley (2009), *Nottinghamshire Miners Do Strike!.* Mansfield.
[159] 'Tied up in Notts', New Society [magazine], 6 March 1987, COAL 26/1101, TNA.

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Richardson as the two main leaders with Roy Lynk and David Prendergast, active supporters of working miners. Meanwhile, the antipathy between Nottinghamshire and other coalfields continued unabated. In events almost exact to those of 1926, Lynk and Prendergast of the Nottinghamshire Area NUM were expelled from the NUM in July 1985. Lynk and Prendergast reacted by establishing the UDM under their leadership (Amos, 2012).[160]

Following a High Court ruling, the UDM sequestrated all of the Nottinghamshire Area NUM's property, assets and funds. Unperturbed, Nottinghamshire's striking miners organised to keep an NUM presence in the coalfield. What resulted was another bitter struggle (Allsop, 2005).[161] In scenes, again, reminiscent of the Spencer Union and the NMA, the UDM attempted to prevent the Nottinghamshire Area NUM from holding ballots on NCB property, urging branches to use 'whatever means they deem necessary (excepting physical violence).'[162] *The Nottinghamshire Miner*, the union newspaper, was also used as a vehicle to attack the NUM in a public forum to bolster the position of the UDM.[163] Newstead branch stepped in to try and quell the pettiness of the UDM, suggesting '[l]et's have a clean Notts. Miner and not a propaganda paper.'[164] The leadership replied that the newspaper is 'based on facts and truth.' The UDM also aimed to deface the Nottinghamshire Area NUM banner to read Union of Democratic Mineworkers and attempted to persuade branches to do the same to their banners but they rejected.[165] Many of the NUM branch banners were dumped under a stage in the union headquarters instead.[166]

The symbolic violence of defacing and denying access to banners was indicative of the retreat of mining unionism from social and cultural forms of life and communal belongings in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. From 1985 there was no major annual gala in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, the UDM arguing there was no need or desire for one

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[160] 'Nottingham Miners Press Conference, 1980's - Film 41724' [video], Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ji7-aA-Jmp0 [accessed 5 June 2017].
[161] Notts. UDM Minute Books, 1987–1990, EMC.
[162] UDM Minutes 1986. EMC
[163] The Nottinghamshire Miner, 1986, COAL 31/342/1, TNA.
[164] Notts. UDM Minute Books, 1986. EMC, p. 210.
[165] Ibid, p. 187.
[166] O. Craig, 'The Pithead Baths is a supermarket now,' *The Telegraph* [newspaper] 7 March 2004. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1456226/The-pithead-baths-is-a-supermarket-now.html [accessed 13 May 2016].

anymore.[167] Also, the UDM were refused affiliation status with both the TUC and the Labour Party, compounding the isolation of the Nottinghamshire coalfield from wider class and political networks. Collective conditions of isolation exacerbated the ingratiation of the UDM with an increasingly neoliberalised NCB and government.

Colliery Closures, Privatisation and No Alternative

Despite the NCB's proclamations that the industry was not being lined up for privatisation, both the NUM and UDM were unconvinced, stressing vigilance but falling short of uniting against it. In 1986 the resurrected Nottinghamshire Area NUM re-established the Annual Demonstration and Gala, a significantly smaller event in the grounds of West Nottinghamshire College. At the 'Nottinghamshire NUM and Justice for Mineworkers Gala' in September 1987 the Nottinghamshire Area NUM stated '[w]hilst ever there is a split the Government will exploit the situation and the drastic effects of privatisation will be injurious to the miners which ever union they belong to.'[168] At the gala of the following year Chadburn and Richardson, in a joint statement, weaponised history in their call of resistance:

> We must all unite to prevent the privatisation of our industry and any miner
> who is not prepared to take part in that fight will be betraying our forefathers
> and all the past activists, who relentlessly fought for many years to achieve
> Nationalisation.[169]

The UDM, on the other hand, prevaricated on the issue of privatisation. Official public policy was that they were against privatisation. However, they also made it known publicly that they were preparing bids for colliery and mining operations in the event of privatisation, as well as holding secret meetings with the government to discuss the issue.[170] Deemed as pragmatism, when the coal industry was eventually privatised in 1995 the UDM did bid on some of the available packages in the Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire coalfields. The offers were rejected by Government and NCB for being wholly

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[167] Notts. UDM Minute Books, 1986. EMC.
[168] Notts NUM and Justice for Mineworkers Gala programme, 5 September 1987, personal collection.
[169] Notts NUM and Justice for Mineworkers Gala programme, 10 September 1988, personal collection.
[170] PRIME MINISTER. Prime Minister's meetings with the Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM), PREM 19/2801, TNA.

inadequate.[171]

In reality, the coal industry was only ostensibly a nationalised industry from 1985, increasingly taking on an appearance of a privatised organisation. The NCB continued its project of discursively and politically reframing the coal industry around neoliberal principles. Beginning with MacGregor, the coal industry was now only referred to as the 'coal business,' made up of individual miners, not collectives of mutual interests.[172] Subjective economic solutions and opinions were presented forcibly as indisputable 'facts of life', and trade unions that proposed any alternative were obsolete, of a bygone era and not living in the real world.[173] The 'real' world presented to unions was free markets, free trade and individual freedom. In this new neoliberal formulation, it was stubbornly asserted, there was no alternative (Vinen, 2009; Fisher, 2009). Addressing the first conference of the UDM in June 1986, MacGregor used his speech to reiterate the similitude between the ethos of the UDM and the free market principles of individualism, proclaiming that the UDM 'came about on a principle of freedom for the individual.'[174] The UDM were convinced that the NCB would give them preferential treatment because of their outlook and loyalty shown during 1984 – 85. The UDM leadership were slow to realise that this was not the case.[175]

By 1987, it was beginning to dawn on Neil Greatrex, leader of the Nottinghamshire UDM, that the NCB was not the UDM's friend and was exploiting the split in union membership, using his 1987 conference speech to voice his concerns with the NCB.[176] The NCB leaders were displeased when NCB representatives relayed Greatrex's conference speech, not because Greatrex's claims were false, but because they were true. The NCB harboured as much resentment toward the UDM as they did the NUM, the NUM just knew that the contempt was mutual. The NCB was convinced that they had duped the UDM, that the UDM were unaware that the NCB considered them incompetent.[177] The NCB was at

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[171] Privatisation of the Coal Industry, EG 26/68, TNA; Union of Democratic Mineworkers, COAL 31/346, TNA; Union of Democratic Mineworkers, COAL 31/341/2, TNA.

[172] New NCB head Ian MacGregor on mining future [video], 4 Jul 1983, LBC/IRN Digitisation Archive, BUFVC, http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0008000189021 [accessed 11 November 2016].

[173] UDM Meeting Minutes, 1987 – 1988, EMC, pp. 77– 9, emphasis added.

[174] UDM Meeting, 1986, EMC, p. 218

[175] Letter R. Lynk to Sir Robert Haslam, 3rd November 1986, COAL 31/341/2, TNA.

[176] UDM documents, COAL 31/342/1, TNA.

[177] UDM documents, COAL 31/342/1, TNA.

pains to present an outward display of respect, carefully managing the affective styles of their correspondence and interactions. Speeches and letters from the NCB officials went through multiple drafts to make certain that the NCB was exonerated from blame over colliery closures, that the decision to close collieries appeared to be that of the miners, made without duress or force by management, that they appeared to be on the side of the miners, but that there was 'no alternative.'[178] Greatrex was really only a lone voice in the UDM leadership, however, and Lynk and Prendergast were still enamoured by the thought that they were part of the establishment, seeking to ingratiate themselves to the NCB at every opportunity by comparing their passive strategy to the NUM's.[179]

In the three years following March 1985, seven collieries in the coalfield had closed with over eight-thousand redundancies at collieries across the county.[180] In the financial year 1987 – 88, only eight collieries exceeded 'their budgeted output figure.'[181] By 1988, the UDM General Secretary was writing to the European Coal and Steel Community Committee pleading for assistance to alleviate Mansfield, Sutton-in-Ashfield and Hucknall in the 'terrible times' they were experiencing.[182] However, in seeking to court approval from the NCB, and give the appearance that they were a progressive union adaptive to the conditions of the new economic reasoning, the UDM accepted the NCB's and the Government's economic framings of the market and international trade, offering no meaningful resistance to the deindustrialisation of the coalfield (Waddington, Dicks & Critcher, 1994).[183] The naivety distilled into enthusiastic, positive pronouncements of the future. For instance, the foreword of the 1987 UDM's 'Report of the National Executive Committee and National Council' stated:

> There is mounting evidence that a plateau in the numbers of men [losing jobs]
> will soon be reached. With a young, vigorous workforce sure of its future, we
> can be justifiably confident that the will to succeed will overcome the onslaught

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[178] Union of Democratic Mineworkers correspondence, COAL 26/1101 – 5, TNA.
[179] UDM documents; COAL 31/342/1-2 TNA; Union of Democratic Mineworkers Correspondence, COAL 26/1101, TNA.
[180] 'Tied up in Notts', New Society [magazine], 6 March 1987, COAL 26/1101, TNA.
[181] UDM Meeting Minutes, 1987 – 1988, EMC, pp. 77– 9.
[182] Ibid, pp. 247 – 248
[183] Prime Minister. Prime Minister's meetings with the Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM), PREM 19/2801, TNA

of [the NCB's] competitors.[184]

    Less than a year later, at a UDM conference of branch officials and committee members, the Director and Deputy Director of the NCB Nottinghamshire Area addressed the gathered audience on the subject of 'The Future of the Nottinghamshire Coalfield.'[185] The meeting was told that industrial disputes were preventing the Nottinghamshire coalfield from being sustainable and that the industry 'and those that worked in it had got to learn to live in this modern world.' The Director continued, '[t]he days of industrial disputes making any impression on the world had gone and [the NCB's] customers were well aware of the ease that cheaper coal could be obtained on the international market.' Whilst the aim was for no colliery closures to take place that year, loss-making collieries 'could not be tolerated indefinitely.'[186] The Director then moved into the affective discursive styles of threat, 'There Is No Alternative' (TINA) and false ingratiation, asserting that 'opportunities available in the Nottinghamshire Coalfield were tremendous.' Nottinghamshire miners just needed to continue to 'change and adapt to the new environment required to compete in the modern markets of today.' To this '*there was no choice … the Area and the Pits in the Area either adapt or disappear*.'[187]

    By the beginning of 1992 rumours began to circulate that further colliery closures were imminent (Parker, 2012).[188] Eleven collieries in the NCB's Nottinghamshire Area had already closed since 1985, with an additional three in the geographic area of Nottinghamshire. The government was fully aware that colliery closures were coming and had meetings to discuss the issue as early as September 1991.[189] The extent of closures meant that a high level of secrecy and sensitivity was required to avoid a backlash. When a government commissioned report was leaked in October 1991 suggesting a massive rundown of the industry was likely, ministers and the NCB opted for duplicity. In March 1992, *The Chad* published a letter from the secretary of state for energy which drew on the strike to again pacify miners in the Nottinghamshire coalfield:

    During those dark days in 1984 and 1985, miners here earned a reputation for

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[184] Report of the National Executive Committee and National Council, COAL 31/343, TNA.
[185] UDM Meeting Minutes, 1987 – 1988, EMC, pp. 77– 9.
[186] Apart from Sutton which was nearing the end of its reserves.
[187] UDM Meeting Minutes, 1987 – 1988, EMC, pp. 77– 9, emphasis added.
[188] *The Chad* [newspaper], 2 September 1992, ML; *The Chad* [newspaper], 16 September 1992, ML;
[189] History of Pit Closures Briefing Document, EG 26/326, TNA.

reliability, for courage and for perseverance. That reputation, along with the striking

productivity improvements that Notts miners have made, will be the key to securing

the future of the industry in this county…. Here in Nottinghamshire the foundations

for the future are as solid as they come.[190]

Yet, by September 1992 government documents and communications were leaked regarding widespread closures.[191] *The Chad* ran a front page headline warning people to 'prepare for the worst.'[192] Lynk responded that 'the truth will not be as devastating.'[193]

In October 1992, it was announced that thirty-one collieries would close with immediate effect in preparation for privatising the industry. Seven of the thirty-one were in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, two more were nearby and employed Nottinghamshire miners. The reaction was one of betrayal, shock and dejection (Dicks, 1996).[194] A miner at Bilsthorpe summed up the feelings of many: 'I came down from Cumbria in 1967 for job security. That's what [the NCB] told us.'[195]

Due to widespread condemnation the government gave a stay of execution to consult on closures but only to placate national outcry.[196] It took six months before the consultations and court cases had been resolved. In the interim, mining communities waited anxiously. A woman at Clipstone Miners' Welfare said: 'We're just sitting here waiting to be sentenced. We haven't got a clue what's happening.'[197] The Chad harshly noted: 'They could not move to find work elsewhere because they could not sell their house – who wants to move to a dying pit village.'[198] The tactics of the NCB and government, as they had always been, was to offer increased redundancy for a limited time, thereby getting the miners to jump before having to push them. As a miner at Rufford Colliery, which was on

[190] J. Wakeham to The Chad, *The Chad* [newspaper], 11 March 1992, ML, p. 4.

[191] 'DOOMED,' *The Chad* [newspaper], 23 September 1992, ML.

[192] *The Chad* [newspaper]. 16 September 1992.

[193] *The Chad* [newspaper], 23 September 1992, ML.

[194] 'Coal Mining - Silverhill Colliery – 1992' [video]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TPx4uAcMJ6E [accessed 2 December 2017]; 'King Coal - BGS on BBC - Inside Out - East Midlands' [video], *British Geological Survey.* [video] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yEOxJxhRtNw&t=131s [accessed 12 November 2016]; F. Childs, *The Chad* [newspaper], 5 May 1993, ML, p. 3; *The Chad* [newspaper], 27 January 1993.

[195] *The Chad*, 21 October 1992, ML, p. 9.

[196] Department of Trade and Industry, 'The Prospects for Coal: Conclusions of the Government's Coal Review', Cm 2235, March 1993.

[197] *The Chad* [newspaper], 27 January 1993, ML.

[198] Ibid; see also issues of *The Chad* [newspaper], 3 March 1993, 10 March 1993, 31 March 1993, 5 May 1993, 25 August 1993, 2 February 1994.

the list of closures, said: 'It's just come too quick, too soon and nobody knows what we're doing. Everybody's going for option one [closure] because everybody's frightened to death of losing that ten thousand pound, losing their redundancy.'[199] A leader of Women Against Pit Closures at Rufford offered a longer perspective:

> I've got two teenage children. My children have already got very little chance
> of jobs, but they'll have no chance at all once this pit goes. My husband's forty
> and I don't think he'll ever work again because there's nothing in this area at
> all so once this pit's gone we're gonna be on t'dole for the rest of our lives.[200]

Within the UDM, the illusion that they would be protected from colliery closures had finally corroded away. Further colliery closures were not, however, enough to unite the Nottinghamshire NUM and the UDM, who continued to argue through the pages of *The Chad*.[201] Lynk stated that he had 'been betrayed by the government and [NCB].'[202] In protest against the planned closures Lynk returned the OBE, awarded to him in recognition of breaking up the Nottinghamshire mining unions, and staged a week-long sit-in underground at Silverhill Colliery, an unusual course of action considering he was informed of the plan to close collieries a month prior to its announcement.[203] Silverhill Colliery closed in March 1993 and Lynk resigned his presidency of the UDM, replaced by Greatrex.

In a 1992 speech Greatrex touched on several critical points in the relationship between the NCB, the UDM and the future of coalmining jobs in Nottinghamshire: 'Well, we all know that we have adhered to every single task that has been asked of us …. We have willingly adapted to all these and still collieries are closing at a phenomenal rate. Job losses are still taking place.'[204] In his closing statements, Greatrex addressed the issue of the future with a hopeful, naïve, prediction for the coal industry in Nottinghamshire: 'We want jobs, not only for ourselves but for our sons and daughters and eventually,

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[199] 'Rufford miners face redundancy' [video], 18 June 1993, LBC/IRN Digital Archive, BUFVC. http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0003400331007 accessed 14/03/2017 [accessed 15 September 2017].

[200] Ibid.

[201] *The Chad* [newspaper]. 31 March 1993.

[202] *The Chad*, 28 October 1992, ML, Front Page.

[203] History of Pit Closures, EG 26/326, TNA; Coal Mining - Silverhill Colliery – 1992' [video]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TPx4uAcMJ6E [accessed 2 December 2017].

[204] UDM documents, COAL 31/346, TNA.

grandchildren…. and I believe that certainly by the year 2000, coal will, once again, be a leading force in any country's energy policy.'[205] Greatrex's prophecy was wide of the mark.

By the end of 2000 only four private collieries employing approximately a thousand miners remained in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, less than five per cent of the 1984 total.[206] From 1981 to 2004, the Nottinghamshire coalfield lost 40300 male mining jobs, ninety-six per cent of all mining jobs (Beatty, Fothergill & Powell, 2007, p. 1660). Subsidiary industries supplying collieries also suffered, as did retail and hospitality businesses within the local area with no high paid miners and mining families supporting them. The complex dimensions of deprivation that colliery closures enacted are perhaps best illustrated in the inability to regenerate the coalfields.

Neoliberal regeneration and affective atmospheres of industrial ruination

Along with the announcement of colliery closures in 1992, an increased redundancy package of £820 million was offered to tempt miners out of the industry and a further £180 million was announced to mitigate the impact on coalfield areas. Another £20 million was added to the amount to fund large-scale projects in March 1993. Lord Peter Walker, energy minister during the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, was tasked with overseeing the 'Coalfield Programme.'[207] Notwithstanding the miniscule amount to be spread over the entire coalfield areas, the sum was intended to placate growing anger toward colliery closures with no formal mechanisms for where the funds would come from or how they would be administered.[208] It took a further three years for the money to be spent, with government ministers passing responsibility between departments on who should finance projects identified by Walker as being worthy of funding.[209] Meanwhile, the communities where closures had taken place sank into being some of the most deprived in Europe (Critcher, Schubert & Waddington, 1995; Turner, 1994).

In 1997, Tony Blair was elected to the soundtrack that 'things can only get better.'

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[205] UDM documents, COAL 31/346, TNA
[206] Clipstone Colliery closed in 2003, Harworth Colliery in 2009, Welbeck Colliery in 2010 and Thoresby Colliery in 2015.
[207] Regeneration of coalfield areas: Lord Walker's activities, EG/28 – 29, TNA.
[208] History of Pit Closures, EG 26/326, TNA.
[209] Regeneration of coalfield areas: Lord Walker's activities, EG/28 – 29, TNA.

A *New Labour*, 'intensely relaxed about people getting filthy rich,' was to follow a 'Third Way' (Giddens, 1998).[210] Money accumulated by neoliberalised markets, particularly financial services, was to fund social regeneration programmes in the deindustrialised areas. New Labour promised to invest in the coalfields and, almost immediately after being elected, launched the Coalfields Task Force (CTF) who quickly toured the coalfields appraising the damage inflicted by colliery closures (Greenhalgh, 1999). The CTF encountered concentrated joblessness, physical isolation, poor infrastructure and severe health problems afflicting the coalfields and were 'left in no doubt about the scale of deprivation and decline' (Coalfield Task Force, 1998, p. 10). For example, in the Meden Valley, composed of Church Warsop, Meden Vale, Shirebrook and Warsop, where I grew up, a remote area 'almost entirely dependent on mining,' unemployment was officially registered at 11.5%, but the real unemployment figure was estimated to be in excess of 22%, with 16.7% registered as long-term sick (Ibid, pp. 66 – 69; see also: Waddington, 2005; Gore & Hollywood, 2009; Beatty & Fothergill, 1998, 1996). As the collieries closed, many miners, young and old, banked redundancy payments and slid onto disability and incapacity support, primarily claiming that injured backs prevented them from working. When I was growing up in Warsop these ex-miners were derided as the 'Bad Back Brigade.' Funny stories would be passed around when a member of the 'Bad Back Brigade' was caught by the authorities doing something they claimed they were not physically able to (Bennett, Beynon & Hudson, 2000; Waddington, Critcher, Dicks & Parry, 2001).

CTF reported back in 1998 with *Making the Difference: A New Start for England's Coalfield Communities* that 'set a framework which will empower coalfield communities affected by pit closures and job losses to create their own sustainable new start.' A key recommendation of the CTF in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, eventually fulfilled, was the building of the Mansfield – Ashfield Regeneration Route (MARR), which bypasses coalfield villages and Mansfield to give commuters easier access to the M1 motorway. In addition, the road would open up eleven sites totalling one hundred and fifty hectares along its length for business and manufacturing estates, bringing back twelve thousand jobs.

The national programme of coalfields regeneration was tasked to the Office of the

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[210] Mandelson, P in Ratcliffe, S. (2016). *Oxford Essential Quotations*. Oxford.

Deputy Prime Minister, subsumed into the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) in 2005, and would be delivered in three strands: The National Coalfields Programme (NCP), ran through English Partnerships and Regional Development Agencies (RDA), The Coalfields Enterprise Fund (CEF) and the Coalfields Regeneration Trust (CRT). [211] NCP, CEF and CRT 'were to lay the foundations for sustainable regeneration of the former coalfield areas through physical reclamation and renewal, community capacity rebuilding and human capital development, and the promotion of enterprise and business growth.'[212] The NCP's roles involved the regeneration of former coalfield sites: decontaminating and redeveloping the land, building homes and ensuring successful and sustainable employment. The CEF was a fund tasked with investing and promoting growth in businesses. The CRT's purpose was geared toward social and cultural regeneration, providing grants to community projects, as well as training schemes.

The three streams were not the only regeneration initiatives operating in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. The RDAs were a major vehicle of New Labour in economic development (Henderson & Schutt, 2004). East Midlands Development Agency (EMDA) was the RDA covering the Nottinghamshire coalfield up until 2011 when it was replaced by D2N2 with a narrowed geography. The North Nottinghamshire and North Derbyshire coalfields also attracted funding through the Single Regeneration Budget, in addition to local charities and a community foundation fund. CISWO, now sustained through government and public contributions as opposed to deductions from miners' wages, continued to operate Miners' Welfares, as well as social and community welfare. The European Union (EU) also part financed the Robin Hood Line, a train line running through the Nottinghamshire coalfield between Nottingham and Shirebrook. Opened in stages, the Robin Hood Line was intended to open up commuting opportunities for coalfield areas to access jobs in Nottingham.

The impetus for New Labour and the CTF was distilled into an affective discourse and policy focussed on empowerment, filtering into other regeneration agencies, such as

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[211] Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) (1999). Making the Difference: A new start for England's Coalfield Communities. The Coalfields Task Force Report – A Progress Report by the Government.
[212] DCLG (2007). *Regenerating the English Coalfields – interim evaluation of the coalfield regeneration programmes*. Urban research Summary, no. 24, 2007, p. 5.

the EMDA.[213] Communities were to be empowered to seize their own future and produce their own belonging: 'We are determined to make every effort to deliver sustainable development to bring prosperity and people back to where they once belonged.'[214] The New Labour approach to empowering individuals and communities emphasised the interrelations of the economic, cultural and social in embedding deprivation (Warwick-Booth, 2008; Greenhalgh, 1999). However, the empowering agenda was circumscribed at both national and local scales. New Labour were unconcerned about former miners being on incapacity benefits as this dissembled real unemployment in the coalfields. Grants were also subject to competition and dependent upon the unity of councils and local agencies to work together to both secure funding and utilise available funds. In the Nottinghamshire coalfield, many in local government were former miners active within the unions or affiliated to either the UDM or NUM. The animosities between the NUM and UDM transferred into council chambers at both county and local levels, and enduring disputes in the coal industry obstructed regeneration efforts after the collieries closed, and as Gwen, a county councillor, told me, still do.

By July 2009, £464 million had been spent by NCP in physically regenerating 107 coalfield sites in England, CRT had granted £160 million to community projects, and CEF had invested £6.5 million in businesses.[215] Despite originally acknowledging that the task was huge, it was widely conceded by government that regenerating the coalfields economically, socially, environmentally and culturally was a more difficult and problematic process than first conceived. A report produced in 2007 stated that 'in most coalfields there remain stubborn and substantial deficits in terms of education and training, enterprise, health and, in some cases, employment.'[216] The Nottinghamshire coalfield showed 'consistently weak progress' in the growth of employment and job opportunities and an expected worsening of the labour market in subsequent years.[217] One of the critical

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[213] EMDA. 2010. 'Prosperity Through East Midlands People: Economic Development Strategy for the East Midlands 2000 – 2010'; Interview with Fiona, 19 July 2016.
[214] DETR, (1999). Making the Difference: A new start for England's Coalfield Communities. The Coalfields Task Force Report – A Progress Report by the Government, p. 3.
[215] National Auditing Office, *Regenerating the English Coalfields,* HC 84, Session 2009–2010, 17 December 2009.
[216] DCLG (2007) 'Regenerating the English Coalfields – interim evaluation of the coalfield regeneration programmes,' Urban research Summary, no. 24, 2007, p. 10.
[217] Ibid, pp. 8 – 9.

issues was that regeneration of employment was measured solely on number of jobs created, rather than job types. A 2008 report proclaims that 'England's former coalfields are a story of renewal and growth.'[218] Yet, singled out to promote the successes of regeneration are the B&Q logistics centre built on the site of Manton Colliery in Nottinghamshire and the Sports Direct warehouse and store on the site of Shirebrook Colliery, just over the border from Nottinghamshire in the Meden Valley. Both sites adopt low-pay, unskilled and precarious employment practices, with the Sports Direct site being the subject of a highly publicised investigation by *The Guardian* uncovering inhumane working conditions.[219]

A National Auditing Office (NAO) Report in 2009 was particularly critical of the previous decade of efforts by the initiatives. Noting that many former colliery sites had been reclaimed, the report argued that 'it will take twice the original ten year timescale to achieve the aims in full' and that 'there has been over reporting of the benefits attributed to the public sector.'[220] The NAO also ascertained that employment growth figures were poorly quantified, and it was simply not known how many jobs had been created by the coalfields programmes. Further, only 169 houses that had been built were deemed affordable and of the 12800 planned to be built by the end of the programme, only ten per cent would be classed as affordable.

Armed with the NAO report, the coalfield regeneration programme was next excoriated by the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) in March 2010.[221] Two months earlier, four leading figures in delivering the programmes were forced to defend their record over the previous decade in the areas of measurement, strategy and cost-effectiveness.[222] The PAC Report summarised that the DCLG had failed to coordinate or organise regeneration, did not know what results they had achieved, lacked an overarching

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[218] 'A Mine of Opportunities: Local authorities and the regeneration of the English coalfields', National Report, Audit Commission, Local Government, 2008, p. 5.

[219] Goodley, S. & Ashby, J. 'Revealed: how Sports Direct effectively pays below minimum wage,' *The Guardian,* 9 December 2015.

[220] National Auditing Office, Regenerating the English Coalfields, HC 84, Session 2009–2010 17 December 2009, p. 5.

[221] Regenerating the English coalfields, House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts, Sixteenth Report of Session 2009 – 2010, March 2010.

[222] Public Accounts Committee, Monday 11 January 2010. Parliamentlive.tv. https://www.parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/6711bb98-a1d2-4f9a-9218-b4accfa480c9 [accessed 10 June 2016].

vision, and wasted public money. In addition, only a fraction of the intended £50 million of the CEF had been invested.

Shortly following publication of the PAC report, the 'Clapham Report' was published, restating that the coalfields were still a special case that required a targeted and focused approach to regeneration, and allocated funding to overcome the residual social and economic problems afflicting the coalfields.[223] While the Clapham Report was being compiled a general election brought in a coalition government, with the Liberal Democrats playing the minor party to the Conservatives. A fresh social agenda, the 'Big Society,' looked to eradicate governmental funding of social and cultural projects and, instead, impel citizens to reinvigorate a supposedly lost sense of civic duty and volunteering. The Big Society was partly formulated in response to the global financial crisis, which all major political parties argued had to be handled through reductions in government spending.

At a Westminster Hall debate to press the Clapham Report's case for specific interventions in the coalfields, MPs from coalfield constituencies repeatedly argued that the coalfields have a unique set of conditions and challenges, only truly understandable if you were from or had sustained experience of the deindustrialised coalfields.[224] Mark Spencer, Conservative MP for Newark and Sherwood, encompassing the south Nottinghamshire coalfield as well as the Dukeries, used his contribution to criticise spending on 'grass seeds and trees, and on renovating spoil tips and pitheads, instead of concentrating on generating jobs.' It was true that vast amounts of labour and money had gone into revitalising the material environment around mining communities. Black spoil heaps had been forested and made into nature reserves through a collaboration between the Forest Commission, CRT and local councils. To illustrate his criticisms further, Spencer used the example of the new Ollerton Scout Hut, suggesting that, instead of channelling regeneration funds into building the scout hut, the money would have been better used in creating well-paid jobs so that parents of scouts could fund it through voluntary giving. It was a scenario that was reiterated when I interviewed Spencer in his constituency office in Hucknall. Spencer's argument made sense at the time in the energetic atmosphere of his offices. Perhaps I was

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[223] Coalfield Regeneration Review Board, 'A Review of Coalfields Regeneration', September 2010.
[224] Westminster Hall, Tuesday 26 October 2010, Parliamentlive.tv,
https://www.parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/e95270c1-c41d-4625-aca9-3c5f2d757ac1 [accessed 9 July 2016].

enraptured by Spencer's enthusiasm and relatable tones. However, in the car afterwards, I could not help but feel that, considering what Ollerton had endured since the closure of its colliery in 1994 and Bevercotes Colliery nearby in 1993, it deserved both, a fully-funded scout hut and well-paid jobs.

In reference to generating well-paid jobs, Spencer used the example of the Sherwood Energy Village (SEV), an area of industrial units, a supermarket and office space built on the reclaimed land of Ollerton Colliery. Notwithstanding that the site employs fewer employees than Ollerton Colliery sustained, the jobs ostensibly 'created' at SEV are in fact just pre-existing jobs that relocated to SEV from other parts of the coalfield. Nottinghamshire County Council, for instance, now occupies one of the largest office buildings there. The prospect of the SEV, an initiative organised by local residents, invoked great hope that Ollerton would 'fight back against the economic damage caused by recent pit closures and which threatened to destroy [the] community.'[225] However, the actuality did not meet the promise and Tom, a regeneration worker in Ollerton, feels the SEV 'bears no resemblance to the original idea.' The jobs were too slow to materialise and the types of jobs that did arrive, Tom suggests, were 'for perhaps women more than men.' Few employers were forthcoming so houses were built on the site instead in order to bail out the struggling SEV company. People in Ollerton were left disappointed and the SEV is now resented by the community.

Despite the forceful arguments made by the Clapham Report and coalfield constituency MPs in Westminster Hall, the coalition government's response was merely palliative. The 2008 global financial crisis was to be tackled by austerity. The coalfield programmes transitioned to self-supporting enterprises and, by 2014, government funding specifically designated to the coalfields had come to an end.[226]

Persistent rounds of funding and limited successes, a cycle of promise and disappointment, have had an exasperating effect on regeneration workers, reflected in their wider communities. Engaged in regeneration initiatives in Ollerton since 1995, Tom told me that third sector organisations mainly achieve piecemeal amelioration of the torrent of

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[225] Ollerton Town Council meeting minutes, 11 May 1994, PAC 93/52, NRO.
[226] DCLG, 'A Review of Coalfields Regeneration – Government response to recommendations,' March 2011, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/6294/18627 25.pdf [accessed 9 July 2016]

deprivation, and Wayne, a local government regeneration lead, opined that regeneration in the coalfields is 'all about marginal gains.' Large swathes of the Nottinghamshire coalfield remain in the lowest quartile in the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (see also: Riva, et al., 2011).[227] Enduring this system has been exhausting for Tom, and the reflective interview made him feel a little dejected about what has been achieved or could be achieved, a sentiment shared by other regeneration workers I interviewed.

Promotional and policy documents laying out plans are regularly framed in enthusiastic and progressive language, designed to draw in a disenfranchised reader, apathetic toward the constant broken promises. A key focus of regeneration at the local level has been the proposed merging of urban spaces of Mansfield and Sutton-in-Ashfield as centres for economic growth and glossy policy documents proclaim the area's potential.[228] An important goal of the project is getting the towns designated city status, something that is still to be achieved. The former-mayor, Tony Eggington, and the present mayor, Kate Allsop, stated in 2009 that:

> [t]here are great opportunities to re-establish [Mansfield] as an environment
> that fosters economic growth and sustainable regeneration – a place of great
> civic pride, recognised regionally for its commercial centre and proud of its
> heritage [229]

Yet, the department tasked with delivering these goals are accepting that they have fallen short. The stuttering regeneration is also evident at Rainworth. The MARR road was built on part of the Rufford Colliery site, however, the rest of the site has been consulted over by private enterprise and local government for twenty-five years, with local residents becoming increasingly alienated from it.[230]

Mining communities are also wary and neophobic of grandiose plans they see as unlikely of being successful. There is an acknowledgment that something needs to change but an apprehension of what that change might be. A primary example is tourism. The potential of the visitor economy to help alleviate deprivation has surfaced periodically

[227] Indices of Multiple Deprivation, 2015, UK Map. http://dclgapps.communities.gov.uk/imd/idmap.html [accessed 10 September 2018].
[228] Mansfield & Ashfield Regeneration Service, 'Ambition: A Plan for Growth,' 2011.
[229] Mansfield District Council, 'Creating a "city centre" for Mansfield' – 2009-2019,' 2009.
[230] 'Savilles Marketing Report', *Savilles on behalf of Harworth Estates*, (November 2012); 'Mining Villages "neglected"', *BBC East Midlands* (2009).

since the late 1970s. Local councils have regularly sought to exploit the Nottinghamshire coalfield's, apparently, huge potential as a weekend destination. A news report in 1977 highlighted that Mansfield had only one hotel with twelve bedrooms.[231] Four decades later there are a mere 386 bed spaces and 'Mansfield stands out as a large town with very little hotel provision.'[232] Further, in a survey of accommodation owners in Nottinghamshire, sixty-one per cent replied that guests never go to Mansfield and only five per cent said that most of their customer base visit Mansfield.[233]

An often-repeated diagnosis of the deprivation in the Nottinghamshire coalfield and its inability to regenerate is 'the lack of an enterprise tradition.'[234] Neoliberal agendas of empowerment and enterprise have not materialised, and blame has been apportioned by its promoters to the people most impacted by colliery closures (Lawson & Kearns, 2010). An illustrative example comes from the Miners' Welfare. Where before Miners' Welfares were supported by a reliable source of income from miners' wages, following the vast rundown of the coal industry they were primarily converted into charitable trusts. In the post-industrial British economy, the capitalist principles imposed on Miners' Welfare Trusts reconfigured committees, largely made up of former miners, as entrepreneurs, and the communities that they served as customers. As Yvonne, the head of a community foundation phrased it, Miners' Welfare Trusts needed to transform out of their 'victim mentality' and 'dependency culture' and become self-reliant. Yet, this easily dismisses the systems that mining communities had struggled toward, suggesting that welfare and support was unconditionally handed to mining families rather than secured through collectivised self-respect and dignity. Mining families were not 'dependent' on the state, they were merely afforded some of the institutions and benefits they deserved through their contribution.

Conclusion

Before I turn to examine how the histories presented in this chapter have been processed into memory, it is worth offering a short synopsis of what has been argued. The Miners'

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[231] ATV Today: 17.03.1977: Mansfield [video], MACE.
[232] D2N2 VISITOR ACCOMMODATION STRATEGY – Report of Key Findings, June 2017, p. 11.
[233] Ibid.
[234] DCLG, 'Regenerating the English Coalfields – interim evaluation of the coalfield regeneration programmes,', Urban research Summary, no. 24, 2007, p. 11. Interview with Fiona, 19 July 2016.

Strike 1984 – 85 was a cataclysmic event in the history of the Nottinghamshire coalfield, not as a demonstration of class solidarity but as a breakdown in class relations. The split in Nottinghamshire's observance of the dispute exacerbated underlying resentments between coalfields, rooted in historical and geographical contingencies, that resurfaced in the breakaway union of the UDM. Rather than developing a strategy of resistance against the discourse of the free-market, 'There Is No Alternative' and the ideological reimagining of the coal industry as a business, the UDM accepted the arguments of the government and the NCB in order to align themselves as the progressive union. So instead of Nottinghamshire miners being strengthened by their decision to continue working during the Miners' Strike, they were weakened as the NCB and government effectively exploited the enduring fissures to usher through colliery closures, devastating the area. The neoliberal discourse that sought to legitimise deindustrialisation also ran through efforts to regenerate. Whilst regeneration initiatives acknowledged the traumas of colliery closures, they never approached them directly, preferring to imagine a glorious, empowered future instead of addressing the fractures and affective dislocations of the past. Doing so would have, perhaps, led to the realisation that histories were spatialised and fundamentally constitutive of the issues facing deindustrialised coalfields. Further, ineffectual regeneration feeds into how deindustrialisation and industrial ruination was experienced and remembered in the Nottinghamshire coalfield.

I have already signalled that enduring the nonfulfillment of promises around regeneration has generated affective atmospheres of disaffection toward political agendas. The next chapter investigates how contemporary industrial ruination and affective atmospheres of deprivation intervene in the processes of remembering traumatic pasts by people who lived through them and how the enfolded blendings of traumatic pasts and presents mediate formations of belonging.

Chapter Seven – Contested belongings and memories of industrial change: ruination, remembering and mediated nostalgias

Over the preceding three chapters I have traced the affective genealogies of the Nottinghamshire coalfield. I now turn from historical/genealogical considerations to a focus on how memory of those histories emerges and surfaces to mediate formations of belonging and alienation. This chapter investigates how memories and histories of the Nottinghamshire coalfield have impacted formations of belonging amongst people fifty years and older, the generation that lived directly the histories before and after deindustrialisation.

I argue that the generation under examination maintain belonging through genealogies and positive memories of work and place situated in the period before the Miners' Strike 1984 –85. The collective conditions of industrial ruination are generative of affective atmospheres of alienation, forcing a nostalgia to dwell within the bodily capacities of the generation as a comforting place to reside. At the same time, the sensory and structural conditions of industrial ruination and neoliberalism persist in the lives of older residents, insisting questions of whether they belong in transformed geographies

considered to be alien to how things were. Further problematising strategies to situating belonging in the past, are traumatic and difficult histories and memories of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and colliery closures. Attempts to silence and suppress memories and associations, in order to build a past that comforts and protects against the industrial ruination of the present, are compromised by the affective capacities of the landscape, materialities and absence-presences to evoke difficult memories.

Moreover, legacies of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and the Nottinghamshire coalfield's dissonant role within it have resulted in temporal and spatial displacements from belonging, determined by whether people did or did not strike. For many that did go on strike, the experience of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and how it has been processed into memory precludes them from spatial belonging to their immediate localities. To remediate these alienations, strikers have formed communal forms of belonging through networks with other striking miners and strengthened links with working-class histories of struggle and trade unionism. Conversely, people that did not go on strike have been temporally displaced and are excluded from the wider dominant histories of the working-class. Also, past animosities surrounding the Miners' Strike have intervened in heritage practices and representations, inhibiting the potential of heritage to facilitate forms of belonging to the past and in the present, as have been critical in other areas of industrial ruination (Power, 2008; Stephenson & Wray, 2005).

Breaking dialogues up into themes with attendant interpretation and analysis is useful in unravelling the complexities of entwined affective-temporal processes and their relations to belonging. Thematic sections here focus on: how mining work and community are remembered; how traumatic memories of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 have been negotiated and reconciled; how memories of colliery closures have been mediated by deindustrialisation and faltering regeneration and; how heritage is performed and practiced in the coalfield. However, the interrelations of industrial ruination, memory and belonging is enacted in the ordinary and everyday lives of its subjects, best illustrated in ethnographic stories which narrativize belonging in motion, uninterrupted by overly stopping to analyse and reflect (Mah, 2012). To represent, partially, how belonging is lived and the poesis of affective remembering, I include two vignettes of research, placed at the beginning and toward the end. The first vignette took place in August 2016 and details my two-hour

encounter with a man known as 'Slug' and two other individuals he knows well, Pat and Uncle Freddy. The second vignette documents an impromptu walking interview with Bob in Silverhill Pit Wood on a walk to see a mining heritage sculpture, 'Testing for Gas.'

Everyday encounters with the past, the present and belonging

Slug has lived on 'The Avenues' in a former mining village on the outskirts of Mansfield most of his life. When I phoned Slug to arrange an interview he questioned why I would want to hear what he had to say but he was happy for me to come along to his home the following week. I arrived at The Avenues around lunchtime, with plenty of time to find Slug's house. Built at the turn of the century to house miners at Mansfield Colliery, 'The Aves' consist of nine rows of terraced houses split through the middle by Main Avenue. Each row of terracing backs onto the other with a narrow pathway running down the front gardens of each row and a larger single-track road running along the back gardens (fig. 16). The layout of alternating ginnels and tracks make it difficult for new arrivals to determine which side is the entrance to houses. As I try to find the entrance to Slug's house loitering people stare at me with suspicion.

Figure 16: Rows of houses with Main Road running through.

Slug's door is wide open as I finally locate the right house. I knock loudly to be heard over the television. 'COME IN!' Slug bellows back and I make my way through the kitchen into the living room. Slug has a thick north Nottinghamshire coalfield accent and dialect which irons out peaking intonation deemed laborious to pronounce and does away with spaces between words. So that 'Are you alright, son?' becomes, as it does here, 'You'll'rate son?'. Like all accents, the north Nottinghamshire accent transforms with each generation, but Slug's is an obdurate remnant of the past, and hearing it, evokes my late paternal grandad.

Invited to take a seat in the living room, I sit down amongst the hoarded items and notice the miners' lamp on the hearth. Slug is already introducing at disorientating pace who he is, how I can call him Slug and his personal history of work, amongst much else. Dialogues range across themes, times and spaces, looping back to earlier points, digressing within an instant down diverging paths. Memories are contextualised with reference to the present, local experiences are shared with global and national news stories. Every digression Slug makes relates back to work and place. When Mansfield Colliery closed the site was redeveloped into an industrial park. A Japanese textiles company moved into one of the larger units and 'the Aves' saw their first international migrants. Since then many other nationalities have moved onto the estate from Eastern Europe and Asia. Slug is indifferent. As he states, 'as long as they come to work, I'm not bothered. It's not their fault there's no work wherever they've come from.'

Through his biographical stories, Slug stitches himself into the temporal and affective fabric of the coalfield, a place he at times does and does not belong. Slug was a miner his entire working life and was a deputy at two collieries. As part of his management training Slug worked at six different collieries, which he lists in order with a meticulous and certain rhythm, 'Crownie, Rufford, Blidworth, Welbeck, Thoresby, Clipstone. Did twenty-eight year at Clipstone an' got crippled.' He finished work in March 1992. He should have finished in 1993 but he had accrued so many rest days and holidays from not taking them for fourteen years that he finished months before his final date.

Slug 'absolutely loved working at the pit.' He loved the camaraderie, that it was 'hard work but good work,' that you 'called everybody and then went forra pint wi' 'em next day.' It was in his role as a deputy at Clipstone that he was gifted his nickname 'Slug,'

in reference to his direct approach to instruction. Slug suggests it was bestowed with affection as everyone got a satirising nickname, it kept people in their place. Slug no doubt carries this nickname with pride, a badge of honour he earned through work and personality. He misses the 'craic,' the banter between miners, and, if the collieries were open, he would go back 'for nothing.'

Slug wants to make sure I know that miners were not what people assumed them to be, that they were skilled, multi-talented, varied in their interests, hobbies and pursuits. He points to some watercolour paintings on the wall, one of an allotment, one of people fishing and several landscapes, all painted by a miner Slug worked with. The painter turned up to work one day with the painting of fishermen for Slug, a keen fisher, and the painting has adorned his living room wall ever since. Slug's four workmates are in the painting with him, 'Chock, Yam Man, Dennis and Ozzy.'

Slug waxes lyrical about community, adding emphasis on the word community every time to communicate the affective resonances bound up in the word. For Slug, two things 'ruined' community: The Maastricht Treaty and the election of Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher was 'an 'orrible woman' who 'killed the mining areas of Great Britain' by closing the collieries, the industries which supplied mining, 'the women's industry, hosiery,' as well as other manufacturing industries. He reserves some blame for the miners, though, because they were not united in 1984 'like thee wa' in '72 an' '74'. Although, it was union leadership that Slug primarily apportioned blame for the split in the unions.

Slug laments the drugs that have gripped his village, the lack of decent jobs and the sale of houses to landlords, who charge extortionate rents. He states that it is the same 'allover the mining areas.' Every observation Slug makes ends with a light-hearted joke, opinion or statement. An accident at work disabled Slug, he has lived the demise of his village, continues to see his children and grandchildren struggle to navigate labour markets of low-pay and precarity, but he is determined not to 'get too down,' to be resilient. When his granddaughter came to visit she told him that she had recently got a zero-hour contract at Sports Direct to support her studies at college. The job was often just four hours on a Saturday and, after travel, paid £16 a week. Slug asked his granddaughter to clean the television unit, gave her £20 and told her to quit her job and come back next week to clean it again.

After forty minutes talking, Slug remembers that he has told his friend, Uncle Freddy, that we are coming around to visit him. He gets up with a struggle, grabs his walking sticks propped next to him and with a 'follow me!' we are off. Uncle Freddy lives a few rows back from Slug on The Avenues and knows 'all there is to know' about the village and the coalfield.

We set off, taking the path down the side of the rows onto another path that runs alongside railings between the sports pitches and 'the Aves.' Broken glass and rubbish litters our way and the path is in desperate need of retarmacking. Slug notes the detritus and decline, how the glass makes it difficult for disabled people to get around, particularly those in mobility scooters, how kids do not care anymore and neither do their parents. There is a fostering of shared intergenerational and intergeographical experience between us as we talk about the village and how it compares with Warsop. As we pass the fields Slug raises his crutch to point, 'they used to have the Gala on here …. all sorts of competitions and that. Now look at it.'

When we near Uncle Freddy's house Slug shouts out 'UNCLE FREDDY!,' as I imagine he has done many times before. Freddy's dog barks at the noise and Freddy emerges through a fly curtain. In absence of chairs, we perch on various assorted ledges in Freddy's backyard. Freddy begins: 'I started work at Sherwood Colliery in 1948, 1st of January, on a Sundee night.' Freddy also loved the colliery, the team of men and the camaraderie, the hard work. Freddy says that the 'worst thing they've ever done to this village and villages like it was Maggie Thatcher.' Living here since 1958, Freddy has never seen it in 'such a state, …. they might as well plough it down … there's no life.' He is certain that the Drill Hall, built by the Bolsover Colliery Company in 1909 and a place that receives a lot of vandalism, will be next to close, that it will be 'flattened' and a block of flats put in its place. Of the vandals, 'most of them are not bad lads' but 'Maggie Thatcher put their dads on the dole and they think that's how to go on.' This is not the first time these views have been voiced by either Freddy or Slug. The two men are reciting opinions developed over numerous conversations, they agree and know what each other are going to say next.

Freddy's daughter then comes through the gate on one of her regular visits to check on her dad. After brief introductions, she asks her dad if he is talking about his 'moggy

days?' He replies 'no, 'am talkin' about this dump village. She concurs. 'We've seen it dwindle and dwindle 'ant we?' asks Pat. 'Ohh, 'ant we?!' replies Freddy, rhetorically. Pat works at the Drill Hall and she recently refused to work alone at night as the place was being attacked on an almost nightly basis. She fears leaving her car in the car park but also the prospect of walking home in the dark when the nights begin drawing in. As Slug and Pat begin a conversation about local 'goings on,' Freddy begins to lament how few people he knows 'round 'ere' anymore. It used to be that he knew everyone but now he feels like a stranger, only knowing a handful. Freddy remembers: 'It weren't like it when I wa' growing up.' Overhearing, Pat interjects: 'It weren't like it when *I* wa' growing up.' When the colliery was open the village was 'booming,' offers Pat. Freddy takes over: 'Ya used to be able to hear it [the colliery] from here, smell it, you know. Now what can ya smell? Not good stuff, is it?'

That soot and smoke drifting over from the colliery into the village is remembered nostalgically indicates the impact that the colliery closure had. The colliery being referred to by Slug, Freddy and Pat closed twenty-eight years ago but, the way the three talk, it is as if it were the previous week. The history of the village is unproblematically separated by long-term residents as a before and after the colliery closure. However, having direct memories of the colliery does not act to legitimate belonging to the place. The collective conditions of industrial ruination and regeneration has acted to prise Slug, Freddy and Pat away from their imaginaries of the village, forcing to the surface bodily capacities of nostalgia which attenuate contemporary belongings rather than reinforcing them.

Memories of work, community and nostalgic belongings

Being a miner for a period of their lives has retained meaning for former miners, superseding any belonging or identity that they may potentially have formed from other jobs or roles. Interviewees made it known to me from the outset that they were a miner regardless of their current employment status. This form of belonging is materialised and embedded in the mining-related ornaments and memorabilia that adorn the mantelpieces, shelves and walls of former miners' homes and act as memory prompts of work and community (Summerby-Murray, 2007; Degnen, 2006). Polished pit lamps, coal carvings and commemorative plates are displayed prominently as curated senses of permanence and

pride. As Rob put it:

> I draw close affinity to [the colliery], to the fact that I've got my
> [commemorative] plate on the wall and my picture. I've not got a picture of
> Ashfield Council [where Rob worked after redundancy] and I wouldn't. But I
> have of Annesley colliery 'cause it means summat.

There is also a large swap and trade market between miners in 'pit checks,' small brass coins embossed with the miner's employee number.[235] Mainly conducted through auction sites and Facebook groups, former miners collect checks for the colliery or collieries where they worked, or the collieries in their area. The most rewarding acquisition would be to find their own pit check. Colin says, 'I've never managed to find mine. I'd love to get it back though. I'd really love that, you know?' Most interviewees would recite their check number without hesitation and take pride in doing so.

Interviewees were eager to talk at length and in detail about the technicalities of their former work. They spoke enthusiastically and didactically, leaning forward to engage and gesticulate to explain more effectively the types of machinery they had operated, the amount of training they had received and the different geological conditions they had encountered. These men were displaying and projecting in and between words and gestures their sense of pride in their labour (see also: Roebuck, 2011). They wanted to communicate how their job served a societal purpose, which gave their labour meaning. Participants were also keen to emphasise that they 'had a laugh as well though' (Jack), with many telling funny stories of things that happened at the colliery and becoming elated at remembering events they found hilarious.

Participants were quick to pre-empt challenges of nostalgia concerning their remembrances of community and its operationalisation, defensively second guessing what I was thinking, assuming I was sceptical of their claims. Interviewees would state things such as 'I know what you're thinking but it *was actually* like that. It sounds silly in some ways' (Pete). Some were shy about offering nostalgic imageries of the past, about how people in the village always helped each other, or that everyone used to go to the Miners'

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[235] Issuing pit checks, or 'motties,' were part of a safety procedure. Each employee would be issued two checks. One to be handed to the banksman before going underground and the other to be worn on their belt so that, in the event of an evacuation or at the end of a shift, miners could be 'checked' out.

Welfare at the weekend. They were guarded because popular discourses on nostalgia stigmatise it as a negative practice and condemn affective memories attached with positive valences as ahistorical and false.

Suggesting that any positive memories of the past are dismissible because of an assumed romantic distortion of history presumes that linear time equates to progress, that the present is invariably better than the past. This is not always the case and in relation to deindustrialisation is demonstrably false. Such ahistoricism relates, also, to similar suggestions that history should not be subject to value judgement, that the past should not be evaluated with reference to present-day social relations, practices and so forth. Both these suggestions belie how the past is enacted, used and apprehended in everyday life. In the Nottinghamshire coalfield the present is continually compared to, and evaluated against, the past and vice versa. The dividing line in these assessments is the period 'when the pits were open,' which are saturated in positive valences, and after the collieries closed, attached within negative meanings. Two things are distortive in these demarcations that the Nottinghamshire coalfield makes. Firstly, when participants are being nostalgic, their reminiscences are related to a very short period, the late 1970s. Secondly, memories of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 obfuscate this crude periodization and, thus, have tended to be silenced or suppressed. Also, importantly, nostalgic memories, unquestioningly real to interviewees, do not always provide comfort and belonging to them and become traumatic when the present does not compare positively to the past, as is the case in the Nottinghamshire coalfield.

Remembering colliery closures and deindustrialisation

Commonalities of alienation, loss and valuations of the present compared to the past are identifiable between strikers and non-strikers in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, suggestive of a lingering shared experience unaffected by the contested solidarities of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85. Many former miners gave unsolicited both the exact date that they left the industry and the date their respective collieries closed. Most signalled the date as being the end of an intergenerational mining lineage, sometimes stretching back five generations, ending the basis of familial and personal forms of belonging. Participants were asked how they felt when their colliery closed. The most frequent reply was 'gutted,' followed by a

silence. It is the case that '[a]nyone who has interviewed displaced workers, … has seen or felt some of the pain and suffering that has resulted from deindustrialization' (High, 2013a, p. 141). Emotional registers are often communicated non-verbally, in bodily dispositions, gazes and in the reticent silences that follow previously animated dialogue. Being 'gutted', as an affective state of severe disappointment, tantamount in a metaphorically embodied sense to having their guts removed, must be understood in its localised classed and gendered distinctions and uses. For these former miners, to be 'gutted' by colliery closure meant that expected and enthusiastically anticipated futures had been lost. The continuity of a stable, breadwinner livelihood and of ways of life and culture were no longer to be realised, for them or the proceeding generations. In the moments after saying 'gutted' interviewees would retreat into themselves to spend time with their own private memories. My questions had forced remembering of the complex affective registers that colliery closures evoked: the betrayal, the final years of bitterness between the workforce and the uncertainty. Alan remembered asking himself, 'as a disabled person you think, well, what am I gonna do?'

I would often fill silences with follow up questions such as 'why is that?' [why did you feel gutted?]. Many would reply by referencing how equipment and machinery were abandoned underground upon closure. When a colliery closed, one of the first procedures, prior to the demolition of the main colliery buildings on the surface, the salvaging of metal or the decontamination of ground, was the pouring of thousands of metric tonnes of cement down shafts to combat future subsidence. The shafts were then 'capped' with more cement to prevent access or accident. Clearly struggling to formulate sentences when the topic of colliery closure was discussed, interviewees would prevaricate:

> Bill: And do you know what they did? They left all them machines … cutters, coal loaders, the lot … millions and millions of pounds worth of gear … they left it all down there.
>
> Me: Really?
>
> Bill: Yep. It's still down there now, underground. Unbelievable when you think about it … the waste.

I have no doubt that Bill had thought about this a lot, on occasion, in the intervening twenty-two years between the closure of his colliery and our interaction. I found it

confusing that interviewees should care that machines were left underground, finding it odd that they seemed to be more mournful of the equipment than the foreclosure of their socioeconomic stability and the basis of their culture and futures. The loss of equipment appeared minimal against the ramifications of job loss on financial stability, pride and belonging. I first thought it was a diversionary tactic to fill the silence of the interview. The mentioning of the equipment, in fact, references several important facets relating to the interrelations of affect, belonging, memory and materiality and the enactments of these interrelations in the interview encounter.

Figure 17: Coaling Machine, Pleasley Museum. Taken by author, 2017.

Referencing lost machinery is another instance of shielding personal affective memories and their expression. It is also indicative of both the more-than-humanness of affective memory and a working-class valuation of waste and resourcefulness. Referring to earlier chapters, miners grew attached to the sophisticated machines that they assembled, used, fixed and maintained every day of their working lives (fig. 17). Machines were valorised for the amount of coal they had cut or carried and the number of years of service they had managed to endure. Machines were anthropomorphised as members of the team, sometimes given names and spoken of in affectionate terms, for example 'The Old Lady' or 'Big Betty.' This continues as former miners continue to spend their time working on

salvaged machines, keeping them running, caring for them as volunteers at mining museums, such as Pleasley Pit Museum (fig. 18). Leaving them down the colliery was seen as abandoning a relationship, something valued, and wasteful, anathema to a value system forged over generations of pride in maintenance and resourcefulness. The mechanics and fitters interviewed saw the profligacy as another insult by the NCB, that 'the Old Lady' had been wantonly vacated in, what they saw as, perfect condition.

Participants would also often point towards the visible and material collective conditions of industrial ruination in the area, connecting colliery closures and wider deindustrialisation to the processes of local decline:

Dave: Well, Mansfield used to have a *strong* mining industry, it used to have a shoe company, it had a brewery, it had a very VERY strong hosiery trade *pause* Now *pause* we've no mining industry, we've no brewery, we've no Shoe Co, we've nothing.

Experiences of heavy manual work were also compared with current employment opportunities. As Slug said, '[t]here's no jobs for the young ones now is there. *puts on a sarcastic tone* Oh wait, yes there is. You can work at McDonalds, or you can work at Sports Direct.' Employment in precarious and menial roles were not seen as 'proper jobs' which offered the belonging and security that mining once did (McDowell, 2003). Frank summed it up, '[t]he dignity of a job, where you could tek [take] a mortgage, bring a family up, is so eroded.'

It did not follow that because former miners valued their occupation and mourned its passing that they especially enjoyed the practicalities of their labour or advocated it for others, although some did. Regarding the specific nature of mining work, interviewees most felt the loss of camaraderie and humour associated with mining, affective atmospheres they actively produced to help cope with the dangerous and inhospitable collective conditions of the colliery. Almost all the former miners had visible and noticeable health conditions of varying severity related to working at the colliery – missing fingers, arthritis, coal tattoos, scars and many others. Alan was sixteen and had only 'bin down the pit three month' before a steel girder swung into his knee whilst he was working haulage at Sutton Colliery. He had to undergo a transfemoral amputation and was redeployed to the fitting shop on the surface for the rest of his mining career. Yet, despite

the colliery exacting a heavy price on Alan's future, he has fond memories of the colliery and his workmates, considers being miner as the best job he has had and still sees himself as a miner. This strikes at the ambiguities of memories of mining and other heavy manual jobs. Despite the pride taken in familial traditions of mining, participants were conflicted about whether they would want their sons to do such a dangerous job (Whyles, 2014). However, in the postindustrial labour market there is a lack of opportunities for well-paid, meaningful and, most of all, secure employment:

> Gary: And I just think, well, if the pit 'ad bin open now ... OK it was an 'orrible, dusty, dangerous job but it giv' us a decent living. And it'd be better for them to be doing that than goin' about kicking their heels with nothin' better to do. It was a job, and, OK, these things have gone now, but at one time *it was a job for life*.

On the subject of employment that had replaced mining jobs on former colliery sites, interviewees questioned not only their value and number but also whether the positions were being filled by the people who directly missed out on obtaining a mining job. These narratives scaled down the popular refrain of 'British jobs for British workers' by Gordon Brown to a much more localised and classed form of deserving and expectation. Job losses in mining are seen as a loss of employment inheritance, and new replacement jobs, previously rejected as having no meaning, are seen to 'belong' to the generation dispossessed of the expected career. It was regularly suspected, by miners and regeneration workers, that jobs were for, and taken by, people from outside the area and more highly educated. Walking around these sites, noting the employers and their employees, it seems that there is some weight to these observations and, yet, it feeds into complex geographical labour market conditions. Interviewees localised regeneration initiatives, interpreting them through a lens of place, historical justice and entitlement, of who place belongs to and who belongs to place. These assessments are difficult to disagree with when you understand the intergenerational histories of coal mining, of migrating to work, of being subservient to the flows of capital pertaining to the coal industry and its enaction in specific geographies of mineral extraction. However, exclusions of perceived outsiders from belonging conceals the exclusions of long standing residents from belonging to their own place and class histories.
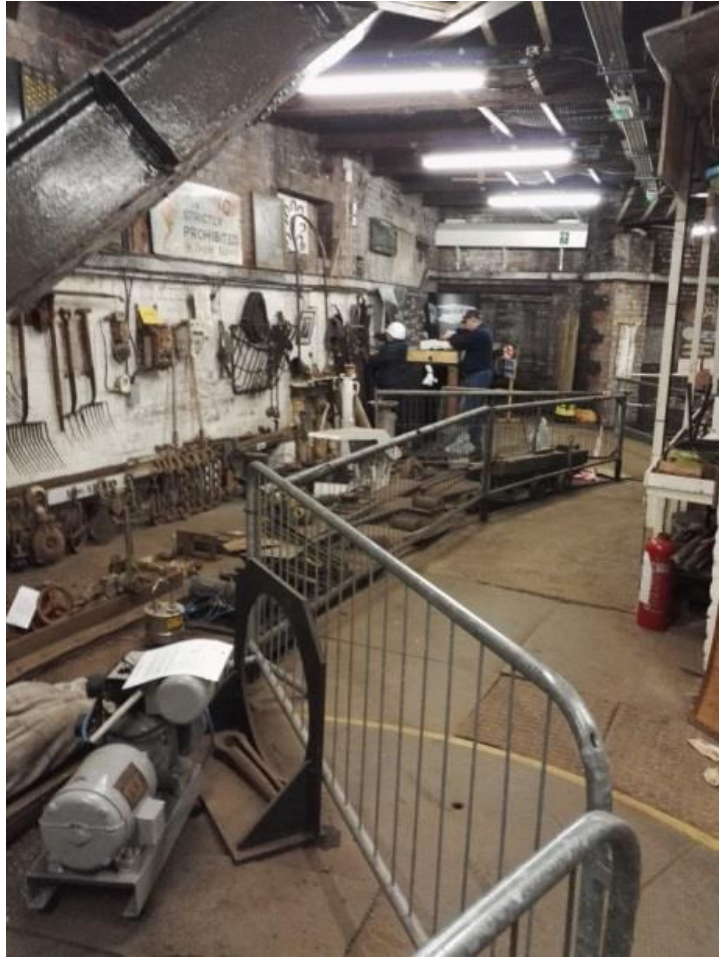
Figure 18: Volunteers at Pleasley Pit Museum. Taken by author, 2017.

Divergent belongings and troubling memories of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85

Complicating senses of loss and the capacities of Nottinghamshire's mining communities to root belonging in a shared past are memories of the dissonant role Nottinghamshire miners played in the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and its aftermath.

For the striking families in Nottinghamshire, the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 has become a defining event in their lives. The experiences gathered during the year are vital memories in their autobiographical constructions and presentations of self (Brown & Reavey, 2014). Greg was eager to show me a room in his house full of proudly displayed badges, commemorative plates from numerous collieries in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, framed posters and a wealth of other material relating to the strike. It has taken over three decades to assemble and curate the collection. He joked that his partner would like to have their dining room back but packing the objects away would 'break his heart.' Wives,

mothers and daughters of striking miners, however, also retain a connection to the strike and see reconciling these histories with non-strikers as a betrayal to striking miners that have died since (Cath). For some, affective memories of 'scabbing' are charged with an enduring animosity over thirty years on:

> Harry: [T]hese particular people I shall never forget. I'll never forgive. And if thee dropped down int' street wi' an heartattack I'd walk straight over them to make sure it were final ... cause I detest 'em for what they did so much. Now you might think that's evil but you need to experience what went off for them twelve months.

Situated alongside this bitterness were affective memories of positive valance resulting in complex and varied bodily capacities of anger to affection. As one interviewee answered in reply to the question 'did anything positive come out of the strike?':

> Ian: A lot of friends, good friends, *large intake of breath and exhale* and that part of it will stay wi' me forever and I will always smile at that part of it *long pause*. On the other side, I know that there was some rats, and I call 'em rats 'cause I can't think of anything more demeaning.

Such affective memories of the strike have led to the dislocation of belonging from place for striking families in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. In the minority in their localities, and unable to forgive the colleagues who remained at work, striking miners have been excluded and excluded themselves by never going in the Miners' Welfare again because it is controlled by miners that worked. When the Pitmen Poets, a folk group from North East England that play songs connected to the coal industry and the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, toured the country, Gary went to see them in Chesterfield rather than risk sitting with working miners at the Mansfield gig date.

To remediate these exclusions, striking miners have sought to maintain communal forms of belonging arising from the intensities of the strike. The institutional embodiment of this is the Nottinghamshire NUM Ex and Retired Miners Association, which only admits those who were NUM members when they left the coal industry and acts as a meeting point for striking miners to continue the legacies of class activism and heritage. Through these practices, Nottinghamshire's striking miners have fostered a sense of belonging through their attachment to the class-based histories of trade unionism and the mining past but have

become disassociated and alienated from their own place histories, about which they feel shameful.

For miners that worked during the strike, refusal to join in solidarity with their fellow union members in other coalfields has meant that Nottinghamshire miners have been ostracised from the dominant collective memories and histories of British miners. Contemporary narratives of the decline of the coal industry are inseparable from the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, which has entered the popular imagination as the ultimate demonstration of class struggle and solidarity against the devastation wrought by Thatcherism. Sympathetic cultural representations, such as the films *Brassed Off* (1996), *Billy Elliot* (2000) and *Pride* (2014), have cast the striking miners as honourable defenders of their communities (Shaw, 2012). Further, performances of memory and belonging within the British coalfields specifically target and exclude the UDM and Nottinghamshire miners. This is evident on social media message boards that act as online community spaces for remembering the coal industry and in local history groups. On a particularly large Facebook group, Nottinghamshire miners are pilloried and excluded if they post a picture of their own colliery. If a Nottinghamshire miner comments or seeks to interact he is questioned on whether he went on strike or not and it is regularly restated that 'scabs' are not welcome and will never be forgiven by the wider mining community. Chants of 'scabs' also still ring around football grounds when Mansfield Town play teams such as Chesterfield, Doncaster or Rotherham. At a demonstration signalling the closure of the last remaining colliery in Britain, Kellingley, the marchers paraded, alongside their branch banner, a makeshift banner attacking the UDM as 'scabbing bastards.'[236] These exclusions of UDM members and Nottinghamshire miners from what it means to be a miner, and what associated characteristics of being a miner to be proudful of, has led to painful senses of dislocation from the collective histories of mining and mining identity. As Keith put it: 'I mean I was proud to be a coal miner. It sort of hurts me in a way that people don't see Notts. miners as miners. You know, we all did the same job. And that hurts me.'

In their dissonant role, the Nottinghamshire miners of the UDM are viewed as complicit in the deindustrialisation of the coalfields. Whilst some rejected this interpretation, most interviewees connected the failure of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 to

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[236] Image on: https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2015/12/22/kell-d22.html [last accessed 10 August 2017]

the subsequent colliery closures. This has resulted in feelings of shame, embarrassment and guilt, compounded by the dislocation from wider class, labour and occupational histories and memories: '*We've* got no Billy Elliot have we?' (Larry). Many of those who continued to work are, therefore, still reluctant to discuss the strike at all. In one exchange, typical of others, an otherwise flowing interview was reduced to short considered answers when the strike was brought up:

> Me: Do you think you would've acted differently [during the strike] if you'd have known the collieries would shut?
>
> Kev: *pause* Yes *averts eye-contact* *long pause*
>
> Me: Do you think a lot would have?
>
> Kev: *looking contemplative* Probably *long pause* 'Cause there's still plenty of coal left [to mine] in Clipstone *short pause* And at Rufford and at Mansfield. Plenty of coal.

Here, memories of colliery closures are made more painful by the false belief that jobs were safe in the Nottinghamshire coalfield.

This is not to suggest that job security was all that lay behind decisions to cross picket lines, which has been the prevailing narrative among supporters of the strike during and since 1984 – 85, discussed in the preceding chapter (Bardill, 2004). Interviewees who were willing to offer explanations provided multiple reasons and rejected that they were taken in by the affective styles of solidarity from the government and NCB. Some claimed that they voted to strike but honoured the democratic vote, others voted against strike action because they disagreed with Scargill's militant leadership, and several felt that the timing of the strike at a time of low coal demand meant it was destined to fail anyway. The most common explanation given for not joining the strike, and voting against it, was because they refused to be intimidated into doing so by miners from outside the area. No one cited job security as the reason they did not follow the call to strike. Some, however, suggested that there was no point discussing it because their reasons would not be accepted as genuine.

This suppression of expressions of social memory has, in some cases, been necessary for healing wounds between opposing sides: 'We don't talk about it, not because we'd fall out but I think the ones who didn't strike are embarrassed now. In the end we all

got the chop' (Blore in Franks, 2001, p. 76). Some striking miners felt that their minority status meant that they had to partly reconcile their differences: 'In a way, you'd be a lonely bloke, I think, if you totally ignored every scab ... 'cause the place is full of 'em' (Mark). Some families managed to reconcile different positions or different union affiliation, suggesting that family was more important than work, although they avoided discussion of those topics. For whatever reason, a culture of silence surrounding the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 still pervades the Nottinghamshire coalfield, stifling legitimate expression and social memories of personal pride in work.

Conversely, several works have appeared by individuals on both sides of the Miners' Strike, feeling the urge to process their memories and provide some form of narrative understanding. Stanley (2009), general secretary of the Nottinghamshire Area NUM and a striking miner, wrote his autobiography as a corrective to perception that Nottinghamshire miners were all scabs, titling it *Nottingham Miners Do Strike!* (see also: Whyles, 2014). Stanley is unrepentant regards his own actions during the strike and 'can honestly sleep at night' (Stanley, 2009, p. 122) knowing that going on strike kept his conscience clean. He still harbours resentment toward the UDM leadership, however, who actively stifled the re-emergence of the Nottinghamshire Area NUM following the strike. Particularly angering for Stanley, lingering as a bodily capacity of contempt, was the UDM's defacement and withholding of NUM banners, which the UDM 'would never have the balls to organise a march parading' (Ibid, p. 119).

Catherine Paton-Black (2012) positions herself in relation to her husband in her memoirs, *At the Coalface – My Life as a Miners' Wife.* Paton-Black and her husband supported the strike and were heavily involved in the day-to-day maintenance of the strike in Ollerton. Paton-Black's life has been heavily shaped by Ollerton and Bevercotes collieries. It was Bevercotes Colliery that pulled her and her husband down from Scotland to Ollerton in the 1960s, sustained her family and ordered her existence and routines. The collieries also took away. Her husband was twice seriously injured at work and Paton-Black (2012, p. 342) still sees 'former miners on their disability scooters, oxygen tanks on their backs to help their soot-filled lungs keep going,' reminding her of the hardships and fear she endured while her husband was at work. Although, it was because she was '[s]cared of returning to the poverty and the instability of [their] life in Scotland' (p. 252)

that she became active in campaigning, picketing and support during the strike. Both Paton-Black and her husband were in complete agreement to strike from the very beginning and struggled through the year, raising two children.

Inaccuracies, for example, dates, chronologies and names, appear throughout Paton-Black's testimony, evidence of how historicity of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 has become muddled, reordered and distorted as the event goes through multiple retellings and portrayals. Still present, though, are the emotions enlivened by the memories of struggle and solidarity, the enduring intensities of disappointment when close family friends stopped talking to them because they were on strike and the bittersweet vindication that came when Ollerton and Bevercotes closed within a year of each other and she was proven right. Despite being in the minority, there were enough striking families in Ollerton to sustain a dissident community within a community, 'an underbelly, a core of folk who are still there' (Ibid, p. 342). The opportunity and means to share memories of the Ollerton they conceive and imagine has allowed Paton-Black to retain a sense of place belonging within Ollerton. The continued bodily presence of striking families, like Paton-Black's, around mining villages is one of the ways that the Miners' Strike is invoked, forcing difficult memories that require a coming to terms with.

Keith decided to write a play entitled *Scab* about his experiences of the build up to the strike and working through it at Clipstone Colliery. For Keith, the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 had lingered in the background as absence-presences for over twenty years, punctuating his consciousness every time something on the strike came on television, or was spoken about in the media, or he saw an old friend he no longer speaks to. The play is partly satirical of the misinformation and deceptions that occurred surrounding the Nottinghamshire ballot in March 1984, causing confusion and an inability to know what to do. For instance, at one point a character in the play claims, in reference to the ballot in Nottinghamshire, that 'Everybody I've spoken to has voted to come out on strike,' but only twenty-eight per cent of the miners at Clipstone Colliery voted for strike action. As the strike has been processed into dominant narratives, Keith, still certain that not striking was the correct thing to do at the time, still retains some guilt for putting striking miners through the hardships of the year. Keith expresses his confusing sense of guilt through the character Pat: 'I feel guilty because I did what was right.'

Writing a play was supposed to be a cathartic process for Keith but when he decided to try and stage it he encountered the enforcement of the cultures of silence, receiving emails and letters with threats of what would happen if the play was put on. Despite these efforts to silence, the past cannot be suppressed in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. The landscapes of industrial ruination are too inscribed with memory, formative of conflicting affective atmospheres of nostalgia and trauma and belonging and alienation. The atmospheric and embodied melding of traumatic and nostalgic pasts and industrial ruination in the present is materialised most in the Miners' Welfare.

Belonging and memory in spaces of industrial ruination

Many of the Miners' Welfares in Nottinghamshire have already closed but a few remain, clinging to survival many years after the colliery, and most of the miners, it was built to serve have disappeared. The sense of ruination and closure imbues the materialities and affective atmospheres of the Miners' Welfare nearing closure. Limited by austere budgets, finality is forestalled by continual and piecemeal mending (Edensor, 2016). Paint is left to flake, letting in rain and rotting wooden signage and facias. Chipboard substitutes for windowpanes broken by launched stones. In a cruel irony, the unceasing process of stymying the decay is exacerbated by the modern building materials used for extensions and rebuilt Miners' Welfares, which are prone to premature deterioration (fig. 19). Pooled water on flat felt roofs seeps through onto suspended ceiling tiles and plasterboards, leaving patchworks of damp discolouration. Cement walls, also stained, splits in shapes of forked lightening, from which weeds snake through. Metal framed windows rust and corrode away. Patrons are forced to hopscotch over uneven broken slabs to get to the entrance.

Once inside, Miners' Welfares can have inimical affective atmospheres, even for those aware of accepted forms of performance. Evenings tailor to remnants of past formations of leisure. Bingo fills up weekday calendars and tribute acts are booked periodically for weekend nights, which are sparsely attended. Monthly Northern Soul Nights are common and prove moderately popular with those that 'Keep the Faith,' continuing to nostalgically enjoy what they first did in the 1970s. In the daytime a handful of afternoon drinkers bestrew the main bar, sharing tabloid newspapers, regularly rising to

dispense a coin in the bandit machine or, since 2007, venturing outside to smoke under makeshift shelters.

The absence-presences of lost friends and family, the occasions shared with them and the rhythms that have been fractured are continually evoked, generating affective atmosphere of nostalgia and resignation. Commemorative plates of Nottinghamshire's collieries, keepsakes manufactured upon the respective colliery's closure, are ubiquitous in every Miners' Welfare, displayed as materialised reminders of collective loss (fig. 20). Collieries and union banners, etched onto porcelain, forefronts the multiscalar linkages of work, community and coalfield of which Miners' Welfares were once an integral part (Strangleman, 2018; Degnen, 2006). Engraved brass plates, photographs in corridors, tankards behind bars or trophies held aloft in glass cabinets all bear the names and faces of people departed or no longer spoken to, acting as prompts for stories as past lives are transferred, finding new ways to surface. Such evocations can be simultaneously comforting, providing remnants of a communal belonging still hoped for, and traumatic, as reminders of the Nottinghamshire coalfield's dissonant legacies.

Figure 19: Rainworth Miners' Welfare. Taken by author, 2016.

In one example, my partner's grandad, who died before she was born, lives through stories told about him. About how he was branch secretary of the NUM at the colliery he worked and how he was on strike for the whole of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, one of only fifty-four from a workforce of over 1100. How he was at the 'Battle of Orgreave',

decried 'eternal shame' on the 'scabs' of Nottinghamshire, and how, within a few months of the strike ending, he died unexpectedly from a brain tumour at forty years old (Taylor, A., 2005). Sat in *his* Miners' Welfare, which still clings to life twenty-five years after its colliery closed, his absence-presence intervenes. His movements seem corporeal, his voice sounds as if from recollection, as he implores his fellow miners to join him on strike. His absence-presence is not elusive. His life, and those similar, persists through memory, transmuted into stories, to be present, mediating the atmospheres of Miners' Welfares as becomings of traumatic pasts in the present. Vitiating Miners' Welfares' final liminal years in operation, these memories and difficult pasts embedded into, and emblemised by, the Miners' Welfare are rarely resolved in their inglorious afterlives as ruins.

Figure 20: Commemorative plates in Miners' Welfare. Taken by author, 2016.

Abandoned Miners' Welfares, once materialisations and enablers of a specific local, occupational and working-class culture, have become prominent visible representations and persistent reminders of its ruination. Often vacated *in situ*, full of furniture, with material reminders of lost cultures preserved under thick dust, abandoned buildings are descended upon by urban explorers who fetishize the static working-class debris.[237] Alienated adolescents are perpetual inhabitants seeking respite from their own ennui through vandalising acts of defiance, perhaps forming their own forms of belonging in landscapes of industrial ruination (fig. 21). Smashed windows provide opportunities for entry and derelict Miners' Welfares are favoured spots for drugtaking and illicit sex, as well as common targets for arson, funeral pyres of past forms of communal belonging captured on smart phones.[238] Some condemned Miners' Welfares, following pressure from the public and emergency services, have metal shutters bolted to the windows and doors to prevent

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[237] https://www.28dayslater.co.uk/threads/annesley-colliery-miners-welfare-may-2012.71509/ [accessed 10 January 2018].
[238] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UQ6bwWqPALs [accessed 1 February 2018].

further pyromania or, alternatively, are erased by a stalling CISWO or local council, who pass around responsibility, each reluctant to incur the costs of demolition.

The torching of a Miners' Welfares will make the local newspaper, as does when one closes its doors for the final time, and reporters urge onlookers to proffer an opinion among the cremains. Dawby (2010, p. 773) suggests that '[l]ocal responses to ruination can be read as confessions of social realities and oracles of new possibilities.' Local populations in the Nottinghamshire coalfield continue their reticence, however. Responses, aiming to keep hidden affective intensities, invariably refer to the 'fond memories' made in the Miners' Welfare, how its fate is a 'terrible shame' and how much of a 'pity' it is that it closed.[239] Obituaries to the press, in conversation, interview or underneath photographs or videos on social media are similarly tacit, yet, evoked are complex and varied personal registers of nostalgia, resignation, anger, melancholy, loss, relief and apathy. Brief utterances are caveated by how much the site had become an eyesore since closure, that people stopped going there toward the end and the futility people feel to stop the material erosion of their communities.

Figure 21: Annesley Miners' Welfare. Taken by author, 2016.

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[239] https://edwinstowehistory.org.uk/local-history/buildings/welfare-hall/ [accessed 12 July 2018].

Where other coalfields and postindustrial places have attempted to alleviate these bodily capacities by celebrating past traditions and cultures of mining through heritage, the Nottinghamshire coalfield lacks substantial or meaningful heritage focal points in which to practice or mobilise social memory.

Heritage and blocking belonging

We have seen heritage take the form of private personal commemorative objects in homes where affective memories are embedded into, for example, decorative plates or miners' lamps as materialisation and performative enablers of belonging. Public heritage, as a means for declarative remembering and the processing of disrupted histories, has also been critical for deindustrialised communities to retain and rejuvenate communal belongings around shared pasts (Power, 2008; Stephenson & Wray, 2005; Dicks, 2000). Heritages across the British coalfields come in the form of commemorative events marking the anniversaries of the Miners' Strike, large collective demonstrations like that at the Durham Miners' Gala, or in curation of the histories of mining in a specific area. Underpinning these heritage practices are explicit references to working-class politics and struggle that connect audiences entwined in the heritage narratives with lineages of place and belonging.

Figure 22: Half winding wheel, Rainworth. Taken by author, 2016.

Public heritage of the coal industry also appears throughout the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Ubiquitous throughout the coalfields, and something of a critical identifier since

colliery closures, are the half winding wheels that are placed on or near to the sites of collieries (fig. 22). In the Nottinghamshire coalfield, attached to many of the half winding wheels are commemorative plaques engraved with the names of all those that died at the colliery, as well as marking the dates that the colliery opened and closed. Heritage in the form of public art and sculpture overwhelmingly focuses on the hardship, danger and sacrifice of mining, as well as romanticised representations of miners' masculinity and virility (fig. 23). Such heritage representations of the coal industry are 'safe,' receiving little direct or embodied engagement, and are indicative of the policy of depoliticised heritage that has been adopted by heritage professionals, seeking to commemorate without entering contested areas of the Nottinghamshire coalfield's past (Hack, 2010: Macdonald, S., 2008) (fig. 24).

Figure 23: 'Tribute to the British Miner' by Nikolaos Kotziamanis, Mansfield. Taken by author, 2016.

The Mansfield Museum, that receives most of its funding through local government, actively avoids approaching difficult subjects in the histories of the Nottinghamshire coalfield, most notably the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 but also union splits and colliery closures. Caroline, the lead curator, told me that the museum did not 'want to get into all that.' For its managers, the purpose of the museum is to display local history in

a nostalgic and positive light in a means easily digestible to its core audience of children. The museum is also not solely for heritage but serves a wider social function as a welcoming place for individuals to alleviate loneliness and as a day out for groups from infant schools.

A similar approach has been taken by Bilsthorpe Heritage Museum, a makeshift museum in disused squash courts where volunteers collect and curate items predominately from Bilsthorpe Colliery. The local volunteers consciously focus on depoliticised materialities from mining, such as lamps, tools and safety gear. Their aims and impetus are two-fold. To provide a nostalgic reminder to the older people of the village and inform the younger inhabitants of 'where they come from' (Jane). Bilsthorpe has a heritage representation disproportionate to other mining villages in the Nottinghamshire coalfield and includes a monument and garden dedicated to miners that died at the colliery in the centre of the village and a half wheel on the former colliery site, in addition to the museum (fig. 25). This is the result of a committed group of friends who have managed to avoid disagreements over whose history gets told.

Figure 24: Sculpture, Hucknall. Taken by author, 2017.

Figure 25: Bilsthorpe memorial. Taken by author, 2015.

Efforts by other local groups to develop heritage practices and sites have faced struggles to overcome enduring animosities between striking and non-striking miners, and the shame of Nottinghamshire's mining inheritance. For striking miners, it is clear why memories largely remain immaterialised in heritage sites in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. The Clipstone Colliery grade-II listed headstocks have been a focal point for discussions over preservation since the colliery closed in 2003 (fig. 25). Continued disagreements, withdrawals of support and rejections of plans have meant that the headstocks are now heavily decayed, and doubts persist over their structural integrity. Gary links to prolonged negotiations over what to do with the headstocks to the histories of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, claiming:

> I know a lot of people want 'em getting rid of, but I think they want 'em getting
> rid of because they helped to shut the bloody place [the colliery]. You know, to
> me, they want rid of any reminder of the past that they scabbed and, you know,
> created what's happened.

Other coalfields and striking miners 'don't have the monopoly on working-class

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history' (Rob), but miners in the Nottinghamshire coalfield have struggled to come to terms with their own role in this history, which, in turn, has impeded the capacities of heritage to enable belonging. Contesting histories and assertions of whose story gets told and materialised has plagued the Nottinghamshire Coalfield Banners Trust (NCBT). The NCBT, begun through grassroots organisation, has attempted to collect and restore the union banners of the Nottinghamshire coalfield of both the NUM and UDM as 'monuments of working-class history' (Stanley, 2009, p. 119). This has proved a nearly impossible task as the Nottinghamshire NUM and UDM still quarrel over past injustices involving the seizing of banners by the UDM, remarked on in chapter six.

Figure 26: Clipstone headstocks. Taken by author, 2016.

Consequently, the Nottinghamshire NUM Ex and Retired Miners Association have embarked upon fund raising efforts to set up a permanent 'Nottinghamshire Mining Museum,' currently a temporary exhibition of memorabilia. This museum will directly engage with the history of the Nottinghamshire coalfield from the perspective of striking

miners, 'telling the story of the "Loyal to the Last" Nottinghamshire men, women and families' (http://num.org.uk/nottinghamshire/notts-num-ex-and-retired-miners-association/), and will be, presumably, exclusionary to the vast majority of mining families that joined the UDM. The Nottinghamshire NUM Ex and Retired Miners Association also engages in activities within the wider trade union movement and mining heritage including social events to mark the anniversaries of the strike, annual trips to the Durham Miners Gala and the restoration of NUM branch banners.

When inquiring about the significance of heritage, participants were adamant that histories of the coalfield should be remembered, preserved and commemorated. Yet, most could not find the words to express why heritage was important, assuming it to be axiomatic. The impulse to remember and commemorate was inarticulable but underpinned by an emotional connection to their present lives and those lost that they knew. Statements circulated around that 'it's important to remember what they gave to this place' (Jane), 'this village owes its existence to the coal industry' (Terry) and 'it's important for kids to know where they come from, why they're 'ere' (Betty). I agree with these sentiments, and wandering around mining museums does evoke memories and imaginaries of my grandads, uncles and so forth, and I burn with injustice and empathy when reading the names of miners who died at collieries. However, the story of the coal industry and deindustrialisation in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, how we arrived at where we are, cannot be told without exposing it to difficult question about the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and union splits. Predilections towards heritage focussing on the hardship of mining labour beneath ground and the avoidance of critical aspects in the inheritances of place abstract heritage representations from the more nuanced and relatable stories connecting generations to their 'legitimate heritages,' depriving people in the Nottinghamshire coalfield of a means to understand their present malaise and where to apportion responsibility (Bright, 2012a).

Past spaces of labour and belonging: 'Testing for Gas'

It was noted in the preceding chapter that in the 1990s and 2000s blackened slag heaps, punctuating the reasonably flat Nottinghamshire landscape, were wooded with coniferous trees. Shale paths split through the woods with intermittent benches and information boards

dotted along and heritage related to the coal industry or the local colliery (fig. 26). The
intention for the projects was to two-fold: secure the slag heaps by sinking roots deep into
them and enhance the salutogenic capacities of environments (fig. 27). Many of the mining
families that remain continue to visit these colliery sites and former miners amble along the
trails of 'pit woods,' thankful for the transformed slagheaps that enable them to retain a
physical and symbolic connection to past spaces of labour and belonging.

Figure 27: Silverhill Pit Woods. Taken by author, 2017.

From vantage points at the top of slag heaps, former miners plot where collieries
were and identify the slag heaps belonging to them. The reclaimed slag heaps are generally
seen to be more picturesque for residents than the burning banks of sulphurous detritus that
were here before, but local youths are attracted to the sites for nefarious activities. Cigarette
butts and empty bottles and cans often litter the ground around benches. Broken glass is
sometimes a hazard and used needles have been found on occasion. Scrambling motorbikes
on the trails have necessitated the installation of barriers and restrictive gates.

It is a love for nature that brings Bob to the trails of Silverhill Wood almost every
day. Bob worked first at Bentinck Colliery and then Silverhill Colliery until he took
redundancy in 1993. Since then he has spent many days wandering the trails that have been
laid on his former workplace, chatting freely with past workmates and anyone else,
birdwatching and searching for suitable branches of wood to carve. Bob learned to carve
wood while working at the colliery. His speciality is walking sticks with woodland

creatures carved into the handles, and he is proud of his craftmanship (fig. 28). Bob delights in showing me the walking stick beheaded with a frog on the handle he painstakingly carved from a branch not far from where we are stood.
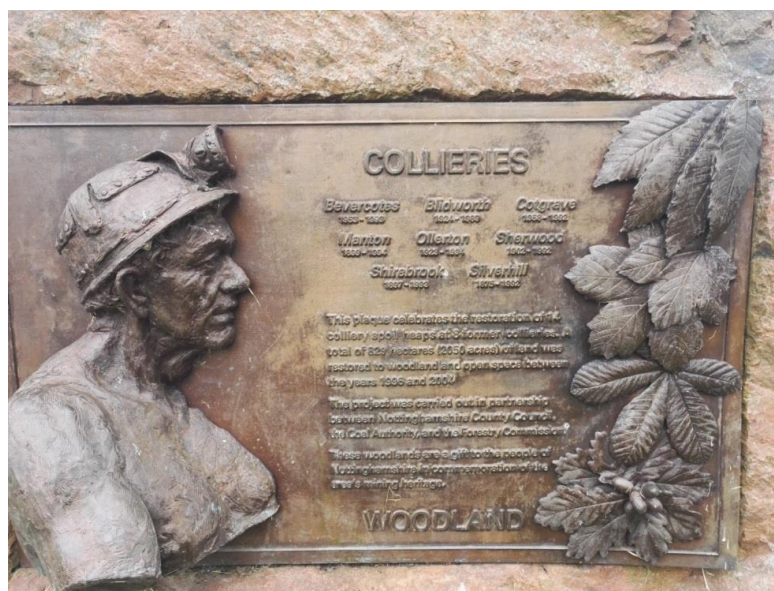

Figure 28: Ollerton Pit Wood. Taken by author, 2015.

I had come to Silverhill Wood to take in the statue 'Testing for Gas,' which sits at the top of the vast slag heap of Silverhill and Teversal Collieries (fig. 29). I bump into Bob and get talking, and he offers to come along with me to the top.

Bob has a complex relationship to his mining past, inflected with much bitterness. Positive reminiscences are always qualified with negative memories. As we slowly ascend Silverhill, Bob lays his grievances bare, related to conditions, pay, the treatment of miners and the deceit of the NCB and union leaders. As a coalface worker Bob earned a healthy wage, but he suffered an accident a few years into his working life when a roof fall trapped him, breaking his bones in seven places. His injuries had lasting impacts on his health and prevented him from working underground. Bob says that he received a year's wage in compensation, estimated to be around £1000, and was redeployed to a lower paid job on the surface. Not only did this have consequences during his working life, when Bob was made redundant his pension was minimal. The accident was not his fault and Bob feels the injustice that his living was not valued as much as others.

Half way up the hill Bob stops and lowers his voice, a serendipitous moment to point where Neil Greatrex lives. In 2012, Greatrex was prosecuted and sentenced to six

years in prison for stealing £150000 from UDM funds, using UDM members' pension pot to build extensions and improvements to his house. Bob speaks in hushed tones because Neil Greatrex still has supporters who might be in earshot but he's in no doubt that the former UDM president has 'done a lot of people outta money.' Bob says: 'It gets my goat.' It gets mine as well.

Figure 29: Carving by 'Bob.' Taken by author, 2017.

I ask Bob about his accident, positing that a roof falling in and trapping him hundreds of metres below ground must have been scary. He's coy and says that he was 'no different to anybody else. I wa' a coalminer. We all took that risk.' Still, Bob has endured the scars, aches and pains for the rest of his life. Pulling the collar of his shirt to one side, Bob reveals the white scars surrounding a cavity on his upper chest where a snapped 'pit prop,' supposed to support the roof, had jabbed into him. His left shoulder has seized up in winter ever since. He also has spondylosis in his back and relies heavily on his walking stick to navigate the path we are on. Bob seems to shake off the severity of what he has encountered and had to live with. He uses the old refrain that 'pit wo'k kills ho'sses.'[240] It is a phrase that many old miners use to refer to the hardships and intensiveness of their labour. It references the 'pit ponies' that were used as haulage up until mechanisation. The horses were heavily worked and often died as a result.

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[240] Trans. 'pit work kills horses'.

We reach the top of the incline and 'Testing for Gas' reveals itself. Bob takes pleasure in quizzing me about the types of equipment the sculpture of the miner is carrying. I am reluctant to answer because I sense that Bob will want to educate me. He begins tapping various parts and calling out the names as he goes – 'lamp, safety helmet, knee pads, self-rescuer, ….' He then tells me that miners never wore any of them because you could not properly work in the spaces and heat with the restrictions. 'I think this is what thee want you to think a miner looked like … it's not whar 'e really looked like, I can tell thee that' remarks Bob. We look out into the horizon. I suggest that it would have been quite a view when the collieries were open. Bob reacts, 'Ahh … I bet it would've bin, yeah. They'd be plenty of 'em to look for.' An unspoken sense of loss transmits between us broken quickly by the arrival of three dogs that have invaded our scene, followed by their owners. Bob knows them and, shaking out of his reflective moment, walks over to talk. I decide to leave them to it and, after thanking Bob, make my way back down.

Figure 30: 'Testing for Gas'. Taken by author, 2017.

Conclusion

The interrelations of memory and belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield are problematic and complex precisely because the historical geographies of the coalfield are

problematic and complex, resulting in a deeply conflicted range of affective memories. In the life histories of former miners, positive affective memories of the coal industry were continually compared to the postindustrial present. Coming to terms with the past, organising lived experience in a way that is manageable and liveable in the present, has been approached through a process of remembering that silences and avoids difficult aspects and amplifys the positive experiences of camaraderie and conceptualisations of belonging.

These mediating memory practices are persistently threatened by the continued surfacing and emergence of difficult histories of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, colliery closures and the industrial ruination of the present. The industrial ruination of the surrounding area, combined with memories of splits in solidarity and job loss, means that positive memories of camaraderie and community are intersected with complicated affective memories, mostly determined by whether the participant went on strike or not. Further, these opposing historical trajectories and memories have resulted in forms of belonging being temporally and spatially dislocated in ways unlike those found in other coalfields, where communities have resisted collective loss through shared memories of community solidarity.

Striking miners, as well as wives and daughters supportive of the strike, have navigated spatial dislocations from their communities by attaching their belonging to a wider union history where their actions during the strike bond them to each other. This has allowed them to remain loyal to affective memories of solidarity and division accumulated during the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85. However, by not fully reconciling these affective memories, striking miners have continued to feel alienated and 'out of place' in their localities.

Conversely, due to their (in)actions during the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, and their assumed complicity in the deindustrialisation of the coalfields, working miners have been excluded from participating in and enacting belonging through their past occupation as miners and its associated meanings and histories. Affective memories of pride in their work have been internalised and silenced, resulting in a dislocation from the wider class histories connecting British mining identity with striking in 1984 – 85. That many working miners in the Nottinghamshire coalfield also contend that colliery closures could have been

prevented had the strike been successful has led to affective memories of shame, embarrassment and guilt. Not only are these affective memories compounded by the socioeconomic effects of deindustrialisation, they act as a barrier to seeking ways to alleviate them and form new communal belonging through a positive relationship to the coalfield's past.

Heritage provision has done little to try to help the process of reconciliation and enable the Nottinghamshire coalfield to understand and work through its histories and enable belonging. Public heritage by interested volunteers remains demarcated along pre-existing divisions in union affiliation despite their being no 'mineworkers' left. Local government provisions of 'authorised' heritage tend toward a perceived depoliticised presentation of heritage, focussing on miner deaths and sanitised commemorative pieces. Policies toward depoliticised interventions are misguided because curating and representing memory through heritage is always political and read through a politicised lens. Questions such as what is being left out, what is being distorted and misrepresented are continually asked of monuments, sculptures and exhibitions by the people whose lived histories are being (mis-)represented. Finally, a selectivity surrounding heritage implicates it in the negotiation and inheritances of belonging among the generation that came after the coal industry, who have no choice but to process memories into an understanding of their shared pasts. We now turn to how memories have been communicated to my own generation and how I and people of my age have interpellated intergenerational subjectivities of class and place into our behaviours, performances and belongings.

Chapter Eight – Growing up deindustrialised: affective narratives of belonging, memory and inheritances of class

This chapter investigates the affective-temporal processes of belonging among people aged 25-35 years from the Nottinghamshire coalfield. I examine the experiences constitutive of growing up and coming of age in the collective conditions of industrial ruination, documenting how working-class lives entwined with deindustrialisation have conditioned belonging in working-class people too young to have direct memories of either the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 or the conditions and ways of life remembered by older family members. Multiple studies have evidenced how the past exerts itself in the experience, identities, senses and cognitions of a post-industrial working-class (Bennett, K., 2015; Walkerdine & Jiménez, 2012; Bright; 2016, 2012a; Ward, 2014; Nayak, 2003; Byrne, 2002). The contribution of my analysis is to develop understanding of how these processes of intergenerational transference operate and how post-industrial belonging feels as an affective capacity, to examine the temporal dimensions of the 'the psychic landscapes of class' (Reay, 2005). I attend to the enactions of intergenerational transmittance in materialities, absences, atmospheres, bodies, spaces and times, and their critical roles in the

constitution and experiencing of belonging at moments of encounter, when one feels they belong or do not belong, as well as at deeper everyday levels where senses of belonging go unchallenged, where belonging is, in a sense, an ordinary affect (Stewart, 2007).

The past often resides as an absence or a barely perceivable emergence within the interstices of ordinary, mundane and eventful moments. Critically, we saw in the preceding chapter that a regime of silencing pervades among the generation that directly experienced the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, union splits and colliery closures, whereby these aspects of shared place history are difficult to communicate verbally and often go unspoken. Conversely, although these stories have been absented from intergenerational storying of the past, the older generation are heavily engaged in the sharing of curated and selected memories, transmitting their imaginaries of how things were. These verbalised transmittances are situated in tension with other conscious and non-conscious forms of emergence through more-than-representational textualities that also inform and intervene in how my generation come to know themselves and where they are from. Following, I propose that to understand the myriad ways that industrial ruination, the past and belonging are assembled, embodied and experienced, we must analyse the plenitude of surfacings, emergences and actualisations, exploring how discreet and silenced histories manifest in conscious and non-conscious forms of mimetic performance, behaviour, embodiment and discourse and intervene in bodily capacities of belonging.

I documented in chapter five how belonging was collectively assembled and felt in common. In chapters six and seven I documented how fractured social relations disassembled these communal belongings. It also remains that belonging is a deeply personal and intimate bodily capacity. It is within our own bodies where we feel belonging and alienation most intensely (May, 2011, 2013; hooks, 2008; Probyn, 1996). Shared collective conditions and affective atmospheres enter and manifest in the emotional and embodied registers of the self, filtered and intervened in by various other subjectivities, identifications and geo-historicities of the body. At its broadest scope, this chapter is an autoethnographic and autobiographical investigation of personal belonging through a focus on the self (Brown & Reavey, 2014; Probyn, 1996; Hudson, 1994). However, towards a more representative and inclusive analysis, I bring in other voices and experiences beyond my own geo-historicities.

Conveying the multiplicity of places, experiences, memories, observations, interactions, and so forth, poses challenges when seeking to also communicate the complex affective-temporal enfoldings of belonging. I aim to overcome issues of communication through an experimental and performative form of academic writing using ethnographic stories. These may sometimes appear disparate, but they loosely cling together through a broad focus on the affective-temporal dynamics of belonging, class, intergenerationality and industrial ruination (Stewart, 2007). There are connections between each subsequent story for matters of comprehension, but the stories did not necessarily happen in linear time. Stories relate to moments of encounter with my and others' sense of belonging and concern memories, other people, and other spaces across the lifecourse. Most of the memories and events recounted have universal dimensions, however, I contend that deindustrialisation and being working-class give a specificity and context to these. Through these examinations, I contribute to understandings of how past forms of belonging and class experience have transferred and emerge in a generation that had little direct experience of the coal industry, or the forms of life that coal mining ordered (Walkerdine, 2016; Walkerdine & Jiménez, 2012; Bright; 2016; Nayak, 2003). I draw together the points raised in these stories, the threads of belonging, in the conclusion to discuss the continuing traceable subtleties of inheritances and their mediation of belonging.

'Time will pass you by': A Northern Soul?

Most Sunday mornings when I lived in Warsop I would awake to the muffled sound of Northern Soul playing from a CD player in the kitchen. The pulsating beat drifting up the stairs and, partially nullified by my bedroom door, disturbing my sleep. I, like most children, I imagine, hated the music my parents liked. My music was original and nothing like it had ever been recorded before. As I grew up I became less obnoxious about musical tastes. At some point in my mid to late teens, when my mum and dad put Northern Soul music on, I began singing along, taking an interest in the dancing styles and the culture depicted on CD covers. Enquiring into what Northern Soul was all about, my parents would regale stories of packed dancefloors and packed car journeys to towns 'up north,' light-heartedly contesting each other's memories of events, songs conjuring memories that led to more stories. On occasion, after alcohol, my mum and I would dance around to

Frank Wilson, Gloria Jones and Dobie Gray in moments that were drenched in temporal and classed embodiments and affect. I was taking ownership of these ways of being and accumulating sources of belonging. I cannot hear 'Tainted Love' without clapping to the two beats between 'I've got to *clap* *clap* run away. I've got to *clap* *clap* get away.' When a Northern Soul record is played at a wedding reception or birthday party, in moments of non-conscious mimesis, I find that I know the words and rhythm without being aware that I have heard it before. My body makes the same choreographed moves that my parents bodies did. It is a connection through multisensory means and experiences are transferred.

Classed male bodies: painful and injurious work of belonging

My phone rang as I was sat at my desk, searching old newspapers for death inquests of miners. 'Dad calling...' Five minutes of idle chit-chat ensues before, 'Oh! My consultant's been on the phone.' My dad suffers with, in his words, 'back problems.' Sciatica and ruptured disks over the last seven years have resulted in regular bouts of excruciating pain. On several occasions he has been incapacitated, laid in bed, writhing around in agony for days. Nerve damage in his spine has led to chronic discomfort in his left foot, which he has all but lost feeling in and often struggles to pick up.

'Consultant says I won't get feeling back in it'

'Ever?' I ask.

'Yep.' comes the response, the tone of dejection betraying his intended reticence.

It would be reasonable to surmise then that my dad is unable to work in construction. Yet, despite the pain, the lack of feeling and movement, he continues to work on building sites, doing the same work he has done for over forty years. Serious injury hangs over dangerous workplaces, heightened for workers with pre-existing conditions. My dad climbs scaffolds, lifts heavy things, uses power tools, all the while knowing that at any moment he could suffer temporary paralysis and fall or get crushed. He continues to work because he must. He needs the money, heavy labour is all he knows, and heavy labour is fundamental to his sense of self.

Growing up my dad had a 'third knee,' a swelling of fluid below his proper knee, prepatellar bursitis accumulated from sustained kneeling. As kids, my siblings and I took

grotesque pleasure in poking it. The alien knee has since been drained but I can still sense the texture and sponginess of it now. My grandfather, too, wore a collar around his neck most evenings to ameliorate the piercing pain of arthritis gained by years of climbing through dark underground tunnels. My siblings and I liked to wear my grandad's collar, finding it hilarious to walk around pretending to be Frankenstein's monster. My grandad also had the end of his finger chopped off at work so that his nail grew over the top. I can still picture the odd curve of the nail and grimaced faces us kids would pull when we touched it. My dad's and grandad's work injuries seem evidential of how I perceived them, physically practical, labouring, and these sensory memories of my ancestors' afflictions affect some yearning in me for a simpler time, a time when my family were all alive and together.

During my phone call with my dad I, too, felt tinges in my lower back. Not quite sympathy pain, I too have a sore back that requires periodic stretching and standing throughout the day. Distinct from my father and my grandfather, my adverse 'occupational health' issue is from slouching in an office chair and hunching over a laptop. Not the same, an office chair induced 'bad back' does not carry the same associations, empathies or meaning and nor should it. My body feels distant from my dad's and his dad's. Our labour has imparted itself in different, fundamental, ways. I would never moan about my back in front of my family and I minimise how much it hurts. Working-class pain is to be endured with little fuss for fear of being included in valuations of the 'Bad Back Brigade.'

For five years before going to university, and in the summers during undergraduate, I worked in the construction industry. On one occasion my right leg slipped through some scaffolding whilst I was carrying some building materials. The severe pain was temporary and, once subsided, manageable enough to continue working. The numbness continued for several weeks after and a slight indentation was left on my leg after the gashes healed, so I went to a doctor. There was probable nerve damage and it could take months, if not years, to fully restore. Sometimes, when it is cold, or when I am thinking about the different type of work I do now, how different it is to the physical labour I did before and that most of my male family members and friends do, I sometimes feel a sensation in my right thigh. I have a conflicting desire for the indentation to be bigger, for the pain to still be present, so that I can share in the telling of stories and memories that working-class men I know engage in,

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sat trading work stories of injury, pain and labour.

It is feeling I got when talking to Stephen and Simon about their jobs. Stephen is a plasterer and, since the 2008 financial crisis, has been employed by 'six or seven different firms,' as the companies either went bankrupt or had to lay-off workers. He has also spent long periods with no work at all and believes that Eastern Europeans who are willing to work for a lot less than British workers have made it difficult for him to sustain long-term employment. Nonetheless, Stephen sees his job as a 'proper job,' it is physical, regularly hurts him and after work he feels physically drained. It is how his dad and grandfather would have 'felt after a shift at the pit,' and, in managing to align with intergenerational valuations of meaningful work, these embodied lineages connect him to male ancestors.

There is a cognitive and affective barrier between Stephen and I as we speak. I know that Stephen does not think my job is a 'proper job' and I know that if I slide into the conversation that I once had a 'proper job' it would only intensify Stephen's disdain for me. It is a feeling I get when I talk to Simon, who is a warehouse operative. Simon hates his job. It is boring and he 'don't get payed much.' If the colliery was still open, that was once near where we are talking, he would be 'down there in a shot.' His dad, grandfather and, maybe, his great-grandfather all worked there but Simon was disinherited from his patrilineal tradition when the colliery closed in 1989. He looks up at me and says, 'but you're doin' alright, aren't you?'. I am not sure that I am, but I am certain I cannot tell Simon that.

Gendered belongings, internal stigma and the intergenerationality of identity

I knew exactly the type of man who Lauren and Kate meant when they each, in separate conversations, mentioned 'your typical Mansfield lad.' But when we tried to articulate him, to flesh out the typical Mansfield lad's character, the way he looks, his disposition, his behaviour and opinions, we couldn't quite pin it down. He evaded us although we knew him so well. We shared laughs about how a character so known to us could be so elusive once we tried to communicate who he is. We take a step back and it becomes apparent that Mansfield itself is a place that is both known and elusive, that, as Lauren states, 'there's just something about Mansfield' that we all know but cannot describe in this moment, a place that Stewart (1996) might describe as 'just is.'

The same phenomenon pervades conversations in the Mansfield area all the time.

People flippantly state that someone is just 'your typical Mansfield lad' or, when something happens, 'that's just Mansfield for you though.' We are all convinced of the meanings contained in these shorthand phrases and are certain that they correlate between bodies. We all work on the understanding, transferred across nods and glances, that we each 'know' what Mansfield 'is,' although this must be taken-for-granted as we cannot put it into words, we just know because we all grew up there. This inexpressible knowledge comes into sharper relief when people travel away from the town. To the people that have been subjected to the atmospheres, rhythms and bodies of the area, there is nowhere quite like Mansfield and there is no one quite like a 'typical Mansfield lad' and, yet, no one can fully convey why. It is a feeling you get when you are from there and approximations always fall short.

Claire is married to someone who she describes as 'just your typical Mansfield lad.' Claire says this with a sense of uncertainty, absent of pride and down-playing her own love for her partner, like she expects me to think less of her and him and is insulating herself against stigmatising evaluations. Claire backtracks and qualifies her previous statement by suggesting that 'other people *could think* he is, but he in't really.' It seems that no one is a typical Mansfield lad at the same time as them existing in droves.

The typical Mansfield lad is a term used to deride, to signify negative masculine attributes, performances and ways of being. He is perhaps someone 'who works at Tesco and still lives with their mum but has this "amazing" car on finance' (Lauren). Or he is misogynistic, 'grabbing your arse on a night out' (Kate). The typical Mansfield lad wears branded clothing associated with football hooligans, has his priorities wrong and fights a lot. His universe extends little further than Mansfield. I posit, like Nayak (2006, 2003), McDowell (2008, 2003) and Walkerdine (2011), that these behaviours and performances arise from young men's interpretation of masculinities that are informed by intergenerational significations and valuations, stultified by the absence of opportunity to practice such masculinities in respectful and respected ways.

The typical Mansfield lad is defined by his bodily capacity to induce negative affects, to make you feel disdain and discomfort. Similarly, the bodily capacities of typical Mansfield lads are generative of Mansfield's affective atmospheres of volatility, atmospheres that make people feel discomfort and wary of violence and abuse. When

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probed about their 'feeling,' people squirm a little. They feel a bit 'judgy,' as if they are displaying some prejudice and breaking an invisible code of solidarity with a place they know all too well has suffered. People have stopped going into Mansfield, partly because it's full of 'Mansfield lads' and partly because 'it's dead.' When I suggest it cannot be both, people reconcile that Mansfield's a ghost town, and the few that do go 'down town' are 'typical Mansfield people.' The internal prejudices among working-class people against other working-class people rankle with me, but I am just as bad. I forced myself to go on nights out in Mansfield during this research because I knew what to expect, I had been out in Mansfield on too many occasions to count. I did not want to go because I think Mansfield is, like Dan says, 'a shithole.'

Moreover, I sometimes feel that I carry some of the more nuanced attributes and bodily capacities of the typical Mansfield lad that Lauren, Kate and Claire dislike so much. When in the affective atmospheres of Mansfield, I sense that my behaviours and performances change, and I invoke typical memetic embodiments of the Mansfield lad through speech and appearance. My accent broadens, my stance changes and I express flippant opinions I do not hold. These bodily capacities feedback and reinforce the exclusionary affective atmospheres of volatility, and I am left with a discomforting feeling that I contribute to what makes Mansfield a 'shithole.'

Disruptive belonging: Exclusions, policing difference and contested nostalgias

Matt does not think that he was bullied at school. Reflecting, he suggests that he was definitely in the minority in his year. He was into different things – skating culture and the clothes and fashions associated with it. There were enough of these types around to form their own small group. They were marginalised from the more dominant majority, and always felt threatened by them, but this marginalisation, for Matt, stopped short of 'out-right bullying.' It helped that his father, a miner at Clipstone Colliery, was quite well-known and had taught Matt how to handle himself. Matt, hungover, sat talking with a relative stranger, strikes for balance and supposes that 'everyone got bullied a little bit in schools like ours though, didn't they?'

'What schools are they?' I asked, already knowing the answer, even though we went to different schools.

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'Schools 'round Mansfield. They were all a bit … tough, I guess,' replies Matt.

Secondary school was tough for Laura when she was bullied in the late 1990s. She still remembers vividly the beating she endured on the playing fields on her way home one day. Her bullies thought she was 'stuck up,' convinced that she thought she was better than them. She didn't. Her dad was a miner at the nearest colliery and her mum worked a service job. Laura just stood out because she was a twin, quite clever, and her parents enjoyed allowing their daughters to pursue any hobbies they wished, no matter how different these hobbies were to those of other teenagers at school.

Interviewing Laura in London, where she now lives, it turned out that we went to the same school, although she had just left when I started. It also transpired that she grew up just down the street from me. Both unaware of these similarities, we joke about the idiosyncrasies of our home village, exchanging memories of strange occurrences that we, perhaps wishfully, propose could only happen there. The incompetence of the teachers, their disinterest in stopping the terrible behaviour, certain characters. Laura does not carry the bullying with her. In some ways, she is thankful for it. It forced her to leave Warsop as soon as possible.

After the interview with Laura I rush back on the tube to the National Archives at Kew, thinking about things that Laura had said. I am primarily staying in London to do archival research and took the opportunity to interview Laura whilst I was nearby. Back in the café at the National Archives, I connect to the wi-fi, wanting to check my Facebook. A few days before, someone who I could not remember had created a group specifically for my school year group (Wiley, 2017). It was coming up to twenty years since we started secondary school and, although reunions tend to correspond to the year the class leaves, it was suggested we mark the occasion the following summer.

The group started out as a humorous space as more and more people were added. The appearance of the group caught many off-guard and forced us to remember secondary school, those five years that were so formative. Comments popped up from people I had no recollection of and people I was still in close contact with. Comment threads were started on unrequited loves and crushes, favourite teachers, least favourite teachers, funniest things that happened and what we were all doing now. People delighted when an event,

occurrence or nuance was recalled and posted – nicknames, sayings, aspects of someone's personality or the way they looked, fights, clothes, haircuts. Recollections sparked other memories remembered by someone else, in a collaborative piecing together of who went out with who, what someone did, what sport they were good at, and so forth (Wilson, 2018; Abel, et al, 2018).

Replies aimed to convey how being reminded of these things had triggered embodied and emotional responses, mainly laughter but also embarrassment and shame. Affects emerged without reflective cognition, reactions were impulsive, expressions were presented as unproblematic. We were all taking a digital walk down memory lane, enjoying the reminiscences emerging through collaborative remembering (Wang, 2018; Hoskins, 2018; Pasupathi & Wainryb, 2018). Nostalgia, so often associated with a specific older generation, saturates comments. I imagined people laughing and struggling to remember funny things that happened, so they could join in and keep the recollections going. I suppose we have reached the age where nostalgia consumes us a bit earlier than I thought it would. I suggest it is because the lives engaging in these romantic yearnings continue to be precarious, in flux and uncertain. School seemed like a safer place to return to than the unknown future.

People responded to others' memories proclaiming how they had instinctually evoked sensations, they could smell the glue in technology classrooms, feel the itchiness of the polyester uniform and the cheap hair gel that the boys soaked into their hair every morning. Soon enough, smartphone photographs of photographs were being posted with group members grimacing in horror at the sight, looking for the right 'emoji' to express their reactions. Reading the comments, that came one after another in quick succession, I too could *feel* these things. I was transported back to that time and place, although I did not join in with my own recollections.

I had reasonably fond memories of school, although the teachers probably do not have fond memories of me. I was by most definitions a bad pupil. It often brings an astonished amusement to people in my year that I am well-educated, formally at least, considering that I spent most of my time at secondary school on report or in detention. Expending little effort, I left school with moderate grades and a sigh of relief from the teachers. The main impetus for me at school was fitting in (Bright, 2011). I had an

impulsion to belong, as we all did. There were few strategies available to do this. Some carved out their place through sport, being attractive, or being funny. No one achieved a sense of belonging by being discernibly clever. Belonging was sacrificed by those who sought to attain good grades. I pursued the need to belong through being disruptive and 'messing about.' Sometimes this took the form of aiming insults at my fellow students, and no one was off limits in this regard.

It came as unnerving then when the affective atmosphere of the Facebook group transformed from nostalgia to more problematic themes. Comments began appearing from individuals who still carried resentments from their school experience. They intended to correct the nostalgic narrative that was forming, what they conceived as a distortion of what school was really like. Many others followed, sharing their own traumatic memories of bullying, name calling, violence and abuse. The dominant memory for these former pupils was that they could not wait to leave. The group suddenly fell silent, comments were no longer forthcoming, notifications sparse. I imagined people scattered around, much further than the catchment area of the school, gripping their smartphones with apprehension.

As people began to send consoling messages, I began to grow anxious, worried about what bad thing someone else would remember. Rather, what someone cannot forget, an event or feeling of exclusion that is not so much a vital memory, but a constant living with, a persistent absence-presence of low-level trauma (Brown & Reavey, 2015). As I laid on my bed alone in a generic hotel room in London, reading the comments, I began thinking back to my conversation with Laura earlier that day, how empathetic I was when she recounted her memories of bullying. Absenting violence, at times, I engaged in the exclusionary practices Laura negatively encountered. I am, too, bound up in the traumatic experiences of others in my year group and my younger and present self appear in their affective memories of those experiences. In the conversations that subsequently took place outside the Facebook group, between people who continue everyday friendships, we reassured each other that we were not as bad as we each might think we were. These realities problematise my broader memories of school and my teenage years.

I was also physically and verbally bullied at both primary and secondary school. Memories of the few occasions when I was chased, punched or shouted at surface from

time to time. The painful memories, variably, depending on mood, convince me that I should have known not to reproduce these behaviours or, alternatively, that everyone at school engaged in those sorts of behaviours. To what extent you can blame the behaviour of teenagers trading insults with each other on the teenagers themselves is negligible. The teachers were the caregivers after all. I certainly feel remorseful and guilty about things I said when I was fourteen that I cannot specifically remember saying.

Overall, it seems to me that difference was policed, and normative behaviours, performances and presentations instilled, not because the dominant group were so sure and certain of themselves, but because they were not. We were all trying to get by in ways available to us. I might be seeking to absolve myself for my past behaviours, to reconcile memories. I do not want to use class, deindustrialisation or social inequality as exculpations, however, they are explanatory. A few years after we left, the school went into special measures. Ours was a tough, low performing school at a tough, low performing time in a tough, low performing place (Gore & Smith, 2001). And our futures were forestalled. It is coming to terms with that that memories insist us to do.

'To whom this place belongs?': Class antagonisms and being out of place

In 1999, Tony Blair announced a target of fifty per cent for the proportion of UK school leavers going on to university. Since then, university has become a very real option for the British working-classes, and, although the data is inconsistent in both results and measurement, considerably more working-class people go on to Higher Education. This took some getting going. To my knowledge, and I have enquired, fewer than twenty in my year group went to university at the first time of asking in 2004, from a cohort of close to two-hundred. All those that did go attended less reputable institutions and none went to Russell Groups, let alone Oxbridge. Some, including me, have now attained undergraduate degrees, either through employment or Adult Education.

At university, working-class students can be subjected to experiences that sharpen their awareness of where they belong and where they do not (Bathmaker, Ingram & Waller, 2013). Massey (2011) wrote of her time as an Oxford undergraduate in the 1960s, and the alienation that the atmosphere invoked, as 'wrenchings of a displacement effected by class.' Massey suggests 'rather than that dwelling-saturated question of our belonging to a

place, we should be asking the question of to whom this place belongs.' As greater proportions of working-class youth go to university, the assumption could be that the ivory towers are transforming, yet, they do not belong to *us*. Or, rather, *we* do not belong to them.

Intensities of belonging were continually forced to the surface when I was an undergraduate at the University of Leicester, in moments that stick with me, and to me, now (Ahmed, 2004). In a formative experience that came in my first year, I attended a varsity rugby match with people that I lived with in halls of residence. We shuffled along the benches to watch University of Leicester vs. DeMontfort University. The affective atmosphere was quite good-natured until, for me at least, it transformed, as the chants from the University of Leicester side began to rouse. Those I were sat with, that I had lived with for the previous eight months, joined in as a chorus started: 'Your dad works for my dad! Your dad works for my dad!'. The next: 'We pay your benefits! We pay your benefits!' I squirm in my seat. Surrounded by the voluminous noise, the feeling of unbelonging swells. I had probably felt like I did not belong before but never in a place I thought I did or should. The felt intensity is derived by the unexpectedness, and the speed in which an affective atmosphere can change in an instant, from one imbued and facilitative of communal belongings to one that excludes. I consider leaving but stay. Partially so as not to draw attention to myself and invite questions as to why I am leaving. I did not want to alienate myself. The chants continue episodically throughout and each time the feelings of estrangement intensify and then dissipate. Estrangement was always there though, loitering in the background, the clasp rubbing on the skin, teasing and uncomfortable, before the chorus strikes up and the clasp tightens on the stomach, loosening when the classist chant peters out.[241]

After the game, the group found itself in the pub. Lingering affects of annoyance, disaffection and anxiety are verbalised, consequent of several pints of cheap lager. I have forgotten what was said and I will not profess to surety over how it was delivered. I do remember being belittled for suggesting that the chants were classist. I remember being dismissed for questioning that a university that propounded to be 'Elite without being elitist' might do more to extinguish these prejudices. 'Elite without being elitist,' a quote commandeered as an object-target for extensive promotional capital, appearing, as it did,

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[241] https://thetab.com/uk/nottingham/2014/01/26/chants-13769 [accessed 19 August 2018].

on almost every piece of documentation, banner and webpage across the University of Leicester. 'You're hardly working-class,' I was told, as I tried to recruit members of the group who had professed, in secret, the same feelings. The affective atmospheres were amenable to others, affecting in them a sense of belonging through an embodied and affective experience of chanting and bodily proximity. The affective atmospheres at the game were exclusionary to me because of my classed geo-historicities, rendered discernible through my bodily capacities of anxiety and alienation.

The next day, on my way to the library, I was handed a copy of *The Ripple*, the University of Leicester student newspaper. It was a varsity special and printed on the back page were suggested chants to aim at students of our supposed rival university. The chants I had heard the previous night were all there. In black and white. Legitimised, authorised and sanctioned by the student body. When I showed this blatant classism and tried to explain, clumsily, to my middle-class friends, whose dads employed people like my dad, and people like me, they again dismissed it.

Accumulated experiences like these, and affective memories of these experiences, condition working-class 'anticipatory attunements' to certain places they perceive to be potentially exclusionary (Edensor, 2015). They sense where they will not belong – restaurants, bars, cities, and so forth – and, if forced to be there, alter their bodily capacities to affect in accordance to their embodied moods and dispositions. In my case, the types of people that had shouted 'your dad works for my dad' from the benches of Welford Road have now progressed into academic positions, concealing pre-existing prejudices that now emerge in less apparent ways, but still surfacing in symbolic violence over, for instance, accents or pronunciations. In the affective atmospheres of, for instance, an academic conference, dense with middle-class snobbery, my anxiety can manifest variably in retreats to the corners of rooms, or evading eye contact, to exaggerations of 'working-classness' in a rejection of exclusionary conditions, to stay loyal to my class.

Landscape erasure and the absence-presence of working-class culture and affect at Welbeck Miners' Welfare

'Every time I go into tahn [town] summfin's changed' said Jamie, a joiner from Church Warsop. 'What d'you mean?', I asked. 'Well not changed, really. More like shutdahn. Every time I go into tahn either a pub's closed, or a shop. I've stopped guin dahn now,

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nowhere's open. It's happenin' just as much round 'ere though … pubs shuttin' an' that. They knocked't Top Club down in MV, din't thee?'[242] Jamie was right, *they* had knocked the Top Club down. I had wanted to go see the erased site for a while. I have complex associations with the Top Club, a place I spent many mundane and exciting, mournful and joyful hours.

Figure 31: Welbeck Miners' Welfare, 2015. Photo by Tim Cutts. Reproduced with permission.

Yet, I would find it embarrassing if someone I know caught me surveying the wasteland where the Top Club once stood, symptomatic of personal insecurities regarding the deviating trajectories between my life and the place I grew up (Walley, 2013). Following my chat with Jamie, I decide to finally go and have a look around. My body, confined to the driver's seat, becomes increasingly restless as I turn left onto Elkesley Road, past the old painted coal tub repurposed as a planter, and climb the hill up to where the Top Club had perched (fig. 31). With the Top Club now erased my navigation of the streets is disoriented. Before realising, I have passed the turn for the car park and, taking the next one, halt on the levelled remains (fig. 32). The eradicated topography, desolate and being reclaimed by nature, gives rise to a disconcerting intensity of unknowing.

Extended on several occasions over the years, the Top Club was a sizeable building,

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[242] Meden Vale. Note: Top Club was the local name for Welbeck Miners' Welfare.

comprising a conservatory, lounge, tap room and the 'big room' for functions, as well as multiple cupboards, storerooms and back of house.[243] All these had left a remarkably small footprint and, here, shuffling through the undergrowth, I question myself as to where certain rooms had been. Lee (2017b), returning to where her hometown once stood, creatively engaged with the erased landscape by tracing out the topography. This was a process of '*felt* remembering in which the town that no longer exists is very much alive and present' (p. 63. emphasis in original). I decided, following Lee, to re-enact a walk-through of the Top Club to explore the evocations of the space. Actively inviting sensorial and embodied memories, I seek to plot the absence-presence of each room in the hope of reclaiming belonging. I attempt to capture memories and their affective resonances before they are swept away by the wind blowing across the exposed site. The mistrustful gaze of two young mothers sat on the bench across the road, trying to ascertain if my being there was nefarious, further distracts. I imagine, and catastrophise, their conversations, playing out beyond earshot: 'What's he up to?'

Refocussing, I ascertain that I am *in* the tap room. I can faintly hear the clacking of pool balls and outdated songs playing, smell the fustiness of stale beer and feel the linoleum-like textures of the seats. The rubble and crushed weeds underfoot takes on a stickiness reminiscent of the old flooring. Although I had spent prolonged time socialising in the tap room, it was the 'big room' which housed my most vivid and valued memories. Stood in what would have been the doorway, with the bar to the left, I can see the tables running out in rows away from me towards the stage.

Memories, willingly evoked, do not surface linearly. The atmospheres and absence-presences of materialities and bodies are not layered with memory, as this implies some semblance of ordering or sedimentation of memory. Rather, inchoate memories surface as collages, events, bodies and materialities are recast and melded into new assemblages. Recollections continually emerge, intensifying and negating the residues of others. Vivid reconstructions of direct memories sit alongside ones invoked from traces of stories and fragments transferred to me by family, friends, research participants and other representations. Younger versions of the actors in these memories are brought into existence from previously viewing old photographs dug out of chocolate tins and shared

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[243] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=roVszW6DwYM [accessed 20 January 2018].

with me to illustrate narratives. These memories, not witnessed but entrusted to me, feel as though they are from experience. As though there has been a pooling of shared, intergenerational cultural memory to which those imbibed in this place are custodians obligated to make present these absences, to tell and feel their stories. I attempt to slow and process emerging memories into recognisable and dateable events.

Figure 32: Erased Welbeck Miners' Welfare. Taken by author, 2017.

It was in the 'big room' that my family and my grandad's friends gathered for his wake. The first time I had been drunk in front of my family, reminders of my intoxicated adolescent antics are recounted as means to lighten moods when family conversations tarry on death and loss. Although I am mildly embarrassed when this memory is called upon, I extract belonging from the fact that memories of my foolishness are used to partially alleviate sorrow. This, I hold, is proof that I have been *initiated* and earned my inclusion in the lexicon of collective memories of this place and its people.

Affective states of wistfulness, melancholy and pride give way to absence-presences of bodies, sounds, smells and textures filling the room in memories of New Year's Day. Every New Year's Day, the Top Club was *the* place to be for those living in and around the village. The popularity of the Top Club had slowly declined over many years until only the fully committed went in with any regularity. New Year's Day,

however, punctuated this sparsity as a residue of almost lost culture, when large amounts of the community gathered in one place together. In fact, it was suggested that the revenue accumulated on New Year's Day was the only thing keeping the Top Club from closing for good.

This performance of industrial culture, it was widely accepted, began with the influx of Scottish miners who celebrated Hogmanay with vigour. Over the years a choreographed event formed which to break would unsettle the ritualistic rhythms that the community had assembled and nurtured.

By noon every room of the Top Club would be full of working-class bodies, shoulder to shoulder, owing their existence in this place to the mining of coal. Voices competed with blaring music to wish old friends a Happy New Year or mock each other's clothes, behaviour or anything else to use as comic material. Glances and nods flicked across rooms to friends not seen enough. As the afternoon wore on, the drink took hold. Women ascended chairs to dance whilst men loitered in groups, firmly gripping pint glasses to stop staggering bodies from spilling drinks. The rugby team would eventually, but inevitably, take over the microphone for group renditions of soul hits before scuffles of flailing limbs signalled closing time was nearing. By five o'clock New Year's Day at the Top Club would be over and intoxicated bodies would filter out exits into the winter twilight to reaffirm resolutions to reconnect with friends that year.

In the following weeks we would recall the day's events. It is memories of this annual occasion, mundane and repetitive, yet, concomitantly unique and idiosyncratic to a particular event, irreproducible in its specificities in any other space or time, that lingers on. It is New Year's Day which is continually referenced when the Top Club features in photographs posted on social media, when people discuss what to do when New Year approaches or if friends indulge in nostalgic conversations about New Year's Days. Jamie and I had just been having such a conversation, making connections between people and faces that we both knew, gossiping about things that had happened in their lives that one of us were not aware of. We would take turns to recall specific memories, 'were you there that year that …..,' and laughing and delighting that an occurrence one of us had forgotten had been resurfaced by someone else, before that nostalgic reminiscence was shattered by the realisation that such things could not take place again. That another spatial anchor for our

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belonging had been erased and the community's demonstration of resilience, coming together to enact their inheritances, had finally lost its stage. Memories of New Year's Day at the Top Club are qualified in conflicting emotional registers because the material and socioeconomic conditions that allowed it, and its memory, to arise and endure have been so dismantled.

As I collated memories and sensations on the erased site, emotions emerged, again, not sequentially but all at once, blending, compounding and accumulating. I am at once nostalgic and then condemnatory, jocular then mournful. Syrupy sentimentalism emulsifies with anger coloured by an array of subsidiary affective intensities. Annoyance at the apathetic attitudes of the community when the Top Club was threatened with closure, guilt that I had done nothing to prevent it from happening, rage at the people – living and dead, known and unknown – who had destroyed these communities. Nostalgic for pasts that escaped me, that I only experienced the remnants of. Alienated from presents that force the post-industrial working-class to look beyond our place of belonging in the search for security and value. Dispossessed from futures vacated by the promises and assurances made. Impotent to resist the material eradication of Miners' Welfares, the social relations and cultural performances they engendered and the memories and futures they imbued.

I had seen and felt enough. I climb back into the car. As I pass the two women still on the bench we share pensive, knowing, nods of the head.

Blissful ignorance and wishing you didn't know: The intergenerational transfer of negative affects that shape belonging

In the summer of 2018 I attended the 134th Durham Miners' Gala with my wife, the largest gathering of working-class heritage and trade unionism in Europe (fig. 32). Traditionally, mining villages marched into Durham behind lodge banners and brass bands, gathering on the racecourse near to the city centre. The event now includes trade unions representing workers in any industry and sector, as well as political campaigns sympathetic to Leftist politics. The mining banners of the Durham Miners' Association and the NUM, though, take centre stage and the banners of the UDM are not welcome (Wray, 2009).

My wife and I walked in at the same time as Bowburn Lodge and when the brass band struck up with *Gresford*, the Miners' Hymn, tears ran uncontrollably down my wife's face. Her maternal family are from the Durham coalfields, her grandfather was a miner and

staunch NUM supporter. She, unlike me, has nothing to be ashamed of and the tears fell with pride. As the day wore on I variably swelled with impassioned energy, that there is something such as the Durham Miners' Gala exists, the unashamed and righteous display of pride and cultural heritage. Kids marched with their fathers and grandfathers and played in brass bands of collieries that were closed long before they were born. At the same time there was a personal sense of fraudulence, that my deviant histories prohibited me from fully investing.

Figure 33: Durham Miners' Gala, 2018. Taken by author, 2018.

Researching histories of the places and lives I am bound to has forced me to ask searching, and emotionally frustrating, questions, brought into sharp intensity during events such as the Durham Miners' Gala. It is not the case that I am wholly proud of my own place histories. I am shameful of the role played by my place and that family ancestors played in the wider narratives of deindustrialisation. It can never be certain whether Nottinghamshire's refusal to join the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 enabled colliery closures.

Or that, if Nottinghamshire miners joined the strike, it would have been successful and colliery closures averted. Still, whilst this research has helped me understand why miners from my home place and own family did not strike in 1984 – 85, I would prefer them to have done and envy my peers from striking families who hold a sense of pride from this ancestry (Bright, 2016; Wray, 2009). The Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 has been mythologised within Leftist and working-class politics. However, it remains the largest industrial dispute the UK has ever witnessed, and it is difficult to envisage a time that something like it could happen again. I am disappointed that I am from a dissident coalfield, 'the scabs who sold their future out for Thatcher and her gang. And turned traitor to their class, their names forever damned.'[244]

When I was growing up I remember asking my dad why Chesterfield Town fans shouted 'scab' at us at Mansfield Town games. I can't remember the response but there was an expectation amongst the crowd at Mansfield versus Chesterfield that I would, at least, dislike 'Spirerites.' Now I feel some embarrassment and shame when called a 'scab' by neighbouring mining areas, even though I was not born during the Miners' Strike. Reminders of my history now seem to leap out from textualities – landscapes, books, songs, films – that previously laid anonymous, inconsequential and taken-for-granted.

On the drive into the Nottinghamshire coalfield from my home in Lincoln, I pass through Ollerton. There is a bench there that commemorates David Jones, the striking miner killed in March 1984 during running battles between police, pickets and working miners (fig. 33). Every March, David Jones' family and friends, come to the bench to lay flowers and post pictures of David so that the village of Ollerton never forget his face or what occurred that night. The inscription reads that David 'lost his life at Ollerton … in the fight to save jobs and communities.' When the bench was proposed a few Ollerton residents objected to it, arguing that it should be placed in Yorkshire where David was from. I might have passed that bench hundreds of times and not given it a second thought.[245] When I approach this unassuming bench now I cannot help but look, and seeing it unavoidably evokes feelings of shame, of anger and disaffection with histories that I belong to and am entwined with.

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[244] Gaughan, D. [song]. Ballad of '84.
[245] Ollerton Town Council Minute Book, 1995/96. PAC 93/52. NRO.

I never knew about David Jones's bench, I never knew the intricate histories bound-up in 'scab' or why my grandfather's brother did not speak to him. My historical geographies were primarily presented to me in ways that my family and older generations wanted them to be. On the odd occasion that I reflected on things transferred to me, I filled in the interstices with assumptions and inferences. For instance, I have always known the road that leads past Warsop Vale and through Church Warsop as 'Scab Alley.' When I was young, I assumed that this was because Warsop Vale was particularly rundown, what we might call 'scabby.' In 1992, Warsop Vale was described as a 'community close to death' (quoted in Waddington, 2005). Once I began my research, I reflected that this might be to do with the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85. Asking my dad, he said it had been called Scab Alley for as long as he could remember and long before the strike. It transpires that Scab Alley picked up the moniker not in reference to 1984 – 85 but the Miners' Lockout of 1926 when strike breakers were housed in Warsop Vale and Church Warsop, not long built. The Nottinghamshire coalfield landscape is so deeply inscribed with inglorious pasts that people do not challenge these associations, things have always been called that and always been like this.

Friends I ask regarding what they know about their shared place pasts are convinced they are fully aware of their parents' and grandparents' lives, that memories were always passed down to them, that they knew where they were from through these stories. But, apart from members of striking families, they didn't know about the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85. They didn't know about the split in the unions. They didn't know a great deal about the colliery closures, just that it was Thatcher that was behind them. That Heseltine closed some of the collieries seems an irrelevance to them. The Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 in the part of the Nottinghamshire coalfield I am from takes the form of a collective family secret, lingering underneath, but never explicitly spoken of.

Laura, an emergent playwright, decided to write a play about the Nottinghamshire coalfield inspired by conversations with her father, a miner. She knew of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 but did not want to write a play about it, believing that no one would want to watch it. It was only from delving into the history of the strike that she realised its significance. When Laura told her parents that the play was to be about the strike, her mum warned her off, advising that it had all died down now so not to drag it back up. She had

one conversation with her father on the phone about the strike. It developed into an argument and Laura's father got so irate, overflowing with emotions, that he put the phone down. Laura's father was promoted to a Deputy about six months before the strike began and, therefore, moved to the National Association of Colliery Overmen and Deputies who were not on strike. He could not talk about the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 without transgressing his own boundaries of emotional expression, so they never spoke of it again.

Such is the extent of the silence that I was naïve to any animosities that could surface through academic inquiry. My curiosity into the place I am from has led to awkward interactions with family and family friends to the point that I clam up when anyone I know from 'home' asks what my research is on, leaving me unable to discuss with the people closest to me what it is I have been up to for the last few years. I am filled with the strange feeling that I have to forgive people for things they did before I was born, that perhaps they didn't give that much thought to, not knowing the significance engendered to it. Maybe they just went along with the majority. I have begun to notice that people have started slipping references to the Miners' Strike and colliery closures into conversations I am within earshot of. Comments that they see as exonerating them or their partners for past behaviours and decisions. People have said such things as, 'Well, you never hear about the Strike from our side, do you? How we were lied to.' Others might suggest that they were excused from going on strike because they were in other unions or they were critical to maintenance of the colliery. These are valid reasons and, either way, who am I to judge them.

The feeling that I am turning over stones best left unturned adds to the confusing sense that I am being alienated from my own place by knowing more about it. Walley's (2013) metaphor of the need to find out and to understand the causes of industrial ruination being like 'scratching an itch, or salving a wound' resonates with me, but any catharsis that scratching the itch has rendered remains unclear. It often feels like in scratching the itch I have broken the skin and the wound has been infected with a bitterness, estrangement and alienation that was not previously felt so intensely. I am at least attuned to the ways power seeks to manipulate and exploit the affect and emotions of those most vulnerable to economic change, namely, the working class. Conversely, knowing that same history imparts a sense of powerlessness, that *they* can do what they wish.

Figure 34: Commemorative bench for David Jones, Ollerton. Taken by author, 2015.

Conclusion

In the Nottinghamshire coalfield, industrial ruination is generative of collective conditions which have imparted and interpellated in the bodies, performances, speech, practices, memories and dispositions of the generation who lived and continue to live through its affects. As illustrated by the closure and demolition of Welbeck Miners' Welfare – the Top Club – and the rundown of shops and pubs in Mansfield and other towns, industrial ruination is an ongoing process that has not yet reached fruition. Rather, industrial ruination, stymied in some ways by regeneration from 1998 to 2010, has been accelerated by austerity that has crippled an already vulnerable geography. Industrial ruination is also generative of affective atmospheres conditioning bodily capacities to affect. These affective atmospheres are rendered knowable and embodied contingent of the geo-historicites of working-class bodies enmeshed in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Articulating and describing localised epistemologies of knowing, as in the case of Mansfield, proves difficult and we often distil meanings into phrases dense with spatial and embodied intensity, such as 'typical Mansfield' and 'typical Mansfield lad.' The compositions of these short-hand remarks are affective, alluding to the affective dynamics

between bodies and atmospheres. Inarticulable is the mutuality of deindustrialised spaces and people to co-produce the essence of places, essences that simultaneously alienate and draw in. But the affective atmospheres and bodily capacities in the Nottinghamshire coalfield are also assembled of temporal blendings where industrial mining cultures and forms of life continue to make themselves known in discreet and subtle ways.

Previous forms of life of the mining community, that the generation examined in this chapter knew only as residues, are traceable in forms of movement, taste, practices, performance and many others that surface in moments, encounters and events. Forms of life and being have been transmitted from the preceding generation and those before them, transformed and obfuscated by industrial ruination and the local specificities of the Nottinghamshire coalfield's experience of deindustrialisation. Listening and dancing to Northern Soul music and New Year's Day at the Top Club are two examples of how past forms of life have been condensed into traditions and heritages, intergenerationally transmitted as multisensory practices and performances. New Year's Day celebrations were a highly localised and industry specific cultural heritage, both a practice and representation of communal belongings. It was also contingent of space. Since the erasure of Welbeck Miners' Welfare, the New Year's Day tradition has not been able to replicate in other venues and its meaning was tied to the materialities of the Top Club. That the New Year's Day celebrations outlived Welbeck Colliery suggests that they were also contingent of social relations and communal belongings rather than industrial employment, further evidence of industrial culture being as important as industrial work. The types of labour and employment available and pursued by my generation do, however, continue to be formulated by intergenerational frameworks.

We saw in chapters four and five that intergenerational social reproduction of belonging and identity for men were given clear avenues by the availability of mining jobs, that sons of miners could become miners themselves. The perceived permanence of the coal industry and the continuance of the ways of life of the mining community enabled children, socialised and conditioned as working-class and mining family people, to follow and fulfil trajectories. These affective and embodied ways of being have transferred to a younger generation that are bereft of the institutional and economic systems and infrastructure to enact belonging in what we see as our legitimate prideful and purposeful

heritage. I have drawn out distinctions between my experience and that of others of a similar age, illustrating the individuated nature of belonging, but also how the collective conditions of industrial ruination, meshed with neoliberalism, has split lifecourses and fragmented working-class geo-historicities. The neoliberalisation of work has forced a generation of new workers to pursue diffuse avenues in the pursuit of wages, fragmenting collectivised senses of sameness. At the same time, working-class people my age inherited normative valuations rooted in the past. Without mining jobs, purposeful, 'proper' work cohere around subsidiary characteristic of physical labour, defined and evidenced by how that labour inflicts itself on the body. Performing these forms of work enables a semblance of bodily capacities to belong.

My generation have also been bereft of many proudful associations with our histories because of the inabilities of older parents and so forth to communicate useable pasts. The mining industrial culture is not as palpable in the Nottinghamshire coalfield as that demonstrated by the villages proudly parading in Durham, for instance. The majority of those who grew up deindustrialised in the Nottinghamshire coalfield have not inherited the same affective resonances with their past. As seen in chapter seven, traumatic histories of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and its contextualisation of subsequent colliery closures are actively silenced in the Nottinghamshire coalfield resulting in an absence of explanatory frameworks for the industrial ruination experienced by my generation. At the same time, accumulated direct affective memories emergent of the collective conditions of industrial ruination have also begun to problematise the perceptions and imaginaries of the past, as in the case of my ill-fated school reunion. Like Bright (2012a, p. 316) found, we are 'adrift from "illegitimate" histories that are [our] legitimate "heritage" and, at the same time, [are] subject to the traumatic affective legacy of those same histories.' As my generation grow older we are forced to reconcile memories constitutive of industrial ruination with merely fragments of exposure to how things came to be.

Of course, affective intergenerational transferences working at the unreflective level do not inform the totality of how people assemble belonging among this age group. There are a multitude of other factors, some that have emerged that were not especially present during the time of the collieries. Tastes and cultures arise in different places and travel into new spaces, taking root in the ways people dress, talk and act. Matt found a sense of

belonging from skate culture, transmitted from California, US, into a Nottinghamshire mining community in the form of music, dress and leisure somewhat alien to his mining father. I suggest that the experiencing of emergent cultures that informed belonging are, however, inflected and conditioned with the histories of class and place (Ward, 2014). For example, I have derived threads of identity and belonging from being a researcher in an institution, and I am proud of my academic achievements and, to some extent, the institution I am connected, in spite of my experiences, such as those recounted above. But these threads are fragile and there are moments at conferences, in meetings and in interactions with academics that the threads are worn ever thinner by corrosive 'psychic landscapes of class' (Reay, 2005). It is a corrosion, sometimes referred to as 'imposter syndrome,' partly borne of being working-class, a sense that my classed geo-historicity does not belong, is out of place, in the spaces of academe. At the same time, people who opted to go to university rather than risk falling into low-payed service work, despite that still being a real possibility even with a university degree, are alienated from the people at home. Forced out by our own class but not welcomed by the next, too working-class to be accepted into the middle-class and too middle-class to carry on belonging to the working-class. Such exclusions are not expressed in explicit class terms, they are enacted through subtle classed inheritances, intensified by the lived experiences of industrial ruination, that impose bodily capacities to belong or to alienate.

Chapter Nine – Conclusions, implications and directions

This thesis has investigated the affective-temporal processes of everyday and eventful belonging among long-term mining families in the Nottinghamshire coalfield. A key aim was to capture some of the vitality, complexity and heterogeneity of the Nottinghamshire coalfield as a place of temporal enfoldings and excessive affective flows, where pasts envelop presents to mediate forms of belonging. To apprehend the Nottinghamshire coalfield as a set of emergences, to grasp at the incessant becomings and poesis of the past in the present, I proposed a multi-modal methodology attuned to the multiple relational textualities through which life is lived. I suggest that through elicitation of representational and more-than-representational textualities – voices, prose, absence, landscapes, materialities, images, embodiments – we can trace 'an affective circuitry of what it (sometimes) feels like to live in' (DeSilvey, 2012b, p. 54), belong within, and belong to the Nottinghamshire coalfield.

A concern is that, through the intention to represent the experience of the coalfield as a whole, its divergent historical geographies and people, I have not represented fully the

experience of anyone. It is entirely possible to experience a different Nottinghamshire coalfield to the one I know, recognise and belong to, and the one presented in this thesis. A stranger to the coalfield would be forgiven for thinking that I have somewhat misrepresented its affective landscapes and people. Travelling east to west across the Dukeries might convince a traveller that the Nottinghamshire coalfield is a pocket of idyllic rurality. Travellers might pass through the villages of Tuxford, Eakring, Caunton or Kirklington, just north of Southwell, shouldered by drystones walls, noting the ridge and furrow existing as obstinate parcels of medieval farming, marvelling at how well preserved the bucolic 'Englishness' is. These Dukeries villages, unlike Blidworth, Ollerton, Clipstone and Bilsthorpe, for example, escaped the imposition of coalmining in the early twentieth-century and retain elite national aesthetics of 'charm' and 'tradition.' Conversation could reasonably centre on the unusual tree covered mounds that pockmark the otherwise flat countryside, unbeknownst that these beautified slagheaps were once sulphurous burning banks. And the people inside the old farmhouses might not recognise the Nottinghamshire coalfield that I have written of. They are not represented in this analysis. Making your way further across the coalfield you would join the MARR road – noted in chapter six – bypassing Rainworth and Mansfield and, before long, the travellers would be on the M1, not knowing anything of the Nottinghamshire coalfield. If your journey took you north to south you could pass through the managed parks of the Dukeries, bypassing Worksop in the north, taking in the resplendent aristocratic landscape. You could spend an hour in one of the landed estates – Welbeck, Thoresby or Rufford – and purchase some local produce from the ubiquitous estate farm shop prior to joining the A614 to Nottingham, or take a diversion and stop off at Newstead Abbey, the ancestral home of Lord Byron. You might pass through knowing nothing of the deprivation in Worksop in the north of the county, Hucknall in the south, or the deprived colliery villages of Meden Vale, Costhorpe, or Church Warsop that are hidden away from visitors' eyes.

It has been the intention to document the experience of the mining families of the Nottinghamshire coalfield past and present, to speak of their lives and their capacities to belong and to not. I am deeply enmeshed in these historical geographies and the inception of the research came from an underpinning sense of 'scratching an itch or salving a wound' (Walley, 2013, p. 22). In the preceding chapter I doubted whether in doing the research I

have reconciled troublesome feelings. More concerning, however, is that the embodied experience I have reproduced the most is mine (Taylor, Y., 2012). I am wary that I may have overstated the present-day deprivations of the communities I have sought to represent, mirroring the tendency in academic research to somewhat overstate disadvantages of their subjects to meet agendas (Bhambra, 2017). I worry that this account misses some of the genuine happiness that people experience in the Nottinghamshire coalfield and I have imparted my own disaffection onto the analysis (Kirk, 2007). There is a great deal of warmth and humour in the coalfield, belied by the visual decay and othering atmospheres of suspicion which engulf the outsider. At moments in all the interviews conducted, participants would intentionally make me laugh. We would sit for hours drinking tea and let conversations digress into areas of local gossip and make connections between people we might know, but often did not. I was at times taken aback by the friendliness of these participants as most of my requests for interviews were refused by people sceptical of my intentions, thinking that I would ask difficult questions related to the Miners' Strike or 'drag up the past' as many feared.

Relatedly, it may appear that I have underplayed wider cultural flows and reified the historical and contemporary importance of coal, both the embodied act of mining it and the industry that formed around its extraction. In tracing the historical geographical developments of these mining communities, it has become clear that they have always been in a continual state of becoming, often not the regressive, reified and backward facing settlements that popular and academic discourse supposed that they were, or perhaps inhabitants remember them to be. Nor were borders completely impermeable. Along with flows of people in and out, all coalfield communities experienced cultural change over time, signified by tastes in, and displays of, clothing, music, sub-cultures and so forth. And yet there is a continuity and intergenerationality that is unmistakable in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, related in relationships to coal, class and the pursuance of belonging.

The primary aim of this research was to develop an understanding of how belonging among the working-class of the Nottinghamshire coalfield has and, can be, transformed and transmitted over linear time. Whilst claims have been made on the constitutive importance of intergenerational affective embodiments of class and belonging,

no adequate means of exploring these phenomena previously existed (Strangleman, 2017; Walkerdine, 2016, 2015). In response, I developed a methodological and epistemological framework that drew upon the Foucauldian genealogical method, Anderson's analytics of affect and the evaluation of multiple sources ranging across mediums, approached in innovative ways emphasising embodiment and the more-than-representational. The embodied and discursive act of coal mining was generative of affective multiplicities which converged to produce bodily capacities of both belonging and alienation dependent on the socioeconomic structural conditions surrounding mining. Bodily capacities emergent from mining were carried up from beneath the ground and from around the pit heads into the shared spaces of social and personal life, permeating through social relations, accreting themselves in material space and emerging and manifesting in behaviours and perceptions of self and others. Despite and because of deindustrialisation, coal, as an absence-presence, still exerts a benign power over the lives of these families who are affectively and temporally linked the coal industry.

In the pre-nationalisation period, insecurity and precarity permeated through bodies and atmospheres of the Nottinghamshire coalfield. Miners experienced alienation emergent from their class and occupational relationships with the coal industry under privatisation. Capitalist coal owners structured and organised coal mining in oppressive and precarious ways that alienating affective atmospheres of anxiety and insecurity filled the lift shafts, streets and alleyways of mining communities. Safety standards and the lack of adequate medical provisions during this period meant that miners died and suffered in both horrific accidents and through the unavoidable quotidian labour of mining. These collective conditions were generative of alienation and bodily capacities of anxiety and animosity, which filtered into domestic spaces and interpersonal relationships. Women, largely confined to homes once married, were alienated both by their position in gender and economic hierarchies. Domestic space was critical whereby confined, porous and insanitary spaces perpetuated animosities. Miners and mining families, organised through the MFGB, sought to ameliorate these conditions through piecemeal legislative changes with the ultimate goal of nationalisation, preferably under worker control. It was patriarchal capitalism that had the encompassing and oppressive dominance during the period 1860s to 1947.

It is the contention here that nationalisation played a critical role in the transformation of how the Nottinghamshire coalfield saw itself and assembled belonging at the embodied and conscious level. The Nottinghamshire coalfield was 'the jewel in the crown' of the nationalised coal industry (Amos, 2012). Whereas other coalfields, to some extent, insulated themselves from the vicissitudes of the coal industry by drawing on, and situating themselves within, histories of struggle – finding solace and unity through shared intergenerational experience – the Nottinghamshire coalfield benefitted from the very exigences present in other areas. The alienations of the Nottinghamshire coalfield were attenuated and transformed to a great extent by institutions: the NCB, the NUM and CISWO. The discursive and structural strategies of the NCB, NUM and CISWO generated communal belongings in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, centred on practices and performances of an industrial culture imbued with self-assuredness, security and positive valuations of the present and future.

The collective conditions of security and permeance pervading the Nottinghamshire coalfield in the 1970s were manipulated as object-targets to dispose obedience to the government during the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and the colliery closures that followed. The UDM leadership were enamoured to the false vision presented to them, that they were the working-class mantle bearers of progressivism and, in return for their diligent service to the neoliberal future from which there was no alternative, their workforce would be safe. This was a finely orchestrated deception and within three decades of the end of the Miners' Strike the British coalfields were decimated, including Nottinghamshire's, and collieries destroyed so that they could not return.

The extent to which we can recover working-class affective genealogies and render knowable the affective, emotional and bodily realities of belonging are circumscribed by access to historical archival material. Many archived documents were inaccessible to me to protect the reputations of the living and legislation and archivists act as gatekeepers to formulating working-class genealogies. The voices of the working-classes have also been excluded from documentation over time and where they do appear in the record they have been filtered through middle-class processes of representation in newspapers or reportage. However, the democratisation of digital, technological and media forms has meant that a dearth of material progressively becomes available the closer to the present we get. The

affective genealogies presented here, whilst suffering from an absence of material related to the 1800s, drew on a broad scope of material that gave voice to the mining families under examination. This history challenges some historical conceptions of mining communities and the industrial working-class. The tendency to evaluate a particular coalfield by comparisons of the experiences in others overstates the conditions pertaining at the local level and provides a distortive historical imaginary of lifeworlds. Misrepresented most in previous accounts are changes in the experience of women, who are largely absent from previous studies that focus mostly on the testimonies of men. This absence may be causative, along with political predeterminations, of the 'mining community' being mostly presented as a cohesive and positive construction. Studies are unavoidably reflective of the political and academic contextualisations of the time of their appearance. However, this study is not exempt from the same sets of political and academic exigencies. Despite efforts, I too have struggled to include the voices and experiences of women, particularly older women. I suggest that this is a 'legacy' of patriarchal mining communities whereby the memories of men's experiences reproduce the privileging of men's contemporaneous experiences. We could, perhaps, place the dismantling of an extant dominance of male labour in the positive column of deindustrialisation, although to what extent deindustrialisation has led to a narrowing of gendered equalities of experience is ambiguous (Linkon, 2013). What is clear is that regeneration efforts did not fully grasp the power of temporal 'legacies,' like gendered experiences of work and sociality, and these legacies continued to impede neoliberalised regeneration efforts that pursued ahistorical futurist agendas.

Living through these histories of broken solidarities, impoverishment and decay has meant that mining families must also live with difficult memories, and how the memories of others have been enacted in processes of exclusion. The lived experience of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85, largely foisted upon the Nottinghamshire coalfield, led to divergences in belongings and alienations. Those that continued to work have been ostracised from the wider narrative of working-class histories, largely deemed to not belonging to the long intergenerational struggle for recognition, security and socialism. However, the working miners of the Nottinghamshire coalfield retain a sense of belonging within the communities they lived. Conversely, striking miners have been excluded from belonging to their

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localities where they are the minority but have remained connected to longer class histories of trade unionism and struggle. These disunified pasts have prohibited a localised heritage to mediate losses of belonging through presenting a coherent narrative of place, as has been done in other deindustrialised areas, particularly the coalfields (Bright, 2016; MacDonald, S., 2013; Smith, Shackel & Campbell, 2011; Power, 2008; Stephenson & Wray, 2005; Dicks, 2000). Social curatorial practices of selecting, designing and presenting shared memory to the deindustrialised generation in the Nottinghamshire coalfield has involved the silencing of traumatic, difficult and inglorious aspects of the past.

Despite the repression of certain declarative memories, I contend that the presence of affective, embodied and other inheritances conditions the capacity to belong and not belong among a deindustrialised generation. The past has interpellated into working-class bodies where it confronts an incompatible present, where the inheritance of the past is in conflict within working-class bodies and spaces. For instance, historically constituted expectations and desires for identity and labour are not allowed to actualise in contemporary landscapes of service work and industrial ruination, meaning that belonging struggles to emerge. Here, industrial ruination becomes a set of debilitating and constrictive codifications, a mark upon bodies that have directly experienced its exigencies. These experiential markers, traceable in bodily capacities of anxiety, accent and appearance, are often indelible and are carried beyond the immediate geographies they were administered. You do not arrive to spatialised events as an empty vessel. Brought with you are predetermined expectations shaped by your specific and subjective geohistoricities of the body, positionality and circumstances. We saw this in how the deindustrialised generation are alienated from spaces, such as, in my case, academic conferences.

Following, I do not hold, such as Walkerdine (2016, 2015) suggests, that history accumulates incrementally. Working-class experiences and capacities to belong are as much to do with present-day structures that working-class people find themselves as they are with affective intergenerational transmissions. The capacity to self-determine belonging, for instance, is heavily circumscribed by contemporaneous structural conditions. Regards the intergenerationality of affect, the immediate lived past carries more significance than pasts indirectly experienced. As the past recedes it can lose its potency. Affective conditions of insecurity in the early Nottinghamshire coalfield gave way to

security under nationalisation and it is these affective atmospheres that are juxtaposed to present day conditions of industrial ruination, rather than the insecurity that they gave rise to. Moreover, this is why heritage (mis)representations, focussing as they do on Victorian mining, do not carry the affective resonances they could. However, the securities of the 1960s and 1970s, and communal belongings they helped generate, were felt so intensely because of the insecurities of the pre-nationalisation period. Similarly, historical events may be willingly forgotten by certain people but kept in the collective memories of others to resurface and be operationalized at pertinent times. We saw this in the relationship between 1926 and 1984. The actions of Spencer and strikebreakers in 1926 characterised the Nottinghamshire coalfield within the wider coal industry. A perceived moderate tradition and propensity to break with collective solidarities, rooted in the precedents of 1926 and Spencerism, contributed to strategies during the Miners' Strike 1984–85 almost six decades later, to fill the Nottinghamshire coalfield with flying pickets on the assumption that solidarity would not be forthcoming. The antecedents and linkages between 1926 and today are all but unknown in the collective consciousness of the Nottinghamshire coalfield, not least the links between 1984 – 85 and today, but they are inscribed into the landscape in instances such as Scab Alley (Rose-Redwood, 2008).

I do not suggest that historicities were the only determining factor and, in many ways, the Nottinghamshire coalfield was as much a victim of its geography and geology as it was its history. It was the fortuitous geologies that ensured its security and under global capitalism, the central position of the Nottinghamshire coalfield protected it against export markets. Geology and its exploitation also gathered people to the Nottinghamshire coalfield who then established and practiced its culture. Also, generations, of course, are not rigid, they are determined by events or epochs that occur outside the bodies of those in the specific generation and there is a degree of artificiality about inclusions. I have discerned and described generations of the Nottinghamshire coalfield by transformations happening within that geography. Yet, inhabitants are part of other geographies that demarcate their own generations, for example, the baby-boomer generation in post-War societies. This research suggests that future studies of affective and embodied intergenerationality need to take into consideration multi-scalar geographies.

We have also seen that, contrary to the emphasis of the literature, simply being in a

place for a prolonged period of time, embedding embodied memories into space and materialities, of being a link in a generational genealogy fixed in place, does not necessarily produce or enable belonging to those geographies. Temporal belongings are contingent on events, and where events register on spectrums of emotional valence and how those events transfer and are reconciled into memory. This is aided, facilitated and mediated by materialities, structures and other bodies – as well as your own. People can be alienated from spaces because of negative experiences there or who or what we expect to encounter there – our 'anticipatory attunements' (Edensor, 2015) to space. We saw this with striking miners who did not return to Miners' Welfares following the 1984 – 85 Miners' Strike. People, including myself, also avoid going into Mansfield because of the types of bodily capacities and affective atmospheres that industrial ruination has produced.

We must, however, avoid simplistic analysis of good or bad spaces or evocations. The analysis has attempted to demonstrate that emotional evocations, attachments and engenderings of space and materialities, as well as their expressions, are much more complex and contingent of subjective class and space meanings. Places have the affective capacities to evoke a range of emotions at the same time due to the temporal encounters with those spaces. For instance, positive associations with Mansfield have transformed into primarily negative, but these are confused by pre-existing positive experiences, along with attendant emotional states of guilt for betraying spaces they come from. This is what the process of deindustrialisation has done to lineal conceptions of time. Memories accumulate and are contested along chronologies of positive and negative valence, befores and afters. This aspect of deindustrialisation endures as an insidious absence-presence to exert itself on affective shared memories that can transform when the contextual surrounds of industrial ruination are fleshed out by other voices and actors. My own nostalgic reminiscences of school are now compromised because I know that others suffered. Such complex assemblages of affective memory direct us to the power of the present to shape the past and over the lifecourse we can be threatened not just by own personal pasts but also the past of others in longer intergenerational frameworks of working-class struggle, dispossession, powerlessness and impotence.

Collective histories have gathered up in the Nottinghamshire coalfield and the 'effects of capitalism and modernization pile up on the landscape as the detritus of history'

(Stewart, 1996, p. 4). The accumulation of alienation has entrenched a neophobia formed from rationalising the experiences of the last three decades whereby positive changes have been marginal and sparse and negative ones have been frequent and catastrophic. This is readable in the material decay, erasure and transformation of the sensory landscape. Examples include Miners' Welfares, housing and colliery buildings. With a sense of impotency against the enduring siege against them, the Nottinghamshire coalfield has a diminished outward projection of collective confidence. Where there were once self-assured communal belongings, there is now a neophobic suspicion and wariness that outsiders might further erase what little sense of belonging is left. Images of the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and subsequent colliery closures that have been captured in artistic representations, like the aforementioned films, Brassed Off and Pride, engender the popular historical imagination of coalfield communities, whereby people outside the coalfields consumer and detach from imaginaries and representations. In the places that films and plays of the Miners' Strike and colliery closures refer, these difficult histories are not temporary consumptions but are lived in the everyday. The stories and memories of loss and trauma in the Nottinghamshire coalfield are often silenced and inaccessible, suppressed precisely because those who lived the histories continue to live and suffer with them.

Moreover, when political archangels descended periodically to decry the injustices of the past, and how they were here to 'save' the coalfield, their rehabilitative programme involved replacing lost jobs that invoked pride, purpose and belonging with those that invoked shame and alienation. Not to mention that the replacement jobs paid significantly less in relative terms than mining jobs that, for periods of time, could sustain a family on a single income. The hope invested in New Labour's proclamations that they had the answers to the plight of coalfields amounted to little. The 'nonstop inertia' (Southwood, 2011) of industrial ruination and neoliberalism has led to a suspicion of grand plans and the future laid out in policy documents is continually met with levels of scepticism and dismissal. A rejection of enthusiasm has embedded itself to the extent that 'getting your hopes up' is seen as the height of naivety and gullibility, which one could only fall for if they were not truly of these places. A knowing rejection of anything because 'nothing ever changes' or 'heard it all before' is an identifier of legitimate belonging to the Nottinghamshire coalfield. To be hopeful in public or to act to facilitate change is condemned as being a 'do-

gooder', a 'middle-class missionary.' These are local ontologies that are often inarticulable, where shorthand phrases dense with affectivity and meaning serve as a means to partially convey some of how it feels to be from the Nottinghamshire coalfield. It is hoped that through critical reflexivity I have elucidated some of this distillation and some of the emotional densities of loss and redundancy contained in the interstices of dialogue and spaces, coalescing around reflective silences and exasperated exhalations, despondent knowing gazes and bowing heads.

Neophobia is linked to a pervasive struggle toward nostalgia in the coalfields (Strangleman, 2013; Power, 2008; Bennett, K., 2009b). People look to the past to construct a narrative/genealogy of who they are and, in times of uncertainty, retreat there because they have constructed a past they deem safe and protected from change. This is a fallacy. The past we think we know is constantly altering. In the Nottinghamshire coalfield a great deal of effort has gone into protecting the past through silencing and evading traumatic or uncomfortable aspects of it. This is a perennial everyday battle. The past transmutes into myriad forms, as signs, materialities, moving images, news stories, that transform when fresh knowledge surfaces. The bitterness of Bob was further entrenched when he found out Neil Greatrex's thefts, enlivened when climbing the slagheap close to where Greatrex lives. Although exhausting, the repression of the past is seen as critical for nostalgia and nostalgia has been a source of belonging and comfort in time of flux and decline. Also, nostalgia is not apolitical. We can be both sentimental and angry, nostalgic and bitter. In fact, it is often the case that a deep nostalgia for the lost past energises the anger and politics of the contemporary (Mishra, 2017).

In May 2017, half way through this project, Mansfield voted out their MP of thirty-years, Alan Meale. The constituency that had been represented by Labour every year except one since 1918, that had four times been represented by a former coal miner, had voted in a Conservative for the first time in its 132 years as a parliamentary constituency. In the same election, Labour MPs in neighbouring constituencies in the Nottinghamshire coalfield had their majorities slashed. The majority of the Ashfield MP was reduced from 8820 in 2015 to just 441 two years later. In an election widely considered a success for Labour, the shock results of the party in the Nottinghamshire coalfield made national

news.[246] The saying that Labour could pin a red rosette to a pig and the Mansfield electorate would still vote for it was no longer true. However, the parliamentary political geography of the Nottinghamshire coalfield is more variegated than might be expected and not as staunchly Labour as might be presumed. Tracing party political representation reinforces the affective genealogies presented here and some of the wider arguments of this thesis.

My research evidences how the experience of industrialism and industrial decline are heavily contingent on locality and that, far from generalisable, alienations and belongings among the working-class are specified by shared local historical geographies. Too often commentators interpret recent election and referendum results as being a manifestation of working-class discontent at the national-level and look to find a single cause. Class injustices pertaining to deindustrialisation may actualise in democratic ruptures that shock the liberal, cosmopolitan middle-classes, but referenda provide a very circumscribed, often binary, choice to express that discontent (Fetzer, 2018). The first general election after the Miners' Strike in 1987, Labour clung onto Mansfield by just fifty-six votes, with the Conservatives finishing in second place. Prior to the election, the incumbent MP, Don Concannon, had a car accident and Labour had to select a new candidate. Alan Meale, from London, was selected to replace Concannon to fight the election and was the NUM candidate. The mining electorate were disenfranchised with Labour because Labour did not condemn the use of flying pickets during the Miners' Strike and would not admit the UDM as an affiliate trade union. As a corollary, the Sherwood constituency elected a Conservative in 1983, Andy Stewart MP. Sherwood constituency was heavily comprised of mining communities – Blidworth, Bilsthorpe, Calverton, Ollerton, Newstead, Clipstone – as well as the large mining town of Hucknall. This political divergence further emphasises the drift of the Nottinghamshire coalfield away from working-class institutions resulting from affluence and security from the late 1970s documented in chapter six, illustrated also by homeownership. Andy Stewart MP actively supported working miners in his constituency during the Miners' Strike 1984 – 85 and

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[246] https://www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/mansfield-town-where-labour-votes-used-to-be-weighed-not-counted-is-now-a-realistic-tory-target-a3554116.html and https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-nottinghamshire-39934886

increased his majority in 1987. Coincidentally, Concannon's majority in Mansfield was reduced to 2216 in 1983, from 11331 in 1979. To reiterate, elections also speak to local concerns and contexts, both immediate and residual.

Alienations in working-class areas are enacted at local levels, tied to local genealogies and formed of what is felt and seen in the immediate environs. In the Nottinghamshire coalfield there was a palpable sense of alienation from the political process linked to years of industrial decline and feelings of powerlessness. Prior to 1985, belonging in the Nottinghamshire coalfield was constituted at the local, national and class level by the discursive and symbolic formulation of purposefulness and value within the national imaginaries. Just like belonging can be enabled by forces at wider scales, alienation arises when individuals or groups are actively excluded from the determinants of belonging, for instance, space, histories or memories. In the Nottinghamshire coalfield, forces at multiple scales have acted to alienate mining families from the means to belong, whether coal owners resisting the self-determination of miners, governments dismantling collective organisation or other coalfields framing the dominant memories of mining as unionism and striking. As opposed to being opposite to belonging, then, alienation is a distinct and separate, but interrelated, process to belonging. Alienation in spaces of industrial ruination can be seen as an absence-presence of belonging. The affectively intense nostalgia for belonging, always punctuating the present in moments of poesis, gives rise to an alienation that is entrenched, and becomes more entrenched as the predeterminants of working-class belonging are attenuated and eroded by increasingly neoliberalised forms of life. It remains that if we are to alleviate 'universal alienation' (Harvey, 2018a), as well as its political mobilisations, then we must begin by enabling the collective conditions that belonging can emerge. In order to do so, the constitutive relationships between belonging and alienation, both approached as affective-temporal processes, need more sustained consideration.

Appendix A – Interview List

	Pseudonym	Bio	Age range	Date
1	Fiona	County councillor. Previous manager at EMDA	60-65	19-Jul-16
2	Tom	Regeneration/charity worker, Ollerton	55-60	09-Aug-16
3	Richard	Regeneration worker, Mansfield	55-60	18-Jul-16
4	Wayne	Regeneration official (local government), Mansfield	50-55	21-Sep-16
5	Yvonne	Head of Community Foundation, Nottinghamshire	60-65	07-Jul-16
6	Denise	Local councillor, Mansfield	55-60	22-Jul-16
7	Gwen	Local councillor, Mansfield Woodhouse	65-70	26-Jul-16
8	Zach	Regeneration and development, private sector.	35-40	21-Jul-16
9	Caroline	Heritage officer, local government.	50-55	22-Jul-16
10	Michael	Heritage officer, local government. (Arts council)	45-50	12-Aug-16
11	Mark Spencer	MP Newark and Sherwood	48	22-Jul-16
12	Jane	Bilsthorpe Heritage Museum	55-60	20-May-16
13	Terry	Former Bilsthorpe miner	50-55	20-May-16
14	Betty	Heritage volunteer and miners wife	60-65	09-Apr-17
15	Rob	Former Annesley miner	55-60	28-Oct-16
16	Julie	Resident of Sutton, NCBT	60-65	28-Sep-17
17	Alan	Former Sutton miner	60-65	28-Sep-17
18	Bill	Former Ollerton miner	70-75	20-Oct-16
19	Brian	Former Mansfield miner	60-65	14-Jan-16
20	Colin	Former Bilsthorpe miner	55-60	15-Jan-16
21	Dave	Former Sutton miner	50-55	10-Aug-16
22	Freddy	Former Mansfield miner	70-75	13-Aug-16
23	Pat	Resident of Forest Town	50-55	13-Aug-16
24	Slug	Former Mansfield miner	65-70	13-Aug-16
25	Frank	Former Rufford miner	55-60	12-Jul-16
26	Gary	Former Clipstone miner	50-55	22-Mar-16
27	Greg	Former Clipstone miner	55-60	09-Aug-16
28	Harry	Former Blidworth miner	60-65	17-Aug-16
29	Ian	Former Welbeck miner	50-55	10-Aug-16
30	John	Former Welbeck miner	55-60	07-Aug-16
31	Jack	former Warsop Main miner	70-75	08-Aug-16
32	Keith	Former Sherwood miner	65-70	08-Apr-16
33	Kev	Former Clipstone miner	55-60	15-Apr-16

34	Les	Former Bilsthorpe miner	50-55	19-May-16
35	Larry	Former Clipstone miner	50-55	30-Apr-16
36	Mark	Former Welbeck miner,	55-60	06-Sep-16
37	Bob	Former Silverhill miner	70-75	28-Sep-17
38	Neil	Resident of Forest Town	50-55	17-Aug-16
39	Pete	Resident of Rainworth	55-60	10-Dec-16
40	Cath	Resident of Rainworth and Ollerton	50-55	22-Sep-17
41	Deborah	Teacher at Meden Vale	60-65	10-Aug-16
42	Elaine	Resident of Blidworth	70-75	02-Feb-17
43	Lauren	Grew up in Mansfield	25-30	25-Jan-17
44	Kate	Grew up in Kirkby and Newstead	30-35	18-Mar-18
45	Laura	Grew up in Warsop	30-35	04-Oct-16
48	Danielle	Grew up and lives in Forest Town	25-30	25-Feb-17
50	Claire	Grew up and lives in Mansfield Woodhouse	30-35	30-May-17
46	Matt	Grew up in Clipstone and Mansfield	25-30	05-Aug-16
47	Jamie	Grew up and lives Church Warsop	25-30	25-Mar-17
49	Dan	Grew up and lives in Sutton	30-35	30-May-17
52	Stephen	Grew up in Annesley	30-35	14-Aug-16
53	Simon	Grew up and lives in Forest Town	25-30	20-May-16

Appendix B – Interview Transcript

<u>Excerpt One:</u>

27:21.1 - 29:25.3   KEITH: Yeah I remember years and years ago I was with my mate, and we'd bin to watch Stags and we'd bin in The Talbot and wi' wa walking to the Last Drop, it used to be near PC World is now at the time and he [Keith's friend] 'ad 'is Stags top on and I don't wear ought like that an' all these Chesterfield fans wa coming out. So, … wi just kept walking like an' they wa' shoutin' 'Scab' at us and I remember thinking, if this all kicked off I'm gonna kick the shit out my mate in the Stags shirt *laughter*. I've got loads of stories like that …. I was working, just for an agency, and this bloke was a fork lift driver from Shirebrook, and you know 'ow strong they are about it. Anyway, we got talkin' about the pits and stuff. We wa on about somethin' an' he said: 'What you didn't come out on strike?' An' I said: 'No' and 'e went: 'Me and you are done youth' an' after that he wouldn't bring me any bottles to label up. That was over ten years after. That bloke would've rather walked off the job than bring me some bottles.

29:25.3 - 29:30.5   J: Do you think there's still a bit of that [animosities from the Strike] in Nottinghamshire then?

29:30.5 - 33:12.7   KEITH: Well yeah. You can't blame people really. If you think, if you don't work for a year a lot of things go to pot don't thee? You know, people have probably committed suicide over it. Lost their houses. Families have broken up. You know I understand that. It was a defining moment in their lives. I can understand that, you know. And I'm never gonna be able to make that better. How can ya, ya know? When you say to someone: 'Sorry mate, I didn't think that was gonna happen?'. You know, you know yourself, if you took away someone's livelihood you'd hate them wouldn't ya? And that's 'ow they looked at it. So, ya, you know, I accept that.

<u>Excerpt Two:</u>

17:41.7 - 20:34.5   GARY: Soo, it weren't until thee … laaate seventies that I started to twig on – there'd bin the odd pit closure. There wa', I think the first time was Teversal. I think that were in the late seventies when thee voted to shut Teversal pit – an' things

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started to, I started to take a bit more notice. An' then ... and then obviously, thee started talkin' about pit closures in Wales and this, that an' t'other and that. An' I just started thinking, an' then Thatcher came into power, ya know, Tories comin' in and somethin', you know, it were like someone 'ad just flipped a switch and I started takin' a bit of an interest and thinking: 'Ahhh, something's goin' to gu off here soon.' Because it wa' obvious that in '74 ... when thee won that, it created like, wait there let me think, let me get this right because .... Before we went on strike there wa' a work to rule, no overtime worked at all. So obviously that effected production, production went way down cause at that time, err, at pits if you dint work overtime, if there was no overtime it went way down. The pits run on overtime. An' Heath went t' country, called an election ... he called a general election and got ousted. So, ever since then a lot of the miners would say that the Tories 'ad it in for the miners, from '72 and '74.

20:34.5 - 20:38.0   J: Was that the feeling then?

20:37.9 - 21:31.9   GARY: Not at the time but when it came to the late 70s there wuz little bits of information, ya know, when things, little bits, get leaked aht. What thee wa' planning on doin'. Even then, in the late 70s, early 80s thee wa' talkin' abaht some of the pits. And then there wa' a bit of a stink up but they back down. So, what thee'd done then in the early 80s they were saying to 'em: 'there's plenty of overtime, get more coal out. More coal, more coal'. An' we were just getting more and more coal out and stockpiles were going up an' up an' up. So, what they were doing then in the 80s were getting stockpiles of coal, building 'em up. Getting ready for the strike in '84.

21:31.9 - 21:36.4   J: What was happening at Clipstone?

21:36.4 - 21:57.2   GARY: Same sort o' stuff. Stockpiling coal. But a lot of the people, they couldn't o' cared less. They said: 'we're goin' t'work. I'm getting my money in. I'm getting my overtime.... we safe, we safe...We've bin told Notts pits are safe'.

21:52.2 - 22:04.7   J: So, do you think miners in Notts genuinely thought thee wa safe then?

22:04.7 - 22:59.4   GARY: Well, you'd got certain people up the 'ierarchy saying yeah Notts pits are safe. Well, they're on record saying that. 'Yeah the Notts pits are safe'. This that and other. Then when thee came in the 90s for the last round of pit closures, Lynk, 'e said, 'e packed up, 'e resigned. 'e said: 'I'm not standing for that, I'm finishing now'. 'e said: 'They've stabbed me in the back'. Ya know, us in the NUM were saying all along 'they're gonna come for the pits in Notts'. Well, everythin' else is history, int it?

Appendix C – Extract: Report of Royal Commission on the Coal Industry, 1925 (Samuel Report). Cmd 2600.

PART III.—EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED.

CHAPTER X.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Labour Disputes.

The mining industry has long been the theatre of unrest, which constantly gives rise to stoppages of work here and there, and occasionally develops into labour disputes on a vast scale. The statistics relating to the stoppages that have taken place in the years since the war, collected by the Ministry of Labour, are as follows :—

Table 11.

Year.	Number of Disputes.	Number of Workpeople involved.	Aggregate duration in Working Days.
1919	216	919,000	7,565,000
1920	213	1,407,000	17,415,000
1921	147	1,251,000	72,693,000
1922	155	116,000	1,246,000
1923	186	187,000	1,183,000
1924	190	134,000	1,563,000
1925 (Provisional)	162	129,000	3,450,000

(A table giving the statistics since 1900, with explanatory notes, is printed in Appendix, No. 28.)

Before considering the means of remedying this situation, it is necessary to get an understanding of the feelings that animate the two parties, and the reasons for them. First, therefore, we will briefly set out what we have gathered to be the complaints of the miners against the employers, and of the employers against the miners. In other chapters we examine these complaints one by one, and express an opinion as to their validity.

Grievances of the Miners.

Account must be taken of the fact, in the first place, that the present grievances of the mining population are frequently viewed by them in association with the grievances of the past. They are well aware of the history of their industry. Through reading and through family tradition, abuses which have been remedied and which may be forgotten by others, are kept alive in the memory. Many of the older men now working had gone to the mines themselves when they were young boys ; they can recall the low wages and the long hours of earlier days, the lack of proper care for safety, the abuses in the weighing

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of minerals that preceded the passing of the Checkweigher's Act of 1887, and many another example of oppressive conditions. Men now of middle age worked in the mines when there was no general provision for the families of men killed, or for men themselves who were permanently injured. Twenty years ago there was no compensation for diseases contracted through the work, fifteen years ago no pensions for the aged, one year ago no provision for widows and orphans. It is of course recognised that the progress in these matters has been great. But the men know that in many, perhaps in most cases it has been won by their own efforts, often in the face of strong opposition. The progress is frequently regarded less as a cause for gratitude, than as a reason for believing that the hardships that still exist, and are represented as unavoidable, may be as unnecessary and as open to remedy as those that have in fact been abolished.

The grievances that remain are held by the miners to be serious enough. The wage scale is considered to be, at best, no more than adequate. In good average times, with regular work, and for the higher paid classes, the pay, they consider, is no more than a decent remuneration for men engaged underground in an arduous and dangerous occupation, demanding a considerable measure of training and skill. In bad times, and if work is irregular, and always for the lowest paid classes, the pay is held to be plainly insufficient.

They contrast their own remuneration with the large dividends declared by colliery companies in times of good trade. To those profits, they say, must be added the distribution from time to time, as windfalls to the shareholders of some of the companies, of bonus shares, sometimes adding a half or more to the money originally invested. They are inclined to suspect—many feel convinced—that when coal is sent from the collieries to other businesses financially connected with them—and nearly one-fourth of the coal is transferred in this way—the price accepted by the collieries is often below the true market value ; as a result their own wages, which are regulated by the receipts of the industry, are artificially lowered, and a part of the profits actually made by the employers is concealed.

If, however, the collieries fall upon bad times, and profits are low, or if public opinion complains that the price of coal is too high and that other industries are suffering, the miners resent the suggestion that to lower their standard of living is the proper remedy. It is the quickest and the easiest recourse, but not, in their opinion, the only or the right one. They believe, from their working knowledge, that many of the collieries are inefficiently managed, and think that the losses of the collieries are often due to such inefficiency ; they feel that they are given few opportunities for suggesting improvements which their practical experience might enable them to make. They believe that output is frequently hindered by the failure of the management to supply the hewer

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